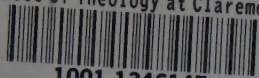
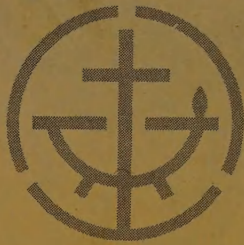


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THE
VOICE OF GOD:

BEING A

COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE HOLY BIBLE

AS CONTAINED IN THE

Old and New Testaments,

INCLUDING THE OCCURRENCES OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, FROM
THE LAST OF THE PROPHETS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

ALSO, THE

LIFE OF THE SAVIOUR AND HIS APOSTLES;

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—BY—

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INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

“Read and revere the sacred page ; a page
Which not the whole creation could produce ;
Which not the conflagration shall destroy —
In nature’s ruins not one letter lost.”

WITH what wonder should we gaze upon a fortress that had withstood the assaults of succeeding generations for thousands of years ! And with what strange interest should we look at a man who, during a life of many centuries, had often been cast into the sea without being drowned ; drugged with strychnine without being poisoned ; and riddled with bullets without being numbered with the slain !

Thus has it been with the Word of God during all its history. It was not to be expected that a volume which imposes self-restraint upon the wilful, humility upon the arrogant, mercy upon the cruel — which would bend the knees of the self-righteous philosophers before the cross of a crucified Redeemer, and which would quell all the tumultuous desires which attach us to this world, that it may plant the sublime hopes and aspirations of eternity in their room — would command the willing deference of an unconverted world. Nor has the result failed to sustain the antecedent probability. The Bible has had, all along its course, to struggle against opposition, visible and latent, artful and violent. It has had to contend with the prevalence of error, the tyranny of passion, and the cruelty of persecution. Numerous foes have risen up against it, — Pagans, who have aimed to destroy it ; Sectarians, who have striven to monopolize it ; and ungodly men, who have hated it for its purity and penalties. Jehoiakim cut to pieces the Divine roll, and threw it into the fire. About one hundred and seventy years before Christ, Antiochus caused all the copies of the Jewish Scriptures to be burnt. Three hundred and three years after, Diocletian, by an edict, ordered all the Scriptures to be committed to the flames ; and Eusebius, the his-

torian, tells us that he saw large heaps of them burning in the market-place. To the labored arguments of Celsus and Porphyry against the Word of the Lord, we need only refer, as well as to the bitter opposition which, in modern times, it has had to encounter in the philosophy of Hobbes, the skeptic doubts of Bayle, the polished sarcasm of Bolingbroke, the subtlety of Hume, the learning of Gibbon, the mockery of Voltaire, the vulgarity of Paine, the empty cavilling of Strauss, and the shallow sophistry of Renan.

But from all these assaults the Bible has been preserved. Though cast into the fire, it has risen triumphantly from its ashes; though crushed, yet, like the diamond, every part of which, when broken, exhibits the beauty and perfection of the whole, it has proved its indestructibility; and, though sunk in the waters, it has come up again, studded and shining with the costliest pearls. It has survived the shock of all its enemies, and withstood the ravages of time. Like the ark of Noah, upborne and protected by the invisible hand of the Almighty, it has safely ridden over the rolling billows of human history, and, as the fabled pillars of Seth, which are said to have bidden defiance to the Deluge, it has stood unmoved in the midst of that flood which sweeps away men, with their labors, into oblivion. Many a volume that once bade fair for immortality is now utterly forgotten. Of the unnumbered thousands that have been written since the dawn of literature, how few, even of those that once filled the trump of fame, and were ranked among the chief productions of human genius, have escaped the ravages of the ages, and the forgetfulness of man! Though the shelves of mighty libraries groan with the learned labors of the past, yet of the vast majority of the works therein deposited, it may be said that, "like the bodies of Egyptian kings in their pyramids, they retain only a grim semblance of life, amid neglect, darkness, and decay." Oh, what wreck and ruin meet the eye, as it glances at the past! Thrones have crumbled, empires have fallen, and philosophers and their systems have vanished away. The very monuments of man's power have been converted into the mockery of his weakness. His eternal cities moulder in their ruins; the serpent hisses in the cabinet where he planned his empire, and echo is startled by the foot which breaks the silence that has reigned for ages in his hall of feast and song. Yet, notwithstanding all this desolation, the stream which first bubbled up at the foot of the Eternal Throne has continued to roll on with silent

majesty and might, bearing down each opposing barrier, and declaring to perishing multitudes on its brink, that, while "all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass, which fadeth away, the Word of the Lord endureth forever."

Nor is this all. Not only has the Bible not been destroyed, but it has not even been diluted by the lapse of centuries. Commenced in the Arabian desert, ages before Homer sang, and finished fifteen hundred years afterwards, on an island in the *Ægean* Sea, it has come down to us from that remote antiquity unscathed and entire. It has not been ruined by the sapping of its foundations, or by the incorporation of any new element with it, which has marred its integrity, or vitiated its purity. With it, like God its author, there has been no variableness, or shadow of a change. The world has suffered its boasted classics to be blurred, but the Church can rejoice over the fair page of her precious books, assured that the far descent of these venerable treasures has neither altered their character, nor changed their identity. These Divine oracles have come down to us in such unimpaired fulness and accuracy, that we are placed as advantageously towards them as the generation which gazed upon "that book of the law" to which Moses had been adding chronicles and statutes for forty years; or those crowds which hung on the lips of Jesus, as He recited a parable on the shore of the Galilean lake; or those churches which received from Paul or Peter one of their epistles of warning or exposition.

And thus shall it continue to be. Divine Truth, which, at first, when like a little spark it glimmered in the noon of night, many waters could not quench, nor floods extinguish, and which every blast of violence has only served to fan to a larger flame—that Truth shall never, never expire, but shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. All its past history shows that it possesses a principle of vitality—a victorious power of its own, on which may be grounded the most confident expectation of its final and universal triumph. The Old Book, the Book of our Redeemer's gift, and our fathers' faith, will never halt in its ascending glory, until "its line is gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world." Already is it taking to itself new tongues, spreading open its page in almost every land—printed in Chinese camps; pondered in the red man's wigwam; sought after in Benares; a school-book in Feejee; eagerly bought in Constantinople; loved in the kloofs of Kaffir-land; while the voices of the dead from Assyria to

Egypt have been lifted up to bear it witness. What earthly or infernal might, then, can arrest its progress, or hinder its predicted triumph ?

There is, as an able writer says, coming upon the Church a current of doubt, deeper far and darker than ever swelled against her before — a current strong in learning, crested with genius, strenuous, yet calm in progress. It seems the last grand trial of the truth of our faith. Against the battlements of Zion a motley throng have gathered together. Socinians, atheists, doubters, open foes, and bewildered friends, are in the field, although no trumpet has openly been blown, and no charge publicly sounded. There are the old desperadoes of infidelity, the last followers of Paine and Voltaire ; there is the stolid, scanty, and sleepy troop of the followers of Owen ; there follow the Communists of France — a fierce, disorderly crew. The commentators of Germany come, too, with pick-axes in their hands, crying, “ Raze it, raze it to the foundations ! ” There you see the garde-mobile, the vicious and vain youth of Europe and America. On the outskirts of the fight hangs, cloudy and uncertain, a small but select band, whose wavering surge is surmounted by the dark and lofty crests of Carlyle and Emerson. “ Their swords are a thousand ” — their purposes are various. In this, however, all agree, that Christianity and the Bible ought to go down before advancing civilization. Never, indeed, have the enemies of the Bible been more numerous and determined. To the old open warfare they have added weapons of attack far more subtle and dangerous — weapons skilfully adapted to the refinement and intelligence of the age, lustrous with a great show of learning and science, and not seldom pointed with the semblance of reverence for the Bible — and with these they are striking with fierce blows the records of our faith, and striving to uproot that tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But even from all this artful and systematized opposition the friends of Revelation have nothing to fear. The Book at which kings, emperors, generals, philosophers, statesmen, and legislators, have all aimed in vain, shall still have its enemies in derision. It has flourished, while its adversaries have been blasted, one after another ; and never did it bid so fair as at present to be the Book of the whole family of mankind. The identical press, indeed, which was employed by Voltaire and the French Institute to disseminate their attacks upon the Bible, has since been used to print the very volume they wickedly and vainly sought to destroy.

I might here ask, who, that looks beneath the surface, does not see in the intense and unremitting hostility to the Bible, and in its success in overcoming it, a vindication of its heavenly origin? It is, as has been well remarked, utterly impossible to assign this hostility to any other cause than the disclosures which it makes respecting the extreme deadliness of sin, and of the ineffable purity and justice of the Divine nature. Let it then be even supposed that the unaided genius of man could have produced such a volume as the Bible, displaying, as it confessedly does, in the judgment even of its enemies, such sublimity of thought, such knowledge of the heart, and such amazing depth of wisdom—is it likely that writers of so extraordinary capacity would have given characteristics to their work which render it an object of such deep and widespread aversion?—that they would have been so weak as to represent God and human nature in characters unpalatable to the natural man; and, most of all, on the supposition that they were impostors, unpalatable to themselves? Such a mixture of weakness and wisdom we must at once see to be incongruous and impossible.

But, passing by this point, how plain is it that the fact of the Bible's preservation in the midst of all this hostility,—of its standing unto this day, amid the wreck of all that is human, substantially entire in every part,—is an argument for its divinity which no sophistry of infidelity can explain or overthrow! The resistance of ages is its crowning legitimation. It is felt and feared by all the rulers of the darkness of this world. It is the visible battle-field of invisible forces, showing in the radiant faces of the martyrs who have died for it, and the unearthly struggles of those who have sought to banish it from the earth, what mysterious interests are suspended on its safety or destruction. Surely, a volume exhibiting signs of having been at one time trampled on by rage, at another moth-eaten by neglect; here scorched by the fires of bigotry, there stained with the venom of infidelity; in every page sprinkled with the blood of its martyred defenders, and yet substantially entire in every part, has herein much to prove that it has always been in the keeping of Omnipotence—in the hollow of His hand.

“This lamp from off the everlasting Throne,
Mercy took down, and in the night of time
Stood, casting on the dark her gracious bow,
And everywhere beseeching men, with tears
And earnest sighs, to hear, believe, and live.”

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THE BIBLE.

HAST thou ever heard
Of such a book? The author, God himself;
The subject, God and man, salvation, life,
And death — eternal life — eternal death. — POLLOCK.

THE priest-like father reads the sacred page,
How Abram was the friend of God on high;
Or Moses bade eternal warfare wage
With Amalek's ungracious progeny;
Or how the Royal Bard did groaning lie,
Beneath the stroke of Heaven's avenging ire;
Or Job's pathetic plaint and wailing cry,
Or wrapt Isaiah's wild, seraphic fire;
Or other holy seers that tune the sacred lyre.

Perhaps the Christian volume is the theme,
How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed;
How He who bore in Heaven the Second Name,
Had not, on earth, whereon to lay His head;
How His first followers and servants sped;
The precepts sage they wrote to many a land:
How he who, lone in Patmos banished,
Saw, in the sun, a mighty angel stand;
And heard great Bab'lon's doom pronounced by Heaven's command.
BURNS.

FATHER! that book
With whose worn leaves the careless infant plays,
Must be the Bible. Therein thy dim eyes
Will meet a cheering light, and silent words
Of mercy breathed from Heaven, will be exhaled
From the blest page into thy withered heart. — JOHN WILSON.

THOU truest friend man ever knew,
Thy constancy I've tried;
When all were false I found thee true,
My counsellor and guide.
The mines of earth no treasures give
That could this volume buy;
In teaching me the way to live,
It taught me how to die. — GEO. P. MORRIS.





JERUSALEM.

THE VOICE OF GOD.

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

CREDIBILITY OF THE BIBLE.

“Whence but from Heaven, could men unskilled in arts,
In several ages born, in several parts,
Weave such agreeing truths? or how, or why,
Should all conspire to cheat us with a lie?
Unasked their pains, ungrateful their advice,
Starving their gain, and martyrdom their price.”

THE word *Bible* comes from the Greek *Biblos*, or *Biblion*, and is used to denote any book, but is emphatically applied to the book of inspired Scripture, which is “the book,” as being superior in excellence to all other books. *Biblion* again comes from *Biblos*, the Egyptian reed, from which the ancient paper was procured. The word Bible seems to be used in the particular sense given by Chrysostom — “I therefore exhort all of you to procure to yourselves Bibles, *Biblia*. If you have nothing else, take care to have the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels, for your constant instructors.” And Jerome says “that the Scriptures, being all written by one Spirit, are *one book*.” Augustine also informs us “that some called all the canonical Scriptures *one book*, on account of their wonderful harmony and unity of design throughout.” It is not improbable that this mode of speaking gradually introduced the general use of the word Bible for the whole collection of the Scriptures, or the books of the Old and New Testament. By the Jews the Bible—that is, the Old Testament—is called *Mikra*; that is, “lecture, or reading.” By Christians the Bible, comprehending the Old and New Testament, is usually denominated “Scripture;” sometimes also the “Sacred Canon,” which signifies the rule of faith and practice. These, and similar appellations, are derived from the divine original and authority of the Bible. As it contains an authentic and connected history of the divine dispensations with regard to mankind; as it was given by divine inspiration; as its chief subject is

religion; and as the doctrines it teaches and the duties it inculcates pertain to the conduct of men, as rational, moral, and accountable beings, and conduce, by a divine constitution and promise, to their present and future happiness; the Bible deserves to be held in the highest estimation, and amply justifies the sentiments of veneration with which it has been regarded, and the peculiar and honorable appellations by which it has been denominated.

It is proposed in the present article to discuss, as fully as the allotted space may permit, the credibility of the Scriptures, the grounds being succinctly stated on which we receive it as containing truth. The investigation must, of course, be mainly directed to the historical parts. The prophecies in it have a confirmation of their own. For, if it can be shown that many of them have been remarkably fulfilled long after they were delivered, it can hardly be alleged that they were the happy guesses of sagacious men; they must have proceeded from One who could declare "the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done" (Isa. xlv. 10). The doctrines, also, taught in Scripture have other authentication—their sublimity, the mighty power by which they have been enforced, the revolution they have effected in the world, are proofs that they are not the mere devices of the human brain.

Historically, then, we want to see if we may rely upon the narratives of Scripture; if it is what it professes to be—a genuine record of past events; if the persons of whom we read in it really lived and acted as we are told they did; if the picture of human life it gives is a faithful representation which we may accept without misgiving. The proofs of all this may be taken from various sources. We may examine the character and position of the writers of Scripture, and judge of the little likelihood there was of their combining to deceive. We may lay together the different books, and perceive their admirable consistency, quite incompatible with fraud. We may test the Scripture by other histories and yet-existing monuments, and we shall find that there is singular collateral and external evidence that we have truth in the revered volume. Let us sift some of these proofs.

That the Scripture has come down to us uncorrupted and substantially the same as when its several parts were originally written is sufficiently clear. It has always been watched over with jealousy; and endeavors to tamper with it have been checked at once. Manuscripts of the New Testament have been preserved, dating but three or four hundred years after our Lord's time; and the numerous citations by the very earliest authors, Christian, heretic, and even pagan, carry up the proof still higher. With regard to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, they have the sanction of Christ himself; and, besides, we have a translation of them made into Greek between two and three centuries before the Christian era. All this is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, and therefore we may fairly assume that we are dealing with works of the most remote antiquity, composed, as can be distinctly proved of many of them, by those who witnessed or took part in the events they describe. In estimating the credibility of a book, we must ascertain whether the writer was well informed, and whether he

would be likely to tell the truth. Now, as it has been just observed, several of the Scripture writers claim to be eyewitnesses of what they record. Paul, in some respects the most eminent and active of the first Christian teachers, was, it is acknowledged on all hands, the author of several of the letters which have come down to us. Some of the earlier books of Scripture were — there is the strongest reason for believing — at least in part, from the pen of Moses, the great Hebrew lawgiver. Some of the psalms were composed by David, the renowned king. Ezra, the restorer of the Jewish polity, has left annals. And, though there are anonymous books in the volume, yet the absence of the name by no means, when the fact is properly explained, detracts from the value of the documents preserved. There are in every country annals and state-papers: the hand that penned them has never been identified; and yet no man on that account impeaches their authority.

We cannot, then, impute want of information to the Scripture-writers. They must have known whether Israel was in servitude in Egypt and was delivered thence. They must have known whether a royal line reigned in Judea, and whether God was worshipped with magnificent rites in Jerusalem. They must have known how the country was ruined, and what were the calamities inflicted by the Assyrians and Chaldeans. They must have had perfect knowledge of the life of Jesus, of his teaching, his rejection, his death, and the promulgation and success of his gospel. They were not — this succession of writers — the mere collectors of old legends, obliged to a painful search amid half-obliterated records; they lived among the men and scenes which they described. So that, if they have misrepresented matters, if they have given a false coloring, they must have acted on design, they must have had some purpose to serve, for which they were content to disregard truth, and were anxious to deceive the world. They were Hebrews. Had the history they composed been a panegyric on their nation, had it even been flattering to their own vanity, or served the purpose of advancing them in the world, we might have viewed their productions with suspicion. But what do we really find? There is no glossing over of the faults of their most renowned ancestors: the national history is exhibited in dark tints; and we know that it was at the risk of life, or at least of losing all that could render life desirable, that several of these writers gave their testimony. If any book, therefore, comes to us with fair presumption of truthfulness from the character and circumstances of the writer, the Scripture has the strongest claim of the kind to be believed.

It must not be forgotten that it proceeds from a succession of authors in various ranks of life, extending in a lengthened chain over fifteen centuries. Some of these were contemporary; so that we have the same things from different pens. Some took up the thread where earlier laborers left it, and carrying it on for a while devolved it on those that came after. When ordinary historians write, they begin with correcting their predecessors. They have detected partiality or misapprehension: they have obtained access to fresh sources of information. And so they give a perfectly new face to

things; and it is not uncommon to find a statesman, a warrior, a monarch stigmatized by one writer, highly lauded by another. Bind up all the modern histories of any century or reign together, and see if you will have a consistent whole. By the binding together of the Scripture records into a single volume, you subject their credibility to the severest test.

In examining the internal structure of a book, the first element of credibility is the consistency of one part with the rest. Faithful history does not contradict itself. It is true that such is the imperfection of human knowledge, that the most trustworthy writers are occasionally in error, and the most impartial let their own opinions color the narrative they deliver. But we do not for small variations impeach any one's general credibility, nor, if we are unable exactly to reconcile different statements in regard to some event, do we at once throw aside the whole as a mere figment. On the contrary, when we see different writers agreeing in the main, though differing in particulars, we receive them as independent witnesses, and place the more reliance on the facts to which each, after his especial manner, gives satisfactory testimony. Now the Scripture, though subjected, as noted above, to a severe test, is seen to be throughout consistent. The events recorded in the earlier books are assumed as true and confirmed in the later. Thus the creation, the flood, the call of Abraham, the bondage of Israel in Egypt with the deliverance, the histories of David and Solomon, the Babylonish captivity, etc., etc., appear again and again; the later authors never treating these events as legendary or mythical, but basing argument and admonition upon them as acknowledged facts. In the parallel histories, too, of the Kings and Chronicles, and of the Gospels, we find the same things repeated, with additional circumstances doubtless, but yet without essential variation. And it is worth notice that the more remarkable stories, which in themselves might give rise to question, receive in this way strong confirmation. For example, the history of Balaam, and the portent of the dumb ass speaking with intelligent tongue, recorded in the Pentateuch (Numb. xxii. 21-35), are referred to by an apostle (2 Pet. ii. 15, 16); and the swallowing of Jonah by a fish, and his mission to Nineveh (Jonah i. 17, iii.), reappear in the Gospels with the solemn sanction of our Lord himself (Matt. xii. 40, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29-32). There are yet more particular proofs of consistency. Theological writers, as Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, and Blunt in his *Undesigned Coincidences*, have used a kind of cross-examination, and have thus produced most satisfactory and really marvellous evidence of the credibility of Scripture. Had there been fraud, it would have comè out under such a process. And to add to the weight of the argument it must be always borne in mind that fraud, if committed, must have been carried on for centuries. If the Scripture, consistent in its various parts as we have seen it to be, be untruthful, there must have been a combination, not of a knot of men at one particular juncture, not of the members of a sect which flourished for a while, but of persons living in widely-separated ages, and in distant lands, of persons in all grades of society, with jarring interests and dissimilar objects, of hostile principles, Jews and Christians, opposed in everything else but accordant in this—to

palm upon the world as facts events which never happened, annals life-like but of no authority, chronicles of kings, accounts of revolutions, and religions testified to by all of them, but yet baseless and imaginary. Such a combination the world never has heard of; it is contrary to all experience: the "verifying faculty" of reasonable men's minds must reject it.

It is true that objections have been taken to Scripture as exhibiting discrepancies. We are not concerned to discuss these here. For, even if we admit them, they do not shake the general credibility of the book. But yet we may reply that very many of these disappear on more careful examination, that the advance of general knowledge has tended to unravel difficulties heretofore considered inexplicable, and that it is but fair to conclude that, if we had fuller acquaintance with all the circumstances, many more perplexities would disappear. Such discrepancies have been considered by various biblical critics; and to their works the reader must be referred. Among these may be named Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, chap. xii., pp. 516-611; Horne's *Introd.*, Vol. II., pp. 432-489. But it is necessary and fair to add that the great mass of the alleged discrepancies are of trivial moment, concerning dates and numbers and names, where especially transcribers were liable to error; and that minute accordance is the rule, the instances of discrepancy but exceptional.

The credibility of Scripture has been argued on the ground of its internal consistency: we may also notice the moral phenomena of which, if true, it offers a satisfactory solution. There is much apparent in the present state of the world to perplex the most acute minds; and philosophers of the highest name, sensible of their own inability to grasp all that they desired to know, have expressed their ardent longing for some divine teacher. The state of man, the prevalence of disease and death, offer problems which mere reason finds it very hard to solve; the existence of an all-wise, all-merciful, and all-powerful Being being pre-supposed, the Creator and Sustainer of the world. The Scripture pours a flood of light upon such topics. Herein it stands apart from all other books. It contains the highest philosophy, and has taken a hold upon mankind which no other has ever done. It fits in with all the existing phenomena of the world. If it does not reduce that which is infinite to the level of finite comprehension, it does at least deliver that rational history of man's formation and man's duties, of his responsibilities and the penalties of failure, which is sufficient for all practical guidance. There is philosophy in it most pure, there is intelligence most exalted, there is a key to mysteries which other theories and other books have left in their darkness. The preservation of the Jews, again, as a separate people, diffused everywhere yet not amalgamated with other nations, is accounted for in Scripture. The spread and prevalence of Christianity cease to be strange, if we accept the narratives which we find in Scripture. A multitude of particular examples might be produced: it must suffice to say that, when we find here adequate reasons for what we see, we have no contemptible proof that the record which supplies them is truthful — more especially when we remember that this record was produced among a people whom the rest of

the world have disliked and contemned, and that it is the only record which is in consistency with the moral condition of mankind. Can such a book be untrue? We should then have the marvel of mighty effects flowing from no adequate cause.

But, still further, we have collateral evidence of the truth of Scripture. Such collateral evidence, indeed, in regard to many parts of the Bible it was hard to find. For several of the books comprised in it are, or at least profess to be, the most ancient in existence. Where there are no contemporary histories, we cannot look for that full authentication which is readily forthcoming in an age of books. The earliest facts of Scripture, then, are to be confirmed by traditions, by ritual observances, by inscriptions and monuments, all fragmentary in their nature, and such as it requires diligent research to collect and marshal. But the labors of archæologists have not been unrewarded. There are in various parts of the world traditions of the creation, the flood, the dispersion of mankind, the destruction of Sodom, etc., etc., which, though distorted, must be taken to point to facts—the very facts which are detailed in Scripture. Writers have done good service in collecting these traditions; and the reader may find abundance of them in Rawlinson's *Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records*, 1859. As we proceed down the stream of time, such corroborative evidence is more abundant and precise. The histories of Egypt, of Assyria, of Babylon, of Persia, of Rome furnish much weighty attestation. We know from these independent sources how the Assyrian power extended itself, how great was the magnificence of Babylon, how that mighty city was captured by Cyrus, and how Judea was reduced to a Roman province—the very facts that we find narrated in Scripture. There is Josephus, also, the Jewish historian, living in the apostolic age, who draws out in his works the ancient fortunes of his people, and describes events passing before his eyes. The names of personages mentioned in Scripture repeatedly occur there: their actions are commemorated; their characters are described; and thus a general corroboration is given to the record. We must be prepared to find differences. Thus Tacitus, the Roman writer, strangely misrepresents the origin of the Hebrew nation. Yet his narrative, warped as it was, goes to confirm the fact of the deliverance from Egypt, preserves the name of Moses, and exhibits some of those peculiar usages which the law, as we have it in the Pentateuch, distinctly specifies. There is also the testimony of writers immediately subsequent to the Apostles—Christian, heretic, and pagan—who concur for the most part in facts, however they may differ in interpretation or in the doctrines to be deduced from them. It is not too much to say that no history is so largely corroborated as the Scripture history in all those ways which contribute to the settling of belief; so that, if we are to discredit the Scripture, to believe it a romance rather than a history, we are much more bound to discredit every history, of Greece, or Rome, or England, which exists in literature.

It may be fairly supposed that there are now few persons—so strong is the confirmatory evidence—who do not admit the general credibility of the

Scripture. But it has been alleged that with true history there is much mixed up that cannot be literally received; that a supernatural coloring has been given, a mythical or legendary element introduced, for which allowance must be made in sifting out real facts. These objections are directed almost exclusively against the miraculous parts of the Scripture narrative; and it is held that a writer, whose grave account of kings and of the events in common life may be implicitly trusted, must be set down as a mere enthusiast, or as adopting pious fraud, when in the same paragraph he details with equal gravity the occurrence of a wonder or a sign. But it may be well to remark here that supernatural relations are so closely interwoven with the rest, that the events most objected to are so earnestly insisted on, being those in which the essence of Scripture teaching consists, that if you reject these as "unhistoric" there is little, if anything, that you can retain. Take, for example, the New Testament history. Strip it of its supernatural character: suppose Jesus a mere man, born in a natural way, only living a peaceable, beneficent, and philosophic life: suppose that he was put to death unjustly, but that his memory was fragrant among his followers, and that hence they endeavored to dignify him by attributing to him divine power, and maintaining that he was restored to life after his execution: denude his story of all that shows the direct interference of God, and what have you? The disciples contending, suffering, dying for a phantom. The whole is a mere episode. It is a foolish attempt to strain very ordinary occurrences into something marvellous. So that you cannot, if you set aside the wonderful, have anything worth preserving. All left, the Scripture must stand or fall together.

Besides, very many of the supernatural accounts in Scripture were written by those who profess to have been eye-witnesses of them. Even if we were to allow — which yet is by no means to be allowed — that those wrought at the deliverance from Egypt, in Babylon, etc., were chronicled only by later writers, yet we have unquestionably in the New Testament the evidence of contemporaries. It cannot be said, then, that these extraordinary recitals are just the exaggerations with which credulous men or poets are wont to deck out events imperfectly known, dimmed with the haze of vast antiquity. They stand upon the same ground with the records of common occurrences; so that the fair inference is that the writers, if credible in the one class of narrative, are credible, also, for the other; if they can be convicted of untruthfulness in what they relate of supernatural events, it is useless to contend for their veracity as to other matters. This is the plain rule continually acted on in judicial inquiries. If a witness is corroborated so far as to gain credit for his statements generally, he is believed when he charges home a crime upon a culprit. The business of life could hardly otherwise go on.

An able writer thus forcibly presents an argument for Christianity from the absurdities of infidelity. In relation to the miracles of the New Testament, whether they be supposed masterly frauds on men's senses committed at the time and by the parties supposed in the records, or fictions (designed or accidental) subsequently fabricated, — but still, in either case, undeniably

successful and triumphant beyond all else in the history whether of fraud or fiction,—the infidel must believe as follows: On the *first* hypothesis, he must believe that a vast number of apparent miracles,—involving the most astounding phenomena,—such as the instant restoration of the sick, blind, deaf, and lame, and the resurrection of the dead,—performed in open day, amidst multitudes of malignant enemies,—imposed alike on *all*, and triumphed at once over the strongest prejudices and the deepest enmity; those who received them and those who rejected them differing only in the certainly not very trifling particular, as to whether they came from heaven or from hell. He must believe that those who were thus successful in this extraordinary conspiracy against men's senses and against common sense were Galilean Jews, such as all history of the period represents them—ignorant, obscure, illiterate, and, above all, previously bigoted, like all their countrymen, to the very system of which, together with all other religions on the earth, they modestly meditated the abrogation; he must believe that, appealing to these astounding frauds in the face both of Jews and Gentiles as an open evidence of the truth of a new revelation, and demanding on the strength of them that *their* countrymen should surrender a religion which they acknowledged to be divine, and that all other nations should abandon their scarcely less venerable systems of superstition, they rapidly succeeded in both these very probable adventures; and in a few years, though without arms, power, wealth, or science, were to an enormous extent victorious over all prejudice, philosophy, and persecution, and in three centuries took nearly undisputed possession, among many nations, of the temples of the ejected deities. He must further believe that the original performers in these prodigious frauds on the world acted not only without any assignable motive, but against all assignable motive; that they maintained this uniform constancy in unprofitable falsehoods, not only together, but separately, in different countries, before different tribunals, under all sorts of examinations and cross-examinations, and in defiance of the gyves, the scourge, the axe, the cross, the stake; that those whom they persuaded to join their enterprise persisted like themselves in the same obstinate belief of the same “cunningly devised” frauds; and though they had many accomplices in their singular conspiracy, had the equally singular fortune to free themselves and their coadjutors from all transient weakness towards their cause and treachery towards one another; and, lastly, that these men, having, amidst all their ignorance, originality enough to invent the most pure and sublime system of morality which the world has ever listened to, had, amidst all their conscious villainy, the effrontery to preach it, and, which is more extraordinary, the inconsistency to practice it!*

On the *second* of the above-mentioned hypotheses, that these miracles were either a congeries of deeply contrived fictions or accidental myths, subse-

* So far as we have any knowledge from history, this must have been the case; and Gibbon fully admits and insists upon it. Indeed, no infidel hypothesis can afford to do without the *virtues* of the early Christians in accounting for the success of the *falsehoods* of Christianity. Hard alternatives of a wayward hypothesis!

quently fabricated, the infidel must believe, on the *former* supposition, that, though even transient success in literary forgery, when there are any prejudices to resist, is among the rarest of occurrences, yet that *these* forgeries, the hazardous work of many minds, making the most outrageous pretensions, and necessarily challenging the opposition of Jew and Gentile, were successful, beyond all imagination, over the hearts of mankind; and have continued to impose, by an exquisite appearance of heartless truth, and a most elaborate mosaic of feigned events artfully cemented into the ground of true history, on the acutest minds of different races and different ages; while, on the *second* supposition, he must believe that accident and chance have given to these legends their exquisite appearance of historic plausibility; and on *either* supposition he must believe (what is infinitely more wonderful) that the world, while the fictions were being published, and in the known absence of the facts they asserted to be true, suffered itself to be befooled *into* the belief of their truth, and *out* of its belief of all the systems it *did* previously believe to be true; and that it acted thus notwithstanding persecution from without, as well as prejudice from within; that, strange to say, the strictest historic investigations bring this compilation of fictions or myths—even by the admission of Strauss himself—within thirty or forty years of the very time in which all the alleged wonders they relate are said to have occurred; wonders which the perverse world knew it had *not* seen, but which it was determined to believe, in spite of evidence, prejudice, and persecution! In addition to all this, the infidel must believe that the men who were engaged in the compilation of these monstrous fictions chose them as the vehicle of the purest morality, and though the most pernicious deceivers of mankind, were yet the most scrupulous teachers of veracity and benevolence! Surely of him who can receive all these paradoxes,—and they form but a small part of what might be mentioned,—we may say, “O infidel, great is thy faith!”

On the supposition that neither of these theories, whether of fraud or fiction, will account, if taken by itself, for the whole of the supernatural phenomena which strew the pages of the New Testament, then the objector, who relies on *both*, must believe, in turn, *both* sets of the above paradoxes, and then, with still more reason than before, may we exclaim, “O infidel, great is thy faith!”

Again, he must believe that *all* those apparent coincidences, which *seem* to connect prophecy with the *facts* of the origin and history of Christianity, —some embracing events too vast for hazardous speculation, and others, incidents too minute for it,—are purely fortuitous; that *all* the cases in which the event seems to tally with the prediction are mere chance coincidences; and he must believe this, among other events, of two of the most *unlikely* to which human sagacity was *likely* to pledge itself, and yet which have as undeniably occurred (and *after* the predictions) as they were *à priori* improbable and anomalous in the world’s history! The one is, that the Jews should exist as a distinct nation in the very bosom of all other nations, without extinction and without amalgamation,—other nations and even races having so readily melted away under less than half the influences

which have been at work upon them; the other, an opposite paradox, that a religion, propagated by ignorant, obscure, and penniless vagabonds, should diffuse itself among the most diverse nations in spite of all opposition,—it being the rarest of phenomena to find *any* religion which is capable of transcending the limits of race, clime, and the scene of its historic origin; a religion which, if transplanted, will not die; a religion which is more than a local or national growth of superstition! That *such* a religion as Christianity should so easily break these barriers, and, though supposed to be cradled in ignorance, fanaticism, and fraud, should, without force of arms, and in the face of persecution, “ride forth conquering and to conquer” through a long career of victories, defying the power of kings, and emptying the temples of deities,—who, but an *infidel*, has *faith* enough to believe?*

Once more; if from the external evidences of this religion, we pass to those which the only records by which we know anything of its nature and origin supply, the infidel must believe, among other paradoxes, that it is *probable* that a knot of obscure and despised plebeians—regarded as the scum of a nation which was itself regarded as the scum of all other nations—originated the purest, most elevated, and most *influential* theory of ethics the world has ever seen; that a system of sublimest truth, expressed with unparalleled simplicity, sprang from ignorance; that precepts enjoining the most refined sanctity were inculcated by imposture; that the first injunctions to universal love broke from the lips of bigotry! He must further believe, that these men exemplified the ideal perfection of that beautiful system in the most unique, original, and faultless picture of virtue ever conceived,—a picture which has extorted the admiration even of those who could not believe it to be a *portrait*, and who have yet confessed themselves unable to account for it *except* as such.† He must believe, too, that these ignorant and fraudulent Galileans voluntarily aggravated the difficulty of their task, by exhibiting their proposed ideal, not by bare enumeration and description of qualities, but by the most arduous of all methods of representation,—that of dramatic action; and, what is more, that they succeeded; that in that representation they undertook to make him act with sublime consistency in scenes of the most extraordinary character and the most touching pathos, and utter moral truth in the most

* “They may say,” says Butler, “that the conformity between the prophecies and the event is by accident; but there are many instances in which such conformity itself cannot be denied.” His whole remarks on the subject, and especially those on the *impression* to be derived from the *multitude* of apparent coincidences, in a long series of prophecies, some vast, some minute, and the improbability of their all being accidental, are worthy of his comprehensive genius. It is on the effect of the whole, not on single coincidences, that the argument depends.

† To Christ alone, of all the characters ever portrayed to man, belongs that assemblage of qualities which *equally* attract love and veneration: to Him alone belong in perfection those rare traits which the Roman historian, with affectionate flattery, attributes too absolutely to the merely mortal object of his eulogy: “Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem, deminuit.” Still more beautiful is the Apostle’s description of superiority to all human failings, with ineffable pity for human sorrows: “He can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, though without sin.”

exquisite fictions in which such truth was ever embodied; and that again they succeeded; that so ineffably rich in genius were these obscure wretches, that no less than *four* of them were found equal to this intellectual achievement; and while each has told many events and given many traits which the others have omitted, that they have all performed their task in the same unique style of invention and the same unearthly tone of art; that one and all, while preserving each his own individuality, has, nevertheless, attained a certain majestic simplicity of style unlike anything else, not only in any writings of their own nation, *except* their alleged sacred writings, and infinitely superior to anything which their successors, Jews or Christians, though with the advantage of these models, could ever attain, but unlike any acknowledged human writings in the world, and possessing the singular property of being capable of ready transfusion, without the loss of a thought or a grace, into every language spoken by man: he must believe that these fabricators of fiction in common with the many other contributors to the New Testament, most insantly added to the difficulty of their task by delivering the whole in fragments and in the most various kinds of composition, — in biography, history, travels, and familiar letters; incorporating and interfusing with the whole an amazing number of minute facts, historic allusions, and specific references to persons, places, and dates, as if for the very purpose of supplying posterity with the easy means of detecting their impositions: he must believe that, in spite of their thus encountering what Paley calls the “danger of scattering names and circumstances in writings where nothing but truth can preserve consistency,” they so happily succeeded, that whole volumes have been employed in pointing out their latent and often most recondite congruities; many of them lying so deep, and coming out after such comparison of various passages and collateral lights, that they could never have answered the purposes of fraud, even if the most prodigious genius for fraud had been equal to the fabrication; congruities which, in fact, were never suspected to exist till they were expressly elicited by the attacks of infidelity, and were evidently never thought of by the writers: he must believe that they were profoundly sagacious enough to construct such a fabric of artful harmonies, and yet such simpletons as, by doing infinitely more than was necessary, to encounter infinite risks of detection, to no purpose; sagacious enough to outdo all that sagacity has ever done, as shown by the effects, and yet not sagacious enough to be merely *specious*; and finally, he must believe that these illiterate impostors had the art, in all their various writings, which evidently proceed from different minds, to preserve the same inimitable marks of reality, truth, and nature, in their narrations, — the miraculous and the ordinary alike, — and to assume and preserve, with infinite ease, amidst their infinite impostures, the tone and air of undissembled earnestness.*

If, on the other hand, he supposes that all the congruities of which we have

* Was there ever in truth a man who could read the appeals of Paul to his converts, and doubt either that the letters were real, or that the man was in earnest? We scarcely venture to think it.

spoken were the effect, not of fraudulent design, but of happy accident,—that these *myths* arranged themselves in spontaneous harmony,—he must believe that chance has done what even the most prodigious powers of invention could not do.

Once more; he must believe that these same illiterate men, who were capable of so much, were also capable of projecting a system of doctrine singularly remote from all ordinary and previous speculation; of discerning the necessity of taking under their special patronage those *passive* virtues which man least loved, and found it most difficult to cultivate; and of exhibiting, in their preference of the spiritual to the ceremonial, and their treatment of many of the most delicate questions of practical ethics and casuistry, a justice and elevation of sentiment as alien as possible from the superstition and fanaticism of their predecessors who had corrupted the Law, and the superstition and fanaticism of their followers, who very soon corrupted the Gospel; that they, and they alone, rose above the strong tendencies to the extravagances which had been so conspicuous during the past, and were soon to be as conspicuous in the future. These and a thousand other paradoxes (arising out of the supposition that Christianity is the fraudulent or fictitious product of such an age, country, and, above all, such men as the problem limits us to) must the infidel receive, and receive all at once; and of him who *can* receive them we can but once more declare, that, so far from having no “faith,” he rather possesses the “faith” which removes “mountains”!—only it appears that his faith, like that of Rome or of Oxford, is a faith which excludes reason.

On the other hand, to him who accepts Christianity, none of these paradoxes present themselves. On the supposition of the truth of the miracles and the prophecies, he does not wonder at its origin or success: and as little does he wonder at all the literary and intellectual achievements of its early chroniclers, if their elevation of sentiment was from a divine source, and if the artlessness, harmony, and reality of their narratives was the simple effect of the consistency of truth, and of transcription from the life.

“Sceptic! no more the dazzling beams withstand,
Bright emanations of a sapient God;
But, taught by nature, nature's Lord adore:
From known effects of order and design,
Wise to the self-existent Cause Supreme:
The depths of wisdom, far as human ken
Can penetrate, explore; and here attain
A foretaste of that knowledge, which, perhaps,
With angels poring o'er the text abstruse,
And in ecstatic admiration lost,
Will, in eternity's unceasing round,
The intuition of thy soul absorb.”

But, in addition to the more vague corroborations of Scripture which have been already referred to, there are other testimonies of a more particular kind, which may be properly introduced here. They are the rather valuable, because they are independent: they are continually gaining force;

and they apply to some of those statements which have been most keenly contested. It is true that we cannot point to a modern confirmation of miracle; but we can exhibit existing proofs of the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies. The present state of Babylon, of Tyre, of Jerusalem, of Judea generally witnesses most forcibly to the credibility of Scripture. It is proved to demonstration that the threatenings against these countries and cities were uttered while they were prosperous and populous, at a time when no political foresight could have discovered the fate that was in reserve for them. It is proved to demonstration that the desolations occurred just as they had been long before described; and there they are at this very day, patent to all who will journey thither, testifying that the Scripture is true and its declarations to be relied on.

Another branch of particular evidence is to be found in the relations travellers give us of the geography, the botany, the manners and customs of biblical countries. The Scripture is still the best guide-book to Palestine, which others can only illustrate. Towns and villages are found where Scripture places them; hills and mountains and springs and brooks are just as Scripture has described them; articles of food are still used such as Scripture mentions. And it is a general remark that men who have travelled in Scripture lands, even if they had their doubts before, have been convinced by what they saw of the credibility of Scripture writers. To those who have not had the advantage of visiting Palestine the published works of accomplished travellers have furnished nearly the same amount of testimony. Among such may be named Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, and Dr. Thomson's *The Land and the Book*. It would be perfectly useless to argue with any one who, in studying these works, did not find in them evidence not to be gainsaid that the authors of Scripture wrote in good faith and are deserving of confidence. Such researches have furnished a full answer to innumerable objections. Thus, for instance, when it is said that in one small district of Bashan there were threescore great cities "fenced with high walls, gates, and bars" (Deut. iii. 4, 5; 1 Kings iv. 13), sceptics have been ready to deride the credulity of such as would receive the statement as a literal fact. But travellers have visited the region, and have found the cities, desolate it is true, but still standing in their extraordinary grandeur, the massive walls there, the streets with their ancient pavement unbroken, the houses complete and habitable, as if finished only yesterday, and even the very doors and window-shutters in their places. See Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan*.

Take again the account of Paul's voyage and shipwreck (Acts xxvii.). Mr. James Smith, of Jordanhill, England, in his work has carefully investigated the localities; he has ascertained the character of the prevalent winds; he has calculated, after communication with experienced naval officers, the rate of drift and the direction a vessel would naturally take, and he finds the statement of Scripture *minutely* accurate. "A searching comparison of the narrative with the localities where the events, so circumstantially related, are said to have taken place, with the aids which recent advances in our

knowledge of the geography and the navigation of the eastern part of the Mediterranean supply, accounts for every transaction, clears up every difficulty, and exhibits an agreement so perfect in all its parts as to admit of but one explanation, namely, that it is a narrative of real events, written by one personally engaged in them."

The explorations made of late years in Nineveh and Babylon have tended to confirm the credibility of Scripture in many disputed points. It is true that we must receive the evidence so produced with caution. Inscriptions and monumental records are more likely to exaggerate the successes than to chronicle the disasters of the people by whom they were made. We could not reasonably expect to find in Egyptian monuments any detail of the judgments which forced the release of Israel. Neither was it likely that Sennacherib would record the fatal overthrow when, by God's immediate power, his vast army perished in Judea. But much information may be and has been obtained by incidental notices. Thus it had been questioned whether such a king as Nebuchadnezzar ever reigned. His name, it was said, did not appear in Herodotus; and objectors, ready to avail themselves of every opportunity of carping at the sacred volume, if they did not deny the existence of the conqueror, at least insinuated that a petty satrap had been magnified into a great king. But now bricks in abundance have been disinterred, inscribed with the mighty Nebuchadnezzar's name, and proving that there was indeed foundation for the boast that it was he that had built and adorned his magnificent capital (Dan. iv. 30). Yet more serious doubt was expressed in regard to Belshazzar; and consequently the narrative of his feast, and the awful sign which interrupted it, was pronounced a fable. But it is now distinctly proved by the discovery of unquestionable records that a sovereign of that name was associated in power with his father during the last days of Babylon's independence.

Another evidence of the truth of the Scriptures is found in their wonderful effects—individual effects, domestic effects, political effects. First, individual effects. Go to the heart of Africa, and look at Robert Moffatt. He is coming down to the Cape of Good Hope, bringing a man with him who was called "the Devil of Africa;" he was a savage, and no one who came in contact with him was safe. Yet a word touched him; the Gospel came to him, and it melted his heart. Look to India; look to Greenland; look to Labrador; look at the missions in Tinneveli; look at the missions of any part of the Christian Church; and you will find that wherever a single word of these blessed testimonies comes home to a man's heart, he sits down gentle and calm, and weaned like a little child before God. Look again at domestic influence. Look at yonder kraal of that Hottentot; look at yonder sheeling in that Scotch mountain,—the very roof so weak that it can scarcely keep out the winds of heaven or the rain and mists of that desert and wild land. Look at yon rugged Scotch face, and listen to yon rugged Scotch voice praising God in noble strains. You hear no murmur. That wild, rough sheeling is blessed with spiritual comfort. There is no wealth there; and the man perhaps does not know where to-morrow he shall get bread for his little

child or grandchild; but there is comfort, and peace, and quiet within — that inborn sunshine of the soul that no storm can disturb, and no shade can overwhelm. Look again at two countries lying close to each other; you can go from one to the other in an hour and a half. One is distinguished by its vine-clad slopes, marked by beauty, imagination, and genius; and there is no people under heaven, who, if they had the Gospel, would stand out so distinguished and glorious as the French, to whom we refer. France, though it has given birth to Voltaire, has produced some of the finest mathematicians, and noblest orators, and best poets, that ever lived. Look at that country, and England, or our own land: one country ever rocking amid the surges of insurrection and revolution; the others standing out, thank God! as they do stand out now — a place where all the nations of the earth can come, and from which they will never be banished. What makes the difference? Not the sunny clime, not the gorgeous genius of the one; not the deep and living force and fervor of the other. The only thing that has made Britain what it is, is the power of religious truth, and the force of that living Word which is the great kindler of all genius, and the great break-water against all crime and insubordination. Would to God that those who call themselves statesmen and legislators would feel this — that the truest foundation of a country's strength is the Word of God; that the brightest gem in the coronet of a monarch, and the surest defence against all usurpation, come from whatever quarter it may, is that blessed and glorious testimony which is our individual comfort, and the peace and joy of our roof-tree. Look at the description given by Cowper of the English cottage-woman working quietly

“at her own door,
Pillow and bobbins all her little store,”

toiling and laboring on; a poor woman, who

“Just knows, and knows no more, her Bible true, —
A truth the brilliant Frenchman never knew.”

And then look at the contrast he draws between Voltaire, with all the splendor of his genius and the high renown of his life, and that simple-hearted woman,

“Never heard of half a mile from home.”

Look, again, at that young person lying upon a bed of sickness, with a hectic flush, and now and then a wild, shooting gleam of the fire of death — she lies upon that bed, almost etherialized enough by consumption to pass to heaven without going to the grave — she is calm, for the Spirit of God is with her, and the Word of God is her comfort. “The tree is known by its fruits.”

THE DYING SCEPTIC.

Lo there, in yonder fancy-haunted room,
What muttered curses tremble through the gloom,
When pale, and shivering, and bedewed with fear,
The dying sceptic felt his hour drew near;

From his parched tongue no meek hosanna fell,
 No bright hope kindled at his faint farewell;
 As the last throes of death convulsed his cheek,
 He gnashed, and scowled, and raised a hideous shriek,
 Rounded his eyes into a ghastly glare,
 Locked his white lips — and all was mute despair.

THE DYING CHRISTIAN.

Go, child of darkness! see a Christian die!
 No horror pales his lips or dims his eye;
 No fiend-shaped phantoms of destruction start
 The hope religion pillows on his heart,
 When with a faltering hand he waves adieu
 To all who love so well, and weep so true:
 Meek, as an infant to the mother's breast
 Turns, fondly longing for its wonted rest,
 He pants for where congenial spirits stray,
 Turns to his God, and sighs his soul away.

It would be easy to fill pages with particular examples of corroborative testimony to the truthfulness of Scripture, derived from coins, tombs, ancient seals, from the thousand particular monuments and existing proofs which God's providence has uncovered to give living testimony of what occurred in ancient times. We have therefore the strongest reason to affirm that the Scripture writers were truthful, that the facts they chronicle really occurred, that the histories they deliver are credible. Nor is this evidence set aside by the assertion not unfrequently now made, that the later books of Scripture were the work of earnest, conscientious men, who have given us indeed truly the facts of their own times, but who ignorantly attributed to the earlier books, the writings of a more remote age, that authority which they do not really possess, and who based much of their teaching upon fragments which are now found to crumble beneath the pressure. The credibility of the early part of Scripture has been elsewhere touched; and the way in which Christ used the oldest portions of the Scriptures may well be taken as guiding us to a right estimation of their value. To those indeed who regard Him as a mere man, an appeal to his authority will seem of little weight. But with such the present argument does not deal. To men, however, who admit that Christ was a divinely-commissioned teacher, His sanction not merely to the ordinary facts of Scripture history, but to the supernatural occurrences therein narrated, is of infinite importance. He, the founder of the new dispensation, besides assuming, as the accounts we have of him testify, the power of working miracles himself, admitted without question the miracles of the Old Testament (*e. g.* Matt. xxiv. 37-39; Luke iv. 25-27), and threw no doubt upon the narrative which embodied in it such wonders. The only alternative which remains is, if the credit of these facts is denied, to deny the competency of our Lord as a public instructor, imputing to Him — with reverence be it spoken — ignorance and imperfection of judgment which would place Him far behind the doctors of the present age. It is trusted that no reader of the present work is prepared for this awful alternative.

VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

MANY translations have been made of the Holy Scriptures in both ancient and modern times. They are of the greatest service for both critical and hermeneutical purposes. They tend to show us the readings of the text which the translator used, and indicate the sense he put upon the words before him. The older the version, the more important obviously is its critical value, as it leads us to the state of the text so much closer to the time of its original composition; the evidence in this respect being near akin to that furnished by ancient manuscripts. And then, as there are many words, especially in the Old Testament, which occur but once, of which the signification is to us dubious, we learn from ancient versions how they were interpreted at a time when, peradventure, the original language had not ceased to be a living tongue. As to modern versions, now so greatly multiplied, it cannot but be a cause of thankful joy that the various tribes of the earth may read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.

It is proposed to give here a compendious account of the principal versions of the Scriptures. Those of most importance shall be described as fully as the limits of this work will allow: others can only be named. Of the first class there are of ancient translations the Chaldee Paraphrases of Targums, the Greek (including the Septuagint and other versions), the Syriac, the Latin (both the old Latin and the Vulgate); and of the modern, the English.

THE TARGUMS.

Targum is a Chaldee word, which appears to signify "version" or "explanation." The captivity had necessarily an influence upon the national speech of the Jews. For, though they brought back with them from Babylon their own Hebrew, which they had kept during a much longer time while they were in Egypt, yet their ears had been accustomed to another tongue, and their diffusion through the Assyrian and Babylonian provinces bringing them into contact with divers nations,—far different from that Egyptian pressure which had kept them compacted in Goshen,—introduced naturally other forms, till by degrees the language in which their ancient books were written was changed, and for common use lost. The law, however, and afterwards other parts of Scripture, continued to be publicly read. But, to make it intelligible, it had to be expounded. Some have imagined that on the

return from captivity the change of speech had been accomplished. This cannot well be admitted; for the "Jews' language" is expressly mentioned in Neh. xiii. 24; and the post-exilian prophets still used Hebrew; the Chaldee portions of Ezra being little more than some documents inserted into the history. Hence, then, in Ezra's teaching (viii. 8) it was rather exposition than translation that is meant. Be this, however, as it may, interpretation was soon required; and, as it became more and more needful, in process of time a body of interpreters sprang up, distinct from the public readers. And, though at first their interpretations were oral, yet at length they were committed to writing, and thus Targums have come down to us.

There are Targums to nearly the whole of the Old Testament. 1. The first to be mentioned is that which bears the name of Onkelos, and is on the Pentateuch. It is not known who Onkelos was. He has been represented as a disciple of Gamaliel; he has been supposed identical with Aquila, one who translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek; and again it has been maintained that, as Aquila's Greek translation was literal, this Targum, if not exactly literal, yet faithfully giving the sense of the text, acquired, without reference to the author, the same name, and became the Chaldee Aquila, Onkelos corresponding with Aquila. The date is variously assigned. It has been thought contemporary with our Lord, and again it has been supposed to be begun in the second century and not completed till the fourth after Christ, and to be of Babylonian origin. It is a pretty close version of the Hebrew text, clear and well adapted for its purpose; and it is noteworthy that it interprets only two places (Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17) of the Messiah. The language is a pure Chaldee. 2, 3. There are two other Targums on the Pentateuch. One is generally known as the Pseudo-Jonathan, so called because it has been untruly fathered on Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the other as the Jerusalem Targum. The last-named is fragmentary in its interpretation. These two are only different recensions of the same work, of Palestinian origin; the Jerusalem being the first, intended perhaps as notes and corrections to Onkelos, the other filling up and completing after the same manner what the earlier had left undone. This work is stored with legendary tales. It cannot be prior to the seventh or eighth century. 4. A Targum on the former and later prophets, *i. e.* Joshua, Judges, the books of Samuel and Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, a disciple of Hillel the elder. This is much in the style of Onkelos; and critics have supposed that one was acquainted with the work of the other, and have disputed which had the priority. Perhaps this of Jonathan was somewhat later; but, as it is doubtful whether there ever was an individual Onkelos, so it may be doubted whether this was the work of the real Jonathan. Possibly something that he did write may have formed a ground-work, and have been afterwards, with other materials gathered in the third or fourth century at Babylon, by some one person (there being a visible unity in the work), into the whole now existing, in which allegories, parables, and legends are embodied. 5, 6. Targums on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, and on the five *megilloth*, *i. e.* Ecclesiastes, Song

of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther, have been ascribed to Joseph the Blind in the third century after Christ. They are probably by different hands of a far later date; some critics being inclined to place them as late as the tenth or eleventh century. 7, 8. There are two more late Targums on Esther, heretofore supposed to be three; but of the three two are but different recensions of the same work. 9. A Targum on Chronicles is of comparatively modern discovery, being first edited in 1680. It is of late date, of Palestinian origin. 10. There is also a Targum on Daniel, probably of the twelfth century. And it may be added that there is a Chaldee translation of some of the apocryphal additions to Esther.

GREEK.

From the time of the first captivity and onwards, colonies of Jews were settled in Egypt. These had a temple of their own erected at Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome, by Onias, son of the high-priest Onias, who, despairing of the pontifical dignity himself, fled into Egypt in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and obtained permission from Ptolemy Philometor to raise a temple, and to consecrate priests and Levites for its service, under the plea that such an establishment had been predicted (Isa. xix. 18-21). A rallying-point was thus formed: the Egyptian temple was after the fashion of that at Jerusalem, and the rites were similar. Connection, however, with Palestine was by no means broken off; and a natural result of the residence of so many Jews in Egypt under the dominion of the Greek-speaking Ptolemies was the translation of their sacred books into Greek.

SEPTUAGINT.

The principal Greek version is called the Septuagint. The history of this is involved in much obscurity. The popular account is contained in a letter said to be written by Aristeas, an officer of the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Seventy-two persons, at that monarch's request, in order to furnish his library with the Hebrew sacred books, were commissioned by Eleazar, the high-priest at Jerusalem. These, on their arrival at Alexandria, were shut up in the island of Pharos, and accomplished their translation in seventy-two days. From the number of the interpreters the name "Septuagint" was derived. This story has been repeated with more or less embellishment, and was for a long time implicitly believed. But critical research has exposed its falsehood. The letter of Aristeas, though unquestionably of old date, is now admitted to be spurious. There is a more trustworthy authority, that of Aristobulus, who, writing in the second century before Christ, says that the Pentateuch was translated very early, for he supposes Plato to have drawn from it, and that Demetrius Phalereus, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, was the means of promoting the translation of the rest of the Old Testament. Without implicitly following this author, we may substantially accept his testimony, and we have corroboration of the fact that a translation of the entire Hebrew Scriptures was early in existence in the second prologue to

Ecclesiasticus, written probably about 130 B. C. It is clear, from an examination of the version itself, that it was made in Egypt; for we find several Coptic words, and ideas purely Hebrew, are rendered in the Egyptian manner. Moreover, from the observable differences of style and of acquaintance with the original language, different individuals, probably at different times, must have been engaged in the work. And, sifting the whole matter, we may fairly conclude that the version made at Alexandria was begun in the time of the early Ptolemies, perhaps 280 or 285 B. C., and that the law alone was first translated, the other books following at uncertain intervals. There is, besides, no improbability in believing that a copy had its place in the royal library. But whether the version originated with the Jews, rendered necessary by the reading of the law and the prophets in their synagogues in a tongue they could understand, or whether one of the Egyptian kings, Soter, or Philadelphus, commanded the translation, is more in doubt. Considering, however, the attachment of the Jews to their own tongue, and considering how long a language is often preserved for ecclesiastical use after it has ceased to be the medium of common intercourse, it may be thought on the whole most probable that the version was produced, in some measure at least, by the sovereign's desire. It grew into high consideration. And we may well suppose that the object of the pretended letter of Aristeas was to exalt its credit. Philo believed in its inspiration: Josephus generally used it; as also the earlier Christian fathers. Its alleged miraculous origin is mentioned in the Talmud; and there is reason to conclude that it was read not only in Egyptian synagogues, but in those of Palestine and elsewhere. But, some time after Christ, the Jews, pressed by the arguments from prophecy, began to question and to deny the faithfulness of the Septuagint to the Hebrew original. They instituted a fast on the 8th of their month Tebeth, to show their sorrow for its having been made, and ultimately adopted in preference the literal version of Aquila.

It has been already hinted that some of the Septuagint translators were but imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew. There are many mistakes therefore; and there is a singular connection, not yet fully explained, between this and the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Pentateuch is best rendered; the poetical portions are generally inferior to the historical. Of the prophets, Jeremiah is the best given; yet there are remarkable variations in the version from the original. And generally many important predictions are obscured in the Septuagint. The translation of Daniel (long supposed to be lost, but discovered and published at Rome in 1772) was considered so erroneous that that of Theodotion was substituted for it. Still, with all the errors, variations, misconceptions, and corruptions of the Septuagint, it is of inestimable value for both the criticism and the interpretation of the sacred book. It is evident that the translators had before them a text differing from that of our oldest manuscripts; and some corrections may be obtained from it which we cannot hesitate in pronouncing just ones. And then its language is the pattern of that of the apostles and evangelists. Hebrew idioms appear in a Greek form; and we are led therefrom to under-

stand the sense in which many words and phrases of the New Testament are used. The theological student who would fully understand the original of the New Testament, must give all diligent attention to the Septuagint version of the old.

By the frequency of transcription, many errors crept into the Septuagint text. Origen, therefore, in the early part of the third century, undertook to collate it with the Hebrew, and with other Greek versions, so as to produce a new and accurate recension. It is said that he spent twenty-eight years on this great work, which was called variously, *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*. The *Tetrapla* comprised in four columns the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; the *Hexapla* had two additional columns—the Hebrew text and the same in Greek characters. Other columns were subsequently added, for two other Greek versions of some parts of the Bible; hence the name *Octapla*, which, augmented by an additional translation of the Psalms and minor prophets, was ultimately the *Enneapla*. But it is not very probable that Origen himself edited more than the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*. He adjoined special marks and signs to indicate the variations of the Septuagint, as compared with other versions and the Hebrew. This work was a large and cumbersome one. It lay half a century little noticed at Tyre, till discovered by Eusebius and Pamphilus, who placed it in the library of Pamphilus the Martyr, at Cæsarea, where it was seen by Jerome in the latter part of the fourth century. After this no more was heard of it; perhaps it perished in the capture of Cæsarea by the Arabs, 653 A. D. A few fragments alone now remain.

Two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint have been distinguished since Origen's time—that called the common text, such as it was before his collation, and the hexaplaric text, that produced by his corrections. Numerous errors being introduced by copyists, three recensions were undertaken at nearly the same time. Eusebius and Pamphilus, about 300 A. D., published the hexaplaric text with Origen's critical marks; these, however, by transcription became confused, and were afterwards omitted. This edition was adopted by the churches in Palestine. Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, martyred 311 A. D., and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, conducted other recensions: it is not agreed whether independently of Origen's labors, or whether the hexaplaric text, amended after the Hebrew, was the basis of both. They obtained acceptance, and were used, the first by the churches of Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Syria, the other in Egypt. From these three principal recensions existing manuscripts and printed editions of the Septuagint are derived. That called the common text is the basis of the Vatican manuscript; while the Alexandrine has more of a hexaplaric character. Of printed editions there are reckoned four standards, the Complutensian, 1514, the Aldine, 1518, the Roman or Vatican, 1586, and the Alexandrine, 1707-9-19-20.

2. Aquila, a Jewish proselyte of Sinope, made a translation for the use of the Jews about the middle of the second century of our era. It is literal even to barbarism.

3. Somewhat later Theodotion, a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus, whom Jerome calls an Ebionite, produced another version. It is a kind of revision of the Septuagint, holding a middle place between the servile closeness of Aquila and the freedom of Symmachus.

4. Symmachus, an Ebionite, who lived about 200 A. D., executed a free version, expressing the sense rather than the words of the original.

5, 6, 7. Three other ancient translations of parts of the Bible there were, of which the authors are not known. They are entitled the "fifth," "sixth," and "seventh," from the order in which Origen (if it were he) placed them in his columns.

8. There is yet another called the Venetian, because the MS. of it was preserved in St. Mark's library, Venice. It is uncertain when it was made. The MS. is considered to be of the fourteenth century; but it is not the original, merely a copy. It comprises the Pentateuch and several other books. This is a singular version; the style is a mixture of pure Attic with barbarisms; while the Chaldee of Daniel is rendered in Doric. The Pentateuch was published by Ammon at Erlangen in 1790-91; the other books by Villoison had appeared at Strasburg in 1784.

SYRIAC.

Christianity was early preached in Syria; naturally, therefore, several versions of Scripture were made into the language of that country.

1. The most celebrated of these is the *Peshito* or Literal, usually so called on account of its close adherence to the original text. That of the Old Testament, which appears not to have comprised the apocryphal books, was probably executed by a Christian at Edessa about the middle of the second century after Christ. Perhaps the version of the New Testament was made about the same time and at the same place. But the Revelations, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, John vii. 53 to viii. 11, also 1 John v. 7, are not found in the Peshito. It is a translation greatly and very justly valued. The New Testament was first printed at Vienna in 1555; the Old Testament appeared, not in a very perfect state, in the Paris Polyglott in 1645, and was reprinted with the addition of some apocryphal books of a later version in Walton's Polyglott, 1657. The whole Bible was published under the care of Prof. Lee, London, 1816-23. Various recensions of this standard translation were made in process of time; that called the Nestorian exhibits little more than some variations in the points. Another is the Karkuphensian; because it is said to have been executed towards the close of the tenth century by David, a monk of the convent of St. Aaron on Mount Sigara, in Mesopotamia; *karkupho* signifying the "summit of a mountain." It does not differ much from the ordinary Peshito text.

2. Among the Syriac MSS. now in the British Museum, brought from the Nitrian monasteries, there is one containing large portions of the four Gospels in a version differing, as to the character both of the text and of the translation, from any Syriac version previously known. It is unquestionably of

the highest antiquity. And there are linguistic differences in the different Gospels; that of St. Matthew varying from the rest. Hence it has been suggested, by those who believe the Apostle wrote in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, that the version was made immediately from that original. It was published by the Rev. Dr. Cureton in 1857.

3. A Syriac translation of the New Testament was executed in 508 A. D. by Polycarp, a *chorepiscopus* or rural bishop, at the suggestion of Philoxenus or Xenaias, bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug. It is called the Philoxenian version, and was revised about a century later by Thomas of Harkel or Heraclea, also bishop of Hierapolis. Philoxenus would seem to have commissioned Polycarp to translate the Psalter likewise; but no translation of the entire Old Testament was made by any of the three persons just named. About the same time, however, that Thomas of Harkel was revising the Philoxenian, Paul, bishop of Tella in Mesopotamia, at the instance of Athanasius, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, made a very literal Syriac version of the Old Testament from the Greek hexaplaric text. A deacon, Mar Thoma, whom some have believed identical with Thomas of Harkel, is said to have been associated with Paul in his work. Portions of this translation have been lost; the rest has been printed at various times, with the exception of the apocryphal parts. The Philoxenian New Testament was published by Prof. White, 1778-1803.

4. There is a lectionary in the Vatican library at Rome containing a Syriac version of some portions of the Gospels. These follow the order of the festivals on which they were read—some occurring more than once; other parts being wanting, either as not included in the ecclesiastical order of reading, or as now defective in the manuscript. The dialect of this version is peculiar, and has been thought to resemble that of the Jerusalem Targum; hence it has been called the Jerusalem Syriac. It is uncertain when it was executed; possibly between the fourth and sixth centuries. It is of considerable critical value, but only a few fragments have been published.

5. It was noted above that some portions of the New Testament were not found in the Peshito. There have, however, been translations made of them at times not well ascertained. The Revelation was published in 1627 by De Dieu, at Leyden, from a MS. in the university library of that city. The four catholic epistles were printed also at Leyden, by Poccocke, from a MS. in the Bodleian. And in 1631 De Dieu published *Animadv. in quat. Evangelia*, in which he inserted a Syriac translation of John vii. 53 to viii. 11, from a MS. belonging to Archbishop Ussher.

There are some other Syriac translations or recensions, of which but little is known.

LATIN.

It is certain that there existed in the second century a Latin version of the Scriptures, made in Africa and used by the African fathers. It exhibited the characteristics of the Latin dialect of the Libyan province, and was probably the result of the fragmentary labors of different individuals. As

a Latin translation became needed in other regions, this was more widely diffused. It can scarcely indeed be said that there was a standard text; for variations were introduced, and revisions seem to have been made in different churches. Yet there was but one acknowledged version, and copies, however much they disagreed, were but subordinate varieties of the single translation. This is proved by the peculiar words found in the citations of writers of far-distant provinces. The same staple of the text must have been everywhere in use. Yet the recension of Italy appears to have been the best; and to this the term *Itala* would seem to have been appropriated. The version of the Old Testament was made from the Septuagint, and it included some of the apocryphal pieces. That of the New Testament, on the other hand, did not probably at first comprise all the canonical books. But this fact is a corroboration of the high antiquity of the version.

In the course of time the text of the Latin version had become greatly confused and corrupted. To remedy the growing evil, Jerome, at the request of Damasus, bishop of Rome, undertook a systematic revision. He began with the New Testament about 382 A. D., and in two years presented Damasus with the four Gospels, which chiefly required a correcting hand. He afterwards hastily revised the Psalter, producing what is called the Roman Psalter, because it was adopted at Rome. At a later period he corrected it again according to the hexaplaric text; this is termed the Gallican Psalter, being received by the churches in France. In a similar way he revised other books by comparison with the Greek. But most of his work perished, he himself says, by fraud. The two Psalters and Job alone are extant. Flaminio Nobili professed to gather fragments of the Old Latin, which he printed in 1588. Sabatier published them more accurately and more completely at Rheims, in 1743, and at Paris, 1749-51. Some supplements have appeared since. Portions also, in various forms of text, are found in MSS., and several of these have been printed. The remains of Jerome's revised text are in editions of his works.

As Jerome proceeded with his task of revising the old version, he was so strongly impressed with the inaccuracy of the Old Testament text as derived from the Septuagint, that he resolved, urged too by friends, to translate it anew from the Hebrew. On this he was engaged from perhaps 385 to 405 A. D. He issued first the books of Samuel and Kings, to which he prefixed the *Prologus galeatus*, in which he gave an account of the Hebrew canon. The other books followed; some of the apocryphal ones not being translated. It was only by degrees that this version gained its place in public estimation; there was great opposition to it at first, and much hostile criticism; but at length, by the approbation of Gregory I., it acquired such authority that, since the seventh century, with some mixture of other ancient translations, it has been exclusively adopted (the Psalter, as above noted, excepted) in the Western Church, and has borne the name of the *Vulgate* or current text. By the Council of Trent it was ordained that the Vulgate alone should be esteemed authentic in the public reading of the Scriptures, in preaching, and in expounding, and that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext whatever.

But, prior to this, corruption had again crept in. By the multiplication of copies, and errors of successive transcribers, the text—a mixture, as has just been said—was in a very unsatisfactory state. Various scholars, as Alcuin, Lanfranc, Cardinal Nicholas, and others attempted to correct it; but it still needed revision when it was first printed, without place or date, in 1455. This edition is the famous Mazarin Bible, one of the noblest exemplars of typography. Another edition succeeded at Mayence, 1462. The Council of Trent ordered that an amended edition should be prepared; and after much delay this was published, under the sanction of Sixtus V., in 1590. It was soon, however, discovered to be very inaccurate, and another authentic Vulgate appeared in 1592, under Clement VIII. It was followed by the edition of 1593, in which a few alterations were made; and this is the standard of the Romish Church. It is unfortunate for that Church that the Sixtine and Clementine editions vary so remarkably. Dr. James, in his *Bellum Papale*, has exhibited numerous discrepancies and contradictions. But, with all its imperfections, the Vulgate is a noble version of Scripture, and can never be neglected by the theological student.

The very briefest notice must be taken of other ancient translations. They will be arranged in alphabetical order:

ANGLO-SAXON.

Several versions are enumerated. Adhelm, bishop of Sherborne, translated the Psalter about 706 A. D.; and Egbert, or Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, is said to have rendered the Gospels soon after. A version of the entire Bible from the Vulgate is ascribed to Bede, who died 735 A. D. King Alfred translated some portions; and Elfric, probably the same who was archbishop of Canterbury in 995 A. D., several books of the Old Testament. The Anglo-Saxon Gospels were printed in 1571, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker; and other parts of the Bible have appeared at various times.

ARABIC.

Arabic versions, of the whole or portions of the Scriptures, are numerous, and have been made from the Hebrew, from the Septuagint, from the Peshito, from the Vulgate, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch. Many of these have not yet been printed. But none of them can be very ancient. John, bishop of Seville, in the eighth century, is said to have translated the Scriptures into Arabic; and Juynboll identifies the text of a MS. of the four Gospels in the library at Franeker as his work. This text was published at Rome in 1590–1. Saadiah Gaon, a Jewish teacher at Sora, in Babylonia, translated portions (possibly the whole) of the Old Testament in the tenth century. The Pentateuch of this version was printed at Constantinople in Hebrew characters in 1546. Erpenius published an Arabic Pentateuch at Leyden in 1622; it is a close translation of the Hebrew, and is ascribed to an African Jew of the thirteenth century. Erpenius also edited the New

Testament at Leyden, in 1616, from a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The whole Bible in Arabic was printed by the Propaganda at Rome in 1671.

ARMENIAN.

Mesrob, the inventor of Armenian letters, undertook an Armenian version in the fifth century. In conjunction with Isaac, the Armenian patriarch, and some other helpers, he translated first from the Syriac. Afterwards, a Greek copy was obtained, and a fresh version made from this. It was very imperfect; but on further study of the Greek language, a better was subsequently executed. The whole Bible was printed at Amsterdam, in 1666, by Usan, an Armenian bishop. His text is somewhat colored from the Vulgate.

EGYPTIAN.

There are three Egyptian dialects: the Coptic or Memphitic, in Lower Egypt; the Sahidic or Thebaic, in Upper Egypt; and the Bashmuriic or Oasitic, also called the Ammonian, prevailing probably in an eastern district of the Delta. There is reason to believe that versions of the Scriptures existed in both Upper and Lower Egypt in the third or fourth century, made from the Septuagint. Wilkins published the Memphitic New Testament at Oxford in 1716, and the Pentateuch in 1731; the Psalter appeared first at Rome, in 1744; the minor prophets were printed by Archdeacon Tattam in 1836, Job in 1846, and the greater prophets in 1852. Bardelli published Daniel in 1849. Schwartze edited the Gospels at Leipsic, 1846-7; and after his death, Boetticher put forth the rest of the New Testament. A beautiful edition of the New Testament appeared in 1848-52, under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Of the Thebaic and Bashmuriic, only fragments have been printed.

ETHIOPIC.

The Ethiopic version of the Bible was made from the Greek. It probably dates from the fourth century, and may have been executed, in part at least, by Frumentius of Tyre, the first bishop of the country. The Psalter and Song of Solomon were published at Rome in 1513, and the New Testament at the same place in 1548-49. A revised text was edited by Platt for the Bible Society in 1826-30. A complete edition of the Ethiopic Scriptures has been undertaken by Dillman, of which the first volume appeared in 1853.

GEORGIAN.

A Georgian translation in the ecclesiastical dialect of the country was executed from the Septuagint and the original Greek of the New Testament in the sixth century. The whole Bible, corrected from the Slavonic, was printed at Moscow in 1743.

GOTHIC.

This version was made from the Greek of both Testaments by Ulphilas, appointed bishop of the Mæso-Goths in 348 A. D. He subscribed the Arian Confession; and here and there, especially in Phil. ii. 6, his theological views tinged his translation. The Gospels of this version were first published at Dort, in 1665, from the *Codex Argenteus*, a MS. most probably of the sixth century, now preserved in the university library at Upsal. The researches of Knittel and of Cardinal Mai brought almost all the epistles and some fragments of the Old Testament to light. All the portions discovered of the Gothic version have been published by Gabelentz and Lœbe in 1836-45, by Massman in 1855-6, and by Stamm in 1858.

PERSIC.

The Scriptures were doubtless early translated into Persian; but the ancient version does not exist. A translation of the Pentateuch appeared at Constantinople in 1546. It was the work of Jacob Ben Joseph, surnamed Tawosi or Tusi, and has been thought to be only of the sixteenth century. There are other portions of the Bible in Persian, some yet unprinted.

SLAVONIC.

The Slavonians settled in Great Moravia received Christianity in the ninth century, mainly through the missionary labors of two brothers, Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica. These translated, perhaps, only the New Testament and the Psalter into the Slavonian language; but the version of the Old Testament was afterwards completed. Portions were printed at an early date, and the whole Bible at Ostrog in 1581.

 ENGLISH VERSIONS.

We know almost nothing of the history of Britain during the first four centuries of the Christian era. It has been believed that the Gospel found its way into the island as early as the second, if not in the first century; but the tradition is not certain, and but few notices of its progress after it did gain an introduction appear among the records that have come down to us from early times. In the middle of the fifth century, we know, the province—being sorely pressed with enemies, and abandoned by the Roman Government, which found itself too weak to hold its own frontiers against the invasions that were pressing upon it from the north—called in the assistance of the Saxons and Angles as a last resort for safety. These barbarians turned their arms upon the unhappy people they came to protect, and gradually rose to be the conquerors and proprietors of the land. Among this wild and cruel population, we are informed, the power of Christianity did not find entrance till about the beginning of the sixth century, when the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon Church were planted by the celebrated Augustine and his forty assist-

ant missionaries, sent over for the purpose by Gregory the Great. We do not read of any attempt to translate any part of the sacred volume into the vernacular tongue of this people before the eighth century. The necessity of the case, and not any design of preventing the general use of the Scriptures, constrained the churches to depend altogether upon the Latin version, as this could be employed for their edification by such of the priests and monks as made it their business to be acquainted with it for this end. Indeed there was comparatively but little call for anything more, since the very few who were able to read at all, were for the most part able to read Latin as a thing of course.

The Psalter, or book of Psalms, was translated into the Saxon language about the year 706, by Adhelm, bishop of Sherborne. The four gospels are said to have been translated soon after, by Egbert, bishop of Lindisfarne; and early in the same century the illustrious Bede, called by his contemporaries the *wise Saxon*, and by later generations *venerable Bede*, made a version, if not of the whole Bible, as some say, at least some part of it, for the use of his countrymen. All these excellent men were diligent in every way in trying to bring the Scriptures within the reach of those among whom they lived, and in persuading all around them to use such opportunities as they enjoyed to become acquainted with their divine contents. The great and good King Alfred, who died in the year 900, made another translation of the Psalms, and towards the close of the tenth century a considerable portion of the Old Testament was translated by Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, at a time when the deepest night of ignorance prevailed on every side. Other translations of particular portions of the sacred volume no doubt appeared in the course of these distant ages, of which we have now no certain account.

The first English translation of the Bible known to be extant, of which three copies are preserved in manuscript in the different libraries of Oxford, is referred, by Archbishop Usher, to the close of the thirteenth century, though some critics place it later. John de Trevisa is said to have translated the Old and New Testaments into English towards the close of the next century, but some think his translation reached no farther than to certain passages merely of the Bible, scattered through his works or painted on the walls of the chapel at Berkeley Castle.

WYCLIFFE, OR WICKLIFFE.

About the same time lived the celebrated John Wickliffe, often styled the Apostle of England. He translated the entire Bible into English from the Latin Vulgate, not being sufficiently master of the Hebrew and Greek to make use of the original text for this purpose. This work gave great offence to the enemies of knowledge at that time, and a bill was brought into the House of Lords in the year 1390 for the purpose of suppressing it; which, however, did not succeed, being met with spirit by some of the members, especially the Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, who inveighed against it sharply, declaring that the people of England should not be the tail of all mankind, in not having the law of God, the rule of their faith, in their own

language, like other nations — a position, he said with an oath, he would firmly maintain against those that brought in the bill. Wickliffe had died six years before this time, greatly hated and much persecuted by the ignorant priests and friars of the age, whose errors he continued to attack with a bold hand during his whole life. The translation spread with happy effect for some time after. But in the year 1408, a convocation was held at Oxford by Archbishop Arundel, which passed the following infamous decree: “It is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome assures us, to translate the Scriptures, it being very difficult in a version to keep close to the sense of the inspired writers; for by the confession of the same father, he had mistaken the meaning of several texts. We therefore constitute and ordain, that from this time forward no unauthorized person shall translate any part of Holy Scripture into English, or any other language, under any form of book or treatise. Neither shall any such book, treatise, or version, made either in Wickliffe’s time, or since, or which hereafter shall be made, be read either in whole or in part, publicly or privately, under the penalty of the greater excommunication, till the said translation shall be approved either by the bishop of the diocese, or a provincial council, as occasion shall require. And whosoever shall do contrary hereunto, shall be punished as an encourager of heresies and errors.” This gave rise to great persecution, and many were punished severely for reading the Scriptures in English, some it is said even with death. In the year 1428, the bones of Wickliffe were dug up, by a decree of the Council of Constance, and burned, in order to cover his memory with reproach. The New Testament, as translated by this great man, has been printed in recent times; but his version of the Old Testament still remains only in manuscript.

TYNDALE.

The work of Wickliffe stands by itself. By the reign of Henry VIII. its English was already obsolescent, and men became dissatisfied with a verdict not made from the original. William Tyndale — who went to Oxford about 1500, and, after some years of study there, to Cambridge — is the patriarch, in no remote ancestry, of the Authorized Version.* More than Cranmer or

* *Pedigree of William Tyndale the Martyr, as preserved by one branch of the family.*

Hugh, Baron de Tyndale, of Langley Castle, Northumberland, escaped from the field of battle when the Yorkists were overcome by the Lancastrians; lost his title and estate; he took refuge in Gloucestershire, under the assumed name of Hutchins.

— Alicia, daughter and sole heiress of Hunt, of Hunt’s Court at Nibley, in Gloucestershire

John Tyndale, otherwise called Hutchins, of Hunt’s Court — at Nibley, Gloucestershire.

John Tyndale, otherwise Hutchins, an eminent merchant of London, persecuted by Bishop Stokesley.

William Tyndale, otherwise Hutchins, strangled and burned at Vilvoorde, near Brussels, September, 1536.

Thomas Tyndale, whose descendant, Lydia Tyndale, married the celebrated Quaker, honest John Roberts, of Lower Siddington, near Cirencester.

Ridley, he is the true hero of the English Reformation. "Ere many years," he said, at the age of thirty-six (A. D. 1520), he would cause "a boy that driveth the plough" to know more of Scripture than the great body of the clergy then knew. Whether Tyndale had gained any knowledge of Hebrew before he left England in 1524 may be uncertain; but in 1530-31, he published a translation of Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Jonah. The New Testament was, however, the great object of his care. First the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were published tentatively, then in 1525 the whole of the New Testament was printed in 4to at Cologne, and in small 8vo at Worms. The work was received in England with denunciations. Tonstal, bishop of London, preaching at Paul's Cross, asserted that there were at least two thousand errors in it, and ordered all copies of it to be bought up and burned. An Act of Parliament forbade the use of all copies of Tyndale's "false translation." The treatment which it received from professed friends was hardly less annoying. Piratical editions were published, often carelessly, at Antwerp. A scholar of his own, George Joye, undertook (in 1534) to improve the version by conforming it more closely to the Vulgate, etc. The most zealous reformers in England encouraged Coverdale in undertaking another version. In the meantime the work went on. Editions were printed one after another. The last appeared in 1535, just before his death. His heroic life was brought to a close in 1536. We may cast one look on its sad end — the treacherous betrayal, the Judas-kiss of the false friend, the imprisonment at Vilvorden, the last prayer as he was fastened to the stake, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." To Tyndale belongs the honor of having given the first example of a translation based on true principles, and the excellence of later versions has been almost in exact proportion as they followed his. Believing that every part of Scripture had one sense, and one only, — the sense in the mind of the writer, — he made it his work, using all philological helps that were accessible, to attain that sense. Believing that the duty of a translator was to place his readers as nearly as possible on a level with those for whom the books were originally written, he looked on all the later theological associations that had gathered round the words of the New Testament as hindrances rather than helps, and sought, as far as possible, to get rid of them. All the exquisite grace and simplicity which have endeared the Authorized Version to men of the most opposite tempers and contrasted opinions, is due mainly to his clear-sighted truthfulness. The desire to make the Bible a people's book led him in one edition to something like a provincial rather than a national translation, but on the whole kept him free from the besetting danger of the time, that of writing for scholars, not for the people.* And throughout there is the pervading stamp of the most thorough truthfulness.

* "Though I am olde, clothed in barbarous wede,
 Nothyng garnysshed with gaye eloquency,
 Yet I tell the trouth, yf ye lyst to take hede
 Agaynst theyr frowarde, furious frenesy
 Which reckon it for a great heresy,
 And vnto laye-people grevous outrage,
 To have Goddes word in their natyfe langage.

COVERDALE.

A complete translation of the Bible, different from Tyndale's, bearing the name of Miles Coverdale, printed probably at Zurich, appeared in 1535. The undertaking itself, and the choice of Coverdale as the translator, were probably due to Cromwell, secretary of King Henry VIII. Tyndale's controversial treatises, and the polemical character of his prefaces and notes, had irritated the leading ecclesiastics and embittered the mind of the king himself against him. There was no hope of obtaining the king's sanction for anything that bore his name. But the idea of an English translation began to find favor. The bishops even began to think of the thing as possible. Cromwell, it is probable, thought it better to lose no further time, and to strike while the iron was hot. A divine whom he had patronized, though not, like Tyndale, feeling himself called to that special work, was willing to undertake it. To him, accordingly, it was entrusted. The work thus executed was done, as might be expected, in a very different fashion from Tyndale's. Of the two men, one had made this the great object of his life, the other, in his own language, "sought it not, neither desired it," but accepted it as a task assigned him. One prepared himself for the work by long years of labor in Greek and Hebrew; the other is content to make a translation at second hand, "out of the Douche (Luther's German Version) and the Latine." He used Tyndale's Version and five others. In Coverdale's Version the proper names of the Old Testament appear for the most part in their Latin form—Elias, Eliseus, Ochorias. Sometimes, as in Esay and Jeremy, in that which was familiar in spoken English. "Cush," which in Wickliffe, Tyndale, and the Authorized Version, is uniformly rendered "Ethiopia," is in Coverdale "Morian's land" (Ps. lxxviii. 31, Acts viii. 27, etc.), after Luther, and appears in this form accordingly in the Prayer-Book of the version of the Psalms. The proper name Rabshakeh passes, as in Luther, into the "chief butler" (2 Kings xviii. 17, Isa. xxxvi. 11). "Shiloh," in Gen. xlix. 10, becomes "the worthy," after Luther. The singular word "Lamia" is taken from the Vulgate (Authorized Version, "Wild Beast"), in Isa. xxxiv. 14. But we have "congregation," throughout the New Testament, for the Greek *ekklesia*, rendered "church" in the Authorized Version, and "love" instead of "charity" in 1 Cor. xiii. What has been stated practically disposes of the claim sometimes set up for this version of Coverdale's, as though made from the original text. It is not improbable, however, that as time went on he added to his knowledge. He, at any rate, continued his work as a painstaking editor. Fresh editions of his Bible were published, keeping their ground in spite of rivals, in 1537, 1539, 1550, 1553. He was called in at a still later period to assist in the Geneva Version.

MATTHEW.

1. In 1537, a large folio Bible appeared as edited and dedicated to the king, by Thomas Matthew. No one of that name appears at all prominently in the religious history of Henry VIII., and this suggests the inference that

the name was adopted to conceal the real translator. The tradition which connects this Matthew with John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution, is all but undisputed. Matthew's Bible reproduces Tyndale's work, in the New Testament entirely, in the Old Testament as far as 2 Chronicles, the rest being taken with occasional modifications from Coverdale.

2. The printing of the book was begun apparently abroad, and was carried on as far as the end of Isaiah. At that point a new pagination begins, and the names of the London printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, appear. A copy was ordered, by royal proclamation, to be set up in every church, the cost being divided between the clergy and the parishioners. This was, therefore, the first Authorized Version.

3. What has been said of Tyndale's Version applies, of course, to this. There are, however, signs of a more advanced knowledge of Hebrew. All the technical words connected with the Psalms, Neginoth, Shiggaion, Sheminith, etc., are elaborately explained. Psalm ii. is printed as a dialogue. The names of the Hebrew letters are prefixed to the verses of Lamentations. Reference is made to the Chaldee paraphrase (Job vi.), to Rabbi Abraham (Job xix.), to Kimchi (Ps. iii.). A like range of knowledge is shown in the New Testament. Strabo is quoted to show that the magi were not kings; Macrobius as testifying to Herod's ferocity (Matt. ii.); Erasmus's paraphrase on Matt. xiii., xv. The popular identification of Mary Magdalene with "the woman that was a sinner," is discussed and rejected (Luke x.). More noticeable even than in Tyndale is the boldness and fulness of the exegetical notes scattered throughout the book. Strong and earnest in asserting what he looked on as the central truths of the Gospel, there was in Rogers a Luther-like freedom in other things, which has not appeared again in any authorized translation or popular commentary. The Preface to the Apocrypha explains the name, and distinctly asserts the inferiority of the books. In the order of the books of the New Testament, Rogers follows Tyndale, agreeing with the Authorized Version as far as Philemon. This is followed by the epistles of John, then that to the Hebrews, then those of Peter, James, and Jude.

TAVERNER (1539).

The boldness of the pseudo-Matthew had frightened the ecclesiastical world from its propriety. Coverdale's Version was, however, too inaccurate to keep its ground. It was necessary to find another editor, and the printers applied to Richard Taverner. The fact that, though a layman, he had been chosen as one of the canons of the Cardinal's College at Oxford, indicates a reputation for scholarship, and this is confirmed by the character of his translation. In most respects this is an expurgated edition of Matthew's. The notes are briefer, less polemical, some entirely omitted; the epistles follow the same order.

CRANMER.

In the same year as Taverner's, and coming from the same press, appeared an English Bible, in a more stately folio, printed with a more costly type,

and bearing a higher name than any previous edition. The title-page is an elaborate engraving. It declares the book to be "truly translated after the verity of the Hebrew and Greek texts," by "divers excellent learned men, expert in the foresaid tongues." A preface, in April, 1540, with the initials T. C. (*i. e.* Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury), implies the archbishop's sanction. In a later edition (November, 1540), his name appears on the title-page, and the names of his coadjutors are given,—Cuthbert (Tonstal), bishop of Durham, and Nicholas (Heath), bishop of Rochester, —but others may have been employed for the first edition. The prologue gives a more complete ideal of what a translation ought to be than we have as yet seen. There is a greater display of Hebrew than in any previous edition. But in the edition of 1539, the editors adapted the Preface to the Apocrypha from Matthew's Bible, but (substituting *Hagiographa* for *Apoerypha*) said that "the books were called Hagiographa" because "they were read in secret and apart"! A later edition (in 1541) appears as "authorized," to be "used and frequented in every church in the kingdom." The introduction, with its elaborate promise of a future perfection, disappears, and, in its place, is a long preface of a neutral character by Cranmer. It was reprinted again and again, and was the Authorized Version of the English Church till 1568—the interval of Mary's reign excepted. From it, accordingly, were taken most, if not all, the portions of Scripture in the Prayer-books of 1549 and 1552. The Psalms in the Prayer-book, the quotations from Scripture in the Homilies, the sentences in the Communion Services, and some phrases elsewhere, still preserve the remembrance of it.

GENEVA.

The experimental translation of the Gospel of Matthew, by Sir John Cheke, into a purer English than before, had little influence on the versions that followed. The reaction under Mary gave a check to the whole work, as far as England was concerned; but the exiles who fled to Geneva—among them Whittingham, Goodman, Pullain, Sampson, and Coverdale himself—labored "for two years or more, day and night." Their translation of the New Testament was "diligently revised by the most approved Greek examples." The New Testament, translated by Whittingham, was printed by Conrad Badices, in 1557; the whole Bible in 1560. The Geneva Bible was for sixty years the most popular of all versions. Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611. It kept its ground for some time, even against the Authorized Version, and gave way, as it were, slowly and under protest. The volume was cheaper and more portable than Cranmer's. It was the first Bible which appeared in Roman type, and the first which, following the Hebrew example, recognized the division into verses. It was accompanied, in most editions after 1578, by a Bible Dictionary of considerable merit. The notes were often really helpful, and were looked upon as spiritual and evangelical. It was the version specially adopted by the Puritan party through the reign of

Elizabeth, and far into that of James. It was based on Tyndale's version. Some peculiarities are as follows: It professes a desire to restore the "true writing of many Hebrew names, and we meet accordingly with "Izhak" (Isaac), "Jaacob," etc. It omits the name of Paul from the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and, in a short preface, leaves the authorship an open question. It avows the principle of putting all words not in the original in *italics*. Its Calendar, prefixed to the Bible, commemorated Scripture facts, and the deaths of the great Reformers, but ignored Saints' days altogether. It was the first English Bible which entirely omitted the Apocrypha. The notes were characteristically Swiss, not only in their theology, but in their politics. They made allegiance to kings dependent on the soundness of their faith.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

The facts just stated will account for the wish of Archbishop Parker to bring out another version which might establish its claims against that of Geneva. Great preparations were made. The correspondence of Parker with his suffragans shows little agreement as to the true theory of a translation. The bishops thus consulted, eight in number, together with some deans and professors, brought out the fruit of their labors in a magnificent folio (1568 and 1572). Everything had been done to make it attractive. It had a long erudite preface, many wood engravings, three copperplate portraits (of the Queen, Earl of Leicester, and Lord Burleigh), a map of Palestine (in the edition of 1572), and an elaborate series of genealogical tables. It was avowedly based on Cranmer's translation. Cranmer's Prologue was reprinted. The Geneva division into verses was adopted throughout.

Some peculiarities were — The Books of the Bible were classified as legal, historical, sapiential, and prophetic. Many passages were marked to be omitted in the public service of the Church. One edition contained the version of the Psalms from Matthew's Bible in parallel columns with that now issued. The initials of the translators were attached to the books which they had severally undertaken. Here, as in the Geneva, is the attempt to give the Hebrew names more accurately, *e. g.* "Heva," "Izahac," "Uziahu," etc. Of all the English versions, the Bishops' Bible had probably the least success. It did not command the respect of scholars, and its size and cost were far from meeting the wants of the people. It had, however, some good Hebrew scholars among the translators; and, together with the Authorized Version, received from Selden the praise of being "the best translation in the world."

RHEIMS AND DOUAY.

The successive changes in the Protestant versions of the Scriptures were, as might be expected, matter of triumph to Roman Catholic controversialists. Some saw in it an argument against any translation of Scripture into

the spoken language of the people. Others pointed derisively to the want of unity which these changes displayed. Some, however, like Sir T. More and Gardiner, under Henry VIII., did not object to the principle of an English translation, but charged all the versions hitherto made with being false, corrupt, heretical. To this there was the ready retort, that they had done nothing; that their bishops in the reign of Henry had promised, but had not performed. It was felt that they must take some steps to turn the edge of this reproach, and the English refugees who were settled at Rheims — Gregory Martin (a graduate of Cambridge), Allen (afterward cardinal), and Bristow — undertook the work. After some years the New Testament was published at Rheims, in 1582. Though Martin was competent to translate from the Greek, it professed to be based on “the authentic text of the Vulgate.” Notes were added as strongly dogmatic as those of the Geneva Bible, and often keenly controversial. The work was completed by the publication of the Old Testament at Douay, in 1609.

COMMON ENGLISH VERSION.

We are now brought, in the course of this review, to the Bible of King James, the last and crowning effort to supply the nation with a perfect translation, which happily displaced all former ones, and continues to bless the English-speaking world at the present time. James came to the throne in 1603. As complaints abounded on the subject of religion, a conference was held at Hampton Court the following year for the purpose of settling the order and peace of the Church. Here a number of objections were urged against the translations of the Bible then in use, and the result was a determination on the part of His Majesty to have a new version made, such as might be worthy to be established as the uniform text of the nation. Fifty-four learned and pious men were accordingly appointed to perform the important service, who were to be divided into six separate classes, and to have the Bible distributed in parts according to this division, that every class might have its own parcel to translate at a particular place by itself. In every company, each single individual was required first to translate the entire portion assigned to that company; then they were to compare these versions together, and on consultation unite in one text the common judgment of all, after which the several companies were to communicate their parts, each one to all the rest, that in the end the entire work might have the consent and approbation of the whole number of translators together. In addition to this, an order was issued by the king, making it incumbent on all the bishops in the land to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses as, having special skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, had taken pains in their private studies to understand and elucidate difficult passages in the original Scriptures, and to charge them to send in their observations as they might see fit for the use of the regular translators, so as to bring, as it were, all the learning of the kingdom, so far as it could be of avail in the case, to bear on the great and notable undertaking that was now to be commenced.

Some delay occurred in entering upon the business, so that it was not fairly begun before the year 1607; and before this time, seven of the persons first nominated were either dead or had declined acting, so as to leave but forty-seven for carrying on the translation. Ten of these met at Westminster, and had the Pentateuch, with the historical books that follow, from Joshua to the end of the Second Book of Kings, for their portion. Eight more, at Cambridge, had charge of the rest of the historical books, together with Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. At Oxford, one company of seven had the Prophets assigned to them; and another company of eight, at the same place, were intrusted with the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse. There was a second company also at Westminster that had in charge the rest of the New Testament; and finally, a second company at Cambridge, consisting of seven, to which were allotted the books of the Apocrypha — a part which it would have been better not to have associated in this way at all with a solemn translation of the true and proper Word of God.

The translators received certain general instructions from the king to regulate them in their work. They were required by these to go by the "Bishops' Bible," as much as the original would allow; to retain proper names in their usual form; to keep the old ecclesiastical terms out of different significations belonging to a word, and equally suitable to the context; to choose that most commonly used by the best ancient fathers; to abide by the standing division of chapters and verses; to use no marginal notes, unless to explain particular Hebrew or Greek words; to employ references to parallel places, so far as might seem desirable. If any one company should differ from another, on reviewing its part of the translation, about the sense of any passages, notice was to be returned of the disagreement and its reasons; and if this should not induce a change of views on the other side, the whole was to be referred for ultimate decision to a general meeting of the chief persons of each company, to be held at the end of the work. In cases of special obscurity, letters might be sent to any learned man in the kingdom, by authority, for his opinion.

Nearly three years were occupied with the work — a period that seemed long to the impatience of many at the time, and was made the occasion even of charging these good men with negligence and sloth, but not too great certainly for the solemn nature of the service itself, and the deeply interesting bearing it was destined to have on the history of the Church in coming years. *Ten* years of so many lives thus employed had not been too much to expend for an object so vastly momentous as the formation of a version, by which so many millions of people speaking the English language were to be instructed in the will of God, to the end of time. The work became complete in the year 1610.

The first Bible printed on the continent of America was in native Indian — the New Testament in 1661, and the Old in 1663, both by Rev. John Eliot. They were published in Cambridge, Mass. The second was in German, a quarto edition, published at Germantown, near Philadelphia, by

Christopher Sower, in 1676. The first American edition of the Bible in English was printed by Kneeland & Green, at Boston, in 1772, in small quarto, 700 or 800 copies. The next edition was by Robert Aitken, of Philadelphia, in 1781-2. He sent a memorial to Congress, praying for their patronage. His memorial was referred to a committee, who obtained the opinion of the chaplains of Congress as to its general typographical accuracy, and thereupon a resolution was passed (September 12, 1782) recommending this edition of the Bible to the people of the United States.

It is admitted on all hands that the received English version of the Bible far excels every other translation. If accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the text, says Dr. Geddes, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent version, this, of all versions, must, in general, be accounted the most excellent. Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter, and every point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed either in the text or in the margin with the greatest precision. There is no book, says the illustrious Selden, so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not French-English. *Il fait froid*; I say *'tis cold*, not, *makes cold*. But the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept. The style of our present version, says Bishop Middleton, is incomparably superior to anything which might be expected from the finical and perverted taste of our own age. It is simple, it is harmonious, it is energetic, and, which is of no small importance, use has made it familiar, and time has rendered it sacred. Bishop Lowth himself, whose literary taste is known to have been of the most pure and classical order, has not hesitated to pronounce it "the best standard of our language." Bishop Horsley represents it to have been the means of enriching and adorning the English tongue by its close adherence to the Hebrew idiom. And Dr. Clarke, author of the Commentary on the Bible, says: "Those who have compared most of the European translations with the original have not scrupled to say, that the English translation of the Bible, made under the direction of King James the First, is the most accurate and faithful of the whole. Nor is this its only praise; the translators have seized the very spirit and soul of the original, and expressed this almost everywhere with pathos and energy. They have also not only made a standard translation, but they have made their translation the standard of our language."

While, therefore, we would most earnestly encourage every effort on the part of all who have it in their power to prosecute the study of the Scriptures in their original tongues, — while we feel that the Church has a right to expect this of those who are set for the defence of the gospel, we are very sure that the result of all such investigations will be to heighten confidence in the present version, and fill the heart with unfeigned gratitude to God for that blessed book which we now enjoy, and which for nearly two centuries and a half has been pouring its light and consolation wherever the English tongue is spoken. Let science toil, and diligence labor in original investi-

gation—for the Hebrew Scriptures are a mine of solid and inexhaustible gold, where giants may dig for ages—let literature hold up her torch, and cast all possible light upon the sacred text, but we must and ever shall deprecate any wanton attacks upon our received version—any gratuitous attempts to supersede it by a new and different translation. It is the Bible which our godly fathers have read, and over which they have wept and prayed. It is the GOOD OLD ENGLISH BIBLE, with which are associated all our earliest recollections of religion. As such let it go down unchanged to the latest posterity. Let us give it in charge to coming generations, and bid them welcome to all the blessings it has conveyed to us. Let it be our fervent prayer, that the light of the resurrection morning may shine on the very book which we now read,—that we may then behold again the familiar face of our own Bible, the very same which we read in our childhood.

We read of some steps having been taken in the time of Oliver Cromwell to introduce a better version, which, however, soon came to nothing; and particular individuals, from time to time since, have been strenuous in urging the necessity of such a work. A strong movement for the purpose took place among many of the Biblical scholars of England during the second half of the last century, led on by such men as Pilkington, Kennicott, and Lowth. But such efforts have soon passed away, leaving the conviction more deeply grounded, perhaps, than it was before, that the English Bible as it stands is worthy to endure to the end of time; and all along its authority with men at large has stood unlimited and supreme throughout the English world. All parties in government, and all sects in religion, have united in doing it homage. Monarchists and Republicans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Methodists—Conformists and Non-conformists—High-churchmen, Low-churchmen, and sectaries of every name—the followers of Arminius and the stern disciples of Calvin, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland—all have agreed to hold this as their common Bible, and have been found alike appealing to it as the instructor of their lives and the umpire of their religious disputes. It is confessedly the Bible of no one denomination. It belongs alike to all, and finds itself at home, wherever their different altars are erected for public worship, as well as in all their families, and in every closet where their prayers are offered in secret to the common Father and Saviour of all that believe. And it honors no one country or government as specially its own. It goes with its own language wherever that is carried, and incorporates itself at once with the institutions of different lands as though it had been born among them, and not brought in from abroad at all. It is the Bible of America as well as of England; and here, as well as there, it is as a great and beautiful bond of union, reaching through all our conflicting modes of faith, and in this very fact giving ample proof that Christianity is sundered into so many parts only by the perverse fancies of men superinduced upon its living form, while that remains one and simple, like the Bible itself, through every age. What an argument of the excellence of this version, that it could thus triumph over prejudice and quell the murmurs of suspicion at the beginning,

and that the ascendancy which it thus secured should have been so successfully maintained in the midst of all the turmoil of political and religious strife, and through all the changes in church and state, that have since taken place, in the history of Great Britain and her colonies, to the present day! If the translation had not been possessed of extraordinary merit, it could never surely have survived the shock of so many storms — in the very bosom of which it has stood all along as some rock-surmounting lighthouse in the midst of the sea, as it were, to rebuke the angry spirit of the elements, and guide the mariner of every tribe and name upon his doubtful way.

Thus has the Bible passed from century to century, and from age to age, through various versions and editions. Nor, in looking at it in this aspect, should we fail to admire and bless the providence of God, so wonderfully displayed in its *preservation*.

ORIGIN, ANTIQUITY, AND FORMATION OF THE BIBLE.

Let us glance at the origin and formation of the Bible. We ordinarily regard it as though it were a single book. Considered, however, as a human composition, it is rather a library than a book, and the ancient title, the Scriptures, *i. e.* the Writings, is a more appropriate one, in some respects, than the Bible, *i. e.* the Book. For it is, in fact, not a book, but a library, composed of sixty-six separate books, written by between forty and fifty different writers, living centuries apart, speaking different languages, subjects of different governments, and brought up under different civilizations. Over fifteen hundred years elapsed between the writings of Moses and those of John. The books of Moses were written by one who was bred in all the learning of Egypt; many of the Psalms of David by a Hebrew author, hiding in the wilderness, with no other learning than that of a Jewish shepherd boy; the writings of Daniel and Jeremiah by prophets in Babylonian captivity; those of the Apostles at an era when Greek culture had just passed its meridian.

There are but few who stop to think how old the Bible is. Yet the Scriptures are believed by candid critics to contain the most ancient forms of truth now known to men. With the aid of chronological tables, any one may easily make profitable comparisons between the antiquity of the books and that of other writings and events. The Scriptures contain the only authentic history of the world before the flood. We find in the Pentateuch one or two stanzas of poetry composed in the antediluvian period. The Hebrew statutes were enacted a thousand years before Justinian reformed the Roman jurisprudence. In the Bible we have the record of chartered rights secured to the people more than two thousand years before the Magna Charta. What a sensation would be produced if the first chapter of Genesis should appear for the first time in one of the newspapers to-morrow! Yet there can be no doubt that that chapter contains the oldest writing, twenty-five hundred years before the invention of printing. Xenophon's record of the conversations of Socrates, in his *Memorabilia*, seems an old book to us, yet similar topics were discussed in Ecclesiastes six hundred

years before. The works of Tacitus, Plutarch, and Quintilian are not modern, yet the books of the New Testament are older than they. As to the book of Job, its age is beyond conjecture. Those who make it as modern as they can are compelled to place its origin at least one thousand years before Homer. When Priam was king of Troy, Job was in remote antiquity. The name of Alexander has no modern sound for us, yet when Alexander invaded Syria, the book of Job might have been read before him as the work of an author more time-honored than the name of Alexander is now. The writings of Confucius are modern when compared with most of the Bible, and the most that the Hindoos can justly claim for their sacred books, the Vedas, is that they were written five hundred years after the death of Moses. The Koran is a book fresh from the press compared with the Scriptures.

Herodotus and Thucydides, and Sanchoniathon, a Phœnician historian, are the oldest profane historians whose writings have reached our time. Herodotus and Thucydides were contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah, the last of the historians of the Old Testament. Sanchoniathon, who wrote about two hundred years later than Moses, calls our first parents Protogenus and Ænon. He relates that the seventh generation discovered the use of iron, which Moses ascribes to Tubal Cain, the son of Lamech, and brother of Noah. He also assigns ten generations, like the Jews, to the early ages, as Moses does in Genesis iv. 5. Josephus says: "As to the care of writing down the records among the Egyptians and Babylonians, the priests were intrusted therewith. And as to our forefathers, they took no less care about writing such records—they committed that matter to their high-priests and to the prophets, and these records have been written all along down to our time with the utmost accuracy."

The books of the Old Testament, which we receive as canonical, are acknowledged by both Jews and Christians to be those which existed during our Saviour's time.

There are now extant one thousand one hundred and fifty manuscripts of the Old Testament in the original language, and they have been proved by Dr. Kennicott and others, learned Hebrew scholars, to agree with each other in all essential points. Dr. Kennicott devoted ten years of his life to the study of the Bible, and consulted five hundred and eighty-one Hebrew manuscripts. Professor Rossi collected six hundred and eighty manuscripts. John Henry Michaelis devoted thirty years' labor to the same. A little over thirty years since, a remarkable discovery was made by the pious and learned Claudius Buchanan. While visiting in the Indian Peninsula the black Jews of Malabar, he saw in their possession an immense roll, composed of thirty-seven skins, tinged with red, forty-eight feet long, twenty-two inches wide, and which, in its original state, must have been ninety feet long. The Holy Scriptures had been traced on it by different hands—there was wanting only Leviticus and a part of Deuteronomy. Buchanan succeeded in securing this valuable ancient manuscript, and afterwards deposited it in the Cambridge Library.

The New Testament, like the Old Testament, is a growth rather than a formation. The Evangelists wrote their accounts of Christ's ministry for the instruction of the early disciples. The Apostles wrote their letters to the churches generally — though not always — to give instruction in some particular doctrine, or to meet some particular want. They were accustomed, however, to direct that these epistles should be read in all the churches, and the churches were accustomed to send each other copies. Thus there gradually grew up a body of sacred writings, composed by the contemporaries of Jesus Christ, all of whom, except Paul, had received their instructions directly from Him while He was still living. It was not till the second century that these writings were gathered into a single book, nor is it known how or by whom the collection was made. It seems, indeed, to have been made by a sort of general consent, and it is a curious and instructive fact that no serious doubts were thrown over the authenticity or inspiration of any of the books until, many centuries after, there arose in Germany a school of criticism which, consistently enough, impugned the authority of the Biblical writings, and denied their authorship; since, on similar principles, it endeavored to rob the world of Homer, and ventured even to deny the existence of Shakespeare himself.

Let it be remembered that a perfect unity marks the Old and New Testaments, and all the books which compose them. As the harmony evolved from the orchestra, with all its different instruments and performers, shows that one master musician directs them all, so the divine harmony evoked by this orchestra of authors, shows the divine inspiration which guided and directed them all.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

POINTING OUT THE TIME OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS,
AND THE PLACES OF HOLY WRIT WHEREIN THEY ARE RECORDED; SERVING
AT ONCE AS AN INDEX OF DATES, AND A CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGE-
MENT OF THE WHOLE BIBLE, BY WHICH THE SCRIPTURES
MAY BE READ IN ONE CONNECTED NARRATIVE.

PERIOD I.—FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.		
A. M. D. C.	B. C.		
1 4004	5411	THE CREATION.....	Gen. i., ii. 4, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	INSTITUTION OF THE SABBATH, AND FALL OF MAN.....	Gen. ii. 1-3; iii.
1 4003	5311	HISTORY OF ADAM AND HIS DESCENDANTS, TILL THE DELUGE.....	Gen. iv. 1-16; xxiv. 17- 25; xxvi.
.....	.....	GENEALOGY OF THE PATRIARCHS.....	Gen. v.
1535 2469	3275	STATE OF THE WORLD IMMEDIATELY PRE- CEDING THE DELUGE.....	Gen. vi.; vii. 1-4.
1656 2348	3155	THE DELUGE.....	Gen. vii. 5, <i>to end</i> ; viii. 1-12.
1657 2347	3154	THE COVENANT WITH NOAH.....	Gen. viii. 13, <i>to end</i> ; ix. 1-17.
1657 2341	3148	NOAH PROPHESES THE FATE OF HIS SONS.....	Gen. ix. 18, <i>to end.</i>

PERIOD II.—FROM THE DISPERSION TO THE EXODUS.

		THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, AND DISPERSION OF MANKIND.	
1770 2234	2554	The Building of Babel.....	Gen. xi. 1-9.
.....	.....	The Genealogy of Noah.....	Gen. x.
.....	.....	The Genealogy of Shem to Abram.....	Gen. xi. 10-26.
		THE LIFE OF JOB.*	
1874 2130	2337	The Character of Job.....	Job i. 1-5.
.....	.....	First Trial of Job.....	Job i. 6, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Second Trial of Job.....	Job ii. 1-10.

* The life of Job is placed before the life of Abraham on the authority of Dr. Hales. Job himself, or one of his contemporaries, is generally supposed to have been the author of this book, which Moses obtained when in Midian, and, with some alterations, addressed to the Israelites. — For Dr. Hales's arguments, see his "Analysis."

But my chief reason for assigning to the life of Job its present date is derived from a consideration of the manner in which God has condescended to deal with mankind.

Idolatry, as we read in the preceding part of this period, had occasioned the dispersion from Babel. It was gradually encroaching still further on every family which had not yet lost the knowledge of the true God. Whoever has studied the conduct of Providence, will have observed that God has never left himself without witnesses in the world to the truth of his religion. To the old world, Noah was a preacher and a witness; to the latter times of patriarchism, Abraham and his descendants; to the ages of the Levitical Law, Moses, David, and the prophets; and to the first ages of Christianity, the apostles and the martyrs were severally witnesses of the truth of God. But we have no account whatever, unless Job be the man, that any faithful confessor of the one true God arose between the dispersion from Babel and the call of Abraham. If it be said that the family of Shem was the visible Church of that age, it may be answered, that it is doubtful whether even this family were not idolaters; for Joshua tells the Israelites, Josh. xxiv. 2, that the ancestors of Abraham were worshippers of images. — *Townsend.*

PERIOD II. — (Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.	B. C.		
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
1874	2130	2337	The Friends of Job visit him, and hear his Complainings.....	Job ii. 11, <i>to end</i> ; iii.
.....	.....	.....	First Controversy between Job and his Friends, begun by Eliphaz, who asserts that the Sufferings of Job were the Punishment of his Iniquity.....	Job iv. 5.
.....	.....	.....	Reply of Job to Eliphaz.....	Job vi. 7.
.....	.....	.....	The Argument taken up by Bildad.....	Job viii.
.....	.....	.....	Reply of Job to Bildad, in which he asserts that Affliction is no Proof of Wickedness.....	Job ix., x.
.....	.....	.....	Zophar takes up the Argument of Eliphaz with great Asperity, and urges the Necessity of Repentance.....	Job xi.
.....	.....	.....	Reply of Job to the whole Argument.....	Job xii., xiii., xiv.
.....	.....	.....	The Second Controversy between Job and his Friends.....	Job xv.
.....	.....	.....	Job declares his Innocence.....	Job xvi., xvii.
.....	.....	.....	Bildad replies to Job.....	Job xviii.
.....	.....	.....	Job complains of the Cruelty of his Friends.....	Job xix.
.....	.....	.....	Zophar replies to Job.....	Job xx.
.....	.....	.....	Reply of Job to Zophar.....	Job xxi.
.....	.....	.....	The Third Controversy between Job and his Friends, begun by Eliphaz.....	Job xxii.
.....	.....	.....	Reply of Job.....	Job xxiii., xxiv.
.....	.....	.....	Bildad again takes up the Argument.....	Job xxv.
.....	.....	.....	Job again asserts his Integrity, and contrasts his former Prosperity with his present Adversity.....	Job xxvi. <i>to xxxi.</i>
.....	.....	.....	Elihu, who had hitherto been silent, takes up the Argument, and shows that Affliction is sent by God, for wise though inscrutable Purposes, and that the Duty of Man is Submission.....	Job xxxii. <i>to xxxvi.</i>
.....	.....	.....	God appeareth to Job and his Friends.....	Job xxxviii., xxxix., xl. 1, 2.
.....	.....	.....	Self-abasement of Job.....	Job xl. 3-5.
.....	.....	.....	Address of God to Job, concluded.....	Job xl. 6, <i>to end</i> ; xli.
.....	.....	.....	Entire Submission of Job.....	Job xlii. 1-6.
.....	.....	.....	Restoration of Job's Prosperity.....	Job xlii. 7, <i>to end.</i>
THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM.				
2008	1996	2153	From the Birth of Abram till his Return from Egypt.....	Gen. xi. 27, <i>to end</i> ; xii., xiii. 1.
2036	1918	2077	Abraham at Gerar.....	Gen. xx., xiii. 2-4.
.....	.....	.....	Separation of Abraham and Lot.....	Gen. xiii. 5-13.
2091	1913	.....	Renewal of the Promise.....	Gen. xiii. 14, <i>to end.</i>
2092	1912	2096	War with the Five Kings—The Blessing of Melchizedek.....	Gen. xiv.
2093	1911	2067	Covenant of God with Abram.....	Gen. xv.
2094	1910	2067	Birth of Ishmael.....	Gen. xvi.
2107	1897	2054	Renewal of the Covenant—Institution of Circumcision—Promise of a Son.....	Gen. xvii.
.....	.....	.....	Second Promise of a Son.....	Gen. xviii. 1-15.
.....	.....	.....	Condemnation and Destruction of Sodom.....	Gen. xviii. 16, <i>to end</i> ; xix. 1-29.
.....	.....	.....	Lot and his two Daughters.....	Gen. xix. 30, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	2053	The Birth of Isaac.....	Gen. xxi. 1-8.
2112	1892	.....	Casting out of Hagar and Ishmael.....	Gen. xxi. 9-21.
.....	.....	.....	Abraham's Covenant with Abimelech.....	Gen. xxi. 22, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	2028	The Temptation of Abraham.....	Gen. xxii. 1-19.
2144	1860	2016	Death and Burial of Sarah.....	Gen. xxiii.
.....	.....	.....	Family of Rebekah.....	Gen. xxii. 20, <i>to end.</i>
2147	1857	2013	Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah.....	Gen. xxiv.
2151	1853	2012	Marriage of Abraham with Keturah.....	Gen. xxv. 1-6.
2231	1857	1993	Birth of Esau and Jacob.....	Gen. xxv. 19-28.
2182	1822	1978	Death of Abraham.....	Gen. xxv. 7-10.

PERIOD II. — (Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
			FROM THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM TO THE SELLING OF JOSEPH BY HIS BRETHREN.	
2200	1804	.....	Esau Sells his Birthright	Gen. xxv. 11; xxvi., part of 1; xxv. 29, to end.
.....	.....	.....	Covenant of Isaac with Abimelech at Gerar.....	Gen. xxvi., latter part of 1, to end.
2231	1773	1930	Death of Ishmael; — His Family.....	Gen. xxv. 12-18.
2244	1760	1916	Jacob, by Stratagem, obtains his Father's Blessing	Gen. xxvii. 1-45.
.....	.....	.....	Journey of Jacob to Padan-aram	Gen. xxvii. 46; xxviii., xxix. 1-14.
2251	1753	.....	Residence of Jacob with Laban—Jacob's Family	Gen. xxix. 15, to end; xxx.
2265	1730	1902	Jacob leaves Laban — their Covenant.....	Gen. xxxi.
.....	.....	.....	Journey of Jacob to Succoth, after his Covenant with Laban.....	Gen. xxxii., xxxiii. 1-17.
2268	1736	.....	Transactions at Shalem or Shechem.....	Gen. xxxiii. 18, to end; xxxviii. 1-5; xxxiv.
2275	1729	.....	Events between the Flight of Jacob from Shechem till his Return to his Father.....	Gen. xxxv. 1-27.
2208	1706	.....	The Family of Esau.....	Gen. xxxvi.
			HISTORY OF JOSEPH AND HIS FAMILY IN EGYPT.	
2276	1728	1885	Joseph Sold into Egypt.....	Gen. xxxvii., xxxix. 1-6.
2286	1718	.....	The Family of Judah.....	Gen. xxxviii. 6, to end.
.....	.....	.....	Imprisonment of Joseph — He interprets the Dreams of his Fellow-prisoners.....	Gen. xxxix. 7, to end; xl.
2288	1716	1899	The Death of Isaac.....	Gen. xxxv. 28, 29.
2289	1715	1872	Elevation of Joseph	Gen. xli. 1-45.
2289	1715	.....	The Famine in Egypt, and First Journey of the Brothers of Joseph to buy Corn.....	Gen. xli. 46, to end; xlii.
2298	1796	1863	Second Descent of the Brethren of Joseph into Egypt — He maketh himself known to them.	Gen. xliii., xlv., xlv.
.....	.....	.....	Journey of Jacob into Egypt with his Family...	Gen. xlvi. 1-7; xxxvii., beginning of verse 2; xlv. 8, to end, and xlvii. 1-12.
2300	1704	1872	Government of Egypt by Joseph	Gen. xlvii. 13-26.
			FROM THE DEATH OF JACOB TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH.	
2315	1689	1846	Death of Jacob, and his Blessing on his Sons...	Gen. xlvii. 27, to end; xlviii., xlix.
.....	.....	1792	Funeral of Jacob — Death of Joseph.....	Gen. l. 2, to end.
2547	1457	1728	Oppression of the Israelites, after the Death of Joseph	Exod. i.

PERIOD III. — FROM THE BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

2433	1571	1722	THE BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF MOSES.....	Exod. ii.; Ps. lxxxviii.
2513	1491	1648	LEGATION OF MOSES.....	Exod. iii., iv. 1-28.
			FROM THE MISSION OF MOSES TO THE INFLECTION OF THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.	
.....	.....	.....	Moses is acknowledged as their leader by the Israelites, but is rejected by Pharaoh.....	Exod. iv. 29, to end; v., vi. 1-13.
2513	1491	1648	The Genealogy of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, to Moses.....	Exod. vi. 14-27.
5213	1491	1648	Moses demands of Pharaoh the Deliverance of the Israelites, which is refused	Exod. vi. 28, to end; vii. 1-13.

PERIOD III.—(Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
2513	1491	1648	INFLICTION OF THE FIRST EIGHT PLAGUES.	
.....	The First Plague — Water turned into Blood.....	Exod. vii. 14, <i>to end</i> .
.....	The Second Plague — Frogs	Exod. viii. 1-15.
.....	The Third Plague — Lice	Exod. viii. 16-19.
.....	The Fourth Plague — Flies	Exod. viii. 20, <i>to end</i> .
.....	The Fifth Plague — Murrain of Cattle.....	Exod. ix. 1-7.
.....	The Sixth Plague — The Boils	Exod. ix. 8-12.
.....	The Seventh Plague — Hail.....	Exod. ix. 13, <i>to end</i> .
.....	The Eighth Plague — Locusts.....	Exod. x. 1-20.
.....	INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER.....	Exod. xii. 1-20.
.....	CONCLUSION OF THE TEN PLAGUES.	
.....	The Ninth Plague — Three Days' Darkness.....	Exod. x. 21-27.
.....	The Passover Eaten. The Tenth Plague — The } Firstborn Slain.....	Exod. x. 28, 29; xi. 1-10; xii. 21-30.
.....	THE EXODUS	Exod. xii. 31-36, 40-42.
.....	THE WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS.	
.....	The First Journey — from Rameses to Succoth. }	Num. xxxiii. 1-5; Exod. xii. 37-39.
.....	The Command for Observing the Passover is } repeated.....	Exod. xii. 43, <i>to end</i> ; xiii. 1-19.
.....	The Second Journey — from Succoth to Etham. }	Exod. xiii. 20, <i>to end</i> ; Num. xxxiii. 6.
.....	The Third Journey—from Etham to Pi-hahiroth. }	Num. xxxiii. 7; Exod. xiv. 1-18.
.....	The Fourth Journey—from Pi-hahiroth,through } the Red Sea and the Wilderness of Etham, or } Shur, to Marah. Moses's Song.....	Num. xxxiii. 8; Exod. xiv. 19, <i>to end</i> ; xv. 1-21.
.....	The Israelites murmur at Marah.....	Exod. xv. 22-26.
.....	The Fifth Journey—from Marah to Elim. The } Sixth Journey—from Elim to the Red Sea....	Num. xxxiii. 9, 10; Exod. xv. 27.
.....	The Seventh Journey — to the Wilderness of } Sin. The People murmur for Bread.....	Exod. xvi.; Num. xxxiii. 11.
.....	The Eighth Journey — from Sin to Dophkah. }	Num. xxxiii. 12, 13.
.....	The Ninth Journey—from Dophkah to Alush }	
.....	The Tenth Journey — from Alush to Rephidim. }	Exod. xvii.; Num. xxxiii. 14.
.....	The People murmur for Water — War with } Amalek.....	
.....	1647	The Eleventh Journey—from Rephidim to Sinai. }	Num. xxxiii. 15; Exod. xix.
.....	Giving of the Law.....	Exod. xx.
.....	The Moral Law	Exod. xxi., xxii., xxiii.
.....	The Judicial Law	Exod. xxiv.
.....	The Israelites covenant to observe the Law. }	
.....	Moses goes up into the Mountain.....	Ex. xxv., xxvi., xxvii.
.....	The Ceremonial Law. Structure of the Tabernacle }	
.....	Aaron and his Sons set apart for the Priesthood. }	Exod. xxviii., xxix.
.....	The Ceremonies to be observed in their Con- } secration	
.....	Structure of the Altar of Incense, Laver, etc.....	Exod. xxx., xxxi.
.....	Aaron makes the Golden Calf. The First Tables } of the Law broken. Transactions in conse- } quence.....	Exod. xxxii., xxxiii.
.....	The Tables of the Law renewed.....	Exod. xxxiv.
2514	1490	.....	Offerings of the People for the Making of the } Tabernacle. Furniture and Completion of } the Tabernacle, and its erection	Exod. xxxv. <i>to xl</i> .
.....	Laws concerning Sacrifices.....	Lev. i. <i>to vii</i> .
.....	The Consecration of Aaron and his Sons, and } the Acceptance of their offering.....	Lev. viii., ix.
.....	Destruction of Nadab and Abihu for offering } strange Fire.....	Lev. x. 1-7.
.....	The Priests are forbidden Wine. The Law of } eating Holy Things. Aaron's Transgression. }	Lev. x. 8, <i>to end</i> .

PERIOD III. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.		
A. M.	B. C.		
2514	1490	1647	
		The Second Passover—May be kept by the Unclean.....	Num. ix. 1-14.
		Laws concerning what Animals may be Eaten.....	Lev. xi.
		Purification of Women after Childbirth. The Offerings.....	Lev. xii.
		The Laws and Tokens whereby the Priest is to be guided in discerning the Leprosy.....	Lev. xiii.
		The Rites and Sacrifices in cleansing a Leper.....	Lev. xiv. 1-32.
		The Signs of Leprosy in a House—Laws for the Cleansing.....	Lev. xiv. 33, <i>to end.</i>
		Of the Uncleaness of Men and Women—Laws for their Cleansing.....	Lev. xv.
		Law of the Sacrifices for Atonement.....	Lev. xvi.
		Blood to be offered to the Lord—its eating forbidden.....	Lev. xvii.
		Unlawful Marriages—Unlawful Lusts.....	Lev. xviii.
		A Repetition of sundry Laws.....	Lev. xix.
		Miscellaneous and Moral Laws.....	Lev. xx.
		Laws concerning the Priests.....	Lev. xxi., xxii.
		Laws concerning Festivals.....	Lev. xxiii.
		Shelomith's Son is Stoned for Blasphemy. Various Laws.....	Lev. xxiv.
		Of the Sabbaths of Years—the Jubilee.....	Lev. xxv.
		Prophetic Threatenings and Curses.....	Lev. xxvi.
		Of Vows, Things devoted, and Tithes.....	Lev. xxvii.
		The Numbering of the Tribes, and their Order..	Num. i., ii.
		The Numbering and Appointment of the Levites.....	Num. iii., iv.
		Various Legal Ceremonies.....	Num. v., vi.
		The Dedication of the Tabernacle and the Altar. The Offerings.....	Num. vii.
		Order of the Lamps. Consecration of the Levites—their Age and Time of Service.....	Num. viii.
		The Making and Use of the Silver Trumpets.....	Num. x. 1-10.
		Arrival of Jethro with Moses's Wife and Sons. Institution of the Sanhedrim.....	Exod. xviii. 1-26.
		Manner in which the Cloud guided the People. The Twelfth Journey—from Sinai to Kibroth-hattaavah. Order of the March. Moses's Blessing.....	Num. ix. 15, <i>to end.</i> ; x. 11-28, 33, <i>to end.</i> ; and xxxiii. 16.
		Jethro returns to Midian.....	Num. x. 29-32; Exod. xviii. 27.
		The Burning at Taberah. The People Murmur for Flesh.....	Num. xi. 1-34.
		The Thirteenth Journey—from Kibroth-hattaavah to Hazeroth. Leprosy of Miriam.....	Num. xi. 35; xii. 1-15; and xxxiii. 17.
2515	1489	.....	Num. xii. 16; xiii.; xiv.; and xxxiii. 18;
		Laws of the Meat Offering, etc. Sins of Ignorance.....	Ps. xc.
		.....	Num. xv.
2533	1471	.....	Num. xvi., xvii.
		Rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The Israelites murmur. Events in consequence... Laws relating to the Priests and Levites.....	Num. xviii.
		The Water of Separation—the Law for the Use of it in Purification of the Unclean.....	Num. xix.
2515	1489	} ...	Num. xxxiii. 19-35.
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>		
2553	1451	Seventeen Journeys—the Fifteenth to the Thirty-first.....	
		1609	
		The Thirty-second Journey—from Ezion-gaber to the Wilderness of Zin, or Kadesh-Barnea, the second time, after thirty-eight years' wandering. Death of Miriam. The People murmur for Water.....	Num. xx. 1-13; xxxiii. 36.

PERIOD III. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.		
A. M. 2553	B. C. 1451	B. C. 1609	
		The King of Edom refuses to permit the People to pass through his Territory. Defeat of Arad the Canaanite.....	Num. xx. 14-21; xxi. 1-3; xxxiii. 40.
		The Thirty-third Journey — from Kadesh-Barnea to Mount Hor. Death of Aaron.....	Num. xx. 22-29; xxxiii. 37-39.
		The Thirty-fourth Journey — from Mount Hor to Zalmonah. Fiery Serpents sent.....	Num. xxi. 4-9; xxxiii. 41.
		The Thirty-fifth, -sixth, and -seventh Journeys.....	Num. xxxiii. 42-44; xxi. 10, 11.
		The Thirty-eighth Journey — from Ije-abarim, or Lim, to Dibon-gad. Defeat of Sihon, King of the Amorites, and of Og, King of Bashan.....	Num. xxxiii. 45; xxi. 12 to part of 18, and 21, to end.
		The Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Journeys.....	Num. xxxiii. 46, 47; xxi. last part of 18, 19, 20.
		The Forty-first Journey — from Abarim to the Plains of Moab by Jordan. Balaam and Balak.....	Num. xxii., xxxiii., xxiv.; xxxiii. 48.
		The Forty-second Journey. The Plains of Moab — Encampment by Beth-jesimoth and Abel-shittim. Idolatry of Baal-Peor.....	Num. xxxiii. 49; xxv.
		The Third Numbering of the People.....	Num. xxvi.
		The Daughters of Zelophehad sue for an Inheritance. The Law of Inheritance.....	Num. xxvii. 1-11; xxxvi. 1-12.
		The Law of Offerings, etc.....	Num. xxviii. 29.
		The Law of Vows.....	Num. xxx.
		The Spoiling of Midian.....	Num. xxxi.
		The Tribes of Reuben and Gad are assigned their Territories.....	Num. xxxii.
		Laws for the Conduct of the Israelites after they have taken possession of Canaan.....	Num. xxxiii. 50, to end; xxxiv.
		The Cities for the Levites. The Cities of Refuge, Law of Murder.....	Num. xxxv.
		Moses's Speech, rehearsing the History of the Israelites, from their Departure from Egypt to the Fortieth Year of their Wandering in the Wilderness, and his Exhortation.....	Deut. i.; ii. 1; x. 6-9; ii. 2, to end; iii.; and iv. 1-40.
		Moses appoints three Cities of Refuge.....	Deut. iv. 41, to end.
		Moses's Speech continued — Repetition of the Moral Law — His Exhortation to Obedience.....	Deut. v., vi.
		Moses's Speech continued — Alliances with Foreign Nations forbidden — His Exhortation.....	Deut. vii., viii.
		Moses's Speech continued — Repetition of the Israelites' Rebellions. His Exhortation to Obedience.....	Deut. ix; x. 1-5, 10, to end; and xi.
		Moses's Speech continued — Repetition of Laws relating to Idolatry, Ceremonies, the Levites, what Animals may be eaten, Tithes, the Poor Servants, the Firstling of Cattle, Feasts, and Judges.....	Deut. xii. to xvi.; and xvii. 1.
		Moses's Speech continued — Repetition of the Judicial and Miscellaneous Laws.....	Deut. xvii. 2, to end; and xviii. to xxvi.
		Moses's Speech concluded — Confirmation and Sanctions of the Law.....	Deut. xxvii., xxviii.
		Concluding Appeal of Moses to the People.....	Deut. xxix., xxx.; Num. xxxvi. 13.
		Moses's Death announced — Joshua appointed his Successor Moses's last Charge to the People and to Joshua.....	Num. xxvii. 12, to end; and Deut. xxxi. 1-8.
		1608 Moses completes the writing of the Law, and delivers it to the Priests and Levites. His second Charge to Joshua. His Song.....	Deut. xxxi. 9, to end; and xxxii. 1-47.

PERIOD III.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
2553	1451	1608	Moses blesses the People. He ascends Mount Nebo to die. His Death, and the Lamentation of the People.....	Deut. xxxii. 48 to end; xxxiii. and xxxiv.

PERIOD IV.—FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE ISRAELITES INTO CANAAN TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.				
2553	1451	1608	The Mission of Joshua.....	Joshua i. 1-9.
.....	.....	.....	The Spies sent out.....	Joshua ii.
.....	.....	.....	Passage of the River Jordan.....	Josh. i. 10, to end; iii. 4.
.....	.....	.....	The Covenant renewed.....	Joshua v. 1-12.
.....	.....	1607	The Conquest of Jericho.....	Joshua vi. 1; v. 13, to end; vi. 2, to end.
.....	.....	.....	The Capture of Ai.....	Joshua vii.; viii. 1-29.
.....	.....	.....	History of the Gibeonites. Conquest of the five Kings.....	Joshua ix., x.
2559	1445	.....	Conquest of Canaan completed.....	Josh. xi.; viii. 30, to end.
2560	1444	1596	The Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh return Home.....	Joshua xxii.
GENERAL DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.				
.....	.....	.....	Recapitulation of Conquests.....	Joshua xii.; xiii. 1-14.
.....	.....	.....	Division of the Country among the Tribes.....	Josh. xiv. 1-5; xiii. 15, to end; xiv. 6, to end; xv. 13-19, 1-12, 20, to end; xvi. to xix.
.....	.....	.....	The Appointment of Cities of Refuge, and Levitical Cities.....	Joshua xx.; xxi. 1-42.
2561	1443	.....	LAST EXHORTATIONS AND DEATH OF JOSHUA.	Joshua xxi. 43, to end; xxiii.; xxiv.
EVENTS AFTER THE DEATH OF JOSHUA.				
2579	1425	1565	State of Israel after the Death of Joshua.....	Judges i.; ii. 1-5.
2591	1413	.....	Introduction of Idolatry among the Israelites....	Judges ii. 6-13; xvii.; xviii.
.....	.....	1561	History of the Levite of Ephraim. War with Benjamin and the rest of the Tribes.....	Judges xix., xx., xxi.
GOVERNMENT OF THE JUDGES.				
2599	1405	1564	Servitude of the Eastern Israelites in consequence of their Idolatry under Chushan-rishathaim. Othniel, judge.....	Judges ii. 14, to end; iii. 1-11.
2661	1343	1524	Servitude of the Eastern Israelites under the Moabites. Ehud, judge.....	Judges iii. 12-30.
2679	1325	1506	Shamgar, judge.....	Judges iii. 31.
2699	1305	.....	Servitude of the Northern Israelites under the Canaanites. Deborah the prophetess, judge.....	Judges iv., v.
2752	1252	1366	Eastern and Northern Israelites enslaved by Midian. Gideon, judge.....	Judges vi. 1-6.
2759	1245	.....	The History of Ruth.....	The Book of Ruth.
.....	.....	1359	Gideon, judge—He delivereth Israel—His death.....	Judges vii. 7, to end; vii. 8.
2769	1235	1319	Usurpation of Abimelech—His death.....	Judges ix.
2772	1232	1316	Tola and Jair, judges.....	Judges x. 1-5.
2822	1182	1253	The Philistines and Ammonites oppress Israel. Jephthah, judge.....	Judges x. 6, to end; xi. 12, 1-7.
2847	1157	1222	Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, judges.....	Judges xii. 8, to end.
2848	1156	.....	The Philistines oppress Israel. The Birth of Samson.....	Judges xiii.
.....	.....	1152	The Birth and Call of Samuel. Government of Eli.....	1 Sam. i.; ii. 1-21; iii.

PERIOD IV. — (Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
2868	1136	1152	Marriage of Samson, and his Exploits against the Philistines.....	Judges xiv. ; xv. 1-19.
2887	1117	.....	A Prophet sent to Eli.....	1 Sam. ii. 22, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	1202	Samson is betrayed by Delilah — His Death.....	Judges xvi. ; xv. 20.
2888	1116	1142	The Israelites are defeated by the Philistines. } The Ark is taken, and the two Sons of Eli are slain. Death of Eli.....	1 Sam. iv.
.....	.....	.....	History of the Ark after its Capture.....	1 Sam. v. ; vi. ; vii. 1.
2978	1026	1122	Government of Samuel. The Israelites repent..	1 Sam. vii. 2, <i>to end</i> ; viii.
THE REIGN OF SAUL.				
2909	1095	1110	Saul made King over Israel.....	1 Sam. ix. , x.
.....	.....	.....	Saul defeats the Ammonites. Samuel's Exhortation.....	1 Sam. xi. , xii.
2911	1093	1106	Saul and Jonathan defeat the Philistines at Gibeah. Saul's Family.....	1 Sam. xiii. , xiv.
.....	.....	1100	Saul defeats the Amalekites.....	1 Sam. xv.
2941	1063	1085	Samuel anoints David secretly as the future King over Israel.....	1 Sam. xvi. 1-13.
.....	.....	1080	David overcomes Goliath.....	1 Sam. xvii. 1-40, 55, 56. 41-54, 57, 58 ; xviii. 1-4 ; Psalm ix.
2942	1062	1074	History of David, till he flies from the Court of Saul.....	1 Sam. xviii. 5-9 ; xvi. 14, <i>to end</i> ; xviii. 10, <i>to end</i> ; xix. 1-3 ; Ps. xi. ; 1 Sam. xix. 4-17 ; Psalm lix.
2943	1061	1074	David flies to Ramah—Covenant between him and Jonathan.....	1 Sam. xix. ; 18, <i>to end</i> ; xx.
2944	1060	.....	David flies to Abimelech at Nob, from whom he obtains the hallowed bread, thence to Achish, king of Gath, where he feigns Madness — His Psalms — He escapes to the Cave of Adullam — His Prayer — He is joined by the Chief Men.....	1 Sam. xxi. ; Psalm lvi ; xxxiv. ; 1 Sam. xxii. <i>part of</i> 1 ; Ps. cxlii. ; 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2 ; 1 Ch. xii. 8-18 ; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17 ; 1 Ch. xi. 15-19.
.....	.....	.....	David retreats to Mizpeh, and thence to the Forest of Hareth — The Slaughter of the Priests by Doeg at the command of Saul.....	1 Sam. xxii. 3-19 ; Ps. lii. , cix. , xvii. , cxl. , xxxv. , lxiv.
.....	.....	.....	David defeats the Philistines at Keilah — Saul pursues him, and he flies to Ziph and Maon.	1 Sam. xxiii. 1 ; xxii. 20, <i>to end</i> ; xxiii. 6, 2-5, 7-12 ; Psalm cxxi. ; 1 Sam. xxiii. 13-23 ; Ps. liv. ; 1 Sam. xxiii. 24-28.
2946	1058	.....	David in En-gedi — Saul pursues him.....	1 Sam. xxiii. 29 ; xxiv. ; Ps. lvii. , lviii. , lxxiii.
2947	1057	.....	Death of Samuel — David in the Wilderness of Paran — Death of Nabal — David marries Abigail and Ahinoam.....	1 Sam. xxv.
.....	.....	.....	David in the Wilderness of Ziph.....	1 Sam. xxvi.
2948	1056	1071	David goes to Achish, king of Gath, who assigns him Ziklag for a residence.....	1 Sam. xxvii. 1 ; Ps. cxli. ; 1 Sam. xxvii. 2-7 ; 1 Ch. xii. 1-7 ; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, <i>to end</i> .
2949	1055	1070	The Philistines prepare to war with Israel — Saul consults the Witch of Endor.....	1 Sam. xxviii. , xxix. ; 1 Ch. xii. 19-22.
.....	.....	.....	Ziklag is burned — David defeats the Amalekites..	1 Sam. xxx.
.....	.....	.....	Battle of Mount Gilboa — Death of Saul and his Sons — David's Lamentation over them.....	1 Sam. xxxi. ; 1 Ch. x. 13, 14 ; 2 Sam. i. ; 1 Ch. x. 1-12.

PERIOD IV.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M. B. C.	B. C.			
THE REIGN OF DAVID.				
2951	1053	1070	David made King at Hebron—Civil War in Israel—The Deaths of Abner and Ish-bosheth.	2 Sam. ii., iii., iv.
2956	1048	1063	David made King over all Israel. List of David's chief men. Zion taken.....	2 Sam. v. 1-3; 1 Chron. xiii. 1-4; Ps. cxxxix.; 2 Ch. xii. 23, <i>to end</i> ; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-12; 1 Ch. xi. 20, <i>to end</i> ; 2 Sam. v. 4-10; 1 Ch. xi. 1-14; 2 Sam. xxiii. 18, <i>to end</i> .
2957	1047	1061	Hiram congratulates David. Invasion of the Philistines—they are defeated.....	2 Sam. v. 11, <i>to end</i> ; 1 Ch. xii. 14-17, <i>and</i> 1-16.
2959	1045	1060	The Ark brought from Kirjath-jearim to the House of Obed-edom. Uzzah is smitten.....	2 Sam. vi. 1-11; Psalm lxxviii.; 1 Ch. xiii. 5, <i>to end</i> .
2960	1044	.....	Second Removal of the Ark from the House of Obed-edom to Mount Zion. David's Psalms on the occasion.....	1 Ch. xv. 1-14; Psalm cxxxii.; 1 Ch. xv. 15, <i>to end</i> ; xvi.; Psalm cv., cxvi., cvi.; 2 Sam. vi. 20, <i>to end</i> , 12-19.
.....	.....	1055	David commanded not to build the Temple. Nathan's Prophecy of the Messiah.....	2 Sam. vii.; Psalm. ii.; 1 Chron. xvii.
.....	.....	.....	David's Prophetic Psalms.....	Ps. xlv., xxii., xvi., cxviii.; cx.
2964	1040	1052	War with the surrounding Nations.....	2 Sam. viii. 1, 12; 1 Ch. xviii. 12; 2 Sam. viii. 14, <i>to end</i> ; xiii.; 1 Kings xi. 15-20; Ps. lx. ; cviii.; 1 Ch. xviii. 1-11, 13, <i>to end</i> .
2966	1038	.....	Kindness of David to the House of Saul. War with the Ammonites and Syrians, who are defeated.....	2 Sam. iv. 4; ix.; x.; Ps. xx.; xxi.; 1 Ch. xix.
2969	1035	.....	David's Adultery with Bath-sheba. War with the Ammonites. Nathan reproves David—his repentance. Rabbah is taken.....	2 Sam. xi.; xii. 1-15; Ps. li., xxxii., xxxiii., cvii.; 2 Sam. xii. 15-23; 1 Chron. xx. 1; 2 Sam. xii. 26, <i>to end</i> ; 1 Chron. xx. 1-3.
2977	1037	1036	Ammon's Incest with Tamar. Birth of Solomon. Absalom slays Amnon. David, at Joab's instance, forgives Absalom.....	2 Sam. xiii. 1-20; xii. 24, <i>part of</i> 25; xiii. 21, <i>to end</i> ; xiv. 1-7, 15-17, 8-14, <i>and</i> 18, <i>to end</i> .
2980	1024	.....	Revolt of Absalom.....	2 Sam. xv. 1-29; Ps. iii.; 2 Sam. xv. 30, <i>to end</i> ; xvi. 1-14; Ps. vii.; 2 Sam. xvi. 15, <i>to end</i> ; xvii.
2981	1023	.....	Psalms composed by David during Absalom's Rebellion.....	Ps. xlii., xliii., lv., iv., v., lxii., cxliii., cxliv., lxx., lxxi.
.....	.....	.....	Absalom is defeated and killed by Joab. David returns to Jerusalem.....	2 Sam. xviii.; xix., xx. 3.
2982	1022	.....	Revolt of Sheba—He is slain.....	2 Sam. xx. 1, 2, 4, <i>to end</i> .
2983	1021	1035	The Three Years of Famine stayed by the Death of seven of Saul's Sons. David buries Saul and Jonathan.....	2 Sam. xxi. 1-14.
2985	1019	1033	Last War with the Philistines. David's Psalms of Thanksgiving for God's Blessings.....	2 Sam. xxi. 15, <i>to end</i> ; xxii.; Ps. xviii.; 1 Chron. xx. 4, <i>to end</i> .

PERIOD IV.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
2987	1017	1032	David numbers the People—He is punished by a Pestilence.....	2 Sam. xxiv. 1-9; 1 Ch. xxi. 6, 7; xxvii. 23, 24; 2 Sam. xxiv. 10-15; 1 Ch. xxi. 15, 16; 2 Sam. xxiv. 17; 1 Ch. xxi. <i>part of 17, to end</i> ; Ps. xxx.; 1 Ch. xxi. 1-5, 8-14; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Ch. xxi. <i>part of 17</i> ; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, <i>to end</i> .
2989	1015	.....	David prepares to build the Temple.....	1 Ch. xxiii.
.....	.....	1030	Adonijah's Rebellion. Solomon is anointed King.	1 Kings i.
.....	.....	.....	First Assembly of the People. David's Charge to Solomon.....	1 Ch. xxiii. 1; xxviii. 1-10; Ps. xci., cxlv.
.....	.....	.....	Preparations for the Service of the Temple.....	1 Chron. xxiii. 2, <i>to end</i> ; xxiv.; xxv.; xxvi.; xxvii. 1-22, 25, <i>to end</i> ; xxviii. 11, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	.....	Psalms composed by David, on which the Dates and the Occasions are unknown.....	Ps. xl., xli., lxi., lxxvii., lxxviii.
.....	.....	.....	Psalms composed by David after his Accession, of which the Dates and the Occasions are uncertain.....	Ps. vi., viii., xii., xix., xxiii., xxiv., xxviii., xxix., xxxviii., xxxix., lxxxvi., xcvi., ci., civ., cxx., cxxi., cxlii., cxliv., cxxxi., cxxxiii.
.....	.....	.....	Second Assembly of the People. David's Charge.	1 Chron. xxix. 1-19; Ps. lxxii.; 1 Chron. xxix. 20-25.
.....	.....	.....	David's Charge to Solomon—His Last Words and Death.....	1 Kings ii. 1-9; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7; 1 Chron. xxix. 26, <i>to end</i> ; 1 Kings ii. 10, 11.

PERIOD V.—THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

		REIGN OF SOLOMON BEFORE THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.		
2989	1015	1027	The Offering at Gibeon. Judgment of Solomon. Deaths of Adonijah and Joab. Return of Hadad.....	1 Kings ii. 12; 2 Chron. i. 1; 1 Kings iii. 3; 2 Chron. i. 2-6; 1 Kings iii. 5, <i>to end</i> ; 2 Ch. i. 13; 1 Kings ii. 13-38; xi. 21, 22; iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 7-12.
2990	1014	.....	Preparations for Building the Temple. Death of Shimei. Solomon's Marriage.....	1 Kings iv. 1-25; 2 Chron. ii. 1, 2; 1 Kings v. 1-9; 2 Ch. ii. 3-16; 1 Kings v. 10, <i>to end</i> ; 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18; 1 Kings ii. 39, <i>to end</i> ; iii. 1, 2.

PERIOD V.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
A. M. B. C.	B. C.			
2999	1005	1020	THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.....	2 Chron. iii. 1; 1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 2-9; 1 Kings vi. 4-8, and 15-28; 2 Chron. iii. part of 13, 14; 1 Kings vi. 29-36; vii. 13-22; 2 Chron. iv. 1; 1 Kings vii. 23-50; 2 Chron. iv. 8-10; 1 Kings vi. 9-14; vii. 51; vi. 37, 38, and ii. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 10-12, part of 13, 15, to end; iv. 2, 7, 11, to end.
3000	1004	.....	THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE—PSALMS ON THE OCCASION.....	2 Ch. v. 1-10; Ps. xlvii., xvii., xviii., xcix., and c.; 2 Chron. v. 11-14; Psalm cxxxv., cxxxvi.; 2 Chron. vii. 4-7; vi. 1-39; 1 Kings viii. part of 50 to 61; 2 Ch. vi. 40, to end; vii. 1-3, 8-10; 1 Kings viii. 1, to middle of 50, 62, to end.
			OTHER BUILDINGS AND MAGNIFICENCE OF SOLOMON.	
3003	1001	1006	Building of the House of Lebanon. God appears to Solomon.....	1 K. vii. 1-12; 2 Ch. vii. 11, to end; 1 K. ix. 1-9.
.....	.....	.....	Conquests, etc., of Solomon.....	1 Kings ix. 10-14; 2 Chron. viii. 1-11; 1 Kings ix. 24.
.....	.....	.....	Song of Solomon.....	Book of Canticles.
3012	992	.....	GREATNESS OF SOLOMON. VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.....	1 Kings ix. 15-23; 2 Chron. viii. 12-16; 1 Kings ix. 26, to end; 2 Chron. viii. 17; 1 Kings x. 14, to end; iv. 26-28, 34; x. 1-13; 2 Chron. viii. 18; ix. 13-28; i. 14, to end; ix. 1-12.
3020	984	.....	THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON.....	1 K. iv. 29-31, 33, 32; Book of Proverbs.
3024	980	.....	OFFENCE OF SOLOMON.....	1 Kings xi. 1-14, 23-40; Book of Ecclesiastes.
3029	975	991	DEATH OF SOLOMON.....	1 Kings xi. 41-43; 2 Chron. ix. 29-31.

PERIOD VI.—FROM THE ELEVATION OF REHOBOAM TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.

			THE REIGN OF REHOBOAM, FIRST KING OF JUDAH, WITH THE CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.	
3029	975	991	PORTION I.—Reign of Rehoboam. Revolt of the Ten Tribes. Invasion of Shishak. Death of Rehoboam.....	1 Kings xiv. part of 21; xii. 1-24; 2 Chron. xi. 5, to end; xii. 1; 1 Kings xiv. 22-24; 2 Chron. xii. 2, to end; 1 Kings xiv. part of 21, 25, to end; 2 Ch. x.; xi. 1-4.
to	to	to		
3046	958	974		

PERIOD VI.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.	Hales.		
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.	
<p>PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF REHOBOAM, KING OF JUDAH.</p>			
3029	975	991	<p>1 Kings xii. 25, <i>to end</i>; xiii. 2 Ch. xiii. 1-21; 1 Kings xv. 3-8; 2 Chron. xiii. 22; xiv. <i>part of</i> 1; 1 Kings xv. 1, 2. 1 Kings xv. 9-11; 2 Ch. xiv. 3; 1 Kings xv. 12-15; 2 Chron. xiv. 4-6, <i>part of</i> 1, 7, <i>to end</i>; xv. 1-15, 18, 19; 1 Kings xv. 16-22; 2 Chron. xvi. 7, <i>to end</i>; 1 Kings xv. 23, 24; 2 Chron. xiv. 2; xv. 16, 17; xvi. 1-6.</p>
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	
3046	958	974	
3046	958	973	<p>REIGN OF ABIJAH, KING OF JUDAH.....</p>
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	
3049	955	970	
<p>PORTION I.—REIGN OF ASA, THIRD KING OF JUDAH.....</p>			
3049	955	970	
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	
3090	914	929	
<p>PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF ASA, KING OF JUDAH.</p>			
3049	955	968	<p>Death of Jeroboam and his Son.....</p>
.....	.....	.....	<p>The Reign of Nadab.....</p>
3061	953	966	<p>The Reign of Baasha.....</p>
3074	930	943	<p>The Reign of Elah.....</p>
3075	929	.....	<p>The Reign of Zimri.....</p>
3080	924	938	<p>The Reign of Omri.....</p>
3085	919	931	<p>Commencement of the Reign of Ahab.....</p>
<p>PORTION I.—REIGN OF JEHOSEPHAT.....</p>			
3090	914	929	<p>1 Kings xiv. 1-20. 1 Kings xv. 25-31. 1 Kings xv. 32, <i>to end</i>; xvi. 1-7. 1 Kings xvi. 8-14. 1 Kings xvi. 15-22. 1 Kings xvi. 23-28. 1 Kings xvi. 29, <i>to end</i>. 1 Kings xxii. 41-44, 46, 47; 2 Chron. xvii. 2, <i>to end</i>; xviii. 1, 2; xix. 1-7; Ps. lxxxii.; 2 Ch. xix. 8, <i>to end</i>; xx. 1-26; Psalm cxv., xlvi.; 2 Chron. xx. 27-30, 35, <i>to end</i>; 1 Kings xxii. 49; 2 Ki. viii. 16; 2 Chron. xx. 32-34; 1 Kings xxii. <i>end of</i> 45, 50, <i>beginning of</i> 45, 48; 2 Ch. xvii. 1; xx. 31.</p>
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	
3115	889	904	
<p>PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF JEHOSEPHAT.</p>			
3096	908	.....	<p>Reign of Ahab continued. Elijah predicts a Drought, and raises the Widow's Son.....</p>
3098	906	.....	<p>Elijah proves the Truth of his Mission, and flies from Jezebel. The Calling of Elisha.....</p>
3103	901	897	<p>Ben-hadad besieges Samaria — He is defeated — He is conquered at Aphek.....</p>
3105	899	.....	<p>Seizure of Naboth's Vineyard by Ahab.....</p>
3107	897	.....	<p>Death of Ahab.....</p>
.....	.....	.....	<p>Reign and Death of Ahaziah.....</p>
3108	896	.....	<p>Reign of Jehoram. Rebellion of Mesha, King of Moab.....</p>
.....	.....	.....	<p>The Translation of Elijah.....</p>
3109	895	891	<p>Elisha obtaineth Water and Promise of Victory. The Moabites are overcome.....</p>
3112	892	.....	<p>The Miracles of Elisha.....</p>

PERIOD VI.—(Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.		Hales.		
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
3115	889	904	PORTION I.—REIGN OF JEHORAM, KING OF JUDAH.....	2 Chron. xxi. 1, 5-7, 2-4, 11-15, 8-10, 16, <i>to end</i> , 2 Kings viii. 23, 24, and xvii. 22.
<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>			
3119	885		PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF JEHORAM, KING OF JUDAH.	
3117	887	891	Continuation of the Reign of Jehoram, King of Israel. Siege of Samaria. The Famine, and sudden Deliverance.....	2 Kings vi. 24, <i>to end</i> ; vii. 8, 1-6.
3119	885	895	PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF AHАЗIAH, KING OF JUDAH.....	2 Chron. xxii. 1; 2 Kings viii. 25; 2 Chron. xxii. 2-7; 2 Kings ix. <i>part of</i> 27; 2 Chron. xxii. 8, <i>part of</i> 9; 2 Kings ix. <i>part of</i> 27, 28; 2 Chron. xxii. <i>part of</i> 9; 2 Kings ix. 29; viii. 26, <i>to end</i> ; 2 Ch. xxii. <i>middle of</i> 9.
			PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF AHАЗIAH, KING OF JUDAH.	
			Murder of Ben-hadad by Hazael.....	2 Kings viii. 7-51.
3120	884		Conspiracy of Jehu. Death of Jehoram.....	2 Kings ix. 1-26.
			Reign of Jehu. Death of Jezebel, of Ahab's Sons, of Ahaziah's Kindred, and of Baal's Priests.....	2 Kings ix. 30, <i>to end</i> ; x. 1-28.
3120	884	895	PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF ATHALIAH, QUEEN OF JUDAH.....	2 Chron. xxii. 10, <i>to end</i> ; xxiv. 7-11; xxiii. 1-15; 2 Kings xi. 1-16.
3126	878	889	PORTION II.—REIGN OF JEHU continued.....	
			PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH.	2 Kings x. 29.
			PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH.	2 Kings xii. <i>part of</i> 1; xi. 21; xiii. <i>end of</i> 1, 2, 3; 2 Chron. xxiii. 16, <i>to end</i> ; xxiv. 3-5; 2 Kings xii. 4-6; 2 Ch. xxiv. 6; 2 Kings xii. 7-14; 2 Chron. xxiv. 12-14; 2 Kings xii. 15-18; 2 Chron. xxiv. 15-27; 2 Kings xii. 19; xi. 17, 20; xii. 20, 21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 1, 2.
3126	878	889	Early Reign of Joash. He Repairs the Temple	2 Kings x. 30, <i>to end</i> .
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3166	838	849	PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH.	2 Kings xiii. 1-9.
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		850	Reign of Jehoash. Death of Elisha.....	
			PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF AMAZIAH.	1 Kings xiv. 1-6; 2 Ch. xxv. 5-11; 2 Ki. xiv. <i>part of</i> 7; 2 Ch. xxv. 12-16; 2 Ki. xiv. 8-14; 2 Chron. xxv. 27, 28, 25, 26; 2 Ki. xiv. <i>part of</i> 7, 17-20; 2 Ch. xxv. 1-4, and 17-24.
3166	838	849	Amaziah punishes the Murderers of his Father.	2 Kings xiv. 1-6; 2 Ch. xxv. 5-11; 2 Ki. xiv. <i>part of</i> 7; 2 Ch. xxv. 12-16; 2 Ki. xiv. 8-14; 2 Chron. xxv. 27, 28, 25, 26; 2 Ki. xiv. <i>part of</i> 7, 17-20; 2 Ch. xxv. 1-4, and 17-24.
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DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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3179	825	Reign of Jeroboam the Second.....	
			PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF UZZIAH.	
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3217	787	On the Increase of his Army by Uzziah, Joel predicts the Overthrow of the Kingdom of Judah by a Foreign Army.....	
3219	785	Uzziah is stricken with Leprosy.....	2 Chron. xxvi. 16-21. Isaiah i. 1; vi., ii., iii., iv., v.
3246	758	Designation of Isaiah to the Prophetic Office—His first Prophecy.....	
3253	751	757	The Death of Uzziah.....	2 Chron. xxvi. 22, 23; 2 Kings xiv. 21, 22; xv. 2-7.
			PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH UZZIAH, KING OF JUDAH.	
3195	809	793	Reign of Jeroboam the Second, concluded.....	2 Kings xiv. 25-27. Hosea i., ii., iii.
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3211	793	Amos denounces Judgment against the neighboring Nations, and against Israel and Judah....	Amos i. to vii. 1-9.
3217	787	History of Jonah.....	
3220	784	793	Amos Prophecies. Death of Jeroboam the Second.....	The Book of Jonah. 2 Kings xiv. 28; Amos vii. 10, to end of the Book; 2 Kings xiv. 29.
3228	776	Hosea prophecies against the Israelites during the Interregnum after the Death of Jeroboam the Second.....	
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3232	772	770	The Reign of Shallum.....	
.....	The Reign of Menahem.....	2 Kings xv. 13, 15. 2 Kings xv. 16-22.
3236	768	760	The Reign of Pekahiah.....	
3246	758	757	PORTION I.—THE REIGN OF JOTHAM. MICAH PROPHECIES.....	2 Kings xv. 23-26. 2 Kings xv. 15, 32; 2 Chron. xxvii. 1, 2; 2 Kings xv. part of 35; Micah i., ii.; 2 Ch. xxvii. 3, to end; 2 Kings xv. 37, 33, 34, part of 35, 36, 38.
			PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF JOTHAM, KING OF JUDAH.	
.....	758	The Reign of Pekah.....	2 Kings xv. 27-29.
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3262	742	741	Character of Ahaz. Invasion of Rezin and Pekah. The Prophecies of Isaiah.....	2 Kings xvi. 1-4; Isaiah vii.; viii.; ix.; x. 1-4; 2 Kings xvi. 5.
3278	726	727	Isaiah's Prophecy of the Ruin of Damascus, and the Ten Tribes.....	
3262	742	The Devastation of Judah by Pekah.....	Isaiah xvii. 2 Chron. xxviii. 4-19. Obadiah; Is. i. 2, to end.
3263	741	Obadiah and Isaiah prophesy.....	
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PERIOD VI. — (Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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			PORTION II.—EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF AHAZ, KING OF JUDAH.	
3265	739	728	The Reigns of Pekah and Hoshea	2 Kings xv. 30, 31; xvii. 1, 2.
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3278	726	725	Character of Hezekiah—He abolishes Idolatry, and restores the true Worship.....	2 Kings xviii. 1-6; 2 Chron. xxix. 3, to end; xxx., xxxi.
3307	697	696	Isaiah prophesies the Destruction of Moab.....	Isaiah xv., xvi.
3278	726	Isaiah prophesies the Destruction of Moab.....	Micah iii. to end of the Book; 2 Kings xviii. 7, 8.
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3284	720	The Prophecy of Nahum against Nineveh	Isaiah xxiii.
3289	715	Isaiah's Prophecy of the Destruction of Tyre.....	Isaiah x. 5, to end; xi. to xiv. 1-27.
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3290	714	696	General Prophecy of the Desolation and Recovery of Judea.....	Isaiah xxii. 1-14; xxi.
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.....	711	First Invasion of Sennacherib. Hezekiah fortieth himself, and pacifieth him by paying Tribute. Capture of Ashdod. Isaiah's Prophecy of the Captivity of Egypt and Ethiopia...	Isa. xxix., xxx., xxxi.
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.....	710	The Sickness of Hezekiah—His miraculous Restoration. Isaiah's Prophecy of the Reign of the Messiah. The King of Babylon congratulates Hezekiah on his Recovery. Isaiah prophesies the Babylonish Captivity.....	Isa. xxxvi. 1; 2 Kings xviii. 17, to end; xix. 1-7; Psalm xlv.; 2 Kings xix. 8-19; Ps. lxxii.; 2 Kings xix. 20-35; 2 Chron. xxxii. 22, 23; Psalm lxxv., lxxvi.; 2 Kings xix. 36, 37; 2 Ch. xxxii. 9-21; Isaiah xxxvi. 2, to end; and xxxvii.
3294	710	The Second Invasion of Sennacherib—His Defeat. Psalms on this occasion.....	Isaiah xl., xli.
3294	710	Isaiah prophesies Comfort to the People of God, and the final Restoration of the Jews.....	Isaiah xlii., xliii.
3305	699	Prophecy of the Advent of Christ, and the Restoration of the Jews.....	Isaiah xliiv., xlv.
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PERIOD VI. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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3305	699	Isaiah predicts the Humiliation, Sufferings, and Exaltation of Christ.....
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.....	Isaiah prophesies the Fulness and Excellence of the Blessings of the Gospel.....
.....	Isaiah predicts the Calamities which should befall Judea for its Idolatry and Hypocrisy.....
.....	Isaiah prophesies the future Glory and Triumph of the Church.....
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.....	Hosea predicts the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, and exhorts the People to Repentance.....
3283	721	719	Reign of Hoshea, continued. Captivity of the Ten Tribes. End of the Kingdom of Israel..
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3306	698	696	PORTION I.—Idolatry of Manasseh. Isaiah's Prophecy of the Captivity of Shebna. Captivity and Death of Manasseh.....
3361	643	641	
3326	678	PORTION II.—STATE OF THE PROVINCES FORMERLY POSSESSED BY THE TEN TRIBES, DURING THE REIGN OF MANASSEH, KING OF JUDAH.....
3361	643	641	THE REIGN OF AMON, KING OF JUDAH
3363	641	639	THE REIGN OF JOSIAH, KING OF JUDAH.
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3375	628	628	Designation of Jeremiah to the prophetic office — He prophesies against Judah.....
3380	624	Josiah repairs the Temple. The Book of the Law is found by Hilkiah.....
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3392	612	Jeremiah reproaches the People for their Backsliding, after the Reformation by Josiah.....
.....	Jeremiah describes, in prophetic anticipation, the Sorrows of the approaching Captivity.....
.....	Habakkuk predicts the Punishment of the People for their Backsliding.....

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DATES.				CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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3394	610		Jeremiah reminds the People of the Covenant of Josiah.....	
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3394	610		Accession of Jehoiakim.....	2 Kings xxiii. 36, 37.
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3405	599		Various Predictions and Appeals to the Jews by the prophet Jeremiah declaring the Certainty of their Captivity and the Destruction of Jerusalem. Pashur smites Jeremiah therefor. Jeremiah prophesies his Fate.....	Jer. xiii. to xx.
3395	609		Jeremiah's Prediction of the Fate of Shallum and Jehoiakim.....	
3396	608		Jeremiah threatens the Jews with the Destruction of their Temple and City unless they Repent. His Apprehension and Arraignment...	Jer. xxii. 1-23.
3398	606		Jeremiah's Prophecy against the Army of Pharaoh-necho.....	Jer. xxvi.
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3399	605		EVENTS AT JERUSALEM BETWEEN THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAPTIVITY AND THE BURNING OF THE TEMPLE. Reign of Jehoiakim, continued. Second Reading of the Roll.....	Jer. xxxvi. 9, to end.
3401	603	.....		Rebellion and Death of Jehoiakim.....	2 Kings xxiv. part of 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8; 2 Kings xxiv. 5; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.
3405	599	605		Reign of Jehoiachin. Jeremiah prophesies the Coming of the Messiah. The Jews are carried into Captivity.....	2 Kings xxiv. 6-9; Jer. xxii. 24, to end; xxiii.; 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.
.....	.....	.....		Accession of Zedekiah—He rebelleth. Jeremiah predicts the Restoration of the Jews, and the Desolation of Zedekiah.....	Jer. lii. 1-3; xxiv.
3407	597		Jeremiah predicts the Duration of the Captivity.....	Jer. xxix. 1-14, 16-20, 15, 21, to end.
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DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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3415	589	Imprisonment of Jeremiah—He foretells the Restoration of the Jews.....	Jer. xxxii., xxxiii.
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.....	On the Departure of the Chaldeans the Hebrew Slaves are recalled, for which Jeremiah predicts the Babylonish Captivity.....	Jer. xxxiv. 11, <i>to end</i> .
3416	588	Jeremiah, attempting to make his Escape from Jerusalem, is again imprisoned.....	Jer. xxxvii. 11, <i>to end</i> .
.....	Jeremiah, applied to by the King, repeats his former Predictions.....	Jer. xxi.
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.....	586	The Capture of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah. The Deliverance of Jeremiah. The Burning of the Temple. The People are carried Captive to Babylon.....	Jer. lii. 5, 6; xxxix. 3; iii. 7, 11; xxxix. 11-14; lii. 24, 27, 12-14, 17-23, 15, 16; xxxix. 10; 2 Kings xxiv. 17, <i>to end</i> ; xxv. 3-21; Jer. xxxix. 2, 4-9; lii. 4.
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.....	Jeremiah laments the Desolation of his Country. } EVENTS AT BABYLON BETWEEN THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAPTIVITY AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.	The Lamentations of Jeremiah.
3398	606	Condition of Daniel and his Companions at Babylon.....	Dan. i. 8, <i>to end</i> .
3409	595	590	The Commission of Ezekiel.....	Ezek. i.; ii.; iii. 1-21.
.....	Ezekiel prophesies the Miseries and Destruction of Jerusalem.....	Ezek. iii. 22, <i>to end</i> ; iv. <i>to vii</i> .
3410	594	Ezekiel's Vision of the Idolatries which occasioned the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezek. viii. <i>to xi.</i> 1, 21.
.....	Ezekiel's Prophecies against Zedekiah, the false Prophets, Jerusalem, and the Jewish Nation.	Ezek. xi. 22, <i>to end</i> ; xii. <i>to xix</i> .
3411	593	Prophecies addressed to the Elders of the Jews by Ezekiel.....	Ezek. xx. <i>to xxiii</i> .
3413	591	Prophecy of the Destruction of Jerusalem, delivered by Ezekiel at the Commencement of the Siege.....	Ezek. xxiv.
3415	589	Ezekiel prophesies the Judgment of Pharaoh for his treachery to Israel and the Desolation of Egypt.....	Ezek. xxix. 1-16.

PERIOD VII. — (Continued.)

DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
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A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
3416	588	590	Ezekiel prophesies the Destruction of Assyria and Egypt.....	Ezek. xxx. 20, to end; xxxi.
			HISTORY OF THAT PORTION OF THE JEWISH NATION WHO WERE NOT CARRIED CAPTIVE TO BABYLON, AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.	
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3417	587	Johanah rescues the Captives from Ishmael, and contrary to the Commands of God given by Jeremiah, takes Refuge at Tahpanhes, in Egypt.....	Jer. xli. 11, to end; xlii. xliii. 1-7.
.....	Prophecy of Jeremiah against Egypt.....	Jer. xliii. 8, to end; xlvi. 13, to end.
.....	Final Predictions of Jeremiah against the Idolatrous Jews, and against Egypt.....	Jer. xlv.
.....	Brief Recapitulation of the Captivities of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar.....	Jer. lii. 28-30.
			EVENTS AT BABYLON BETWEEN THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM AND THE RETURN FROM THE CAPTIVITY.	
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.....	Ezekiel's Prophecy against Egypt.....	Ezek. xxxii. 1-16.
.....	Ezekiel prophesies the final Judgment of Egypt.....	Ezek. xxxii. 17, to end.
.....	Ezekiel's Appeal to the Captives in Babylon.....	Ezek. xxxiii. 1-20.
.....	Ezekiel proceeds to denounce the Anger of God on the Governors of the Jews, who had deceived the People to their Ruin. He then predicts the Restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem, and the ultimate Happiness of Christ's Kingdom.....	Ezek. xxxiv. to xxxvii.
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3430	574	Ezekiel's Vision of the Second Temple.....	Ezek. xl. to the end of the Book.
3432	572	Ezekiel's last Prediction against Egypt.....	Ezek. xxix. 17, to end; xxx. 1-19.
3434	570	Daniel relates to Nebuchadnezzar the Dream the King had forgotten.....	Daniel ii.
.....	569	Nebuchadnezzar, on the Completion of his Conquests, sets up the Golden Image.....	Daniel iii.
3435	569	Nebuchadnezzar's Second Dream—His Madness and Recovery.....	Daniel iv.
3443	561	561	Accession of Evil Merodach, and Release of Jehoiachin from Prison.....	Jer. lii. 31, to end; 2 Kings xxv. 27, to end.
3463	541	Daniel's First Vision of the four living Creatures.....	Daniel vii.

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DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.	
Townsend.	Hales.			
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3465	539	553	Belshazzar's Feast	Daniel v.
.....	Daniel's Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat.....	Dan. viii.
3466	538	Prayer of Daniel for the Restoration of Jerusalem, and Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks....	Daniel ix. ; Psalm cii.
3467	537	Daniel is cast into the Den of Lions.....	Daniel vi.
3468	536	536	Decree of Cyrus for the Return of the Jews. Psalms on the occasion.....	Ezra i. 1-4; Ps. cxxvi., lxxxv.; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 22, 23.

PERIOD VIII.—FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE REFORMATION OF WORSHIP BY NEHEMIAH, AND THE COMPLETION OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BY SIMON THE JUST.

		FROM THE DECREE OF CYRUS TO THE DEDICATION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.		
3468	536	536	Return of the Jews from their Captivity—Psalms composed on the occasion	Ezra i. 5, to end; ii. ; iii. 1-7; Ps. cvii., lxxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxiii., cxiv., cxvi., cxvii., cxxv., cxxxvii., cxxxviii., cxxxiv.
3469	535	.....	The Foundation of the Temple laid. Psalms thereon.....	Ezra iii. 8, to end; Ps. lxxxiv., lxvi.
3470	534	529	The Building of the Temple interrupted. Last Vision of Daniel	Ezra iv. 1-5, part of 24; Psalms cxxix.; Dan. x., xi., xii.
3484	520	.....	The Building of the Temple resumed. Haggai and Zechariah prophesy.....	Ezra iv. part of 24; v. 1; Hag. i. 1-11; Ezra v. 2; Hag. i. 12, to end; ii. 1-9; Zech. i. 1-6; Hag. ii. 10, to end; Zech. i. 7, to end; ii. to vi.
3485	519	463	The Building of the Temple again interrupted, and again resumed. Zechariah prophesies ...	Ezra v. 3, to end; vi. 1-13; Ps. cxxxviii.; Zech. vii., viii.
3489	515	516	The Finishing of the Temple. The Feasts of the Dedication and the Passover are kept. Psalms on the occasion.....	Ezra vi. 14, to end; Ps. xlviii., lxxxi., cxlvi., cxlvii., cxlviii., cxlix., cl.
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3518	486	Opposition to the Jews in the Reign of Xerxes...	Ezra iv. 6.
3540	464	Opposition to the Jews in the Reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus.....	Ezra iv. 7-23.
3542	462	469	Artaxerxes divorces his Queen	Esther i.; ii. 1, to part of 15.

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DATES.			CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Townsend.		Hales.		
A. M.	B. C.	B. C.		
3546	458	457	Commission of Ezra.....	Ezra vii., viii.
3547	457	460	Esther made Queen of Persia.....	Esther ii. <i>part of ver.</i> 15-20.
.....	.....	.....	The Reformation by Ezra.....	Ezra ix., x.
.....	.....	.....	Concluding Prophecies of Zechariah.....	Zech. ix. <i>to end of Book</i>
.....	.....	.....	Mordecai discovers the Conspiracy against Ar- taxerxes.....	Esther ii. 21, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	.....	Plot of Haman for the Destruction of the Jews, and its Defeat.....	Esther iii. <i>to the end of the Book.</i>
			FROM THE REFORMATION BY NEHEMIAH TO THE CLOSING OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.	
3559	445	444	First Commission of Nehemiah.....	Neh. i.; ii. 1-11.
.....	.....	.....	The Walls of Jerusalem rebuilt.....	Neh. ii. 12, <i>to end</i> ; iii. <i>to vi.</i>
.....	.....	.....	Dedication of the Wall of Jerusalem.....	Neh. xii. 27-43.
.....	.....	.....	Nehemiah returns to Persia.....	Neh. vii. 1-4.
3560	444	.....	Second Commission of Nehemiah, and Reforma- tion effected by him.....	Neh. vii. 5, <i>to end</i> ; viii. <i>to xi.</i> ; xii. 1-9, <i>and</i> 44, <i>to end</i> ; xiii. 1-3; Psalm i., cxxix.
to	to	.....	Malachi prophesies against the Corruptions which had been introduced during the second	Mal. i., ii., iii. 1-15.
3561	433	.....	Absence of Nehemiah.....	
to	to	.....	Further Reformation by Nehemiah.....	Neh. xiii. 4, <i>to end.</i>
3595	409	.....	Final Prophecy of the Old Testament. Malachi foretells the Advent of John the Baptist, the Forerunner of the Saviour.....	Mal. iii. 16, <i>to end</i> ; iv.
to	to	.....	Detached Genealogies, Successions, and Events, inserted probably at the Completion of the Canon.....	1 Chron. i. <i>to ix.</i> ; Neh. xii. 10-26.

NEW TESTAMENT.

THIS INDEX FORMS NOT ONLY A CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY, BUT ALSO A COMPLETE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

PERIOD IX.—FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE TEMPTATION.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	B. C.		
		General Preface.....	Mark i. 1; Luke i. 1-4.
		The Divinity, Humanity, and Office of Christ....	John i. 1-18.
4708	6	Birth of John the Baptist.....	Luke i. 5-25.
4709	5	The Annunciation.....	Luke i. 26-38.
		Interview between Mary and Elizabeth	Luke i. 39-56.
		Birth and Naming of John the Baptist.....	Luke i. 57, <i>to end.</i>
		An Angel appears to Joseph.....	Matt. i. 18-25.
		Birth of Christ at Bethlehem.....	Luke ii. 1-7.
		The Genealogies of Christ.....	Matt. i. 1-17; Luke iii. 23, <i>to end.</i>
		The Angels appear to the Shepherds.....	Luke ii. 8-20.
		The Circumcision.....	Luke ii. 21.
		The Purification. Presentation of Christ in the Temple, where he is acknowledged by Simeon and Anna.....	Luke ii. 22-39.
		The Offering of the Magi.....	Matt. ii. 1-12.
		The Flight into Egypt.....	Matt. ii. 13-15.
		Slaughter of the Children at Bethlehem.....	Matt. ii. 16-18.
	A. D.		
4711	3	Joseph returns from Egypt.....	Matt. ii. 19, <i>to end</i> ; Luke ii. 40.
4720	7	History of Christ at the age of twelve years.....	Luke ii. 41, <i>to end.</i>
4739	26	Commencement of the Ministry of John the Baptist.....	Matt. iii. 1-12; Mark i. 2-8; Luke iii. 1-18.
		The Baptism of Christ.....	Matt. iii. 13, <i>to end</i> ; Mark i. 9-11; Luke iii. 21, 22, <i>and part of</i> 23.
		The Temptation of Christ.....	Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-13.

PERIOD X.—FROM THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MORE PUBLIC MINISTRY AFTER THE IMPRISONMENT OF JOHN.

4739	26	Further Testimony of John the Baptist.....	John i. 19-34.
		Christ obtains his first Disciples from John.....	John i. 35, <i>to end.</i>
4740	27	Marriage at Cana, in Galilee.....	John ii. 1-11.
		Christ goes down to Capernaum, and continues there some short time.....	John ii. 12.
		The Buyers and Sellers driven from the Temple..	John ii. 13, <i>to end.</i>
		Conversation of Christ with Nicodemus	John iii. 1-21.
		John's last Testimony to Christ	John iii. 22, <i>to end.</i>
		Imprisonment of John the Baptist.....	Matt. xiv. 3-5; Mark vi. 17-20; Luke iii. 19, 20.

PERIOD XI.—FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MORE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF CHRIST TO THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4740	A. D. 27	General Introduction to the History of Christ's more Public Ministry.....	Matt. iv. 12-17; Mark i. 14, 15; Luke iv. 14, 15.
.....	.....	Christ's Conversation with the Woman of Samaria.....	John iv. 1-42.
.....	.....	Second Miracle at Cana, in Galilee.....	John iv. 43, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	First public Preaching of Christ in the Synagogue at Nazareth, and his Danger there.....	Luke iv. 16-30.
.....	.....	Christ sojourns at Capernaum.....	Luke iv. 31, 32.
.....	.....	The miraculous Draught of Fishes, and the Calling of Andrew and Peter, James and John....	Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20; Luke v. 1-11.
.....	.....	The Demoniac healed at Capernaum.....	Mark i. 21-28; Luke iv. 33-37.
.....	.....	Peter's Mother-in-Law cured of a Fever.....	Matt. viii. 14, 15; Mark i. 29-31; Luke iv. 38, 39.
.....	.....	Christ teaches and performs Miracles and Cures throughout Galilee.....	Matt. iv. 23-25; viii. 16, 17; Mark i. 32-39; Luke iv. 40, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ cures a Leper.....	Matt. viii. 2-4; Mark i. 40, <i>to end</i> ; Luke v. 12-16.
.....	.....	The Paralytic cured, and the Power of Christ to forgive Sins asserted.....	Matt. ix. 2-8; Mark ii. 1-12; Luke v. 17-26.
.....	.....	The Calling of Matthew.....	Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 13, 14; Luke v. 27, 28.
.....	.....	The infirm Man healed at the Pool of Bethesda.....	John v. 1-15.
.....	.....	Christ vindicates the Miracle, and asserts the Dignity of his Office.....	John v. 16, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ defends his Disciples for plucking the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day.....	Matt. xii. 1-8; Mark ii. 23, <i>to end</i> ; Luke vi. 1-5.
.....	.....	Christ heals the withered Hand.....	Matt. xii. 9-14; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke vi. 6-11.
.....	.....	Christ is followed by great Multitudes, whose Diseases he heals.....	Matt. xii. 15-21; Mark iii. 7-12.
.....	.....	Preparation for the Sermon on the Mount—Election of the Twelve Apostles.....	Mark iii. 13-19; Luke vi. 12-19.
.....	.....	The Sermon on the Mount.....	Matt. v., vi., vii.; <i>and</i> viii. 1; Luke vi. 20, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	The Centurion's Servant healed.....	Matt. viii. 5-13; Luke vii. 1-10.
.....	.....	The Widow's Son at Nain is raised to Life.....	Luke vii. 11-18.
.....	.....	Message from John, who was still in Prison, to Christ.....	Matt. xi. 2-6; Luke vii. 19-23.
.....	.....	Christ's Testimony concerning John.....	Matt. xi. 7-15; Luke vii. 24-30.
.....	.....	Christ reproaches the Jews for their Impenitence and Insensibility.....	Matt. xi. 16-24; Luke vii. 31-35.
.....	.....	Christ invites all to come to him.....	Matt. xi. 25, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ forgives the Sins of a Female Penitent at the House of a Pharisee.....	Luke vii. 36, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ preaches again throughout Galilee.....	Luke viii. 1-3.
.....	.....	Christ cures a Demoniac—Conduct of the Scribes and Pharisees.....	Matt. xii. 22-45; Mark iii. 19-30; Luke xi. 14-28.
.....	.....	Christ declares his faithful Disciples to be his real Kindred.....	Matt. xii. 46, <i>to end</i> ; Mark iii. 31, <i>to end</i> ; Luke xiii. 19-21.
.....	.....	Parable of the Sower.....	Matt. xiii. 1-9; Mark iv. 1-9; Luke viii. 4-8.

PERIOD XI.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4740	27	Reasons for teaching by Parables.....	} Matt. xiii. 10-17; Mark iv. 10-12; Luke viii. 9, 10.
.....	Explanation of the Parable of the Sower.....	
.....	Christ directs his Hearers to practise what they hear.....	} Matt. xiii. 18-23; Mark iv. 13-23; Luke viii. <i>part of verse 9, and 11-17</i> ;
.....	Various Parables descriptive of Christ's Kingdom.....	
.....	Christ crosses the Sea of Galilee, and calms the Tempest.....	} Mark iv. 24, 25; Luke viii. 18.
.....	Christ heals the Gadarene Demoniac.....	
.....	Christ dines with Matthew.....	} Matt. xiii. 24-53; Mark iv. 26-34.
.....	Jairus's Daughter is healed, and the infirm Woman.....	
.....	Christ restores two blind Men to Sight.....	} Matt. viii. 18-27; Mark iv. 35, <i>to end</i> ; Luke viii. 22-25.
.....	Christ casts out a dumb Spirit.....	
.....	Christ returns to Nazareth, and is again ill-treated there.....	} Matt. viii. 28, <i>to end</i> ; Mark v. 1-20; Luke viii. 26-40.
Probably early in 4741	28	Christ preaches again throughout Galilee.....	

PERIOD XII.—FROM THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE MISSION OF THE SEVENTY.

4741	28	Christ's Mission of the Twelve Apostles.....	} Matt. x. <i>and</i> xi. 1; Mark vi. 7-13; Luke ix. 1-6.
.....	.....	Death of John the Baptist—Herod desires to see Christ.....	
.....	.....	The Twelve return, and Jesus retires with them to the Desert of Bethsaida.....	} Matt. xiv. 1-12; Mark vi. 14-29; Luke ix. 7-9.
.....	.....	Five thousand are fed miraculously.....	
.....	.....	Christ sends the Multitude away, and prays alone.....	} Matt. xiv. 13, 14; Mark vi. 30-34; Luke ix. 10, 11; John vi. 1, 2.
.....	.....	Christ walks on the Sea to his Disciples, who are overtaken with a Storm.....	
.....	.....	Christ heals many People.....	} Matt. xiv. 15-21; Mark vi. 35, 44; Luke ix. 12-17; John vi. 3-14.
.....	.....	Christ teaches in the Synagogue of Capernaum—His Conversation there.....	
.....	.....	Christ converses with the Scribes and Pharisees on the subject of Jewish Traditions.....	} Matt. xiv. 22, 23; Mark vi. 45, 46; John vi. 15.
.....	.....	Christ heals the Daughter of the Canaanite, or Syro-Phoenician Woman.....	
.....	.....	Christ goes through Decapolis, healing and teaching.....	} Matt. xiv. 24-33; Mark vi. 47-52; John vi. 16-21.
			} Matt. xiv. 34-36; Mark vi. 53, <i>to end</i> .
			} John vi. 22, <i>to end</i> ; <i>and</i> vii. 1.
			} Matt. xv. 1-20; Mark vii. 1-23.
			} Matt. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 24-30.
			} Matt. xv. 29-31; Mark vii. 31, <i>to end</i> .

PERIOD XII.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4741	28	Four thousand Men are fed miraculously.....	Matt. xv. 32, <i>to end</i> ; Mark viii. 1-10.
.....	The Pharisees require other Signs—Christ charges them with Hypocrisy.....	Matt. xvi. 1-12; Mark viii. 11-21.
.....	Christ heals a blind Man at Bethsaida.....	Mark viii. 22-26.
.....	Peter confesses Christ to be the Messiah.....	Matt. xvi. 13-20; Mark viii. 27-30; Luke ix. 18-21.
.....	Christ astonishes the Disciples by declaring the Necessity of his Death and Resurrection.....	Matt. xvi. 21, <i>to end</i> ; Mark viii. 31, <i>to end</i> ; <i>and</i> ix. 1; Luke ix. 22-27.
.....	The Transfiguration of Christ.....	Matt. xvii. 1-13; Mark ix. 2-13; Luke ix. 28-36.
.....	The Deaf and Dumb Spirit cast out.....	Matt. xvii. 14-21; Mark ix. 14-29; Luke ix. 37-42, <i>and part of</i> 43.
.....	Christ again foretells his Death and Resurrection.....	Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 30-32, <i>and part of</i> 33; Luke ix. 43-46.
.....	Christ works a Miracle to pay the Half-shekel for the Temple Service.....	Matt. xvii. 24, <i>to end</i> .
.....	The Disciples contend for Superiority.....	Matt. xviii. 1, <i>to end</i> ; Mark ix. <i>part of</i> 33, <i>to end</i> ; Luke ix. 47-50.

PERIOD XIII.—FROM THE MISSION OF THE SEVENTY DISCIPLES TO THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF CHRIST INTO JERUSALEM, SIX DAYS BEFORE THE CRUCIFIXION.

4741	28	The Mission of the Seventy Disciples.....	Luke x. 1-16.
.....	.....	Christ goes up to the Feast of Tabernacles.....	Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1; John vii. 2-10.
.....	.....	Agitation of the Public Mind at Jerusalem concerning Christ.....	John vii. 11-52.
.....	.....	Conduct of Christ to the Adulteress and her Accusers.....	John vii. 53; viii. 1-11.
.....	.....	Christ declares Himself to be the Son of God.....	John viii. 12-20.
.....	.....	Christ declares the Manner of his Death.....	John viii. 21, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	The Seventy return with Joy.....	Luke x. 17-24.
.....	.....	Christ directs the Lawyer how he may attain Eternal Life.....	Luke x. 25-28.
.....	.....	The Parable of the Good Samaritan.....	Luke x. 29-37.
.....	.....	Christ in the House of Martha.....	Luke x. 38, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ teaches his Disciples to pray.....	Luke xi. 1-13.
.....	.....	Christ reproaches the Pharisees and Lawyers.....	Luke xi. 37, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Christ cautions his Disciples against Hypocrisy.....	Luke xii. 1-12.
.....	.....	Christ refuses to act as Judge.....	Luke xii. 13, 14.
.....	.....	Christ cautions the Multitude against Worldly-mindedness.....	Luke xii. 15-34.
.....	.....	Christ exhorts to Watchfulness, Fidelity, and Repentance.....	Luke xii. 35, <i>to end</i> ; xiii. 1-9.
.....	.....	Christ cures an Infirm Woman in the Synagogue.....	Luke xiii. 10-17.
.....	.....	Christ begins his Journey towards Jerusalem, to be present at the Feast of the Dedication.....	Luke xiii. 22, 18-21.
.....	.....	Christ restores to Sight a Blind Man, who is summoned before the Sanhedrim.....	John ix. 1-34.
.....	.....	Christ declares that He is the True Shepherd.....	John ix. 35, <i>to end</i> ; x. 1-21.
.....	.....	Christ publicly asserts his Divinity.....	John x. 22-38.
.....	.....	In consequence of the Opposition of the Jews, Christ retires beyond the Jordan.....	John x. 39, <i>to end</i> .

PERIOD XIV.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4741	28	Christ, leaving the City, laments over Jerusalem.	Luke xiii. 23, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Christ dines with a Pharisee—Parable of the Great Supper.....	Luke xiv. 1-24.
.....	.....	Christ's Disciples must forsake the World.....	Luke xiv. 25, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Parables of the Lost Sheep, and of the Lost Piece of Silver.....	Luke xv. 1-10.
.....	.....	Parable of the Prodigal Son.....	Luke xv. 11, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Parable of the Unjust Steward.....	Luke xvi. 1-13.
.....	.....	Christ reproves the Pharisees.....	Luke xvi. 14-17.
.....	.....	Christ answers the Question concerning Divorce and Marriage.....	Matt. xix. 3-12; Mark x. 2-12; Luke xvi. 18.
.....	.....	Christ receives and blesses little Children.....	Matt. xix. 13-15; Mark x. 13-17; Luke xviii. 15-17.
.....	.....	Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.....	Luke xvi. 19, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	On Forgiveness of Injuries.....	Luke xvii. 1-10.
.....	.....	Christ journeys towards Jerusalem.....	Luke ix. 51, <i>to end;</i> xvii. 11.
.....	.....	Christ heals ten Lepers.....	Luke xvii. 12-19.
.....	.....	Christ declares the Lowliness of his Kingdom, and the sudden Destruction of Jerusalem.....	Luke xvii. 20, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Christ teacheth the True Nature of Prayer.....	Luke xviii. 1-8.
.....	.....	Parable of the Publican and Pharisee.....	Luke xviii. 9-14.
.....	.....	From the Conduct of the young Ruler, Christ cautions his Disciples on the Dangers of Wealth.....	Matt. xix. 16-29; Mark x. 17-30; Luke xviii. 18-30.
.....	.....	Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard.....	Matt. xix. 30; xx. 1-16; Mark x. 31.
.....	.....	Christ is informed of the Sickness of Lazarus.....	John xi. 1-16.
4742	29	Christ again predicts his Sufferings and Death..	Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-34.
.....	.....	Ambition of the Sons of Zebedee.....	Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45.
.....	.....	Two blind Men healed at Jericho.....	Matt. xx. 29, <i>to end;</i> Mark x. 46, <i>to end;</i> Luke xviii. 35, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Conversion of Zaccheus, and the Parable of the Pounds.....	Luke xix. 1-28.
.....	.....	The Resurrection of Lazarus.....	John xi. 17, 46.
.....	.....	The Sanhedrim assemble to deliberate concerning the Resurrection of Lazarus.....	John xi. 47, 48.
.....	.....	Caiaphas prophesies.....	John xi. 49-52.
.....	.....	The Sanhedrim resolve to put Christ to death.....	John xi. 53.
.....	.....	Christ retires to Ephraim or Ephrata.....	John xi. 54.
.....	.....	State of the Public Mind at Jerusalem, immediately preceding the last Passover, at which Christ attended.....	John xi. 55, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Christ comes to Bethany, where he is anointed by Mary.....	Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9; John xii. 1-11.
.....	.....	Christ prepares to enter Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxi. 1-7; Mark xi. 1-7; Luke xix. 29-40; John xii. 12-18.

PERIOD XIV.—FROM CHRIST'S TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM TO HIS APPREHENSION—SUNDAY, THE FIFTH DAY BEFORE THE LAST PASSOVER.

4742	29	The People meet Christ with Hosannas. Christ approaches Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxi. 8, 9; Mark xi. 8-10; Luke xix. 36-40; John xii. 19.
.....	.....	Christ's Lamentation over Jerusalem, and the Prophecy of its Destruction.....	Luke xix. 41-44.

PERIOD XIV. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4742	29	Christ, on entering the City, casts the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.....	Matt. xxi. 10-13; Mark xi. <i>part of ver.</i> 11; Luke xix. 45, 46.
.....	Christ heals the Sick in the Temple, and improves the Chief Priests.....	Matt. xxi. 14-16.
.....	Some Greeks at Jerusalem desire to see Christ. The Bath Col is heard.....	John xii. 20-43.
.....	Christ declares the Object of his Mission.....	John xii. 44, <i>to end.</i>
.....	Christ leaves Jerusalem in the Evening, and goes to Bethany.....	Matt. xxi. 17; Mark xi. <i>part of ver.</i> 11.
.....	Monday—Fourth Day before the Passover. Christ, entering Jerusalem, again curses the barren Fig Tree.....	Matt. xxi. 18, 19; Mark xi. 12-14.
.....	Christ again casts the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.....	Mark xi. 15-17.
.....	The Scribes and Chief Priests seek to destroy Jesus.....	Mark xi. 18; Luke xix. 47, 48.
.....	Christ retires in the Evening from the City.....	Mark xi. 19.
.....	Tuesday—Third Day before the Passover. The Fig Tree is now withered.....	Matt. xxi. 20-22; Mark xi. 20-26.
.....	Christ answers the Chief Priests, who inquire concerning the Authority by which he acted. Parables of the Vineyard and Marriage Feast.	Matt. xxi. 23, <i>to end;</i> xxii. 1-14; Mark xi. 27, <i>to end;</i> xii. 1-12; Luke xix. 1-19.
.....	Christ replies to the Herodians.....	Matt. xxii. 15-22; Mark xii. 13-17; Luke xx. 20-26.
.....	Christ replies to the Sadducees.....	Matt. xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-40.
.....	Christ replies to the Pharisees.....	Matt. xxii. 34-40; Mark xii. 28-35.
.....	Christ inquires of the Pharisees concerning the Messiah.....	Matt. xxii. 41, <i>to end;</i> Mark xii. 35-37; Luke xx. 41-44.
.....	Christ severely reproves the Pharisees.....	Matt. xxiii. 1, <i>to end;</i> Mark xii. 38-40; Luke xx. 45, <i>to end.</i>
.....	Christ applauds the Liberality of the poor Widow.....	Mark xii. 41, <i>to end;</i> Luke xxi. 1-4.
.....	Christ foretells the Destruction of Jerusalem, the End of the Jewish Dispensation, and of the World.....	Matt. xxiv. 1-35; Mark xiii. 1-31; Luke xxi. 5-33.
.....	Christ compares the Suddenness of his Second Advent to the Coming of the Deluge.....	Matt. xxiv. 36, <i>to end;</i> Mark xiii. 32, <i>to end;</i> Luke xxi. 34-36.
.....	The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.....	Matt. xxv. 1-13.
.....	The Parable of the Servants and the Talents.....	Matt. xxv. 14-30.
.....	Christ declares the Proceedings at the Day of Judgment.....	Matt. xxv. 31, <i>to end.</i>
.....	Christ retires from the City to the Mount of Olives.	Luke xxi. 37, 38.
.....	Wednesday—Second Day before the Crucifixion. Christ foretells his approaching Death.....	Matt. xxvi. 1, 2; Mark xiv. <i>part of ver.</i> 1.
.....	The Rulers consult how they may take Christ.....	Matt. xxvi. 3-5; Mark xiv. <i>part of ver.</i> 1, 2; Luke xxii. 1, 2.
.....	Judas agrees with the Chief Priests to betray Christ.....	Matt. xxvi. 14-16; Mark xiv. 10, 11; Luke xxii. 3-6.
.....	Thursday—The day before the Crucifixion. Christ directs two of his Disciples to prepare the Passover.....	Matt. xxvi. 17-19; Mark xiv. 12-16; Luke xxii. 7-13.
.....	Christ partakes of the last Passover.....	Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv. 17; Luke xxii. 14-18; John xiii. 1.

PERIOD XIV.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4742	A. D. 29	Christ again reproves the Ambition of his Disciples.....	Luke xxii. 24-27; John xiii. 2-16.
.....	.....	Christ, sitting at the Passover, and continuing the Conversation, speaks of his Betrayer.....	Matt. xxvi. 21-25; Mark xiv. 18-21; Luke xxii. 21-23; Jn. xiii. 17-30.
.....	.....	Judas goes out to betray Christ, who predicts Peter's Denial of him, and the Danger of the rest of the Apostles.....	Luke xxii. 28-38; John xiii. 31, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Christ institutes the Eucharist.....	Matt. xxvi. 26-29; Mark xiv. 22-25; Luke xxii. 19, 20.
.....	.....	Christ exhorts the Apostles, and consoles them on his approaching Death.....	John xiv.
.....	.....	Christ goes with his Disciples to the Mount of Olives.....	Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39.
.....	.....	Christ declares himself to be the True Vine.....	John xv. 1-8.
.....	.....	Christ exhorts his Apostles to mutual Love, and to prepare for Persecution.....	John xv. 9, <i>to end</i> ; xvi. 1-4.
.....	.....	Christ promises the Gifts of the Holy Spirit.....	John xvi. 5, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Christ intercedes for all his Followers.....	John xvii.
.....	.....	Christ again predicts Peter's denial of him.....	Matt. xxvi. 31-35; Mark xiv. 27-31.
.....	.....	Christ goes into the Garden of Gethsemane—His agony there.....	Matt. xxvi. 36-46; Mark xiv. 32-42; Luke xxii. 40-46; John xviii. 1, 2.
.....	.....	Christ is betrayed and apprehended. The Resistance of Peter.....	Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Mark xiv. 43-50; Luke xxii. 47-53; Jn. xviii. 3-11.

PERIOD XV.—FROM THE APPREHENSION OF CHRIST TO THE CRUCIFIXION.

4742	29	Christ is taken to Annas, and to the Place of Caiaphas.....	Matt. xxvi. 57; Mark xiv. 51-53; Luke xxii. 54; John xviii. 12-14.
.....	.....	Peter and John follow their Master.....	Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54; Luke xxii. 55; John xviii. 15, 16.
.....	.....	Christ is first examined and condemned in the House of the High-Priest.....	Matt. xxvi. 59-66; Mark xiv. 55-64; John xviii. 19-24.
.....	.....	Twelve at Night. Christ is struck, and insulted by the Soldiers.....	Matt. xxvi. 67, 68; Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 63-65.
.....	.....	Peter's first Denial of Christ, at the fire, in the Hall of the High-Priest's Palace.....	Matt. xxvi. 69, 70; Mark xiv. 66-68; Luke xxii. 56, 57; John xviii. 17, 18, 25-27.
.....	.....	After midnight. Peter's second Denial of Christ, at the Porch of the Palace of the High-Priest.....	Matt. xxvi. 71, 72; Mark xiv. 69, <i>part of</i> 70; Luke xxii. 58.
.....	.....	Friday, the Day of the Crucifixion—Time, about three in the Morning. Peter's third Denial of Christ in the Room where Christ was waiting among the Soldiers till the Dawn of Day.....	Matt. xxvi. 73, <i>to end</i> ; Mark xiv. <i>part of</i> 70, <i>to end</i> ; Luke xxii. 59-61.
.....	.....	Christ is taken before the Sanhedrim, and condemned.....	Matt. xxvii. 1; Mark xv. <i>part of</i> 1; Luke xxii. 66, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Judas declares the Innocence of Christ.....	Matt. xxvii. 3-10.
.....	.....	Christ is accused before Pilate, and is by him also declared to be innocent.....	Matt. xxvii. 2, <i>and</i> 11-14; Mark xv. 1-5; Luke xxiii. 1-4; John xviii. 28-38.

PERIOD XV.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4742	A. D. 29	Christ is sent by Pilate to Herod.....	Luke xxiii. 5-12.
.....	.....	Christ is brought back again to Pilate, who again declares him innocent, and endeavors to persuade the people to ask for his release.....	Matt. xxvii. 15-20; Mark xv. 6-11; Luke xxiii. 13-19; John xviii. 39.
.....	.....	Pilate three times endeavors again to release Christ.....	Matt. xxvii. 21-23; Mark xv. 12-14; Luke xxiii. 20-23; John xviii. 40.
.....	.....	The Jews imprecate the punishment of Christ's Death upon themselves.....	Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.
.....	.....	Pilate releases Barabbas, and delivers Christ to be crucified.....	Matt. xxvii. 26-30; Mark xv. 15-19; Luke xxiii. 24, 25; John xix. 1-16.
.....	.....	Christ is led away from the Judgment Hall of Pilate to Mount Calvary.....	Matt. xxvii. 31, 32; Mark xv. 20, 21; Luke xxiii. 26-32; John xix. <i>part of 16, and 17.</i>
.....	.....	Christ arrives at Mount Calvary, and is crucified.....	Matt. xxvii. 33, 34, 37, 38; Mark xv. 22, 23, 26-28; Luke xxiii. 33-38; John xix. 18-22.
.....	.....	Christ prays for his Murderers.....	Luke xxiii. <i>part of 34.</i>
.....	.....	The Soldiers divide and cast Lots for the Raiment of Christ.....	Matt. xxvii. 35, 36; Mark xv. 24, 25; Luke xxiii. <i>part of 34; John xix. 23, 24.</i>
.....	.....	Christ is reviled, when on the Cross, by the Chief Priests, the Rulers, the Soldiers, the Passengers, and the Malefactors.....	Matt. xxvii. 39-44; Mark xv. 29-32; Luke xxiii. 35-37.
.....	.....	Christ, when dying as a Man, asserts his Divinity, in his Answer to the Penitent Thief.....	Luke xxiii. 39-43.
.....	.....	Christ commends his Mother to the care of John.....	John xix. 25-27.
.....	.....	The Death of Christ and its attendant Circumstances.....	Matt. xxvii. 45-51, 54-56; Mark xv. 33-41; Luke xxiii. 44-49; John xix. 28-37.

PERIOD XVI.—FROM THE DEATH OF CHRIST TILL HIS ASCENSION INTO HEAVEN.

4742	29	Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus bury the Body of Christ.....	Matt. xxvii. 57-60; Mark xv. 42-46; Luke xxiii. 50-54; John xix. 38, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, and the Women from Galilee, observe where the Body of Christ was laid.....	Mark xv. 47; Luke xxiii. 55.
.....	.....	The Women from Galilee hasten to return Home, before the Sabbath began, to prepare Spices..	Luke xxiii. 56.
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene and the other Mary continue to sit opposite the Sepulchre till it is too late to prepare their Spices.....	Matt. xxvii. 61.
.....	.....	The Sabbath being ended, the Chief Priests prepare a Guard of Soldiers to watch the Sepulchre.....	Matt. xxvii. 62, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	The Sabbath being over, Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, purchase their Spices to anoint the Body of Christ.....	Mark xvi. 1.
.....	.....	The Morning of Easter-day, Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, leave their Homes very early to go to the Sepulchre.....	Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. <i>part of 2; John xx. part of 1.</i>
.....	.....	After they had left their Homes, and before their arrival at the Sepulchre, Christ rises from the Dead.....	Matt. xxviii. 2-4.

PERIOD XVI. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4742	A. D. 29	The Bodies of many come out of their Graves, and go to Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxvii. <i>part of 51, and 53.</i>
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, arrive at the Sepulchre, and find the Stone rolled away.....	Mark xvi. <i>part of 2, and 3, 4;</i> John xx. <i>part of 1.</i>
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene leaves the other Mary and Salome to tell Peter.....	John xx. 2.
.....	.....	Salome and the other Mary, during the absence of Mary Magdalene, enter the porch of the Sepulchre, and see one Angel, who commands them to inform the Disciples that Jesus was risen.....	Matt. xxviii. 5-7; Mark xvi. 5-7.
.....	.....	Salome and the other Mary leave the Sepulchre.....	Matt. xxviii. 8; Mark xvi. 8.
.....	.....	Peter and John, as soon as they hear the Report of Mary Magdalene, hasten to the Sepulchre, which they inspect, and immediately depart.....	John xx. 3-10.
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene, having followed Peter and John, remains at the Sepulchre after their departure.....	John xx. <i>part of 11.</i>
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene looks into the Tomb, and sees two Angels.....	John xx. <i>part of 11, 12, 13, and part of 14.</i>
.....	.....	Christ first appears to Mary Magdalene, and commands her to inform the Disciples that he has risen.....	Mark xvi. 9; John xx. <i>part of 14, and 15-17.</i>
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene, when going to inform the Disciples that Christ had risen, meets again with Salome and the other Mary. Christ appears to the three Women.....	Matt. xxviii. 9, 10; John xx. 18.
.....	.....	The Soldiers, who had fled from the Sepulchre, report to the High Priests the Resurrection of Christ.....	Matt. xxviii. 11-15.
.....	.....	The Second Party of Women, from Galilee, who had bought their Spices on the Evening previous to the Sabbath, having had a longer Way to come to the Sepulchre, arrive after the Departure of the others, and find the Stone rolled away.....	Luke xxiv. 1-3.
.....	.....	Two Angels appear also to the Second Party of Women, from Galilee, assuring them that Christ was risen, and reminding them of his foretelling this Fact.....	Luke xxiv. 4-9.
.....	.....	Mary Magdalene unites her Testimony to that of the Galilean Women.....	Mark xvi. 10; Luke xxiv. 10.
.....	.....	The Apostles are still incredulous.....	Mark xvi. 11; Luke xxiv. 11.
.....	.....	Peter goes again to the Sepulchre.....	Luke xxiv. <i>part of 12.</i>
.....	.....	Peter, who had probably seen Christ, departs from the Sepulchre.....	Luke xxiv. <i>part of 12.</i>
.....	.....	Christ appears to Cleopas and another Disciple, going to Emmaus.....	Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv. 13-32.
.....	.....	Cleopas and his Companion return to Jerusalem, and assure the Apostles that Christ had certainly risen.....	Mark xvi. 13; Luke xxiv. 33-35.
.....	.....	Christ appears to the assembled Apostles, Thomas only being absent, convinces them of the Identity of his resurrection Body, and blesses them.....	Luke xxiv. 36-43; John xx. 19-23.
.....	.....	Thomas is still incredulous.....	John xx. 24, 25.
.....	.....	Christ appears to the Eleven, Thomas being present.....	Mark xvi. 14; John xx. 26-29.
.....	.....	Christ appears to a large number of his Disciples on a Mountain in Galilee.....	Matt. xxviii. 16, 17, and <i>part of 18.</i>
.....	.....	Christ appears again at the Sea of Tiberias—His Conversation with St. Peter.....	John xxi. 1-24.
.....	.....	Christ appears to his Apostles at Jerusalem, and commissions them to convert the World.....	Luke xxiv. 44-49; Acts i. 4, 5.

PERIOD XVI. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4742	A. D. 29	Christ leads out his Apostles to Bethany, within Sight of Jerusalem, gives them their final Commission, blesses them, and ascends visibly into Heaven; from whence he will come to judge the Living and the Dead.....	Matt. xxviii. <i>part of</i> 18-20; Mark xvi. 15, <i>to end</i> ; Luke xxiv. 50, <i>to end</i> ; Acts i. 6-12.
.....	.....	St. John's Conclusion to the Gospel History of Jesus Christ.....	John xx. 30, 31, <i>and</i> xxi. 25.

PERIOD XVII. — FROM THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST TO THE TERMINATION OF THE PERIOD IN WHICH THE GOSPEL WAS PREACHED TO PROSELYTES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND TO THE JEWS ONLY.

4742	29	After the Ascension of Christ, the Apostles return to Jerusalem.....	Acts i. 1-3, <i>and verses</i> 12-14.
.....	.....	Matthias by lot appointed to the Apostleship in the place of Judas.....	Acts i. 15, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost.....	Acts ii. 1-13.
.....	.....	Address of St. Peter to the Multitude.....	Acts ii. 14-36.
.....	.....	Effects of St. Peter's Address.....	Acts ii. 37-42.
.....	.....	Union of the first Converts in the primitive Church.....	Acts ii. 43, <i>to end</i> .
4743	30	A Cripple is miraculously and publicly healed by St. Peter and St. John.....	Acts iii. 1-10.
.....	.....	St. Peter again addresses the People.....	Acts iii. 11, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	St. Peter and St. John are imprisoned by order of the Sanhedrim.....	Acts iv. 1-7.
.....	.....	St. Peter's Address to the assembled Sanhedrim.....	Acts iv. 8-22.
.....	.....	The Prayer of the Church on the Liberation of St. Peter and St. John.....	Acts iv. 23-31.
.....	.....	The Union and Munificence of the primitive Church.....	Acts iv. 32, <i>to end</i> .
4744	31	Deaths of Ananias and Sapphira.....	Acts v. 1-10.
.....	.....	State of the Church at this time.....	Acts v. 11-16.
4745	32	An Angel delivers the Apostles from Prison.....	Acts v. 17-20, <i>part of</i> <i>verse</i> 21.
.....	.....	The Sanhedrim again assemble. St. Peter asserts before them the Messiahship of Christ.....	Acts v. <i>part of</i> 21, 22-33.
.....	.....	By the Advice of Gamaliel the Apostles are dismissed.....	Acts v. 34, <i>to end</i> .
.....	.....	The Appointment of the seven Deacons.....	Acts vi. 1-6.
4746	33	The Church continues to increase in number.....	Acts vi. 7.
4746	33	St. Stephen, having boldly asserted the Messiahship of Christ, is accused of Blasphemy before	Acts vi. 8-14.
or	or	the Sanhedrim.....	
4747	34	St. Stephen defends himself before the Sanhedrim. Stephen, being interrupted in his Defence, reproaches the Sanhedrim as the Murderers of their Messiah.....	Acts vi. 15; vii. 1-50.
.....	.....	Stephen, praying for his Murderers, is stoned to Death.....	Acts vii. 51-53.
4747	34	General Persecution of the Christians, in which Saul (afterwards St. Paul) particularly distinguishes himself.....	Acts vii. 54, <i>to end</i> ; viii. <i>part of</i> <i>ver.</i> 1 <i>and</i> <i>v.</i> 2.
.....	.....	Philip the Deacon, having left Jerusalem on account of the Persecution, goes to Samaria, and preaches there, and works Miracles.....	Acts viii. <i>part of</i> <i>ver.</i> 1, <i>and</i> <i>ver.</i> 3.
.....	.....	St. Peter and St. John come down from Jerusalem to Samaria, to confer the Gifts of the Holy Ghost on the new Converts.....	Acts viii. 5-13.
.....	.....	St. Peter reproves Simon Magus.....	Acts viii. 14-17
.....	.....	St. Peter and St. John preach in many Villages of the Samaritans.....	Acts viii. 18-24.
.....	.....		Acts viii. 25.

PERIOD XVII. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4747	34	The Treasurer of Queen Candace, a Proselyte of Righteousness, is converted and baptized by Philip, who now preaches through the Cities of Judea.....	Acts viii. 26, to end.
.....	.....	Many of the Converts, who had fled from Jerusalem, in consequence of the Persecution there, preach the Gospel to the Jews in the Provinces.	Acts viii. 4.
4748	35	Saul, on his way to Damascus, is converted to the Religion he was opposing, on hearing the Bath Col, and seeing the Sheehinah.....	Acts ix. 1-9.
.....	.....	Saul is baptized.....	Acts ix. 10-19.
.....	.....	Saul preaches in the Synagogues to the Jews.....	Acts ix. 19-30.
4751	38	St. Peter, having preached through Judea, comes to Lydda, where he cures Æneas, and raises Dorcas from the Dead.....	Acts ix. 32, to end.
4753	40	The Churches are at rest from Persecution, in consequence of the Conversion of Saul, and the Conduct of Caligula.....	Acts ix. 31.

PERIOD XVIII. — THE GOSPEL HAVING NOW BEEN PREACHED TO THE JEWS IN JERUSALEM, JUDEA, SAMARIA, AND THE PROVINCES, THE TIME ARRIVES FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE DEVOUT GENTILES, OR PROSELYTES OF THE GATE.

4753	40	St. Peter sees a Vision, in which he is commanded to visit a Gentile who had been miraculously instructed to send for him.....	Acts x. 1-16.
.....	.....	St. Peter visits Cornelius, a Roman centurion.....	Acts x. 17-33.
.....	.....	St. Peter first declares Christ to be the Saviour of all, even of the Gentiles who believe in him.	Acts x. 34-43.
.....	.....	Cornelius and his Friends receive the Holy Ghost, and are baptized.....	Acts x. 44, to end.
.....	.....	St. Peter defends his conduct in visiting and baptizing Cornelius.....	Acts xi. 1-18.
4754	41	The Converts who had been dispersed by the persecution, after the Death of Stephen, having heard of the Vision of St. Peter, preach to the devout Gentiles also.....	Acts xi. 19-21.
.....	.....	The Church at Jerusalem commissions Barnabas to make Inquiries into this Matter.....	Acts xi. 22-24.
4755	42	Barnabas goes to Tarsus for Saul, whom he takes with him to Antioch, where the Converts were preaching to the devout Gentiles.....	Acts xi. 25, 26.
4756	43	Herod Agrippa condemns James, the Brother of John, to Death, and imprisons Peter, who is miraculously released, and presents himself to the other James, who had been made Bishop of Jerusalem.....	Acts xii. 1-18, and part of ver. 19.
4757	44	The Converts at Antioch, being forewarned by Agabus, send Relief to their Brethren at Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.....	Acts xi. 27, to end.
.....	.....	The Death of Herod Agrippa.....	Acts xii. part of ver. 19, and 20-23.
.....	.....	The Churches continue to increase.....	Acts xii. 24.
4758	45	Saul having seen a Vision in the Temple, in which he is commanded to leave Jerusalem, and to preach to the Gentiles, returns with Barnabas to Antioch.....	Acts xii. 25.

PERIOD XIX.—PERIOD FOR PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE IDOLATROUS GENTILES, AND ST. PAUL'S FIRST APOSTOLICAL JOURNEY.

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4758	45	The Apostles having been absent from Jerusalem when Saul saw his Vision in the Temple, he and Barnabas are separated to the Apostolic Office by the Heads of the Church at Antioch.	Acts xiii. 1-3.
.....	.....	Saul, in company with Barnabas, commences his first Apostolical Journey by going from Antioch to Seleucia.....	Acts xiii. <i>part of</i> 4.
.....	.....	From Seleucia Saul and Barnabas proceed to Salamis, and Paphos, in Cyprus, where Sergius Paulus is converted; being the first known or recorded Convert of the idolatrous Gentiles...	Acts xiii. <i>part of</i> 4-12.
.....	.....	From Cyprus to Perga, in Pamphylia.....	Acts xiii. 13.
4759	46	From Perga to Antioch in Pisidia. St. Paul, according to his custom, first preaches to the Jews. They are driven out of Antioch.....	Acts xiii. 14-50.
.....	.....	From Antioch in Pisidia to Iconium in Lycaonia. The People about to stone them.....	Acts xiii. 51, 52, and xiv. 1-5, and <i>part of</i> 6.
.....	.....	From Iconium to Lystra. The People attempt to offer them Sacrifice, and afterwards stone them.	Acts xiv. 8-19, and <i>part of</i> 20.
4760	47	From Lystra to Derbe.....	Acts xiv. <i>last part of</i> 20, <i>part of</i> 6, and 7.
.....	.....	St. Paul and Barnabas return to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, ordaining in all the Churches.....	Acts xiv. 21-23.
4761	48	They proceed through Pisidia, Perga, and Attalia in Pamphylia.....	Acts xiv. 24, 25.
.....	.....	They return to Antioch, and submit an Account of their proceedings to the Church in that place.....	Acts xiv. 26, <i>to end</i> .
4762	49	Dissensions at Antioch concerning Circumcision before the commencement of St. Paul's second Apostolical Journey.....	Acts xv. 1, 2.
.....	.....	St. Paul and Barnabas go up to Jerusalem to consult the Apostles and Elders on the Dispute concerning Circumcision. Decree of James and of the Church therein.....	Acts xv. 3-29.
.....	.....	St. Paul and Barnabas return to the Church at Antioch.....	Acts xv. 30-35.

PERIOD XX.—ST. PAUL'S SECOND APOSTOLICAL JOURNEY.

4763	50	After remaining some time at Antioch, St. Paul proposes to Barnabas to commence another Visitation of the Churches.....	Acts xv. 36.
.....	.....	St. Paul, separating from Barnabas, proceeds from Antioch to Syria and Cilicia.....	Acts xv. 37, <i>to end</i> ; xvi. 4, 5.
.....	.....	St. Paul proceeds to Derbe and Lystra in Iconium—Timothy his Attendant.....	Acts xvi. 1-3.
.....	.....	They proceed from Iconium to Phrygia and Galatia.....	Acts xvi. 5.
.....	.....	From Galatia to Mysia and Troas.....	Acts xvi. 7-10.
.....	.....	From Troas to Samothracia.....	Acts xvi. <i>part of</i> 11.
.....	.....	From Samothracia to Neapolis.....	Acts xvi. <i>part of</i> 11.
.....	.....	From Neapolis to Philippi, where the Pythoness is dispossessed, and the Jailer converted.....	Acts xvi. 12, <i>to end</i> .
4764	51	From Philippi, through Amphipolis and Apollonia, to Thessalonica, where they are opposed by the Jews.....	Acts xvii. 1-9.
.....	.....	St. Paul writes his Epistle to the Galatians.....	EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

PERIOD XX.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4764	51	From Thessalonica to Berea. The Causes for which the Bereans are favorably disposed to receive the Gospel.....	Acts xvii. 10-14.
.....	.....	From Berea, having left there Silas and Timothy, St. Paul proceeds to Athens, where he preaches to the Philosophers and Students....	Acts xvii. 15, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	From Athens St. Paul proceeds to Corinth, where he is reduced to labor for his support. Silas and Timothy join him there.....	Acts xviii. 1-5.
.....	.....	St. Paul writes his First Epistle to the Thessalonians, to establish them in the Faith (when they were exposed to the Attacks of the unconverted Jews), by enforcing the Evidences of Christianity.....	FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.
4765	52	St. Paul, being rejected by the Jews, continues at Corinth, preaching to the Gentiles.....	Acts xviii. 6-11.
.....	.....	St. Paul writes his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, to refute an Error into which they had fallen concerning the sudden coming of the Day of Judgment. He prophesies the Rise, Prosperity, and Overthrow of a great Apostasy in the Christian Church.....	SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.
.....	.....	St. Paul, still at Corinth, is brought before the Judgment-seat of Gallio, the Proconsul, the Brother of Seneca.....	Acts xviii. 12-17, <i>part of 18.</i>
4766	53	St. Paul, having left Corinth for Crete, is compelled on his return to winter at Nicopolis, from whence he writes his Epistle to Titus, whom he had left in Crete, with Power to ordain Teachers, and to govern the Church in that Island.....	EPISTLE TO TITUS.
4767	54	St. Paul proceeds to Cenchrea.....	Acts xviii. <i>part of 18.</i>
.....	.....	From Cenchrea to Ephesus, where he disputes with the Jews.....	Acts xviii. 19.
.....	.....	From Ephesus St. Paul proceeds to Casarea, and having saluted the Church at Jerusalem, completes his Second Apostolical Journey by returning to Antioch in Syria.....	Acts xviii. 20-22.

PERIOD XXI.—THE THIRD APOSTOLICAL JOURNEY OF ST. PAUL.

4768	55	St. Paul again leaves Antioch, to visit the Churches of Galatia and Phrygia.....	Acts xviii. 23.
.....	.....	History of Apollos, who was now preaching to the Church at Ephesus, planted by St. Paul.....	Acts xviii. 24, <i>to end.</i>
.....	.....	St. Paul proceeds from Phrygia to Ephesus, and disputes there with the Jews.....	Acts xix. 1-10.
4769	56	St. Paul continues two Years at Ephesus. The People burn their Magical Books.....	Acts xix. 11-20.
.....	.....	St. Paul sends Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia and Achaia.....	Acts xix. 21, <i>part of 22.</i>
4769 or more probably 4770	56	St. Paul writes his First Epistle to the Corinthians, to assert his Apostolic Authority, to reprove the Irregularities and Disorders of the Church, and to answer the Questions of the Converts on various points of Doctrine and Discipline.....	FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.
.....	.....	St. Paul continues at Ephesus—a Mob is occasioned at that Place by Demetrius.....	Acts xix. <i>part of 22, to end.</i>
.....	.....	St. Paul leaves Ephesus, and goes to Macedonia.....	Acts xx. 1.

PERIOD XXI.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4770	57	St. Paul writes his First Epistle to Timothy, to direct him how to proceed in the Suppression of those false Doctrines and Corruptions which the Jewish Zealots were endeavoring to establish in the Church of Ephesus, over which he was appointed to preside.....	FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.
or	or		
4771	58	St. Paul proceeds from Macedonia to Greece, or Achaia, and continues there three Months.....	Acts xx. 2, part of 3.
.....	.....	St. Paul, having been informed of the Reception his First Epistle had met with from the Corinthians, writes his Second Epistle from Philippi, to justify his Apostolic Conduct, and vindicate his Authority, both of which had been impugned by a false Teacher.....	SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.
4771	58	St. Paul returns from Achaia and Corinth to Macedonia, sending his Companions forward to Troas.....	Acts xx. part of 3, and 4, 5.
.....	.....	St. Paul, in his way from Achaia to Macedonia, writes from Corinth his Epistle to the Gentiles and Jews of Rome—to the Gentiles, to prove to them that neither their boasted Philosophy, nor their moral Virtue, nor the Light of human Reason—and to the Jews, that neither their Knowledge of, nor Obedience to, the Law of Moses, could justify them before God; but that Faith in Christ alone was, and ever had been, the only way of Salvation to all Mankind.....	EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.
.....	.....	From Macedonia St. Paul proceeds to Troas, where he raises Eutychus to life.....	Acts xx. 6-12.
.....	.....	From Troas to Assos and Mitylene.....	Acts xx. 13, 14.
.....	.....	From Mitylene to Chios.....	Acts xx. part of 15.
.....	.....	From Chios to Samos and Trogyllium.....	Acts xx. part of 15.
.....	.....	From Trogyllium to Miletus, where St. Paul meets, and takes his Farewell of, the Elders of the Church at Ephesus.....	Acts xx. part of 15, to end.
.....	.....	From Miletus to Coos, and Rhodes, and Patara, whence St. Paul, together with St. Luke, the writer of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, sails in a Phœnician vessel to Syria, and lands in Tyre.....	Acts xxi. 1-3.
.....	.....	St. Paul and St. Luke continue at Tyre seven Days. They proceed from Tyre to Ptolemais.....	Acts xxi. 4-6.
.....	.....	From Ptolemais to Cæsarea, to the House of Philip the Evangelist. Agabus prophesies the near Imprisonment of St. Paul.....	Acts xxi. 7.
.....	.....	St. Paul and St. Luke arrive at Jerusalem, and present themselves to St. James and the Church.....	Acts xxi. 8-14.
.....	.....	St. Paul is apprehended by the Chief Captain of the Temple, in consequence of a Mob, occasioned by some of the Asiatic Jews who met St. Paul in the Temple.....	Acts xxi. 15-26.
.....	.....	St. Paul makes his Defence before the Populace.	Acts xxi. 27-36.
.....	.....	On declaring his Mission to preach to the Gentiles, the Jews clamor for his Death.....	Acts xxi. 37, to end; xxii. 1-24.
.....	.....	St. Paul claims the Privilege of a Roman Citizen.	Acts xxii. 22.
.....	.....	St. Paul is brought before the Sanhedrim, who are summoned by the Captain of the Temple.	Acts xxii. 23-29.
.....	.....	St. Paul is encouraged by a Vision to persevere... In consequence of the Discovery of a Conspiracy to kill St. Paul, he is removed by Night from Jerusalem through Antipatris to Cæsarea.....	Acts xxii. 30; xxiii. 1-10.
.....	.....	St. Paul is accused of Sedition before Felix, the Governor of Judea—His Defence.....	Acts xxiii. 11.
.....	.....		Acts xxiii. 12, to end.
.....	.....		Acts xxiv. 1-21.

PERIOD XXI.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per.	A. D.		
4771	58	After many Conferences with Felix, St. Paul is continued in Prison till the arrival of Porcius Festus.....	Acts xxiv. 22, to end.
4773	60	Trial of St. Paul before Festus — He Appeals to the Emperor.....	Acts xxv. 1-12.
.....	.....	Curious Account given to Agrippa by Festus of the Accusation against St. Paul.....	Acts xxv. 13-22.
.....	.....	St. Paul defends his Cause before Festus and Agrippa — Their Conduct on that Occasion....	Acts xxv. 23, to end; xxvi.
.....	.....	St. Paul, being surrendered as a Prisoner to the Centurion, is prevented from completing this Journey by returning to Antioch, as he had usually done.....	Acts xxvii. 1.

PERIOD XXII.—THE FOURTH JOURNEY OF ST. PAUL.

4773	60	St. Paul commences his Voyage to Rome as a Prisoner.....	Acts xxvii. 2.
.....	.....	The Ship arrives at Sidon, from whence it proceeds to Cyprus.....	Acts xxvii. 3, 4.
.....	.....	After changing their Ship at Tyre, they proceed to Cnidus, Salmone in Crete, and the City of Lasea.....	Acts xxvii. 5-8.
.....	.....	St. Paul warns the Master of the Ship of the Danger they were in. They attempt to reach Phenice in Crete.....	Acts xxvii. 9-13.
.....	.....	The Ship is wrecked, but the Lives of all on board are saved as St. Paul had foretold.....	Acts xxvii. 14, to end.
.....	.....	They land on the Island of Melita.....	Acts xxviii. 1-10.
.....	.....	After three Months they sail to Rome.	Acts xxviii. 11, to part of 14.
.....	.....	St. Paul arrives at Rome, and is kindly received by the Brethren.....	Acts xxviii. part of 14 to 16.
.....	.....	St. Paul summons the Jews at Rome, to explain to them the Causes of his Imprisonment.....	Acts xxviii. 17-29.
4774	61	St. Paul writes his Epistle to the Ephesians, to establish them in the Christian Faith, by describing, in the most animated language, the Mercy of God displayed in the calling of the Gentiles through Faith in Christ, without being subjected to the Law of Moses, and to enforce upon them that Holiness and Consistency of Conduct which is required of all who have received the Knowledge of Salvation.....	THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.
4775	62	St. Paul writes his Epistle to the Philippians, to comfort them under the Concern they had expressed on the Subject of his Imprisonment — to exhort them to continue in union and mutual love, and to caution them against the Seductions of false Teachers, who had begun to introduce themselves among them	THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.
.....	.....	St. Paul writes his Epistle to the Colossians, in reply to the Message of Epaphras, to prove that the Hope of Man's Salvation is founded on the Atonement of Christ alone; and, by the Establishment of opposite Truths, to eradicate the Errors of the Judaizers, who not only preached the Mosaic Law, but also the Opinions of the Heathen, Oriental, or Essenian Philosophers, concerning the Worship of Angels, on account of their supposed Agency in human Affairs and the necessity of Abstaining from animal Food.....	THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

PERIOD XXII.—(Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4775	A. D. 62	St. Paul writes his Epistle to his Friend Philemon, to intercede with him in favor of his Slave Onesimus, who had fled from the Service of his Master to Rome; in which City he had been converted to Christianity by means of the Apostle's Ministry.....	THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON
.....	.....	St. James writes his Epistle to the Jewish Christians in general, to caution them against the prevalent Evils of the Day—to rectify the Errors into which many had fallen, by misinterpreting St. Paul's doctrine of Justification, and to enforce various Duties.....	
.....	.....	St. Paul remains at Rome for two years, during which time the Jews do not dare to prosecute him before the Emperor.....	THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

PERIOD XXIII.—FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIFTH AND LAST JOURNEY OF ST. PAUL TO THE COMPLETION OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

4775 or 4776	62 or 63	St. Paul, while waiting in Italy for Timothy, writes the Key to the Old Testament—the Epistle to the Hebrews—to prove to the Jews, from their own Scriptures, the Humanity, Divinity, Atonement, and Intercession of Christ—the Superiority of the Gospel to the Law—and the real Object and Design of the Mosaic Institution.....	THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.
4776	63-4	After his Liberation, St. Paul visits Italy, Spain, Britain, and the West.	
.....	.....	He then proceeds to Jerusalem.	
4778	65	From Jerusalem to Antioch in Syria.	
.....	.....	From Antioch to Colosse.	
.....	.....	From Colosse to Philippi.	
.....	.....	From Philippi to Corinth.	
.....	.....	From Corinth to Troas.	
.....	.....	From Troas to Miletum.	
.....	.....	From Miletum to Rome.	
.....	.....	St. Paul is imprisoned at Rome in the general Persecution by Nero.	
4778 or 4779	65 or 66	St. Paul, in the Anticipation of the near approach of Death, writes his Second Epistle to Timothy, exhorting him, as his last request, to the faithful Discharge of his Duty in all times of Apostasy, Persecution, and Dissension.....	THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.
.....	.....	St. Peter writes his First Epistle to the Jews, who, in the time of Persecution, had taken Refuge in the heathen Countries mentioned in the Inscription, and also to the Gentile Converts, to encourage them to suffer cheerfully for their Religion, and to enforce upon them the Necessity of leading a holy and blameless Life, that they may put to shame the Calamities of their Adversaries.....	
4779	66	St. Paul, under the Impression of approaching Martyrdom, writes to the Jewish and Gentile Christians dispersed in the Countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, etc., to confirm the Doctrines and Instructions of his former Letter, to caution them against the errors of the false Teachers.	THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF ST. PETER. THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF ST. PETER.

PERIOD XXIII. — (Continued.)

DATES.		CONTENTS.	SCRIPTURE.
Jul. Per. 4779	A. D. 66	Jude writes his Epistle to caution the Christian Church against the dangerous Tenets of the false Teachers, who had now appeared, subverting the Doctrine of Grace to the Encouragement of Licentiousness, and to exhort them to a steadfast Adherence to the Faith and Holiness.....	THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE.
.....	.....	Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul.	
4783	70	Destruction of Jerusalem.	THE BOOK OF REVELATION.
4809	96	St. John writes the Apocalypse to supply the place of a continued Succession of Prophets in the Christian Church, till the second coming of Christ to judge the World.....	
.....	.....	St. John writes his First Epistle to confute the errors of the false Teachers, and their different Sects—against the Doceta, who denied the Humanity of Christ, asserting that his Body and Sufferings were not real, but imaginary—against the Corinthians and Ebionites, who contended that he was a mere Man, and that his Divinity was only adventitious, and therefore separated from him at his Passion—against the Nicolaitanes or Gnostics, who taught that the Knowledge of God and Christ was sufficient for Salvation; that being justified by Faith, and freed from the Restraints of the Law, they might indulge in Sin with impunity; he cautions Christians from being seduced by these Doctrines and Practices, by condemning them in the strongest terms—he contrasts them with the Truths and Doctrines of the Gospel, in which they had been instructed, and in which they are exhorted to continue.....	
.....	.....	St. John writes his Second Epistle to caution a Christian Mother and her Children against the Seductions and pernicious Errors of the false Teachers, supposed to be a sect of the Gnostics.....	THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.
.....	.....	St. John writes his Third Epistle to Gaius, to praise him for his steadfast faith and kindness to some Christian Brethren and strangers, and to recommend them again to his protection and benevolence—to rebuke and to caution him against the presumptuous arrogance of Diotrefes, who had denied his authority, and disobeyed his injunctions, and to recommend Demetrius to his attention, and the imitation of the Church.....	THE THIRD EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.
.....	.....	St. John sanctions the Books of the New Testament, and completes the Canon of Scripture, by writing his Gospel, at the request of the Church of Ephesus.	

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE HOLY BIBLE.

SECTION I.

THE Almighty Architect having created that mass of matter out of which the universe was to be formed,* “commanded the light to shine out of darkness.” “God divided between the light and between the darkness. And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night;” † for

* Various opinions were entertained by the heathen philosophers concerning the origin of the world, and the nature of the element or elements of which they pretended particular bodies to have been formed. Some maintained that water was the principle of all things; others gave that pre-eminence to the air, others to fire, etc., but they all agreed in this, that the matter of the world was unproduced. They never disputed among themselves upon the question whether anything was made out of nothing! They all agreed that it was impossible. Indeed, the heathen Greeks had no correct notion of creation, nor any proper word whereby to express it.

† So Gen. i. 4 is translated by some of the learned, who suppose that the diurnal motion of the earth began at this time, by means of which motion, ever since continued, the airs that were in a state of darkness all the night were enlightened in the morning; and the airs that were enlightened all the day grew darker and darker in the evening. Professor Hitchcock, in an elaborate and very able essay on the connection between Geology and the Mosaic History (*Biblic. Reposit.*, Oct. 1835), undertakes to establish, and we think with entire success, the following positions, which we give in his own words:—“In the first place, we maintain that between geology and revelation there are several unexpected and remarkable coincidences, such as could have resulted only from veracity on the part of the sacred historian; and that the points of agreement are far more numerous than the points of apparent collision; and, therefore, even geology alone furnishes a strong presumptive evidence in favor of the truth of the Mosaic history. We maintain, secondly, that the first chapter of Genesis is a portion of Scripture that has always occasioned much difficulty in its interpretation, apart from geology, and that those portions of it about which commentators have differed most are the very ones with which geology is supposed to come into collision; so that in fact scarcely any new interpretation has been proposed to meet the geological difficulty. We admit, thirdly, that the geological difficulty is real; that is, the established facts of geology do teach us that the earth has existed through a vastly longer period, anterior to the creation of man, than the common interpretation of Genesis allows. We maintain fourthly, that most of the methods that have been proposed to avoid or reconcile the geological difficulty are entirely inadequate, and irreconcilably at variance either with geology or revelation. We maintain, fifthly, that at least one or two of these proposed modes of reconciling geology and Scripture, although not free from objections, are yet so probable, that without any auxiliary considerations they would be sufficient, in the view of every reasonable man, to vindicate the Mosaic history from the charge of collision with the principles of geology. And finally, we maintain, that though all these modes of reconciliation should be unsatisfactory, it would be premature and unreasonable to infer that there exists any real discrepancy: first, because we are by no means certain that we fully understand every part of the Mosaic account of the creation; secondly, because geology is so recent a science, and is making so rapid advances, that we may expect from its future discoveries that some more light will be thrown upon cosmogony; and thirdly, because, as geology has been more and more thoroughly understood, the apparent discrepancies between it and revelation have become less numerous.”—*B.*

hitherto nothing but darkness had overspread the unformed earth and water, which, with the other materials of the creation, lay blended together without order or distinction. The Spirit* of God moved upon the face of the waters. No sooner had the light displayed its cheerful beams, than it gave birth to the first day, which was immediately succeeded by the first night.

And to keep this part of new-framed nature within proper limits, the Almighty made the firmament,† which was designed to separate between “the waters which were under the expanse, and the waters which were above the expanse;” in consequence of which the waters were confined to certain bounds. The dry land then appeared, which was called earth, as the gathering of the waters was called sea. The earth being as yet unadorned, he gave the word, and it was immediately decorated with plants, and flowers, and trees, in all their beautiful variety.

Hitherto the light, which God created the first day, was diffused throughout the universe, by the struggling of the small globes of ethereal matter, to break loose from the centre of their vortexes; but on the fourth day God made those two great luminaries of heaven, the sun and moon, the one to rule the day and the other the night; and to render them more useful, by the regularity of their motion, he appointed them for signs to distinguish the seasons, and by them divide time into days and years. He made the stars also, which he set in the firmament, where they accomplish their revolutions in their appointed periods.

God having employed the first four days in the creation of inanimate things, proceeded to that of living creatures:—“Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.” After this God created great whales,‡ and all other living creatures which the water produced, and gave them this blessing, “Be fruitful, and fill the waters with fish, and the earth with fowl.” Moreover, he added to the fertility of the earth, which before brought forth only vegetables, the production of animals, saying, “Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind; cattle and creeping things, and beasts of the earth after their kinds; and it was so.”

All these parts of the creation being thus finished in their admirable order, the Almighty, to crown this great work, changes his style, which before was, Let this, or that be so, and saith, “Let us make man in our own image,§ after our own likeness: He is not, like the other creatures, produced

* *Spirit.* The divine agency, efficiency, or energy. (See Job xxvi. 13.)

† *Firmament.* The Hebrew word signifies *expansion*.

‡ *Whales.* The Hebrew word *Tanim* signifies large creatures, as well on earth as in the water, and is commonly applied to large fishes.

§ *Image.* Man was created with light in his understanding and holiness in his will, which, with all his affections and appetites, was subject to his enlightened understanding, and in this consisted the image of God, and to which fallen man must again be restored by the agency of the Holy Spirit. (See Col. iii. 10; Eph. iv. 24.)

The expression, “Let us make man,” certainly implies a plurality of persons in Jehovah; for there can be no imaginable reason why God should speak of himself in the plural number, unless he consists of more persons than one, which is further evident from Gen. iii. 22. It would be absurd to suppose, as some do, that God should borrow his way of speaking

at an instant, but a sacred council is, as it were, held between the persons of the Holy Trinity, the result of which is a noble creature, who shall unite in his person both worlds; and though the matter out of which man was formed was but the dust of the ground, yet God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul. Man being thus excellently formed, was invested with the two great blessings of fruitfulness and dominion: "Be fruitful," saith He, "and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over it." He was constituted Lord over all other creatures, and the product of the whole earth was granted to him for sustenance and delight.

Such was the creation of the world, of which when God had taken a general survey, he pronounced it "very good." On the seventh day He "rested from all his work which he had created and made," and therefore appointed it to be observed by man as an holy rest, wherein he might contemplate the wonders of the creation, and adore his glorious Maker.

God was then pleased further to display his goodness by placing Adam, for so the first man was named, in the beautiful garden of Eden,* or Paradise, which he was to dress and to keep, indulging him with a general permission to eat the fruit of every tree in the garden, even of the Tree of Life, but expressly forbidding him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. By obedience to this law he was to evince his fidelity to his Maker, and his dependence on him as his supreme Lord and Benefactor: at the same time, to deter him from disobedience, the awful threatening was pronounced, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." †

from that of human princes, before a man was created on the earth. It should also be noted that the word *Elohim*, translated God, is plural, and is frequently joined with plural verbs and plural adjectives; yet here, and in many other places, it is joined with a verb in the singular, and strongly implies a plurality of persons in one and the same *Jehovah*.

* *Eden*. It would be endless to recount the various opinions of geographers concerning its situation. Moses says that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." Some suppose this river to be the common channel of the Euphrates and Tigris after their confluence, which parted again below the garden into two different channels; so that the two channels before, and the other two after their confluence, constitute the heads mentioned by Moses. If this conjecture be true, it will determine the situation to have been in the south of Mesopotamia; but others place it on Mount Caucasus.

† Whether the Tree of Life was a single tree or an entire species of trees, and whether it had any natural virtue to preserve life, are questions much disputed, but of little consequence. The Tree of Life, however, was a sacrament of that covenant of works under which Adam was placed; it was a pledge of the favor of God; and by the use of it he maintained communion with his Maker, and acknowledged him as the author of that better life, which, though innocent, he was to seek after, not in himself, but in God, as a liberal rewarder. Witsius thinks that the Tree of Life signified the Son of God, not indeed under the character of a Mediator (that consideration being peculiar to another covenant), but as he is the Author of Life to man in every condition, and the fountain of all his happiness. Hence Christ is called the Tree of Life. Rev. xxii. 2.

There was another tree, deriving its name from the knowledge of good and evil. This was the Tree of Mortality, as the former was the Tree of Immortality. This was designed for the probation of man. If from a principle of love to God he regarded the probationary precept, he was to acquire the full knowledge of all the good intended for him; but if disobedient, he was to be doomed to the greatest calamity, the extreme evil of which he should know by experience.

God having given Adam a permission what to eat, and a prohibition what to forbear, puts him in possession of the sovereignty he had before given him; causing all the beasts of the field and fowls of the air to pass before him, that he might give them their names, and whatsoever Adam called any creature, that was its name. And now Adam being the only creature without a companion, God caused a deep sleep to fall on him, and whilst he slept took out one of his ribs,* closing up the flesh again, and made it into a woman, and brought her to him as a "help-meet."† Adam being sensible of what his Maker had done, as soon as he saw the woman, exclaims, in a kind of rapture, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." And, as he had given names to all other creatures, he likewise calls her Woman, subjoining as a reason, "because she was taken out of man." These two then, being united in so dear a relation, were to be inseparable; so that, in all succeeding ages of the world, a man should leave both father and mother, and adhere to his wife, rendered by marriage indissolubly one. This was the conjugal institution, with the law thereof, in the naked innocence and unblushing simplicity of the first man and woman, while they abode in the delightful garden of Eden. This was the happy condition of our first parents. Though they were naked they were not ashamed, for they had hitherto contracted no guilt; their conscience was an unspotted tablet, no depraved affections having invaded their chaste souls; for before sin entered, all things were honest and comely.

But the blissful state of this happy pair was but of short continuance; for the Serpent,‡ the chief of the fallen angels, envying the happiness of man, who hitherto retained and enjoyed that state of innocence and bliss, which he by ambition had forfeited and lost, contrived to seduce him from

* *Ribs.* Many frivolous queries have been proposed concerning this circumstance in the creation of woman; but it ought to satisfy us that this mode of her formation was most agreeable to the Divine wisdom, and it may suggest some practical hints of no small importance in domestic life. "The woman was taken, not from the head of man, to usurp authority over him; nor from his feet, to be trampled on by him; but from his side, to be regarded as next himself; under his arm to be protected; and near his heart, to be beloved by him."

† This is the polite way of speaking of a wife in the East, though it must be confessed that they associate with this term too much of the idea of a servant. Does an aged person advise a young friend to get married; he will not say, "Seek for a wife," but "Try to procure a *thunive*, a help-meet." A man who repines at his single state says, "I have not any female *help* in my house." A widower says, "Ah! my children, I have now no female *help*." A man, wishing to say something to his wife, will address her as follows: "My *help-meet*, hear what I am going to say." It is worthy of observation, that the margin has for *help-meet*, "as before him;" and this gives a proper view of her condition, for she literally has to *stand before* her husband to serve him on all occasions, and especially when he takes his food; she being then his servant. Say to a woman, "Leave thy husband!" she will reply, "No, no; I will *stand before* him."—*Roberts.*

‡ *Serpent.* A natural serpent is deemed a creature of peculiar cunning—proverbially wise, Matt. x. 16. But this serpent was the vehicle employed by the Devil, who is called, Rev. xii. 9, "the old Serpent"—"the deceiver." The power of speech might be supernaturally allowed on this occasion, and might be pretended to have been acquired by the use of the forbidden tree. It is remarkable that the Serpent was always held sacred among the heathen and worshipped by many of them; and thus Satan triumphed among them in that creature whereby he ruined man.

his obedience, and draw him into transgression, that he might become a companion in his punishment. In order to which he first attacks the woman, as the weaker vessel, by whom he hoped more easily to prevail on the man. His diabolical project succeeded; for he no sooner accosted her, but he gained his point. With apparent indifference he betrays her into an eager pursuit of her ruin. "Indeed," saith he, "hath God commanded you not to eat of every tree of the garden?" "Nay," replies the woman, "it is but one tree that is forbidden us; for we may eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden; for God hath said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." God's word was positive, "Thou shalt surely die;"* but the woman, in repeating it, renders it only doubtful, and in doubting of God's threatening, she seemed to yield. The serpent finding her staggering, pursues his advantage, and encourages her with an assurance that she should not die; "For," said he, "God knows, that in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." This inflamed the desire and ambition of the woman, for the fruit was not only tempting to the eye, and grateful to the palate, but desirable for its instructive quality of making one wise. On which, forgetting the prohibition, and dreadful consequences attending it, her curiosity hurries her on to destruction—she eats of the fruit; and her husband, prevailed upon by the fascinating persuasions of his beautiful consort, forgetful of his obligations to his God, and fondly determined to share with her in the consequences of her conduct, rashly partakes of the interdicted tree. No sooner had they eaten of the baleful fruit, than their eyes were opened; but alas! it was to perceive their own nakedness and misery. They had indeed acquired knowledge, but it was a knowledge, arising from sad experience, that the serpent had betrayed them both, and drawn them from the good which they knew before into the evil which they knew not. This dear-bought knowledge brought upon them at once both guilt and shame.† Moses had before observed, that Adam and Eve were naked, and were not ashamed: before sin was committed they were innocent and free from passions, but now they began to feel the disorderly emotions of concupiscence; they were ashamed to see themselves naked, and being put to the poor shifts of art to conceal their newly-discovered nakedness, they made themselves aprons to cover them.‡ And now their woe is increased by a sad chain of passions which their disobedience had entailed upon them;

* *Die.* The death threatened, included a deprivation of that holy and happy life of soul as well as body, in the image and favor of God, which he enjoyed before his fall. Thus "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Rom. v. 12.

† "They knew that they were naked," Gen. iii. 7, might be more expressively rendered "they were *sensible* that they were naked;" and the nakedness of their bodies was but the external emblem of the nakedness of their souls, for they were now stripped of their original righteousness.

‡ *Aprons*, or rather *Girdles*; the materials of which might be readily found in the garden; such as the large, long leaves which cover our tea, as it comes in chests from China; these might be easily woven together; so that this circumstance affords no countenance to the impertinent and ludicrous objections of infidels.



EVE'S TEMPTATION.

guilt, attended with shame and slavish fear, pursue them: For when they heard the voice of God, walking in Paradise, in the cool of the evening, they hid themselves from the face of the Lord among the trees of the garden. God at that time was heard, and made himself known to man after a sensible manner.* He called Adam, saying, "Where art thou?" not to know where he was, but to make him sensible of his fault. Adam, finding himself discovered, in great confusion was obliged to answer, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and was afraid, because I was naked, therefore I hid myself." In confessing his nakedness he owned his guilt; of which God immediately convicted him, demanding how he came to know he was naked? Adam, who was not yet grown so hardy as to deny the fact, owned himself guilty, but endeavored to excuse it, by laying the blame on his wife, not without a tacit reflection on God himself: "The woman," said he, "whom thou gavest to be with me, gave me of the fruit and I did eat." God calling the woman to account, said, "What is this thou hast done?" She also readily confessed the fact; but like her husband, willing to excuse herself, alleged that she was betrayed into it: "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." God having by examination brought this unhappy pair to confession and conviction, did not proceed in the same manner with the serpent; but immediately passing sentence upon him, he said, "Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel."† Then pronouncing sentence on the woman, God said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and conception. In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children, and thy desire shall be subject to that of thine husband, and he shall rule over thee." And unto Adam he said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the forbidden tree, cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground out of which thou wast taken: For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

* They heard the *Voice*, or as some render it, the *Word* of the Lord God, walking, etc. Perhaps He, "the *Word*," who was afterwards "made flesh and dwelt among us." Some communications they certainly had from their Maker before this, and probably in a glorious human form.

† To confine this passage to a literal sense would be, as Sherlock and Newton have observed, to render it unworthy of God or of Moses. Under the serpent's name, the curse is levelled at the great enemy of mankind; by "his seed" or offspring, we understand that "generation of vipers" (Matt. iii. 7), or wicked men, who are "of their father the devil" (John viii. 44), who in all ages have hissed and shown their enmity against Christ, and who succeeded so far as to nail him to the cross, and thus wound his heel, *i. e.* his human, or inferior nature.

Christ is "the seed of the woman" (Gal. iv. 4), who bruised the head of the serpent, or crushed his power over man, by his death on the cross; who has led "captivity captive," and who will finally abolish all his power. Thus was the first intimation of mercy to fallen man, the first gospel promise, included in the sentence pronounced on his seducer.

These three criminals having received their doom, God expelled them the garden of Eden, and sent the man to till the ground from whence he was taken; and placed cherubim* to preserve the way of the Tree of Life. And thus from the fall of our first parents proceeded all those evils which deface the beautiful works of their great Creator; and hence sin, pain, and death were entailed upon their posterity. With guilty shame they are forced to quit their seat of innocence, and exchange fair Eden's garden for an uncultivated world, which produced nothing but what was effected by labor and toil, and where they had no other prospect, but an endless variety of cares and troubles.

And now Adam, being expelled from Paradise, knew his wife Eve, who conceiving, bare him a son, whom she called Cain,† and said, "I have gotten a man from the Lord." After him she bare Adam another son, who was named Abel. These two brethren, when they grew up, betook themselves to two different employments: Cain, the elder, whose disposition was sordid and avaricious, betook himself to tillage; but Abel, who was of a more gentle and humane temper, delighted in a pastoral employment, and fed sheep. In process of time each of them brought their offering to the Lord. Cain's was the fruits of the ground; and Abel's the firstlings with the fat of his flock. The Lord accepted the sacrifice of Abel, but rejected that of Cain.‡ Hereupon Cain was provoked, which the falling of his countenance plainly indicated; upon which God expostulates with him, and gives him to understand it was his own fault that his offering was not pleasing, and if he did well, he should be accepted; if he sinned, he should be punished for his offence.

But this reproof made no impression on Cain; instead of being sensible of his fault, he became incensed against his brother, and taking occasion not

* *Cherubim*. These are commonly, but erroneously, supposed to be angels, who, like sentinels, were placed to guard the gate of Paradise; but the *cherubim*, which signifies "the likeness of the great ones," were most probably emblems of the Deity, figures like those mentioned Ezek. i., such as were placed in the Tabernacle and Temple over the mercy-seat. This was the symbol of the divine presence, before which it is likely that Adam offered sacrifice. The design of the whole was "to keep the way of the tree of life," not to prevent the coming at it, but for "preserving," or "observing the way to it"—to show that by the employment of the sword in shedding blood, and the fire in burnt sacrifice, was the only way of reconciliation to an offended God.

† *Cain*, signifies "possession," for she fondly hoped that this son might prove the seed of the woman who was to bruise the serpent's head. "I have gotten the Man-Jehovah," so some render the sentence; but she was greatly mistaken, for "he was of that wicked one"—the serpent—the devil. 1 John iii. 12.

‡ It was "by faith" that Abel offered a more excellent, a fuller, a more complete sacrifice than Cain (Heb. xi. 4); and faith has always respect to a revelation and appointment of God. The fact was, that Abel, as a penitent sinner, gladly signified his faith in the promised Saviour by a bloody sacrifice, knowing that without shedding of blood there could be no remission; while Cain, proud and pharisaical, merely brings a thank-offering to God, implying no humiliation for sin, nor desire for mercy. Cain seems to have been a kind of infidel—a natural-religion-man—a rejector of revelation and of the atonement. "If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted"—or rather *have the dignity*—the honor of the priesthood, which from the first belonged to the elder brother, but which he forfeited by rejecting the proper sacrifice. This was perhaps the ground of the quarrel, and which issued in the murder of pious Abel.

long after to discourse with him when they were together in the field, he fell upon him and slew him. But he is soon called to an account; for God inquiring of him where his brother was, he very insolently as well as falsely answered, "He knew not:" and, as if he had been affronted by the question concerning him, he cried, "Am I my brother's keeper?" But the Lord not only charged him with the murder of his brother, but convicted him of it too. "What hast thou done?" said he; "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground. And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee its strength: Nor is that all; but a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be upon the earth." This sentence was gentle in comparison of the horrid crime; but Cain, amazed at it, began to be sensible of the heinousness of his offence, and of the misery to which he was reduced. "My offence,"* said he, "is too great to obtain pardon." This was an expression of despair rather than repentance, and he seems not so sensible of his sin as of his punishment. "Behold," said he, "thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid, and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth, and it shall come to pass that † every one that findeth me shall slay me." But God having taken this cause under his immediate cognizance, and fixed the punishment, secured him against that dread, declaring, that whosoever should slay Cain, vengeance should be taken on him sevenfold, that is, in a very grievous manner—God intimating thereby, that vengeance is to be left to him, and that it is not lawful for private persons of their own authority to kill any one. And that none might by mistake slay Cain, *God set a mark upon him, lest any finding him should kill him.*‡ Upon this Cain went out from the

*The margin has, "Mine iniquity is greater than—— be forgiven." This form of speech is very common. Has a person committed a great crime, he will go to the offended individual, and piteously plead for mercy; and at intervals keep crying, "Ah! my guilt is too great to be forgiven. My hopes are gone."—*Roberts.*

† *Every one, etc.* From hence some have pretended that there were other people on earth not descended from Adam; but it should be remembered that the murder of Abel did not happen till near one hundred and thirty years after the creation; and though we read of only three of Adam's children, yet there were, probably, many others, whose offspring, in that space of time, might be very numerous.

Cain went out from the *presence*, or "faces," of the Lord," as the Hebrew word is,—that is, from the cherubic faces, or emblem of his presence, where divine worship was performed, and thus renounced religion. He then dwelt in a country, *afterwards* known by the name of Nod, and there built a city, where probably the irreligious part of Adam's posterity, and his own, which might be numerous, joined him as their governor. But the following elucidation is more satisfactory. The word NOD, verse 16, is the same with that, verses 12 and 14, translated a *vagabond*. Why it was rendered differently in these two places we know not: had the word been uniformly translated *vagabond*, the sense would have been clear throughout. Verse 12, God says, "Thou shalt be (*Nod*) a *vagabond*." Verse 14, Cain says, "I shall be (*Nod*) a *vagabond*;" and verse 16, Moses says, "he went from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land (*Nod*)—a *vagabond*,"—flying from place to place, pursued by the terrors of a guilty conscience.

‡ What this mark was is a matter of mere conjecture; probably it was the peculiar cast of his countenance, pointing him out as a monster of wretchedness in himself, and an object of horror to others.

presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, which is to the eastward of Eden, beyond the country of Babylon; and having taken a wife, she conceived and bare him a son, named Enoch, after whom Cain called the city which he afterwards built. Enoch begat Irad; Irad begat Mehujael; Mehujael begat Methusael; and Methusael begat Lamech. Of him the Scripture takes particular notice, and seems to point him out as the person who first introduced polygamy, for he married two wives, called Adah and Zillah. By the first he had two children, Jabel, who invented the use of tents, and the management of cattle; and Jubal, who was the inventor of musical instruments. By his wife Zillah he had a son called Tubal-cain, who first discovered the art of working metals, and made armor and warlike weapons. This is the register of Cain's descendants for seven generations, which Moses might enumerate perhaps to show who were the inventors of certain arts, and instrumental in corrupting the better seed of Adam. But of Cain's more immediate race, none was so eminently barbarous as Lamech; for his wives, knowing that all men hated him for his cruelty, were under great apprehensions for his personal safety; upon which, to satisfy them, he boastingly said that none could resist him, for he had murdered a man, though he was wounded; and making himself secure to them, he tells them, that if Cain's death were to be avenged sevenfold, his would be seventy times seven, valuing himself upon more murders than Cain could. And thus much for the descendants of Cain, who were all swept away by the deluge.

Adam being deprived of his pious son Abel, God was pleased to supply the loss by the gift of another, whom he named Seth; for, said Eve, "God hath given me another son instead of Abel whom Cain slew." This man had a son named Enos, of whom it is said, that in his time men began to call upon the name of the Lord; which may be understood of a public worship.* Through this Seth, Adam's line is by Moses continued in ten generations before the flood, with the age of each of those long-lived fathers. Among these, in the seventh degree from Adam, lived Enoch, to whom this singular testimony and character was given, That God was so pleased with him, that he translated him immediately to heaven. Enoch † left behind him his son

* Good men had always prayed to the Lord, both privately and socially in their families; but men being now multiplied, it is supposed that in the time of Enos public assemblies for the worship of Jehovah were first instituted, or at least remarkably revived. Others conceive that the words signify that then "men began to call (to invoke or pray) IN the name of the Lord" — that is of the Lord (Jesus) the promised Messiah, the Mediator between God and man. Others think that public preaching began to be used — men began to call — *proclaim* — *preach*, in the name of the Lord. Some eminent revival of religion, however, seems plainly intended.

† *Enoch*. From the New Testament we learn that "before his translation he had this testimony that he pleased God;" and Paul adds, Heb. xi. 9, that "without faith it is impossible to please him." It was by faith, therefore, that he attained to such a high distinction; now, as faith has relation to a testimony, it cannot be doubted that he was acquainted with the way of reconciliation by the promised Redeemer, and embraced the promise, as the ground of his confidence towards God: nor can we conceive that he could be ignorant of the first coming of Christ, whose second appearance he predicted (Jude v. 14). This faith of Enoch was accompanied, as true faith always is, by holiness of heart and life, which is emphatically called, "walking with God." His translation to heaven, without sickness or death, was at once a high testimony of Divine approbation, and an early assurance to the world of a future state.

Methuselah, the longest lived of all the patriarchs, and Lamech the father of Noah, whose birth was congratulated with this prophetic rapture by his father, That he should prove a comfort to his family for the curse which the Lord had laid upon the earth. This prophecy was verified; for Noah, by his faith and piety, delivered the church, and preserved it from utter destruction.

By this time the world began to grow populous; and though Seth and his progeny for some ages were shy of conversing with Cain and his family, yet time wore off that aversion, and as the world grew more replenished with people, the generation of the righteous indulging themselves in too great a liberty, entertained a more free and familiar conversation with the wicked offspring of Cain than was either proper or becoming; by which means, having exposed themselves to the allurements of their women, the lust of the eye prevailed upon the sons of God * to intermarry with them. It is highly probable that the offspring of the righteous, who professed themselves to be the sons of God, were by this time much degenerated from the piety of their ancestors: for we find immediately after that God complained of the wickedness of man in general. But however depraved they were before this alliance with the wicked, their sins were soon multiplied and aggravated; so that God, perceiving the corruption to be general, and daily increasing, is said (speaking after the manner of men) to repent that he had made man on the earth, and to be grieved at his heart. But Noah, a man of singular eminence in piety, found favor in his sight, and for his sake, his family, consisting of eight persons, was exempted from the general destruction which was soon to overwhelm mankind.

Of this approaching judgment, the merciful God gave warning long before he executed it; for though the wickedness of man was so great, that God said, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man; my justice provokes, my mercy intercedes; I am at strife with myself, how to deal with this sinful generation; yet since man is also flesh, I will not sweep him away with a sudden destruction, I will yet give him time to return and repent; his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." The † hundred and twenty

* By "the sons of God" we generally understand the posterity of Adam who persevered in the worship of Jehovah; and by the daughters of men, the descendants of Cain, who were addicted to impiety and vice; and that the intermarriages of these soon destroyed the remains of religion and virtue, and so hastened on the general destruction. But it is not without reason that others conceive that by "the sons of God" are signified persons of power or authority (and magistrates are called gods, Psalm lxxxii. 11), who, abusing their influence, *took*, that is, *by force*, the daughters of men (*i. e.* of the inferior ranks of society) and ravished them at their pleasure; and this seems to be the violence and corruption complained of Gen. vi. 11, etc., which a holy God so much resented, and so awfully punished.

† *Hundred, etc.* This is a great instance of God's forbearance, and shows the difference between the mercy of God and that of man.—for man seldom gives warning where he intends to strike; and more seldom strikes, but where he intends to destroy. "Why dost thou give notice of thy judgments thou art about to execute?" "That I may never execute those evils which I give notice of," saith St. Chrysostom, answering in the Lord's stead. And to the like purpose St. Jerome: "God, because he desires to punish no man, threatens them with his punishments like a Father, and shakes his rod, because he has no mind to correct his children."

years are almost expired, the term of retriaval is at hand: And yet they shall have a second warning. God was unwilling to destroy them yet, unless they would wilfully rush on their ruin; for seven days hence, says He, I will cause it to rain forty days upon the earth. It will be seven days before it begins to rain, and it will continue forty days raining. If in that time they had turned from their evil ways, their doom probably had been reversed, as that of Nineveh afterwards was at the preaching of Jonah.

But before the hundred and twenty years were expired, God, seeing no amendment, declared to Noah his resolution to destroy all flesh from off the earth by a flood of waters; but for the preservation of Noah and his family, and seed to replenish the depopulated earth, He commanded him to build an ark* or vessel of vast dimensions to receive them, and some of all creatures. This ark God directed Noah to make of gopher (the cedar or cypress), and to pitch it both within and without, that the water might not penetrate it. The length of it was to be four hundred and fifty feet, the breadth seventy-five, and the height forty-five. There were three stories or decks in it; the first and second were adapted to the use of the beasts and reptiles and the stowage of the necessary provisions, and the third, or upper one, was probably the residence of Noah and his family, with the winged tribes. Every story might be divided into several parts; and there was a window above, or an opening, which went quite round, to give light to the whole vessel; and the door or entering port was in the side.

Noah, having received his directions how to make the ark, and an assurance from God that though he destroyed all flesh beside, yet he would establish his covenant with him, finished the ark seven days before the rain began to fall.† All things being thus prepared, God gave notice to Noah to come into the ark with his family, and to take with him every living thing of all flesh, both of cattle and beasts of the field, birds and fowls of the air, and creeping things, two of each sort, a male and a female; to keep seed

* *Ark.* Some of the ancients, not thinking the ark, by these dimensions, spacious enough to receive all the creatures with their provision, etc., have extended this measure by the geometrical cubit; which would make the ark six times larger. But according to the computation of Bishop Wilkins, and other learned men, it is plain that the ark was capable of containing all those creatures that came. Had we never seen a ship, and should be told how many men, and what provision and merchandise one will carry, it would seem to us no less incredible than what Moses tells of the contents of the ark. But the geometrical calculation makes out that they are both equally possible, and shows that Moses spoke truth. If the ark contained, as it is computed, forty-three thousand tons of lading, which is more than equal to forty of our ships of one thousand tons each; and if all the animals contained in the ark would not exceed the bulk of five hundred horses, there would certainly be room enough and to spare. Peter Jansen, a Dutch merchant, about the year 1600, caused a ship to be built according to the proportions of the ark, one hundred and twenty feet long, etc., which was found to be admirably adapted for stowage and sailing.

† An inspired writer has taught us (Heb. xi. 7) that faith was the principle of Noah's obedience. "By faith Noah being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house, by which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith." In full assurance that God would accomplish both the threatening and the promise, he sustained the labor of the immense undertaking, nobly braved the contempt of a scoffing world, and thus condemned its vice and unbelief.

to stock the earth again. But of clean beasts, he was ordered to take them in by sevens, three pairs of males and three of females, and the seventh for sacrifice. All which creatures, God, by a secret instinct, disposed* to come and offer themselves unto him; and with them he was also to take in food of all sorts sufficient to sustain himself and them.

Noah having observed these directions, enters the ark with his family in the six hundredth year of his age: and on the seventeenth day of the second month (which was about the beginning of May), the whole face of Nature began to put on a dismal aspect, as if the earth were to suffer a final dissolution, and all things return to their primitive chaos. The cataracts of Heaven were opened, and the sea, forgetting its bounds,† overspread the earth with a dreadful inundation. Too late wretched man is sensible of his deserved fate, and in vain he climbs the highest hills to shun the vengeance of his angry God; the lofty mountains yield but a short reprieve, and every little refuge disappears. Forty days and nights it continued raining, at the end of which the ark began to float; the surface of the waters being fifteen cubits, or two and twenty feet and a half, above the tops of the highest moun-

* *Disposed.* Some have questioned how Noah could bring all sorts of birds and beasts to one place. The question is ridiculous, considering it was not Noah that brought them, but God by his secret providence disposing them. Though it might justly be answered in the case of Noah alone, exclusive of God's power, that all sorts of creatures having been created in that country, some of every kind had remained there, which Noah, without any miracle, might have tamed some time before the flood; so that when the Deluge came on, they might naturally be brought to the ark, at the time Noah shut it up.

† "The fountains of the great deep were broken up," Gen. vii. 11. The great deep is no other than that vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth mentioned in Gen. i. 9. "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together in one place." These, at the deluge, were caused to come forth and overflow the earth. This easily accounts for the universal deluge, since we perceive where such a body of waters could be found as were sufficient to overwhelm the whole surface of the globe. While the flood continued, the earth and waters were reduced to the same situation in which they were at the creation, before the waters were ordered to unite, and to let the dry land appear. And that the earth was thus placed between the waters, at first; and that it was by these waters the flood was produced, cannot be denied, if we read 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6. "By the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water: whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished." In various other places we read of these waters, see Deut. xxxiii. 13; Job xii. 15, xxvi. 10, xxxviii. 9-11; Psalm xxxiii. 7. From these immense store-houses water enough would issue to cover the highest mountains. The universality of the deluge appears incontrovertible from the organic remains of the antediluvian world, found in almost every part of the globe, and frequently in the most elevated situations, notwithstanding which, sceptical ingenuity has long denied the possibility of there being a quantity of water sufficient to rise above the mountains and deluge the whole earth. The wonderful discoveries of Franklin, Ingenhouz, and Priestley, in electricity, seem to put this part of the question beyond a doubt, for this active and all-powerful principle is ascertained to be the grand agent whereby water is both taken up and suspended in the atmosphere in form of an invisible vapor, to an extent almost incalculable, and sufficient to cover the highest mountains, if deprived of the electric fluid by which it is sustained. That something of this kind happened at the flood from the absorption of the electric fluid, as a secondary cause of the deluge, is most highly probable. And hence the rain of forty days, and the forcible expression of Moses, which has so much exercised the commentators, that "the fountains of the great deep were broken up;" for it is well known that in earthquakes, whose immediate cause is the discharge of electrical matter from the earth, the sea is greatly agitated, and throws up its waters upon the land in a most violent and extraordinary manner.

tains. Here was a dismal face of things: instead of the earth, adorned with the productions of nature and the improvements of art, a watery desert appeared, which presented nothing to the view of Heaven but the floating wrecks of men and other creatures, who, except Noah and those in the ark, were swept away with one common destruction.

God, having thus satisfied the claims of his justice in the vengeance with which He had long threatened mankind, graciously remembered Noah, who, with his family, had been confined in their floating tabernacle for near a year, for so long the waters continued to overwhelm the earth. In fulfilment of His promise to Noah, He caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters were assuaged. The fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped; the earth gradually became dry, and the ark rested on one of the eminences of Mount Ararat, in Armenia.* This was on the third of October, and on the twelfth of December the tops of the mountains appeared. The first appearance of the tops of the mountains was a welcome sight to Noah; who, wisely considering that, though these were visible, the valleys might still be overflowed, waited forty days longer before he attempted any further discovery; and then opening a window of the ark, he liberated a raven, to try whether the waters were dried up; but the raven did not return. Seven days after, he sent out a dove, which, finding no place to rest her foot, returned to the ark. Seven days after, he sent her out again, and she returned with an olive-branch.† By this, Noah knew that the waters did

* Two objections are made to the supposition that Scripture refers to this mountain when it speaks of "the mountains of Ararat." One is, that there are now no olive-trees in its vicinity from which Noah's dove could have plucked her leaf. And it is true, so far as we could learn, that that tree exists neither in the valley of the Koor nor of the Aras, nor on the coast of the Caspian, nor anywhere nearer than Batoom and other parts of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, a distance of seven days' journey of a caravan, or about one hundred and thirty miles in the circuitous route that would thus be taken. But might not a dove make this journey in a day? or might not the climate then have been warmer than it is now? The second objection is drawn from the fact that some of the old versions and paraphrases, particularly the Chaldee and the Syriac, refer "the mountains of Ararat" to the mountains of Kurdistan, where there is, not far from Jezeereh, a high mountain called Joody, on which the Moslems suppose the ark to have rested. But if the ark rested on that, the posterity of Noah would, most likely, have descended at once into Mesopotamia, and have reached Shinar from the north; while from the valley of the Aras they would naturally have kept along on the eastern side of the mountains of Media until they reached the neighborhood of Hamadan or Kermanshah, which is nearly east of Babylon. Such is the route now taken every day by all the caravans from this region to Bagdad. The Armenians believe, not only that this is the mountain on which the ark rested after the flood, but that the ark still exists upon its top; though, rather from supernatural than from physical obstacles, no one has yet been able to visit it. A devout vartabéd, their legends relate, once attempted, for this purpose, to ascend the mountain. While yet far from the top, drowsiness came upon him, and he awoke at the bottom, in the very spot whence he had started. Another attempt resulted only in the same miraculous failure. He then betook himself more fervently to prayer, and started the third time. Again he slept, and awoke at the bottom; but now an angel stood before him with a fragment of the ark, as a token that his pious purpose was approved, and his prayer answered, though he could never be allowed to reach the summit of the mountain. The precious gift was thankfully received, and is to this day carefully preserved, as a sacred relic, in the convent of Echmiádzin. — *Smith and Dwight.*

† The celebrated navigator, Captain Cook, found that green branches, carried in the hands,



MOUNT ARARAT.

not cover the earth where the olive-trees stood. However, he stayed seven days longer, and then let out the dove the third time, which did not return; whereupon Noah prepared to go out of the ark, by uncovering the roof of it. Yet, having a pious regard to God's providence and direction, as well in coming forth as in going in, he continued fifty-five days longer, that the earth might be dry, and left the ark on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, and first of the week. Thus there was a complete solar year from the beginning of the flood to the day when Noah and his wife, their sons and their wives, came out of the ark, with all the living creatures that had gone into it. It was then the month of May, when the trees and plants bud and shoot out. Nature puts on her youthful vernal dress again, all things appear in their former gayety, and the earth abundantly produces food for the creatures preserved in the ark; and all other parts of the creation contributed to the use and pleasure of man, as they did before the deluge.

The earth being thus prepared to receive Noah and his family, he, by God's express command, descends from the ark, with the creatures committed to his charge; and being safely landed, the first thing he did was to offer a sacrifice to the Lord, in order to which he built an altar, and taking of all the clean birds and beasts, made a burnt-offering.* The sacrifice was acceptable to the Lord, and drew his blessing on men, on beasts, and on the earth itself: For God not only declared his acceptance of Noah, but made a covenant with him (and in him with his posterity), graciously promising that he would not again curse the ground for man's sake, *though* † the imagination of his heart was evil, nor interrupt the seasons any more.

The order of nature destroyed by the flood being restored by God's promise, he particularly blessed Noah and his children, commanding them to multiply and fill the earth; appointed man lord over all the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and fishes of the sea. And whereas, hitherto men had lived upon vegetables, God having at first appointed herbs and fruits for their food, after the flood their fare was enlarged, and they were allowed to eat flesh; only he excepted blood, and meats strangled, from which the

or stuck in the ground, were the emblems of peace, universally employed and understood by the numerous and untutored inhabitants of the South Sea islands. The origin of a custom thus received and religiously observed, by nations dwelling on opposite sides of the globe, who never had the smallest intercourse with one another, must be sought for near the beginning of time, when the inhabitants of our earth, forming but one family, lived under the gentle sway of their common parent.

* There can be no reason to doubt that sacrifices were of God's own appointment, instituted on purpose to typify the only way of forgiveness by the death of the Redeemer, and derived all their efficacy from the reference they had to his propitiation for the sins of men. The peculiar expression, "The Lord smelled a sweet savor," is best explained by Eph. v. 2: "Christ hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savor." From this passage it appears that the distinction of clean and unclean does not depend originally on the law of Moses, but had its origin before the flood, probably at the first publication of grace to Adam.

† *Though*. This is commonly translated *for*, but very injuriously; for it makes the sacred author speak quite contrary to what he designed, and is an affront to the justice, goodness, and wisdom of God.

blood had not been drawn.* They were therefore first to take away the life, by letting out the blood, and then to dress and eat the flesh. But when he thus permitted them to kill all sorts of animals, he strictly charged them not to shed the blood of man, threatening those, whether men or beasts, that should shed it, with vengeance. In short, God ratified the promise he had made to Noah, not to destroy men and beasts any more by an universal deluge; and to render it more solemn, confirmed it by a covenant and alliance between himself and man, placing the rainbow † as a sign of it in the sky—not as an instrument of terror, but a bow unstrung;—not in his hand, but suspended in the clouds—an emblem of his covenant, that He would no more suddenly shoot forth the arrows of his wrath, though never so justly provoked.

And now the whole race of Cain being cut off by the flood, it might reasonably have been expected that the new world would have been planted with better people: but as in the ark there were unclean beasts preserved as well as clean, so in Noah's family there was a wicked Ham, as well as a pious Shem and Japheth. For of the three sons of Noah, who had been so wonderfully preserved with him in the ark, to re-people the world, there was one of them who drew the curse of God upon himself; and instead of being the head of a holy race, was the father of so wicked a posterity as to become the object of God's anger and reprobation. And this was Ham and his race; for the first instance of man's impiety, after the deluge, was that of Ham's discovering his father's nakedness, in a very rude and profane manner, which happened thus:

Noah having in a most devout and solemn manner offered a sacrifice of praise to God for his preservation, received the establishment of God's covenant with himself and his posterity for a perpetual security, and a command to multiply and replenish the earth, applied himself to husbandry; and, among other improvements which he made of the ground, he planted a vineyard. Natural curiosity invited him to taste of the fruit of his labor, but not aware of the inebriating quality of the wine, he fell into a state of intoxication, during which he lay in an indecent posture, his body being uncovered, in his tent. Graceless Ham was the first that discovered his

* *Blood.* The blood of animals was strictly prohibited, because devoted to a sacred use. It was the life of the animal; and being shed in sacrifice, denoted that the life of the sinner was forfeited, but that God accepted the blood of another in the sinner's stead, even of "the Lamb of God" (typified by the clean animal), "who taketh away the sin of the world."

In sacrifice, which was daily to be repeated, as the highest act of devotion, man had the strongest memorandum of his fall; of the forfeiture thereby; of that life for which the blood, the life of the victim, was shed; of the anger of God which must have consumed him, if what was represented by the burnt-offering had not interposed. Reflections on this symbolical act must prepare the mind for prayer and praise. Probably, for many ages, no animal food was eaten but that of the creatures offered in sacrifice, so that all animal food was originally sacramental; the body and mind were thus mutually gratified.

† *Rainbow.* This beautiful phenomenon is caused by the refraction of the sun's rays in the drops of descending rain, and consequently was seen before as well as since the deluge; the difference is that it was constituted, after the flood, by Divine appointment, to be a token of God's covenant that he would no more deluge the earth.



NOAH'S SACRIFICE.

father in this condition, who, instead of concealing his weakness, betrays him to his brethren, and made him the subject of ridicule and derision. But Shem and Japheth, abhorring their brother's conduct, and blushing at their father's situation, took a garment and laid it on their shoulders, and so went backward and covered him. Noah being recovered from his wine, and understanding how his younger son had treated him, pronounced a curse on his posterity in the person of Canaan. "Cursed," said he, "be Canaan;* a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren." But when he found how commendably his other sons had behaved, he rewarded their respectful attention with this blessing: "Blessed † be the Lord God of Shem, God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; ‡ and let Canaan be his servant."

We have* no mention of any other children Noah had but these three sons, from each of whom descended a numerous offspring, which afterwards peopled many countries, and, in process of time, the whole inhabited world. And now there was but one language used and known among men, who hitherto dwelt at the foot of the mountains of Armenia, not far, it is likely, from the place where the ark rested. Their offspring, multiplying by degrees, spread themselves into the neighboring countries, as Syria and Mesopotamia: and the number still increasing, they took their course westward, till, finding an inviting plain in the land of Shinar,§ they sat down in order to settle there.

And now those two unruly passions, ambition and fear, began to possess

* There is some difficulty in this passage; but if we suppose (with Bishop Newton) the omission of a word or two by the transcriber, the whole will be easy.

"And Noah said,

Cursed be (Ham, the father of) Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.

And he said,

Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,
For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem;
God shall enlarge Japheth,
And Canaan shall be their servant."

By this prophecy the whole race of Ham is devoted to servitude; not that this was to take place immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. The continent of Africa was peopled by the children of Ham; and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks? and of the poor negroes, how many thousands are annually bought and sold like beasts in the market, and conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another.

† *Blessed.* The blessing of God had effect; for the worship of the true God continued in the race of Shem, and the posterity of Japheth possessed a vast extent of land, peopling all Europe, and part of Asia; for which reason it is said, He shall dwell in the tents of Shem, that is, among the progeny of the latter.

‡ *Shem.* *Shem* is called the father of all the children of Eber, Gen. x. 21. Eber was great-grandson, or the fourth from Shem; and from him both the people of Israel were called Ebrews (or Hebrews), and the language they spake was called the Hebrew tongue: so that from Shem came the Jews, besides many other people that inhabited Asia. Europe is generally held to have been peopled by the posterity of Japheth.

§ *Shinar.* This is by some supposed to have been the place where the Garden of Eden was: afterwards called Chaldea.

the minds of men. They were desirous to perpetuate their name, and no less afraid that they should be scattered abroad. To effect the one and prevent the other, they agreed to build themselves a city, and a tower of such extraordinary height, that it is said they designed the top thereof should reach to heaven, *i. e.*, to make it very lofty and strong.* The projected height of this vast structure has been the occasion of a conjecture in some, that they not only intended it as a monument of their power, but as a place of refuge in case of another flood, which showed their distrust of God's veracity in keeping his covenant, that he would not bring a general deluge over the earth again. But whether pride or fear put them upon this project, it is certain they undertook the vast work, and being unanimous, they were not daunted at the greatness of the undertaking; but in order to it began to make brick, which they burnt, and, instead of mortar, made a cement of bitumen, a pitchy substance, which flows out of the earth in the plains of Mesopotamia.

Thus they began, and for some time proceeded in their intended work; but God, who saw their arrogance and presumption, resolved to disappoint them, and show them that they were not out of the reach of his providence and justice. The Almighty, therefore, looking on their vanity with indignation, expostulates thus with himself: "Behold, they are all one, and have but one language, and this they begin to do; shall they not be restrained in all that they have imagined to do? Yes; we will go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another." Thus the great Creator took council with his own wisdom and power, and which he imme-

* "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." These words clearly show that their object in building the tower was to transmit a name illustrious for sublime conception and bold undertaking to succeeding generations. In this sense the phrase, to make one's self a name, is used in other parts of Scripture. Thus, "David gat him a name, when he returned from smiting of the Syrians in the valley of salt;" and the prophet informs us that the God of Israel "led them by the right hand of Moses, with his glorious arm dividing the waters before them, to make himself an everlasting name." They seem also to have intended it as a beacon or rallying point to their increasing and naturally diverging families, to prevent them from separating in the boundless wilderness into independent and hostile societies. This may be inferred from these words, in which they further explain the motive of their undertaking: "Lest we be scattered abroad on the face of the whole earth." They seem to have anticipated the necessity, and dreaded the consequences of dispersion; and, like all who seek to avert evil by unlawful means, they hastened, by the rash and impious measure which they adopted, the very mischief they sought to avoid. To build a city and a tower was certainly no crime; but to do this with a view merely to transmit an illustrious name to posterity, or to thwart the counsels of heaven, was both foolish and wicked, and justly excited the displeasure of the supreme Judge, who requires his rational creatures to acknowledge and to glorify him in all their undertakings.

It is by no means improbable that this tower was also intended for idolatrous purposes. The worship of fire began in a very remote age, and most probably under the direction and among the rebellious followers of Nimrod. This idea receives no small confirmation from the numerous fire towers which in succeeding ages were built in Chaldea, where the sacred fire was kept, and the religious rites in honor of the sun were celebrated. If this conjecture be well founded, it accounts in the most satisfactory manner for the sudden and effectual dispersion of the builders, visibly and strongly marking the first combined act of idolatry after the flood, of which we have any notice, with the displeasure of the true God.

diately put in execution; for he stopped their proceedings by confounding their tongues, so that they spake several languages, and could not understand each other. Their confused dialects produced different ideas in the minds of the men of each family, which, for want of understanding each other's meaning, they applied to improper objects. This occasioned so great a disorder, that they were forced to relinquish the building: and being hereby rendered incapable of carrying on their intended work, and of conversing one with another, and so deprived of the comforts and pleasures of mutual intercourse, they willingly parted and dispersed themselves; they who were of one language going one way, and those who were of another going another way. Thus God, by scattering them abroad upon the face of the earth, at once both disappointed their design and accomplished his own, which was to re-people the earth more generally and speedily than it is probable they of themselves would otherwise have done.

Upon* this separation, the race of Shem settled in Asia; those of Ham, part in Asia and part in Africa; and the greater part of those of Japheth in Europe. Now among those aspiring builders of Babel was Nimrod, a bold and enterprising man, who is by Moses called the mighty hunter † before the Lord. It is certain he was a very barbarous and tyrannical man, and laid the foundation of the first great empire in the world, which was called the Babylonian, from the city Babel, or Babylon, its metropolis. From whence going afterwards into Assyria, he built the great city Nineveh; and from thence this monarchy was afterwards called the Assyrian, the first of the four great empires of the world.

The confusion of tongues, and dispersion of the family of Noah, happened a hundred and one years after the flood; for Peleg the son of Eber, who was great-grandson to Shem, is reckoned to have been born in the hundredth and first year after the flood, and had his name [Peleg] given him from that division of the earth which in his time was parted among Noah's posterity.

And now Almighty God, having disappointed vain mankind in raising an everlasting monument of their folly, and by so wide a separation put it out of their power to attempt the like again, began to lay the foundation of an holy city, that is, his Church, and chose Abram to be head of a race, elect and faithful, which should endure forever. And herein it is to be observed that Moses, in his relation, chooses rather to write the genealogy of Thare or Terah, than of the other descendants of Shem; because Terah

* *Upon, etc.* Moses, Gen. x. and xii., particularly sets down the nations descended from Noah, his son, grandsons, and great-grandchildren. The names of most of those nations being changed, many of them cannot certainly be known; but there are some still remaining. The names of the sons of Shem, as Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram, are known in history where we find the Elamites, the Assyrians, the Arphaxadites, the Lydians, and the Aramites. The name of Chus, the son of Ham, is given in Scripture to the Egyptians and the Arabs; the names of most of their children agreeing with those of the nations of Arabia.

† *Hunter*—not literally, but figuratively. "He began to be a mighty one in the earth, Gen. x. 8—a mighty hunter before the Lord, ver. 9—and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel." He was a mighty setter-up of the heavens for a god; and a mighty seducer of others to worship that false god; and not improbably a mighty persecutor of the true worshippers. We read of hunting souls, Ezek. xiii. 17, and Jer. v. 26.

was the father of Abram, afterwards named Abraham, who was called by the Lord to be the father of the faithful, and of the worshippers of the true God; for his father Terah served other gods, as we may see in Joshua xxiv. 2.

This Terah had three sons, Haran, Nahor, and Abram; for that is the order of their births. Haran, who was much older than his brethren, dying before his father, left one son, named Lot, and two daughters; one of whom was named Milcah, and the other Iscah, both married to their uncles; Milcah to Nahor, and Iscah to Abram, as the Jews record, who will have her to be called Sarai for her beauty and housewifery.

After the death of Haran, Terah took his son Abram, his grandson Lot, and Sarai, and carried them from Ur to the land of Canaan; but in their way coming to Haran, or Charran, they took up their abode there for awhile; during which time Terah died, being an hundred* and forty-five years old. After the death of Terah, God commanded Abram to leave this country, and to go into the land which he would show him. He promised that a mighty people should descend from him, and engaged to bless him, and in him to bless all the nations of the earth. Abram, without hesitation, believes the word of God, including two such great advantages as making him the head of a great people, and blessing all the world in HIM who was to proceed from his loins.†

Abram, with his whole family, and that of his nephew Lot, prepares for his journey towards the Land of Promise, though no particular place was yet pointed out, God intending thereby more fully to prove his faith and obedience, which were clearly evinced by his ready compliance with the Divine command. Accordingly Abram set out and pursued his journey till he came into the land of Canaan, to that place which is called the Oak ‡

* *Hundred, etc.* Stephen says that Abraham, after the death of his father, removed from Charran to the land of Canaan, Acts vii. 4; and, Gen. xii. 5, it is said that Abraham was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Charran; and Gen. xi. 26, it is said that Terah was seventy years old when he begat Abraham; and ver. 32, that he died being two hundred and five years old. But at this rate Terah must have lived sixty years after Abraham's going from Charran; for seventy-five, the number of Abraham's years when he left Charran, being added to seventy, the number of Terah's years when he begat Abraham, make one hundred forty and five years only; whereas it is said, Gen. xi. 32, that he lived two hundred and five. But this must certainly proceed from a fault crept into the text of Moses; and that of the two hundred and five years, which are given to Terah, when he died at Charran, he only lived an hundred and forty-five, according to the Samaritan Version and Chronicle, which, without doubt, agree with the Hebrew copy, from whence they were translated.

† That this included an intimation of the redemption of men by Jesus Christ, is evident from Gal. i. 8: "The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying (namely, in Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18), In thee shall all nations be blessed, *i. e.*, by their faith in that glorious person who is to descend from thee, all persons of every nation who resemble thee in their ready reception of the divine message, shall be blessed."

‡ *Oak.* The Chaldee Paraphrase and most Rabbis transform into a plain the Oak of Moreh, at which God appeared to Abram, Gen. xii. 6, and most versions transform this oak into a valley; and if we were to give it another signification, we must rather make it signify a valley than a plain; because Sychem was situated in the valley of Aulon, so called from the word *Elon*, which signifies an oak. It was under this oak that Jacob hid the strange gods which his servants kept, and it was likewise under it that Deborah, Rebecca's nurse,

of Moreh. Having passed through some parts of the land, the Lord appeared again to him, and gave him a promise of it to his posterity, long before he had any issue, and while it was possessed by other people; for it was then inhabited by the Canaanites. Abram, however, to show his faith and gratitude, erected an altar in that place to the Lord, who had appeared to him, and made him so gracious a promise. Removing from thence to a mountain, which is on the east of Bethel, he pitched his tent between Bethel and Hai: and there he erected an altar to the Lord, and called upon his name. But he had not continued long in Canaan, before he was forced to remove; for a famine happening in that country, he was obliged to go into Egypt; which lying near that part of Canaan, and being a fruitful country, he determined to travel thither, and stay there for some time.

While they were upon the confines of Egypt, having observed the difference in point of beauty between his own wife and the Egyptian women, a painful apprehension arose in his mind that her beauty might expose him to personal danger. And because the world had not then arrived to that height of dissoluteness as lightly to invade the marriage-bed, nuptial ties being held too sacred to be violated, his fear suggested that if Sarai passed for his wife they would murder him, in order to enjoy her without the imputation of adultery; a crime which seems to have been held in greater detestation than murder itself. To prevent this danger, he opened his mind to Sarai; and ascribing the cause of his fears to her beauty, entreated her to say she was his sister, that she might not be taken for his wife; by which means he hoped not only to escape the apprehended danger, but also to fare the better for her sake.

Abram's fears and apprehensions were not groundless; for no sooner had he come into Egypt, than the beauty of Sarai was much admired, and became the common theme of conversation, which at length reaching the ears of the king, excited in his mind a strong desire to behold the beautiful stranger. In consequence of which she is immediately brought to court, and introduced to Pharaoh; while Abram, who was understood to be her brother, was courteously treated for her sake, the king bestowing many presents upon him. Here the providence of God remarkably interposed in preserving the honor of the patriarch, and the chastity of his consort. For to deter Pharaoh and his court from any dishonorable attempt, God, by inflicting some sudden sickness or bodily infirmity on them, restrained their unlawful desires, and made them sensible she was a married woman. The king took the hint, and calling for Abram, blamed him for deceiving him, which might have led him into a fatal error, for not knowing her to be a married woman, he might have taken her to his own bed.* Then in much displeasure he

was buried, Gen. xxxv. 4, 8. It was also under it that Joshua set up a great stone, Joshua xxiv. 26, and that Abimelech was made king, Judges ix. 6, where our translators render it plain. But here in Gen. xii. 6, the Septuagints render it high oak. But more of this in our note on the same word, when we speak of the Oak of Mamre a little farther.

* Though Sarai was, in a certain sense, the sister of Abram (see Gen. xx. 12), yet this was certainly a blamable equivocation, occasioned by a distrust of God's protection, and exposed her to the very danger which he wished to avoid. It shows the imperfection of the best human characters, and is not recorded for our imitation.

bids him take his wife, and depart, commanding his servants neither to injure him in his person or property, but permit him quietly to remove with all his substance, which was much improved during his stay in Egypt by the favor of the king, for he was very rich in cattle, in silver and gold.

Hitherto his nephew Lot continued with him, whose stock increased proportionably with that of his uncle Abram. Leaving Egypt together, they proceeded towards Canaan again, and arrived at Bethel, the place where Abram had built an altar to the Lord before he went into Egypt; and there he worshipped God again.

And now their families growing large, and their flocks increasing, they began to labor again under a scarcity of pasture for their cattle; which might probably proceed partly from the late famine there, and partly from the great number of the Canaanites and Perizzites, who possessed the most fruitful part of the country. This scarcity of provisions and pasturage occasioned some petty quarrels between the herdsmen of Abram and of Lot, which gave Abram some uneasiness; who, fearing that this contention among the servants, if not timely suppressed, might rise higher, to the endangering of a breach betwixt his kinsman and himself, took an opportunity to speak with his nephew Lot about it, and in soft and gentle terms said to him, "Let there be no dispute between us nor our servants; for we are brethren."* Abram therefore, to prevent the worst, wisely proposes parting, seeing it scarcely probable that, since their substance was grown so great, they should with the same conveniency and accommodation dwell any longer together. And though Abram was in all respects a greater and better man than Lot, yet to show his prudence (not meanness of spirit), he condescends to give his nephew Lot his choice of settlement in what part of the land he liked best, and himself would take what he refused. Lot readily closed with this advantageous proposal; for having before surveyed the country, he chose for himself all the plain of Jordan, which he had observed to be very fertile, and well watered. Thus having parted by agreement, Lot directs his course eastward, and settles in the plain of Jordan, pitching his tent towards Sodom: the inhabitants of which place exceeded in that age the worst of sinners. Lot having removed, Abram continued still in the land of Canaan, where God renewed to him the grant of that land, and to his seed forever. This grant, as penned by the direction of God himself, stands thus enrolled in the sacred record:—"Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art, northward, southward, eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest will I give unto thee, and to thy seed forever: and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth; so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length and breadth thereof; for I give it unto thee."

* *Brethren.* So the ancients reputed and called those that sprung from one common root, though not in a direct line from one and the same father. In which respect those were brethren in a natural relation: as with regard to religion, and the worship of the true God, they were brethren also in a spiritual relation: in both which respects they would have suffered, had not the contention been timely suppressed.

Hereupon Abram, removing his tent, went and dwelt at the Oak* of Mamre, which is in Hebron; and there he built an altar unto the Lord.

In a short time after happened that memorable battle fought by four kings against five—the first pitched battle we read of in sacred history. The occasion of which was this: Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, had held five petty kings in a tributary subjection to him for some years; of which number the king of Sodom was one. At length they confederated against him: whereupon he, with three other kings, made war upon them to reduce them to their former subjection. The tributary kings resolved to try their fate in a pitched battle, and were defeated. The vale of Siddim,† where the battle was fought, had in it many pits, out of which had been digged slime (a kind of clammy earth, called bitumen, useful for making mortar), and here the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, in their flight, are said to have fallen. But whether, being pursued among those pits, they were overtaken and slain, or whether, taking shelter there, they hid and secured themselves till the pursuit was over, is not expressed. However, after the rout, the conquerors plundered the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, carried away all the goods and provisions, and made the inhabitants prisoners; among whom was Abram's nephew Lot, who by this time was become an inhabitant of Sodom, though upon his parting with his uncle we left him only pitching his tent towards Sodom; but now he was gone to dwell in Sodom, and with the Sodomites was taken prisoner.

But some made their escape; one of whom came and brought the news of this defeat to Abram, who remained still near the oak that belonged to Mamre, with his two brothers Escol and Aner, who were in confederacy with him. Abram, in haste, musters up what force he could to rescue his kins-

* *Oak.* Sozomen writes, that this oak was still famous in the time of Constantine for pilgrimages, and for an anniversary feast which was solemnized there: that it was distant from Hebron but six miles, where there were still some cottages which Abraham had built near that oak, and a well which he had digged; and whither the Jews, Pagans, and Christians, travelled every year, either out of devotion or a design to trade. Brochard assures us that he had seen this oak, and had carried home some of the fruit and wood of it.

† The Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, is enclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north it is bounded with the plain of Jericho, on which side it receives the waters of the Jordan; on the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. It is said to be twenty-four leagues long, and six or seven broad, and is fringed with a kind of coppice of bushes and reeds. In the midst of this border, not a furlong from the sea, rises a fountain of brackish water, which was pointed out to Maundrell by his Arab conductor; a sure proof that the soil is not equally impregnated with saline particles. The ground, to the distance of half an hour from the sea, is uneven and broken into hillocks, which Mr. Maundrell compares to ruinous lime-kilns; but whether these might be the pits at which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings who invaded their country, he could not determine. — *Paxton.*

As it has no outlet, Reland, Pococke, and other travellers, have supposed that it must throw off its superfluous waters by some subterraneous channel; but, although it has been calculated that the Jordan daily discharges into it 6,090,000 tons of water, besides what it receives from the Arnon and several smaller streams, it is now known that the loss by evaporation is adequate to explain the absorption of the waters. Its occasional rise and fall at certain seasons is doubtless owing to the greater or less volume which the Jordan and the other streams bring down from the mountains. — *Modern Traveller.*

man; and choosing among his own servants, such as were fit to bear arms, to the number of three hundred and eighteen, accompanied with his confederates, he pursues the enemy as far as Dan. The night favoring his design, he divides his forces into small parties, and attacks them on all sides. The unexpectedness of this sudden attempt upon a victorious army laden with spoil, and the midnight alarm, struck them with such horror and amazement, that Abram obtained a sudden and easy victory. Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, fell in the action, and their whole army was routed, which they drove as far as Hoba, which is on the left of Damascus. Thus Abram rescued his nephew Lot, with all the prisoners, and retook all the booty.

The first person who congratulated him upon his victory was the king of Sodom,* who, in thankful acknowledgment of the benefit he had received from Abram's assistance and courage, offered him the goods which he had retaken, desiring him only to restore the prisoners. Abram was not so sordid as to take advantage of the miseries of war; for, reserving to his confederates that part of the plunder which by the rules of war belonged to them, he restored to the king of Sodom both the prisoners and the goods, having before resolved not to keep any part of them, that it might be known he undertook the enterprise only for the public good, which all men of honor and piety ought to support.

The next who congratulated Abram upon his success was Melchizedek,†

* *Sodom.* By this it seems, Gen. xiv. 17, the king of Sodom was not slain at the battle of the kings aforesaid. For the text saying only that the king of Sodom came out to meet him, it may reasonably be supposed he came from some place where he had hid himself, or from Sodom, whither, after the conqueror had withdrawn, he might return. The conduct of this king, of Abraham, of Lot, of Saul, of the father of the prodigal, and of many others, is beautifully illustrated by the manners of the East at this day. Not to *meet* a friend, or an expected guest, would be considered as rude in the extreme. So soon as the host hears of the approach of his visitant, he and his attendants go forth in courtly style; and when they *meet* him, the host addresses him, "Ah! this is a happy day for me; by your favor I am found in health." He will then, perhaps, put his arm round his waist, or gently tap him on the shoulder, as they proceed towards the house. When at the door, he again makes his bow, and politely ushers him in; and the rest joyfully follow, congratulating each other on the happy meeting. — *Roberts.*

† *Melchizedek.* There have been great disputes among the learned who this Melchizedek was, and where the city of Salem stood. And that which has still aggravated the difference is the description of him in Heb. vii. 3, where it is said that Melchizedek was without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life. These words have occasioned many wild and whimsical speculations. But among all the opinions about him, that of Epiphanius, and others, as to his person, is very probable, who think that he was a Sidonian, which they seem to take out of Josephus, who calls him a prince of the Canaanites. But we may observe that the Apostle does not describe him by those qualities with respect to his person, but to his office or dignity of priesthood, which made him like Jesus Christ; and on that account it is enough that his genealogy, birth, and death are not recorded in Scripture, to justify this description. But since it is usual in the best authors to describe famous nations and persons as if they were the first of their order, and as if they had produced themselves, it is more natural to have recourse to this custom. History speaks of several people who had no original: The Italians about Rome were called *Aborigines*; the Athenians called themselves *Autoctethones*; and Seneca, speaking of two kings of the Romans, *Ancus* and *Servius*, says the first had no father, and the second no mother. After all, if it be true that Melchizedek was descended of wicked and idolatrous

king of Salem, who, meeting him on his return from the battle, brought him a present of bread and wine to refresh him and his men on their march; and both blessed Abram, and God too, who had given him good success. In requital of which kindness, Abram made him a present of the tenth part of the spoils that he had taken in the expedition.

Notwithstanding this victory over the kings, Abram, considering himself merely as a stranger in that country, might be apprehensive that the Babylonians, whom he lately defeated, to repair their loss, might meditate a revenge; therefore to remove any anxiety of mind that might proceed from temporal causes, God encourages him, saying, "Fear not, Abram, for I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward."

Though this providential care of the Almighty was a seasonable hint to Abram to remind him of the promise that his issue should inherit the land, yet he had not been pleased hitherto to bestow any heir upon him; but his servant seemed likely to inherit his estate. Whereupon God, to satisfy him, tells him that not his servant, but one that should come out of his own bowels should be his heir; and that he should not only have an heir of his own body, but a numerous offspring, like the stars of heaven for number. Abram, desiring some assurance of these things, God made a covenant with him by express promise, attended with a very solemn ceremony, after this manner: "Take (saith God) an heifer of three years old, a she-goat of three years old, a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon." Abram obeyed, and dividing the beasts, but not the birds, laid each piece one against the other; and when the fowls came down upon the carcasses, he drove them away. About sunset a deep sleep seized upon Abram, which affected him with horror.* And God spake to him, saying, "Know for certain, that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. But that nation which shall afflict them will I judge; and afterwards shall they come forth with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." And for a

parents, as most of the fathers think, and that he was the first and last priest of the true God of his race, the Apostle might, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, very well describe him under those characters in ver. 3. And since our language is not so metaphorical as the dead languages, we should follow, in a popular version, the meaning which we have observed, and translate with Outram this text, Heb. vii. 3, that Melchizedek was the most illustrious of his family, and had neither predecessor nor successor in his employ. He was an eminent type of Christ, who is both the "King of Righteousness" and "King of Peace;" who is in the highest sense, "Priest of the high God," who blesseth all the faithful; who receiveth the homage of his people, and who was truly without progenitors or successors with respect to his office.

* "An horror of great darkness fell upon him." Abram seems to have employed the whole day in watching, fasting, and prayer, till the stars appeared, and this horror, with darkness of mind, was strongly expressive and emblematical of what his posterity was doomed to undergo in Egypt. Four hundred years intervened from this time to their deliverance by the Almighty, and four hundred and thirty years from the first call of Abram, according to the united testimony of the best commentators.

similar demonstration how this should come to pass, the Lord caused two emblems of all this to appear; first a smoking furnace (a plain representation of the heavy sufferings his seed should undergo in Egypt), and a lamp of fire (a lively emblem of their deliverance after the expiration of their four hundred years' servitude); * these passed between the divided pieces of flesh.

Sarai, having for about ten years expected a performance of God's promise, and judging according to the course of nature that the promised heir must proceed from some other, and not from herself, now despairing of her own conception, partly from her great age, which was seventy-five, and partly from a sense she had that God had restrained her from bearing, prevailed † with her husband to take her handmaid Hagar ‡ to be his concubinary § wife, pleasing herself with the thought, that if her maid should conceive by her husband, it would be a means of building up her and her house, in the accomplishment of the Divine promise.

Hagar soon conceived by her master Abram; and forgetting her former condition of a slave, values herself upon her conception, and treats her mistress with contempt. Sarai, who had been the cause of this Egyptian's advancement, is stung to the quick at her scornful carriage, which not being able to endure, she complains to her husband; hinting as if Hagar durst not have been so impertinent without some encouragement from him, and expostulates with him very sharply about the matter. But Abram, to convince Sarai that he would not countenance her in any disrespectful behavior towards her, delivers Hagar into her power as her mistress, bidding her do as she pleased with her. Sarai, no doubt, showed her resentment in some severity, which we find not particularly expressed: however, it was such, it seems, as Hagar's proud mind could not bear; for she ran away immediately, making the best of her way towards her own country, which was Egypt. As she travelled through the desert, finding a fountain of water, she tarried to rest and refresh herself. Here the angel of the Lord found her; and in his first address, he put her in mind of her relation and duty, giving her the appellation of Sarai's servant; plainly denoting that her advancement to her master's bed had not exempted her from her mistress's service. Then expostulating with her about her intended journey, whither she would go? she answered, she fled from her mistress. The angel inquired no further; but bade her return and submit herself to her. And the more effectually to persuade her to a thing so much against her inclination, he told her that God

* Gen. xv. 17.

† *Prevailed*. This shows the singular chastity of Abram, Gen. xvi. 2, who could not, without the importunity of his wife, be persuaded to take their servant to his bed.

‡ *Hagar*. She is supposed by St. Chrysostom to have been given by Pharaoh to Abram while he sojourned in Egypt, and was by the pious example of her master and mistress converted to the faith and worship of the true God.

§ *Concubinary*. In concubinage, those secondary or half-wives were accounted lawful and true wives, and their issue reputed legitimate, and they had a lawful right to the marriage-bed. Yet in all other respects they were inferior. And as they had no authority in the family nor share in the household government, so if they had been servants in the family before they came to be concubines, they continued to be so afterwards, and in the same subjection to their mistress as before.

would multiply* her seed exceedingly, so that it should not be numbered; and to convince her that he was a messenger sent on purpose from God to take care of her, he told her that which none else could, namely, that she was with child, and should bear a *son*, giving her a particular charge about the name which she should give him, which was Ishmael.

Hagar having been brought up in Abram's family, was no doubt instructed in the knowledge and fear of the true God, which is plain, from her acknowledging that it was God who had visited her: the fountain also, at which the angel found her, was called Beer-lahai-roi, that is, "The well of him that liveth and seeth me." And now having been in so extraordinary a manner comforted and admonished, she returned to her mistress; and being, upon her submission, received, she in due time was delivered of a son, whom Abram, according to the angel's direction, called Ishmael.

At the birth of this child, Abram was eighty-six years old; and lest, in the excess of his joy, he should mistake this child for the heir of those great promises before made to him, God, for a further trial of his faith and obedience, deferred yet thirteen years longer that blessing which should be granted him; for in the ninety-ninth year of Abram God appeared to him again and said, "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, be thou perfect, and I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly." Abram in humble reverence falling on his face, God talked further with him; and, for an additional confirmation of his faith, told him he should be a father of many nations, changing his name from Abram † to Abraham. At the same time God instituted circumcision, as a seal of the covenant which he now made with him, commanding that every male child of eight days old, whether born in the house, or bought with money, should be circumcised in the fore-skin of his flesh, upon pain of being cut off from his people. ‡ Whereupon Abraham and Ishmael, and all the men of his family, were circumcised the same day. And as God had changed Abram's name to that of Abraham, so did he at the same time change his wife's name from Sarai § to Sarah—the difference in sound but little, but great in meaning. And now at the changing of their names God promised a son to Abraham by his wife Sarah. "I will bless her (said he), and give thee a

* Gen. xvi. 10.

† *Abram*. This name imported a *high father*, but his new name, *Abraham*, signifies a *father of a great multitude*: as indeed he was, not only the twelve tribes, but the *Ishmaelites*, the *Edomites*, and all the posterity of *Keturah* descending from him.

‡ Circumcision had probably a much earlier origin, as it is observed by nations who cannot be supposed to have received it from Abraham or his descendants; it was perhaps instituted soon after the fall, and included a *memento* of the first transgression of Adam, in which, no doubt, too fond a regard to sensual gratification had a share; it is easy therefore to see the symbolical meaning of this rite—"a heart circumcised"—"a heart cut off, and separated from unruly passions and sensual affections." This was therefore made the token of God's covenant with Israel, who were to be a holy people, not under the dominion of fleshly lusts like their idolatrous neighbors.

§ *Sarai*. *Sarai* signified *my princess*, princess of my family only; but *Sarah* signifies a *princess indefinitely at large*. *A mother (or princess) of many nations shall she be, and kings of people shall come of her*. Gen. xvii. 16.

son also of her." This was joyful news indeed to Abraham, who did not in the least question the performance of it; but considering that he was at present a real father in Ishmael, the natural affection he bore to him as his first-begotten, and fear that upon the birth of another he might be deprived of him, made him break forth into this earnest supplication, "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" God soon dispels these anxieties; and to wean him from his desire of advancing Ishmael to any share in the covenant, assures him that Sarah should bear him a son, whose name he should call Isaac, promising to establish his covenant with him forever, and with his seed after him. At the same time, that he might not seem wholly to reject Abraham's request for Ishmael, he adds, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thy prayer, and have blessed him; he shall be fruitful, and multiply so exceedingly, that he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation." And to remove any further doubt or scruple of the performance of these promises, God appoints a set time, telling him that Sarah should bring forth a son the next year. To assure him still further of this, in a short time after God appears to him in another manner, to confirm him in the truth of what he had told him: for as Abraham one day sat in his tent door,* in the oak-grove, he saw three persons, whom he took for men, coming towards him; whereupon rising from his seat, he went to meet them, and after the custom of the country, saluted them by bowing himself to the ground. Still supposing them to be men, he is very importunate with them to stay and take a repast with him. They readily consented, and he immediately gave orders for an entertainment, which was accordingly served up, and himself waited at the table, which was under the covert of a shady oak. During their seeming refreshment, one of them asked him where his wife was; and Abraham telling him she was in the tent, he said, "I will certainly return to thee according to the time that women usually go with child, and Sarah thy wife shall have a son." By which Abraham was once more assured that this visit was from heaven, and that one of them represented God himself. Sarah overheard all that passed in this conversation; and considering her own and her husband's great age, she could not believe what was said, having still a greater regard to the order of nature than to God's promise, but laughed within herself at the improbability of the matter.

* In the time of Chandler it was still the custom of eastern shepherds to sit at the door of their tents in the heat of the day. That traveller, "at ten minutes after ten in the morning," was entertained with the view of a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by their doors, under sheds resembling porticos, or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats. In the same situation the three angels found Abraham, when they came to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, sitting under the portico, or skirts of his tent, near the door, to enjoy the refreshing breeze, and superintend his servants. It was not the hottest part of the day when Chandler saw the Turcoman shepherds sitting at the doors of their booths; it was soon after ten in the morning; and when Abraham was sitting at his tent door, it might be nearly at the same hour. In the hottest part of the day, according to the practice of those countries, the patriarch had been retired to rest. The goats of the Turcomans were feeding around their huts; and if Abraham's cattle, which is extremely probable, were feeding around his tent in the same manner; it accounts for the expedition with which he ran and fetched a calf from the herd, in order to entertain his visitants. — *Paxton*.

For which, being reprov'd by one of their heavenly guests, though she knew herself guilty, she denied that she laugh'd. But the Lord positively fixed it upon her, saying, "*Nay, but thou didst laugh.*"*

Upon this the conversation ceased, and the company prepared to be gone, having first assured Abraham of God's return at the promised time; and he understanding they were travelling towards Sodom, would needs wait on them, and bring them on their way. As they walk'd, God was pleas'd to give a singular instance of his favor to Abraham, in acquainting him with his purpose concerning Sodom; which gracious act was ground'd upon the assurance he had, that Abraham would command † not only his children, but his household after him, to keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment. Upon which, God acquaints him with his design (to destroy ‡ Sodom. In the meantime the two angels left them, and went towards Sodom; but Abraham remained communing with the Lord, § and interceding for that wicked city, which this great condescension of God in communicating his purpose to Abraham gave him opportunity to do. Taking for granted, therefore, that the Judge of all the earth must do right, he proceeded to mediate for Sodom in six petitionary propositions, lessening the number from fifty to ten; praying that in case there were but ten just persons in Sodom, he would not destroy it for their sakes. This, God, at the patriarch's entreaty, was graciously pleas'd to grant; and then left Abraham to return home.

The other two guests, who came along with them from Abraham's tent, (and who were indeed ministering angels, whom God had appointed || to execute judgment upon the wicked Sodomites,) held on their course towards the city, where they arriv'd in the evening. Lot, who sat in the gate of the city, seeing them, went forth to meet them, and having saluted them, invit'd them to his house to refresh and repose themselves that night; which they at first declin'd, but by his importunity were prevail'd upon to accept. During

* *Laugh.* This shows how piercing the eye of Providence is, from which no secret can be hid. She thought none could discover her inclinations or inward actions; and because she did not laugh outwardly, she therefore persisted in the denial. Her only excuse could be, that her laughter proceeded from incredulity, and not from contempt. And yet there is a great difference between Abraham's laughing and Sarah's laughing, though much upon the same occasion: for Abraham, when the promise of a son by Sarah was made to him, Gen. xvii. 17, laugh'd for joy, and was not reprov'd.

† *Command.* See Gen. xviii. 19.

‡ *Destroy.* Here is another great instance of God's patience, who, though He knew all without inquiry, yet would not condemn even the most flagitious without due examination and trial. Before the flood, God proceeded against the old world upon ocular evidence: "God saw that the wickedness of man was great," Gen. vi. 5, and 12. So also at the building of Babel, it is said, "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men built," Gen. xi. 5. And now again, before the destruction of Sodom, though the cry against Sodom and Gomorrah was great, because of the grievousness of their sin, yet the Lord would not proceed against them upon generals, or upon common fame, but "I will go down, saith the Lord, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it; and if not, I will know," Gen. xviii. 21.

§ The text says, "Abraham stood yet before the Lord" (Jehovah), Gen. xviii. 22, and Abraham addresses him as "the Judge of all the earth," v. 25: so that this was another condescending visit of Him who afterwards was "made flesh, and dwelt among us." John i. 14.

|| *Appointed.* See Gen. xix. 19.

their entertainment, the men of Sodom in a very riotous manner encompassed the house, and commanded Lot to bring forth his new guests that they might know them.* Lot, thinking by mild and gentle words to appease his unreasonable neighbors, steps out of the door, and shutting it after him, entreats them not to offer any affront to his guests. So great, indeed, was his concern for their safety, that he made an unwary and unwarrantable offer to the Sodomites, to bring out his two virgin daughters to them, to do with them as they pleased, rather than they should abuse his guests: which, though an error in the good man, yet shows how sacred the laws of hospitality were then held among the virtuous. But the Sodomites, naturally wicked, and, in order to their destruction, became extremely hardened, scorned to be directed by him, who was but a late inhabitant among them, and threatened to deal worse with him than with his guests; and pressing hard upon Lot, they intended to force the door. The heavenly guests seeing Lot in such dangerous circumstances, engaged in the quarrel, drew him into the house, and struck these unnatural monsters with blindness, which so perplexed them that they could not find the door: which being again shut, they inquired of Lot what family he had; and informing him that the destruction of the place was now determined, and that God had sent them to destroy it, they charged him to take all his family and relations, with whatsoever he had in that place, and bring them out.

Upon this admonition, Lot went out, and spake to those that were to marry † his daughters, and advised them to accompany him that they might avoid the common destruction: but to little purpose; for they considered all he said as a jest. By this time the night was far spent, and as soon as the day began to break, the angels hastened Lot to be gone, saying, "*Arise, take thy wife and thy two daughters, lest ye be destroyed in the iniquity of the city.*" Lot was still for delaying, perhaps hoping that the fate of this wretched people might be reversed. But in vain; instead of ten righteous persons that Abraham capitulated for, but four, and they of Lot's family (including himself), were thought worthy to escape the dreadful judgment designed for this place. The angels therefore observing that Lot still lingered, took him, his wife and daughters, by force, and brought them out of the city, bidding them hasten for their lives, and charging them not to look behind them, nor make any stay in the plain, but escape to the mountain, lest they shared in the common fate. Lot looking forward, and seeing the mountain was far distant, entreated the angels that he might be excused from flying so far, and

* *Know them.* That is, abuse them in that unnatural and filthy manner which was afterwards expressly forbidden in the law, Levit. xviii. 22, and thereby made capital, xx. 13. Which vile sin continued among the Gentiles even to the Apostles' time (as may be gathered from Rom. i. 27 and 1 Cor. vi. 9), and was so generally practised among the people of Sodom, that from thence it took the name of Sodomy, and the practisers thereof are called Sodomites, both in the Scriptures (1 Kings xiv. 24, and xv. 12; 2 Kings xxiii. 7) and in the English laws, which (as did the law of God of old) still makes the punishment of it death.

† *Marry, etc.* Some translators render it, "Which were to marry his daughters." It is very probable they were contracted or betrothed to husbands; but the marriage was not solemnized.

be permitted only to go to a small city hard by, which was then called Bela.* They granted his request, and that city being saved for his sake, he was commanded to hasten thither; for, said the angel, I will not do anything towards the destruction of Sodom and the other cities till thou be secured.

The injunction laid on Lot, his wife, and daughters, upon their escape was, That they should not look behind them, nor tarry in the plain, but hasten to the mountain. Yet before Lot could reach the little city of Bela, afterwards called Zoar, his wife, either forgetting what the angel had said, or out of love to the place of her habitation, looked back,† and became a pillar of mineral salt,‡ a lasting monument of God's vengeance on obstinate and unbelieving offenders.

Lot's wife being thus made a dreadful example of attachment to what God had forbidden, he, with his daughters, proceeds in his flight to Zoar, where he arrived by sunrise. And now being out of danger, God prepares

* *Bela*. This city was the seat of one of those five kings who fought the first battle with the four kings, and were beaten in the vale of Siddim, Gen. xiv. 2.

† *Looked back*. She stopped by the way, and left her husband and daughters to walk by themselves. When she looked back, Sodom, and the fine country around it, appeared in the same pleasant and serene state as ever. Consequently, she looked with a look of affection to the place, and of regret to leave it, and their goods that were in it. This implied unbelief and distrust of what the angels had affirmed, that God would immediately destroy the place. She did not believe, or she did not regard it. She would go no farther, and might be at a considerable distance from Zoar, and so near to Sodom, as, probably, to be involved in the terrible shower. This gives the proper sense and force of our Lord's admonition, Luke xvii. 32, "Remember Lot's wife." Let the judgment of God upon her warn you of the folly and danger of hankering after, and being loth to part with, small and temporal things, when your life and happiness, the greatest and most lasting concerns, are at stake. "From behind him." This seems to imply that she was following her husband, as is the custom at this day. When men or women leave their house, they never *look back*, as "it would be very unfortunate." Should a husband have left anything which his wife knows he will require, she will not call on him to turn or look back; but will either take the article herself, or send it by another. Should a man have to *look back* on some great emergency, he will not then proceed on the business he was about to transact. When a person goes along the road (especially in the evening), he will take great care not to *look back*, "because the evil spirits would assuredly seize him." When they go on a journey, they will not look behind, though the palankeen or bandy should be close upon them; they step a little on one side, and then look at you. Should a person have to leave the house of a friend after sunset, he will be advised in going home not to *look back*: "as much as possible keep your eyes closed; *fear not*." Has a person made an offering to the evil spirits, he must take particular care when he leaves the place not to *look back*. A female known to me is believed to have got her crooked neck by *looking back*. Such observations as the following may be often heard in private conversation: "Have you heard that *Comaran* is very ill?" "No; what is the matter with him?" "Matter! why he has *looked back*, and the evil spirit has caught him." — *Roberts*.

‡ *Salt*. All the versions say that Lot's wife became a pillar of salt, Gen. xix. 26. Joseph assures us that it was to be seen in his time, and several modern travellers relate that it is still to be seen between Mount Engaddi and the Dead Sea. Interpreters observe that we must not take the salt here mentioned for common salt, but for a mineral salt, which was hewn out of the rock like marble, and was made use of to build houses, according to the testimony of several eminent authors. But since by the word *salt* we always understand common salt, which water soon dissolves, the word *mineral* should have been joined with *salt* in the version, to take away the ambiguity. This made Vatablus and Bodinus take this expression in a metaphorical sense, as a firm and sure covenant is called a "covenant of salt," Num. xviii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5.

his judgments against Sodom and Gomorrah, and the rest of the sinful cities of the plain: the angry Heavens pour down showers of liquid fire, which in an instant destroyed those guilty wretches. Lot,* seeing that other cities of the plain besides Sodom were demolished, thinking himself not safe in Zoar, withdrew to the mountain to which he was first directed, and there dwelt in a cave with his two daughters, where the greatest of mischiefs befell him — no less than that of incest; for his two daughters having lost their espoused husbands in Sodom, and despairing of ever having any others, (for they thought all mankind were destroyed in the late conflagration, except their father and themselves,) plotted together to betray their innocent parent, under the pretence of preserving the race of mankind. They had lived in Sodom, and, it may be feared, had learned too much of the licentiousness of the place. However they might be instigated, it is certain they had a very unnatural design upon their father; and considering his integrity, they knew they could not persuade him to commit so great a wickedness while he retained his reason; they therefore determined to deprive him of it, by intoxication. In this base project they succeeded too well; in consequence of which, Lot became both the father and grandfather of his daughters' children; but, as if he abhorred this incestuous breed, we do not find that he took so much notice of them as to give them a name; for the mothers named them, the elder calling her son Moab, and the younger her son Benammi — both mischievous enemies in after-times to Israel, especially the Moabites. Thus much of Lot, of whom sacred history gives no further account.

We now return to Abraham, who abode in Mamre till he had seen the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; soon after which he removed more southward, and fixed in Gerar, the chief city of the Philistines. Here again the same apprehension possessed him about Sarah, his wife, as before, and therefore he had recourse to his former policy, and by agreement, they were to call each other brother and sister. The king † of Gerar supposing Sarah to be no other than Abraham's sister, caused her to be taken from him, intending to keep ‡ her for himself. But God appeared to that prince in a dream, and told him he should be punished with death for the woman he

* *Lot.* God's favor in preserving Lot was very great: but yet it is not altogether to be imputed to Lot's virtue; for we must consider that Lot was very near of kin to Abraham, and very much esteemed by him; and no doubt Lot fared the better for Abraham's sake; for it is said, Gen. xix. 29, "When God destroyed the cities of the plain, he remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the destruction, etc."

† *King.* The king of Gerar's title was Abimelech, as that of the kings of Egypt was Pharaoh, and that of the Roman emperors Cæsar.

‡ *Keep.* Sarah was now ninety years old when Abimelech took her into his family; whence it may seem very strange that a woman of her age should bear her years so well as to be desired by a king, who, in those times, might command the most youthful beauties in his dominions. But, according to interpreters and commentators, people of ninety in those days were as fresh and vigorous as those of forty now. Others, as Procop, are of opinion that God having removed Sarah's barrenness, her beauty returned with her fruitfulness: for by this time it may be supposed that Sarah had conceived that promised seed which was to be Abraham's heir.

had taken, because she had an husband.* Abimelech excused himself, alleging that Sarah and Abraham had given out that they were brother and sister. And calling for Abraham, he reproves him sharply; demanding why he imposed so on him who never offered any ill to him, but rather did him all the kind offices of a friend? Abraham's excuse was, that he did it to save his life; though at the same time he told him no falsehood in saying she was his sister, for she was the daughter of his father, but not of his mother. Abimelech, thus admonished by God, was easily reconciled; for he not only restored Abraham his wife with a royal present, and permission to dwell in what part of the country he liked best, but paid an extraordinary compliment to Sarah in these words: "Behold I have given to thy brother a thousand pieces of silver, which is to thee a covering of the eyes to all that are with thee, and to all others, for thou art fully justified." † Then, upon Abraham's prayer, God removed from Abimelech that disability by which he had restrained him from Sarah; and also restored to his wife and women their former fertility, which had been suspended.

And now the time appointed being come, God gave a miraculous instance of his power and faithfulness in blessing Abraham with a son, whose birth was wonderful, considering the age of his parents. Sarah was delivered of a child, whom Abraham, according to former direction, called Isaac, ‡ and circumcised him when he was eight days old. Who can express the joy of this ancient pair on this occasion? Now indeed might Sarah laugh with comfort, and not in distrust, as she did before.

The birth of Isaac, as it was a matter of great joy to Sarah, was, no doubt, a great disappointment to Hagar, who, from her mistress's great age, might naturally conclude she would have no child, and therefore promised herself

* The Psalmist, referring to this event, says: "He suffered no man to do him wrong; yea, he proved kings for his sake." Ps. cv. 14.

† *Justified.* The translation of this passage in our version is not strictly accurate: "Behold I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver. Behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes to all that are with thee, and with all others. Thus was she proved." Gen. xx. 16. For, first, the word there rendered *reproved* never has that meaning, but signifies to *search* or *inquire* into a thing till it is cleared, and put out of doubt. Secondly, there was no need then for a reproof; for Abraham had already fully justified Sarah, v. 12, and Abimelech had accepted of his defence. Thirdly, Abimelech was so far from irritating Abraham or Sarah by reproaches, that on the contrary he endeavored to win their friendship by a very considerable present: nay, before Abimelech was satisfied, his reproaches to Abraham were rather obliging remonstrances than bitter invectives, vs. 9, 10. He therefore declares that Sarah was fully justified, as the Septuagint and Chaldee Paraphrase have rendered it.

But there is another mistake; for it was of Abraham that it says, "He was a covering to the eyes of Sarah;" whereas the original says this of the thousand pieces of silver, which were a public testimony that Abimelech rendered to her virtue, as the veils of the Hebrew women were the symbols of their modesty; whereas the harlots went open-faced. So that this present rather regarded Sarah than Abraham, to whom that prince had already given sheep and oxen, etc., and restored him Sarah his wife, giving him likewise an offer of settling in any part of his country. Abimelech's design then by this liberality was to justify Sarah's virtue to them who belonged to her, and to all others, it being at that time usual to give presents to confirm the truth of anything that might be called in doubt, as may be seen Gen. xxi. 30.

‡ *Isaac.* Which signifies laughter.

the satisfaction that her son should be Abraham's heir. This disappointment soon grew to a resentment, which could not long be concealed in mother or son; for after Isaac was weaned and grown up a little, his watchful mother caught Ishmael mocking* him. Sarah could by no means bear to have her son derided by the son of a bondwoman; she was therefore very importunate with Abraham to dismiss both mother and son, hinting to him that *her* son was to be the heir of the covenant, not the son of a slave. This brought Abraham into a painful dilemma: he was fond of Ishmael, whose infant familiarity had very much engaged him to the child. But God soon made it easy to him; bidding him not to be solicitous about the bondwoman and her son, but to regard what his wife advised him to, confirming what she had said, that Isaac was to be his heir; at the same time assuring him, that because Ishmael was his son, he would make him considerable in the world.†

Once more Hagar turns wanderer, but it is by compulsion: the Almighty will have it so, and Abraham must obey. His fondness for Ishmael yielded to God's promises, which were his only comfort at this sad separation. All her equipment of provision consisted in some bread and a bottle of water, with which she set out, wandering in the wilderness of Beersheba till her water was spent, and in vain searching for a supply in that parched country, she in despair lays the child, fainting with thirst, at the foot of a tree, herself retiring a little distance from him, — "a bowshot," ‡ — that she might not see him die. § In vain his feeble tongue calls on his mourning mother, who

* *Mocking.* It is reasonable to suppose that this mocking might be upon the account of the heirship, Ishmael scorning that this youngster, so much his inferior in years, should take the inheritance from him: and that Hagar, Ishmael's mother, did countenance him, if not tutor him to it. For she was to be cast out as well as he; which, it is probable, would not have been the case, if she had not been faulty. This may reasonably be supposed from her former deportment upon her conceiving Ishmael, when she carried herself very haughtily to her mistress.

† Paul treats this history allegorically in Gal. iv. 22, and says, "As then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now."

‡ This is a common figure of speech in their ancient writings, "The distance of an arrow. So far as the arrow flies." The common way of measuring a short distance is to say, "It is a call off," *i. e.* so far as a man's voice can reach. "How far is he off?" "Oh, not more than three calls," *i. e.* were three men stationed within the reach of each others voices, the voice of the one farthest off would reach to that distance. — *Roberts.*

§ A French traveller affirms that he was witness to a scene occasioned by the want of water, the most terrible that can be imagined for a man of feeling. It was between Anah and Dryjeh. The locusts, after they had devoured everything, at last perished. The immense numbers of dead locusts corrupted the pools, from which, for want of springs, they were obliged to draw water. The traveller observed a Turk, who, with despair in his countenance, ran down a hill, and came towards him. "I am," cried he, "the most unfortunate man in the world! I have purchased, at a prodigious expense, two hundred girls, the most beautiful of Greece and Georgia. I have educated them with care; and now that they are marriageable, I am taking them to Bagdad to sell them to advantage. Ah! they perish in this desert for thirst, but I feel greater tortures than they." The traveller immediately ascended the hill; a dreadful spectacle here presented itself to him. In the midst of twelve eunuchs and about a hundred camels he saw these beautiful girls, of the age of twelve to fifteen, stretched upon the ground, exposed to the torments of a burning thirst and inevitable death. Some were already buried in a pit which had just been made; a great number had dropped down dead by the side of their leaders, who had no more strength to bury them. On all sides were heard the

can only answer him with tears; they weep, and alternately echo their sad distress to one another. But the boundless pity which alone can help when all human means fail, bids the weeping mother dry up her tears, and fear no more; for He had heard her prayers, and would make her child the father of a mighty people. Hagar looking about, found a well of water, and gave the child drink, which refreshed him, God afterwards providing for him: and here they both took up their abode, in the wilderness of Paran, where Ishmael became an expert archer, by which employment it is probable he obtained provisions to sustain his mother and himself. And when he had arrived at man's estate, his mother, being herself an Egyptian, took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.

Abraham being so kindly treated by Abimelech, and invited to dwell in his country, accepts his offer; and the former, observing how visibly God blessed Abraham in all his undertakings, and that he grew very powerful, took Phicol, the general of his forces, and made a league with him, fearing lest, as Abraham became more powerful, he might attempt something in prejudice of him or his successors in the government. This league, thus made, and confirmed by an oath between them, and a little difference composed about a well of water which Abraham had digged, and Abimelech's servants without their master's knowledge had forcibly seized, but was now upon Abraham's complaint restored, Abraham made a present to Abimelech of some sheep and oxen, who, with his General Phicol, took leave and returned. But Abraham intending to settle in that country, planted a grove* in Beer-sheba, and there called on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God.

sighs of the dying, and the cries of those who, having still some breath remaining, demanded in vain a drop of water. The French traveller hastened to open his leathern bottle, in which there was a little water. He was already going to present it to one of these unhappy victims. "Madman!" cried his Arabian guide, "wouldst thou also have us die from thirst?" He immediately killed the girl with an arrow, seized the bottle, and threatened to kill any one who should venture to touch it. He advised the slave-merchant to go to Dryjeh, where he would find water. "No," replied the Turk, "at Dryjeh the robbers would take away all my slaves." The Arab dragged the traveller away. The moment they were retiring, these unhappy victims, seeing the last ray of hope vanish, raised a dreadful cry. The Arab was moved with compassion; he took one of them, poured a drop of water on her burning lips, and set her upon his camel, with the intention of making his wife a present of her. The poor girl fainted several times, when she passed the bodies of her companions, who had fallen down dead in the way. Our traveller's small stock of water was nearly exhausted, when they found a fine well of fresh and pure water; but the rope was so short, that the pail would not reach the surface of the water. They cut their cloaks in strips, tied them together, and drew up but little water at a time, because they trembled at the idea of breaking their weak rope, and leaving their pail in the well. After such dangers, they at last arrived at the first station in Syria.

* *Grove.* It is probable that from the earliest times *trees* or *groves* were held sacred, and had some emblematical design relative to worship. Perhaps they were of the same nature as the *high places* we afterwards read of, and which were no longer proper, when the only altar allowed to the Jews was fixed at Jerusalem.

As the groves were abused for the purposes of superstition and idolatry, the Israelites were commanded to destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves, Ex. xxxiv. 13, and to burn them with fire, Deut. xii. 3. And they were forbidden to plant any themselves to perform their devotions in, Deut. xvi. 21. When the kings of Israel departed from God, they set up groves; and it was one of Ahab's provoking sins that he made a grove,

Among all the circumstances and trials of Abraham's faith and obedience, the greatest that he ever experienced, was that of being commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac. Ishmael, once the delight of his heart and joy of his declining age, is no more to him, being obliged by the Divine mandate to banish him his presence; and Isaac, the son of his joy, whom he so dearly loved, who had been conceived beyond the course of nature, and in whom God had promised that all the nations of the earth should be blessed, must bleed by the appointment of the Almighty. This was a severe trial to human nature: but God's command made it easy. Abraham neither disputes nor delays; but early in the morning set forward on his journey, accompanied only with his son Isaac, and attended with two servants, who led an ass that carried the wood, and other instruments for the sacrifice, as well as provisions for themselves, having three days' journey to go, as far as the land of Moriah.* On the third day they came within sight of the place; when Abraham ordered his servants to stop,† telling them that he and his son would go and worship, and come to them again. The pious youth, ignorant of what his father intended to do with him, goes on cheerfully; and the faithful Patriarch having, by the strength of his dependence‡ on God's promises, overcome those pangs of natural affection which otherwise might have made him hesitate in the performance of this severe duty, went on with a resolution answerable to his faith and obedience. Thus they walked together; but Isaac, who saw the wood and instruments provided for the sacrifice, and no lamb for a burnt-offering, innocently asked his father where he would procure a lamb? to which the father prophetically replied, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Abraham being come to the place God had appointed, built an altar, and having laid the wood in order, bound his son Isaac, and laid him upon the wood on the altar. Isaac being at that time at least twenty-five years of age (though he was

1 Kings xvi. 33. But in the patriarchal age, sacred trees and groves might be lawful; and the object of Abraham's worship was Jehovah, the everlasting God. Let us, wherever we sojourn, take care to acknowledge and worship the Lord.

* *Moriah.* That is, "the fear of the Lord." This is the place where Jerusalem afterwards stood: for Mount Moriah, where Abraham was to offer his son, is by some thought to be Mount Zion, on which Solomon built the Temple, where God commanded the offerings to be made, 2 Chron. iii. 1.

From this time the place obtained a new name — "JEHOVAH-JIREH"—"*The Lord will be seen.*" Alluding to what Abraham had said to his son, "*Jehovah-Jireh,*" "*The Lord will provide,*" or *see to it,* he now prophetically calls the place by this name, for here, indeed, the Lord was seen; here the Son of God, the Lord from heaven, did appear, and die, as an atonement for the sins of the world.

† *Stop.* Probably to prevent any disturbance the servants by their tenderness might give him, if they should see him about to sacrifice his son.

‡ *Dependence.* From what the Apostle says, Heb. xi. 19, may be gathered, that Abraham had so steady a faith in God's omnipotence, that though he neither knew nor expected any other but that Isaac should certainly be sacrificed, yet he believed that God, who had so miraculously given him, and promised to make him a "father of many nations," would, to make his promise good, restore him to life again; "accounting," saith Paul, "that God was able to raise him up from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure," that is, in a figure or resemblance of the resurrection from the dead.

then called lad and child), was capable of making resistance; but whether being by his father made acquainted with God's command, or being naturally subject and obedient to his parents, he quietly submitted, yielding implicitly to his father's directions.

All things being thus prepared, Abram stretched forth his hand to give the fatal stroke, when Heaven, regarding the father's piety and the son's obedience, timely interposes, and, with a reduplication of his name, charges him not to hurt the youth, adding this divine applause of his faith, "Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me." Abraham, not a little surprised at the voice, turns about to see whence it came, and spies a ram caught in a thicket by the horns, which he immediately took and offered for a burnt-offering instead of his son. A happy exchange! Upon this complete obedience of Abraham, it pleased the Lord to renew his promise to him with great amplifications, and confirm it to him by oath.* Whereupon Abraham returning with his son Isaac to his servants, they joyfully repair to Beersheba, at that time the place of Abraham's residence, where he is no sooner arrived, but he is welcomed home with the happy news of the increase of his family; for Milcha, his brother Nahor's wife, had made him the glad father of eight children, among whom was Bethuel, the father of Rebecca, who was afterwards wife to Isaac.

It is not certainly known how long Abraham abode at Beersheba; but the next place where we hear of him was at Kirjath-arba, afterwards called Hebron, in the country of Canaan, where he buried his wife Sarah, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of her age. Having observed the usual ceremony of mourning, he addressed himself to the Hittites,† desiring a burying-place for his dead. They, not understanding his meaning, replied, that he was at liberty to bury in what sepulchre he pleased. But this would not satisfy ‡ Abraham: for he proposed to buy a piece of ground for a separate sepulchre for himself and family; and therefore desired them to entreat Ephron, the prince of the country, to sell him the cave of Machpelah,

* *Oath.* Paul refers to this circumstance, Heb. vi. 13, etc., where addressing sincere believers, he comforts them with a view of the goodness of God, and his fidelity to those sacred engagements into which he had condescended to enter. "For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater (as men usually do), he swore by himself, saying, surely blessing I will bless thee," etc. He observes that in like manner "God being willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us."

† *Hittites.* The Hittites were descended from Heth, the son of Canaan, and grandson of Ham, Gen. x. 6, 16, who then possessed that country.

‡ *Satisfy.* Abraham knew the Lord had called him forth from among his idolatrous kindred, and from his father's house, Gen. xii. 1, and given him the covenant of circumcision, Gen. xvii. 9, 10, etc., whereby he had distinguished him and his seed from all other people: And that therefore it was not lawful for him to mix with any of the other nations which did not worship the true God. As therefore he took especial care that his son Isaac might not marry with any of the daughters of the Canaanites, so now he was resolved not to bury his dead promiscuously among theirs: perhaps intimating thereby, that though the righteous live intermixed with the ungodly in this world, there will be a separation after death.

offering to give the full worth of it. Ephron being a generous prince, though a heathen, offered Abraham not only the cave, but the whole field also, that he might bury his dead without delay.* But Abraham, not willing to bring himself under so great an obligation, or to be at an uncertainty about the piece of ground, urged Ephron to fix a price; who, yielding to his importunity, observed, that as he was determined to purchase it, the land was worth four † hundred shekels of silver, which being so inconsiderable a trifle between men of rank and condition, he desired he would consider the ground as his own for the purpose intended. Abraham, therefore, without hesitation, concludes the agreement, and immediately paid the money by weight ‡ to Ephron in the presence of the people; upon which the field was, according to the custom of those times and places, formally conveyed and made sure to Abraham, and to his heirs forever: and till then Abraham did not bury his wife there.

Abraham, being at this time nearly a hundred and forty years old, was desirous of seeing his son Isaac married and settled in the world before himself died. Therefore calling his eldest servant to him, who was his chief steward, he laid a strict charge upon him that he would not take a wife for his son of the daughters of the Canaanites; but go into his own (meaning Abraham's) country, and bring a wife from thence of his own kindred. And to engage his steward to a punctual performance of his charge, he made him take a solemn oath, the ceremony of which was performed by the servant's putting his hand under his master's thigh; § this engagement, after

* This is the most ancient example of a family vault or an hereditary sepulchre in a cave. In the southern mountainous part of Palestine, there are many natural caves in the rocks, which may easily be formed into spacious burying-places. There are still found in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, many such sepulchral caves, which have been frequently described by travellers who have visited those countries. These sepulchres are differently contrived. Sometimes they descend; only those which are made in the declivities of the mountains, often go horizontally into the rock. In Egypt, also, there are many open sepulchres, which run horizontally into the rock, but most of the mummy-pits are open perpendicularly, and you must let yourself down through this opening. In Palestine and Syria, on the contrary, the sepulchres which descend are provided with steps, which are now for the most part covered with heaps of rubbish. Many of them consist in the inside of many chambers, which are united by passages; in some of them the back chambers are deeper than the front ones, and you are obliged to descend some more steps to come to them. These chambers, as they are still found, are pretty spacious. In most of them recesses, six or seven feet long, are made in the walls all around, to receive the dead bodies; in others stone slabs of the same length are fixed against the walls — sometimes several, one above another, on which the dead bodies were laid; in some few there are stone coffins, which are provided with a lid. It is nearly in this manner that the arrangement of graves is prescribed in the Talmud; only there is always to be an antechamber and recesses made in the walls of the square sepulchres, the number of which may be different. — *Burder*.

† *Four, etc.* Supposing the shekel here mentioned to be the common shekel (as being used before the law, and in a civil and sacred case), it was worth of English money one shilling and three-pence, or very near it. After which computation, the four hundred shekels amounted to five and twenty pounds sterling.

‡ *Weight.* In those early ages of the world, as they had money in bullion unstamped, so it passed by weight, rather than by tale; and a shekel had its name from *shakal*, which signifies to weigh, or put in the balance.

§ *Thigh.* Among the various ceremonies used in swearing, this was one, that the person

some needful cautions and limitations, Eliezer (for that was the steward's name), solemnly made: after which, receiving his master's instructions, he set out with a retinue of servants and camels suitable to Abraham's quality and estate, and the business on which he went. No doubt it was one great part of the steward's charge to go first to Haran in Mesopotamia, his brother Nahor's city, because he had heard before that Milcha, his wife's sister, who was married to his brother Nahor, had borne him several children, one of which, named Bethuel, had a daughter called Rebecca.

Eliezer arriving one evening at Haran, caused his camels to rest themselves by a well of water without the city: about which time it was usual for the women to come out of the city to draw water at the well. Eliezer, who had been religiously brought up, and instructed by his master Abraham in the fear of God, aware of the importance of the business with which he was entrusted, kept his mind intent upon the Most High, earnestly entreating his direction and success in this weighty affair; and fearing lest in a matter of so great moment he should mistake the person, he humbly besought the Lord to direct him by a sign, that he might make a right choice for his young master. The sign he desired was that she who, at his request, should permit him to drink of her pitcher, and offer to give his camels drink also, should be the person whom the Lord appointed for his servant Isaac. The prayer of this pious man was heard;—in a few moments he perceived Bethuel's daughter coming out of the city with a pitcher upon her shoulder to fetch * water. After she had filled it at the well, and was returning, Eliezer approached, and desired a draught of water.† She courteously con-

who took an oath placing his hand under the thigh of him to whom it was made; as we read also in the case of dying Jacob and his son Joseph, Gen. xlvii. 29. This ceremony denoted *subjection*, as some suppose; others think that it refers to the ordinance of *circumcision*; while some, with more probability, conceive that it has a relation to Christ, the promised seed, who was to proceed from Abraham's loins.

* *Fetch*. Great was the simplicity and humility of those early ages, when persons of the first rank, and of the female sex too, did not disdain to be employed in such servile offices. Thus in the following age Jacob found his cousin Rachel following and watering her father Laban's sheep; and some ages after that, the seven daughters of Jethro, who was a prince as well as a priest of Midian, kept their father's flocks, and used to draw water, and fill the troughs for the cattle. To this day, throughout the greater part of the East, drawing and carrying water is an employment peculiar to the female sex.

† We met on this road (from Orfa to Bir) with several wells, at which the young women of the neighboring villages, or of the tribes of the Curds and Turkomans, who were wandering in these parts, watered their flocks. They were not veiled like those in the towns. They were well made and beautiful, though tanned by the sun. As soon as we accosted them, and alighted from our horses, they brought us water to drink, and likewise watered our horses. Similar civilities had indeed been shown to me in other parts. But here it appeared to me particularly remarkable, because Rebecca, who was certainly brought up in these parts, showed herself equally obliging to travellers. Perhaps I have even drank at the same well from which she drew water. For Haran, now a small place, two days' journey to the south-south-east of Orfa, which is still visited by Jews, was probably the town which Abraham left to remove to the land of Canaan, and his brother Nahor's family probably remained in these parts. Leonard Rauwolf, a German traveller, who visited these countries about two hundred years before, observes in his *Travels* (Part I., p. 259): "This town (Orfa) is supposed by some to have been formerly called Haran, from which the holy patriarch Abraham, with Sarah, and Lot, his brother's son, removed by the command of

sented, and offered water, not only for himself, but for his camels also, if they would drink. Eliezer thankfully accepted the proposal, and permitted her to water the camels, which he would not have allowed, but for the purpose of being fully satisfied by means of the sign which he had requested.

After the camels had drank, Eliezer, carefully observing the damsel, and seeing her exceedingly beautiful, with great joy presents her with a pair of golden ear-rings, and a pair of bracelets for her hands; asking her at the same time whose daughter she was, and whether there was room in her father's house for him and his company to lodge that night. She, to his great astonishment, tells him she was the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, by Milcha; assuring him at the same time that they had both room and accommodations for himself and his camels.

Eliezer's surprise was greatly increased, and being deeply affected with a sense of God's goodness in guiding him so directly to the house of his master's brethren, he bowed down his head and worshipped the Lord, saying, "Blessed be the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not withdrawn his mercy and truth from him."* Rebecca, leaving Eliezer in this rapture, ran home to acquaint her friends with what had happened; but soon returned with her brother Laban, who could not but expect something extraordinary from the bracelets on his sister's hands, and from the account she gave of the man who presented them to her. Laban hastened to the well, and saluting Eliezer in the style of "Thou blessed of the Lord," invited him in, telling him there was preparation made for him and his camels. He thereupon went in; and, whilst they were preparing an entertainment for him and his company, declared he would not take any refreshment till he had told the errand he was sent on; and having delivered his credentials by telling to whom he belonged, he gave a general account of his master's estate, and then proceeded to the principal business. "Sarah, my master's wife (said he), bare him a son when she was old, unto whom he hath given all that he hath. And my master hath made me swear that I should not take a wife for his son of the daughters of the Canaanites, but that I should go to his father's house and to his kindred, to take a wife for his son." He then gave them an account of his journey; the manner of his meeting with Rebecca, and how signally the hand of Divine Providence had appeared in directing him thither, concluding thus: "And now if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me; if not,† tell me, that I may turn to the right hand, or to the left."

God; so that the abundant well is still called Abraham's well, at which his servant first recognized Rebecca, when she gave him and his camels water to drink from it. The water of this well has more of a whitish color than others, and also, as I drank it from the well in the middle of the great Khan, had a peculiar yet sweet and pleasant taste."—*Burder*.

* *Him, etc.* In this whole affair we see the hand of Divine Providence. And so it is in those events which we are too apt to think the effect of *choice, contrivance, or chance*; for all is the effect of Divine appointment or permission.

† *If not, etc.* Meaning that they should not hold him in suspense, but let him know their minds whether they would bestow Rebecca on his master's son or not; that if not he might seek out elsewhere.

Laban,* who undertook to give Eliezer an answer, at once entertained a right apprehension of the matter, declaring it was God's doing; "therefore (says he), we ought† not to say anything to it. Here is Rebecca before thee; if she consent, take her, and let her be thy master's son's wife." Eliezer having obtained her consent, makes his acknowledgment in a return of thanks to the Lord; and making his presents to her, her mother and brother, they sat down to supper. Next morning he desires them to dispatch him back to his master, being impatient to carry home the joyful tidings. The brother and mother being loth to part with Rebecca so soon, would have her tarry a little longer; but Eliezer, like a diligent as well as faithful servant, was for hastening home with her, which, with Rebecca's consent, he did. Accordingly she prepared for her journey, being attended with her nurse Deborah and maid-servants, her relations pronouncing on her this blessing at parting, "Be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gates of them that hate them."

While the faithful servant was conveying his fair charge to his master's house, Providence had so ordered it that Isaac, walking out in the evening to meditate on the goodness of the Lord, saw his servants and the camels upon the road; whereupon he went forward to meet them. Rebecca soon observed him, and asked Eliezer who he was; and being informed that it was his master's son, she alighted and veiled‡ herself. Isaac with great respect received her, and conducted her to his mother's tent, which was allotted for her apartment. Soon after which, the marriage was solemnized. This union, so happily effected, under the smiles of Providence, proved the source of much satisfaction. Isaac was a very affectionate husband, and found in this relation consolation for the loss of his affectionate parent Sarah, whose removal though at a very advanced age, he had sincerely lamented for a long time.

Isaac being thus happily married, the good old patriarch begins to entertain thoughts of another wife; and casting his eyes upon his maid Keturah,§

* *Laban.* It is to be supposed that Bethuel, Rebecca's father, either was superannuated, or labored under some bodily infirmity, which rendered him less capable of managing the affairs of his family, otherwise we can scarce suppose his son Laban would have taken so much upon him in his father's house.

† *Ought.* Our translation says, "We cannot speak unto thee either good or evil." Commentators indeed observe that this expression, *We cannot*, here in Gen. xxiv. 52, and in Gen. xix. 22, — that "God could not do anything to Sodom till Lot had escaped," does not always denote an inability to do anything, but only a design or will not to do it, because it may not be proper or convenient; and that all this impotency is to be attributed to the want of will. But since people are apt to take these places literally, they ought to be translated properly and clearly, and after such a manner that should leave no room for doubts and mistakes. And therefore when Laban answered Eliezer, he told him, "They ought not (or would not) say anything good or bad to him;" that is, they would not oppose his demand of having Rebecca for wife to his master's son. And this was manifestly the effect of their submission to the will of God, from whom they were convinced that this proceeded, and they were persuaded they were bound to obey.

‡ *Veiled.* According to the custom of those countries, veiling was a token of subjection, and it is in general use throughout the Eastern world to this day.

§ *Keturah.* The Jewish writers are very fabulous about this Keturah, some supposing

he took her to his bed, and she was his concubinary wife. By her he had six sons; to each of whom he gave a portion in his lifetime and sent them eastward, that they might not stand in competition with Isaac for any part of his estate, nor settle anywhere in the land of Canaan, which his seed by Isaac was to inherit.

Isaac was forty years old when he married, and lived twenty years with his amiable consort before they were favored with any issue, which, however, was at length obtained in answer to his importunate prayers. Rebecca being pregnant, perceived the children (for she had twins) struggling together within her; this peculiar circumstance startled her, and excited no small surprise as to what it might portend. Upon which she went to inquire* of the Lord, and received for answer, "That two nations (or heads of nations) were in her womb; and that two manner of people should be separated from her bowels: that one of those people should be stronger than the other, and that the elder should serve the younger." The time of their birth being arrived, Rebecca was first delivered of Esau, who was red and hairy. His brother Jacob followed him so close, that he took hold of his heel with his hand. The boys growing up, Esau delighted altogether in the fields, being addicted to hunting; and because he furnished his father with venison, a sort of food of which Isaac was very fond, therefore he loved him best.† But Jacob, who was of a less robust disposition, was beloved by his mother, being more conversant with her, and ready at hand to wait on her. By the time that these youths were fifteen years old, their grandfather Abraham departed this world, being an hundred and seventy-five years of age, and was buried by his two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, in the cave of Machpelah, in the field which he had purchased of the sons of Heth, and where about forty years before he had buried Sarah his wife.

As for Ishmael, Abraham's eldest son (though not his heir), he lived many years after this, till he attained to an hundred and thirty-seven years. And leaving, as was foretold‡ of him, twelve sons, who were all princes of nations, and possessed of towns and castles, he likewise died. And although he had been such a wild man that his hand§ had been against every man,

her to be the same with Hagar; but in all probability she might be dead as well as Sarah; and if she had been alive, too old to have more children. But laying aside fables and conjectures, it is certain from Gen. xxv. 6, that Keturah was a servant; for if she had been a free woman, she would not have been called a concubine. But besides, the word *concubine* (not only here in Gen. xv. 6, but also in 1 Chron. i. 32), gives occasion to some to suppose that he married her in Sarah's lifetime; for concubine was a term not usually given to such second wives as succeed others, but to such as in the lifetime of the first wife were partakers of the marriage-bed.

* *Inquire.* This in those times was usually done by consulting some prophet. And her father-in-law Abraham being a prophet (for so he is expressly called by God himself, Gen. xx. 7), and then living, it is most probable she inquired of him.

† Margin, "Venison was in his mouth." Has a man been supported by another, and is it asked, "Why does Kandan love Muttoo?" the reply is, "Because Muttoo's rice is in his mouth." "Why have you such a regard for that man?" "Is not his rice in my mouth?" — *Roberts.*

‡ *Foretold.* See Gen. xvii. 20.

§ *Hand, etc.* See Gen. xvi. 12.

and every man's hand against him, yet he died at last in the presence of his brethren, that is, a natural death, having his family and relations about him.

Esau and Jacob being grown to man's estate, it happened one day that Esau, having fatigued himself extremely in the field, came fainting to Jacob, who at that very time had just made some pottage of lentils,* which was of a red color. Esau, seeing the pottage, and his spirits being very much wasted with hunger, desired his brother to let him eat with him, telling him, the more to move him, that he was very faint. Jacob, though called a plain † or innocent man, knew how to take advantage of his brother's necessity, and therefore to inflame his desire the more, which was sufficiently prompted by his present hunger, and to make Esau the more fond of the bargain by delays, proposes to him to sell his birthright. ‡ Esau, through greediness, not considering of what moment and advantage his birthright was, and consulting only his present need and appetite, slightly answers, "Behold, I am ready to die, and what good shall this birthright do me?" Jacob, finding him so indifferent, was not content with his word, but to make the bargain sure, would not part with his pottage till he had obliged his brother to confirm the birthright to him by an oath. Esau never scrupled it; and so sold his birthright, with all those excellent privileges that depended on it, for a mess of pottage. This, in Esau, is called "despising § his birthright."

Isaac had hitherto made Beersheba his usual residence, as his father Abraham did before him; but a famine happening in that part of the country where he lived, he was obliged to remove. Now, while he deliberated whither to go, the Lord appeared unto him, and charged him not to go down into Egypt, but to stay in the land which he should show him, promising to be with him, and bless him; and assuring him that he would give all those countries to him and his descendants, in performance of the oath which he sware to his father Abraham, and that he would cause his family to multiply as the stars of heaven; and nations of the earth to account themselves blessed therein, because of the faith and obedience of Abraham.

Isaac, in pursuance of the Divine direction, travels to the country of the Philistines, and fixes in Gerar. And here the same temptation assaulted him that befell his father in the same place; Rebecca his wife was a beautiful

* *Lentils*. A kind of pulse, somewhat like our vetches, or coarsest sort of peas.

† *Plain*. See Gen. xxv. 27.

‡ *Birthright*. Birthright, or right of primogeniture, had many and great privileges annexed to it. The first-born was consecrated to the Lord, Exod. xxii. 29, was next in honor and dignity to the parents, Gen. xlix. 3, had a double portion allotted to him, Deut. xxi. 17, and succeeded in the government of the family or kingdom, 2 Chron. xxi. 3, and therefore was a matter of the highest regard.

§ *Despising*. See Gen. xxv. 34. He is also called, Heb. xii. 16, "profane Esau." He despised the *patriarchal blessing*, wherein the promised seed was included, and of which the birthright was an external sign; so that by selling his birthright, he virtually renounced his right to it. Several years afterwards, "he would have inherited the blessing, and sought it diligently with tears;" but he sought it too late, and not of *God*, by prayer and faith, but only of his father. No man knows to what sad events one deliberate sin, especially of profaneness, may lead; and sin may be the *occasion* of great sorrow, where there is no true sorrow for sin.

woman, and, fearing the people would kill him on her account, when they inquired in what degree they were related to each other, he told them she was his sister, an appellation then common among kindred in almost any degree. Isaac did not long continue unsuspected; for Abimelech* (or the king) looking out of a window, saw him so familiar with Rebecca, as gave him cause to think she was his wife; and sending for Isaac, reproved him for imposing upon him, telling him confidently she was his wife. Isaac being thus charged, could not deny it, but excused himself, saying, he did it to save his life. The king first blamed him for laying such a snare for him and his people, saying, "What is this thou hast done? One of the people might have lain with thy wife, and thou wouldst have brought guilt upon us;" and then gave a strict charge, on pain of death, to all his subjects, that none should offer any injury to him or his wife.

Isaac, by this protection, being encouraged to tarry there longer, applied himself to husbandry, wherein he was so successful that the land he sowed yielded him a crop of an hundredfold, by which, and God's continual blessing upon him, he became so wealthy and powerful that Abimelech's servants grew jealous, and to oblige him to depart the country, filled up the wells which his father's servants had digged. Abimelech himself was possessed with the same jealousy, and therefore spoke to Isaac to withdraw to some other place, because he was grown more potent than himself.

Isaac, as well to secure himself as to make Abimelech easy, departs to the valley of Gerar, where he clears the wells which Abraham had formerly caused to be digged, and which the Philistines had filled up, giving them the names they bore before. Here he likewise dug a new well; but a quarrel happening between the shepherds of Gerar and those of Isaac, the former affirming that those wells belonged to them, Isaac's people quitted it, calling that well Esek, which signifies contention. They likewise dug another well, which was also contended for; and Isaac called it Sitnah, or hatred. Isaac, grown weary of such quarrelsome neighbors, removed further from them, and sunk another well, about which there was no controversy; and therefore he named it Rehoboth, which signifies room; "for now," said he, "the Lord hath given us room, and we shall increase upon the earth."

Isaac tarried not long here, but went to Beersheba, where, the same night he arrived, God appeared to him, comforting and encouraging him, and renewed his promise to bless him and multiply his seed, for his servant Abraham's sake. Then Isaac built an altar there and worshipped the Lord; and because he intended to reside there for some time, he ordered his servants to dig a well, for in those hot and dry countries water was very scarce.

During Isaac's abode here, Abimelech, reflecting how unkindly he had treated him, and by the quarrelsome and injurious conduct of his servants forced him to remove, and justly fearing Isaac might resent it, thought it advisable for preventing future animosities to make him a visit, and propose

* *Abimelech*. It is very probable this Abimelech might be the son of that Abimelech, king of Gerar, with whom Abraham had formerly made a covenant.

entering into a league of amity. Therefore, taking Ahuzzath,* one of his friends, and Phicol,† his general, he went to Isaac at Beersheba. Isaac, to let them know he was sensible of the injuries done him, gave them at first but a cold reception, asking them wherefore they came to see him whom they had so uncivilly treated? Abimelech, unwilling to revive old quarrels, addresses himself with much respect and friendship to Isaac, telling him that he was convinced of the particular regard God had for him, and for that reason desired to enter into a league of friendship with him, assuring him that he was always his friend, and wished him well, concluding with the pleasing appellation, "Thou blessed of the Lord."

Isaac, perceiving their friendly intention, and being himself of a quiet and pacific temper, entertained them with much respect and liberality; and the next morning they made a league, and confirmed it by a mutual oath, after which they took a solemn leave and parted. Let us now return to Esau, of whom the last act that we have recorded is the selling his birthright. The next thing we find of him is his afflicting his pious parents with ungodly marriages.

Esau was now forty years of age; never well inclined, but since the slighting of his birthright much worse; and though he could not be ignorant of the solicitude of Abraham, that his father Isaac might not marry into an idolatrous family, he went and took two Hittites, Judith and Bashemath, to be his wives; which was no small grief to his parents. And yet natural affection ‡ so prevailed with this good father, that when he was grown old, and his sight gone, he called his son Esau to him, and advising him to consider his age and the uncertainty of his life, bade him take his bow and quiver, and kill him some venison, and make him a savory dish, that he might eat thereof, and give him the blessing appendant to his birthright before he died. Rebecca overheard what had passed between her husband and her son Esau; wherefore, as soon as Esau was gone to hunting, she called her son

* *Ahuzzath*. The Septuagint most properly seems to call this Ahuzzath the paranymph or brideman of Abimelech, for the paranymphs were esteemed the most honorable among them, as being next to the bridegroom, and they that always conducted them to the nuptial bed. The paranymph among the Persians was afterwards the next to the king, and was the person that always crowned him. And as such we may suppose this Ahuzzath to have been to Abimelech.

† *Phicol*. This was not that Phicol who lived with the former Abimelech in the days of Abraham, mentioned Gen. xxi. 22, for that was an hundred years before. It is therefore very probable that as Abimelech was the name for king of the Philistines, as Cæsar was for the Roman emperors, and Pharaoh for the kings of Egypt, so this word Phicol was the common name of their generals, not captain of the king's guard (for that was Ahuzzath's the paranymph's post), as the word implies, which signifies the *face* or *head*, as a general is of the forces he commands.

‡ *Affection*. Good Isaac, swayed by an over-fond affection to a disobedient and rebellious son, would have preferred the order of nature to the will of God, who had expressly declared, before Esau and Jacob were born, that the elder should serve the younger. But God would not permit his purpose to be so disappointed; and therefore being unwilling to deal hardly with Isaac, he permitted him to be imposed upon by his wife and younger son, and thereby drawn to that unwittingly, which to have done knowingly would have caused great uneasiness to him.

Jacob to her; and having told him what she heard his father say to his brother, first enjoining him a punctual obedience to all her directions, she bids him go to the flock, and fetch from thence two kids of the goats; and with them, said she, "I will make such savory meat for thy father, as he loves, and thou shalt bring it to thy father; that he may eat and bless thee before his death." Jacob had obtained the birthright already, and knew that the paternal blessing did usually attend it; but he was fearful that if he should get it by indirect means, he should forfeit the blessing and get a curse instead of it. This fear was aggravated by reflecting on the difference between his brother's complexion and his own; for Esau was hairy, and he was smooth; so that if his father (to supply his defect of sight by feeling) should handle them, he might easily discover the cheat. And this he objected to his mother; who having continually in her mind the words of the Divine oracle, "The elder shall serve the younger," Gen. xxv. 23, with assurance answered him, "Upon me be the curse, my son, only obey my voice, and without delay go fetch me the kids." Jacob, very sensible of his mother's tenderness towards him, disputed her will no longer, but went and brought the kids, of which she made such savory meat as she knew her husband loved. Then dressing Jacob in Esau's best clothes, and covering his hands and neck with the hairy skins of the kids, she gave him the meat to carry to his father; who, as soon as he heard Jacob enter the room, asked, Who art thou? Jacob answered, "I am * Esau, thy first-born; I have done as thou commandest me; rise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me." † Isaac wondering that he had made such haste, asked him how it came to pass that he had taken the venison so quickly. Jacob

* *I am.* It is probable he meant that he did represent Esau, or stood in the place of Esau the first-born, by virtue of the purchase he had made of the primogeniture or birthright of his brother.

† The ancient Greeks and Romans sat at meals. Homer's heroes were ranged on separate seats along the wall, with a small table before each, on which the meat and drink were placed. This custom is still observed in China, and perhaps some other parts of the greater Asia. When Ulysses arrived at the palace of Alcinoüs, the king displaced his son Laodamas, in order to seat Ulysses in a magnificent chair. The same posture was preferred by the Egyptians and the ancient Israelites. But, afterward, when men became soft and effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds, in order to drink with more ease; yet even then, the heroes who drank sitting were still thought entitled to praise; and those who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe way of living, retained the ancient posture. The custom of reclining was introduced from the nations of the East, and particularly from Persia, where it seems to have been adopted at a very remote period. The Old Testament Scriptures allude to both customs: but they furnish undeniable proofs of the sitting posture, long before common authors took notice of the other. It was the custom in Isaac's family to sit at meat; for Jacob thus addressed his aged father: "Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me." At the entertainment which Joseph gave his brethren, on their return to Egypt, they seem to have followed the custom of their fathers; for "they sat before him, the first-born according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth." In the court of Saul, many ages after this, Abner sat at table by his master's side; and David also had his place allotted to him, which is emphatically called his seat. As this is undoubtedly the most natural and dignified posture, so it seems to have been universally adopted by the first generations of men; and it was not till after the lapse of many ages, and degenerate man had lost much of the firmness of his primitive character, that he began to lie flat upon his belly. — *Paxton.*

replied, "Because the Lord brought † it to me." Isaac, not willing to trust to his hearing only, called Jacob to come near him, that he might feel him, and thereby know whether he was his very son Esau or not. The good old man, when he had felt Jacob's hands, being deceived by the hairy kid skins, could not be sure it was Jacob or Esau, but showed his uncertainty by saying, "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Having nothing but his son's veracity to depend upon, he put the question more closely to him, "Art thou my very son Esau?" To which Jacob more readily than truly answering, "I am," † the good old man urged no further; but taking him indeed for Esau, bade him bring the meat, that he might eat of it and bless him. Isaac having eat of the venison and drank wine, calls his son to come near and kiss him; which, when Jacob did, his father perceiving the smell, not only of the kids' skins, but of the clothes he had on, gave his blessing to Jacob in this manner: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed: † Therefore God

* *Brought.* Some will think that this imposing upon Isaac's blindness was inexcusable in Jacob; but let such consider, that the blessing being due to the eldest son, and Jacob having bought his brother's birthright, the blessing (which Esau had despised in despising his birthright) was due to him: and as for the lie which they charge upon Jacob, saying, *The Lord brought the venison to him*, it is highly probable he meant that the Lord had put that invention or contrivance of the kids into his mother's mind, and by her had brought it to him.

† *I am.* But though hitherto Jacob might seem excusable upon the right of primogeniture fairly transferred to him by bargain, yet here he is guilty of a positive lie. His conduct cannot be justified. While we give him the credit of some pious wishes, we must abhor the ungenerous and dishonest means by which he effected his purpose. To do evil that good may come, is a principle that must never be adopted by pious persons; and the example of Jacob should deter us from deviating a single step from the path of rectitude. If we venture on one transgression, we may be tempted to conceal it by having recourse to falsehood; and one lie makes way for another: a second, and a third are wanted to hide the first. Such is the progress of vice.

While we censure the conduct of Jacob, that of his mother seems still more blamable. She proposes and recommends the base deception, and offers to take the whole blame on herself. Alas! how many parents imitate her, by training up their children in the arts of dissimulation for the sake of worldly advantage. Both Rebecca and Jacob might probably have a regard to the intimation of heaven concerning the precedency of the younger son; but no regard of promises will justify the arts of falsehood; and true faith will wait patiently for the accomplishment of the divine decrees in a way consistent with justice and truth, for "he that believeth shall not make haste."

† The Orientals endeavor to perfume their clothes in various ways. They sprinkle them with sweet-scented oils, extracted from spices, they fumigate them with the most valuable incense of scented wood, and also sew the wood of the aloe in their clothes. By some of these means, Jacob's clothes were perfumed. Pliny observes (*Nat. Hist.*, b. xvii., chap. 5), "that the land, after a long drought, moistened by the rain, exhales a delightful odor, with which nothing can be compared:" and soon after, he adds, "that it is a sign of a fruitful soil, when it emits an agreeable smell when it has been ploughed." — *Burder.*

The natives are universally fond of having their garments strongly perfumed: so much so, that Europeans can scarcely bear the smell. They use camphor, civet, sandal-wood or sandal-oil, and a great variety of strongly scented waters. It is not common to *salute* as in England: they simply *smell* each other; and it is said that some people know their children by the smell. It is common for a mother or father to say, "Ah! child, thy *smell* is like the Sen-Paga-Poo." The crown of the head is the principal place for *smelling*. Of an amiable man, it is said, "How sweet is the *smell* of that man! the *smell* of his goodness is universal." —

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give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee. Be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee; and blessed be he that blesseth thee." Jacob was no sooner gone from his father than Esau came in, bringing his father the venison dressed, and said to him, "Arise, my father, and eat of thy son's venison, that thy soul may bless me." Isaac, in great surprise and disorder, hastily asked, "Who art thou?" To which Esau replying, "I am thy son, thy first-born, Esau," a very great trembling seized him, so that he exclaimed, "Who, and where is he that hath taken venison and brought it to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him?" And being by this time sensible of a Divine superintending hand therein, added, "Yea, and he shall be blessed." Esau hearing this, cried out, and in much confusion, said to his father, "Bless me, even me also, O my father." Isaac, to excuse himself for having given the blessing from him, told him that his brother had deceived him, and obtained the blessing from him. Esau complained that his brother had supplanted him, and having no hopes to prevail with his father to reverse the blessing given to his brother, said to him, "Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?" Isaac wanted not good will to Esau; but he had emptied the choicest of his stores upon Jacob, saying, "I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and have granted him plenty of corn and wine: and what shall I now do unto thee, my son?" "Alas! said Esau, hast thou but one blessing? Bless me, even me also, O my father." At which words he wept * aloud. Isaac, moved with compassion for Esau, that he might somewhat pacify him, and do as well for him as he could, tells him, "Thy dwelling † shall be the fatness of the earth, and thou shalt have of the dew of heaven above: thou shalt live by thy sword, and shalt be subject to thy brother; but the time will come when thou shalt shake off his yoke."

Esau had conceived such hatred against his brother for depriving him of the blessing, that he resolved to be revenged; and supposing his father could

* *Wept.* Long after, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xii. 16, 17, took notice of this, where, having branded Esau with profaneness, in despising his birthright and selling it for a morsel of meat, he observes, that when afterwards he would have inherited the blessing he was rejected: for though he sought it carefully and with tears, yet he found no place of repentance in his father. Neither prayers nor tears could prevail with Isaac to revoke the blessing he had by Divine appointment given to Jacob. "I have blessed him," said he, "yea, and he shall be blessed."

† *Thy dwelling, etc.* This which is here said to Esau looks more like a prediction of what would befall him. To Jacob it was said, "God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, etc." But to Esau, "Thy dwelling-place shall be in the fatness of the earth, etc." And whereas power and sovereignty, not only over Esau and his posterity, but more generally over people and nations, is wished to Jacob, Esau is told that he should live by his sword (which is but an unsafe, uneasy, and unquiet course of life), and should serve his brother; which must needs grate hard on Esau's haughty temper. Only for his comfort it is prophetically added that he in his posterity should, at one time or other, have a dominion also; and that then they should break their brother's yoke from off their necks, which was began and attempted in King Joram's time, 2 Kings xx. 22, but not completed till King Herod's time, who was an Edomite.

not live long, intended, as soon as he was dead, to murder Jacob. Rebecca, being apprised of Esau's unnatural design upon her favorite son, acquaints Jacob with his brother's threats, and advises him to make a visit to his uncle Laban at Haran, and stay there till his brother's rage should subside, which, when she had observed, she would send for him home again. Jacob, who was of a mild, and perhaps timid disposition, knowing Esau's rugged temper, was very willing to comply with his mother's proposal, but not to go without his father's consent, which he very much doubted. But Rebecca managed that matter cunningly enough; for taking an opportunity, she complains of the uneasiness she was under upon the account of Esau's Hittite wives, urging her fear, lest his example should influence Jacob to do the like. Isaac knew not the drift of this complaint, but being a pious man, and knowing that the promise made to Abraham, and renewed to him, was to be completed in the issue of Jacob, and being careful that he should not corrupt his blood by mixing with any of those nations which were to be destroyed, forthwith called Jacob to him, and with this blessing gave him a strict charge that he should not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel his mother's father, and from thence take him a wife of the daughters of Laban, his mother's brother. And to encourage him, he said, "God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest become the father of many people: may he bestow on thee and thy race the blessings promised to Abraham, that thou mayest possess the land in which thou art now a stranger, and which he promised to thy grandfather." This contrivance so completely succeeding, Isaac dispatches his son away immediately, who accordingly sets out for Padan-aram.

Esau, understanding that his father had confirmed the blessing to his brother, and sent him to Padan-aram to take a wife there, with a strict prohibition not to marry any Canaanitish woman, and that Jacob in obedience to his parents was gone; reflecting likewise with himself that his father was displeased with him for having taken those Hittite wives, who were of Canaanitish families, and thinking to ingratiate himself again with his father, he went and took Mahalath, his uncle Ishmael's daughter, to be his wife, which mended the matter but little.

Jacob, departing from Beersheba, made the best of his way to Haran, but being benighted, was forced to take up his lodging in the open air, where the spangled sky was his canopy, and a hard stone his pillow. Whilst he slept, he dreamed that he saw a ladder set upon the earth, the top of which reached to heaven, and upon it were angels ascending and descending.* Above it stood the Lord, who said to him, "I am the Lord God of Abraham

* The *place* in which Jacob took up his lodging was in, or near, the city of *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*, and seems to have been a place (open or covered) devoted to worship—a temple; and the *stones* were probably cherubic, or emblematical ones, afterwards called ■ *pillar*, Gen. xxviii. 18, and which, as a priest, he consecrated by anointing it, or the head of it, with oil; a ceremony much used in ancient times. This was not then superstitious or unlawful, for God himself mentions it with approbation, Gen. xxxi. 13.

and of Isaac: I will give the land whereon thou liest to thee and to thy issue, which shall be as numerous as the dust of the earth, and extend to all parts of it; and all nations shall be blessed in thy posterity. I will be thy guide wheresoever thou shalt go; I will bring thee back into this country, and will not forsake thee, but perform all that I have promised." This dream made so great an impression on Jacob, that when he awaked, paying an awful reverence to the place where he had rested, he said, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." This, probably, was the first time that God had so immediately appeared to him; and which affected him with such a religious fear, that in a holy rapture he said, "How venerable is this place! This is the house of God, and the gate of heaven." He then took the stone on which he had slept, and set it up for a monument of God's love to him in so eminently appearing and confirming his gracious promises, and as a mark whereby to know the place whenever he should come that way again. Having set up the stone, he poured oil * over it; and in pious commemoration of the heavenly vision which he saw here, this place, which before was called Luz, he now calls Bethel, † that is, the house of God. But before he went from hence he took his leave in a very solemn manner, for repeating some part of what the Lord had said to him, he made a vow, the more strongly to bind himself to God's service, saying, "If God will be with me, and direct me in my journey, and will give me meat to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I may come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God: and this stone which I have set up for a pillar shall be God's house: ‡ and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth § unto thee."

Having thus performed his devotions, and received such encouragement to confide in the Divine protection, he proceeded cheerfully on his journey till he came to Haran; and being near the town, he met with flocks and shepherds near a well, on which a great stone was. || He asked them whe-

* *Oil.* This being the first mention we have of oil, either as to the use, nature, or name of it, it seems reasonable to suppose that he used it here (and so afterwards, Gen. xxxv. 14) by way of religious consecration, and that by Divine direction. Afterwards, in the law, much use was made of oil for sacred purposes in the consecration of priests, offerings, etc. Which ceremony (says one) signified these two things: First, that Christ was anointed and consecrated to his office of mediatorship, with fulness of the Holy Ghost. Secondly, that the anointing of the Spirit is that which makes us and all our services acceptable to God.

† *Bethel.* It is the very place where afterwards was built the town of that name, of the tribe of Benjamin, on the borders of the tribe of Ephraim.

‡ *House.* That is, in the place where I have set up this pillar will I worship God.

§ *Tenth.* This is the second mention of tithes or tenths, and the first vow concerning them, made voluntarily and expressed in the terms of giving them to God. How, or when it was performed, we are not told, unless it were by an offering unto God, when Jacob built an altar at El-Bethel, and set up a pillar in the place where God had talked with him, and poured a drink-offering and oil thereon, at his return from Padan-aram, Gen. xxxv. 7, 14.

|| In Arabia, and in other places, they are wont to close and cover up their wells of water, lest the sand, which is put into motion by the winds there, like the water of a pond, should fill them, and quite stop them up. This is the account Sir J. Chardin gives us in a note on Ps. lxix. 15. I very much question the applicableness of this custom to that passage, but it will serve to explain, I think, extremely well, the view of keeping that well covered with a

ther they knew Laban the son of Nahor; they told him they did, that he was in good health, and that his daughter Rachel would soon be there with her flock. She came in a short time after this discourse, and Jacob very obligingly rolled away the stone from the well's mouth, and watered her sheep for her; which done, he told her who he was, and saluting her with a kiss, he wept for joy.

Rachel, leaving Jacob at the well, made haste to tell her father whom she had met; who, hearing of the arrival of his sister's son, in joyful haste ran out to meet him, and having embraced and kissed him, he brought him home with him, to whom Jacob gave an account of the occasion of his coming from home, and of the vision he had seen by the way; by which Laban found that his nephew had not misbehaved himself at home, or left his parents without their consent and direction, though he came so bare and unattended. Besides, it was necessary for Jacob to apprise Laban that he was under the immediate protection and care of Providence. Laban having heard these things, acknowledges him to be his near kinsman, and gave him a kind reception; and Jacob, to convince his uncle that he was not used to an idle, useless course of life, enters himself in the business of the family, as intending to make some stay there. Which when Laban saw, he took an opportunity to discourse with his nephew, and let him know that he did not expect, nor think it reasonable he should serve him for nothing; therefore he desired him to name what wages he would have. The lovely shepherdess at the first interview had made a strong impression on Jacob's heart, and her he asked as the reward of seven years' service.* Laban readily consented,

stone, from which Laban's sheep were wont to be watered; and their care not to leave it open any time, but to stay till the flocks were all gathered together before they opened it, and then, having drawn as much water as was requisite, to cover it up again immediately, Gen. xxix. 2, 8. Bishop Patrick supposes it was done to keep the water clean and cool. Few people, I imagine, will long hesitate in determining which most probably was the view in keeping the well covered with so much care. All this care of their water is certainly very requisite, since they have so little, that Chardin supposes "that the strife between Abraham's herdmen and Lot's was rather about water than pasturage;" and immediately after observes, "that when they are forced to draw the water for very large flocks, out of one well or two, it must take up a great deal of time."—*Harmer*.

* Because he had no money or other goods which he could give to the father for his daughter. For among many people of the East, in ancient and modern times, we find it customary, not for the bride to bring a dowry to the bridegroom, but the bridegroom must, in a manner, purchase the girl whom he intends to marry from the father. Therefore Shechem says (Gen. xxxiv. 12) to Dinah's father and brothers, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife." In the same manner Tacitus relates that, among the ancient Germans, the wife did not bring the dowry to the man, but the man to the woman. "The parents and relations are present, who examine the gifts, and choose, not such as are adapted to female dress, or to adorn the bride, but oxen, and a harnessed horse, a shield, and a sword. In return for these presents, he receives the wife." This custom still prevails among the Bedouins. "When a young man meets with a girl to his taste, he asks her of her father through one of his relations. They now treat about the number of camels, sheep, or horses, that the son-in-law will give to the father for his daughter; for the Bedouins never save any money, and their wealth consists only in cattle. A man that marries must therefore literally purchase his wife, and the fathers are most fortunate who have many daughters. They are the principal riches of the family. When, therefore, a young man negotiates with the father whose daughter he

and Jacob immediately entered on his seven years, which his fondness for Rachel rendered short.

The time being expired, Jacob demanded his wife. Upon which Laban solemnized the nuptials in a public manner, inviting his friends and neighbors. But, being desirous of detaining Jacob in his service for a longer time, he put a very unfair trick upon him; for in the evening he took Leah, and brought her to Jacob's bed* instead of Rachel. Jacob in the morning finding the cheat, complained to his father-in-law; who put it off with a very slender excuse, alleging that it was not the custom of that country to give the younger in marriage before the elder. This was but a poor excuse indeed; but Laban, who had all along observed Jacob's strong affection for Rachel, knew he could bring him to any terms, however unreasonable; which made him demand another seven years' service for his younger daughter, though at the same time he was afraid Jacob, in resentment for the injury done him, should reject Leah, and not receive her for his wife; wherefore he entreats him to fulfil her week: † "And then (said he) I will give ‡ thee this also, for the service which thou shalt serve with me seven other years." Jacob, consenting to Laban's proposal, fulfilled Leah's week, and then married Rachel; of whom he was so fond, that he slighted § Leah. But God pitying her, rendered her fruitful, and restrained Rachel from bearing; so that Leah had four sons, viz., Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, before Rachel had one. This was a great trouble to Rachel, which in a short time interrupted the domestic tranquillity, and at length ripened into actual enmity. Rachel, being blinded with her too earnest desire of chil-

intends to marry, he says, 'Will you give me your daughter for fifty sheep, six camels, or twelve cows?' If he is not rich enough to give so much, he offers a mare or foal. The qualities of the girl, the family, and the fortune of him that intends to marry her, are the principal considerations in making the bargain."—*Customs of the Bedouin Arabs*, by D'Arvilleux, p. 119.

* *Bed.* It was the custom of the country that the bride should be covered with a veil when she was brought to the bridegroom, by which means Jacob was imposed upon by Laban till the next morning. The same custom still prevails universally throughout the East.

† *Week.* Or seven days, which time, according to the custom of those countries, was dedicated to the nuptial solemnities. And by this fulfilling Leah's week was intended that Jacob should openly acknowledge her for his wife, which Laban seemed to doubt; and at the end of the week should marry Rachel. By the word *week* here, some understand a *week of years*, or seven years; and to fulfil her week he was to serve the other seven years for Rachel afterwards. Some old English versions render it so; but the LXX. is otherwise, for it is positively there a *week*, at the end of which he was to have Rachel, and serve seven years for her afterwards. And this appears to be the right sense of the place by the order of the story; for though Jacob lived with Laban twenty years (Gen. xxxi. 38, 41), yet it is plain at the end of the fourteenth year Jacob proposed to part, and return home. But Rachel had borne Joseph before that (Gen. xxx. 25); and besides, she had been a barren wife a good while before she had Joseph; and had two sons also by her maid Bilhah before that event; all which could not have been if she had not been married before the end of his second seven years.

‡ *I will give, etc.* Some will have this, *we will give*; that is, I, and my wife and friends; but the LXX. say, I will give.

§ *Slighted.* Our Version renders this *hated*; but it should have been considered that the word which is rendered *to hate*, doth also signify *to love less*, or *to take less care of a thing*, and not to wish to do it any harm.

dren, imputes her barrenness to her husband, and vents her discontent in a very unadvised and passionate expression, saying, "Give me children, or I die." Jacob was always very fond of her, but, like a prudent man, his judgment got the ascendant of his affection; and though he was naturally of a mild temper, yet these rash, inconsiderate words of Rachel so much incensed him, that he could not forbear giving her this smart, though short reproof: "Am I in God's stead; who hath made thee barren?"

Rachel, thus rebuked and brought to a sense of her folly, began to think with herself of another way to supply this defect of nature, as she thought, by having recourse to her grandmother Sarah's stratagem; and therefore, having conversed on the subject with her husband, she gives him her maid Bilhah for an under-wife or concubine, reckoning with herself that what children Jacob should have by her maid should be hers, for she would cherish them as if they had been her own. Accordingly, when Bilhah bore Jacob a son, Rachel claims him, takes him for her own, and names him Dan; she likewise did the same by the second, and called his name Naphtali. Leah imitates her sister's policy, because she thought she had ceased bearing children, and gave her husband her maid Zilpah to wife, who had two sons, whom she called Gad and Assur.

By this time Reuben was sufficiently grown up to be trusted by himself in the fields, where, as he was one day wandering, he found some mandrakes,* which he brought home to his mother. Rachel seeing them, had a great desire to have them, and desired her sister to give her some of them. Leah thinking Rachel had too great a share in her husband's affection, and forgetting that her sister, not herself, was Jacob's choice, answers her somewhat churlishly, "Is it not enough that you have taken my husband from me, but you must take away my son's mandrakes also?" Rachel might have retorted sharply, but having a mind to the mandrakes, she would not contend, but proposed an agreement; she therefore tells her sister that if she will give her some of them, she shall enjoy her husband's company that night. Leah likes the proposal, and they agree upon it. Leah therefore went out in the evening to meet Jacob at his return from the field; and having acquainted

* *Mandrakes*. What these were is much disputed by our Biblical critics, as the reader may perceive in Calmet's Dictionary on the word, and in Scripture Illustrated, by the editor of that work. The general opinion has been that mandrakes are a plant that stupefies, and was considered a provocative, whether justly or not, we are unable to say. It has been called *anthropomorphis*, or *man-shaped*, because the roots are forked from the middle downwards, resembling the thighs and legs of a man. Of the Hebrew word (*dudaim*) the Jews at this day do not understand the true signification. Some translate it *violets*, others *lilies*, or *jessamine*. Irenius calls it *agreeable flowers*, a sense which our author prefers. Others conjecture it might be *citrons*, while some modern writers judge it was a species of *melons*. Some of the ancients named mandrakes *the apple of love*, and *Venus*. The Emperor Julian, in his epistle to Calixines, says he drinks the juice of mandrakes to excite amorous inclinations. Some think that the *ginseng* of the Chinese is a species of this plant; but what has been imported into England does not justify this opinion. The Chinese, however, entertain some strange notions of its revivifying powers. Whatever the *dudaim* was, and which probably it is not in our power to determine, it seems certain that it was *supposed* to possess important powers, and that there is a reference to these in Canticles vii. 13.

him with the terms of their agreement, invites him to her apartment. And though but a little before she thought she had done bearing, she conceived again and brought forth her fifth son, and called him Issachar, because he was the fruit of her hire. After that, conceiving again, she bore a sixth son, whom she named Zebulon; and at last she bare Jacob the only daughter we read he had, whose name was Dinah.

Hitherto Rachel had no issue of her own body. But now it pleased God to remember her; and having by long barrenness corrected her inordinate desire for children, he at length hearkened to her request, and blessed her with a son, upon which, rejoicing that God had taken away her reproach,* and predicting that the Lord would give her another son, she called the name of this boy Joseph. Soon after whose birth Jacob, having served his last seven years, began to entertain thoughts of returning to his own country; putting Laban, therefore, in mind that the time for which he had contracted to serve him was now expired, he desired him to deliver him his wives and children and send him away. This was a very disagreeable proposal to Laban, who, acknowledging the great advantages he had received from Jacob's service, and that he was sensible the Lord had blessed him for his sake, earnestly entreated him to tarry still with him, offering him at the same time what wages he would ask. Jacob was as sensible of the benefits of his service as Laban, and valued himself upon them, telling him how, by the blessing of God upon his careful management, his little flock was increased to a multitude, wishing him to consider how his own family was increased, having now many children, for whom it was time to make some provision, and therefore insisted upon his return to his own country. Laban could not hear of parting, and therefore presses him to stay, offering him his own terms. Jacob, overcome by Laban's importunity, told him he should give him nothing; but if he approved of the terms he should offer, he would continue in his service. The terms were these: They should pass through the whole flock, both of sheep and goats, and separating the speckled cattle from the white, Laban's sons should take care of the spotted flock, and Jacob of the white; and then whatsoever spotted or brown cattle should be produced out of the white flock, which he was to keep, was to be his hire. Laban readily closed with these conditions, and accordingly they parted the flocks, delivering the spotted cattle to Laban's sons, and the rest to Jacob's care; and Laban, that he might prevent any intercourse between them, sets them three days' journey asunder.

The flocks being thus disposed, the Divine wisdom,† by enlightening Jacob's

* *Reproach.* So barrenness was then accounted; and fruitfulness a blessing, chiefly in expectation of being the mother of the Messiah, the promised "Seed of the woman," in whom the world was to be blessed.

† *Divine wisdom.* Here is a reward of Jacob's dependence on Providence for his wages, for he had found so much fraud in his father-in-law's dealing, that he had little reason to trust to his honesty. And in the same instance God remembered Laban's unrighteous dealing with Jacob, how he deceived him in his first marriage, giving him his deformed daughter Leah instead of the beautiful Rachel; and how, from a covetous desire to serve himself upon him, he had contrived ways to detain him in his service. Now therefore God takes

understanding, put him in a way to improve his own stock, and at the same time to lessen that of Laban, as a due recompense for his covetousness. Jacob took twigs of green poplar, hazel, and chestnut-trees, and peeling off the rinds in strakes, made the white to appear in the twigs; which, placing in the watering-troughs, when the cattle came to drink, they seeing the speckled twigs, conceived and brought forth speckled cattle. Besides, he took especial care to place the twigs before the lustiest and strongest cattle; but before the weak and feeble he did not lay any—by which artifice he procured to himself not only the greater number, but the ablest and strongest. Laban, envying Jacob's prosperity, repented of his bargain, and several times altered the agreement, which God still turned to Jacob's advantage. And now Jacob having been twenty years in Laban's service, he happened to overhear his brothers-in-law, Laban's sons, expressing their dissatisfaction that he had raised himself a large estate out of their fortunes; and having observed for some time Laban's coolness and indifference, he began to think of leaving him, and returning to his father's house, which God in a vision commanded him to do. But before he put this in execution, he thought it advisable to consult his wives, and to obtain their consent to go along with him; and sending for them both into the field, that he might with more freedom and privacy discourse with them, he communicated his whole design to them, telling them he had observed that their father's carriage of late towards him was very much changed, though he knew not for what cause; for he appealed to them concerning his fidelity and diligence, and their father's unfair dealing towards him, in deceiving him, and changing his wages so often: but God had turned all their father's contrivances against him to his advantage, and had taken away their father's cattle and given them to him. Then he told them that the Lord had lately appeared to him, and put him in mind of the vow he had made at Bethel, in his passage from Canaan thither (of which he had formerly given them an account at his first coming), and that the Lord had now commanded him to return to the land of his kindred. His wives heard him very attentively, declared themselves of his opinion concerning their father, and consented to go with him, desiring him to set out when he pleased and they would attend him. Jacob therefore preparing all things for his journey, and mounting his wives and children upon camels, set forward with all his cattle and goods which he had gotten in Haran, taking the advantage of the absence of his father-in-law, who was at that time gone to shear his sheep; which likewise gave Rachel an opportunity to steal and carry away his teraphim.* Jacob passes the

from Laban the riches he had before given him for Jacob's sake, and bestows them upon Jacob: and that in such a manner as Laban could neither help himself, nor justly find fault with Jacob.

* *Teraphim.* The word *teraph* signifies in general the complete image of a man, 1 Sam. xix. 13. More particularly it signifies an idol or image made for private use in their own houses; so that these images seem to have been their household gods; "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?"—my teraphim, Gen. xxxi. 30. "And the man Micah had an house of gods, and made an ephod and teraphim," Judges xvii. 5. Without controversy, the teraphim which Michal put into the bed, 1 Sam. xix. 13, was a complete image of a man. The use of

river Euphrates, and proceeds to Mount Gilead; and though he had the advantage of three days before Laban pursued him, yet in seven days time Laban came up with him.

At his first setting out after Jacob, no doubt, Laban pursued him with a mind instigated by revenge: but God, in a dream by night, charged him not so much as to speak roughly to Jacob. The next morning therefore, when he, with his kindred, came to Jacob, he in soft and quiet words expostulated with him on the unhandsomeness of his behavior in so slyly stealing away from him, carrying his daughters off like captives, and not suffering him to take leave of them or their children, and to send them away with an equipage becoming their rank; telling him it was very unadvisedly done of him to give such a provocation, considering it was in his power to have done him hurt; nay, he plainly told him he would have done it, had not God appeared to him, and laid a restraint upon him. But Laban did not only chide Jacob for his unkindness, but charged him with theft, saying, "Though thou hadst ever so strong a desire to return to thy father's house, yet why didst thou steal my teraphim?"

Jacob excused his clandestine departure from Laban by telling him he was afraid that if he had acquainted him with his purpose, he would forcibly have detained his daughters; but as to the theft (not knowing that Rachel had stolen the teraphim), he warmly replied, "With whomsoever thou findest thy teraphim let him not live." And to vindicate his innocency, he bids Laban search his goods in the presence of his friends; and if he could find anything of his he might take it. Upon this, Laban searched the tents of Jacob, Leah, and the two handmaids; and not finding what he looked for, went into Rachel's tent. Rachel was hardly put to it, for she very well knew that if the idols should be found in her custody, both her father and her husband would be highly offended with her. She had but just time, whilst Laban was searching the other tents, to contrive how to conceal them, which she did by putting them into the camel's furniture, and having set herself down upon them, Laban enters the tent; whereupon keeping her seat, she begged his pardon for not rising to salute him, alleging for excuse that the custom of women was upon her. Laban, in point of modesty, desists from any further search, not suspecting the deceit his daughter had practised upon him; upon which Jacob sharply reproached him for his unjust suspicion, appealing to Laban's friends to judge between them. Then recounting

these images was to consult with them as with oracles, concerning things unknown for the present or future. To this purpose they were made by astrologers, under certain constellations, capable of heavenly influences, as they pretended, whereby they were enabled to speak. "The teraphim have spoken vanity," Zech. x. 2. And among other reasons why Rachel stole away her father's images, this is thought to be one, that Laban might not, by consulting them, discover what way Jacob took in his flight.

We add from another author the following account:

The teraphim seem to have been compound images with several faces, like the cherubim. Both are words of plural signification, and denote emblems of the Eternal Three in covenant to redeem man. The cherubim were for public use in the tabernacle, the teraphim for family or domestic use; the emblems of that God before whom they daily worshipped. It is not certain that the use of these was unlawful in the time of Jacob; but in process of time they came to be abused, and were ordered to be laid aside.

the long servitude he had held him in, his faithfulness, care, and diligence in his service, the hardships he had undergone therein both day and night, and the hard and unequal terms he had held him to all along, he concluded thus: "Except the God of my father had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away empty: but God hath seen my affliction, and the labor of mine hands, and rebuked thee yesternight."

This charge of Jacob's was so just, that Laban could make no defence, and thought best to decline the debate; then, changing his resentment to expressions of fondness, he calls Jacob, his wives, children, and all that he had, *his*, and pretending for that reason he would not hurt them, lest therein he should hurt himself, he proposed a covenant of peace between them, which they made, by erecting a pillar or heap of stones for a memorial of it,* and then mutually exchanged an oath, that neither of them should invade the other, and that Jacob should not misuse his wives; after this, Jacob gave

*Our version of Genesis xxxi. 46, represents Jacob as sitting, with his relations and friends, when he held a solemn feast, *on a heap of stones*. One would be inclined to suspect the justness of the translation, as to this circumstance, of the manner in which he treated his friends; but it is made less incredible, by the account Niebuhr has given us, in the first volume of his travels, of the manner in which some of the nobles of the court of the Iman seated themselves, when he visited the prince at Sana of Arabia, his capital city. It is certain the participle *ἵθι*, translated in this passage *upon*, sometimes signifies *near to*, or something of that sort; so it is twice used in this sense, Gen. xvi. 7, "And the angel of the Lord found her *by* a fountain in the way to Shur." So Gen. xxiv. 13, "Behold, I stand here *by* the well of water, and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water." The same may be observed in many other places of the book of Genesis. Consequently the sitting of Jacob and Laban, with their relations and friends, might be understood to have been only near the heap of stones, which was collected together upon this occasion, and designed for a memorial of present reconciliation, and reciprocal engagement to preserve peace and amity in future times; but their actual sitting on this heap of stones may perhaps appear somewhat less improbable, after reading the following passage of Niebuhr's travels, relating to his being admitted to an audience of the Iman of Yemen: "I had gone from my lodgings indisposed, and by standing so long, found myself so faint that I was obliged to ask permission to quit the room. I found near the door some of the principal officers of the court, who were sitting in a scattered manner in the shade, *upon stones*, by the side of the wall. Among them was the nakib, the general, or rather master of the horse, Gheir Allah, with whom I had some acquaintance before. He immediately resigned his place to me, and applied himself to draw together stones into a heap, in order to build himself a new seat." This management to us appears very strange; it might possibly be owing to the extreme heat of that time of the year in that country, which made sitting on the ground very disagreeable. It can hardly, however, be supposed that they sat upon the heap of stones that had been gathered together on Mount Gilead, for this reason, since high grounds are cooler than those that lie low; since it was in Spring time, when the heat is more moderate, for it was at the time of sheep-shearing. But it might be wet and disagreeable sitting on the ground, especially as they were not furnished with sufficient number of carpets, pursuing after Jacob in a great hurry, and several countries furnishing stones so flat as to be capable of being formed into a pavement, or seat, not so uneasy as we may have imagined. Mount Gilead might be such a country. It might also be thought to tend more strongly to impress the mind, when this feast of reconciliation was eaten upon that very heap that was designed to be the lasting memorial of this renewed friendship. As for the making use of *heaps of stones* for a memorial, many are found to this day in these countries, and not merely by land, for they have been used for sea-marks too. So Niebuhr, in the same volume, tells us of a heap of stones placed upon a rock in the Red Sea, which was designed to warn them that sailed there of the danger of the place, that they might be upon their guard.—Harmer.

them an entertainment, and next morning Laban, having embraced his daughters and their children, returned home.

This rencounter had not a little ruffled Jacob's mild disposition; and therefore God, to comfort and confirm him in an assurance of the divine protection, was graciously pleased to send his angels,* who met him on the way: which Jacob observing, said, "This is God's host."

No sooner is one storm blown over, but another begins to threaten. Jacob being now near the confines of Edom, begins to recollect that he was within the reach of his incensed brother Esau, whom he had highly provoked, and whom he formerly left in a very revengeful humor; and considering that in all this time (which was twenty years) he had received no account from his mother of the abatement of his brother's resentment, of which, if she perceived it, she had promised † to inform him, he thought it advisable to send a conciliatory message to him, to discover the state of his mind before he ventured to approach him. Jacob therefore instructing the messengers, ordered them to address themselves to him in these words: "Thy servant Jacob saith thus: I have sojourned with Laban, and stayed there till now; where I have exceedingly enriched myself, and now I have sent to acquaint my lord ‡ with this, that I may find favor in thy sight." The messengers set out, and soon returned, giving Jacob such information as occasioned prodigious alarm; for they brought no answer from Esau, but only told Jacob that his brother was coming to meet him at the head of four hundred men. Jacob immediately concludes, from the number of the men, that his brother came against him with a hostile intention, which threw him into a great distraction of thought: he was too weak to resist him, and his retinue too heavy and cumbersome to retreat; at length he comes to this resolution, namely, to divide his company and cattle into two bands, which being placed

* *Angels.* Interpreters conclude these to be two hosts or armies of angels, whereof one was that of the guardian angel of Mesopotamia, who, with his company, conducted Jacob safely to the confines of Canaan, where the guardian angel of Canaan, with his company, received him into their care. And this is inferred from the necessity of Jacob's being exposed to the dangerous treachery of Laban, and the cruelty of Esau, which made Providence more particularly careful of Jacob, to whom the promises were made. And considering the etymology of the word *mahanaim* (which signifies two armies or camps), there is probable ground for this conjecture of the interpreters and others.

† *Promised.* See Gen. xxvii. 45.

‡ *lord.* Since Isaac by Divine direction had made Jacob lord over Esau, it may be asked how Jacob should call Esau his lord, and himself his servant. To which it may be answered, that by this submission Jacob did not reject the honor and dominion conferred by God upon him; but patiently waiting for the execution of God's will, he kept himself within the bounds of nature, and revered Esau as his elder brother. Besides, it may be questioned whether Jacob meant any more by these words (*lord and servant*), than what was customarily used at that time, especially by those who wished to ingratiate themselves with others. That the first use of the word *lord* between man and man was a mere honorary compliment, and practised first among the idolatrous and heathen nations, appears from the children of Heth (who were heathens), calling Abram *lord and prince*; and from them came to be taken up and used by the fathers and people of God afterwards, as many things besides were contracted by conversing with them. However, it is plain here that Jacob, through fear of Esau, used the words, thinking that he might thereby soften the rugged humor of his haughty brother.

at a convenient distance, he hoped that if Esau should fall upon one of them, the other might have opportunity to escape.

This was Jacob's human contrivance; but his safety lay in that Divine protection which he had lately, in similar distress, experienced, when his uncle Laban pursued him. Therefore, as then, so now he addresses himself to God in this earnest supplication: "O God of my father Abraham, and Isaac, who saidst to me, return to thy country and I will do well by thee: I am not worthy of the least of thy mercies; but thou hast increased my stock; for when I first passed over this river, I had nothing but my staff, and now I am become a multitude: deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, for I fear his malice, lest he smite me and mine. Remember how thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy posterity as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude." Having thus implored the Divine protection, he bethinks himself of another expedient to soften his brother's resentment. He might perhaps imagine that his brother looked upon his first message as a mere compliment, an empty piece of formality; and therefore, since he had by his messengers acquainted his brother that he was become so rich, he resolves to send him a very handsome present; but fearing lest he should be attacked before the present could arrive, he was obliged to take it of that which first came to hand; which was thus: Two hundred she-goats, and twenty he-goats; two hundred ewes, and twenty rams; thirty milch-camels with their colts; forty kine, and ten bulls; and twenty she-asses, with ten ass-foals; all in separate droves; ordering the servants to keep them at a reasonable distance, charging the servant that followed the first drove to deliver the present to his brother; the same order he delivered to each of the rest, hoping that the sight of so many and different presents, delivered in a submissive and obliging manner, might have a pacific effect on the rugged disposition of his brother.

The same night, he with his wives and children passed the brook Jabbock, himself being the last; and being left alone, there appeared to him a man, who wrestled with him till it was day, and permitted Jacob to prevail; but that he might be sensible he did not prevail by his own strength, he gave him a touch in the hollow of his thigh, and put the joint out.

Then said the man, "Let me go, for day breaketh." But Jacob said, "I will not let thee go till thou hast blessed me." The man then asking his name, and he saying it was Jacob, "Thy name (replied the other) shall not only be Jacob, but likewise Israel:* for as a prince hast thou power with God, and with men, and hast prevailed." Jacob demanded his name, which he declined telling him; he therefore blessed him and departed. Jacob, as the sun arose, passing from the place where he had this wrestling exercise, called it Peniel, which signifies the face of God, "Because (said he) I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." †

* *Israel.* It is said, Gen. xxxii. 28, "Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel." But as the patriarch was frequently called by the name of Jacob after this period, the passage may be translated, *not only* Jacob, but Israel, which prevents the appearance of contradiction.

† *Preserved.* The angel with whom Jacob wrestled seems to have been the great Angel

After this Jacob proceeded on his journey, and had not gone far before he perceived his brother Esau approaching, attended by four hundred men, upon which he began to dispose his company into the most commodious order, either for the reception of his brother, or the safety of those he most regarded. Putting therefore the two handmaids, Bilhah and Zilpah, with their children foremost, and Leah with her children next, he set his beloved Rachel and her son Joseph in the rear, and himself passed on before. When he was come near, he bowed himself seven times to the ground; but Esau, unable to resist the powerful impression which Jacob's meek submission made upon his spirit, with eager joy runs to meet him, falls upon his neck, and kisses him. Revenge and murderous designs are turned into pity and tenderness; and Esau, who once thirsted after his brother's blood, now melts into tears of joy at this happy interview, and nothing but expressions of brotherly love and friendship pass between them.

Esau, transported with joy at the sight of Jacob, with pleasure surveys his store, and is with great difficulty persuaded to accept of a present. He salutes his wives and children; and, to show further marks of his reconciliation and fondness, offers to bear him company the remaining part of his journey. But Jacob, still retaining his former jealousy, excused himself by telling him that the children and cattle could not keep pace with him without much fatigue, and therefore desired him to proceed, and himself would follow leisurely as the children and flocks could bear; and that he would wait on him in his own country* of Seir. Then Esau very courteously offered to leave some of his men to guard and attend him; but Jacob handsomely excused it as an unnecessary compliment, upon which they parted in a friendly manner, Esau † taking his way towards Seir, and Jacob, by easy

of the Covenant, who frequently visited the ancient saints in a human form. This divine person seemed to oppose Jacob's entrance into Canaan, but permits him to contest the matter, and at length to prevail. The victory was yielded; but the conqueror had a memento of his weakness in his thigh being put out of joint, or injured in such a manner that he always retained the effects of it, as a standing memorial of the transaction. The children of Jacob have also perpetuated the remembrance of it by abstaining, in their food, from that sinew or muscle in the animal by which the hip-bone is fixed in its cup.

The new name, "Israel," which Jacob obtained on this occasion, was highly honorable; he "prevailed with God," by the importunity of his prayer, and obtained "the blessing"—a repetition, probably an enlargement, of the blessing originally given by his father, including a promise that "he should prevail with men also," which certainly assured him of good success in the expected and dreaded interview with his brother Esau. That it was a divine person who appeared to Jacob at this time is incontestable, for he says, "I have seen God face to face."

* *Country.* It may reasonably be supposed that Jacob never intended to meet Esau in Seir, because it does not appear that he ever did go thither. Besides, it is probable that he might apprehend himself not safe in his brother's dominions, who might there take occasion to renew his former grudge, and in revenge destroy or enslave both himself and his family.

† *Esau.* Moses gives no further account of Esau and his family, only that he had three wives,—Aholibamah, and Ada, Canaanites; and Bashemath the daughter of Ishmael. That the first had three children,—Jeush, Jaalam, and Korah; the second had Eliphaz, and the third Reuel; and that he left the land of Canaan to reside on the mountains of Seir; Moses names the descendants of Eliphaz and Reuel, and the princes of the tribes of the Edomites, the kings that succeeded them, and the chiefs who governed after the kings. See Gen. xxxvi. and xxxv. 29.

journeys, travelling to Succoth, where, intending to abide for some time, he built a temporary habitation, and conveniences to shelter his cattle.

Afterwards he removed to Shalem, a city of Shechem; where, having bought a piece of ground of the children of Hamor,* for an hundred pieces of money,† he spread his tent and erected an altar there, and called upon the name of the Almighty God of Israel.

During Jacob's stay in this place, his only daughter, Dinah, prompted by her vanity and love of pleasure, ventured imprudently among the "daughters of the land;" and while thus indulging a dangerous curiosity, she happened to attract the notice of Shechem, the son of Hamor, prince of that place, to whose violent lust she unhappily became a prey. This prince, however, notwithstanding the commission of such a criminal action, was so strongly attached to her, as to be earnestly desirous of forming a more honorable union; and therefore importunately entreats his father to enter upon a treaty with her friends, that he might obtain her for his wife. Jacob soon heard of the violence committed upon his daughter, and was deeply penetrated with grief for the sin of his child, and the shame brought on his family; he, however, concealed his emotions till his sons were come home, who, being informed of the painful event, were extremely incensed, and secretly resolved upon exemplary vengeance.

Hamor's partiality for his son Shechem makes him soon yield to his importunity. Taking the opportunity, therefore, when Jacob and his sons were together, he acquaints them with his son's passion for Dinah; entreating them to give her to him; and, inviting them to intermarry with his people, offered them the freedom of the country, to dwell, trade, and form settlements among them. And to enforce these proposals, Shechem, who was present at the treaty, offers them whatever advantages they choose to ask, desiring them to name their terms, and they should have them, provided they would but give him their sister. Jacob's sons neglect no opportunity of revenging the affront done to their family by this affair; therefore, craftily observing the earnestness of Shechem and his father to close with them, they insist upon the more high and unreasonable terms. Nothing less than a general circumcision of the Shechemites will induce them to accept of an agreement to settle among and incorporate with them.

Hamor and Shechem readily agreed to these conditions; and when they returned to the town, summoning their subjects together, they commend the Israelites for a peaceable, good-natured people, and observed that if they intermarried with them they should soon become masters of all their substance, which was very considerable: and all this to be obtained upon their consent to be circumcised. The thirst of gain soon prevailed upon this silly people; and being backed with Shechem's interest among them, which was very great, they all consented, and were, every male of them, circumcised.

Jacob's sons, having thus disguised their resentment, in deluding the

* *Hamor.* Stephen, in Acts vii. 16, calls this man Emmor.

† *Pieces of money.* This is sometimes rendered an hundred lambs, because the image of a lamb was stamped upon it.

unwary Shechemites, the third day* after they were circumcised, put their bloody purpose in execution. Simeon † and Levi put themselves at the head of the party that was to attack the city, which they boldly entered, and put all the men to the sword; and searching Shechem's house, they found their sister Dinah. ‡ After this they fell to plunder, and carried off not only what they found in the city, but all that was in the field, making the women and children prisoners; and what they could not carry off, they spoiled. Thus the sons of Jacob glutted their revenge upon the Shechemites for the rape of their sister.

Peaceful Jacob knew nothing of this bloody massacre till it was over; and when his sons brought the trophies of their cruelty to him, he took no joy in their conquest, and was so far from approving this rash action that he reproaches them for their barbarity, and expresses his apprehension of the consequences, which might be fatal to himself and his whole family. But his two boisterous sons, Simeon and Levi, who had been the ringleaders in this mischief, took upon them to answer their father for what they had done, saying, Shechem ought not to have used their sister like a harlot, by which he had dishonored not only her, but their whole family.

It is plain that Jacob's fear was not groundless, by the care God took to remove him from the danger that must necessarily have attended this cruel and inhospitable action of his inconsiderate sons; for though they had extirpated one colony, there were more people in the neighboring country, who,

* *Third day.* This was the time, as physicians observe, when fevers generally attend circumcision, occasioned by the inflammation of the wound, and which was more painful than at any other time, for which reason the sons of Jacob took that opportunity of falling on the Shechemites, who were then less able to defend themselves.

† *Simeon.* In this action none are named but Simeon and Levi, whom we may suppose to be the chief contrivers and managers of this bloody massacre, as being own brothers to Dinah both by father and mother, and elder than the rest, except Reuben, who was of a more gentle and humane disposition (as we find in Gen. xxxvii. 22, when he saved Joseph's life, contrary to the will of his other cruel brothers); yet it is reasonable to think that the rest of the sons of Jacob, who were old enough for such an exploit, and their numerous servants also, were engaged in this execution; though these two only are named. And indeed it is impossible that two men should be able to master a city, and slay all the men in it (though at that time disabled in some measure), and should also take all the women prisoners, who were more than sufficient to overpower two men.

‡ Among the Bedouin Arabs, the brother finds himself more dishonored by the seduction of his sister than a man by the infidelity of his wife. As a reason, they allege "that a wife is not of the family, and that they are obliged to keep a wife only so long as she is chaste, and if she is not she may be sent away, and is no longer a member of the family; but that a sister constantly remains a member of the family; and even if his sister became dissolute, and was defiled, nobody could hinder her from still being his sister." — *D'Arvieux*. This is confirmed by Niebuhr: "I learned at Basra that a man is not allowed to kill his wife, even on account of adultery; but that her father, brother, or any of her relations, were suffered to do it without being punished, or at least paying a small sum as an atonement, because her relations had been dishonored by her bad behavior; but that after this satisfaction, nobody is permitted to reproach the family. They remembered examples of it in Basra and Bagdad; in this latter place, a rich merchant, a few years since, had found a young man with a relation of his, and not only hewed her in pieces on the spot, but also, by witnesses and money, caused the young man, who was the son of a respectable citizen, to be hanged the same night by the magistrates." — *Rosenmuller*.

either in defence of themselves, or in revenge for such unjustifiable conduct, might give Jacob great uneasiness, if not totally destroy him. God, therefore, to secure him, bade him arise and go up to Bethel, and dwell there; and erect an altar in that place to God, who had appeared to him, to comfort and strengthen him, when he fled from the face of his brother Esau, whom then he dreaded, as much as now he feared the people of this country.

In obedience to the Divine call, Jacob strictly charges his family and all that belonged to him to put away the strange gods* which they had, and be clean,† and change their garments; and then, said he, let us arise, and go up to Bethel, the house of God. By these means Jacob obtained from them their idols and ear-rings.‡ And that these ear-rings might not become a snare to him and his family, as the like were afterwards to Gideon,§ Jacob resolved to make sure of them, as well as of the idols; and therefore he buried them so privately that none of his family should know where they were, to take them up again, for he hid them under the oak of Shechem, and then set forward for Bethel, whither he proceeded in great quiet and security; for God had struck such a terror into the cities round about him that, notwithstanding the provocation his sons had given by the outrage they had committed at Shechem, no person offered to molest or pursue them.

Being safely arrived at Bethel, he erected an altar there, as God had commanded him; and upon that altar, and at that time, it is supposed he performed the vow which he had made when God appeared to him in the same place, as he fled from his brother || Esau. Which, when he had performed, God appeared to him again, confirmed his new name Israel to him, and gave him repeated assurances of his promises made to Abraham and Isaac, with new blessings to himself. Then did Jacob, in the place where God had now talked with him, erect a pillar of stone, as a lasting monument of his gratitude and devotion, pouring a drink-offering and oil upon it. In this place, and about this time, Deborah,¶ Jacob's mother's nurse, died, and was buried under an oak, which was therefore called "the Oak of Weeping."

* *gods.* These probably were some idols which his sons had taken among the spoils of the Shechemites; or some of his servants or slaves might be idolaters.

† *Clean, etc.* This may probably be meant of sanctifying themselves, not only from idolatrous pollution, but from the late massacre at Shechem. See Exod. xix. 10 and 15. But that it was a custom for those who came to appear before the Lord to wash their clothes, appears plainly from Exod. xix. 10, Levit. xv. 13, and 2 Sam. xii. 20.

‡ *Ear-rings.* These were worn by some people in a superstitious devotion, as being thought to possess some magical virtue or charm in them; and it is not unlikely that some of Jacob's servants, if they themselves were not Ishmaelites, might have taken up the use of ear-rings from the Ishmaelites, among whom it was afterwards a known fashion. Judges viii. 24.

§ *Gideon.* See Judges viii. 27.

|| *Brother.* See Gen. xxviii. 20, 22.

¶ *Deborah.* Who this Deborah was, and for what reason she is mentioned here, is not clear, and hath given occasion for various conjectures among commentators. Some are of opinion that after she had brought her mistress Rebecca to her marriage, and seen her well settled in her family, she went back to Haran again, and there dwelt in Laban's house, till Jacob, returning home, she having a desire once more to see her old mistress, put herself into the company. Without doubt, she was very much respected by them, because they bewailed her death so much, that the oak under which she was buried was called the *Oak of Weeping*.

Jacob made no long stay here; but, prompted by filial affection, he hastened to Mamre, to pay a visit to his aged father; and Ephrath* being in the way, they intended to have got thither: but though they were only a short distance from the town, they found themselves unable to reach it, for Rachel, then pregnant with her second and last child, fell into labor, and during her extremity, which was uncommonly great, the midwife, to encourage her, said, "Fear not, for thou shalt have this son also." Of whom indeed she was delivered, but she died immediately; and just before her departure she called the child's name "Benoni," which signifies "the son of sorrow." But his father, unwilling to perpetuate the sad remembrance of so sorrowful a subject, called him "Benjamin," which signifies "the son of my right hand," intimating thereby how dear he should be to him.

Jacob, thus deprived of his beloved Rachel, raises a monument † over her grave to perpetuate her memory. Her death was no doubt an occasion of great grief to Jacob, whose fondness may be measured by the double servitude he underwent to obtain her. But before he could reach Mamre, another misfortune befell him; for Reuben his eldest son, committed incest with Bilhah, his father's concubinary wife. Jacob soon heard of it; and though he took no public notice of it at that time, yet it dwelt deeply on his mind, and never forsook him to his dying day. ‡

* *Ephrath.* This place was afterwards called Bethlehem.

† The following account from the recent and valuable *Travels in Palestine*, by Mr. Buckingham, on the subject of Rachel's tomb, will be found highly interesting. "In the way, on the right, at a little distance from the road, is hewn the reputed tomb of Rachel, to which we turned off, to enter. This may be near the spot of Rachel's interment, as it is not far from Ephrath, and may correspond well enough with the place assigned for her sepulchre by Moses, who says, in describing her death in childbirth of Benjamin, 'and Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem; and Jacob set a pillar upon her grave, that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.' Gen. xxxv. 19. Instead of a pillar, the spot is now covered by a Mohammedan building, resembling in its exterior the tombs of saints and sheiks in Arabia and Egypt, being small, square, and surmounted by a dome. We entered it on the south side by an aperture, through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no doorway; and found on the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a narrow passage for walking around it. It is plastered with white stucco on the outer surface, and is sufficiently large and high to enclose within it any ancient pillar that might have been found on the grave of Rachel. This central mass is certainly different from anything that I have ever observed in Arabian tombs; and it struck me on the spot, as by no means improbable, that its intention might have originally been to enclose either a pillar, or fragment of one, which tradition had pointed out as the pillar of Rachel's grave; and that as the place is held in equal veneration by Jews, by Christians, and by Mohammedans, the last, as lords of the country, might have subsequently built the present structure over it in their own style, and plastered the high square pillar within. Around the interior face of the walls is an arched recess on each side, and over every part of the stucco are written and engraved a profusion of names in Hebrew, Arabic, and Roman characters; the first executed in curious devices, as if a sort of abracadabra." — *Burder*.

‡ *Dying day.* Jacob, just before his death, giving his blessing among his children, gave Reuben a reproachful hint of his incestuous crime: "Reuben," says he, "thou art my first-born, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power." This was to have been his portion by virtue of his birthright, had he not by transgression forfeited it. But now, being as unstable as water (which though elevated ever so high falls down again), his doom was, "Thou shalt not excel, because thou wentest up to

These two afflictions sat heavy upon him for a time; but continuing his resolution of visiting his father, the expectation of seeing the good old man kindled a new joy in his heart. At length he reached Mamre, the city of Arbath,* where his grandfather Abraham had formerly lived, and where his father Isaac then dwelt; who (no doubt) was overjoyed at the return of his son Jacob, after so long an absence: nor could pious Jacob's joy be less, to find his aged father living and in health.

Jacob had not long enjoyed the blessing of his good father's company, before another severe affliction befell him, so chequered is the life of man! His son Joseph being about seventeen years old, was with his brethren feeding the flock; and Joseph, observing their wicked conversation, told tales † of them to his father. This set their hearts very much against him, for they could not but look upon him as a spy upon them, and therefore resolved to remove him: and what aggravated their impious rage, was the marks of extraordinary love which his father showed to him more than to all his other children; which partiality was occasioned probably not only by his being the eldest son of his beloved Rachel, but because he was wise ‡ beyond his years. This was indeed an engaging quality; and the fond father, to express his greater esteem for it than any endowment in all his other children, distinguishes Joseph from the rest of his brethren by bestowing on him a fine vest of several colors, little thinking it would occasion such discontent among them.§ This mark of distinction so much displeased Jacob's other sons, that

thy father's bed, and defiled it," Gen. xlix. 3, 4. So Reuben's birthright was transferred to Judah, of whom our Lord was to come (ver. 8), from whom also in time it fell to the son of Rachel, who in right should have been Jacob's first wife.

* *Arbath*. This was afterwards called Hebron.

† *Tales*. What crime it was that occasioned Joseph to tell tales of them to his father, is the subject of conjecture among critics. But whatever it was, it may be gathered from their malice to him, that it was no small crime, because they hated him, even to death.

‡ *Wise, etc.*, or, *that he was wise as a senator*. The versions do not seem to have well expressed the reason for which Jacob loved Joseph more than his brethren, by these words, "Because he was the son of his old age," Gen. xxxvii. 3. For if his love had been only founded on this reason, he must have loved Zebulun as well as Joseph, since he was of the same age; and he must have loved Benjamin still more, since he was born sixteen years after Joseph. The Hebrew text says only "because he was the son of the elders or senators," that is, because he was their disciple, in the style of the Hebrews; and therefore the Samaritan, Persian, and Arabic versions, and the Chaldee paraphrase render, "because he was a wise and prudent son." And it seems that they might be yet better translated, by saying, *That he was wise as a senator*, wisdom being a quality which makes parents fond of their children, and prefer them to their brethren.

§ Rauwolf says, "that Turks of rank at Aleppo dress their sons, when they are a little grown, and can walk, in loose coats of a fine texture, in which various colors are woven, and which look very handsome." — *Rosenmuller*.

The margin has, instead of *colors*, "pieces;" and it is probable the coat was patch-work of different colors. For beautiful or favorite children, precisely the same thing is done at this day. Crimson, and purple, and other colors, are often tastefully sewed together. Sometimes children of the Mohammedans have their jackets embroidered with gold and silk of various colors. A child being clothed in a garment of many colors, it is believed that neither tongues nor evil spirits will injure him, because the attention is taken from the beauty of the person to that of the garment. Children seldom wear them after they are eight years of age, though it must have been the custom among the ancients referred to in the Bible to wear them longer, as we read of Tamar having "a garment of divers colors upon her; for with such robes were the king's daughters that were virgins apparelled." — *Roberts*.

they could not show the least good temper to the favorite, but studied all the ways that malice could invent to make him uneasy : and that which enhanced their hatred to him was Joseph's two dreams, which he very innocently related to them, not suspecting so severe a resentment from them as he afterwards found. The first was : "That as his brethren and he were binding sheaves together in the field, his sheaf arose and stood upright, and their sheaves round about fell down before his." His brethren looking on him with scorn, replied, "Shalt thou reign over us?"

His second dream was a fresh aggravation of their rancor, which the harmless youth, in his childish simplicity, likewise tells them : "I have seen (says he) the sun, the moon, and eleven stars fall down before me." Nor could he conceal this dream from his father (so strongly was the impulse upon him), but told it him. Good old Jacob, whether to mitigate the resentment of his other sons towards Joseph, or that he thought these dreams the effect of an aspiring and conceited forwardness in him, chid him, saying, "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren pay homage to thee?"

These two dreams of Joseph were, however, very significant ; and though his father was willing thus to make light of them, that they might give less offence to his brethren, yet they made a deep impression on Jacob's mind. And now, whilst the envious brothers were ruminating on revenge, a fatal opportunity offered itself, and the pious parent becomes the instrument of delivering his darling into their malicious hands. The ten brethren being gone to feed their flocks at a distance in Shechem, old Israel, out of his paternal care, desirous to know of their welfare, sends his beloved Joseph to see and acquaint them with their father's anxiety for their health. Joseph, in ready obedience, goes to Shechem ; and not finding them there, wandered about, till a stranger directed him to Dothan, whither he went ; and being come within sight of them, their malice, which had hitherto lain latent for want of opportunity, revived, and they immediately came to a fatal resolution to dispatch him. "See (cried the unfeeling brothers) where this dreamer comes ! Let us kill him, and bury him, and tell our father that some wild beast has devoured him ; and then we shall see what will become of his dreams." But Reuben, who was of a milder disposition than the rest, would not approve of this bloody contrivance, and studied to prevent it, dissuading them from shedding his blood, proposing rather to cast him into a pit. The rest, considering that if he perished in the pit it would answer their end, consented to Reuben's counsel. By this time the innocent youth, not in the least apprehensive of their wicked design on him, was come up to them ; and as he was going to deliver his father's indulgent commendation to them, they seized and stripped him of his vest, and cast him into the pit, which at that time was dry and empty. Joseph, extremely frightened at this vile and unnatural treatment, begged his life of his cruel brothers, for he knew he must inevitably perish with hunger there : but they are deaf to his cries, being resolutely bent to destroy him. Joseph in vain complains of his hard-hearted brothers, who are so regardless of him, that they had no sooner thus disposed of him, than they sat down and regaled themselves with what

refreshments they had, whilst he was exposed to famine and despair. But Providence, the faithful guardian of a youth designed for great events, had a watchful eye over him.

Before these unnatural brethren put Joseph into the pit, it was by Reuben's advice they did not immediately dispatch him; and now another of them, namely Judah, begins to feel some pangs of conscience, which was awakened by the opportune approach of a company of Ishmaelites travelling from Gilead, and going down to Egypt with spicery and other merchandise.* Judah lays hold of this opportunity, and considering with himself that Joseph was exposed to certain death in the pit, proposes to the rest to sell him to these merchants, urging the cruelty of being instrumental in the death of their own brother, which would bring an indelible stain of guilt upon them; but by selling him, they should not only save his life, but be gainers by the bargain. Considering this, they closed with the proposal; and taking Joseph out of the pit, notwithstanding his earnest entreaty, having no advocate among them (for Reuben was absent), they sold him to the Ishmaelite merchants for twenty pieces of silver; and these, carrying him to Egypt, there sold him to Potiphar, an officer † of the king, and captain of his guards.

Reuben, in persuading his brothers to put Joseph into the pit, contrived it on purpose to preserve his life, hoping he should find means to deliver him from thence; and when they had bestowed him there, on some occasion or other he pretended to leave them: but soon after returning, and not finding Joseph in the pit, he rent ‡ his clothes, and coming to his brethren, he cried out, "Alas! § the child is gone; what will become of me, or whither shall I go?" But || they soon appeased him, acquainting him with what they had done in his absence; and then they began to contrive how to manage the matter to their father, so as to take all suspicion from themselves, which they did by dipping Joseph's vest in the blood of a kid, and sent it to him with

* *Merchandise.* The circumstance of the Ishmaelites trading to Egypt with spices deserves notice, as it is the first mention made in Scripture of the early attention of mankind to the commerce of the East.

† *Officer.* This is in the text called an eunuch, which cannot be taken literally, but must refer to one employed in some high trust. It was the custom indeed, and still is in those parts, to commit the keeping of the queen, and women of quality, to eunuchs; but Potiphar cannot be supposed to be such, for he had a wife, as we may see in the story of Joseph. Besides it was customary among the Eastern people to call their noblemen eunuchs.

‡ *Rent.* This was the custom of those countries and times to express the highest grief; and of which, though afterwards more frequently used, this is the first instance we have.

§ *Alas.* Reuben having greatly offended his father before in his trespass with Bilhah, his concubinary wife, and probably hoping to have regained his favor by preserving his favorite son, and restoring him safe to him, having now lost the hope of that advantage, and reasonably fearing that his father's displeasure would fall heavily on him, both as he was offended with him already, and as he being the eldest, should have taken most care of the younger, was exceedingly troubled for the loss of Joseph.

|| *But, etc.* Here the story in the text seems to break off abruptly; but it must be supposed in parity of reason, that he joined with them in contriving to take the suspicion off to their father of having murdered their brother, and consequently that they had acquainted him with the selling of Joseph in his absence.

this message, "This we have found; see whether it be thy son's coat or no." The bloody garment too soon convinced Jacob to whom it belonged; and not in the least suspecting any human creature could be guilty of such unnatural cruelty, he concluded some wild beast had devoured him. This was the greatest trial that Jacob ever yet sustained; the loss of his beloved Rachel, though the joy of his soul and delight of his eyes, was a debt due to nature, and which she paid in a natural way; but the loss of Joseph far exceeded all the rest. He was, as his father might reasonably suppose, torn in pieces, barbarously mangled and cut off before his time. The disconsolate parent gave vent to his grief in an unusual manner. He not only rent his clothes, but put on sackcloth,* and mourned a long time for his beloved Joseph: and when his guilty sons offered to comfort him, he rejected them, declaring that he would never cease mourning as long as he lived.

But here we must for awhile leave Joseph, that we may take notice of some intermediate occurrences. About the time that this affliction befell old Israel, his son Judah committed a great fault in marrying a Canaanitish † woman, by whom he had three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah, the occasion of which was a visit he made to Hirah the Adullamite, with whom he had contracted a friendship, which proved a snare to him: for being at Hirah's house, he fell in love with the daughter of a certain Canaanite, whose name was Shuah, and married her, and by her he had three sons, above mentioned. In process of time, when Er his eldest son was grown marriageable, he took a wife for him whose name was Tamar. But Er proving a wicked man in the sight of God, however he might appear to men, God cut ‡ him off, after which Judah bids his second son Onan marry his brother's widow, that the family might not fail for want of issue. Young Onan knowing that if Tamar should bear him any children, the eldest would inherit in the name § of his elder brother that was dead, and not be accounted his, seemingly obeyed his father by going to Tamar's apartment; but he complied only apparently with the will of his father, and by undue means avoided the fruits of marriage. This criminal conduct was so displeasing to God, that he removed him in anger, as he had done his brother.

* *Sackcloth.* Reuben, as we have hinted before, was the first we find who, to express excessive sorrow, rent his clothes, which Jacob not only does (though it cannot be supposed in imitation of Reuben, for that no doubt was concealed from him), but clothes himself also with sackcloth, a sort of coarse ordinary habit, used afterwards by the Israelites in mourning, of which custom this is the first instance on record.

† *Canaanitish.* See Gen. xxxvii. 2. The transgression of Judah in marrying this woman led him into a greater afterwards, which was not fully completed till after Joseph was sold, and gone into Egypt; and therefore Moses deferred the first part of it, that he might give the story entire together.

‡ *Out, etc.* What sort of death he, and afterwards his brother, died, is not mentioned by Moses. It is, however, generally supposed that they did not die a natural death, but for their extraordinary iniquities were taken off by God in an extraordinary manner.

§ This was long before the law, by which it was afterwards enjoined, Deut. xxv. 5; and yet though this be the first mention we have of it, it seems it was then a known custom, and well understood by Onan. For he knew that the issue should not be his, but that the first-born of such marriage should be reputed his deceased brother's, and bear his name, as was afterwards declared, Deut. xxv. 6.

The third son, whose name was Shelah, was too young; therefore Judah desired his daughter-in-law Tamar to retire to her father's house, and to continue a widow till his son Shelah was grown up, and then he should marry her. Tamar did so, and waited till Shelah was come to man's estate; but finding no performance of Judah's promise, she resents this neglect, and resolves to be revenged. Watching a time, therefore, when her father-in-law went to Timnath to divert and comfort himself for the death of his wife, with his friend Hirah, she disguised herself in the habit of a harlot, and planted herself in the way that she knew Judah must unavoidably pass to go to Timnath.* Judah seeing her, an unlawful fire soon kindled in his breast, and concluding her to be what she seemed, addressed himself to her. She was as forward to receive him as he was to offer his service; but she had previously resolved to make sure the terms of his entertainment. He promised her a kid; but she having a further design upon him, demands a security for the performance of his promise, which they agree to be his ring or signet,

* The habit of Eastern females was also suited to their station, and women of all ages and conditions appeared in dresses of the same fashion, only a married woman wore a veil upon her head, in token of subjection; and a widow had a garment which indicated her widowed state. The daughters of a king, and ladies of high rank, who were virgins, wore a garment of many colors, reaching, as is supposed, to the heels or ankles, with long sleeves down to the wrists, which had a border at the bottom, and a facing at the hands, of a color different from the garment. It was likewise embroidered with flowers, which, in ancient times, was reckoned both splendid and beautiful. Before the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, their wives and daughters had arrived at the greatest degree of extravagance in dress. The prophet Isaiah gives a long list of the vestments, trinkets, and ornaments in use among the ladies of Israel in that remote age, the greater part of which it is extremely difficult to describe. A common prostitute among the Jews was known as well by the peculiar vesture she wore, as by having no covering upon her head, and her eyebrows painted with stibium, which dilated the hair, and made the eyes look black and beautiful. In the days of Jacob, the harlot seemed to have been distinguished by her veil, and by wrapping herself in some peculiar manner; for these are the circumstances that induced Judah to consider Tamar, his daughter-in-law, as a woman of this character. When Judah saw her, he thought her to be a harlot, because she had covered her face. It may be justly inferred from this passage that modest women did not constantly wear a veil in those days. Rebecca, indeed, put a veil upon her face when she met Isaac in the field; but it was a part of the marriage ceremony to deliver the bride covered with a veil from head to foot, and Rebecca, in this instance, only followed the established custom of her country. Had it been the practice of modest women in that age to cover their faces in the presence of the other sex, she would not have needed to veil herself when her future husband met her in the field. She seems to have had no veil when Abraham's servant accosted her at the well; nor, for anything that can be discovered, was Rachel veiled at her first interview with Jacob, or if they did appear in veils, these prevented not a part of the face from being seen. The practice of wearing veils, except at the marriage ceremony, must, therefore, be referred to a later period, and was perhaps not introduced till after the lapse of several ages. These observations may serve to illustrate the address of Abimelech to Sarah, "Behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that are with thee, and with all other." Sarah, you have not been used to wear the veil constantly when at home, as a person of your beauty and accomplishments should do, and by that circumstance we were tempted; but now I insist that you wear a covering, which, by concealing your beautiful countenance, may prevent such desires, and henceforth be *correct* (as the word may be rendered, that is, *circumspect*), and do not show yourself; or, as in our translation, thus she was *corrected, reprov'd*, by a very handsome compliment paid to her beauty, and a very handsome present paid to her brother, as Abraham is sarcastically termed by Abimelech. — *Patton*.

his staff and cloak,* and to be deposited in her hands till he sent the kid. An unlawful commerce between them taking place, the pregnancy of Tamar was the consequence. Judah retiring, she stayed not long behind him; but taking the pledge, went home with them, and dressed herself in her widow's weeds. In the meantime, Judah, going to the flock, took a kid, and sent it by his friend Hirah to redeem his pledge. But Hirah not finding her, returned and told Judah, who, thinking it best for his reputation to make no further inquiry after her, said, "Let her keep the pledge; I will inquire no more after her, lest I expose myself."

About three months after this, Judah was informed that his daughter-in-law had played the harlot, and was with child. He, resenting the dishonor done to his family, and not considering his own late folly, rashly passes sentence on her unheard, ordering her to be brought out and burned.† But Tamar producing the pledge, sent them to Judah, with this message, That he should consider well what he did, for the owner of the pledge was the man by whom she was with child. Judah finding himself thus detected, owned the pledge, and reflecting on himself for the injustice he had done her in not giving to her his son Shelah, as he had promised, excused her, declaring she was more righteous ‡ than he was, thereby taking the whole blame upon himself.

The time of her delivery being come, she proved with child of twins, one of which putting forth his hand, the midwife tied a scarlet thread about it, to distinguish him for the first-born; but he drawing his hand back, his brother came before him into the world, whereupon he was called Pharez, which signifies a breach; and the other with the thread on his hand was called Zarah. Thus,§ instead of the son raising up issue to the deceased

* *Cloak.* Commentators and versions differ much about this part of the pledge which Judah gave to Tamar. Our translations call it a bracelet; but that is not very probable, for it is not clear that in those days the men of Israel wore bracelets. Some, as Junius and Tremellius, render it by *sudarium*, a handkerchief. Others suppose it to be the *miletā* or *turban*; but this is improbable also. Our translation of 1610 renders it a *cloak*, and seems to take it from the Septuagint, which calls it *hormiskon*, from the Greek word *hormos*, which signifies a shoulder; and this seems the most likely of any.

† *Burned.* As for the crime of adultery, of which Tamar was condemned, and of which on her side she was guilty (for she was espoused to Shelah), it was capital, being punishable with death; but by what right or authority her father-in-law passed sentence upon her is the question. The ancients agree in supposing every one to be judge or chief magistrate in his own family, and though Tamar was a Canaanite, yet as she had married into Judah's family, and brought that disgrace upon it, she was within the cognizance of him, who may be supposed (by what followed) to have suspended the sentence, if he had first inquired into the cause of her being with child. But, however, as one well observes, Judah in this truly personated the hypocrite, who would be severe against those very sins in others which he allows in himself.

‡ *Righteous.* He does not say that Tamar was more holy or chaste, but more righteous or just, because Tamar had sinned more grievously in this fact, it being adultery as well as incest in her, but fornication and incest in him. Nevertheless she was juster than he in this respect, for Judah, not keeping his promise in marrying her to Shelah, provoked her to lay this trap for him, resolving, since he would not let her have children by Shelah, she would have them by him. And thus Tamar may be said to be more wicked before God, but more just before Judah.

§ *Thus, etc.* Though this latter part of Judah's story, relating to the incest with his

brother, the father raises issue to his deceased son; but he conversed no more with her afterwards.

In the beginning of Joseph's story, his grandfather Isaac was alive and in health, who lived longer than any since Terah, being a hundred and eighty years old when he died, which was in the year of the world 2288, and was buried by his sons, Esau and Jacob, in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, near Mamre, which Abraham had bought of Ephron the Hittite for a burying-place.*

We will now return to Joseph, of whom the last account that we gave was that he was sold to Potiphar, captain of the king of Egypt's guard, who was not a little pleased with his bargain, when he found what a faithful slave he had bought; and his value was still further enhanced when his master perceived that the Lord made everything to prosper which he undertook. Prosperity and faithfulness are endearing qualities in all, but chiefly in a servant; which recommended Joseph so much to Potiphar, that dismissing himself, as it were, from any further trouble, he made him steward over his house, leaving his whole estate, within and without doors, to his care and management, by which he drew a blessing upon all that he had.†

Joseph, thus happily placed, might reasonably expect to lead a comfortable life, though in slavery, and might hope for liberty as the reward of his faithful and advantageous service. But his virtue must undergo some severe trials before he can assure himself of an established state of peace and tranquillity.

Joseph possessed a most beautiful form, to which his early years added a female sweetness, as his sex did a manly grace. His charms were not long unregarded; for his master's wife soon became enamored of him; and after all the intimations of her desire to draw the virtuous youth into a wanton

daughter Tamar, was acted after Joseph was sold, and while he was in Egypt, yet the former part of it relating to the marriage with Shuah's daughter, and the birth of his three sons by her, must have happened before Joseph was sold. For there being but two and twenty, or at the most three and twenty, years between Joseph's being sold into Egypt and Jacob's going thither to him, it could not be that, in so short a space, Judah could marry a wife, have three sons at three several births by her, marry two of those sons successively to one woman, defer the marriage of the third son beyond the due time, afterwards himself have sons by the same woman (his daughter-in-law), and one of those sons, Pharez, beget two sons, Hezron and Hamul (Gen. xlvi. 12), before Jacob went down to Egypt.

* *Burying-place.* At what time Rebecca, Isaac's wife, died, is not mentioned anywhere in the Scriptures; only it is said, Gen. xlix. 30, 31, that she was buried in the same place where her husband was. But the Rabbins hold that she died in the hundred and thirty-seventh year of her age, which was the hundred and fifty-sixth of her husband's, a year before Jacob left Laban. By this computation she must have been nineteen years old when she married Isaac at forty. But surely if she had been so old when she died, Deborah, her nurse, must needs have lived to a great age, who outlived her, and yet must be supposed to have been older than she when she undertook to be her nurse.

† All respectable men have a head-servant called a *Kanika-Pulli*, i. e., an accountant, in whose hands they often place all they possess. Such a man is more like a relation or a friend than a servant; for on all important subjects, he is regularly consulted, and his opinion will have great weight with the family. When a native gentleman has such a servant, it is common to say of him, "Ah! he has nothing — all is in the hands of his *Kanika-Pulli*." "Yes, yes, he is the treasure-pot." "He knows of nothing but the food he eats."—*Roberts*.

familiarity with her had failed, and her eager passion became more violent than ever, she resolved to break through the rules of her sex, and court him in the plainest terms.

It was not long before an opportunity offered; the busy fiend, lust, seldom failing to assist his servants. Potiphar being one day absent upon duty, and the rest of the servants disposed at a distance about their work, none but the handsome Hebrew and his lascivious mistress were in the house. Her base passion had often put her on contrivances to indulge it; at last this opportunity offered, which she as readily embraced, and shamelessly solicited him to uncleanness. This, from one of her sex and quality, was a great surprise to our virtuous youth, who knew no other way of dealing with her, than first to expostulate on the heinousness of the crime, and then give her a positive denial. "You see that my master (says he) hath entrusted me with his whole fortune and the management of it, so that he knows not what is in the house, and hath reserved nothing to himself but you, who are his wife. With what face then can I be so ungrateful to him, who hath promoted me, and reposed so much confidence in me, as to violate his bed, and offend my God?" Joseph hoped this repulse would have mortified her lewd desire; but she grows more impatient, and seizing the present opportunity, caught him by the cloak in order to detain him. But he was determined to renounce his office, his reputation, and even his life, rather than provoke his God. "He therefore left his garment in her hand," and fled from the dangerous scene.

We cannot but admire this singular triumph of chastity; and though "men of the world" may affect to despise it, and plead for the gratification of all their sensual desires, we consider this instance of the grace of God, in a young man, as intended to prove, that however dangerous our circumstances may be, however strong our temptations, yet, if our hearts are established in the fear of God, he is able to deliver us from all assaults, and to make us say, in the midst of danger, as Joseph did, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?"

Despairing now of ever obtaining her desire, and fearing a discovery of her lewd passion, and being agitated by revenge, she resolves to prevent his accusing her by making the first charge against him; and therefore politically making a pretended outcry, and holding Joseph's garment in her hand, some of the servants who were nearest the house ran in to her assistance. "See," said she, "how my lord hath encouraged an Hebrew* to expose us to scorn and infamy!" This she spoke with design to set them against Joseph (because the Egyptians hated the Hebrews), and to engage them to take part with her, if Joseph should insist on his innocence. Then craftily going on with her story, she told them that he came in to force her; but she crying out, he ran away and left his cloak. Having thus prepared the servants to second her charge against Joseph, she laid up his cloak as an evidence against her lord's return. Potiphar being come home, she flies to him with tears, and makes her complaint to him of Joseph's insolence in the most

* *Hebrew.* She called Joseph not by his own name, but by the name of his people (an Hebrew), to set them the more against him; for the Egyptians hated the Hebrews.

aggravating expressions. The credulous husband, not in the least suspecting the treachery of his wife, and considering the circumstance of the cloak, was inflamed with rage and jealousy, and without further inquiry committed him to the royal prison.

Joseph thus distressed in a strange land, without friend or relation to plead his cause, soon finds the comfortable effect of an innocent mind, while the providence of God was extended towards him in a manner peculiarly favorable, making his imprisonment the means of his future greatness; for Joseph, by his harmless and engaging deportment, grew into such favor with his keeper, that he committed all the prisoners to his care, and all things in the prison were managed by his order and direction. The jailor was sensible that God prospered him, and he was now overseer of the prison, as he had been before of Potiphar's house.

While Joseph was a prisoner, it happened that the king's chief butler and baker were committed to the same prison where Joseph was confined, and the keeper charging Joseph with the care of them, he waited on them himself; by which means he became acquainted with them. In one and the same night while they were in prison, these two officers dreamed each of them a dream. Joseph, coming into their apartment in the morning, and finding them both dejected, demanded the cause of their uneasiness. They readily answered, and told him that they had each dreamed a dream that night, and being under confinement they had no opportunity of getting their dreams interpreted. Joseph, endeavoring to remove from their minds that superstitious notion of trusting to diviners, or soothsayers (which was very common to the Egyptians), informed them that interpretation belonged to God, and desired to know their dreams. The butler told him he dreamed he saw a vine which had three branches, that by degrees budded, then blossomed, and at last bore ripe grapes; that he held Pharaoh's cup in his hand, squeezed out the juice of the grapes, and gave it to Pharaoh to drink. Joseph no sooner heard the butler's dream, than he gave him a positive interpretation of it. The three branches, says he, signify three days, within which time Pharaoh will restore thee to thy place. This was a joyful interpretation to the butler, of whom Joseph desired nothing in return but to remember him when he was in prosperity, and to entreat Pharaoh to restore him to liberty, because he had been fraudulently brought from his own country, and without any just cause cast into prison. No doubt the butler readily engaged to do this, though he was very tardy in performing his promise.

The baker, hearing what a happy interpretation the butler received of his dream, was the more ready to relate his dream also to Joseph. "I dreamed (said he) that I had three baskets on my head; and in the uppermost was all manner of baked meats for the king, and the birds did eat them out of the basket that was on my head." Joseph as readily interprets this as the other, but in a very different manner: "The three baskets (said he) are three days, at the end of which Pharaoh will hang thee on a gibbet, where the birds shall devour thy flesh." This event, according to Joseph's prediction, took place; for after three days the butler was restored, and the baker hanged.

Any one would conclude that the obligation under which the butler lay to Joseph should not long have slumbered in his breast; but that having, as cup-bearer, continual opportunities of remembering his condition, common gratitude might have excited some suitable attention to the case of Joseph. But the appointed season had not arrived. His patience was not sufficiently tried. Two years elapse before the favorable opportunity occurs. Then Pharaoh himself had the following dream: He was walking, as he conceived, on the banks of the Nile, where he saw seven fat kine which fed in the marshes; after which he saw seven others, frightful to behold, and exceedingly lean, which fed along the banks; and these last devoured the former. This dream awaked him; but falling asleep again, he dreamed a second dream; which was, That he saw seven beauteous and full ears of corn, shooting out from one stalk; and seven others, very small and withered, devoured the first which were so beautiful. Pharaoh awaking in great consternation, called his people about him, and the dream making a strong impression on him, he summoned all his magicians and diviners, and told them his dreams; but there was not one that could expound them.

Now, at last, did God put it into the heart of the chief butler to remember Joseph: perceiving the king's perplexity and disappointment, no one being able to interpret his dreams, he took the liberty of informing his majesty, that when he and the baker had the misfortune to be under the king's displeasure, each of them, in the same night, had a dream, which a young Hebrew, the captain's servant, had interpreted, and that the event fully justified his interpretation.

Pharaoh, much pleased with this discovery, immediately sent for Joseph, who was hastily brought out of the prison; and having shaved and dressed himself, was introduced into the royal presence. Impatient to learn the meaning of his dreams, Pharaoh informed Joseph that he had dreamed, but that none of his subjects had been able to interpret his dreams, and added that he was informed of his skill in the art of interpretation.

Joseph, unwilling to assume anything that did not belong to him, declined the character that Pharaoh was pleased to give him, and said: "It is from God, and not from me, that the king shall receive a happy exposition of his dreams." Pharaoh then related to Joseph his dreams; who told him that they both signified the same thing, and that it was God's will thereby to give Pharaoh to understand what was to happen in the time to come: that the seven fat kine, and full ears, denoted the same thing, and signified seven years of plenty: that the seven lean kine, and seven withered ears, expressed seven years of famine which were to follow: that there would be seven fruitful years, followed by seven years so barren that the former plenty should be forgotten, and all the country would be consumed with famine; and that the double dream was a token of the certainty of the event.

Joseph, having thus interpreted Pharaoh's dreams, proceeds to advise him how to improve them to advantage, by making choice of some wise and able minister, who, under him, should be invested with full power over all Egypt, that he might appoint officers in all the towns, who should, during the seven

years of plenty, lay up in public granaries the fifth part of the product of the earth; and that all the stores should be at the king's disposal, and secured in the cities, to be preserved against the seven years of scarcity. Pharaoh approved of the counsel, as well as the interpretation, and was not long in making his choice; for turning to his own subjects, he said, "Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom is the Spirit of God?" And then turning to Joseph, said, "Since God hath showed thee all this, I know none so discreet and wise as thou art: thou therefore shalt be the man. Thou shalt be over my house; and all my subjects shall be at thy command: only in the throne will I be greater than thee." Then he bestowed the ensigns of royalty upon him, taking the ring off his own hand and putting it on Joseph's, with other marks of distinction; and causing him to ride in the second chariot, ordered his heralds to proclaim before him, "Abrech,"* in token of honor and subjection as viceroy of the country.

The king having invested him with full power, to engage him more firmly to his interest, changes his name from Joseph to Zaphnath-paaneah,† and matches him into a noble family, giving him for wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, prince of On.‡ And now the seven plenteous years commencing, in which the earth brought forth in great abundance, Joseph began his circuit; and visiting every part of Egypt, he gathered up all the food which could be spared from present use, and laid it up in store-houses. This he continued to do during each of the seven fruitful years, till he had collected such an immense quantity that it was impossible to keep an account of it. In this fruitful period, God blessed Joseph with two sons; the eldest of which he called Manasseh,§ and the younger Ephraim.||

And now the seven years of plenty being expired, the seven years of scarcity commenced; and which was general, not only in Egypt, but in the neighboring countries. But in Egypt, by Joseph's providence, they were furnished with provision, which he sold out, not only to the Egyptians, but to those also that came out of other countries.

In the second year of the famine, among those who came to Egypt to buy food, were Joseph's ten brethren, who, by their father Jacob's order, came for that purpose from Canaan, where the famine raged more than in Egypt, because there were no stores laid up there. Being come into Egypt,

* *Abrech.* This is a word of uncertain signification, but rendered by some *Saviour of the world*, by some *tender father*, and by others *bow the knee*; which last seems the most proper in this place, because wherever he came in the chariot, they bowed before him in token of honor and subjection to him, as he was chief governor of Egypt.

† *Zaphnath-paaneah.* That is a *revealer of secrets*, or one to whom secrets are revealed.

‡ *On.* This place was also called Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun, from the worship the inhabitants there paid to the sun. Some take Potipherah, Joseph's father-in-law, to have been the priest of On; but the Hebrew word signifying indifferently prince or priest, Tremellius and Junius render it prince, both here and after, in Gen. xlvii. 22 and 26, and give reasons to prove it should be read prince, not priest.

§ *Manasseh.* Which signifies *forgetting*: "For," said he, "God hath made me forget all my toil, and my father's house."

|| *Ephraim.* This signifies *fruitful*: "For," said he, "God hath caused me to be fruitful in mine affliction."

they appeared before Joseph, who had the entire disposal of the corn; and as soon as they were introduced, they bowed* their heads to the ground before him. Joseph no sooner beheld them than he knew them; and having a mind to terrify them (which was but a trifling return for what they had made him suffer), and try what effect some little severity would produce to bring them to a sense of their unnatural conduct towards him, he roughly asked them (by means of an interpreter) from whence they came? They answered from the land of Canaan, to buy provisions. He replied, they were spies, and came to make discovery of the nakedness of the country. They assured him they came upon no such design, but only to buy corn; that they were no enemies, nor had any thoughts of doing harm: that † they were all one man's sons, originally twelve in number, of whom the youngest was with their father, and the next to him was dead. But Joseph, repeating the charge, declares that they are certainly spies; to prove which, he would put it upon this issue: "Ye say ye have a younger brother; agree upon one of you to go and fetch him, and ye shall be imprisoned in the meantime, that I may be satisfied whether what you say be true; otherwise, as sure as Pharaoh ‡ lives, I shall look upon you as spies." Then putting them into safe custody for three days, during which they might consult what was best to be done, on the third day he commands them to be brought before him, and turning to them with an air of tenderness, tells them that he feared God, and therefore would act justly by them; and being unwilling that their families should suffer for their faults, or that they should suffer if they were innocent, "Therefore (said he), do this to save your lives: if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in prison; and go ye, carry corn to prevent the famishing of your families: but be sure to bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall you be justified for honest men, and your lives be preserved."

Not knowing how to help themselves, and not daring to expostulate with one so much their superior, and in whose power they were, they unanimously agreed. But at the same time their own distress put them in mind of the sad condition of their brother Joseph, who for aught they knew might be dead, or under some miserable circumstance of life; reproaching one another,

* *Bowed.* Here was a completion of the first of Joseph's dreams, prognosticating his future greatness, which now began to be fulfilled.

† *That, etc.* By this they suggested the improbability of their being spies, being all brethren, the sons of one man, since no man in his senses would send so many, and all of his own family, upon so dangerous and capital an enterprise.

‡ Extraordinary as the kind of oath which Joseph made use of may appear to us, it still continues in the East. Mr. Hanway says, the most sacred oath among the Persians is "by the king's head;" and among other instances of it we read in the Travels of the Ambassadors, that "there were but sixty horses for ninety-four persons. The *mehemander* (or conductor) swore *by the head of the king* (which is the greatest oath among the Persians) that he could not possibly find any more." And Thevenot says: "His subjects never look upon him but with fear and trembling; and they have such respect for him, and pay so blind an obedience to all his orders, that how unjust soever his commands might be, they perform them, though against the law both of God and nature. Nay, if they swear *by the king's head*, their oath is more authentic, and of greater credit, than if they swore by all that is most sacred in heaven and upon earth." — *Burder.*

therefore, they cried, "Justly do we now suffer for our cruelty to our brother, to whom we refused mercy, though he begged it in the anguish of his soul: therefore God is just in sending this distress upon us." "Ah!" said Reuben (who had dissuaded them from murdering Joseph, and advised them to put him into the pit, that he might find some way of preserving him,) "did not I entreat you not to commit that crime against our brother? See now his blood is required of us."

Joseph, as has been said, spoke to them by an interpreter, who must be supposed absent now, because he heard and understood their discourse, they speaking freely to one another before him, thinking he did not understand them; but their conversation and distress so affected him, that he was forced to withdraw for a time to give vent to his tears, after which returning, and by his interpreter conversing with them, he took Simeon, and causing him to be bound in their presence, set the rest at liberty, who having their sacks, by his order, filled with corn, and provision given them for their journey, they loaded their asses and departed.

When they came to their inn the first night, one of them opening his sack to give his ass provender, espied his money in the mouth of his sack (for Joseph had ordered his steward to put every man's money into his sack again). Being surprised at this, he tells the rest what had happened to him, who seeing the money, looked confusedly one on the other; and the sense of their guilt concerning Joseph haunting them, they considered this as an additional judgment of God upon them.

Being arrived in Canaan, they gave their father an account of their journey, relating the treatment they received from the viceroy of Egypt; how he had suspected them to be spies, of which they had no way to clear themselves but by leaving Simeon bound in prison as a pledge, till they should bring Benjamin to prove that what they had told him of their family was true. This news was very ungrateful to Jacob, whose uneasiness was much increased, when, upon opening their sacks, they found every man's money in his sack; for they feared that when they should have cleared themselves of being spies, this might afford new matter of accusation. Upon which the poor afflicted father breaks out into this complaint—"Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. All these things are against me!" Reuben, hoping to persuade his father to consent to part with Benjamin, desired him to commit him to his care, engaging to bring him safe to him again: "Which if I do not (said he), slay two* of my sons."

This unnatural pledge carried but little weight in it with Jacob, for he was easily sensible how sad a recompense it would be to him, for the loss of his son, to kill two of his grandsons; so that this proposal, instead of allaying, did but aggravate his grief, and made him resolve not to trust Benjamin with them: "For (said he) his brother Joseph (his only brother by the same mother) is dead, and he is left alone; and if any mischief befall him by the way, then will ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

* *Two*. Reuben at this time had four sons, as appears from Gen. xli. 9, who went down afterwards with Jacob into Egypt.

In debates like these they spent the time, till necessity put them in mind of returning to Egypt; for the famine increasing every day, and the provision they had brought being nearly exhausted, Jacob ordered his sons to repair to Egypt again, taking no notice of the obligation which the viceroy had laid upon them, not to see his face again without their brother Benjamin. His sons knew it was in vain for them to go without him; and how to persuade their father to part with him was hitherto an insuperable difficulty. Reuben had already tried his skill to no purpose, all his rhetoric and arguments proving ineffectual to move the patriarch to a compliance; therefore Judah accosts him in a somewhat rougher manner, and in very short and downright terms urges the necessity of carrying Benjamin with them. "It* is in vain (says he) for us to go; for the viceroy solemnly protested that we should see his face no more, except we brought our brother with us." This reduced Jacob to a great straight, and extorted from him a fresh complaint: "Why (said he) did ye deal so unkindly by me as to tell him ye had another brother?" They in excuse answered, "He examined us so strictly of our family and condition that we could not avoid it; for he inquired particularly whether our father was yet alive, and whether we had another brother: besides, could we conceive that he would oblige us to bring our brother with us?" Judah, observing his father beginning to waver in his resolution, reiterates the necessity of their return, and presses his father to consent, saying, "Send the child with me, and we will go, that we may live, and not perish by famine. I will be surety for him, and at my hand shalt thou require him; if I bring him not safe again, then let me bear the blame forever."

At last, fondness submits to necessity, which drew the good old patriarch into a compliance, more than all their reasons and importunities. "Since there is no remedy (said he), take some of the best fruits, and carry the man a present,† some turpentine, some dates, some storax, laudanum, etc. Take

* *It is, etc.* Our English, and some Latin versions, as likewise the Septuagint, render this very harshly, and make Judah very bluntly and irreverently tell his father *they will not go* without Benjamin, which is very indecent from a son to a parent. Wherefore Junius softens the expression, *we cannot go* without our brother unless we violate our promise, and hazard the displeasure of the viceroy.

† *Present.* The versions have ill expressed the present which Jacob sent to Joseph, Gen. xliii. 11: "Carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, etc." For the text evidently speaks of fruit, and such things as were taken from trees; and the balm did not grow in Judea, but on this side Jordan, near Engeddi and Jericho, and not on the other side in the country of Gilead, where Jacob was then, as several historians relate. Besides the balm was unknown in Judea before the days of Solomon, when the queen of Sheba brought it thither from Arabia Felix, as Josephus affirms.

It is evident that the Hebrew word *nicoth* signifies some particular drug, if we compare Gen. xxxvii. 25 with this text, Gen. xxxiv. 11. And since the *storax* is very common in Syria, whence the Arabians transport it elsewhere, it is probable that Aquila had reason to render this term by that of *storax*, as Bochart has proved at large. He proves also that the word *seri* cannot signify *balm*, but only *resin* or *turpentine*, as several have rendered it. But J. H. Ursin has proved that the Hebrew word *loth* signifies laudanum. The versions likewise confound the honey with the dates, because the Hebrew expresses both by the same name. Some perhaps may ask how the things of which this present was composed could be had in so great a famine? in answer to which it may be observed that this was but the second

with you also double money,* and the money that was brought back in your sacks; perhaps it was an oversight; and take your brother Benjamin: and God Almighty incline the viceroy to be favorable to you, that he may send back your other brother, and Benjamin." Then taking leave of them, he said, "If I be deprived of my children, I am deprived." Thus quietly submitting all to the disposal of Providence, he dismissed them; and they, having their brother Benjamin, double money, and a present to appease the angry governor, went on cheerfully, hoping to appear with some credit and assurance before him.

Being come into Egypt, they appeared before Joseph, who seeing them, and Benjamin in their company, ordered his steward to bring them into the house, and provide for their entertainment, for they should dine with him. The steward obeyed, and conducted them in. This put them into a new fright, not knowing the honor that was intended them; and therefore conferring together, they concluded it was upon account of the money they found in their sacks, and that they should be made slaves upon that pretence; to prevent which, as they hoped, they immediately applied themselves to the steward, telling him they had found that money in their sacks, which they had brought again, with more, to buy what they wanted. The steward bade them fear nothing; for it was their God, and the God of their fathers, who had put that treasure into their sacks; and that he had received the money, and was satisfied; and finding them somewhat dejected, to comfort them, he brought forth their brother Simeon to them, and gave orders for water to wash their feet, and that provender should be given to their asses.

And now, being informed that they were to dine with the viceroy, they prepared their present against he came; † which he soon did, and they offered it to him with the most submissive prostration. Joseph saluted ‡ them in a

year of the seven, and these things not being used for common food, there might be some small quantity of the old stock remaining.

* *Double money.* It is strange that some should take this double money to be ordered by Jacob to make amends for the money that they brought back in their sacks, whereas the very next words in the text clear that circumstance, mentioning the money found in their sacks. This double money then must be ordered by Jacob upon consideration that as the famine increased, the price of provisions would likewise be advanced, and therefore he ordered them to take the more money that they might not be disappointed.

† Presents are commonly sent, even to persons in private station, with great parade. The money which the bridegrooms of Syria pay for their brides is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, and ornaments of gold for the bride, which are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house, three days before the wedding. In Egypt they are not less ostentatious; every article of furniture, dress, and ornament is displayed, and they never fail to load upon four or five horses what might easily be carried by one: in like manner, they place in fifteen dishes the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, which a single plate would very well contain. The sacred writer seems to allude to some pompous arrangement of this kind, in the history of Joseph: "And they made ready the presents against Joseph came at noon." They probably separated into distinct parcels, and committed to so many bearers, the balm, the honey, the spices, the myrrh, the nuts, and the almonds, of which their present consisted. — *Paxton.*

‡ The forms of salutation in the East wear a much more serious and religious air than those in use among the nations of Europe. "God be gracious unto thee, my son," were the words which Joseph addressed to his brother Benjamin. In this country it would be called a bene-

friendly manner, and asked them how their father did, the old man of whom they had told him, whether he was still alive? They answered him, "Thy servant our father is still alive and well:" and they bowed low. Joseph spake to his brethren in general, but his eyes were chiefly employed in surveying his brother Benjamin, who was more dear to him than any of them; therefore very familiarly addressing himself to them concerning him, he asked, "Is this your younger brother, whom you mentioned?" And not waiting for an answer, he thus kindly salutes him, "God be gracious to thee, my son." Joseph's affection showed itself in his eyes, which obliged him to withdraw, that he might not yet discover himself; therefore retiring hastily to his chamber, he gave his passion vent in a flood of tears; which as soon as he had dried up, and washed his face, that it might not be observed he had wept, he returned very cheerfully into the room to them, giving orders for dinner to be brought in. Immediately the tables are spread. Joseph, by reason of his dignity, sat by himself; for his brethren there was provision made by themselves; and for the Egyptians, who were to dine in his company, by themselves, because the Egyptians disdained to eat with such inferior people as shepherds, for such the Hebrews were. The eleven brethren, being placed in their seats according to the exact order of their birth, could not forbear admiring the strangeness* of the thing. However, being kindly entertained (for Joseph sent to each of them their mess from his table, but to Benjamin he sent a mess five times as much as any of theirs), they drank freely, and were merry with him.

Things succeeding thus happily beyond the expectation of Jacob's sons, they might reasonably conclude that all the danger was now over: but, alas! the sharpest trial is yet to come: their hard hearts, which could not be moved at the anguish of Joseph's soul, must be afflicted still more. And though Joseph, for the sake of his brother Benjamin, longed to discover himself, yet he delayed to do it for sometime till he had made them undergo another trial; which he put in execution thus: he ordered his steward to fill their sacks with corn, and to put money into every man's sack; but in

diction; but Chardin asserts that in Asia it is a simple salutation, and used there instead of those offers and assurances of service which it is the custom to use in the West. The Orientals, indeed, are exceedingly eloquent in wishing good and the mercy of God on all occasions to one another, even to those they scarcely know; and yet their compliments are as hollow and deceitful as those of any other people. This appears, from Scripture, to have been always their character: "They bless with their mouths, but they curse inwardly." These benedictory forms explain the reason why the sacred writers so frequently call the salutation and farewell of the East by the name of blessing."—*Paxton*.

"God be gracious unto thee, my son," was the address of Joseph to his brother Benjamin; and in this way do people of respectability or years address their inferiors or juniors. "*Son*, give me a little water." "The sun is very hot; I will rest under your shade, my son."—*Roberts*.

* *Strangeness*. The reason of the brethren's marvelling one at another not being expressed, leaves it uncertain whether they marvelled at the manner and order of the entertainment, or whether, not being placed by themselves, as some think, but by Joseph, or his servants by his appointment, they marvelled how he came to understand the order of their ages, to dispose them so properly in their due ranks.

the sack of the youngest, to put the silver cup out of which he was accustomed to drink. This done, the next morning, early, they set homeward; but they were not gone far, when Joseph calling his steward, ordered him to pursue them, and charge them with stealing his cup. He soon overtook them; and first reproaching them for their ingratitude, he then demands the cup. They, conscious of their innocence, seemed not affected with the charge; but as an argument of their probity and just dealing, reminded him of their bringing back the money which they found in their sacks, and to put the matter out of all doubt, in confidence of their innocence, they offered to stand a search under the severest penalties; "with whomsoever of thy servants (say they) it shall be found, let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen." * The steward took them at their word, but with this mitigation, that he only on whom the cup should be found should be his servant, and the rest be blameless. Then every one unloaded his beast, and as they opened the sacks, he searched them, beginning at the eldest, and so proceeding to the youngest, found the cup in Benjamin's sack. Here was a plain conviction, and yet no person was guilty. The poor youth, on whom it was taken, was struck with horror and amazement; it was to no purpose to offer a defence, for, on such a demonstration, none would believe him: besides, by mutual agreement between them and the steward, Benjamin's life was forfeited, at least his liberty. Their grief and despair showed itself in rending their clothes, and not knowing what to say to palliate or excuse the fact, they silently load their asses, and in a mournful manner return to the city.

Joseph stayed at home, impatiently expecting their arrival. On entering into his presence, they immediately prostrated themselves at his feet with the most humble and sorrowful reverence; but before they had opportunity to offer a word of defence or excuse, Joseph sternly accosts them, saying, "What is this that ye have done? Could you imagine that ye could pass undiscovered?" In the midst of this consternation, Judah, prostrating himself in a most submissive manner, cries out, "We have nothing to say for ourselves: God hath found out our sins, and we must remain slaves with him in whose sack the cup was found." "Not so (said Joseph); God forbid I should do such an injustice; he only who has stolen the cup shall be my slave; but as for the rest of you, return home to your father."

Judah, finding the viceroy begin to melt, took the freedom to approach a little nearer, and in a most affecting speech repeated the whole case between

* *Bondmen.* The Scripture sometimes gives the name of children, not only to those that are in childhood, but likewise to persons who are simple and innocent, and whose sincerity has not been corrupted by the malice of the world, as in Matt. xi. 25, and 1 John ii. 12, 14. It likewise gives the name of son to those who are most in esteem, as in Gen. xliii. 39. And the name of children to slaves and servants, as St. Augustin has observed on these words, "and we will be the children of my Lord," Gen. xlv. 9, which the Geneva Version and ours have very well rendered, "and we also will be my Lord's bondmen." And likewise where the original says, "Our father thy child is well," Gen. xliii. 28, these two versions have very well rendered it, "Thy servant our father is in good health." For the quality of children could neither agree to Jacob nor his sons upon that occasion. The Latins also used the word *puer* often in the same sense; and it is manifestly so taken in some other places of Scripture.

them and their father, in relation to their bringing Benjamin into Egypt, to remove the suspicion of their being spies; describing the melancholy condition of their father for the loss of his son Joseph; the extreme fondness he had for his son Benjamin, and the difficulty they had to prevail with him to trust the beloved youth with them, so that himself was forced to become security for the safe return of his brother. He then concluded by saying: "Now, therefore, when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us (seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life), it shall come to pass that he will die, and thy servants shall bring the gray hairs of their father with sorrow to the grave. Now, therefore, I beseech my lord, let me thy servant abide here, a slave, instead of the lad, and let him go up with his brethren; for how shall I see my father without him?" Joseph was so sensibly touched with this pathetic harangue, that he could no longer act the viceroy and judge. He had now gained his point; he perceived that his brethren were humbled for their crime; the cruelty of their temper was subdued, and they discovered filial tenderness for their aged parent. He could therefore no longer put violence on his own feelings; but ordering all his attendants to withdraw, he burst into a flood of tears, and cried aloud, "*I am Joseph!*" and instantly asks, "*Doth my father yet live?*" The name of Joseph roused the sense of their guilt, to which the dread of the power he now possessed to revenge himself on them did not a little contribute; so that in this terrible confusion they were not able to answer him.

Now struggling nature more plainly appeared in Joseph's eyes and voice; for observing the disorder of his brethren, in a compassionate accent he bids them come near him, and assures them he was their very brother Joseph whom they sold; and though he had acted with the austerity of a viceroy, he still retained the tenderness of a brother; and to mitigate the remembrance of their cruelty towards him, he bids them no longer afflict themselves with the thoughts of it, for it was all God's* doing, who permitted them to dispose of him for their preservation: "God (saith he) sent me hither before you, to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. Ye ought therefore to be convinced that it was not you that sent me hither, but God, who, by the various dispensations of his providence, hath brought me to this dignity and power, that I may be an instrument of preserving the family of the faithful. For this end hath God made me as a father † to Pharaoh and his people, that by my counsel and care I might preserve them; therefore am I made lord of the king's house, and chief ruler over all the land of Egypt." Then he proposes the fetching of his father, with the whole family of Israel, from Canaan to Egypt;

* *God's doing.* Though God detests sin, yet he often renders the wickedness of man subservient to his glory, of which there are frequent instances in Holy Scripture besides this.

† *Father.* Our versions render this absolutely; but the Latin and the Septuagint more properly, as a father; that is, governor, counsellor, or moderator; for Joseph by his wisdom had all the kingdom of Egypt, and family of Pharaoh, committed to his care, and therefore might justly be called father of the kingdom under the king. Thus Haman is in Esth. xiii. 6 called a second father to Artaxerxes, which was reckoned the first title of honor and dignity in the courts of Tyre, Egypt, and Persia,

bidding them deliver this message unto him: "God hath made me lord of all Egypt, therefore defer not coming; for I will provide Goshen* for the place of thy habitation, and there I will nourish thee and thy family, lest they come to want." And that they might not doubt† that he was their brother Joseph, he said, "Your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin (whom my father will especially regard), that it is I myself that speak to you. And to comfort my father, tell him of my glory here, and all that you have seen; and make haste to conduct him hither." Then taking Benjamin in his arms, they wept for joy; and as a seal of pardon for all offences, he tenderly embraced and kissed them severally, and wept over them. Joseph's kind carriage and reconciliation having dispelled their fears and apprehensions of the severe resentment they might justly have expected from him, they took courage and conversed familiarly with him.

The report of the arrival of Joseph's brethren soon spread in Pharaoh's court, which, for the great respect all had to Joseph, was very agreeable to the king and all the court. Pharaoh immediately orders Joseph to send his brethren to conduct his father, and all that belonged to him, into Egypt, where he should partake of the best during the famine, of which there were five years yet to come. Joseph gladly obeys, and accordingly provides carriages and food for their journey. But for a present to his father, he sent ten asses laden with the choicest dainties that Egypt could afford; and ten she-asses laden with corn and provisions for him by the way. And the more to cheer his brethren, and confirm his love to them, he gave to each of them changes of raiment; but to distinguish Benjamin from the rest, he gave him three hundred pieces of silver, and five changes or suits of clothes; and knowing their quarrelsome disposition, and fearing they should enter into some debate who was most in fault for the injury done to him, he lays a strict charge upon them not to fall out by the way.

Joseph having dismissed his brethren, they make the best of their way to Canaan, where they were joyfully received by their good old father, especially upon the return of his two sons, Simeon and Benjamin, whom he scarce expected to see again. But when they acquainted him with Joseph's being alive, and the grandeur of his station, his former grief revived; and distrusting the extravagant account they gave, "his heart fainted, for he believed them not;" but when he saw the carriages, with the presents and provisions which Joseph had sent for him, his fainting spirits, like a lamp almost spent, but opportunely supplied with oil, again revived, and, in an ecstasy of joy, he exclaimed, "*This is beyond my expectation: Joseph, my son, is yet alive! I will go and see him before I die!*" And accordingly he took his journey with all that he had; and stopping at Beersheba, ‡ he offered

* *Goshen.* This was the most fruitful part of all Egypt, especially for pasturage; and therefore the most commodious for them who were brought up shepherds, and the shortest journey for him to make, as being nearest Canaan.

† *Doubt.* Joseph having before spoken to them by an interpreter, he bids them observe that now he spoke to them in the Hebrew tongue, that they might the better be assured that it was he their brother who had hitherto conversed with them.

‡ *Beersheba.* Here it was where the Lord appeared to his father Isaac, and blessed him,

sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac. Here it was that God spake to Israel in the visions of the night, bidding him not fear to go down into Egypt,* for he would there make of him a great nation; that he would go with him, and surely bring † him thence again, and that his beloved Joseph should there close ‡ his eyes. Jacob, encouraged by this Divine promise, left Beersheba, and cheerfully pursues his journey towards Egypt; his sons carrying with them their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to convey them. They took also with them their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, his sons, and his sons' sons, his daughters, § and his sons' daughters, making in all seventy persons. ||

and where his father built an altar, and worshipped the Lord, Gen. xxvi. 23-25. But by Jacob's offering sacrifice here, it may reasonably be supposed that so pious a man as he was, not only gave God thanks for the preservation of his son Joseph, and the safe return of his other sons, but implored the Divine protection and blessing upon him and his in the journey he had now undertaken.

* *Egypt.* Though God had promised the land of Canaan to Israel's posterity, yet he persuades him to go into Egypt (though a country in which his ancestors had been ill-treated), for he would protect him.

† *Bring, etc.* That is, not that he should live to come out of Egypt, but that his body should be carried from thence, to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, and that his posterity should possess the promised land from which he was departed. For as to Israel's dying in Egypt, it is plain that God at the time of this vision told him he should die there, Gen. xlv. 4, for there Joseph is promised to close his eyes.

‡ *Close.* From hence Jacob might justly infer that he should die a natural death, and that his son Joseph should be with him to the last moment of his life, which must have been a great comfort to the fond old patriarch.

§ *Daughters.* This will admit of a twofold meaning: First, as it was a general way of speaking, such as Sarah used when she said, Who should have said to Abraham that Sarah should have given suck to children? Gen. xxi. 7, whereas she never gave suck but to one child, Isaac. Secondly. Though Jacob strictly had but one daughter, which was Dinah, yet here he may be understood to speak of his daughters-in-law.

|| The names of Jacob's family, which he brought with him into Egypt, are particularly expressed in Gen. xlv. 8 to 25. And both here and in Deut. x. 22, are computed to be in the whole number threescore and ten persons. But because there is an apparent difference between the account here and that which is given by Stephen, Acts vii. 14, the one reckoning seventy, the other making it seventy-five, it may not be unpleasant to reconcile these two different accounts. This difficulty will be small, if we say that the places are not parallel: For Moses makes a catalogue, in which, together with Jacob, his own offspring only, they that came of his loins, are comprehended, his sons wives being expressly excepted, Gen. xlv. 26. For which reason not only they who actually went into Egypt with him, but Joseph also, with his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, although they were in Egypt before, are included in the number seventy; because they having sprung from Jacob's loins, and taking their original from the land of Canaan, lived as strangers in the land of Egypt, and therefore were justly to be reckoned as if they had entered Egypt with Jacob. A special reason there is also why Hezron and Hamul, the two grandsons of Judah by Pharez, are put into that number, though they were born afterwards in Egypt, that they might supply the place of Judah's two sons, Er and Onan, who were dead before. But St. Stephen in his oration does not set forth Jacob's genealogy, but declares who they were that Joseph called out of the land of Canaan into Egypt, for he called more than sprang from Jacob's loins. There, in the first place, are to be omitted Judah's two grandsons, Hezron and Hamul, and in the next place, Joseph and his two sons. Judah's two grandsons he could not call, because they were not yet born; himself and his sons he could not call, because they were in Egypt already. Those five, therefore, and then Jacob, whom St. Stephen mentions by himself,



MEETING OF JACOB AND JOSEPH IN EGYPT.

Jacob being arrived on the borders of Egypt, dispatches his son Judah before him, to receive directions for going to Goshen; who soon returns to his father, and conducts him thither; where Joseph, with a train becoming his high station, meets him, and with infinite satisfaction congratulates his happy arrival in a place where he had power to make the rest of his life easy and comfortable. Here were the highest ecstasies of filial duty and parental affection expressed: tears of joy flowed on both sides; and while Joseph was contemplating the Divine goodness which had once more restored him to the arms of his aged father, the pious patriarch, thinking his joy on earth complete, desired to live no longer. "Now," says he, "let me die, since I have seen thy face."

After these mutual endearments were somewhat over, Joseph proposes to his father and brethren that he would go and acquaint the king with their arrival, which he was in gratitude obliged to do, since the king had sent for them; instructing them at the same time that he would acquaint him with their manner of life, which was in breeding and nourishing cattle, that if he should inquire of them what occupation they were bred to, they should answer accordingly; by which they would secure the land of Goshen for their use, where they might live and take care of their flocks and herds by themselves; for the Egyptians did so abominate shepherds, that they would never suffer them to live promiscuously among them.

Then Joseph taking five of the most graceful persons of his brethren, went and acquainted Pharaoh that his father and family were arrived in Goshen; and presented the five he had brought with him to the king, who treated them respectfully for Joseph's sake; and demanding what they were bred to, they, according to their instructions, answered that they were shepherds, and humbly begged leave to settle in Goshen. The king, turning to Joseph, graciously said, "The whole of the land is at thy disposal; place them in the best part of it, in Goshen, if they like that best; and if there be any among them of extraordinary skill in their way, let them have the care and management of my cattle."

Joseph's project thus happily succeeding, he introduces his father to the king, whom Jacob reverently salutes. The king graciously condescending to talk with him, inquired his age. He replied that he was an hundred and thirty years old, though his ancestors had lived to a longer period. Then taking leave of Pharaoh, Joseph placed his father and his brethren in Rameses, a city afterwards of Goshen, which was the most fertile part of Egypt, where he nourished them, and provided for them according to their families with that care and tenderness as if they had been his children.

Good old Israel and his family, being thus happily settled, Joseph returns to his charge. And now the famine increasing, people from all parts of

being set aside, there remain of Moses's number, seventy, but sixty-four, viz., the eleven brethren, one sister, Dinah, and two and fifty children of the brethren, to which add the eleven wives of the eleven brethren, whom Joseph must needs call together with their husbands, and which belonged to the kindred, you have all his kindred in threescore and fifteen souls.

Egypt and Canaan repair to Joseph, who furnished them with provisions, as long as their money held out; by which means he had collected all the money in the land and brought it into the king's exchequer: and when that failed, they brought their cattle, for which he gave them bread in exchange. Thus they went on till the sixth* year, and then the famine pressed them so extremely hard, that they were constrained to lay their condition before him, telling him that their money was all spent; and having already parted with their cattle, they had nothing left to offer him but their persons and their lands, which they entreated him, in pity, to accept, or else they must perish. Joseph took them at their word; and, in the king's name, and for his use, bought all the land of Egypt, except that of the priests, who, having an allowance from the king, were not compelled to part with their possessions: but the rest of the Egyptians sold their estates; and thus the land became entirely the king's. Then Joseph, repeating the condition of the bargain, tells them: "Behold, I have this day bought both you and your land for Pharaoh. Now here is seed for you, and ye shall sow † the land. But upon these terms shall ye hold your land: ye shall every year give the fifth part of your increase to Pharaoh, and the other four parts shall be your own for seed, and for food for yourselves and families."

Thus Joseph settled it a standing law over all Egypt, that Pharaoh should have a fifth part of the yearly increase of the lands, except the lands of the priests. As for the common people, Joseph removed ‡ them from the places of their constant abode to a greater distance, whereby they, in process of time, knew not where to claim. Thus the Egyptians saved their lives at the expense of their estates and liberties, and of freemen became bondmen; in which condition they yet rejoiced, and gratefully acknowledged Joseph's care, calling him their preserver, and to show how willingly they submitted to these terms, they assured their prince, notwithstanding this, of their duty and loyalty, and unanimously said to Joseph, "Let us find favor in thy sight. (that those conditions may be ratified), and we will be the king's servants."

The seven years of famine were succeeded by plentiful and seasonable years, the earth resuming its former fertility, and the whole land abounding in all the usual productions of nature. Twelve of these years of plenty Jacob lived to see, at the end of which the lamp of nature became dim, and was nearly extinguished; his decayed spirits warn him of approaching dissolution, and each drooping faculty became a prelude of death. He therefore

* *Sixth.* This generally is translated the second year; but it must not be understood to be the second year of the seven years of famine, but the second from the time that their money failed, which was indeed the sixth of the seven, Gen. xlvii. 18.

† *Sow.* This being the last year of the seven barren years, they might sow in hopes of plenty again.

‡ *Removed.* "This Joseph probably did, with intent that by so displacing and unsettling them from their ancient seats and demesnes, and shifting them to and fro upon one another's land, but leaving none upon their own, he might the better confirm Pharaoh's title to the whole. Besides, this changing of habitations showed that they had nothing of their own, but received all of the king's bounty."

sends for his son Joseph, and obliges him, by an oath, to bury him in the sepulchre of his fathers, which Joseph swears to do. Upon this Jacob bowed himself to God, who, besides all his other mercies, had given him a fresh assurance, by Joseph's promise and oath, that he should be carried out of Egypt into the promised land.

Joseph, leaving his father perfectly satisfied in the assurance he had given him, returns home; but is soon recalled by the sad message of his sickness, upon which he took his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, and went to visit him. The feeble patriarch summoned up all his spirits, and exerted them so far as to sit up in his bed to receive his favorite son. And when Joseph came near him, he recounted to him the promise which God had made to him of the land of Canaan. "God Almighty," said he, "appeared to me at Luz, in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, and said unto me, Behold I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and will make of thee a multitude of people, and will give this land to thy seed for an everlasting possession." * Then taking Joseph's two sons into a peculiar participation of this promise, he adopted them as his own immediate offspring. "As Reuben and Simeon," says he, "they shall be mine" [so as to become each of them head of a distinct tribe in Israel, and to enjoy the privilege of primogeniture in right of their father Joseph, to whom the birthright was transferred from Reuben, because of his incestuous transgression against his father]: "but as for the issue thou shalt beget after them, they shall be thine, and shall be called by the name of their brethren in their inheritance." And proceeding, he gave Joseph a short account of the death and burial of Rachel his mother.

While Jacob was talking to Joseph concerning himself and his sons, he had not taken notice that Joseph's sons were with him, but spoke of them as if they had been absent; but turning to Joseph, and seeing some others with him, though he could not well discern who they were (for his eyes being dim with age, and the children standing between their father's knees, he could not well distinguish them), he asked, "Who are these?" Joseph immediately and piously answers, "These are my sons, whom God hath given me in this place." Then Jacob bids him bring them near him, that he might bless them; and kissing and embracing them, he said to Joseph, in a transport of joy, "I was out of hopes of ever seeing thy face again, and now God hath doubled that blessing; for he hath suffered me to live to see thee and thy children!"

Joseph placing the children according to the order of their birth, had set Manasseh so as to receive the blessing of his father's right hand and Ephraim that of his left, guiding his hand at the same time: but Israel stretching out his right hand laid it upon the head of Ephraim, who was the younger, and his left upon Manasseh's head; and he blessed Joseph in blessing his children, saying, "God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long to this day, and the Angel † which

* *Possession.* Perhaps Joseph might not know of this before, he having been separated from his father's family when he was but a boy.

† *Angel.* That is, Christ, who is called the Angel or Messenger of the Covenant, Mal. iii. 1.

redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads: and let my name* be named on them, and the name of my fathers; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth." Joseph was uneasy that his father laid his right hand (which carried with it the preference) on the head of the youngest; and supposing it had been done through inadvertence, he held up his father's hand to remove it from Ephraim's to Manasseh's head, saying, "Not so, my father, for this is the first-born, therefore put thy right hand upon his head." But Israel, actuated by Divine direction, refused, saying, "I know it, my son, I know it: he also shall become a people and shall be great; but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his posterity shall become a multitude." Then, adding to his former blessing, he said, "In thee † shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh" — still setting Ephraim before Manasseh. Finding himself then grow weaker, he said to Joseph, "I am now near my end; but though I leave you, God shall be with you, and bring you again into the land of your fathers: and as for thee, my Joseph, as a distinguishing mark of my love, I have given thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite, with my sword and with my bow." ‡

The conversation hitherto was private between Jacob and Joseph only; but finding his end very near, he called for all his sons together, that while he had strength to deliver his mind, he might take his farewell of them: and not only distribute his blessings among them, but foretell what should befall them and their posterity in after times. Then directing his speech to them severally, he begins thus to the eldest:

Reuben, thou art my first-born, § the beginning of my strength, and by

* *Name.* That is, let them be reckoned into my family, equally with the rest of my sons.

† *In thee, etc.* That is, when any of the people of Israel shall bless their children, they shall say, "Be thou multiplied as Ephraim and Manasseh are multiplied." From hence it was the custom in Israel, that children should be brought to men eminent for piety, that they might bless them, and pray over them: thus they brought little children to Jesus. But when the blessing was given by imposition of hands, if it was to a son, he that blessed said "God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh;" if it was a daughter, "God make thee as Sarah and Rebecca."

‡ *Bow.* Since Jacob was so peaceable a man, that he never, as we read of, engaged in any martial enterprise, it may be inquired, how and when he took this portion of land, which he here gave to Joseph, from the Amorite with his sword and bow, or by force of arms? Some refer it to that act of Simeon and Levi, in destroying the inhabitants of Shechem, Gen. xxxiv. But that cannot be: for, first, Jacob disavowed that act, and blamed them for it both then and now, Gen. xlv. 5, 6, 7. Secondly. Those people of Shechem whom they slew were not Amorites, but Hivites, descended from Hivi, the sixth son of Canaan, Gen. x. 17, whereas the Amorites came from the fourth son of Canaan, v. 16. Others take these words of Jacob in a prophetic sense, foretelling what he and his posterity should do: and through assurance of faith looking upon it as done, undertook to dispose of a double portion (appendant to the birthright of Joseph, on whom he had conferred the birthright) to be possessed by his posterity.

§ It is generally believed that the first-born son is the strongest, and he is always placed over his brethren. To him the others must give great honor, and they must not sit in his presence without his permission, and then only *behind* him. When the younger visits the elder, he goes with great respect, and the conversation is soon closed. Should there be anything of a particular nature, on which he desires the sentiments of his elder brother, he sends

right of primogeniture wert entitled to many privileges and prerogatives, in superiority over thy brethren, and in power, from the double inheritance annexed in course to the birthright: but these thou hast forfeited by defiling thy father's bed.*

Simeon † in course is next; but he is joined with Levi, for that wicked combination between them in the massacre of Hamor and his people. Of these therefore Jacob says that they were brethren in iniquity: instruments of cruelty were in their habitations: O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, ‡ and in their cruel rage they digged § down a wall: cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. Thus did Jacob set forth their offence in very aggravating colors, on which he pronounces a sentence proportionate: I will divide || them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

Having treated his three eldest sons with some severity, Jacob softens his style, when he comes to Judah; ¶ whose name signifying "praise," it led him to a high encomium of him. "Judah (said he), thou art he whom thy

a friend to converse with him. The younger brother will not enter the door at the same time with the elder; he must always follow. Should they be invited to a marriage, care will be taken that the oldest shall go in the first. The younger will never approach him with his wooden sandals on, he must take them off. He will not speak to the wife of the elder, except on some special occasion. When the father thinks his end is approaching, he calls his children, and, addressing himself to the elder, says, "My strength, my glory, my all is in thee." From this may be gained an idea of the importance which was attached to the "birthright."

* *Bed.* When Jacob heard that Reuben had defiled Bilhah, his concubinary wife, Gen. xxxv. 22, the text says that he took no further notice of it then: but now at his death he reproaches him severely with it, and gives it as the reason for which he deprived him of the privileges of primogeniture.

† *Simeon.* Reuben having forfeited his right of primogeniture, it might be expected that it should have devolved upon Simeon, who was next: but for his cruelty to Joseph, and the idolatry of his tribe in worshipping Baal-peor, Num. xxv., the priesthood, which was the nobler dignity of the primogeniture, was transferred to Levi, the third son; and the kingdom, the other part of the primogeniture, to Judah.

‡ *Man.* This is by the figure Synecdoche put for all the inhabitants of Shechem.

§ *Digged, etc.* Meaning the destroying and spoiling the city.

|| *Divide.* This dividing may be applied to Simeon, whose tribe had not a distinct lot assigned them in Canaan, as the other tribes had; but they were thrust within the lot of Judah, Joshua xix. 1, until in the time of Hezekiah, king of Judah, a party of them smote the remainder of Amalek, and seating themselves in their possessions, 1 Chron. iv. 24, were thereby divided from the rest of their own tribe. As for the tribe of Levi, it was scattered through all the tribes; having no peculiar lot or share of the land as the other tribes had.

¶ *Judah.* His mother, Leah, Gen. xxix. 35, at his birth gave him that name in gratitude and thankfulness to God. But now his father calls him so for another reason, alluding to the praise his brethren should give him; and that for many reasons, viz.: 1. The tribe of Judah was the first that entered the Red Sea after Moses. 2. After the death of Joshua, the tribe of Judah was pitched upon to be commander-in-chief of all the other tribes, in their wars, Judg. i. 2. 3. From this tribe sprung the mighty and powerful King David, his son, King Solomon, and several other kings till the Babylonish captivity. 4. This tribe waged war against the Ishmaelites, Idumeans, Moabites, Arabians, and other neighboring nations: 5. From this tribe descended Zorobabel, who commanded the people in their return from Babylon. 6. And lastly, from this tribe sprung the Messiah.

brethren shall praise for thy strength and courage.* Thou shalt put thy enemies to flight; thou shalt pursue them, lay hold of them, and destroy them; thy father's children shall bow down † before thee." And then, wrapped up in the contemplation of Judah's strength and glory, he breaks forth into these elegant allegories: "Judah is like a lion's whelp. ‡ From the prey, my son, thou art gone up. He stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion, who shall dare to rouse him?" Then describing the duration of his government; "the sceptre (said he) shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver be wanting of his issue, till the Messiah come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." § Then, pursuing his allegories, to express the prosperity and plenty of Judah's tribe, and the abundant fruitfulness of its soil, he added, "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the

* The Oriental conqueror often addressed his unfortunate captives in the most insulting language, of which the prophet Isaiah has left us a specimen: "But I will put it (the cup of Jehovah's fury) into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, bow down that we may go over." And their actions were as harsh as their words were haughty; they made them bow down to the very ground, and put their feet upon their necks, and trampled them in the mire. This indignity the chosen people of God were obliged to suffer: "Thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street to them that went over." Conquerors of a milder and more humane disposition put their hand upon the neck of the captives, as a mark of their superiority. This custom may be traced as high as the age in which Jacob flourished; for in his farewell blessing to Judah, he thus alludes to it: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies." This benediction, which at once foretold the victorious career of that warlike tribe, and suggested the propriety of treating their prisoners with moderation and kindness, was fulfilled in the person of David, and acknowledged by him: "Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me." Traces of this custom may be discovered in the manners of other nations. Among the Franks it was usual to put the arm round the neck, as a mark of superiority on the part of him by whom it was done. When Chrodin, declining the office of mayor of the palace, chose a young nobleman named Gogan to fill that place, he immediately took the arm of the young man, and put it round his own neck, as a mark of his dependence on him, and that he acknowledged him for his general and chief. — *Paxton.*

† *Bow down.* By this, though the birthright was transferred from Reuben to Joseph, 1 Chron. v. 1, with respect to the double portion, yet that part of the prerogative of primogeniture which concerned authority or government over the rest, is plainly conferred on Judah; and so it is explained here, 1 Chron. v. 2, For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler, though the birthright was Joseph's with respect to the inheritance.

‡ *Lion's whelp.* Here are gradually described by the lion's age, the three degrees of the state of this tribe of Judah. The first, its infancy, under Joshua; the second, its virile state, under David; the third, its confirmed state, under Solomon.

§ By the sceptre, an ancient and well-known insignia of royalty, is undoubtedly meant the administration of temporal power. Hence the Septuagint render the passage, "A supreme governor shall not fail out of Judah"—till the Messiah's advent. This prediction was actually accomplished. When our blessed Saviour was about twelve years of age, the sceptre, which had been gradually departing for some time, totally departed from Judah; for Herod (who died while our Lord was an infant) was succeeded by his son Archelaus, who, after reigning ten years, was deposed by Augustus Cæsar. Judah then became a Roman province; Quirinius, prefect of Syria, was commissioned to take possession in the emperor's name, and Coponius was sent to preside as lieutenant-governor. The Jews openly confessed the total departure of the sceptre, when, at the trial of our Saviour, they cried out, "We have no king but Cæsar, and it is not lawful for us to put any man to death."

blood of grapes." Signifying that wine should, with them, be as plentiful as water.

Jacob, keeping still in Leah's line, passes by Issachar, and takes Zebulun; whose name signifying "dwelling," he only says of him, that he shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and that he shall be an haven for ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon.*

Coming next to Issachar, he compares him to a strong ass, couching down between two burdens; seated in a pleasant and fertile country; but being naturally slothful and pusillanimous, loved an inglorious ease more than active liberty and bravery.

The good old patriarch having pronounced the future lot of Leah's offspring, proceeds to the children of the handmaidens, beginning with Dan, son of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid. Dan signifying judging, he said, "Dan shall judge † his people, as one of the tribes of Israel;" that is, though it was smaller, yet it should enjoy as much authority as another. That it should be like a snake ‡ on the way, or an adder in the path, which bites the horses' heels, and makes them throw their riders. Here Jacob exclaimed, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." §

When he spake of Gad, alluding also to his name, he said, "A troop shall overcome him: but he shall overcome at last." By which he is thought to have referred to what was afterwards performed by Jephthah, who was of this tribe. ||

Of happy Asher he foretells, his bread shall be rich, and kings should reckon it a dainty; which denoted the exuberant richness of the soil which his descendants should possess.

"Naphtali (says he) shall be like a tree having grafts, shooting out pleasant branches in its generation." ¶

* *Zidon.* Accordingly this lot came forth, Josh. xix. 11.

† *Judge.* This was fulfilled in Samson; yet was not more than Issachar did by Tola, Judg. x. 1. But it is supposed the reason why this was said of Dan, was to show that the sons of the handmaids (of which Dan was the first named), though as born of bondwomen they were in that respect inferior to the rest of their brethren, should, notwithstanding, obtain some share in the government.

‡ *Snake.* This seems to intimate that the Danites should prevail more by policy and stratagem, than by open force: which Samson's dealing with the Philistines, Judg. xiv. and xv., and the Danites taking Laish, xviii., confirms.

§ *Lord.* Modern interpreters are very fanciful in the application of this text. There being no context to make it out, some have conjectured it to be a recommendatory ejaculation on the death-bed. Others conceive that something more than ordinary impressed the patriarch's spirit at this time, and that he had some sense or foresight of the mischief the Danites afterwards brought upon themselves, when having rifled Micha's house, and robbed him of his gods, they fell into open idolatry, Judg. xviii. We would rather consider it as a pious ejaculation. Being spent with the exertion of speaking, and perhaps ready to faint—with these words he pours out his soul to God. The salvation he had long waited for was Christ, to whom the gathering of the people should be, and to whom his departing spirit was about to be gathered. It was the consolation of a dying saint, that he had longed and waited for the Messiah, who was "all his salvation and all his desire," Gen. xlix. 18.

|| *Tribe.* See Judg. xi.

¶ Thus it is translated by the learned Bochart, agreeably to the Septuagint, the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the Arabic version which he consulted in Sweden, without following the

And now he comes to his beloved Joseph, on whom he expatiates very largely, thinking he cannot say enough of him. "Joseph," says he, "is like the fruitful bough of a tree, planted near a spring, whose branches* run over the wall." And having thus set forth his future greatness in his posterity, he looks back and recollects his past troubles. "The archers † have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him, but his bow abode in strength, and his hands and arms were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; from thence is the Shepherd, the Stone ‡ of Israel, to which thou

pointing of the Masorets, by which the meaning of the text is frequently corrupted. The ordinary version is thus: "Naphtali is a hind let loose, he giveth goodly words." But we have no proof that the tribe of Naphtali was eminent for eloquence, and the Galileans, whose country belonged to it, were remarkable for a vulgar accent. But Naphtali might well be compared to a fruitful tree, for though he had but four sons, yet at the exodus his tribe made up fifty-three thousand four hundred men able to bear arms, Gen. xli. 24, Num. i. 42. Moses, in blessing the same tribe, says, Deut. xxxiii. 23, "O Naphtali, satisfied with favor, and full with the blessing of the Lord, possess thou the west and the south," (Vulgate—"The sea and the south," *i. e.* the sea of Gennesaret, which was south of their inheritance.) Josephus describes the country which belonged to this tribe as the richest of all Judea.

* To the northward and westward are several villages, interspersed with extensive orchards and vineyards, the latter of which are generally enclosed with high walls. The Persian vine-dressers do all in their power to make the vine run up the walls, and curl over on the other side, which they do by tying stones to the extremity of the tendril. The vine, particularly in Turkey and Greece, is frequently made to entwine on trellises, around a well, where, in the heat of the day, whole families collect themselves, and sit under the shade. — *Morier.*

All this falls very naturally on an eastern ear. Joseph was the fruitful bough of Jacob, and being planted near a *well*, his leaf would not wither, and he would bring forth his fruit in his season. Great delight is taken in all kinds of creepers, which bear edible fruits, and the natives allow them to run over the *walls and roofs* of their houses. The term "*branches*" in the verse is in the margin rendered "*daughters*;" and it is an interesting fact (*and one which will throw light on some other passages*) that the same term is used here to denote the same thing. "That man has only one *chede*, *i. e.* branch, daughter." "The youngest *chede* (branch) has got married this day." "Where are your branches?" "They are all married." "What a young branch to be in this state!—how soon it has given fruit!" When a mother has had a large family, "That branch has borne plenty of fruit." A husband will say to his wife who is sterile, "Of what use is a branch which bears not fruit?" The figure is much used in poetry. — *Roberts.*

† *Archers.* Among these archers, his brethren may undoubtedly claim the first place, for they are expressly said to have hated him, Gen. xxxvii. 4, and to have increased their hatred to him, vs. 5, 8, to have conspired his death, v. 18, and afterwards to have sold him, v. 28. Next to them his lewd mistress, and, by her means, his jealous master Potiphar, may be reckoned among those archers that sorely grieved him.

‡ *Stone.* So the last English translation has it, making the shepherd and stone synonymous. That of 1610 reads it, "of whom was the feeder appointed by the stone of Israel;" taking the stone to be Christ, and the shepherd or feeder appointed by him to be Joseph. But Tremellius and Junius make Joseph to be both the shepherd and the stone, *viz.*, of refuge to Israel. There is an ellipsis, or defect in the sentence, which interpreters supply as they think best. However it be taken, undoubtedly Jacob had a regard to Joseph's constantly resisting the assaults of his mistress, and patiently bearing the severity of his master, and likewise to his taking care of and feeding both Israel and the Egyptians, and others, as a shepherd provides for his flock.

Notwithstanding this reference to Joseph as the preserver of the whole family, it cannot be doubted that Jesus Christ is here predicted, who is both the Shepherd of Israel, and the Stone of Israel. By the former name he is described both in the Old and New Testament. "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd," Isa. xi. "I am the good shepherd; the good shep-

wert advanced by the God of thy father, who shall help thee, and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with the blessings* of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb." Then adding, "The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of thy progenitors, unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills." † And then to centre them all in him, he says, "They shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separated from his brethren."

Jacob concludes with Benjamin, his youngest son, of whom he said, "Benjamin shall be ravenous as a wolf: ‡ in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." In which words he as aptly as briefly foretells the fierce and cruel nature of that tribe, exemplified, among other instances, in that of the Levite's § concubine.

The good old patriarch, having delivered himself thus to his sons, gives them his blessing, not according to his own natural affection or inclination, but according to the Divine direction then given him; and putting them in mind of his death, says, "I am going to be gathered to my people; I charge you bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite;" which, that they might not mistake, he further describes thus: "in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a burying-place." And to engage them the more to perform

herd giveth his life for the sheep," John x. 11. He is also the Stone of Israel. In him was fulfilled that illustrious prophecy of Isaiah, xxviii. 16, "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation — a stone — a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation." Of Christ in this character Paul speaks, 1 Cor. iii. 11, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

* *Blessings.* These were terms comprehensive of all outward blessings.

† *Everlasting hills.* Which is a term of duration commonly used in Scripture. But Deut. xxxiii. 15, seems to explain this text more directly, where Moses, repeating this very blessing of Jacob on Joseph, does not seem so much to regard the comparison of hills in respect of duration as in point of blessing, which God more largely dispensed in hills and mountains.

‡ The wolf is weaker than the lion or the bear, and less courageous than the leopard; but he scarcely yields to them in cruelty and rapaciousness. So Benjamin, although not destitute of courage and address, nor disinclined to war, possessed neither the strength, nor the manly spirit of Judah, whose symbol was the lion's whelp, but yet he was greedy of blood, and delighted in rapine; and in the early periods of Jewish history, he distinguished himself by an active and restless spirit, which commonly, like the wolf among lambs and kids, spent itself in petty or inglorious warfare, although it sometimes blazed forth in deeds of heroic valor and general utility. He had the honor of giving the second judge to the nation of Israel, who delivered them from the oppressive yoke of Moab; and the first king who sat on the throne of that chosen people, whose valor saved them from the iron sceptre of Ammon, and more than once revenged the barbarities of the uncircumcised Philistines upon their discomfited hosts. In the decline of the Jewish commonwealth, Esther and Mordecai, who were both of this tribe, successfully interposed with the king of Persia for the deliverance of their brethren, and took their station in the first rank of public benefactors. But the tribe of Benjamin ravened like wolves, that are so ferocious as to devour one another, when they desperately espoused the cause of Gibeah, and in the dishonorable and bloody feud, reduced their own tribe to the very brink of ruin, and inflicted a deep wound on the other members of the state. — *Paston.*

§ *Levite's, etc.* See Judg. xix. 20, 21.

his will in this instance, he tells them, "there Abraham and Sarah his wife were buried; there also Isaac and Rebecca * his wife were buried; and there I buried Leah." And to assure them of their right to that burying-place, he tells them further, that the field and the cave therein were purchased not only of Ephron, but of the children of Heth. Having thus given his last charge concerning his funeral, he laid † his feet on the bed, and quietly expired.

The loss of a father so eminently pious and good, must undoubtedly have been very afflicting to so numerous a family; yet we find none of Jacob's sons that discovered so much filial affection and duty as Joseph. He could not see his aged father's face, though dead, without kissing and bathing it with his tears. And having thus given vent to his grief, he commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm ‡ him, which they accordingly did. And when the usual time of mourning was over, Joseph entreated some of Pharaoh's courtiers (for, as he was a mourner, it was not proper for him to appear in the royal presence) to acquaint the king that his father, just before his death, had obliged him by an oath to bury him in the sepulchre of their family, in the land of Canaan; and therefore to beg permission for him to go and bury his father, upon promise to come again. The king readily consents, and Joseph proceeds, attended not only with his own and his father's family, but with the chief officers of the household and nobility, who, to honor Joseph and grace the funeral, would bear him company, partaking in all the solemnity performed to the memory of his deceased father.

* *Rebecca.* This is the first mention of Rebecca and Leah, with respect to their death and burial.

† *Laid.* While Jacob was prophesying and blessing his sons, he sat on the bed, his feet hanging down; but when he had done speaking to them and taken his leave of them, he gathered his feet into the bed and departed.

‡ *Embalm.* This being the first mention we have in the Scriptures of embalming the dead, may well countenance a supposition that the Israelites here learning it of the Egyptians, and practising it afterwards on great and solemn occasions among themselves, as in 2 Chron. xvi. 14, and John xix. 40, it might from them come into use among Christians.

The manner of embalming dead bodies among the Egyptians was as follows:

A dissector, with a sharp Ethiopian stone, made an incision on the left side of the body, and then immediately hurried away from the spot, because the relations of the deceased were supposed to be hurt by this action, and took up stones to stone him as a cruel wretch.

The embalmers then drew out the brains of the deceased through his nostrils with iron hooks, and supplied their place in the skull with powerful astringent drugs. They also drew out the bowels, except the heart and kidneys, through the aperture made in the side. The intestines were then washed with palm wine, and preserved with suitable drugs. After this the whole body was laid in a kind of pickle made of salt, etc., for forty days, after which it was washed and anointed with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinnamon, etc. The body was then carefully wrapped up in many folds of fine linen, dipped in myrrh, and a gum which the Egyptians used instead of glue. Thus the whole body was preserved entire, without putrefaction or losing its hair. The coffins were proportioned to the rank of the deceased, and often embellished with his figure, or likeness, and other ornaments. The prices of the embalmers were various; some were as high as an Egyptian talent, supposed to be about £300 of English money. The bodies thus preserved were sometimes kept in the houses of their descendants, as their most valuable articles of furniture, or deposited in the famous subterraneous repositories which abound in Egypt. Many of these mummies (as they are called) have lately been found there, in the utmost perfection, some of which are preserved in England in the museums, in an entire state, with the features and hair particularly perfect, though embalmed probably two or three thousand years ago.

After some travel they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, where Joseph made a solemn mourning for his father seven days together. The Canaanites who inhabited the land, seeing the Egyptians mix themselves in these obsequies, were amazed, and thinking they had the greatest concern in this funeral lamentation, could not forbear saying, "This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians." From whence the name of that place was called Abel-Misraim, that is, "the mourning of the Egyptians." This solemnity being ended, they proceeded; and being come to the field of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought for a burying-place, they interred Jacob in the cave there. And having thus performed the patriarch's will, they all returned to Egypt.

During the life of their father, Joseph's brethren knew themselves secure; but now their former guilt returned, and suggested to them the just revenge which Joseph might take of them for the miseries they had formerly occasioned him. Wherefore they consulted together how to deprecate their offence, which they soon agreed upon, making their deceased father, whose memory they knew was very dear to pious Joseph, their advocate; and framing a message in Jacob's name, they sent it to their brother in these words: "Thy father commanded us before he died, saying, Thus shall ye say to Joseph: Forgive, I pray thee, now the trespass of thy brethren, and their sin, for they did evil unto thee; but pardon them, not only for my sake, but because they are the servants of the God of thy father." This message was artfully expressed, for, fearing that the supposed request of their dying father might not be powerful enough now he was dead, they make God himself their intercessor. But there was no need of arguments like these to move the compassionate heart of Joseph; their present diffidence of his disposition towards them is now as afflicting as once their offence against him was. He wept at the delivery of the message; and sending for them, they falling down at his feet in the most abject manner, he tenderly dismisses their fears, and comforts them: "Revenge," says he, "belongs to God. I forgive you; for, though ye designed ill* against me, yet God turned it to good, making me, through your malice, an instrument under him to save much people alive, and you especially, as now is evident. Therefore fear no hurt from me, for I will protect and cherish you and your families." Thus the pious Joseph dismissed his brethren with the assurance that they should always find in him an affectionate brother and a constant friend.

* *Ill, etc.* Joseph's brethren, in selling him, acted with extreme malice and wickedness, and meant that he should live and die a destitute slave; but God in permitting it meant good to Joseph, to Jacob, to his brethren, to their families, to Egypt, to Canaan, and to the neighboring nations, nor can we number up all the important purposes answered by it to the church and to the world, or calculate how many important events depended on it through all succeeding generations. The same is observable in many other instances in Scripture; and we cannot possibly account for the dispensations of Providence without admitting that God leaves evil men and evil spirits to themselves, to commit wickedness, as far as he intends to educe good from it, but no further. They are influenced wholly by a desire of gratifying their own vile affections, and are, therefore, justly condemned. He, in omniscience and infinite wisdom, purposing most extensive and durable good, is worthy of all adoration and praise on that account. — *Scott.*

Joseph lived fifty-four years after his father's decease, having the comfort of being the parent of a numerous offspring in his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh to the third generation. And now finding himself near his end, he sent for his brethren,* and said thus to them: "My death is at hand, but though I leave you, yet God will surely remember you, and bring you out of this land, into that which he swore he would give to the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I charge you, therefore, when God shall thus visit you, and bring you out of this land, that you carry up my bones with you." This he obliged them to by an oath. And Joseph, being an hundred and ten years old, died; and in order to perform their oath, they embalmed his body, and kept it in a coffin till the time of their deliverance should arrive. †

Paul commenting on this event (Heb. xi. 22), says, "By faith, Joseph, when he died, made mention of the departing of the children of Israel, and gave commandment concerning his bones." Thus, this excellent man died, as well as lived, in faith. In firm dependence on the Divine promises, he looked forward to the deliverance of the church, not merely from Egypt, but from the bondage of sin and Satan, through the redemption of the Messiah. And it was in token of this expectation that he ordered his body to be preserved, and carried into the promised land. This his dying request was punctually observed; see Exodus xiii. 19, "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him." The Jews say that the bodies of all the patriarchs were taken with them at the same time; each tribe having preserved the body of its founder. From hence, probably, was derived the custom of men's carrying the ashes of their ancestors into their own country, as by Hercules among the Greeks, and long before, by the Egyptians and Chaldeans, whom the Arabians imitated in following ages.

* *Brethren.* By brethren, we are not to understand the other eleven sons of Jacob, who, except Benjamin, being all older than himself, might probably be all, or most of them, dead; but it must be meant of the heads of their families, for in Scripture language all near kinsmen go under the general appellation of brethren, as Abraham called Lot, Gen. xiii. 8, and xxiv. 27.

† The people of the East do not in general put their dead in a coffin; they simply fold up the corpse in a mat. When dying, the head is always placed towards the south, and in the grave also in the same direction. When a person is very ill, should another ask how he is, he will reply, "Ah! his head is towards the south," meaning there is no hope. — *Roberts.*

When Joseph died, he was not only embalmed, but *put in a coffin.* This was an honor appropriated to persons of distinction, coffins not being universally used in Egypt. Maillet, speaking of the Egyptian repositories of the dead, having given an account of several niches that are found there, says: "It must not be imagined that the bodies deposited in these gloomy apartments were all enclosed in chests, and placed in niches; the greatest part were simply embalmed and swathed after that manner that every one hath some notion of, after which they laid them one by the side of another, without any ceremony. Some were even put into these tombs without any embalming at all, or such a slight one that there remains nothing of them in the linen in which they were wrapped but the bones, and those half rotten." Antique coffins of stone, and sycamore wood, are still to be seen in Egypt. It is said that some were formerly made of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and gluing cloth together a great number of times. These were curiously plastered and painted with hieroglyphics. — *Thevenot.*

THE HISTORY OF JOB.

AN APPENDIX TO SECTION I.—B. C. 1619–1577.

MOSES, intending to carry on the history of Jacob and his family to the period of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage without interruption, lays aside the story of Job, which, according to the series of time, should come in during the Israelites' servitude, and before their deliverance: for which reason it is inserted here, instead of placing it so far out of its due course of time, as is done by the compilers of the Bible.

Various have been the conjectures concerning Job. Some suppose him to be descended from Nahor, the son of Terah, and brother of Abraham: others conceive him to be descended from Esau, and to be Jobab his great-grandson. But the most probable opinion is, that he was a descendant from Abraham by Keturah, his second wife. With this several circumstances concur: for Job is said to be the greatest and most considerable man for wealth of all the inhabitants of the East, into which country Abraham sent his sons by Keturah.* And among the people of the East are reckoned the Midianites,† descended from Midian, one of Abraham's sons by Keturah.‡

Taking it for granted that this story is real,§ we shall proceed to consider the time wherein he lived. That Job lived before the law may be gathered from his offering burnt-offerings in the land where he resided, which God accepted and commanded; which offerings were forbidden || by the law in any other place than that which the Lord should choose in one of the tribes of

* *Keturah*. Gen. xxv. 6. † *Midianites*. Judges vi. 3. ‡ *Keturah*. Gen. xxv. 2.

§ *Real*. From the uncertainty who Job was, some have taken the liberty to question whether he was at all? whether, in point of fact, it be strictly true that there was such a man as Job, who underwent those trials and sufferings, which in this book are recorded of him? or, whether it was only an instructive and parabolical poem, devised and composed by some of the devout ancients, on purpose to instil into the reader those excellent principles delivered in it. But besides other arguments that might be urged to prove the reality of the story, drawn from the names of persons, people, countries, and some particular passages therein mentioned, the credit given to it by God through his prophet Ezekiel, xvi. 14, and his apostle James, v. 11, in citing it, and referring to it, is enough to gain belief, with all who have a due regard for those writings, that it is a real history.

Allowing, however, the *facts*, it may be safely admitted that it is a *poem* of the *dramatic* kind; including some allegory, amplification, and poetical ornament. The facts are clothed in a dramatic manner, and the speeches, probably, may have received some enlargement from the author, which is a usual license in this kind of writing.

|| *Forbidden*. Deut. xii. 13, 14.

Israel. And that he lived after Jacob, may be inferred from the character given him by God, "That* there was none like him in the earth, for uprightness and the fear of God." Which high encomium could not be allowed to any while Jacob lived, who was God's peculiar servant, descended from the father of the faithful, Abraham, in a direct line from Isaac: nor can it well be supposed that so great a commendation could be given, after the death of Jacob, to any whilst Joseph lived, who in various excellencies made as bright a figure as any in his time.

After these conjectures, though the precise time of Job's birth cannot with sufficient ground be ascertained, yet there is a general concurrence in opinion that he lived in the time of Israel's bondage in Egypt; some placing his birth † in the same year in which Jacob went down into Egypt; and the beginning of his trials in the year that Joseph died, being the seventy-first of Job's life.

Nor are there less various conjectures about the time of writing this story; some suppose it written after the death of Moses, others think it written by Moses himself. The most probable opinion is, that it was really written by Moses while in the land of Midian. It matters not, however, who was the compiler: it is certain the whole story is an admirable commentary on the first book of the Pentateuch: and therefore no great number of historical observations can be expected from it.

St. Jerome is unnecessarily curious in defining the style of it: it is sufficient, that in Job we have the character of an excellent person, exhibited to us by God himself, adorned with all the virtues that can render him acceptable to God, and desirable to men; in which he is elegantly and briefly described as performing his duty, fearing God, and shunning evil.

How considerable Job was in the world, may appear from the estimate of his stock, which consisted of seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yokes of oxen, and five hundred she-asses.

As to domestic blessings, God had been very liberal to him, for he had seven sons and three daughters, who inherited their father's name, more than his virtues, being, it is thought, too much devoted to worldly pleasures. For when they were grown up, and removed from him, they took their turns in feasting from house to house, every one his day, and invited ‡ their sisters to feast with them. When they had finished their round, pious Job, considering the dangers that attend such festive meetings,§ and fearing lest his children in their youthful mirth and amusements might have committed some extravagancies, he kindly sent and exhorted them to purify themselves,

* *That, etc.* See Job i. 8, and ii. 3.

† *Birth.* It might not probably be so liable to exception, if Job's birth were set a little lower, as about the time of Jacob's death. And then Joseph, who survived his father about fifty-four years, will have been dead about sixteen years before that extraordinary character was given of Job, in the seventieth year of his age; at which time, for anything that appears, he might well be without competitor or equal. And there being somewhat more than sixty years between Joseph's death and the birth of Moses, the story of Job may fitly enough fall within that interval of time.

‡ *Invited.* Job i. 4.

§ *Revelling.* Job i. 5.

preparatory to a solemn offering up of sacrifices to their God; the good man himself rising up early in the morning and offering burnt-offerings for them according to the number of them all. And this he did from time to time after their feasts. This pious care of Job was highly acceptable to his Maker, who expressed his high esteem and approbation, at a time when the sons of God* came to present themselves before the Lord; † at which time also Satan, the adversary, came among them, to seek an opportunity of doing mischief. Then the Almighty, to set forth Job as an exemplary pattern of righteousness, said to Satan: "Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth; a man exactly good, and one that feareth God, and shunneth evil?" The malignant adversary, unwilling to admit that Job served God from a religious principle, but merely for self-interest, replied: "Doth Job serve thee for nothing? Hast thou not enclosed him on all sides, and secured him, and all that he hath, from the reach of misfortune and danger? but withdraw thy protection, and suffer him to be afflicted with the loss of the mighty wealth thou hast heaped upon him, and he will curse thee to thy face." God knowing the integrity of Job, and that the exercise of it might redound to his honor, and become an useful example to others, was pleased to expose him to the trial. "Behold (says he) all that he hath is in thy power; but dare not to touch his person." The malicious fiend having obtained this permission, soon sets his wicked engines to work, and the more effectually to provoke the spirit of Job to blasphemy, attacks him all at once with a crowd of miseries, in all probability too much for human nature to bear.

Satan takes an opportunity to begin his assault upon Job, on the day that his eldest son was in course to entertain his relations. He had, in readiness, stirred up the Sabceans ‡ to make an inroad upon Job for plunder; which they did with such fury, that but one servant escaped to bring the unhappy news to Job: "Thy oxen (said he) were ploughing, and the asses feeding by

* *Sons of God.* That is, good angels; as, on the contrary, Satan is called the Angel of Death: or it may refer to the assembly of pious men, the worshippers of Jehovah, who in early ages were called the sons of God, Gen. vi. 2. God is present in such an assembly; and as good angels are probably present on such an occasion (Luke xv. 7, 10; Ephes. iii. 10), so may evil spirits be also.

† *Before the Lord.* Some will have this convention of good angels to be real, but at the same time such as is agreeable to the nature of spirits; and that they met in a certain place, and Satan with them, before the angel, who in the room of God, presided over that assembly; but so as Satan was seen of God and his angels; but he, by reason of his fall, not able to see God or them. Others take it to be parabolically spoken, that the truth may be the better understood: for the decrees of God, the ministry of his angels, and the machinations of the wicked angels, are often in Scripture expressed under the form of the judgments and counsels of kings; as we may see 1 Kings xxii. 19; Zech. iii. 1. But be it how it may, it is certain these things are not meant in a gross literal sense, but as God is pleased to accommodate himself to our understanding. For Satan can no other way be said to come into the presence of God, nor to talk with him, etc., nor the angels (properly speaking) to come to God, since they are always in his presence: nor can any day be assigned to God, who is without time, infinite, immense, etc.

‡ *Sabceans.* They were a neighboring people descended from Sheba, grandson of Abraham, by Keturah, Gen. xxv. 3.

them, and the Sabeans fell upon them, and took them away; and they have put all thy servants to the sword, except myself." Job had not time to reflect with himself whether this might be the effect of common depredation, or a judgment upon him for the folly of his children; for this messenger is immediately succeeded by another, who in great consternation says, "The fire of God is fallen from heaven, and hath burnt up the sheep and thy servants, and consumed them all, and I only am escaped to tell thee." This account was very shocking, and the calamity coming from heaven, might make it appear more like an immediate judgment than the former; but before Job could animadvert upon it, a third messenger rushes in upon him, and cries, "The Chaldeans in three parties fell upon the camels, and have carried them away, and all thy servants have they put to the sword, but myself." Thus was Job in a single day bereft of all his extensive substance; and he, who in the morning was the most opulent man in the country, became, before night, one of the poorest in the world. The malicious enemy finding these attempts too remote to excite that passion in Job which he expected upon this sudden concourse of afflictions, resolves, in order to crown the whole, to touch him in a more sensible part, and to come as near him as the bound prescribed by the Almighty would permit. This prince of the air, therefore, raising a very great storm, threw down to the ground the house where Job's children were assembled, upon their heads, and buried them all in the ruins. And that Job might not have any time to digest the grief of his former losses, before the last messenger had made an end of relating to him the loss of his camels, another comes in haste, and in great consternation tells him, "That as his sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house, there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four* corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men;† and they are dead, and I only escaped to tell thee." This was a terrible stroke indeed, and touched Job in a tender part. The death of all his children, snatched away in a moment, affected him deeply; but the circumstances and manner of their death were peculiarly afflicting, considering the unprepared state of mind in which death, too probably, found them.

These repeated calamities did not betray Job into any irregularity or indecency; the only vent he at first gave to his grief was by rending his mantle, the common token of affliction and sorrow in those Eastern countries and

* *Four corners.* This, among other passages of Scripture, has excited the ridicule of infidel wits, as incompatible with natural philosophy; but independent of the agency of Satan on this particular occasion (who is emphatically styled in Scripture the Prince of the Winds, or Power of the Air), it is well known that the hurricanes of the West Indies, as well as those tremendous storms denominated *typhoons* in the seas of China, are particularly distinguishable from all other winds, by their suddenly shifting round, not only to the four points, but to every point of the compass, and blowing with a violence utterly inconceivable to Europeans. Effects are thus produced far more terrible and full as instantaneous as that recorded to have happened to the house of Job's eldest son. It is this tremendous and sudden shifting of the wind that dismasts or sinks the largest ships in an instant, and lays the strongest buildings level with the ground.

† *Men.* From the dignity of the masculine gender, the word *men* here comprehends both sexes; so that Job's daughters as well as his sons were killed with the fall of the house.

early ages of the world. Then, deliberately following the other usual customs of mourning, he shaved his head, and in humble submission of mind fell upon the ground and worshipped. His misery could not make him forget his duty, and therefore he humbled himself under the Divine hand, without whose permission he well knew none of these troubles could have befallen him.

Satan's great expectation was from this last trial; he knew Job could with a serene mind sustain temporal losses, which time and industry might repair; but this wound of nature, in the death of all his children, he thought would have transported him into some indecent and intemperate expression against God. But, to his great disappointment, Job stands the shock; and in humble acknowledgment of his own meanness, cries, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return to the earth, the common womb and mother of mankind." And then, in a quiet resignation and thankfulness for what he had received at the hand of God, though now deprived of it, he gives up all for lost in this world, and says, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Thus the pious patriarch's virtue shone in his sufferings, which, great as they were, could not make him deface the character his Maker had given him, by the least murmuring or repining. He knew it was but just that He who gave should have power to resume His grant whenever He pleased; and therefore, instead of cursing, as Satan had maliciously suggested he would, he blessed God for all His dispensations, and thus proved the Devil to be a liar.

But that restless fury resolves not to leave him thus: for when the sons of God presented* themselves as before, the Lord proposed Job again to Satan, who had intruded himself among them, as an instance of a perfect and upright man, that feared God and avoided evil. Still, says God, he maintains his integrity, though thou movedst me against him, to destroy him without cause: his piety appears in the greatness of his sufferings, and his faith and resignation are complete. To which the Old Deceiver maliciously replied, "Thou hast hitherto permitted me only to try him at a distance, but let me touch his person, and he will yet blaspheme." The Almighty knowing that these exercises, though sharp to nature, would redound to his glory, and turn to Job's advantage; and resolving, in his divine providence, to arm Job with sufficient patience to endure them, and in the end to recompense all his sufferings with an extraordinary reward, he enlarges Satan's commission, but yet with a limitation: "Behold," says he, "he is in thy power, but touch not his life."

The busy fiend, overjoyed at the enlargement of his power, doubts not in the least to make an easy conquest over Job; therefore he immediately falls upon him while the sense of his late losses is fully retained, and severely afflicts him from head to foot with the most painful boils and ulcers. Never was human nature more disguised than the body of Job in this loathsome

* *Presented.* This, as has been already said, is a form or manner of speech not strictly proper to God and spirits, but metaphorically accommodated to the weakness of man's capacity.

condition: his skin studded with scabs and blotches, not arising from and peccant humor in his natural constitution, which medicines might correct, but inflicted by malicious policy, which raised them to the highest extremity of pain, that might, if possible, oblige Job to despair and blaspheme. Nor were his pains short or intermitting, like fits and pangs, but lasting for a continued series of time; and that which increased his misery was the filthiness of his distemper, which rendered him odious to himself, and loathsome to others. For not only his relations* and friends abandoned him, but his very menial servants withdrew from him, leaving him destitute of all human help. He who but a few hours before was the greatest man in his country,—in whose presence the young men † were afraid to appear, and before whom the aged stood up; to whom princes paid the most awful reverence, and nobles in humble silence admired—divested of all grandeur, sits mourning on a bed of ashes; and instead of royal apparel is covered with offensive sores and ulcers;—he who was but the other day the delight of mankind, is now become the foulest of objects, and a very dunghill upon a dunghill. All keep at a frightful distance, and with horror behold him as a most loathsome monster. And to add, if it were possible, to the misery of Job, the wife of his bosom, from whom, more than all the world beside, he might reasonably expect the most comfortable assistance, instead of pitying him in this deplorable condition, treats him with the utmost scorn and contempt, and reproaches him for his virtue. “Dost thou still, said she, retain thine integrity to a God that afflicts thee? Curse him and die, that thou mayst be out of thy pain.” ‡ Job firmly stood this shock of his wife’s tongue; though it was so provoking as to let loose the reins of his temper, which he had restrained, and with some warmth obliged him to rebuke her, saying, “Thou talkest like a weak woman: shall we rejoice in prosperity, when it pleases God to bless us with it; and shall we not patiently bear adversity, when he is pleased to visit us?” Thus did the Almighty preserve and support Job under the loss of his estate and children; under the extremity of his pains, the desertion of his friends and relations, the neglect of his servants, and the provocation of his wife. All which torments crowding one upon another, could not betray him to entertain the least offending thought, or utter an indecent word.

The afflictions that befell Job, being so remarkable, soon spread about the neighboring countries, and from thence to more distant regions; till at last

* *Relations.* See Job xix. 13–16.

† *Young men.* See Job xxix. 8, and ix. 10.

‡ *Pain.* From the supposed ambiguity of the Hebrew word, which is rendered both *to bless* and *to curse*, various interpretations have been given. Some suppose that this advice, “*Curse God and die,*” implies that Job lived after the law was given, which law made it death to curse God (Levit. xxiv. 15, 16), and that his wife, knowing this law, recommended this method of terminating his sufferings, by provoking the immediate anger of God. But as the law is never mentioned throughout the book of Job, it is far more probable that he lived before it was given at Sinai.

It is not however likely that the wife of Job should propose such an expedient. The radical idea of the Hebrew word is *to couch*, or *lie down*, or *kneel*, and is therefore used for *blessing*—*to bow*, as it were, the knee to God, and ascribe one’s happiness to him.

they reached the ears of his old friends Eliphaz the Temanite,* Bildad the Shuite,† and Zophar ‡ the Naamathite, who no sooner heard of the sad condition of their friend Job, than they made an appointment to go together and pay him a visit to comfort him. These three persons being men of figure § and condition, it must take up some time to make the appointment, and then to travel together to see Job; so that he must continue a considerable time in this painful condition before his friends could arrive. When they came within sight of him, they found him so much altered, that they could not assure themselves who it was, so unlike himself was the poor disfigured Job. But when they came nearer, and saw the miserable condition he was in, they burst into tears; and rending their mantles, they sprinkled dust || upon their heads towards heaven, to express their sorrow for him. And observing the extreme grief and pain under which he labored, they sat down upon the ground by him, seven days and seven nights, and spake not a word to him; their own sorrow suppressing their speech, or their sense of his misery making them think it unreasonable to speak to him till he began. At length Job brake silence, in cursing the day of his birth, wishing he had never been born, or that he had immediately died.

Job's three friends having already conceived an unfavorable opinion of him, from the unaccountable greatness of his affliction, which they concluded must be the hand of God in judgment upon him, either for some deep hypocrisy or secret heinous sin, they begin to treat him with prodigious severity in their successive discourses. Eliphaz in three ¶ orations, Bildad in as many,** and Zophar in two, †† from common topics argue that such afflictions as his could proceed only from the immediate hand of God, and that it is not consistent with the justice of the Divine Being to afflict without a cause, or punish without guilt. Then they charge Job with being a grievous sinner and a great hypocrite, endeavoring, if possible, to extort a confession of guilt from him. But Job, immovable in his sincerity towards God and innocence towards man, confidently maintains his integrity in responsory speeches, successively to each of theirs; defends his innocence, refutes their unkind suggestions, and smartly reprehends their injustice and want of charity, yet generally observing a submissive style and reverence when he spake of God, of whose secret end, in permitting this trial to come upon him, being ignorant, he often importunately begged a discharge from life, lest the continuance of his pains might drive him to impatience.

During this argument between Job and his three mistaken friends, there

* *Temanite*. So called from Teman, grandson to Esau by his son Eliphaz, Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11.

† *Shuite*. Descended from Shuah, the youngest son of Abraham by Keturah, Gen. xxv. 2.

‡ *Zophar*. His descent is not easily traced, though some would derive him from Esau.

§ *Figure*. The Septuagints call the first and last of these three friends of Job, kings; and the second by a term equivalent to that of king.

|| *Dust, etc.* By this rite or custom they signified the utmost confusion expressed by their mixing air and earth together.

¶ *Three*. See Job iv. and v., xv. and xvii.

** *Many*. See *ibid.* viii., xviii., and xxix.

†† *Two*. See *ibid.* xi. and xx.

was present a young man, named Elihu,* who, having heard the discourse on both sides, was pleased with neither, for he thought Job insisted too much on his own justification, and that they condemned him before they had convicted him. He, therefore, undertakes the matter; and after a prefatory excuse † for his interposing, who was a young man in comparison of them, and for the plainness of speech he intended to use, attacked Job in a long oration, ‡ and reprehending him for insisting so much in his own vindication, endeavored to convince him, by arguments drawn from God's unlimited sovereignty and unsearchable wisdom, that it is not inconsistent with his justice to lay his afflicting hand upon the best and most righteous of men. And, therefore, that it is the duty of all men to bear such exercises, when any befall them, without murmuring or complaining, and to acknowledge the justice of God therein. Job heard all this with great attention, but made no reply, probably, lest he might be drawn to utter some unguarded expression, which the inhuman treatment of his three friends might have extorted from him. Therefore, when they were all silent, the Lord himself took up the matter, and out of a whirlwind directed his speech to Job, wherein, with the highest amplifications, describing his omnipotence in the formation and disposition of the works of the creation, § he so effectually convinced Job of his own weakness and inability of himself to understand the ways and designs of God, that Job, in the most profound humility, exclaims, "Behold I am vile and contemptible in comparison of thee! What shall I answer thee? I will lay my hand upon my mouth; once have I spoken, but I will not answer, yea, twice, but I will proceed no further." || Then Job proceeded to a more ample confession of the supremacy, power, and wisdom of God, to this effect: "I know thou canst do everything, and that no thought can be hid from thee. Well mightest thou ask who ¶ he is that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge, for I am sensible I have uttered what I understood not, things too wonderful for me, which I knew not. But henceforward I desire to learn of thee; therefore hear, I beseech thee, when I speak, and declare unto me what I ask. I have heard of thee before, by the hearing of the ear (which gave me but a distant knowledge of thee); but now I have obtained a more clear and certain knowledge of thee, for mine eyes have seen** thee: wherefore, I reprove myself for what I have done amiss, and repent in dust and ashes."

God was so well pleased with this free and humble acknowledgment of Job, that he declared himself in favor of him, against his injurious friends, who by their unjust and uncharitable reflections, instead of being his com-

* *Elihu.* He was descended from Buz, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, Gen. xxii. 21, and of the kindred of Ram, or Aram, Nahor's grandson, from whom the Aramites or Syrians came.

† *Excuse.* See Job xxxi.

‡ *Oration.* Continued from Job xxxiii. to xxxvii.

§ *Creation.* See Job xxxviii. to xli.

|| *Further.* See Job xlii.

¶ *Who.* See Job xxxvii. 2.

** *Seen.* See Job xlii. 5. This is not meant of ocular demonstration, for God is invisible; but the eyes meant are the eyes of the mind, or understanding, to which God had revealed himself.

forters, had proved his tormentors. "Wherefore (said God to Eliphaz, the Temanite) my wrath is kindled against thee and thy two friends; for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath. Therefore now take seven bullocks, and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you; for his prayers will I accept; lest I deal with you as ye deserve, for not speaking the truth as my servant Job hath."

Job's three friends, alarmed with the menaces of an angry God, made haste to provide a sacrifice to appease the Divine vengeance, which they dreaded; and when they offered, God was pleased to accept Job's intercession* in their behalf.

After this, God was pleased to consider † Job, by putting a period to his sufferings, and to reward his faith and piety with a much greater estate than he ever possessed before; doubling his former stock in every respect, except that of his children; for he had fourteen thousand sheep, six thousand camels, a thousand yokes of oxen, and a thousand she-asses. He had also seven sons, who, with three beautiful daughters, every day graced his table, and were esteemed the fairest women in all that country, to whom their father gave an inheritance among their brethren.

No sooner was the fame of Job's recovery, and the restoration of his prosperity known, than his kindred ‡ and acquaintance from all parts came to congratulate him upon this happy change: nor did they come empty handed; for every one brought him a present of money, or some other valuable; § so many contributing, he soon became exceedingly wealthy; and to make his terrestrial happiness still greater, God blessed him with a prolongation of life far beyond the common extent of those times; for he lived an hundred and forty years after his restoration, which made his age above two hundred years; so that he saw the increase of his family to the fourth generation.

THE Book of Job presents to our minds many excellent and instructive lessons. We may learn on how very precarious a tenure all our earthly blessings are held, and that we must therefore never "trust in uncertain riches."

The conduct of Divine Providence is exhibited in the most striking light,

* *Intercession.* Job may not improperly here be considered a type of that Christian perfection which the Gospel requires in praying for enemies as well as friends.

† *Consider.* The text calls this change of Job's condition, "The turning of his captivity," which is a Scripture phrase frequently used to signify an end or finishing of misery, and restoration of joy and felicity.

‡ *Kindred.* The text calls them brothers and sisters, which, according to Scripture style, used to comprehend all kindred. Now, among all the rest of Job's friends there is no mention at last made of his wife upon this happy change, unless she be included in the number of his kindred, which is not unlikely.

§ *Valuable.* This ancient custom still prevails all over Arabia and the East. Presents, chiefly in money, are made by the natives to their princes and great men, not only on their accession to power, but on their return from distant excursions; and more especially on their recovery from sickness. The money so given frequently amounts to a very large sum.

for it seems to be a principal design of the book to teach us that God, for wise ends, may permit the wicked greatly to prosper, while the righteous are oppressed, afflicted, and tormented; but that this affords no reason to say, "It is in vain to serve the Lord."

The "*patience of Job*" is particularly set before us by the apostle James as truly exemplary — "Ye have heard of the patience of Job."

But there is one circumstance in the case of this excellent man too generally overlooked — the prevalence of a self-righteous temper, and some expressions in his vindication of himself not consistent with that humility which marked his general character. He seems to have claimed a degree of perfection to which no fallen man is entitled, as when he said, "I am clean without transgression. I am innocent, neither is there iniquity in me.* My foot hath held his steps; his way have I kept and not declined, neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips.† My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go; my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live."‡ He seems even to challenge the Almighty to a dispute: "Let him take his rod away from me; and let not his fear terrify me: then would I speak and not fear him. Surely I would speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God. O that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat! I would order my cause before him, and fill my mouth with arguments. Behold, my desire is that the Almighty would answer me."§

Elihu justly reproves Job for thus justifying himself, declaring himself to be in God's place as his teacher: and to his reproof, Job quietly submits, making no reply, as he did to his three friends. Elihu enlarges on the holiness and majesty of God, and points out the proper use to be made of affliction. After describing the case of a man distressed like Job, he adds, "If there be a messenger with him, — the angel-mediator, — who by way of eminence is styled *one among a thousand*, — if he shall appear, and intercede in his behalf, and show to the humbled man his uprightness, — his own divine righteousness (for man's own righteousness is ever defective), then he is gracious to him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit: I have found a ransom — save the man from perishing, for my justice is satisfied, and the sinner's soul is redeemed by the atonement made by the Messiah in his behalf." This discourse of Elihu, enforced by the word of God in the whirlwind, effectually humbled the self-righteous spirit of Job, who, instead of justifying himself any longer, cries out, "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes!" Thus the weakness of man is exposed, the necessity of his being clothed with humility, and depending only on the righteousness of God the Saviour for eternal life is fully declared: and thus, in the example of Job, the world is taught that the "LORD is our righteousness," and that he "who glorieth, must glory only in Him."

* Job xxxiii. 9.

† Job xxiii. 11, 12.

‡ Job xxvii. 6.

§ Job ix. 34, xiii. 3, 22, xxiii. 3, 4, xxxi. 35.

SECTION II.

LET us now return to Jacob's family, whom we left employed in embalming Joseph, after whose death a new king succeeding in Egypt, who had no personal knowledge of Joseph, and the whole generation of people who, in the great famine, had tasted of his provident care being now dead, there remained no other monument of Joseph's service to the crown of Egypt than the advancement of its revenues, which ought to have been a consideration sufficient of itself to induce the new monarch to be favorable to the Israelites.

But he looked with a different eye upon them, for, observing how rapidly they increased, he began to entertain a jealousy of their growing numbers; and observing that the land of Goshen, where they dwelt, was too limited for their accommodation, he feared lest at a future day they might be powerful enough to assume the government of Egypt, therefore, calling his council together, he acquaints them with his fears. They unanimously agree with their jealous prince in the expedient he proposed to check the growing danger suspected from the Israelites, which was by employing them in making bricks and building store-cities for Pharaoh. And to gratify their avarice, as well as cruelty, they proposed not only to reap the profits of their service, but by continual hard labor to impoverish their spirits and enfeeble their bodies. Therefore they set taskmasters to oversee and keep them to hard labor, by which, and other servile work, they made their lives very uncomfortable. But God supported them under these severities; for the more the Egyptians oppressed them, the more they grew and multiplied. This increased their jealousy to a greater degree of cruelty, for the king, to suppress their growth, sent for two of the Hebrew midwives,* Shiphrah and Puah, and gave them a strict charge, that when they should be called to do their office to the Hebrew women, if the child were a son, they should kill him; but if a daughter, that she should live.

The pious midwives, having a greater regard to the law of God and nature than to the cruel and unnatural command of the king, went on in their usual way, and preserved the male as well as female children; upon which Pharaoh sends for them again, and in great displeasure severely reprimands their neglect of his edict, in excuse for which they tell him that the

* *Midwives.* The critics very needlessly, and with more subtlety than solidity, controvert who those midwives were, and whether they were Hebrews or Egyptians. Without doubt they were Hebrews, and, by the king of Egypt's application to them, the most celebrated of their profession.

Hebrew women were not as the Egyptian women, for they had generally such a quick and easy labor that they rarely needed their services. The piety of the midwives in preserving the male children was so acceptable to God that he is said thereupon to deal well with them; and because they feared God he made them houses.* And by this means the people multiplied and grew mighty. The king, whether satisfied or not with this answer of the midwives, not finding it safe to trust them any longer, resolves upon a more effectual method to extirpate the Hebrews; and therefore he gave charge † to all his people that every son that should be born to them should be thrown into the river. This cruel edict for drowning all the male children must needs be very afflicting to the Hebrew parents, and put them upon many a thoughtful contrivance to preserve their infants, of which an instance soon occurred, for one Amram, of the house of Levi, having married a daughter of the same family, named Jochebed, had by her a daughter, whose name was Miriam, and four years afterwards a son, whom they called Aaron. About three years after Aaron's birth, Jochebed was delivered of another son, who being a child of most elegant beauty, something supernatural and divine appearing in his form, his mother was the more solicitous for his preservation. Wherefore she kept him concealed in her house three months; but not being able to secrete him any longer, and fearing he might fall into the hands of those that were appointed to drown the male children, she contrived a way to save him, by making a little ark or boat of bulrushes, ‡ which she covered with pitch and slime, to keep out the water, and putting the child into it, she laid it among the flags by the river side, and set his sister Miriam at a distance to observe what became of him.§ But propitious Providence soon interposes, and eases his anxious parent of her care, for Thermuthis, || Pharaoh's only daughter, coming to the river to bathe herself,

* *Houses.* That is, He made them to prosper, gave them children, and blessed their families. The word house being usually in Scripture taken for the offspring or family of any one, as the house of Aaron, Judah, David, etc., if put for the family of Aaron, Judah, David, etc. Some suppose they were married to the Israelites, and Hebrew families were built up by them.

† *Charge.* This inhuman edict is supposed by commentators to be so abhorred by the Egyptians that they scarcely ever put it in execution; and that it was recalled immediately after the death of Amenophis, then king of Egypt, who enacted it, which time Eusebius and others place in the fourth year of Moses.

‡ The bulrush here mentioned is the *papyrus*, for which the banks of the Nile were so celebrated, the inner rind of which was manufactured by the Egyptians into a substance for writing on, whence the word *paper*. Various ancient authors refer to the use of small canoes among the Egyptians, composed of interwoven bulrushes of this description, overlaid with bitumen and pitch.—*Patterson.*

§ We are informed, Heb. xi. 23, that it was "by faith" that Moses was hidden by his parents. They had a firm dependence on the promises of God concerning the deliverance of their people from Egypt, which was strengthened by the dying testimony of Joseph, who commanded his bones to be carried with them when they should depart.

|| *Thermuthis.* So Josephus calls her; and from him, Philo, who adds that she was the king's only daughter and heiress, and that, having been some time married, but having no child, she pretended to be pregnant, and to be delivered of Moses, whom she acknowledged as her son. Agreeable to which is what the Apostle to the Hebrews (xi. 24) says, That when Moses was grown up, he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, from whence,

her maids looking for a retirement for that purpose, discovered the ark with the child in it, which Thermuthis commanding them to bring to her, she no sooner uncovered the child, than it made its mournful complaint to her in a flood of tears. The unexpectedness of the accident, and the extraordinary beauty of the child, moved the Egyptian princess with compassion, which she expressed in an accent of pity, saying, "This is some Hebrew child, which the parents have hid to preserve him from the king's severe edict."

By this time little Miriam, the child's sister, had crowded herself in among the attendants of the princess, and observing with what tenderness she looked upon the child, very officiously offered her service to procure an Hebrew nurse for him: which the princess accepting, the girl hastens to her mother, and brings her to the place, where she receives the child from the princess, who engaged to pay her for her care. This was no doubt a welcome bargain to the mother; who, taking the child home with her, was now at liberty to nurse it openly without apprehension, having a royal protection for his security.

Some time after, probably when he was weaned, his mother brought him to court, to show him to the princess, and to satisfy her how he had improved under her care; who became so partial to him, that she adopted him for her son;* and in remembrance that she had drawn him out of the water, she called his name Moses; † and to render him an accomplished person, she kept him at court, where he was instructed in all the learning and discipline used among the Egyptians, both civil and military, and all things requisite and becoming the character and quality of prince of the blood.

Moses being forty years old, left the court, and went to see his brethren; and when he reflected on the oppression they labored under, it affected him with compassion and indignation, to see the servants of the most high God subjected to a servitude exceeding that of brutes. This was increased by an opportunity that just then offered; which was, an Egyptian striking an Hebrew. This inflamed the zeal of Moses, who, looking around to see whether any man was within sight, chastised the Egyptian, making him expiate his barbarity to the injured Hebrew with his blood; ‡ and after-

it is plain, he was esteemed as such. And if any one should ask, why he did not, in right of his mother, succeed to the kingdom? it may reasonably be answered that the fraud of his adopted mother, and his own adoption being detected, he could pretend no right to the crown of Egypt.

* *Son.* The Jews observe that whoever brings up a pupil in his house is in Scripture said to have begotten him. And thus it is said, *Exod. ii. 10*, that Moses was the son of Pharaoh's daughter, though she had only taken care of his education.

† *Moses.* At his circumcision, says *Clemens Alexandrinus*, his parents called him *Joachim* (that is, the resurrection of the Lord), from a presaging hope that the Lord, through him, would raise up his people Israel, deliver them from the Egyptian bondage they were then in, and bring them again to the promised land.

‡ *Blood.* The critics are at great variance about this action of Moses, some blaming, others justifying him. In the first place, we find Moses nowhere in holy Scripture blamed for this, but rather the contrary; for *Stephen, Acts vii. 25*, gives a fair handle to justify him as having power to do justice on the criminal Egyptian, he having before that time been endowed with the title and office of deliverer of the people of God. This indeed the text before cited very much favors. Others object, that it was very unreasonable for Moses to

wards buried him in the sand; supposing by his taking upon him thus to administer justice, that his brethren would have understood* that God, by his hand, would have delivered them; but they understood him not. However, the next day he went out, and showed himself among them again; and finding two men of the Hebrews quarrelling, he endeavored to reconcile them, putting them in mind that they were brethren; and with some smartness reprehending the aggressor, he demanded for what reason he thus attacked the other? The man, thrusting him away with disdain, replies, "Who made you a prince and a judge over us? Do you intend to kill me, as you did the Egyptian yesterday?" Moses was startled at this; for finding that his killing the Egyptian, notwithstanding his circumspection, was no longer a secret, he bethinks himself of his security; concluding that if the death of the Egyptian should reach Pharaoh's ear, he should die for it. Whereupon he left Egypt, and retired to Midian.†

kill the Egyptian for merely striking one of the Hebrews. In answer to this the Hebrews say that the Jew whom the Egyptian struck was husband to Salomith, a very beautiful woman, whom the Egyptian had debauched; and that therefore Moses slew the Egyptian not for striking the Hebrew, but for the adultery, which he discovered from them whilst they were quarrelling. Others urge, that not all things are related here, which leaves room for some conjecture; thus some say, perhaps the Egyptian had almost killed the Hebrew, and that Moses could no other way than by force keep him off: or that the Egyptian attacked Moses, and so he was forced to kill him in his own defence.

* *Understood.* See Acts vii. 25, where this is positively expressed by Stephen.

† Josephus, who has given us several particulars of Moses's life, which, in modesty perhaps, he might not think proper to record of himself, has assigned a further reason for his leaving Egypt, of which it may not be improper, in this place, to give the reader this short abstract: "When Moses was grown to man's estate, he had an opportunity offered him of showing his courage and conduct. The Ethiopians, who inhabited the other land on the south side of Egypt, had made many dreadful incursions, plundered and ravished all the neighboring parts of the country, beat the Egyptian army in a set battle, and were become so elated with their success, that they began to march towards the capital of Egypt. In this distress, the Egyptians had recourse to the oracle, which answered, that they should make choice of an Hebrew for their general. As none was more promising than Moses, the king desired his daughter to consent that he should go and head his army; but she, after having first expostulated with her father how mean a thing it was for the Egyptians to implore the assistance of a man whose death they had been complotting, would not agree to it, until she had obtained a solemn promise upon oath, that no practices or attempts should be made upon his life. When Moses, upon the princess's persuasion, had at last accepted the commission, he made it his first care to come up with the enemy before they were aware of him; and, to this purpose, instead of marching up the Nile, as the custom was before, he chose to cross the country, though the passage was very dangerous, by reason of the poisonous flying serpents which infested those parts; but for this he had a new expedient. The bird ibis, though very friendly to every other creature, is a mortal enemy to all serpents; and therefore having got a sufficient number of these, he carried them along with him in cages, and as soon as he came to any dangerous places, he let them loose upon the serpents, and by their means and protection, proceeding without any harm or molestation, he entered the enemy's country, took several of their cities, and obliged them at last to retreat into Saba, the metropolis of Ethiopia. Moses sat down before it; but, as it was situated on an island, with strong fortifications about it, in all probability it would have cost him a longer time to carry it, had not Tharbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter, who had the fortune once to see him from the walls behaving himself with the utmost gallantry, fallen in love with him. Whereupon she sent privately to let him know, that the city should be surrendered to him, upon condition that he would marry her immediately after. Moses agreed to the proposal; and having taken possession of the place, and of the princess, returned with his victorious

Though this affair proved the immediate occasion of his forsaking the Egyptian court, yet we are assured by Paul, Heb. xi. 24–26, that his determination to retire from all its promising advantages was the effect of a Divine principle implanted in his mind. It was “by faith,” saith the inspired commentator on his history, that “Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter.” This determination naturally excites our wonder, for it is uncommon to see men forego ease, pleasure, and splendor. Moses had also the prospect of elevation to a throne; but he acted on a principle, which rendered those considerations of no weight. Having been well instructed in the covenant of God with Abraham and his seed, and in the promise of the Saviour, who was to descend from Abraham, he was resolved to take his lot with his own people, whatever reproach or danger he might incur with them, being fully assured that they should be rescued from their present bondage; and, probably, assured also, by some intimations from heaven, that he should become the instrument of their emancipation. On this arduous office however he was not yet to enter, as perhaps he might too rashly suppose, when he acted as a magistrate in the affair just mentioned; but by a long retirement from the dissipation of a court, in the fields of Midian, he was to acquire a preparation for the important part he was to act as the deliverer of his nation.

It was in the solitude of Midian that he discovered the happy station, where majesty, guarded only with rural innocence, submitted to the humble office of a shepherd; and a crook, instead of a sceptre, graced the peaceful monarch’s hand. Here Jethro, first in quality, both of prince and priest, enjoyed the blessings of a quiet reign; whose daughters laid aside the distinction of their birth to feed their father’s flocks, and took more delight in the innocent and useful employment of tending their sheep than the luxurious gaiety of a court.

In the plains of Midian there was a well, common to all the inhabitants of the place to water their cattle. Hither Moses directed his steps, as well to rest himself as allay his thirst; where, while he was refreshing himself, the seven daughters of the prince of Midian came to draw water to fill the troughs for their sheep; but some churlish shepherds, determined to serve themselves first, came rudely and put the royal shepherdesses aside. Moses seeing this, steps in to their relief, and chastised the insolent peasants. The affrighted damsels returned to the wells, and Moses courteously assists them in drawing water for their flocks, after which they took their leave, and hastened home to give their father an account of the generosity of the stranger who had protected them against the insults of the rustics. Jethro* hearing

army to Egypt. Here, instead of reaping the fruits of his great achievements, the Egyptians accused him of murder to the king, who, having already taken some umbrage at his valor and great reputation, was resolved to rid himself of him: but Moses, having some suspicion of it, made his escape, and not daring to go by the common roads, for fear of being stopped by the king’s guards, was forced to pass through a great desert to reach the land of Midian,” — which place is generally supposed to have been in Arabia Petrea, on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, not far from Mount Sinai.

* *Jethro*. He is called in Exodus ii. 18, Reuel. He is also called Reuel, Num. x. 29, who was father to Hobab, called also, and more commonly, Jethro. Exod. iii. 1.

their story, and not seeing the person who had thus gallantly defended them, reprehends their ingratitude and incivility, asking what was become of the generous stranger? They told him they left him at the well, whereupon he bids them go and invite him home; where Moses is so charmed with their hospitable entertainment, that he expressed an inclination to take up his constant residence with them, and undertake the charge of their sheep. Jethro readily closed with the proposal; and the more to engage him to his interest, bestowed Zipporah, one of his daughters, upon him for a wife, by whom he had two sons, the eldest of whom he named Gershom, which signifies "a stranger." "For (said he) I have* been a stranger in a strange land;" and the younger he called Eliezer, importing, "God my help." "For the God † of my father (said he) was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh."

While Moses continued in Jethro's family, the king of Egypt died. But his successor proved no more favorable to the poor oppressed Hebrews; who changed their oppressor, but not their condition — the miseries of which rather increased than abated. In vain they appealed to the merciless tyrant and his cruel taskmasters, who lord it over them with unbounded severity. But God, who saw the affliction of his people, and whose ears were open to receive their complaints, looked with an eye of compassion upon them; and the appointed time of their deliverance, which He in his secret providence had determined, being near, He began to prepare Moses for the great work of which he was to be made the honored instrument.

While Moses kept his father's sheep, he one day led ‡ them as far into the desert as Mount Horeb, § where the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush. Moses was startled at the sight; but that which added to his admiration and roused his curiosity, was the continuance of the bush unconsumed, notwithstanding it was wholly encompassed with flames. || This extraordinary appearance induced Moses to examine it more attentively; he therefore said to himself, I will turn aside, and see if I can discover the reason of this unusual sight. But the Lord, to

* *I have.* Exod. ii. 21.

† *God.* Exod. xviii. 4.

‡ *Led.* Here we may observe the manner of those times and countries, that whereas the shepherds here drive their flocks before them, the shepherds there went before their flocks, and the flocks followed them, which custom is alluded to in Psalm lxxx. 1, and John x. 4.

§ *Horeb.* Which signifies *forsaken*, and is here, Exod. iii. 1, called the mountain of God by way of anticipation, both from the following appearance of God upon it at this time, and his descending upon it afterwards to give the law to his people, xix. 29, where, though it is called Sinai, it is the same place with this; for Stephen, reciting this present passage in Acts vii. 30, calls it Mount Sinai.

|| It is not unfitly observed that the burning bush may represent the state of Israel at that time, who were entangled in the thorny bush of adversity, and encompassed with the fire of affliction, in which they were like to be consumed. It is also an emblem of the church, to which it may be compared on account of its weak, obscure, and contemptible state, in the esteem of worldly men, who are taken with nothing but what dazzles the eye of sense. For though there is a real glory and a spiritual magnificence in this holy society, she cannot compete with earthly kingdoms in outward splendor, any more than a bush in the wilderness can vie with a cedar in Lebanon; for besides the paucity of her true members, they are commonly to be found rather in smoky cottages than proud palaces.

prevent his irreverent approach, and to strike him with the greater awe and sense of the Divine presence, called to him out of the bush, and forbade his drawing nearer; and to make him still more sensible of the sacredness of the place, God commanded him not to profane it, but to put off his sandals, for the ground whereon he stood was holy.* Moses being prepared for an awful attention, the Almighty thus discovers himself to him: "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.†" These words affected Moses with such reverence of the Divine majesty, and fear of the effects of his unwitting presumption, that he fell on the ground and covered his face, not daring to look up on the terrible glory. But the Lord proceeding, said, "I have seen the affliction of my people, I have heard their complaint, and am come‡ down to deliver them out of the hand of their oppressors, and conduct them to the promised land, a land that floweth with milk§ and honey; to the place of the Canaanites and the Hittites, the Amorites and the Perrizites, the Hivites and the Jebuzites. And thee have I pitched upon to be my instrument in this great work; therefore be of good courage,|| for I will send thee to Pharaoh to demand liberty of him for my people, the children of Israel." Moses, considering how things stood with him in Egypt, and upon what account he left that court; and probably not knowing that the old king of Egypt, who had threatened his life, was dead, began to excuse himself, urging his own meanness and insufficiency to take upon himself the character of an ambassador. But God removed this difficulty, saying, "I will certainly be with thee: and let this extraordinary sight, which thou hast now seen, be a token that I have sent thee: and when thou hast brought the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve me on this mountain." But Moses, to evade this office, increases the difficulty, urging, "When I come to the children of Israel, and tell them that the God of their fathers hath sent me to them, and they shall ask me his name, what shall I say to them? God replied, I AM THAT I AM.¶ And thou shalt further say to them, I AM (that

* *Holy.* Meaning that wherever God, who is holiness itself, appears, the place is holy while he is present. It is worthy of remark, that the Orientals uncover their feet to this day in all places devoted to God.

† The person speaking to Moses is called, Exod. iii. 2, "The Angel of the Lord;" and yet this angel is no created being, for he says, "I am the God of thy father," and "I am that I am;" he therefore could be no other than the supreme Jehovah — he who afterwards appeared on Mount Sinai, who gave the law on that mount as the King of Israel, and who conducted them through the wilderness. And as no man hath seen God, the Father, at any time, it must have been the second person in the adorable Trinity, and who, though in the form of God, was made in the likeness of man.

It is remarkable that our Saviour infers the resurrection of the dead from the passage above mentioned. "I am the God of Abraham," etc., Matt. xxii. 31, and shows that though they were long deceased, yet they existed still with him, and that their bodies shall hereafter share in celestial glory.

‡ *Come.* This is speaking according to the manner of men; God vouchsafes to express himself in the language and according to the capacity of man, that he may understand him.

§ *Milk.* This is an emblematical expression of fruitfulness and plenty of good things.

|| *Courage.* This is most properly rendered by the Septuagint; the word which we render *come now*, being an adverb of exhorting.

¶ *I AM.* This denotes the eternity of God, whose essence knows no beginning nor end.

is, the Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob) hath sent me to you; that is the name I have had from all eternity, and by that name will I be known forever. Go gather the elders* of Israel, and say to them, The Lord God of your fathers appeared to me and said, I have seen all the calamities that have befallen you in Egypt, and am resolved to deliver you, and lead you into the land of Canaan. The Israelites shall believe you, and you shall go to the king of Egypt and say to him, The God of the Hebrews hath commanded us to go three days' journey into the desert, there to offer sacrifice to the Lord our God. This request, though so very reasonable, I know he will not grant, but will refuse to let you go, unless compelled by a powerful hand; but I will exert myself in many miraculous operations upon him and his subjects, and at last he shall permit you to depart; but ye shall not go away empty, for you shall be laden with the spoils of the Egyptians."

This solemn assurance, delivered by the mouth of God, one would conceive might have been sufficient to have encouraged Moses willingly to undertake the embassy; but either from the difficulty or boldness of the enterprise, or from diffidence of his own abilities, he declines it, and questions whether the Israelites will receive his credentials. This objection God immediately overrules by a miracle; for, commanding him to throw his rod on the ground, it was instantly turned into a serpent. Moses, affrighted at this sudden transformation of his rod, fled from it. But God, to encourage him, bade him take it by the tail; which he had no sooner done, than it resumed its former shape. And at the same time, to convince him that he should not want credit with the Israelites, God gave him commission to perform the same miracle before them; and to remove all further scruple, he condescends to give him another sign, bidding him put his hand into his bosom, which he had no sooner done than it was struck with a white † leprosy. And when, by God's command, he had put it into his bosom again, and plucked it out, his flesh had resumed its former color and substance.

And it is common with the Hebrews to express the future in the present tense; and for this reason some term it, I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE, and contend that it ought to be so rendered, not only from the letter of the Hebrew text, but from the genuine sense of the words, from which others likewise infer that it ought to be so rendered, I WILL BE forever; and I WILL BE with you and redeem you from the Egyptians; and others, I WILL BE with you in your present tribulations and future calamities. This name is likewise expressed in Rev. i. 4, by which is signified JEHOVAH, the proper name of God. It is very remarkable that in the *Sanscrit*, or ancient and sacred language of India, God is called Om, and the same idea thereby conveyed of the eternal self-existent Jehovah as in the writings of Moses.

* *Elders*. By this some understand the doctors and governors; but it is most probable the elders were heads or chiefs of tribes and families, by which it is plain there was a private polity and economy continued among the Israelites, though in this servile condition.

† The evidence of this miracle was so much the more convincing, because the white leprosy; which was held incurable, was both inflicted and healed in an instant, without any outward means or physical application. Dr. Mead says: "I have seen a remarkable case of this in a countryman, whose whole body was so miserably seized with it, that his skin was shining as if covered with snow; and as the furfuraceous scales were daily rubbed off, the flesh appeared quick or raw underneath." The heathens imagined that this disease was inflicted by their gods, and that they alone could remove it.

And yet to arm him sufficiently, and beyond all question, He was pleased to add a third miracle. "If they will not believe the two former," said He, "thou shalt take of the water of the river and pour it upon dry land, and the water shall become blood."

Still Moses excused himself; and his last plea was that he was totally destitute of eloquence, the great qualification of an ambassador; and that, since God had condescended to talk to him, he was more slow of speech than before. This objection the Lord was pleased to remove by putting him in mind of his omnipotence. "Who made the mouth of man?" said He. "And who made the dumb and the deaf, and the blind, and him that sees? Was it not I? Now, therefore, go, and I will furnish thee with words, and make thee eloquent." Hitherto Moses had some shadow of pretence for his unwillingness to go; but now, when all his objections are answered, and his scruples removed, he very bluntly begs to be excused from this enterprise, saying, "O my Lord, instead of me, send, I pray thee, by him* whom thou wilt send." So long as Moses had anything to plead in excuse † for his not going, God heard him patiently, and graciously condescended to remove his doubts; but when his modesty in declining the office and the honor God proposed to him was turned into an obstinate refusal, the Lord was angry with him; but in his anger remembering mercy, he resumes Moses's last objection (which he had already answered in general), and shows him more particularly how to supply that defect. "Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? He is eloquent, and I will appoint him to meet thee. Tell him what I have said; and be assured that I will assist you both, and direct you what to say. He shall be the orator, and thou shalt be to him instead ‡ of God. § And to strengthen

* *Him.* Exod. iv. 13. The text says, "Send by the hand of him that thou wilt send;" where the word *hand* is put for the office or ministry. But by Moses' desiring God to send another instead of him, he meant a man fitter to execute that commission than himself. Who the person meant was, is much controverted. The Hebrews say Aaron, who at that time was a prophet in Israel; some of them say the Messias; and of this opinion are all the Latin commentators; because the Jews in all their more weighty cases and affairs had regard to the promised Messias.

† *Excuse.* It is the opinion of several commentators on this place, and it is very probable, that Moses had another reason besides his insufficiency, which made him unwilling to go on this errand into Egypt, and which he was not willing to discover. Just before God appeared to Moses in the bush, and had this discourse with him, we read, Exod. ii. 25, that the king of Egypt died — that king in whose reign Moses had slain the Egyptian, and who sought to apprehend and put him to death for it. The report of that king's death might not probably yet have reached Moses. However, he might reasonably think that some of the kindred of the slain man were yet living, who might prosecute him for the murder, and for that reason he might be unwilling to return to Egypt (from whence on that occasion he fled for his life), lest he should be taken and executed for it. However, it is observable that God would not free him from that fear till he had absolutely resigned, and wholly submitted to his will in going.

‡ *Instead.* That is, he shall consult thee instead of me, that from thee he may know my will, and thou shalt impart to him what thou receivest of me. Consonant to this is what our Saviour said to his apostles, "He that heareth you, heareth me," etc.

§ *God.* By these words, *Thou shalt be to him* instead of, or as *God*, commentators show the power with which God now invested Moses, in delivering him this commission, making him chief not only over Aaron, but the rest of the Israelites; for this name of God is nowhere given to men, but to signify the power of life and death over them.

thy commission, and give thee credit among my people, take this rod in thy hand, for I will enable thee to do many miracles with it.”*

Moses, having nothing more to urge against this enterprise, at length yields, and took the rod of God† in his hand. Then taking his wife and two sons, he left Mount Horeb, and went to Jethro his father-in-law, with whom, it seems, he left them till he had conducted the children of Israel out of Egypt; when Jethro brought‡ them to him again in the wilderness.

Moses being thus convinced that God had appointed him the agent in transacting this grand affair, while he was preparing himself for this journey, to make him more cheerfully proceed in it, and to dispel his fears of being called to account for his former actions in Egypt, God bids him return thither, assuring him that those who had a design against his life were dead. Then repeating his former order, he says: “When thou comest into Egypt, be sure to perform all the miracles I have enabled thee to do: and to illustrate my power, I will so harden Pharaoh’s heart, that he shall refuse to let the children of Israel go till I have slain his son, even his first-born.”

By the way, God takes occasion to put Moses in mind of the danger of disobedience, to preserve him from relapsing into it. It seems Moses, either through neglect, or indulgence to his wife (who was not an Israelite), had not yet circumcised his son Eliezer; by which he so highly provoked the Lord, that in the way he threatened to kill§ him for his neglect.|| His wife Zipporah, understanding the cause of the Divine displeasure, took a sharp flint, and immediately circumcised the child, and then exclaimed, “Thou art a husband of blood to me.”¶ The Lord then pardoned Moses, and dis-

* Forty years before this, Moses seemed forward, if not rash, to undertake the great enterprise, as appeared by his avenging the quarrel of his countryman; but in the solitude of Midian, he had attained more knowledge of God and of himself, and now he is too backward and diffident. Thus is human nature prone to extremes, and every grace is mingled with imperfection. Zeal too often is alloyed with pride, and meekness betrays us into cowardice.

† *Rod of God.* So it is now called, since God had so signally honored it, and, as it were, consecrated it to a holy use. Exod. iv. 20.

‡ *Brought.* See Exod. xviii. 2, etc.

§ *Kill him.* The text in Exod. iv. 24, being not particular in the manner, interpreters differ about it; but that which seems most probable from the context, is, that Moses’s punishment must be sickness, or some corporal visitation upon him — otherwise, if he had been in health, he, and not Zipporah his wife, would have circumcised the child.

|| Into this neglect he was probably betrayed by a sinful compliance with the false tenderness of his wife, who, it may be feared, had no sense of true religion — so dangerous is it to be “unequally yoked with unbelievers;” but it affords us an awful admonition to obey God, however our dearest friends may oppose. God’s ordinances are not to be slighted from any worldly considerations whatever.

¶ Undoubtedly, the word *blood* here refers to the *circumcision* which was the cause of its effusion. Nor do they seem to conjecture amiss, who thus interpret this text: “With the blood of my child I preserve and save thee: for, the neglect of the child’s being circumcised being thy fault, I have saved thy life by the blood of the circumcision, which otherwise God might have taken away.” The knives of stone, used by the Jews in circumcision, were not enjoined by the law; but the use was founded either on custom, convenience, or experience that instruments of this kind were less dangerous than those of metal. Zipporah used a stone to circumcise her son. Joshua did the same at Gilgal, Josh. v. 2. The Egyptians used knives of stone to open dead bodies that were to be embalmed. They used stone knives to make

missed him to pursue his journey; which he commenced, and soon arrived at the house of his father-in-law Jethro, whom it would seem he had not informed concerning the particular cause of his leaving Egypt, nor does he now relate anything of the vision he had seen, or of the commission he had received from God; but as he had entered himself by contract into Jethro's service, and become so nearly related to his family, he thought it but decent and reasonable to ask his consent to return to Egypt to visit his brethren and see whether they were living. Jethro readily gave consent in the usual form, "Go in peace."

Moses being now on his way to Egypt, the Lord commanded* Aaron his brother to go into the wilderness to meet him. Aaron obeyed, and went as far as Mount Horeb, where he met his brother and embraced him; to whom Moses related all that God had commanded him, and the wonders which he was to perform.

The two brothers, thus joined in commission (though Moses was the superior), repair to Egypt; and summoning the elders of the people together, Aaron delivers the message which the Lord had sent by Moses, which Moses straightway confirmed by performing the miracles which God had commanded in the sight of the people, who thereupon believed, and received them joyfully. And now, all being convinced that the Lord had taken compassion on the wretched condition of the children of Israel, that he had visited them in their affliction, and had taken measures for their deliverance, they fell down and worshipped him.

Shortly after they repair to the Egyptian court; and being admitted into the royal presence, they delivered their message to the king in these words: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may celebrate a feast to me in the desert." The haughty Pharaoh, affronted at this freedom of speech from an enslaved people, profanely demands, "Who is the Lord, whom ye call the God of Israel? Am not I sole monarch here? I own not Israel's God: nor will I let you go." Moses and Aaron, to inform him whom they meant by the Lord, replied, "The God of the Hebrews, whom we adore, hath commanded us to offer sacrifices to him; therefore we request leave to go three days' journey into the desert, that we may pay due adoration to our God lest he punish us for our disobedience, and you much more for hindering us." The king, incensed at this unusual liberty, and looking upon them as incendiaries, sharply reprimands them, saying, "Why do ye hinder the people from their work? because they are numerous ye would excite them to rebel: be gone all to your labor, or I will make you sensible of my royal displeasure."

The king having thus rudely dismissed Moses and Aaron, gave charge to

incisions in the tree, whence the balm distilled; also, to cut the canes for writing with. The Africans of Morocco, and some American aborigines still have them in common use. The Oriental Jews commonly used them for the circumcision of their children, being not unlike flints for guns; but the western Jews use a razor.—*Calmel.*

* *Commanded.* Hence it is plain, that Aaron, as a prophet, received a revelation from God; which is likewise confirmed, 1 Sam. ii. 27: "Did not I plainly appear to the house of thy father when they were in Egypt?" For Eli was descended from Aaron.

the taskmasters that they should no more give the people straw to make brick,* as they had done before; but make them go and gather straw for themselves where they could find it: and yet to lay upon them the same tale of bricks without abatement: for, said he, "They are idle, and this is but a pretence to excuse them from their work." The taskmasters acquainted their under-officers with this severe injunction, who immediately declare it to the people: they accordingly were forced to wander about the country to seek for stubble, instead of straw, the taskmasters at the same time exacting from them their usual number of bricks, which, when they were not able to perform, the under-officers, who were Israelites, and whom the taskmasters had set over them, were called to account and beaten. They, not well knowing from whence this severity proceeded, whether from the edict of the king or the rigor of the taskmasters, complained to the king himself; and laying their grievance before him in the most humble manner, expostulated the matter with him thus: "Why should the king deal so severely with his servants? The taskmasters allow us no straw, and yet demand brick of us, which is impossible to be done: and though they are in fault, yet we are punished." †

The poor Israelite officers, instead of redress, meet with an addition to the cause of their complaint; the king tells them they shall have no straw, and

* The Egyptian bricks were a mixture of clay, mud, and straw, slightly blended and kneaded together, and afterwards baked in the sun. Philo, in his life of Moses, says, that they used straw to bind their bricks. The straw still preserves its original color, and is a proof that these bricks were never burnt in stacks or kilns. Part of the bricks of the celebrated tower of Babel (or of Belus, as the Greeks termed it) were made of clay, mixed with chopped straw, or broken reeds, to compact it, and then dried in the sun. Their solidity is equal to that of the hardest stone. Among the ruins discovered on the site of ancient Nineveh, are houses built of sun-dried bricks, cemented with mud; and similarly constructed dwellings were observed by Mr. Buckingham in the village of Karagoosh, near Mousul in Mesopotamia. At this day the town of Busheher (or Bushire), like most of the towns in Persia, is built with sun-dried bricks and mud. — *Horne*.

† Bishop Lowth, in his notes on Isaiah, has several passages which may serve to explain the making of bricks with straw.

"The Eastern bricks are only clay well moistened with water, and mixed with straw, and dried in the sun, so that their walls are commonly no better than our mud walls. That straw was a necessary part in the composition of this sort of bricks, to make the parts of the clay adhere together, appears from Exod. v." — *Note on Isa. ix. 9.*

"We are astonished at the accounts which ancient historians of the best credit give of the immense extent, height, and thickness of the walls of Nineveh and Babylon; nor are we less astonished, when we are assured, by the concurrent testimony of modern travellers, that no remains of these prodigious works are now to be found. Our wonder will, I think, be moderated in both respects, if we consider the fabric of these celebrated walls, and the nature of the materials of which they consisted. Buildings in the East have always been, and are to this day, made of earth or clay, mixed or beat up with straw to make the parts cohere and dried only in the sun. The walls of the city were built of the earth dugged out on the spot, and dried upon the place; by which means both the ditch and the wall were at once formed. A wall of this sort must have a great thickness in proportion to its height, otherwise it cannot stand. The walls of Babylon were one-fourth of their height in thickness. Maundrell, speaking of the walls of Damascus, says they are built of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of bricks, two yards long, more than one broad, and half a yard thick, and dried in the sun. When a wall of this sort comes to be out of repair, in a course of ages it is totally destroyed by the heavy rains, and at length washed away." — *Note on Isa. xiii. 19.*

yet deliver the full tale of bricks. This answer gave them much uneasiness, and drove them almost to despair; so that meeting with Moses and Aaron in the way, as they came from Pharaoh, and looking upon them as the occasion of these additional burdens, they, unadvisedly giving way to their present passion, vented their grief and anger upon them, saying, "The Lord revenge* us on you; for ye have made us hateful and abominable in the sight of the king and his subjects, and have given them occasion † to oppress us the more."

This was very distressing to Moses, who expected a more grateful return for his care and concern for them; wherefore, retiring from them, he addressed himself to God in this humble expostulation: "Why, O Lord, hast thou thus afflicted this people? for since I spoke to Pharaoh in thy name, he hath treated them with more severity than before; and they are more unlikely than ever to be delivered." Moses's concern for the oppression of the Israelites made him forget the promise God had given him, and the perverseness of Pharaoh, which he had foretold. However, God, to encourage him, gives him this most gracious answer: "I am the Lord, the Almighty God, that appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Was I not even known to them by my name Jehovah? † Be assured that I the Lord, who made a covenant with their fathers to give to their posterity the land of Canaan, have heard their complaints and remembered my promise. Therefore, say thus to the children of Israel, I am Jehovah, who exist only of myself, and give existence to all beings. Tell them I will deliver them from the Egyptian slavery with the power of my almighty arm, and inflict heavy judgments on those

* *Revenge.* Thus the Chaldee paraphrase, and not disagreeable to the Hebrews, who often by metonymy take *judgment* for the bound or end of *judgment*. Thus to *judge* is often used for to *revenge*.

† *Occasion.* The text is in Exod. v. 21: "To put a sword into their hand to slay us," which cannot be literally taken here; for the Egyptians had both the civil and military sword always in their power, to use as they pleased. But this is a Scripture phrase, and is used to express any pungent calamity or affliction. Thus it is in Isa. lxv. 16, and Amos ix. 10.

‡ *Jehovah.* Almost all translations make God to say (Exod. vi. 3) to Moses that he was not known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by his name Jehovah, though God says expressly to the first of those patriarchs, "I am Jehovah, who brought thee from Ur of the Chaldeans," Gen. xv. 7. And that Abraham himself says to the king of Sodom, "I have lift up my hands unto Jehovah, the most High Possessor of heaven and earth," Gen. xiv. 22. And that Moses observes that men began to call upon the name of Jehovah in the days of Seth. Interpreters take much pains to adjust this seeming contradiction, to preserve to Moses the pretended privilege of having first known God by the name of Jehovah; but if they would consider that the Hebrew particle *lo*, which is in the original, is often taken interrogatively, they would readily grant that it is to be taken so in this place. In some copies of the Septuagint this text is rendered, "I have even manifested myself to them by my name Jehovah." The most learned rabbies also have not understood it otherwise, when they observe that this particle is not absolutely negative, but comparative, as in several other places of Scripture, particularly where the versions, in Gen. xxxii. 23, make God to say, "Thy name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel," though that patriarch was afterwards often called by his first name, as we have already observed. We must therefore rectify this by translating, "Was not I even known to them by my name Jehovah?" Which takes away the seeming contradiction, and resolves all the difficulties that may be proposed on this subject.

who oppress them: Nor will I merely deliver you from this bondage, but I will take you under my immediate protection; ye shall be my people, and I will be your God, and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, who will release you from the oppressions of Egypt; and I will bring you into the land, concerning which I lifted* up my hand in confirmation that I would give it to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in their posterity; and I will give it you for an inheritance. I am Jehovah, the Lord, who do promise this, and who can and will perform it."

Moses accordingly repairs to the children of Israel, and delivers his message as God had commanded. But they, considering the sad increase of their servitude, ever since Moses undertook to be their deliverer, were so prejudiced against him that they would not believe him. Upon which he left them, till either the extremity of their sufferings, or the hand of God, eminently appearing in plaguing their oppressors, should awaken them to a greater desire of deliverance. But God, pursuing the ends of his providence, commands Moses to go to the king of Egypt, and demand the liberty of his people. Moses, having but a little before been so roughly dismissed from Pharaoh's presence, and so unkindly rejected by the Israelites, declines the errand by drawing an argument from each: "Since the children of Israel, thine own people, would not hear me, though what I offered was so much to their advantage, how can I expect that so wicked a prince as Pharaoh should give credit to such a stammerer † as I am, in a matter so much to his loss?" But the Lord, as before, is still patient in hearing and removing Moses's objections, and therefore tells him, "Consider I have made thee as a god ‡ to Pharaoh, and Aaron, thy brother, shall be thy interpreter or orator. Thou shalt tell him all that I have commanded thee, and ye shall demand of Pharaoh the deliverance of my people. And that thou mayest not be discouraged by a repulse, as before, take notice that Pharaoh shall give no credit to what thou sayest, that I may thereby show my power and wonders on him and his people, and deliver the children of Israel by the strength of my hand; for since Pharaoh hath begun to harden his heart in contemptuously treating me and abusing my people, I will now permit him to go on in his obstinate humor, that I may exert my power in miraculous operations in the land of Egypt. Therefore, when ye come into Pha-

* *Lifted.* This is a phrase often used in Scripture to express swearing, which was usually done by lifting up of hands. Thus we find it in Gen. xiv. 22, Num. xiv. 30, Deut. xxxii. 40, and in many other places.

† *Stammerer.* The word in the text, Exod. vi. 12, is rendered, "Who am of uncircumcised lips," that is slow of speech, for Moses labored under a defect in his tongue, as he urged when God first pitched upon him to undertake the deliverance of his people. But the word *uncircumcised* is phraseologically used upon several occasions by the Hebrews, as when they call any one *uncircumcised in heart, mind, or tongue*, they mean one that labors under a defect in any of these. Besides, as circumcision was the first and greatest sacrament among them, so uncircumcision was esteemed by them the greatest scandal and disgrace.

‡ *god.* That is, by exercising the judgments of God upon him, thou shalt be as terrible to him as God. He was to act as the representative of Jehovah, and in his name to call upon the proud monarch to submit, and to punish his disobedience with the most tremendous calamities.

araoh's presence, and he shall demand a miracle of you, to convince him of the truth of your message, thou shalt direct Aaron to cast his rod on the ground before Pharaoh, and it shall be turned into a serpent." Thus instructed, they appear before Pharaoh, and deliver their message, which he rejecting, Aaron cast down his rod before the king, in the presence of his servants, and it became a serpent. To confront this miracle, the king presently sends for his magicians,* who, by their enchantments, perform the same that Aaron did by God's immediate power, for, throwing down their rods, they became, in appearance, serpents, yet with this difference, that Aaron's devoured theirs, and resumed its wonted form.

This harmless miracle made no impression on the obstinate tyrant, for it had no mischievous effect, either on him or his people, who looked on it merely as a trial of skill between artists: therefore God resolves to make use of more sensible scourges, and afflict the Egyptians with such a succession of plagues as should compel them to dismiss the enslaved Israelites; and having observed to Moses that Pharaoh's heart was hardened, he bade him take the rod, which had been turned into a serpent, and present himself to Pharaoh's view, at his usual time of coming to the banks of the river Nile; † giving him this further instruction: "Tell him that the Almighty God of the Hebrews hath sent thee to him; and though he hath been so obstinate hitherto, to detain the Israelites, their God will afflict him for his perverseness: that he will make him sensible by his judgments, which he will inflict upon him and his people." And to encourage Moses in the execution of his commission, he promises his assistance in the performance of the first miracle, which was turning the water of the river into blood.

Moses obeys; and, at the appointed time, waits the coming of the king to the river, and throwing himself in the way, accosts him with this message.

* *Magicians.* Two of whom, probably the most eminent of the company, are by the Apostle named Jannes and Jambres, 2 Tim. iii. 8, not from any place of the Old Testament, but from some other records of the Jews, as are various other things mentioned in the New Testament, viz., Moses being brought up in the Egyptian learning, Acts vii. 22, and so likewise of his being forty years of age, v. 23, when he went to his brethren, which is not in Exod. ii. As also his having beforehand either some instinct or revelation from God, that he should be a deliverer of his people, which seems to be referred to in Acts vii. 25, but is not in the Old Testament.

† The Nile is a large river of Africa, which flows through Nubia and Egypt. Below Cairo, where it is a thousand yards wide, it divides into two main branches, which again separate into several arms, the extreme eastern and western of which give to the lower part of Egypt the form of a delta. There were anciently reckoned seven principal mouths by which its waters were poured into the Mediterranean; only those of Damietta and Rosetta are at present navigable; the others have been choked up. The sources of the Nile have never been accurately determined. The true Nile is formed by the confluence of the Bahr-el-Abiad, or white river, and the Bahr-el-Azrek, or blue river. The former, rising in Abyssinia, to the south-west of lake Dembea, comes from the south-east, and was considered by Bruce as the Nile. The latter, however, which comes from the south-west, and is supposed to rise in the Mountains of the Moon, brings down the greatest mass of water, and is considered by Cailliaud and Browne as the true Nile. The distance from the confluence of its two head branches to the sea is about fifteen hundred miles; from its highest sources, probably not far from twenty-five hundred miles. The cataracts, so much celebrated by the ancients, modern discoveries have shown to be insignificant; they appear to be hardly anything more than what we call in this country *rapids*. The inundations of the Nile are owing to periodical rains which

The infidel prince, obdurate to all the rhetoric of the two heavenly missionaries, persists in his resolution (so little did the first miracle affect him) : and though Moses and Aaron admonished him of the omnipotence of their God, he would not believe them. Upon which, Aaron receiving the rod from Moses, lifted it up as God had commanded, and striking the water, it was turned into blood! * which immediately stagnating, grew so offensive with its poisonous putrefaction, that the fish were suffocated, and the inhabitants obliged to dig for water in new places to allay their thirst. And notwithstanding this plague continued seven days, yet Pharaoh was still obstinate; and the more so, because Moses being known to have had his education among the Egyptians, the king concluded that all this was performed by magic. Wherefore calling for his magicians, he put them upon the same trial; who taking some of the water which the Egyptians had digged, by their enchantments they made him believe that they turned it to blood. And though this was but a delusion, yet it convinced Pharaoh that what Moses and Aaron had done was not the effect of any supernatural power, but a mere trick of art, and thereupon he determined to detain the Israelites.

But Heaven pursues him with repeated miracles; for as soon as the seven days are expired, Moses, at the command of God, accosts him again, and

fall to the south of the seventeenth degree, and melt the snow in the mountains of Abyssinia. They commence in March, but have no effect upon the river until three months later. Towards the end of June, it begins to rise, and continues rising, at the rate of about four inches a day, until the end of September, when it falls for about the same period of time. Herodotus informs us that, in his time, a rise of sixteen cubits was sufficient to water the country; at present, twenty-two cubits are considered a good rise. A rise of twenty-six cubits, in 1829, destroyed a great many villages, with their inhabitants. The lower part of Egypt has, therefore, been very much raised since the time of Herodotus, by the accumulated deposits of rich slime brought down by the river. Mr. Bruce, speaking of the inundation attending the Nile, says: "Every morning, about nine, a small cloud not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round, as if upon an axis; but arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, and extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapors from all opposite quarters. These clouds having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence, and put me always in mind of Elisha foretelling rain on Mount Carmel." Among the animals with which the Nile abounds, the most remarkable are the crocodile and the hippopotamus. In the ancient Egyptian mythology, the Nile was revered as the tutelary deity of the country; and it is therefore probable that Pharaoh went to pay his morning adoration to the river, — the Egyptians esteeming it a part of their religion to wash themselves in the river twice or thrice a day. When the waters began to rise, the inhabitants celebrated the festivals called Niloa, sacrificed a black bull to him, strewed lotus flowers on the water, etc. An instrument, called a Nilometer, was constructed by the ancient Egyptians, consisting of a rod or pillar, marked with the necessary divisions for the purpose of ascertaining the proportionate increases of the flood of the Nile. It is said by several Arabian writers to have been first set up by Joseph during his regency in Egypt. There cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year. For if a man ascends some mountain, on one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeways leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops only are visible: all which forms a delightful prospect.

* *Blood.* Theodoret upon Exodus says thus of the change of the waters of the Nile: being changed into blood they accused the Egyptians of the murder of the infants. And the Book of Wisdom, xi. 6, makes the same observation: Instead of a fountain of running water, the enemies were troubled with corrupt blood, which was to rebuke the commandment of the killing of the children.

renews his instances for the delivery of the Israelites ; threatening upon his refusal to bring upon the land such a prodigious number of frogs, as should visit him and his subjects in their most private recesses. Pharaoh, regardless of his threats, defies him ; upon which, Moses gives Aaron order* to take the rod, and stretch forth his hand with it over the river, which, in an instant, so affected all the waters of Egypt, that, not waiting for the slow productions of nature, the animated streams unburden themselves upon the land in shoals of frogs, which immediately invade all parts, infesting even the royal palace with their hateful croaking. Now, again, Pharaoh had recourse to his magicians, who by their mimic power so deluded him, that they led him to suppose they wrought the same miracle, which hardened Pharaoh for a while ; but the loathsome plague pursuing him and his people wherever they went, he is forced to apply to Moses and Aaron for relief, offering to capitulate with their God upon terms of permission for them to go and sacrifice to Him. Moses demands the time when this shall be put to an issue, and they both agree upon the next day. Accordingly Moses addresses himself to God, and the frogs soon died, which the people gathered in heaps, so that the land stank of them before they could be disposed of.

The infidel prince, thinking the God of the Hebrews had discharged all his plagues, unfaithfully breaks his word, and refuses to let the Israelites go. This violation so provokes the Almighty, that he resolves to treat the haughty tyrant in a more surprising manner than he had hitherto done ; for before, he first denounced his judgments, giving him warning, that he might escape them : but now he will give him no further notice ; and therefore commands Moses to direct Aaron to stretch out his rod and strike the dust with it that it might become lice.† Aaron obeys, and straightway the animated dust turns into swarms of vermin, which the magicians, who had faintly imitated the former plagues, now attempt in vain ; they own their art outdone, and acknowledge this to be the inimitable work of a Divine hand.

Yet now again, notwithstanding the obstinacy of Pharaoh, who would not in the least hearken to Moses and Aaron, God condescended to give him another summons. “ Rise up (says God to Moses) early in the morning, and meet Pharaoh as he comes to the river. Tell him, thus saith the Lord : Let my people go that they may serve me, or I will send swarms of flies ‡ upon

* *Order.* It may be observed from Ex. vii. 19, and viii. 5, that Aaron received order to perform the miracles from Moses, who was the director or sovereign, and gave to Aaron the power delegated to him from God.

† *Lice.* What kind of creature this was, is not certainly known. The French, English, and various other translations render it *lice*. It seems to us most probable that it was some new kind of creature called analogically by an old name, which is Pererin's conjecture, and is approved by Rivet. And this we take to be the reason why the magicians could not counterfeit this miracle, as it was easy for them to do those of the serpent, the blood, and the frogs, which were things to be had everywhere.

‡ *Flies.* So our English translation. Jerome says, *all sorts of flies*. The Septuagint *kunomowhyan*, a particular kind of fly, called a *Dog-fly*, from his biting. Some translate this a *mixture of beasts* ; the French *une meslee de bestes*. God calls them his *army* (Joel ii. 25), nay, his *great army*. “The locust, the canker-worm, and the caterpillar, and the palmer-worm, my great army, which I sent among you.”

thee and thy people, which shall fill their houses, and cover the face of the earth. And that thou mayest know that this is brought as a judgment upon thee and thy subjects for oppressing my people, I will on that day separate the land of Goshen, in which my servants dwell, from the rest of Egypt, that the flies shall not molest them." Accordingly, upon Pharaoh's not submitting, the next day clouds of swarming insects fill the air, which in numberless troops descend to the earth, and with their sullen and unusual noise surprise and affright the wretched inhabitants. All attempts prove vain and fruitless to remove this increasing evil; their most private retirements cannot secure them from the poisonous bitings of these revengeful animals, and a succession of painful miseries invade them on all hands. The sword and spear are useless to repel this airy foe, whose penetrating sting is sharper than their point. The magicians with confusion look upon this direful plague, and no more attempt any imitation: a general horror pervades the towns and fields, and all the country echoes with the cries of tortured men and cattle. Pharaoh, unable to support this plague, calls presently for Moses and Aaron, and in a sullen, discontented tone bids them go and sacrifice to their God, but not beyond the bounds of Egypt. He was desirous of relief, but unwilling to part with a people by whose slavery he had reaped so great advantage; and being a stranger and enemy to the true God, he did not conceive that the Israelites could not acceptably sacrifice to their God while under the Egyptian bondage. Moses, not willing to provoke, but rather to convince Pharaoh, discreetly answered: "We cannot sacrifice to our God in this land, for that would be an affront* to the Egyptians, and they will be revenged on us. Permit us therefore to avoid their resentment, by going three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to our God as he hath commanded us." "If nothing else will serve you (said Pharaoh) but going into the desert, I will suffer you to go, but not far: and in return for this concession, entreat your God to remove this plague." Moses promised to intercede for him, but cautions Pharaoh to be sincere in his grant; and being gone from his presence, addressed himself to God to remove the plague of flies. His prayers are heard, and the insects take their flight; but Pharaoh no sooner found himself relieved from this judgment, than he returns to his former obstinacy and positively forbade the Israelites to stir out of his dominions.

Upon this high provocation, God sent Moses again to Pharaoh with this message: "Thus saith the God of the Hebrews; let my people go that they may serve me, or be assured I will visit all thy cattle that are in the field with a grievous murrain; † and to make thee still more sensible of my

* *Affront.* That is, if we should sacrifice those creatures which the Egyptians worship for gods, as the ox and the sheep, they will be affronted to see us sacrifice their gods to our God.

† We may observe a particular scope and meaning in this calamity, if we consider it with regard to the Egyptians, which would not have existed in respect to any other people. It is well known that they held in idolatrous reverence the lion, wolf, dog, cat, ape, and goat. But they had gods which they held in still greater reverence than these; such were the ox or steer; the cow and heifer; and the ram. Among these the Apis and Mnevis are well known; the former, a sacred bull adored at Memphis, and the latter at Heliopolis. There

omnipotence, I will, by a wonderful distinction, preserve the cattle of my people, while I destroy those of the Egyptians." This, by Pharaoh's obstinacy, was fatally verified upon the Egyptian cattle the next day; the generous horse loathes his full manger and delicious pasture, and sinks under his rider; the ass and camel can no longer support their burdens, or their own weight; the laboring ox drops down dead before the plough; the harmless sheep expire bleating, and the faithful dogs lie gasping beside them.

Though Pharaoh saw one part of nature extinct before his eyes, he continued his former temper, and resolved still to brave Heaven with his impious perverseness. And remembering what Moses said of the preservation of the Israelites' cattle, he sends to Goshen to learn how it had fared with them; and is assured there is not one of theirs dead; by which he might have seen that this was no casualty, but a direct judgment upon him, exactly answering the Divine prediction. Notwithstanding this, he will not be convinced, but continues in his former resolution not to let the Israelites go.

Therefore since neither admonitions nor threats will prevail, God resolves to surprise him with another plague without giving him any warning; and immediately commands Moses and Aaron to take handfuls of ashes from the furnace, and before Pharaoh's face to throw them in the air. The pregnant ashes soon spread the dire contagion, and the tainted air affects the Egyptians' blood with its poisonous influence: which soon appears upon the skin in swelling scabs* and ulcers, and their whole persons became a noisome spring of sores. This plague was so torturing, that the magicians (who possibly once more would have tried their skill to see if they could regain their credit) were not able to stand before Moses, for it affected them as well as the rest of the Egyptians.

And now Pharaoh, whose obstinacy before proceeded from his natural aversion to the servants of the true God, is judicially hardened by the Almighty Lord, who resolves to make him a monument of his power to all posterity. He makes the powers of heaven the instruments of his revenge, and calling to Moses, he gives him this charge: "Go early in the morning to the king of Egypt, and tell him that I, the God of the Hebrews, demand the liberty of my people, that they may worship me; which if he refuse, he may be assured I will shower my plagues † upon him and his people; and I

was also a cow or heifer which had the like honors at Momemphis. To these may be added the goat Mendes, though perhaps not so celebrated as the others. This judgment, therefore, upon the king of Egypt, was very significant in its execution and purport. The Egyptians not only suffered a severe loss, but what was of far greater consequence, they saw the representative of their deities, and their deities themselves, sink before the God of the Hebrews.
—Bryant.

* *Scabs, etc.* This by Moses, Exod. ix. 10, is called *Ulcus inflationum germinans in homine, etc.* Sprouting out with blains, etc., which Junius and Tremellius render, *Erumpens multis pullulis*. This, in Deut. xviii. 27, is one of the curses with which disobedience to God is threatened, "The Lord shall smite thee with the botch of Egypt," etc. From hence probably came the calumny which Trog. Pompeius, Diod. Siculus, Tacitus, and other heathens cast upon the Hebrews, viz., that they were expelled Egypt for being scabbed and leprous, which mistake was easy, instead of being dismissed for having brought those diseases upon the Egyptians.

† *Plagues.* By plagues in this place (viz., Exod. ix. 14) is not meant that God would send

will make him know, that I am the only God on earth. Say further to him: If* when I lately smote the cattle with the murrain, I had smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, thou hadst been cut off from the earth. But I have reserved thee to show my power, and by the judgments I shall inflict upon thee, I will proclaim my name to all the world. Oppress not, nor detain my people; for if thou dost, to-morrow † by this time (unless thou submittest thyself), I will send such a storm of hail from heaven upon Egypt, as never was known since it was a nation. ‡ And that thou mayest not lose what cattle the murrain left (which not being in the field escaped that plague), send thy servants, and let them drive them under shelter; for upon every man and beast, which shall be found in the field, the storm shall fall, and they shall surely die.”

This threatening message did not so far affect Pharaoh as to induce a sufficient care of himself or people; but some of them, who had been witnesses § of the dreadful wrath of God, made a prudent use of the Divine caution, and housed their cattle in time, by which means they were preserved.

And now the time appointed being come, Moses attends the hardened king, and to verify the last dreadful threatening, waves his wonder-working rod in the air, which soon began to murmur in imperfect sounds, till the full charged clouds with impetuous force burst and discharged themselves in such terrible peals of thunder, as shook the whole frame of nature. This was succeeded by a stony shower of monstrous hail, such as winter never yet produced from her stormy magazines, which covered the ground with the scattered ruins of trees and houses, and the dead bodies of men and beasts. Nor does the Divine vengeance stop here; the heavens become a body of liquid fire, which, darting on the ground, glides over the waters, and fills every place with dreadful horror. This shocks the haughty tyrant, who seeing nature (as he imagines) ready to dissolve, melts into penitence, and confesses himself guilty. But this being an act of necessity, not of virtue, it dies with his fear, which Moses foresaw; for when Pharaoh begged him to intercede with God for him, and to remove this plague, Moses tells him he will comply with his request; but assures him he knows he does not mean to act sincerely, and that his repentance was only the effect of his terror. Of

all the plagues which he afterwards inflicted successively, but those which attended this plague from heaven, as hail, thunder, lightning, and rain.

* *If, etc.* Here God shows that he wanted not power to destroy Pharaoh and his subjects for oppressing his people Israel; but that he reserved him for greater punishments: and therefore the Chaldee paraphrase renders Exod. ix. 15, “If when I lately smote the cattle with the murrain, I had smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, thou hadst been cut off from the earth.” And this God said to let the Egyptians know that he did do this only to threaten them, but that he was able to cut them off when he pleased, by the same power that had before destroyed the cattle.

† *Morrow.* It is very common in Scripture to find the particular time expressed; which is used only to show the certainty of Providence.

‡ *A nation.* Egypt was first inhabited by Mesraim (whence it is called in Hebrew, Mesraim, and to this day by the Turks, Mesra) the son of Ham.

§ *Witnesses.* Exod. ix. 20. It is said of those that secured their cattle by housing them before the storm, that “they feared the Lord;” which implies not ■ reverential, but a servile fear, into which they had been terrified by the judgments God had inflicted on them.

this the Lord (as he had done before) gave Moses notice: "I have hardened his heart (said he), and the hearts of his servants, that I may show these my wonders before them, and that thou mayest tell in the hearing of thy sons, and the Israelites to succeeding generations, what prodigies I have wrought in Egypt, that ye may all know that I am the Lord, the Almighty Jehovah. Wherefore go to Pharaoh, and tell him; thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, why dost thou persist in thy obstinacy? Let my people go, that they may serve me, or I will bring the locust into thy land to-morrow, which shall come in such swarms, as shall cover the surface of the earth, and devour all those productions* of it which have escaped the former plagues. And this shall prove such a plague as none of thy predecessors ever saw."

Moses, having delivered this message to Pharaoh, withdrew; which the courtiers perceiving, and fearing Moses was gone to call down more plagues upon them, very roughly accost their king, desiring him to let the Israelites go to serve their God, lest he destroy them all for his obstinacy. Their importunity prevailed more than God's threatenings and judgments; therefore sending for Moses and Aaron, he told them they might go and serve their God; but only the men, not the women nor the children. Moses insisted upon all the Israelites going, young and old, sons and daughters; nay, and their flocks and herds, "for we must hold a feast," says he, "to the mighty Jehovah, and all must be present." This put Pharaoh out of temper, for he looked upon this demand as very insolent; therefore he bade them look to it, and consider well what they insisted on, and in a very threatening manner dismissed them.

Moses being thus again repulsed, by God's command stretched out his hand with the rod in it, and immediately a scorching † hot wind blew all that day and the night following, which by the next morning drove endless legions of devouring locusts, ‡ which left the earth as naked and barren as

* *Productions.* That is, the wheat and the rye, Exod. ix. 3, which before had not sprouted out of the earth.

† *Scorching, etc.* Our translation has *east wind*. The Vulgate, *ventum urentem*, a *burning wind*. The Septuagint, a *south wind*; but the Jews unanimously concluded it to have been an *east wind*.

‡ It was not the purpose of God to complete every punishment at once, but to carry on these judgments in a series, and by degrees to cut off all hopes, and every resource upon which the Egyptians depended. By the hail and thunder and fire mingled with rain, both the flax and barley were entirely ruined, and their pastures must have been greatly injured. The wheat and rye were not yet in ear; and such was the fertility of the soil in Egypt, that a very short time would have sufficed for the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field to have been recruited. To complete, therefore, these evils, it pleased God to send a host of locusts to devour every leaf and blade of grass which had been left in the former devastation, and whatever was beginning to vegetate. It is hard to conceive how wide the mischief extends when a cloud of these insects comes upon a country. They devour to the very root and bark, so that it is a long time before vegetation can be renewed. How dreadful their inroads at all times were, may be known from a variety of authors, both ancient and modern. They describe them as being brought by one wind and carried off by another. They swarm greatly in Asia and Africa. In respect to Europe, Thevenot tells us, that the region upon the Boristhenes, and particularly that inhabited by the Cossacks, is greatly infested with locusts, especially in a dry season. They come in vast clouds, which extend fifteen and sometimes eighteen miles, and are from nine to twelve in breadth. The air, by their interposi-

if the northern storms of winter had invaded it. The productions of the fertile Nile, and all that bountiful nature afforded, was carried off by these airy pillagers. Pharaoh began to be a little more sensibly touched with this plague than any of the former; for he plainly foresaw that the destruction of the fruits of the earth must in time prove the destruction of man and beast; therefore calling hastily for Moses and Aaron, he, in a more suppliant manner than usual, addresses himself to them, "I have indeed offended your God by refusing to obey his command, and you by breaking my word so often with you; forgive me this offence, and entreat your God to avert this judgment, that I and my people perish not by devouring famine." Moses answers his request, and immediately retiring, prayed to God, who, by a strong westerly wind, drove the locusts into the Red Sea.*

This plague thus removed, Pharaoh returns to his former obstinacy and contempt of God's commands, and refuses to let the Israelites go. Wherefore God bids Moses stretch forth his hand towards heaven, that there might be a darkness over the land of Egypt so thick that it might be felt.† Moses obeys the heavenly command, and immediately, from the caverns of eternal night, such solid clouds of darkness invaded the sky, that nature all at once seemed to be involved in one dreadful eclipse; the sun no longer gladdened

tion, is rendered quite obscure, however bright the day may have been before. In two hours they devour all the corn, wherever they settle, and often a famine ensues. At night, when they repose upon the earth, the ground is covered with them four inches deep, or more; and if a carriage goes over them, and they are mashed under foot, the smell of them is scarcely to be borne, especially when they are reduced to a state of putrefaction. They come from Circassia, Mingrelia, and Tartary, on which account the natives rejoice in a north or north-east wind, which carries them into the Black Sea, where they perish. The vast region of Asia, especially the southern part, is liable to their depredations. China is particularly infested with them; and the natives use various means to obviate the evil, which is generally too powerful to be evaded. But the most fearful accounts are from Africa, where the heat of the climate, and the nature of the soil in many places, contribute to the production of these animals in astonishing numbers. — *Burder*.

* *Red Sea*. Various are the opinions of interpreters about the epithet Red given to this sea. Some suppose it so called from the reflection of the sun upon it from the Red Mountains near it. Others, that it is naturally red of itself. Pliny, lib. 6, cap. 23, says, it is called by the Greeks Erythreum Mare, or Red Sea, from Erythrea the king, and son of Perseus, whose sepulchre is reported to be in Tirina, an island of the Red Sea. Others are of opinion that it is called so from the red sand or coral with which this sea abounds, and this they confirm from Pliny, who, l. 32. c. 2, owns that it abounds in coral. But whatever the Versions render it, it is certain the Hebrew word *soph* signifies a bound, and it is by them called the Sea of the Bound, because of the boundaries between Arabia and the Holy Land, not far distant from it. The word *soph* also signifies a storm, and thence it is also called the Stormy Sea. It likewise signifies "sedge," or "a rush," and thence called the Sedgy or Rushy Sea. Its waters differ no way in color from that of other seas.

† *Felt*. So the Septuagint and most translations render it. Some will have this to be a hyperbolic expression, to set forth the excess of this plague; though whether this darkness was really in the air, or only in their eyes, which might be blinded for a time, or whether a suspension of light from that country, or whether it were from a black, thick, and damp vapor, which possessed all the air, it is impossible to determine. Some suppose that the darkness of hell below, which is called outer darkness, arose and overshadowed the land, agreeably to the wisdom of Solomon, xvii. 13, where he calls it a night that came upon them out of the dungeon of hell, and therefore was the more proper to be (as he says after) an image of that darkness which should afterwards receive them.

the lower world with his cheerful beams; the moon, with her borrowed light, and all the glittering lamps of heaven, no longer illumine the darkened air, and all things put on the dismal aspect of death, as if nature were returning to her original chaos. This scene of horror lasted for three days, which so affected the haughty king that, though he had long stood immovable against the terrors of the Almighty, yet now, fearing a universal dissolution, and frightened at the continual terrors* of this long night, he begins to relent; and calling for Moses, says to him, "Ye may go with your little ones and serve the Lord: but for my security, I will have you leave your flocks and herds behind you." This was a poor advance beyond what he had before offered, and which Moses peremptorily rejects, assuring him that it was the express command of their God to remove with all their substance, and that they knew not in what manner they were to offer sacrifice to their God, till they came to the wilderness. This proposal so offended Pharaoh that, in great displeasure and impatience, he commands him to be gone, and assures him that if he ever again appeared before him, it should cost him his life. Moses takes him at his word, and promises never more to see his face; but before he left his presence, he denounces this judgment to him: "Thus saith the Lord, about midnight will I enter Egypt, and all the first-born of the land shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that should succeed him in the throne, to the first-born of the servant in the mill; and all the first-born of beasts shall die." Then to possess Pharaoh and his subjects with the greater fear of this judgment, he told them there should be such lamentation throughout all Egypt as was never before known. And to convince them of his care over his own people, he tells the Egyptians that not the least harm should befall the Israelites. And though the king still bids him defiance, to let him see he despised his threats, he tells him he will so humble his subjects with the succeeding plague that even his counsellors and prime ministers of state should come and fall down at his feet, and entreat him and the Israelites to be gone; and after that, said Moses, I will go out. Having thus delivered his last message to the king of Egypt, with a more than usual warmth of zeal, he took his leave.

The Israelites, during their long and grievous bondage, were possessors of no great wealth, their tyrannical masters, no doubt, taking care to keep them bare enough; therefore God, to encourage Moses to support them in their deliverance, promises them favor in the eyes of the Egyptians, with instruction to borrow of them the most valuable things they had.

It was on the fourteenth day of the first month † that Moses took leave of

* *Terrors.* It is the opinion of several that, during this three days' darkness, the Egyptians were affrighted with terrible visions and spectres, which opinion is very much strengthened by Wisdom xvii. 6, 14, and Psalm lxxviii. 50. Undoubtedly, from such unusual darkness, they conceived the whole order of the world to be overset and dissolved.

† *Month.* The Israelites, till they had been captives in Babylon, which was about eight hundred years after they came out of Egypt, counted their months without any name, according to their number; the first, second, third month, etc. And before their coming out of Egypt, they began their year in that month, which was afterwards called Tisri (which took in part of the seventh and part of the eighth month with us), and they continued always

Pharaoh; and God having predetermined the deliverance of his people at that very time, had instituted the Passover some days before, and given direction to Moses how it should be observed, which was after this manner. Every family of Israel (or if the family was too little, two neighboring families joining together), was, on the tenth day of this month, to take a lamb, or kid, and shut it up till the fourteenth day of this month, and then it was to be killed. The lamb or kid must be a male of the first year, and without blemish (a type of Christ, who was perfectly innocent). When it was killed, they were to take a bunch of hyssop, and dipping it in the blood, which for that end was preserved in a vessel, they were to sprinkle the upper door-post, and the side-posts of the outer door of every house, out of which they were not to stir till the next morning. This was done to the intent, that when the angel of the Lord should go from house to house through all Egypt, to slay the first-born of both man and beast of the Egyptians, he, seeing the blood sprinkled on the door-posts, might pass over those houses, wherein the Israelites were eating the lamb or kid, without doing them any hurt; and from the angel's thus passing over their houses, this institution was called the Passover. The lamb or kid was to be eaten neither raw nor sodden, but roasted with fire, and to be dressed whole; nor might a bone of it be broken. It was to be eaten with unleavened bread, and with bitter herbs, in memory of the severe bondage they had undergone in Egypt. If there remained more than could be eaten, it was to be burned; and no stranger might eat of it unless he were circumcised. As to the manner of eating it, at this time only, they were to eat it as in haste, with their clothes on, and their staves in their hands: which ceremony indicated their eager desire of deliverance, and their readiness for it.*

All things thus prepared for their departure, at midnight the Lord † smote

after to begin their year with that month for civil affairs. According to which computation, that month, which was afterwards called Nisan, in which God delivered Israel out of Egypt, was their seventh. But in honor of that great work, God appointed (Exod. xii. 2) that this should be the beginning of months, the first month in the year to them; that is, with respect to their most solemn feasts and religious affairs (as for their civil concerns, they reckoned from September). And this Nisan answers to part of those two months, which from the heathen Romans are commonly called March and April.

* The New Testament affords us a valuable comment on this remarkable institution. Paul says, Heb. xi. 28, "By faith Moses kept the Passover and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the first-born should touch them." He also says, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, "Christ our Passover, is sacrificed for us." Our safety is derived from faith in him, for if we eat the flesh of the Son of God, and his blood be sprinkled on our consciences, no destruction can possibly approach us. But if this provision of mercy be neglected, we must remain in worse than Egyptian bondage, and shall soon be cut down by the hand of an avenging God.

† *Lord.* Some think God inflicted this plague upon the Egyptians immediately himself, because he says, Exod. xi. 14, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt. And to the same effect, Exod. xii. 12. But it is an ordinary manner of speech to ascribe that to God which is done by one of his angels; and that this was an angel, appears from Exod. xii. 23, "The Lord will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you." From which place, and Psalm lxxviii. 49, where it is said of the Egyptians, "He cast his wrath upon them by sending evil angels among them;" some collect that God used here the ministry of an evil angel; but it cannot be supposed that God and the magicians had the same agents. Junius and Tremellius understand by it Moses and

all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive* that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of the cattle were smitten, as the Lord had that morning denounced to Pharaoh and Moses. The infidel king and his affrighted subjects now believe the God of Israel to be in earnest with them; they awake each other with their dismal cries, and the horrors of the night add to their confusion; the expiring groans of their beloved first-born deeply affect them, and they expect a succession of death upon themselves: which Pharaoh hoping to avert, in haste sends for Moses and Aaron, and commands them to be gone with all speed. "Get you forth, (says he,) from among my people, both you and the children of Israel; and go, serve your God, as ye have said; and take your flocks and your herds, as ye demanded, and be gone: I will stand no longer on terms with you, only pray for me, that this plague may go no further." Nor were the people less importunate for them to be gone; for they concluded, if the Israelites tarried any longer among them, that they should perish.

Moses having, by God's express command,† directed the children of Israel to borrow of their Egyptian neighbors jewels of silver and gold, and the Lord having disposed the Egyptians to lend them what they asked for, they by these means spoiled‡ the Egyptians of their most valuable effects. Nay, so urgent were they for the departure of Israel, that they forced them away, not suffering them to finish their bread, but obliging them to tie up their dough in cloths, and carry it away on their backs unbaked. Thus, after Egypt was in a manner destroyed, and the Egyptians of all ranks had suffered so deeply for detaining the Israelites, they now on a sudden thrust them out as God had foretold,§ and drove them away in haste. Notwithstanding which, Moses did not forget to take the bones of Joseph,|| which he, dying in the faith of their deliverance, had solemnly engaged the children of Israel to carry ¶ up with them out of Egypt, and which had now lain embalmed more than a hundred and forty years.

The Israelites began their journey at midnight on the fifteenth day of the first month,** being Tuesday the fifth of May, by our computation, the very night after the Passover was instituted, and the first-born of Egypt slain. It was precisely four hundred and thirty years after Abraham first went down into Egypt, and one thousand four hundred and ninety-one years before Christ. Their number, it is supposed, was full two millions, comprising six hundred thousand men, besides women and children.

Aaron as messengers of evil; and if we interpret it (as others), of angels, it were better rendered in English, destroying or punishing angels, inflictors of evil upon them.

* *Captive.* That is, those meaner servants that are put to grinding, as Samson afterwards was, when he had lost at once both his eyes and liberty. Judges xvi. 21.

† *Command.* See Exod. xi. 2, 3.

‡ *Spoiled.* This was not to be drawn into an example, how excusable and justifiable soever in the Israelites, on the account that God, who is the sovereign Lord of all, both persons and things, did so order it, and that it might be looked on as a just retribution for the many and great injuries done by the Egyptians to the Israelites.

§ *Foretold.* See Exod. xi. 1.

|| *Joseph.* Exod. xiii. 19.

¶ *Carry.* Gen. i. 25.

** *First month.* This was afterwards called Nisan and Abib, which takes in part of the first and part of the second month with us.

The place of general rendezvous for the Israelites was Rameses* the chief city of Goshen, from whence they set forward as regularly as a well-ordered army, and marched to Succoth. With them went a mixed multitude who were not Israelites, but strangers of several nations, who, having seen the calamities that Egypt had suffered for the sake of Israel, chose rather to seek their fortune with the Israelites than tarry in a country rendered almost desolate.

And now while their deliverance was fresh in their memory, God, by Moses, commanded the people of Israel, that when they should be brought into the land of Canaan, they should set apart and devote to the Lord their first-born both of man and beast, in remembrance † that God, for their sakes, had slain all the first-born in Egypt.

The Israelites being to dislodge from Succoth, the Lord, for their encouragement and security, went before them in the daytime in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire, to direct and guide them; and, as the Philistines' country was the nearest for them to pass, lest they, seeing the Philistines with an armed force oppose their passage, should repent of their deliverance, and wilfully turn back to Egypt, he led them about through the wilderness of the Red Sea, and marching them to Etham, they encamped there on the borders of the wilderness, which took its name from that place. From thence, drawing them down more to the Red Sea, he caused them to encamp there, between the straits of the mountains in sight of the sea. This position of the Israelites was intended by the Divine Providence as an inducement to Pharaoh to pursue them, from his full expectation that he should find them inclosed on all hands, without the possibility of escape, and thus the Almighty prepared for a complete triumph over the Egyptian tyrant, for he had previously informed Moses that Pharaoh would say, "They are entangled in the wilderness," and that he would harden Pharaoh's heart, ‡ that he should

* *Rameses.* Exod. xii. 37.

† *Remembrance.* This remembrance is twice expressed in Exod. xiii. 9, 16, and undoubtedly cannot be taken in a literal sense. The Jews, indeed, have fallen into the most ridiculous absurdities on this subject. Jerome observes that the superstition of their phylacteries owes its rise to their having taken literally the commandments which God had given them in Exod. xiii. 9, 16: "To bind his laws for a sign on their hands, and to have them as frontlets before their eyes," that is, to obey them and keep them in remembrance, or as the margin in our English version, "Thou shalt have a continual remembrance thereof, as of a thing that is in thy hand, or before thy eyes." But the literal translation which the Pharisees put on the words, led the Jews to believe that they contained an express precept of writing on a piece of parchment, with a great deal of formality and ceremony, and binding them to their forehead and left arm with great devotion. Those who complied with this method were looked upon as the most religious, though in fact there is nothing more superstitious and ridiculous. Now, in this place God cannot be supposed to direct any of these superstitious; for he does not speak of the Decalogue, which the Jews used to wear in their phylacteries, but of the precept of the Passover and unleavened bread, which God commanded them to remember, and that it might forever be observed by them as if it were pendulous, or hanging before their eyes.

‡ *Harden Pharaoh's heart.* In the course of this history God is frequently said to harden Pharaoh's heart, by which we are to understand that God was pleased to withhold from him that grace, which, had he seen fit to bestow, would have prevented, or corrected, the natural and contracted hardness of his heart; but he delivered him up, in a judicial manner, to the

pursue them and be destroyed. Which succeeded accordingly, for after the Egyptians had buried their dead first-born, Pharaoh, being told that the Israelites were gone, and concluding from their long and speedy marches that they did fly indeed, repented that he had let them go. His clemency in dismissing the enslaved Israelites scarcely survives his deliverance from the angel's slaughtering hand, and rage and revenge succeed to his late fear and grief for the death of the first-born. He forgets the Almighty power that, by a succession of plagues, had so lately afflicted him and his people; and, regardless of the danger of provoking it again, blindly pursues his own destruction, instead of that of the Israelites.

With all the force that he could so suddenly raise, he put himself upon the pursuit, in order to reduce them to subjection again. He had with him six hundred chosen chariots,* and all the chariots of Egypt besides that could be got ready at so short a warning, with their commanders and horsemen,† with which he pursued them; and on the sixth day after their departure out of Egypt, he came up with them, and found them encamped by the sea, so that, as he had proposed to himself, he found the Israelites beset on all sides,—the sea in front, huge mountains on their flank, and his own army in their rear. The sight of this army, and their old oppressor at the head of them, struck terror into the poor Israelites, who, soon forgetting their newly-acquired liberty, betray a servile mind, and envy the slavish condition they but lately deplored. They reproach Moses as the author of all their imaginary woes, and wish to resume the yoke they had just shaken off. Long custom had inured them to a state of slavery, and continual servitude of body had depressed their spirits. Moses, however, not resenting their reproachful taunts, but pitying their abject fear, cheers them with the assurance of God's protection and care. "The Lord (saith he) will fight for you, and complete your deliverance; and this numerous army of Egyptians, which now terrifies you, shall no more affright or molest you." Moses, before this encouraging assurance, had addressed himself to God, who admonished him no more at this juncture to apply himself to him, but to press the murmuring Israelites to move forward, giving him instructions how to secure his people, and afflict their enemies. The sacred rod, by which Moses had for-

proud, perverse, and wicked inclinations of his own mind, and this is what is called God's "giving persons over to a reprobate mind, etc., because they did not like to retain him in their knowledge," Rom. i. 24-28. "Is there then unrighteousness with God? God forbid." There is no unrighteousness in God's withholding the grace which he is under no obligation to give, nor in his delivering men up to the evil way of their own choosing, nor in his suffering Satan to blind and harden those who have voluntarily enlisted themselves into his service, and take pleasure in doing his will in opposition to God. All the fault lies in the hardened sinner himself; and so far as God is concerned in hardening, it is in such a *negative* manner as is fully consistent with his holy character.

* *Chariots.* These are the first chariots of which we read that were used in war, in which it was the custom long after for soldiers to fight. They were armed with scythes; and being drawn by horses against the enemy, they cut down all in their way, the men in them using darts and spears, and similar offensive weapons, to annoy the enemy.

† *Horsemen.* Josephus writes, that besides these chariots, Pharaoh took with him fifty thousand horsemen and two hundred thousand footmen.

merly wrought so many miracles, still retains its virtue, as inimitable by Egyptian magic as before, but now more fatally destructive. "Lift up thy rod," said the Lord, "and stretch thy hand over the sea and divide it, and the children of Israel shall go on dry land through* the midst of the sea; and I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, that they shall pursue them, and there will I get me honor from the ruin of Pharaoh and his mighty army."

And now, to let the faint-hearted servile Israelites see that they were Heaven's peculiar care, the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel in the pillar of the cloud, removed and went behind them; by which means it kept the two camps apart all night; and the cloudy side being next the Egyptians, cast a darkness towards them; but the fiery side, being next to the Israelites, gave them light.

Israel being thus secured from the terrifying sight of their enemies, Moses waves the sacred rod over the sea, and immediately a strong east wind blew, and drove the sea back from the land, and dividing the waters, made a dry and safe passage for the Israelites, who, under the conduct of their great guide, enter the sandy plain, and with amazement behold the secret wonders of the deep. Walled with the floods, they boldly march on, and instead of being terrified with the sight of a pursuing enemy, are entertained with the pleasing view of the ocean's spoils, and the treasures of the divided main. The Egyptians, blind with fury and revenge, pursue the track, and not suspecting but that they, with their chariots and horsemen, might safely follow where the Israelites, being but footmen, went before, enter in after them to the midst of the sea. But when, in the morning watch,† the Lord had looked through the pillar of fire and cloud upon the Egyptians, and throwing their chariots off the wheels, had disordered their army, the Egyptians saw their error, and said one to another, "Let us fly from the face of Israel, for Jehovah fighteth for them against us." But it was now too late to fly; for Moses, at God's command, waving the sacred wand again, the sea returns to its strength. The fluid mountains on both sides take the signal, and at once uniting, cover the thirsty bottom, while horror and confusion invade the affrighted Egyptians. They hear and see the roaring waves break loose from their invisible chain, and with unavailing speed endeavor to avoid their relentless fury, but in vain. The mighty God of Jacob will avenge himself on the obstinate infidels, and their ruin shall be a lasting monument of his justice and vengeance.

Thus did the Lord rescue the Israelites from the king of Egypt and his

* *Through.* Some learned writers, both ancient and modern, have contended that the Israelites did not directly cross the sea from shore to shore, but, taking a semi-circular compass, returned to the shore on the same side from which they entered, and we admit that very plausible things have been said on this side of the question; but, after all, we are fully of opinion that no account of this transaction is supportable, but that which supposes the Hebrews to have crossed the Red Sea from shore to shore, in a vast space of dry ground, which was left void by the retiring of the waters. It is supposed to have been at a place about twenty-seven miles wide.

† *Watch.* This is reckoned to begin at the *third* and reach to the *sixth* hour in the morning.

mighty army; which, being cast on the shore, was an awful yet delightful spectacle to the Israelites, and a confirmation of the power of their Almighty Deliverer, who had saved them from the inevitable ruin which the Egyptians proudly imagined awaited them. This created an awful reverence in them, not only for God himself, but also for his servant Moses, their guide, by whose hand God had wrought so many wonders for their preservation and safety.

Being now safely arrived on shore again, Moses and the Israelites, in grateful acknowledgment of their deliverance, sung a triumphant song,* in which Miriam the prophetess, sister to Moses and Aaron, joined, taking a timbrel in her hand, and followed by the Israelitish women with timbrels and dances, answered the men, repeating alternately some parts of the song.

MOSES' SONG.

The Lord's triumphant name let all rehearse,
Praise the dread Maker of the universe!

The horse, whom rich caparisons adorn,
Proud riders by the generous coursers borne,
At once have slept their everlasting sleep,
At once lie buried in the Arabian deep.

Great God of War: We will thy works proclaim,
Thy wondrous works! Jehovah is thy name.
Our Saviour thou, our strength, our song, our praise,
Our fathers' God, thy glorious name we'll raise.
For thee a stately temple we'll prepare,
Deep as the centre, tow'ring as the air.

Thus said th' insulting foe—"I will pursue;
My sword, my thirsty sword in blood imbrue."
The winds of God blew terrible and loud,
The sea the signal takes, and overwhelms the proud.
Like stones, like lead, they sink, they all expire
Like stubble in thy wrath's consuming fire.
The waters saw, thy voice the waters hear,
Forget their nature and congeal with fear.
Convulsions form the sea to horrid caves,
And show a new abyss beneath the waves.

Great God of Israel! What vain idol dare
With thee th' Eternal Lord of Hosts compare!
Thy glory shall thy ransomed saints express,
Obedient nature doth thy power confess,
And thee with faces veil'd the dazzled angels bless.

The song of thanksgiving and praise being finished, Moses led the children of Israel from the Red Sea into the desert of Shur or Etham, in which they marched three days without finding any water, which to so great a number of people, in so hot a country and season, must have been very irksome. But at length they came to a place where there was water enough, but so

* *Song.* This song is recorded in Exod. xv. from 1 to 20, and which in Revelation xv. 3, has the honor to be joined to the song of the Lamb.

bitter,* that they could not drink of it. This disappointment inflamed their thirst, and increased their dissatisfaction: and though it was but three or four days since they so joyfully and thankfully praised God for their deliverance from the oppressions of the Egyptians, yet now they murmured against Moses, asking him what they should drink. Moses was sensible of the calamity under which they labored, and fearing lest by their further murmurings they should provoke the Lord to punish them as they deserved, he immediately addresses himself to God in their behalf, who no sooner hears the complaint but redresses it, directing Moses to a tree, which when he had cast into the waters they became sweet, and the people satisfied their thirst.

God having thus miraculously supplied their necessity, it might reasonably be supposed they had sufficient cause to depend upon his providence, and never more question his care of them; but their faith scarcely survives his miracles. From Marah they marched to Elim, where they found better accommodations; for there were twelve wells of water and seventy palms, or date-trees. Here it may be supposed they made some stay; for when they removed from hence, and came to the Wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, it was the fifteenth day of the second month, which was just a month from the day on which they set forward out of Egypt. And here again it was that the Israelites fell into a general mutiny against Moses and Aaron. The sight of a barren wilderness, and shortness of provisions, made them distrust God, and break out into very indecent expressions. "Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, where we had plenty of bread and meat; for now ye have brought us into this desert, where we must perish with famine." This ungrateful treatment of his servants, the Lord resented as done to himself, and of which Moses and Aaron made them sensible. "Your murmurings (said they) are not only against us, but against the Lord, who hath heard them, and ere long ye shall know that it was the Lord that brought you out of Egypt; whose arm is not shortened, but can make a provision for you as miraculous as your deliverance."

The Lord, therefore, to awe this murmuring people into a belief of his power and providence, having first showed his glory in the cloud, promised them by Moses that at even they should eat flesh, and in the morning be filled with bread; which he fulfilled, by causing quails to come up so thick in the evening, that they covered the camp, and afforded the Israelites flesh enough. And in the morning, when the dew was gone, there lay upon the ground a little white round substance, as small as the hoar-frost, and like coriander-seed in shape: which, when the Israelites saw, they, wondering, said to each other, "What is this?" † for they knew not what it was. But

* *Bitter.* From the bitterness of the waters, the place took the name of Marah, which signifies bitterness.

† *This.* The Septuagint translates the Hebrew thus — "the Israelites seeing this, said one to another, what is this? for they knew not what it was." Exod. xvi. 15. "They said MAN-NU — *What is it?*" or, "it is a particular species — a peculiar thing, for they knew not what it (was)." Compare Exod. xvi. 31, with Deut. viii. 3, "Who fed thee with אֶת-הַמֶּן, that peculiar thing, which thou knowest not, neither did thy fathers know." Thus it should

God was pleased by Moses to give them a direction in the gathering and use of it. First, it was to be gathered fresh every morning;* all that was gathered was to be spent the same day. And when some of them, either out of curiosity or diffidence, that they might have a reserve, kept some of it till the next morning, it putrified and stank. They were to gather it by measure, according to the number of heads in every family. On the seventh day, which was the Sabbath, there was none to be found; therefore they were to gather a double portion on the sixth day, and lay it up for the seventh day; which being kept by God's appointment, and for that use, did not corrupt. This was to them instead of bread, and of this they did eat forty years, till they arrived on the borders of Canaan. And as a memorial of it, that future generations might see the bread with which he had fed their forefathers in the wilderness, God appointed that an omer† of this manna should be preserved in a pot, and laid up before the Lord.

God having, by his Almighty power and secret wisdom, thus plentifully provided for this murmuring people, to let them further see that they were under his more immediate care and protection, directs their marches from place to place, and orders their encampments. Accordingly, they moved from the desert of Sin, and encamped in Rephidim,‡ where they had no water. Here again they fell into their old way of distrusting God's providence, which they well knew had never hitherto failed them; and forgetting the late miraculous supplies, they reproach Moses for his ill conduct and neglect of them. Moses meekly rebukes them, and cautions them not to reflect on him, for in so doing they affronted the Lord. But thirst inflaming them, they regarded not his cautions, and grew more mutinous, charging him with a design of bringing them out of Egypt to kill them with thirst. These complaints and reproaches deeply affected Moses, who immediately addressed himself to God for relief in this distress, expostulating with him thus: "What shall I do with this people? Thirst makes them impatient, and they are ready to stone me." Considering the many instances of God's providence, notwithstanding their present necessity, the Israelites had no reason to distrust. However, the Lord had compassion on Moses, and did also pity and bear with the people. "Give order to the people (said he) to march, and take thy rod, with which thou didst smite the river, and take the elders of the people with thee, and go thou on before; and behold, I will stand before thee upon the rock in Horeb, and thou shalt strike the rock, which shall yield water for the people to drink." §

seem that the name *manna* was derived from the expression of their surprise — *Man-nu* — *What is it?*

* *Every morning.* This was to signify to the Israelites, that they should patiently depend upon God's providence from day to day; in which respect it might be a type of that *heavenly bread* which Christ taught his disciples to pray for, Matt. vi. 11, "Give us this day our daily bread."

† *Omer.* This was the proportion daily allowed to one man, and is computed to contain of English measure three pints and a half and a fifth part of a pint.

‡ *Rephidim.* Exod. xvii. 1. Moses does not here observe every place where the Israelites encamped, as he does in Numb. xxxiii., but only those places where some remarkable thing was done.

§ It is proper to observe that Paul refers to this circumstance, and declares it to be a

Moses did as God commanded, and in memory of the mutiny of the Israelites he named the place Massah and Meribah, which signify temptation and strife. But before the people could move from Rephidim, they were put upon another trial, for an army of the Amalekites* was at their heels, and ready to attack them. Moses thereupon ordered Joshua, a valiant young man, who always attended him, to draw out a party of choice men against the next morning, and to give the Amalekites battle; and, said he, "I will stand on the top of the hill, with the rod of God in my hand." Joshua obeyed; and having drawn up his men, Moses, in the morning, while the two armies engaged, went up to the top of the hill, taking Aaron and Hur with him; and holding up the rod of God, as an ensign, in his hand, Israel taking courage from thence, prevailed; but when, through weariness, he lowered his hand, Amalek prevailed. Therefore Aaron and Hur, observing that Moses's hands, through a continued waving of the rod, were grown feeble and weary, took a stone and placed it under him, and standing on each side, held his hands up steadily till the going down of the sun, in which time Joshua routed the Amalekite army, and put them to the sword. This good success in their first martial enterprise very much encouraged Joshua and the Israelites; and that so remarkable an action might be transmitted to posterity, God commanded it to be recorded in a book, and bade Moses rehearse it to Joshua, the general, to animate him to future service; for, saith the Lord, "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." And for a memorial of this victory, Moses built an altar to sacrifice thereon for it, and called it Jehovah Nissi; † because, said he, the Lord hath sworn that he will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

By this time the Israelites were come near the place where God first appeared to Moses in the burning-bush, and not far from his father-in-law Jethro's habitation; who, having heard of all that God had done for Moses and his people Israel, and understanding they were now near him, took his daughter Zipporah, Moses' wife, with their two sons, Gershom and Eliezer, and brought them to him to the Israelitish camp, where, after mutual salutations and embracings, Moses gave Jethro a particular account of the Lord's dealing with Pharaoh and the Egyptians in defence of Israel, and of all that had befallen them during their march thither. Jethro being a devout ‡ man, testified his joy by rendering solemn praise to God, and acknowledging

type or emblem of the Saviour, 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. "They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and *that rock was Christ*,"—that is, "it was a representation of Christ, the rock of ages, the sure foundation of his people's hopes, from whom they derive those streams of blessing, which follow them through this wilderness of mortal life, and will end in rivers of pleasure at the right hand of God forever."

* *Amalekites*. These were a people descended from Amalek, the grandson of Esau. See Gen. xxxvi. 12.

† *Jehovah Nissi*. That is, the Lord is my banner, as he declared by holding up his rod and his hands.

‡ *Devout*. Jethro being descended from Abraham by Keturah, his second wife, though not of the seed of promise, it is evident that he worshipped the true God, and therefore Moses refused not to marry his daughter.

his sovereignty, offering at the same time a burnt-offering and sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, in which Aaron and all the elders of Israel joined with him, and feasted together.

During Jethro's stay in the camp, he observed the great weight of business under which Moses labored, in hearing the complaints, and determining the differences, of so great a people; and therefore, being a wise and experienced prince himself, he advised his son-in-law to substitute certain subordinate officers, properly qualified, men of sincerity and ability, such as feared God and hated covetousness, to be rulers; some over thousands, some over hundreds, some over fifties, and some over tens, who should hear and determine all smaller matters among the people, and refer the greater and more weighty causes to him only, assuring him that if, with God's approbation, he followed this advice, it would be better both for the people and himself. Moses approves of this counsel, and immediately puts it in practice, to the great ease of himself and the people. Jethro seeing things thus settled, takes his leave of his son-in-law, and returns to his own land.

Three months* after God had delivered his people from the tyranny of the king of Egypt, they left Rephidim and encamped in the wilderness of Sinai, before the Mount of God. Here God called for Moses, who going up to it, received a command to remind the Israelites that they ought to consider the tender love of God to them, which had so eminently and frequently appeared in their deliverance and preservation; and that though they had murmured and distrusted his providence, yet if now they would be obedient and keep his covenant, he would take them into his protection, and that they should be his people, a priestly kingdom, and a holy nation. Moses having communicated this to the elders and people, they unanimously answered, that whatsoever the Lord had commanded them, they would obediently perform. Moses returned the answer of the people to God, who said to him, "I will come to you in the darkness of a cloud, that the people may see something of me, when I shall speak to you, and may always believe you." Then he commanded him to direct the people to cleanse themselves, and to wash their garments during two days, and to be ready on the third day, when the Lord would descend, † in the sight of all the people, on Mount Sinai; that he should mark out bounds about the mountain, which none was to pass before the trumpet began to sound. These were the preparatory solemnities ‡ to the Lord's giving the law, § after which followed divers judi-

* *Months.* This was in the beginning of the month Sinan, containing part of May and June.

† *Descend.* It must be observed here, and likewise in other places of the same nature, that the Scripture, suiting itself to man's common way of speaking and thinking, assigns such things to God as are only proper to the effects. It is said that God descended on the mountain, because he made his presence more visible there by sensible and surprising effects. It may be also said, it was an angel descended from God, who spoke to Moses, and gave the law; but the text expresses, Exod. xix. 20, that it was God himself who descended upon the top of Mount Sinai.

‡ *Solemnities.* See Exod. from xix. to xxiv.

§ *Law.* Which contained the Ten Commandments, from thence called the *Decalogue*.

cial laws, together with some ceremonials, and backed with promises of blessings upon the people's obedience.

All which Moses wrote in a book, and then read it to the people; and, by God's command, brought up Aaron with his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, so near that they saw the Divine majesty, yet they were not smitten by it, but survived the sight. This was some wonderful representation of God (perhaps intended to denote the future incarnation of the Redeemer), and they were permitted to eat and drink in his presence.

The next time Moses went up to the mountain, which * was likewise then at the command of God, he took with him none but Joshua, directing the elders to tarry for them till they should return, and referring them to Aaron and Hur for assistance and advice in any difficult case that might be brought before them. Moses had no sooner ascended the mountain of God than a cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord abode upon it like a devouring fire, in the sight of the children of Israel. The seventh day, God called Moses from the midst of the fire, and he entered the midst of the cloud, and went further up the Mount, and remained there forty days and as many nights, without any bodily nourishment. During which time he received the tables of stone, wherein God himself had written the law; which was a token of its peculiar excellency, and designed to be a standing proof to the people that they were under the immediate government of God. Moses was also instructed, at the same time, how the tabernacle, in which He was to be worshipped, should be constructed. He likewise described the sanctuary, the table for the shew-bread, the altar of frankincense, the altar for the burnt-offerings, the court of the tabernacle, the laver to wash in, the ark, the candlestick, the priestly vestments, and taught him how the priests were to be consecrated, what part of the offering they were to take, and how the perpetual sacrifice was to be offered. God likewise pitched upon the very men to undertake the building — Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiah of the tribe of Dan. In fine, he recommended the keeping of the Sabbath, and having ended the discourse, † gave Moses two tables of stone, containing his covenant or law, which were written by the hand of God.

While Moses was conversing with God on the Mount, and Joshua dutifully waiting his return, the people in the camp, becoming impatient of his long absence, tumultuously repair to Aaron, and as if they despaired of God's protection, because he did not continually work miracles to convince them, they concluded that Moses had deserted them; and therefore required Aaron to make them gods to go before them. Aaron, who should have restrained them from this madness, too easily complied, and neglecting to reprove and expostulate with them on the unreasonableness of their wild desire, contributed to their idolatry; and, as if inclined to promote their

* *Which.* See Exod. xxiv. 12.

† *Discourse.* See the particulars from the twenty-third to the thirty-second chapter of Exodus.

wicked inclination, he ordered them to break off the golden rings * which were in the ears of their wives and children, and bring them to him. Which, when he had received, he tied in a bag, and made a molten calf † of them. This being done, they acknowledged it for their god, saying, "Behold thy god, O Israel, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Aaron seeing the people so much delighted with their golden god, as if he were possessed with the same idolatrous spirit, built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast to be holden the next day to the Lord. And indeed, the people did make a revelling feast of it; for after they had made their oblations and peace-offerings, they sat down to eat and drink, and spent the whole day in feasting and pleasure.

Moses was still in the Mount conversing with God, while the wanton Israelites were revelling in the camp, little suspecting such a sudden change in a people who had so lately and solemnly entered into a covenant of obedience to all that God should command. But He, from whom no secret can be hid, is instantly apprised of this sudden revolt; therefore informing Moses what crime the people had committed, He expresses His indignation against their rebellion and ingratitude. "Go down (said he), for thy ‡ people whom thou broughtest out of Egypt have corrupted themselves. I know them to be an obstinate people in many instances, therefore intercede not for them, but see me express my resentment in their destruction; and to thee will I transfer the blessings I intended for them, and of thee will I make a great nation." But notwithstanding their frequent rebellions against God, and tumultuous mutinies against himself, Moses, so far from seeking his own interest by their destruction, interposes with his prayers; and with his importunate entreaties so appeased the Lord, that he desisted from destroying them.

* *Rings.* These probably were the same which they had borrowed of the Egyptians, Exod. xii. 35.

† *Calf.* The reason why they worshipped God in the similitude of a calf rather than of any other creature, is generally conceived to be from the corruptions they had learned among the Egyptians (who worshipped their idol Apis or Serapis in a living ox, and likewise in an image made in the form and similitude of an ox, with a bushel on his head), in memory, as some say, of Pharaoh's dreams and Joseph's providence, who measured out the corn to the people in that extreme dearth. Concerning the sin of the Israelites in making this calf or ox, the modern Jews transfer the fault upon certain proselyte Egyptians who came out with them; and they say, that when Aaron cast their jewels into the fire, those Egyptians, contrary to his expectation, by their magic art produced a calf, to which purpose they urge Aaron's own words, Exod. xxxii. 24, "I did cast the gold into the fire, and thereof came this calf;" as if his heart or will went not with the making thereof, but that of itself it made itself. Which answer of his shows how vain the wit of man is in the excuse of sin.

Some think that the people, by worshipping God under the figure of a *calf* or *ox* only, and not according to the cherubic figures, which included in each compound image the heads of an ox, a lion, and an eagle (and which probably were formed at a very early period, long before the time of Moses), and signified the Triune Jehovah, or God in Covenant to redeem man, intended to worship God in one person only. If so, their sin was that of the Unitarians, as they call themselves, who reject the persons of the Son and the Holy Ghost, who, together with the Father, are to be worshipped as God over all, blessed forever.

‡ *Thy, etc.* By this expression it seems as if God disowned them any more to be His people, and would cast them off.

Moses, having deprecated the anger of God, hastened down from the Mount, and took Joshua with him, who had, during his stay above, waited for him below. As they went, Joshua, hearing the noise of the people shouting, observed to Moses that there was a noise of war in the camp. But Moses, who knew the truth of it before, replied, That the noise was not like that of those which shouted for victory, nor of those that cried for quarter, but of such as rejoiced. Being come within sight of the camp, Moses beheld the calf, and the people dancing before it; which so incensed him that, in a holy rage at their ingratitude and rebellion, he threw the tables, wherein God had with his own hand written the law, against the rock, and brake them to pieces. Then taking the idol calf to deface it, he first threw it into the fire and burned it, and grinding it to powder, he took the powder and strewed it upon the water; and to make the Israelites more sensible of their folly in worshipping that as a god which should pass through their bodies, he obliged them to drink of the water.*

After this, Moses calls Aaron to account, for having given way to this sin of the people; which Aaron very poorly excuses by urging their mischievous temper, and that he had complied with them for the sake of peace. Moses did not long reason the case with Aaron; for, seeing that the people by Aaron's indiscretion were naked and stripped of the defence and protection which God's presence and favor had given to them, and that too among their enemies, and to make a further atonement for this sin, besides that of burning the calf, he went into the midst of the camp, and calling out, said, "Let those who are for the Lord join themselves with me." Upon which all the sons of Levi, who were not concerned in the late idolatry, repaired to him, whom he ordered to arm, and go through the camp, and slay all the ring-leaders of the sedition, with their followers. The Levites, thus commissioned, fell on and slew about three thousand men. For which laudable zeal and ready obedience, Moses blessed † the family of Levi, assuring them that by this shedding the blood of their idolatrous brethren without favor or distinction, they had consecrated themselves to the Lord, who would not fail to bless them for it.

And now, though God was pleased to accept this execution in part of sat-

* This fact is a topic of ridicule, and served as a butt for the envenomed though harmless shafts of Voltaire. It appeared to him impossible in itself, incredible in its circumstances, and full of injustice and barbarity in its consequences. He therefore concluded the whole story was an interpolation. But Voltaire was no chemist. Stahl, who was a Christian and a chemist of the first order, did not argue like the great arch-infidel. Instead of asserting the impossibility of reducing gold to a powder soluble in water, he proved the contrary by well-known experiments, and by means the most simple put the relation of Moses beyond a doubt. *Salt of tartar combined with sulphur* reduces gold to a powder that may be swallowed; and it is well known that *natron*, which abounds on the shores of the Nile, produces the same effect. The experiment is easily made. Compare this with the knowledge displayed by the Israelites in working in metals, Exod. xxv., xxvi., and xxvii.; the acquaintance which the ancient Egyptians had with chemistry, manifested in their paintings on their mummies; and what Stephen says of Moses (Acts vii. 22), "He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

† *Blessed*. This fact so pleased God, Exod. xxxii. 27, that he turned the curse of Jacob against Levi, Gen. xlix. 7, into a blessing. See Deut. xxxiii. 9.

isfaction for the present, yet he would not discharge the people, but threatened them, that in the day when he should visit, he would punish them for this sin. And he did afterwards, upon fresh provocations, remember it, and added to their punishment. After this, Moses returning to the Lord, acknowledged Israel's sin, and asked forgiveness for it with such earnestness and concern, that he entreated God to blot him out of his book,* rather than not to pardon them. But this was inconsistent with the Divine justice, and therefore God gave him this short answer, "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book."

God being thus appeased, commanded Moses to lead the people to the place he had appointed; but at the same time let him know he was not willing to go with them, because they were a stiff-necked people, lest they should provoke him to consume them in the way; yet, to show he had still some tenderness and regard for them, he would send his angel before them, to drive out the inhabitants of the promised land, that so he might perform the oath which he had sworn to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This was very afflicting news to the Israelites, who now plainly perceived that God's withdrawing his immediate presence from them was the effect of their rebellion; upon which they mourned, and to show their humiliation, they forbore to put on their ornaments. But Moses, to humble them the more, and make them more sensible of their sin, took a tent, and pitching it without the camp, at a considerable distance, called it the "tabernacle of the congregation:" † intimating to them by this, that the Lord was so highly offended with them for their idolatry, that he had removed from them and would no longer dwell among them as he had done before: in consequence of which, every one who sought the Lord was obliged to go to this tabernacle without the camp; and when Moses went into it, as he entered in, the cloudy pillar, in which the Lord used to appear, descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle.

* *Book.* Exod. xxxii. 32. It is said that God, being greatly offended with the Israelites for their idolatry, resolved straightway to consume them. Moses intercedes for them, and prays that God would pardon them, or blot him out of His book. But what could be intended by this book but the scroll, wherein all the names of the Israelites that were to enter into the land of Canaan were written? This way of speaking is evidently grounded upon the numbering of the children of Israel at their coming out of Egypt, and the registering of their names in a scroll or register, as may be seen Num. i. The same method was likewise taken at the return from the Babylonish captivity, as may be seen in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; and those who were enrolled in this book, are said "to be written for life, or among the living," Isa. iv. 3. For every year they blotted out of this catalogue the names of those who died. From hence we find in Scripture frequent mention made of "the Book of Life," and of "the Lamb's Book of Life," and of "a Name written in Heaven." By the book of life from which Moses desired his name to be erased, we cannot possibly suppose that book in which the names of God's elect are written, as ordained to eternal life. Moses could never have entertained a desire to be excluded from the glory of the heavenly world, but he might be content, for the sake of his numerous people, to be excluded from the promised land, or immediately to die, and be no more seen in the present world. See also Num. xi. 15.

† *Congregation.* It is the opinion of some that this tent, or tabernacle, was the ancient one, preserved from the earliest period, resembling in some degree that which Moses was ordered to make, and in which God had been worshipped time immemorial, by the patriarchs, etc.

The people being thus humbled, were more careful in observing the motions of Moses; and therefore when he went out of the camp to the tabernacle, they rose up and stood every man at his tent door, looking after him, till he had entered it: and when they saw the cloudy pillar, which they knew was a token of God's presence, they all worshipped. Here the Lord talked with Moses, and permitted Moses to talk * with him in the most familiar manner; which favor Moses improved to the advantage of the people—laboring with much importunity to reconcile God to them. After which, the Lord having, at Moses's request, and to encourage and comfort him, shown him as much of his glory as Moses was capable of sustaining, he ordered him to prepare two new tables of stone, † like the former, which he had broken, and come up himself alone with them in the morning to Mount Sinai, “and I (said he) will write in those tables the words that were in the first.”

Moses accordingly rose up early in the morning, and repaired to Mount Sinai with the two tables, where, prostrating himself before the Divine majesty, who appeared in the cloud on the top of the Mount, he most humbly entreated him to pardon the sin of his people. The Lord favorably received his intercession, and promised to make a covenant with his people ‡ upon condition they would keep his commandments; that they would not worship the gods of the Canaanites; that they would make no alliances with the people of that country; that they would have no strange gods; that they would keep the Sabbath, the Passover, and other festivals ordained by the law. §

Moses having continued in the Mount forty days and forty nights in communion with God, without meat or drink, returned to the people with the

* *Talk.* Moses' talking familiarly with God is accommodated to man's capacity, which is expressed Exod. xxxiii. 11, to be *face to face*, as a man speaketh to his friend.

† *Tables of stone.* Authors vary much in their opinions concerning the inventors of letters. Some say Cadmus brought the use of them into Greece; others say Palamedes. Some say Radamanthus brought them into Assyria, Memnon into Egypt, Hercules into Phrygia, and Carmentis into Latium. Likewise some say the Phœnicians had the first knowledge of them; others, the Ethiopians, and others the Assyrians. But upon better grounds it is thought, by Eusebius, that Moses first taught the use of letters to the Jews, and that the Phœnicians learned them from the Jews, and the Grecians from the Phœnicians. The matter upon which men wrote in ruder times was various—some wrote on rinds of trees, some on tiles, some on tables, which last was chiefly in use among the Jews. The Decalogue was written on two tables of stone. And in Isaiah's time they used tables, iii. 8. The Septuagint says, *ib.*, on a box-table; as if the writing-tables were made of box-trees. They used not pens or quills, but a certain instrument or punch made of iron or steel, called *stylus*, which was sharp at one end, for the more convenient indenting or carving the characters; and broad at the other, for scraping out. As to the custom of writing on stone or brick, it was undoubtedly very ancient. Josephus says that Seth having been instructed by Adam in astronomy, and understanding that the world was twice to perish—once by a deluge, afterwards by a general conflagration—reduced this art to an epitome, and inscribed it on two pillars—one of brick, against the violence of fire; the other of stone against the inundation of water—one of which (the pillar of stone) he affirms to have been extant in his time, in a place called Syrias or Seirath, conceived by Vossius to be the land bordering on Mount Ephraim, not far from Jericho.

‡ *His people.* Exod. xxxiv. 10. God here calls the children of Israel *thy people*; that is, the people of Moses, for he would not yet call them his.

§ *Law.* See Exod. xxxiv. 10-27.



MOUNT SINAI.

two tables of the law. But he was not conscious that, in consequence of his conference with God, his face had contracted an unusual splendor.* Wherefore Aaron and the Israelites, being affrighted at the lustre of his countenance, durst not approach him, which Moses perceiving, he put a veil upon his face, and then calling the rulers and all the people to him, he gave them in command all that the Lord had charged him with in the Mount: and from that time, so long as the lustre continued upon his face, when he talked with the people he put on the veil; but when he went in to speak to the Lord, he put it off.

At this time Moses acquainted the people that it was the Lord's will to have a tabernacle erected, and that he had commanded him to speak to them to bring in their offerings, which were to consist of materials with which it was to be made. The directions now given were the same with those when Moses went first up to the Mount; but by reason of the people's transgression in idolizing the calf, they were not then delivered to them. This offering was not to be exacted; but the people were to give it voluntarily: to which God so inclined them, that they soon brought in more than was requisite, so that Moses was obliged to cause proclamation to be made to restrain their liberality.

The materials thus prepared were delivered to Bezaleel and Aholiah, two ingenious men, and well skilled in architecture and all manner of workmanship, who employed all the men and women who had skill in curious operations. This tabernacle was a tent covered with curtains and skins, but much larger than ordinary tents. It was divided into two parts—the one covered, and properly called the tabernacle; and the other open, called the court. The covered part was again divided into two other parts; the one called the Holy of Holies, the curtains of which were made of embroidered linen of various colors. There were ten curtains, twenty-eight cubits† long, and four in breadth. Five curtains together made two coverings, which, being united together, covered the whole tabernacle. Over the rest there were two other coverings, the one of goat's hair, the other of sheep skins; and above these a

* *Splendor.* The Vulgate Latin renders Moses' face *cornuta* or *horned*; from whence, it is probable, of old he was pictured with horns on his head. But the LXX. render it much better, *glorified*, to which the Apostle, 2 Cor. iii. 7, alludes. No doubt, by this Divine conversation Moses' face was illumined, and we may reasonably suppose that the rays of this Divine light might terminate in points not unlike the taper end of a horn. And this glorious appearance in Moses' face might be designed for several reasons; as 1. That the people might pay him the greater reverence and fear. 2. To testify God's great love and esteem for him. 3. To terrify the Israelites from violating the law. And these beams or rays of light, St. Ambrose on Psalm cxviii. says, continued to Moses all the rest of his life.

Paul comments at large on the veil of Moses (2 Cor. iii.), and considers it as descriptive of the dispensation of the law, in which the blessings of the Gospel are but obscurely seen, concealed in types and shadows, so that they could not distinctly see them. We ought to rejoice, as Christians, that under the Gospel the veil is removed, and "with open face we behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord." Let it be our concern to be thereby transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, that others may behold "the beauty of holiness" in our life and conversation.

† *Cubits.* A cubit is supposed to be about half a yard of our measure. The sacred cubit used in after times is said to have been equal to a yard.

covering of badgers' skins dyed red. These veils or coverings were laid on a square frame of planks, resting on bases. There were forty-eight large planks, each a cubit and a half wide, and ten cubits high, twenty of them on each side, and six at one end to the westward, and one at each corner: each plank was borne on two silver bases; they were let into one another, and held by bars running the length of the planks. The east end was open, and only covered with a curtain. The Holy of Holies was separated from the rest of the tabernacle by a curtain fastened to four pillars, standing ten cubits from the end. The whole length of the tabernacle was thirty-two cubits, and the breadth twelve. The end was thirty cubits high, the upper curtain hung on the north and south sides eight cubits, and on the east and west four cubits.

The court was a spot of ground an hundred cubits long, and fifty in breadth, enclosed by twenty columns, each of them twenty cubits high, and ten in breadth, covered with silver, and standing on copper bases five cubits distant from each other, between which there were curtains drawn and fastened with hooks. At the east end was an entrance twenty cubits wide, covered with a curtain hanging loose.

The ark, which was placed in the Holy of Holies, was a square chest made of shittim-wood, two cubits and a half long, and one cubit and a half wide and deep. It was covered with gold plates, and had a gold cornice, which bore the lid. On the sides of it were rings, through which the poles were passed, by which it was to be carried. The covering was all of gold, and called the propitiatory or mercy-seat. There were two cherubim on it, which covered it with their wings; the tables of the law were in the ark, which was therefore called the ark of the testimony, or of the covenant.

The table was made of cedar covered with gold, two cubits long, one in breadth, and one and a half in height. About the edge of it was an ornament; it stood on four feet, and had wooden bars plated with gold to carry it by. They laid on it the offering or shew-bread, which was changed every week, six loaves at each end, with incense over them. It was not lawful for any but the priests to eat of that bread.

The candlestick, which was of pure gold, had seven branches, three on each side, and one in the middle; each branch had three knobs like apples, and three sockets in the shape of half almond shells; that in the middle had four; on each branch was a golden lamp, and there were golden snuffers and nippers to dress them.

There were two altars, one for the burnt-offerings, five cubits long and wide, and three in height, with a kind of horn at each corner. It was hollow, covered both within and without with brass plates, and open both at top and at bottom. In the midst of it was a copper grate, standing on four feet, a cubit and a half high, and fastened with hooks and rings. On it were burned the wood and the offerings. There were all necessaries for that service, as kettles, ladles, tongs, hooks, etc.

The altar of the incense was but one cubit in length and breadth, and two cubits high. It was plated with gold, and had a crown of gold over it.

This altar was in the sanctuary; that of the burnt-offering was in the court of the tabernacle, in which also was a laver, or large copper basin, furnished with several cocks, by which the water was drawn, to wash the hands of the priests when they ministered.

The vestments of the high-priest were the breastplate, the ephod, the robe, the close coat, the mitre, and the girdle. The ephod, the robe, and the close coat were of linen, and covered the whole body from the neck to the heels. Over all was a purple tunic, a vestment larger and finer wrought, which reached not so low; but at the bottom of it were pomegranates of needle-work, and golden bells. The ephod consisted of two bands made of gold thread, and of several colors, made fast to a sort of collar, which hung down before and behind on both shoulders, and meeting, served for a girdle to the tunic or vestment. On the shoulders were two large precious stones, which joined the fore and hind parts of the ephod, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, six on each of them. The breastplate being of the same workmanship, but double, was attached with gold chains to the ephod. It was a square ornament, very thick, and covering the breast. The girdle was the ephod itself crossed, or some other band of the same matter. The mitre, or turban, was of fine linen; it covered the head, and on the forehead was a gold plate, on which were engraven these words, *THE HOLINESS OF THE LORD*.* These were the solemn ornaments belonging to the high-priest; the others wore only a simple tunic or vestment, a linen mitre, and a girdle. They had all breeches of linen and cotton, covering their legs and thighs, and reaching up to the waist.†

The work being finished, and the vestments made according to these directions, they were brought to Moses for his approbation, who, having viewed them, and found that all was done as the Lord had commanded, he praised God for the people's diligence, and prayed for them. And now all things being ready, on the first day of the first month, in the second year after their departure from Egypt, the tabernacle was by God's immediate command set up, and all its furniture disposed in the proper places. Which done, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord filled it; so that for a while Moses himself was not able to enter in. And this cloud was the signal to the people of Israel, by which they knew when to march and when to rest. For when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel journeyed, but if the cloud was not taken up they continued in the same place.

The tabernacle being erected, and all things prepared, God proceeded to give direction to Moses, and by him to the people, in what manner his public worship, under that dispensation, should be performed, which was by sacrifice; and this was an offering made to God, chiefly for the expiation of sin; for "without shedding of blood there could be no remission of sins," and the

* Or, *Holiness to the Lord*.

† These garments are said to have been "for glory and for beauty;" they were not merely ornaments to adorn the wearer, but typical, like the rest of the ritual, of Jesus Christ, "the Holy One of God," the "High-Priest of our profession."

Jewish offerings prefigured the "one sacrifice" of the Son of God, whereby he was "to take away the sin of the world." Only five sorts of creatures were appointed to be offered in sacrifice, which were oxen, lambs, goats, turtle-doves, and young pigeons, all which were to be males, and without blemish. He who presented an offering did it at the altar, and laid both his hands on the head of the creature, and then the throat of it was cut within the court of the tabernacle. The blood was received in a basin, and with it the priest sprinkled the vessels, and corners of the altar; the rest was spilled at the foot of the altar. The victim was flayed, cut in pieces, and laid on the altar, where either the whole, or part of it was burned, according to the several sorts of sacrifices. Libations likewise were added to the sacrifices. All the wine, or flour, which were offered with the victim, were called "effusion," or pouring out. There was a separate offering of fine flour and oil, baked on an iron or in a pan. These were sprinkled with oil, and frankincense added to them.

The sacrifices were of four sorts: 1. The burnt-offering, every part of which was consumed by fire on the altar, after washing the feet and entrails. 2. The peace-offerings, of which only the inward fat was burned on the altar, made up with the liver and kidneys, and the tails of the lambs. The breast and the right shoulder belonged to the priests, who were obliged to eat them in the holy place; the rest belonged to him who offered the sacrifice. 3. The sacrifice for sin, committed either wilfully or ignorantly; and in this the priest took some of the blood of the victim, dipped his finger in it, and sprinkled seven times towards the veil of the sanctuary. The same parts of the victim were burned on the altar in this as in the former sacrifice; the rest, if the sacrifice were offered for the sin of the high-priest, or for the people, was carried without the camp to be burned there, with the skin, the head, the feet, and the bowels; if it were for a private person, the victim was divided, as was before observed, between the priest and the offerer. 4. The sacrifice of oblation was either fine flour, or incense, or cakes of fine flour and oil baked, or the first fruits of the new corn. With the things offered, there were always oil, salt, wine, and frankincense. All the frankincense was cast into the fire; but of the other things offered, the priest took one part, which he also burned, and the rest belonged to him.

The next thing that regarded the worship of the Israelites was their festivals, the first of which was their Sabbath, which they kept very strictly, dedicating it wholly to rest, not doing the least servile work on that day. It began, like all other festivals, on one evening and ended the next. The passover was likewise a very solemn festival. It began on the evening of the fourteenth day of the March moon. They ate none but unleavened bread for seven days, and the seventh day was another great festival. The first day after the passover they offered new ears of corn, and from that day they reckoned seven full weeks, or fifty days; and that fiftieth day was another solemn festival, called the harvest festival, when they offered in thanksgiving two loaves of new wheat, as the first fruits of the harvest.

The first day of the seventh month, which was the first of the civil year, published by sound of trumpet, was also a festival. On the tenth of the

same month was kept the fast of expiation; and that was the day on which the priests went into the sanctuary. They offered two goats, one of which was a solemn sacrifice for sin. The high-priest took the blood of this and of the lamb killed in the sanctuary, and sprinkled them; the other goat was carried not only out of the tabernacle, but without the camp also, and was therefore called *azazel*, or the scape-goat. On the fifteenth of the same month began the feast of tabernacles, which lasted eight days, being kept as a memorial that the children of Israel had lived in tents. During this feast they lived in huts covered with boughs of trees, and spent those days in mirth, holding boughs in their hands, with which they went round the altar. Every seventh year was dedicated to rest, for in them they neither sowed nor reaped; but the fiftieth year, called the *jubilee*, was most solemn, for then all estates which had been alienated returned to those who had sold them, and slaves recovered their liberty.*

The Israelites, in their food, distinguished between two sorts of creatures, clean and unclean; it was lawful for them to eat of the first, but not of the last. There were two qualifications required for a beast to be clean, which were that it should have a cloven hoof, and that it should chew the cud; so that it was unlawful for them to eat the flesh of swine, because they do not chew the cud, or rabbits and hares, because they have not cloven feet like the ox, the stag, and the sheep, but toes joined by skins. Among fishes they were only allowed to eat such as had fins and scales. All birds of prey were forbidden, and it was unlawful for them to eat blood, or the flesh of beasts strangled.

Of uncleanness there were many sorts among the Israelites. Not only they who had eaten of unclean beasts were reckoned unclean, but also those who touched their carcasses. Leprosy was reckoned the greatest uncleanness, of the nature and quality of which the priest was to judge, and to separate the lepers from the rest of the people as he thought fit. There was also a leprosy which adhered to clothes, and walls, and garments, after which the movables and the houses became unclean. A woman was deemed unclean after her lying-in for forty days if she had a son, and for sixty days if she had a daughter. Of these uncleannesses, some sorts were cleansed by washing their garments and bodies, and others, as the last, by offering sacrifice to cleanse them.

The laws relating to matrimony were these,—they were forbidden to marry strange women. The persons among whom it was not allowed to contract matrimony were the father, the mother, the mother-in-law, the sister by the father or mother's side, the son's or daughter's daughter, the father's wife's daughter, the father or mother's sister, the uncle, the daughter-in-law, the brother's wife, the wife's sister and daughter, or grandson or granddaughter. However, it was not only lawful, but enjoined, that the brother

* *Liberty.* In allusion to this it is said, Ps. lxxxix., "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound." The privileges announced by the jubilee trumpet were typical of the superior blessings of the Gospel, which is indeed a joyful sound, "glad tidings of great joy."

should marry the brother's widow, if he died without issue. Adultery and other sins of impurity were severely forbidden by the law. In short, there was a ceremony to try whether women were guilty of adultery. But besides the moral precepts contained in the Decalogue, and more particularly explained in the books of Moses, that holy legislator, by God's direction, gave them laws for the government of their commonwealth, which were agreeable to reason and equity.

After some of these directions for the worship of God, Moses, by the express command of God, appointed Aaron high-priest, and his sons and their offspring to be the priestly race. And when they were sanctified, Moses enrobed them, anointed their heads with oil, and directed them to offer sacrifice for sin. The function of the priests in general was to offer sacrifice to the Lord, only the high-priest's was peculiar; for he only was allowed to go once a year into the Holy of Holies on the day of expiation, clad in his priestly garments, to burn incense there before the ark, and sprinkle the blood of the offering seven times with his finger. To the priests were united all the tribe of Levi, to serve in the tabernacle; to both which were appointed particular allowances for their subsistence. But if any of the priestly race, or of the tribe of Levi, had any bodily imperfections, they were excluded from the function, but still enjoyed the right and privileges of their birth. The obligations they lay under were these: They were to drink no wine or intoxicating liquors when they were to officiate in the tabernacle; they were not to marry a woman that was divorced, or had been prostituted; they were not to be at funerals, unless they were of their own fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, and maiden sisters. But now let us return to the history.

Eight days after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, Aaron offered his first burnt-offering for himself and the people. This was so acceptable to God, that he gave a miraculous testimony of his approbation, by sending down fire upon the altar, which consumed* the offering in the sight of the people, who in loud shouts and acclamations expressed their joy, for God's so signally owning their offering, and in reverence they prostrated themselves to the ground.

The fire thus miraculously kindled, ought to have been kept continually burning; for so the Lord had expressly commanded.† But Nadab and Abihu, two unhappy sons of Aaron, forgetful of their duty, took their censers, and putting common ‡ fire into them, laid incense thereon, and offered strange fire § before the Lord. This profane approach, the affronted Majesty

* *Consumed.* This was always esteemed the highest mark of Divine approbation, as Ps. xx. 3, "The Lord remember all thy offerings, and accept (*reduce to ashes*) thy burnt sacrifice." It was thus at the dedication of the temple of Solomon: and in this manner probably the offering of Abel was distinguished from that of Cain.

† *Commanded.* See Lev. vi. 12, 13. Tradition says that this fire, which came from heaven (Lev. ix. 24), and consumed the first burnt-offering, was preserved till the captivity in Babylon.

‡ *Common.* There were two sorts of fire used in the tabernacle; the holy fire which came from heaven, and was that which God had commanded to be kept always burning for the use of the altar of burnt-offering; and the common fire, which was used to boil the flesh of the peace-offering and sacrifice for sin.

§ *Strange fire.* Whether these sons of Aaron had too far indulged themselves in the use

of heaven instantly resents; for a suffocating flame darted through them, and without destroying their bodies or garments, killed them. Moses taking occasion from this sudden and terrible judgment to deter the rest of the priests from committing a similar crime, ordered them to bring the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu from before the sanctuary, and carry them out of the camp in the same condition they found them. He likewise charged Aaron and his sons not to mourn for Nadab and Abihu, by shaving their heads or rending their clothes; but that they should leave those marks of mourning to the rest of the people, from whom they ought to distinguish themselves in this, as well as in other points, in reverence to that holy anointing whereby they had been consecrated to the Lord, and separated from the rest of their brethren — a good instruction and warning to others, to guard against murmuring or extreme sorrow when the hand of God visits them in judgment.

The next historical circumstance we find recorded is of a person whose mother's name was Shelomith, an Israelitish woman of the tribe of Dan, but his father was an Egyptian, and supposed to be a proselyte to Israel. This young man, going out of his tent, quarrelled with a man of Israel, and, fighting, the son of Shelomith was worsted. Being enraged at this disgrace, and retaining, as we may suppose, too much of his father's principles, he began to curse and blaspheme the name Jehovah: for this he was immediately apprehended, and brought before Moses, who committed him to custody till the mind of the Lord should be known concerning him; for though the third commandment of the Decalogue forbids taking the name Jehovah in vain, yet this blasphemous cursing being an offence of a higher nature, against which no positive law was yet provided, Moses had recourse to the Lord for counsel and direction therein, who determined thus: "Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp; and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head,* and let all the congregation stone him." Moses having from the Divine oracle received the sentence, ordered it to be put in execution accordingly; and a law was thereupon made, that whosoever should from

of wine, or other strong liquors, which might have made them forgetful of their duty, does not plainly appear from the text, Lev. x. 1. Yet some Jewish doctors affirm it; and from the context, *ib.* ver. 9, there is some reason to suspect it, because as soon as they were carried out, God charged Aaron and his sons, on pain of death, "Not to drink wine or strong drink," when they were to go into the tabernacle of the congregation, telling them, "It shall be a statute to them throughout all generations." And he assigns there the reasons of this strict prohibition, "That ye may put a difference between the holy and unholy, and between the clean and unclean; and that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken to them by Moses."

* *Head.* This way of laying hands on the heads of criminals may seem to arise from several causes. 1. That they were witnesses of the fact, and that the person condemned suffered justly, protesting that if he were innocent they desired his blood might fall on their own heads. 2. They put their hands on the head of the criminal in token of an expiatory sacrifice: for idolatry, blasphemy, and such grievous crimes, if they were not punished, they expected would attract guilt, not only on the witness, but the whole nation, which by the death of the criminal, as by a victim, might be expiated. 3. That the criminal was the just cause of his own death.

• that time blaspheme the name Jehovah, whether he were an Israelite or a stranger, he should be stoned to death.

While the Israelites lay encamped in the wilderness of Sinai, the Lord directed Moses to take Aaron, and with him a principal man of every tribe, whom the Lord pitched upon by name, to make a general muster of the men capable of bearing arms. Moses, therefore, with Aaron, and these assistants, having taken an exact account of all the males from twenty years old and upwards that were able to go forth to war in Israel, found the number to be six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty men, besides the Levites: for God had expressly exempted the tribe of Levi from this muster, because he had designed them to the peculiar service of the tabernacle; not only to take charge thereof, and of all the vessels belonging to it, but to take it down upon every removal, and carry both the tabernacle and the vessels, and set it up when they pitched again.

After this general muster, Moses and Aaron, by the express command of God, ordered the encampment of this great body of people in the following manner: they were disposed into four battalions, each under one general standard, which were so placed that they enclosed the tabernacle. The standard of the camp of Judah was first, which consisted of the tribes of Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, the sons of Leah, pitched over against the tabernacle, on the east side of it, towards the rising of the sun. On the south side was the standard of the camp of Reuben, under which were the tribes of Reuben and Simeon, the sons of Leah likewise, and of Gad, the son of Zilpah her maid. On the west side was the standard of the camp of Ephraim, under which were the tribes of Ephraim,* Manasseh, and Benjamin. And on the north side was the standard of the camp of Dan, under which were the tribes of Dan and Naphtali, the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid, and of Asher the son of Zilpah. Between † the four great camps ‡ and the tabernacle were pitched four lesser camps, consisting of the priests and Levites, near to the tabernacle, in and about which their service lay. On the east side encamped Moses and Aaron, with Aaron's sons, who had the charge of the sanctuary. On the south side were the Koathites, a part of the Levites descended from Koath the second son of Levi. On the west side, behind the tabernacle, stood the Gershonites, another part of the Levites descended from Gershon, Levi's eldest son. And on the north side were

* *Ephraim.* Ephraim and Manasseh supplied the place of Joseph their father; and therefore they are taken to be Rachel's children, and thus they and Benjamin make the third standard.

† *Between.* Josephus tells us that between each tribe in every one of these four quarters there were open spaces, like streets, where there were buying and selling as in a market, and tradesmen in their shops. This camp is thought to be a mile distant from the tabernacle, that is, a Sabbath day's journey, as appears from Joshua iii. 4, where the distance between the people and the ark is commanded to be two thousand cubits.

‡ *Camps.* Each of these camps, as is said in the text, had its several banners or standards, and each standard its motto or inscription. Each standard likewise had a distinct sign worked on it: Reuben's standard had the image of a man, Judah's of a lion, Ephraim's of an ox; and Dan's that of an eagle. These same four creatures are mentioned by Ezekiel (i. 10) as composing the cherubic figures: a similar description we have in Rev. iv. 6.

planted the Merarites, the remaining part of the Levites, who sprung from Merari, Levi's youngest son.

This was the order of their encampment. The manner of their removal and marching was thus: When they were to remove (which was when the cloud was taken off the tabernacle) the trumpet was sounded, and upon the first alarm, the standard of Judah being raised, the three tribes which belonged to it moved forward. Then the tabernacle being taken down, the Gershonites and the Merarites attended the wagons with the boards and staves of it. When these were on their march, a second alarm was sounded; upon which the standard of Reuben's camp advanced, with the three tribes under it. After them followed the Koathites, bearing the sanctuary, which being more holy, and less cumbersome than the heavy boards and pillars of the tabernacle, was not put into a wagon, but carried on their shoulders. Next followed the standard of Ephraim's camp, with the three tribes belonging to it. And last of all, the other three tribes, under the standard of Dan, brought up the rear.

The * people of Israel, having continued some time before the Mount of the Lord, decamped, by God's command, on the first day of the second month, the second year after their coming out of Egypt. In their march the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them, to search out a resting-place for them: at the setting forward of which, Moses said, "Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee." And when the ark rested, he added, "Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel." Having marched three days into the wilderness, they came to a place called "The Graves of Lust," from what happened to the Israelites there. In consequence of their murmuring against the Lord, and complaining of the weariness of their journey, he was so incensed against them, that he sent down fire and destroyed those that were in the extreme parts of the camp. Alarmed at this judgment, they repair to Moses, upon whose intercession the fire was quenched, and the name of that place was called "Taberah," which signifies burning. This disaster, instead of terrify-

* *The, etc.* Designing in the text to keep chiefly to the historical part of Scripture, and to preserve the connection of matter of fact, with which the preceptive would interfere, it is thought more useful for the reader to continue the series of the history in the text, and insert the intervening precepts and orders in the notes. In the third and fourth chapters of Numbers, therefore, we have the Lord's taking the Levites to himself in exchange for the first-born, with the reason for his so doing: likewise his giving the Levites to the priests for the service of the tabernacle, distributing them into three classes or orders, and appointing them their several services. Afterwards, in ch. v., follows that clear and excellent type of gospel purity and Christian church-discipline expressed in commanding the children of Israel to put out of the camp every leper, and every one that had a running issue, and whosoever was defiled with the dead, both male and female, that they might not defile their camps, in the midst of which the Lord dwelt. In the sixth chapter follow divers laws relating to restitution in cases of trespass, and to the trial of jealousy between men and their wives; to the vow of Nazarites, to which is subjoined the form of that Divine blessing which the Lord himself dictated for the priests to pronounce upon the people. The seventh chapter contains the offerings of the princes at the dedication of both the tabernacle and the altar, etc. The consecration and purification of the Levites are detailed in the eighth. A renewal of the passover, and the direction of the Israelites by the cloud, in the ninth chapter.

ing them into their duty, did but increase their murmuring: for being come to new quarters, they expected change of diet; and because God did not immediately gratify them, they in contempt prefer the rank food of Egypt—onions, leeks, and garlic—to the delicious heavenly dainties with which God had daily fed them. Moses had often heard their murmuring, and patiently borne with them; but now that they were become so numerous, and the increase of their numbers demanding still more care and vigilance to govern and provide for them, the great weight of this charge occasioned much uneasiness in the mind of Moses, who, in his address to God, complained of the heavy burden which the care of so numerous and mutinous a people brought upon him. God hears his complaint, and immediately provides a remedy; bidding him choose seventy men of the elders of Israel, and bring them with him to the tabernacle of the congregation. “And there (said the Lord) I will come down, and talk with thee; and I will endue them with the same spirit with which I have inspired thee, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee.” Moses accordingly brought the seventy elders of the children of Israel before the Lord, by whose Spirit they were immediately inspired, and straightway prophesied. This inspiration was so extensive, that two of those seventy, though they came not out with the rest to the tabernacle, but remained behind in the camp, were admitted among the rest, and received the same influence of the Spirit, and prophesied as the others did. This so surprised a certain young man, that he ran from the camp to the tabernacle to inform Moses that Eldad and Medad, for so they were named, were prophesying in the camp. Joshua, who as yet was not acquainted with the operations of the Lord by his Spirit, overhearing this message, and thinking it some derogation from his master that they should prophesy, and not follow him, advised Moses to forbid them. But Moses, reproving him gently for his rashness, cried, “Dost thou envy them on my account? Would to God, that all the Lord’s people were inspired, and that they might prophesy.” This disinterested generosity of Moses affords an excellent example to all Christians, and especially to Christian ministers, who should rejoice when useful men are raised up in the church, even though their own reputation may be diminished or obscured.

When Moses remonstrated to the Lord concerning his inability to support the government of so great a people without some assistance, part of his complaint was that the people wanted flesh, and he expostulates with God on the impossibility of their being supplied with it in that place, because they were so numerous. The Lord, knowing the great fatigue Moses had endured in the conduct of this people, bore with him, and only gave him this gentle rebuke: “Is the Lord’s hand shortened? Thou shalt see whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not.” Accordingly, when Moses with the elders had returned to the camp, and acquainted the people with it, a south wind arose, and drove vast numbers of quails* from the sea-coast to

* *Quails.* These quails must be supposed to come from the Arabian or Red Sea; and as Paran and Kibroth-Hataavah were north and north-east of the Red Sea, it must be a southerly wind. That they came from thence is the opinion of Josephus, Pliny, and several others,

the vicinity of the camp, where they lay about a yard thick upon the ground. The people, with the utmost greediness, began to gather the quails, which they did in such great quantities (still distrusting God's providence, which had hitherto never failed them), as if they were to have no more. But God soon calls them to a dreadful account for their insolent demand of flesh, and criminal distrust of his power; for while they were regaling themselves with these dainties, God visited them with a very severe plague,* whereof many died, and were buried in the place, which for their lusting after flesh was called "Kibroth-Hataavah," which signifies "The graves of lust or concupiscence."

From hence they took their journey to "Hazereth," which signifies "palaces." And here another unhappy occurrence took place. Aaron and his sister Miriam, observing the great influence and authority of Moses their brother over the people, and that God chiefly made use of him in the delivery of his sacred oracles to them, began to envy him; and to afford some color to the quarrel, they pretend to fall out with him on account of his marrying a foreigner, calling her an "Ethiopian;" † and emulating Moses' great gifts and power, they added, "What! hath the Lord spoken only by Moses? Hath he not spoken also by us?" Moses observed their discontent; and though he was naturally of a meek disposition, yet no man was more ready to resent any indignity offered to the Lord; but looking on this as a personal pique, he declined taking any notice of it. However, God, who was more immediately concerned in this, resolves to vindicate himself and his faithful servant; for, on a sudden calling for Moses, Aaron, and Miriam at the door of the tabernacle, he sharply reprehends them for their insolence, asking them how they durst speak against his servant Moses? "You † share (said he) the great prophetic office indeed, and to you I have declared my will in dreams and visions; but with Moses I have conversed more familiarly, and I will speak face to face with him, and show him as much of my glory as he is capable of seeing." Upon this the Lord withdrew in great displeasure from them. Moses had the comfort of seeing himself justified; but Aaron, to his great confusion, sees his sister Miriam made a dreadful example of God's anger, for on a sudden she is become a loathsome deformed leper;

who affirm them to breed on the coasts there. The quail is a small bird, about half the size of a partridge, and its flesh is accounted a great delicacy. It is a bird of passage.

* *Plague.* Commentators differ in opinion with respect to this plague. Some suppose it to be fire, and that Num. xi. 33 refers to the fourth verse of the same chapter; which we think cannot be, because this is subsequent matter, and is named as a punishment for the Israelites desiring flesh. Besides, there are several circumstances that intervene between the third and thirty-third verses. Some will have it a consumption, others the common pestilence or plague. But by the words of the text, ver. 33, it more probably seems to have been a suffocating distemper, like the quinsy, which choked them as they were eating, or soon after; for the words are very express, "While the meat was in their mouths, the wrath of God fell upon them." This is further confirmed by Psalm lxxviii. 30, 31.

† *Ethiopian.* Zipporah, Moses' wife, was a Midianite, and because Midian bordered on Ethiopia, she was so called, and it is sometimes in Holy Scriptures comprehended under this name. But here Zipporah is called Ethiopian in contempt, which ought not to have been done, for she having submitted to the law, should have been reckoned an Israelite, as Ruth and Rahab were.

‡ *You.* Miriam is called a prophetess, Exod. xv. 20.

and well knowing he deserved to share in this curse for his ungrateful murmuring, he immediately addresses himself to Moses, acknowledges their sin, begs pardon, and intercedes for his sister, that she may be restored to her health. Moses, who was never wanting in charity even to his enemies, melts into pity, and complies with his request. But yet, to terrify others from exciting sedition again, and because the offence was public, God resolves to make an example of Miriam in her cure, and therefore he commands Moses to exclude her from the camp, as a common leper, for seven days, and then to receive her again.

Miriam being restored to the camp, the Israelites removed to the Desert of Paran; from whence, after several encampments, they came to Kadesh-Barnea, on the frontiers of Canaan. Here Moses informs them that they were come near the promised land; and for their satisfaction, God commanded Moses to send twelve men, one of each tribe, to take a view of the country. He charged them to go up to the hills to observe whether the country were strong or weak; whether there were many inhabitants; how their towns were situated, and whether fortified; whether the soil were fertile or barren; whether it were planted with trees or not; what fruit they bore, and to bring a specimen of it: for now was the time when the first grapes were ripe, that is, in July.

With these instructions the twelve spies proceeded, and having taken a view of the country from north to south, in their return they passed through a fertile valley which abounded in vines, where they cut down a branch with a single cluster of grapes on it, but that of so vast a weight and bulk, that they were obliged to carry it upon a staff between two. Nor was this the only product of this happy soil; the golden fig and beautiful pomegranate adorn the trees, and a variety of fruits load the luxuriant branches. Of each of these they take a sample, and upon their leaving the place, from the great plenty of grapes, they call it the Valley of Eschol, which signifies "a cluster of grapes." Having spent forty days in viewing and observing the country, they return to the camp of Israel at Kadesh, and having presented the fruits of the land which they had been surveying to Moses and Aaron, and the whole congregation, they related the observations they had made in their journey: "We have been," said they, "in the country to which you sent us. It is a fertile and plentiful land; but the inhabitants of it are powerful. There are great cities with strong walls. We have seen there men of the race of Anak, warlike men, and of a gigantic stature. The Amalekites inhabit the south part of the land; the Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites the mountains; and the Canaanites the sea-coasts and the river Jordan." This was an alarming account to a timorous people, prepared already by their own discontents to receive any ill impression, which they immediately discovered. But Caleb, one of those who were sent to survey the country, to pacify them, said: "Let us go up at once, and possess it; for we are sufficiently powerful to overcome it." But the people declared against engaging in war, wishing themselves in Egypt again; and choosing rather to die in the wilderness than to fall by the sword, and have their wives and children enslaved. In

short, they propose to choose themselves a chief, and return to Egypt. This so deeply affected Moses, that notwithstanding they were so obstinately bent upon their own ruin, he and Aaron, in the presence of the assembly, fell on their faces to deprecate the vengeance which they feared God would execute on these rebellious mutineers; while Caleb and Joshua, through excess of sorrow for the people's blasphemy, rending their clothes, boldly stood up, and endeavored to convince them that they could, by God's promised assistance, make themselves masters of the whole country. "The land," said they, "that we passed through, is indeed a rich and fertile land, abounding with all things necessary for life. If we please the Lord, he will bring us into this land, and give it us. Do not, therefore, by rebelling against him, forfeit his promise and protection; nor be afraid of the people of the land, whom we shall as surely conquer as we eat our food, and as easily; for God hath withdrawn his care of them; and if the Lord continue it to you, ye have nothing to fear." This speech made so little impression upon them, that in a tumultuous manner they called out to stone them; which they would probably have done, had not God miraculously interposed by sending his glory, which visibly appeared at that instant in the tabernacle of the congregation before them all.

All this while Moses and Aaron lay prostrate on their faces, and God, being highly incensed with this insolence of the Israelites, tells Moses he would send the plague that should extirpate this people, and would make him prince of a more numerous and powerful nation. But pious Moses, as he had before done, declining the private advantage proposed to himself, prefers the honor of God and the good of this unworthy people, representing to the Lord that if he destroyed the Israelites, the Egyptians and other surrounding nations, who knew he had taken them into his protection, would not fail to say he was unable to carry them into the land he had promised them. Then imploring God's mercy, and with repeated and importunate entreaties begging pardon for the people, God at length suffered himself to be prevailed on, and, to satisfy Moses, he pronounced them pardoned, but it was with this restriction; for, reproaching them with their vile ingratitude, who had so often and so wonderfully tasted of his bounty in providing against their wants, screening them from their enemies, and preserving them in all dangers; since they had so often provoked him with their disobedience, he declared that not one of those who had murmured should enter into the promised land; and that they should wander about in the wilderness, with their children, for the space of forty years. And though God, at the pressing entreaty of Moses, reversed the sentence of sudden death upon the whole congregation of murmurers, yet the ten false spies, the immediate authors of this rebellion, who had brought an evil report upon the good land, were punished with death at that time, for they died of the plague before the Lord. But Caleb and Joshua, who had done their duty in giving a faithful account of their journey and the observations they had made, were not only preserved alive, but highly commended of God, who gave them his promise that they should live to enter into the good land, and take possession of it.

Moses having reported these things to the children of Israel, they are said to have mourned greatly; but by their actions it does not appear that they were any better disposed, for, changing their minds on a sudden from a poor cowardly timidity to a presumptuous rashness, they said the next morning, "We are ready to go to the place whereof the Lord hath spoken to us." But this was undertaken in their rebellious, obstinate temper, and was adding sin to sin, which Moses well knew, for he endeavored to restrain them, represented the danger to them, told them their enterprise was against the express command of God, that it would not prosper, forbade them going, upon pain of being defeated and slain,—assured them that God had left them, and that the Amalekites and Canaanites had gained the passes in the mountains before them. These admonitions had no weight with those obstinate people; they presumptuously supposed the boldness of the attempt would wipe off the reproach of their former cowardice, and reinstate them in God's favor; and though the ark of the Lord, which was to go before the host, went not with them, nor Moses, their general, at their head, yet they resolutely marched to the top of the hills, where the enemy surprised, defeated, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest as far as Hormah.

After this, though it was but eleven* days' journey from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea, yet the people, through their disobedience, spent the best part of two years in going that eleven days' journey; and, which is still more strange, turning back from Kadesh-Barnea, and being near the confines of the promised land, they were thirty-eight † more wandering in the wilderness before they could come to the borders of the promised land again. Moses having led them back into the desert towards the Red Sea, they continued thereabout, making in the above-mentioned time eighteen several removals, or dislodgments, and at last they returned to Kadesh-Barnea, near the place from whence they went.

While they were in the wilderness many remarkable occurrences befell them, the first of which is of a man who, by a *post-facto* law, was adjudged to be stoned to death for violating the Sabbath by gathering sticks on that day, the celebration of which God had strictly enjoined; and though there was no penalty annexed to the breach of it, those who brought the offender before Moses knew he would determine justly; and committing the man to safe custody, Moses inquired of God what he should do in this case, who immediately, from his heavenly oracle, returned this answer, "That the criminal should be conveyed without the camp, and there be stoned to death," which was accordingly executed.

And now pride and malice blow up a faction into a flame, and give great disquiet to the peace of Israel. The haughty Corah, great grandson of Levi, separates from Moses and Aaron; and having seduced Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, of Reuben's family, and drawn in two hundred and fifty Levites to his party, who were men of fame and influence among the people, he made most grievous complaints against Moses and Aaron, charging them

* *Eleven.* See Deut. i. 2.

† *Thirty-eight, etc.* See Deut. ii. 14.

with pride in encroaching upon the liberties of the people, who, they said, were as holy as themselves. Moses hearing this, fell* on his face, after which, rising from that humble posture, he with great courage and assurance let them know that the next day the Lord would decide the controversy, and would make it evident who were his servants and who was holy, and would admit whom he had chosen to come near him. Then, with his usual calmness and serenity of mind, he argued the matter with them; he mildly rebuked their insolence, and told them that they took too much upon them. But in a more particular manner addressing himself to Corah, and the Levites who joined him, he said: "Hear, ye sons of Levi: Is it a matter of so light concern, that the God of Israel hath distinguished you from the rest of Israel, to admit you to the more immediate service of the tabernacle, and to stand before the congregation, and minister to them? Is not this an honor sufficient to satisfy your ambitious spirit, but must ye aspire to the priesthood also? This is the cause of your clamors, and for this have ye moved the people to sedition. But be assured, whatever ye may pretend against Aaron, this insult is against the Lord; and it is against his dispensations that ye murmur and conspire." Dathan and Abiram stood at a distance while Moses talked with the rest, and therefore he sent for them to come to him; but they surlily return for answer, that they would not come. And to retort his own expressions upon himself, they add, "Is it a matter of so small moment, that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with plenty, to kill us in the desert? Thou affectest dominion, and wouldst make thyself prince over us also. Notwithstanding thy fair promises, thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, nor given us an inheritance of fields and vineyards; but when we were ready to take possession of the promised land, thou hast turned us back into this barren desert, to repeat the fatigues and hardships we had before undergone: we will not come." These unjust reproaches highly provoked Moses, who, instead of returning any ill language to them, addressing himself to God, said: "Respect not thou their offering; for though they reflect so unjustly upon me, I have not taken so much as an ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them." Then, summoning Corah and all his company to meet him and Aaron before the Lord the next day, he ordered them to bring their censers ready prepared with incense in them, and to appear all before the Lord. Accordingly on the morrow, they came with great confidence; and having set fire to the incense in their censers, they boldly plant themselves in the door of the tabernacle with Moses and Aaron; and to bid the greater defiance to these holy men, they persuaded all the congregation to side with them. This daring conduct of the mutineers so

* *Fell, etc.* This is a phrase often used to express divine adoration and application to God for help; and there is good reason to believe that at this time Moses, who was well acquainted with the gracious and ready assistance of God in time of need, might apply himself to the Lord for protection against this mutinous crew, as apprehending some violence from them, who in this tumultuous manner attacked him. And it is very reasonable to think that, while he lay in this humble posture, God appeared to him, and both comforted and advised him, for presently after we read, Num. xvi. 5, that with great assurance he spoke to the rebels, and to vindicate himself, put the matter between him and them upon trial the next day.

provoked the Almighty, that he resolves to take the matter into his own hand; and darting forth his glory upon the tabernacle, he commands Moses and Aaron to withdraw, that he might consume the rebels. But the two good men knowing that the people were drawn into this insolence by the wicked arts of Corah and his party, prostrate themselves before the Lord, and by their prayers intercede for the people: "O God, thou God of the spirits of all flesh (said they), shall one man sin, and wilt thou be angry with all thy people?" Their prayers are heard as soon as offered, and God bids them command the people to withdraw; who, affrighted with the amazing splendor that broke from the cloud, readily take the warning, and draw off from the tents of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who came boldly out, and daringly stood at the doors of their tents with their wives and families. Then Moses addressing himself to the people, said: "By this you shall know that the Lord hath commissioned me to do what I have done, and that I have undertaken nothing by my own authority. If these men die in the common way of nature, or be visited as other men, then take it for granted, the Lord hath not sent me; but if he deal with them after a strange and unusual manner, and the earth, opening her mouth, swallow them up alive, then shall ye understand that these men have provoked the Lord." Moses had no sooner spoken these words, than terrible convulsions heave the laboring earth, the surface of which, cleaving asunder, Corah and his faction, with their goods and families,* were swallowed up alive, and the ground closing upon them, they perished. The rest of the people that stood round them, and witnessed their dismal fate, being affrighted with the loud cries and shrieks of the perishing mutineers, fled away lest the earth should have swallowed them also. In the meantime, God, to complete his vengeance on the rest of the leaders in this rebellion, who had profanely attempted to offer incense, contrary to the law, sent down fire from heaven, and destroyed the two hundred and fifty men who had joined with Corah. The censers,† on which they intended to offer, remained amidst the conflagration; which God ordered to be preserved, but not for the same use as formerly, nor in the same form: therefore he commanded Moses to direct Eleazer, Aaron's son, to beat them out into broad plates, and fix them to the altar of the burnt-offerings; assigning this reason for it, "That it may be a memorial to the children of Israel, that no stranger, or any that was not of Aaron's family, should pre-

* *Families.* Except some of Corah's sons. See Num. xxvi. 11.

† *Censers.* The two hundred and fifty princes had not probably offered any incense, being prevented by death: however, it may be presumed that they had lighted their censers at the holy fire; by which they obtained (at least in the opinion of the people) a sort of consecration. The Lord, therefore, to keep up among them the reputation and esteem of things devoted, would not have them put to profane uses: and to make a difference between his own institutions and men's contrivances (especially those of wicked men), he ordered all those brazen censers to be wrought into broad plates, and to cover the altar with them: to the intent, that these brazen plates, being polished bright, might by their lustre put the people in mind of the offence of those that were once the owners of them; and by seeing them often (as they must do every time they looked on the altar), they might be warned against committing the same crime.

sume to offer incense before the Lord, lest he should die the death of Corah and his company."

So visible a punishment, one would think, might have been sufficient to deter the Israelites, and keep them within the limits of due obedience for the future. But it affected them only for the present; for, from this judgment, the next day they took occasion to mutiny afresh, murmuring against Moses and Aaron, and charging them with the murder of so many persons. They, well knowing the unruly nature of this obstinate people, and dreading that degree of madness and violence to which they might have proceeded, took sanctuary* in the tabernacle, where, as soon as they had entered, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared, which was a sure token that the Lord had something to say to them. Immediately God called to Moses and Aaron, and bid them be gone from the rest of the congregation, for he would consume them in a moment; on which they fell down, as they used to do on such occasions, to intercede for the people; but early as they were in supplicating, vengeance was before them; for the Lord, provoked by their repeated rebellions, had already sent a plague † among them. Which Moses perceiving, told Aaron to take a censer, and put fire in it from the altar, and incense, and hasten to the congregation to make an atonement for them. Aaron did as Moses directed him, and, standing between the dead and the living, he prayed for the people, and the plague ceased. However, during the short space of time that this plague raged among them, there died fourteen thousand seven hundred men, without reckoning those who perished in the sedition with Corah and his company.

God having in so dreadful a manner declared against those who opposed the government of Moses and the priesthood of Aaron, to end all contests and disputes among the ambitious and aspiring, resolved by a convincing miracle to put a period to the controversy, and establish and confirm the priesthood in the family in which he had placed it. In order to this, he commanded Moses to take a rod from each tribe, and to write upon it the name of the prince of that tribe to which it belonged, and on the rod of the tribe of Levi to write Aaron's name, which, when he had done, he was to lay up these twelve rods in the tabernacle, before the ark of the testimony, where God was to declare his will further to them. And to let them know that God himself would determine the controversy, and put an end to their murmurings, he would cause the rod of that man whom he had chosen to blossom.

Moses pursues this direction, and taking a rod from the prince of each

* *Sanctuary.* This shows to whom we ought to fly in any persecution or distress; and that God only is our refuge and protection. Whence the great fruit and advantage of persecution appears, that it compels us to apply to him.

† *Plague.* Commentators are generally silent in their opinion what this plague was. Plague is a comprehensive term, as we see in the plagues of Egypt, which are all called plagues, though they were all different from each other. We may reasonably think that it was the pestilence or infectious sickness. That it was a pestilence the Chaldee paraphrase seems to hint, in the complaint of the Israelites, Num. xvii. 12, "We die by the sword, the earth swalloweth us up, and the pestilence consumeth us."

tribe, wrote his name upon it, and laid up all the rods together in the tabernacle. The next day he went in, and brought forth all the rods, and in the presence of all the people he gave each man his rod, which they found to be the same as they had delivered to Moses over night, except Aaron's, which had not only budded, but blossomed, and produced ripe almonds. This was a convincing proof that God had singled out Aaron to the priestly office. To preserve the memory, therefore, of the determination of this controversy, the Lord commanded Moses to bring back the rod of Aaron, and lay it up before the ark of the tabernacle, there to be preserved as a lasting memorial of their rebellion, and that seeing it they might forbear to murmur, and so prevent their death.

And now they began to recollect their deserts, and the causes of their punishment; and since God had in his own house visited them for their sins, they enumerate the several * ways in which they had been punished. "Behold, we die! we perish! we are all lost!" And because God had, in the tabernacle, expressed his displeasure more than once in punishing them in an exemplary manner, they cried out, "If we approach the tabernacle we die!" not considering that their own iniquities drew the justice of God upon them in this place, for which he had ordered the altar to be covered with remarkable † shining brass, to put them in mind of their obedience.

The next † historical matter we meet with is the Israelites being at

* *Several.* The Chaldee text describes their murmurings thus: We die by the sword; as in the case of their daring to enter the promised land contrary to Moses' advice, when they were slain by the Canaanites and Amorites. The earth swalloweth us up; as in the case of Corah and his associates. The pestilence doth consume us; as in the case of the fourteen thousand seven hundred who died of it.

† *Remarkable.* As being made of the brazen censers which belonged to the two hundred and fifty princes who had joined Corah.

‡ *The next, etc.* The history breaks off at the seventeenth chapter of Numbers, and begins not again till the twentieth. In the eighteenth chapter is detailed the charge of the priests and Levites distinctly, with the portions or provisions of maintenance for each: in which, among other things, it is to be observed that the priests had for their portion the offerings of the people, the meat-offerings, sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, heave-offerings, wave-offerings, first fruits, and tithes of the tithes, which they were to receive from the Levites, who received the tithes from the people. And these tithes of tithes, which the priests were to receive from the Levites, were to be offered by the Levites an heave-offering to the Lord; as the tithes themselves, which were given to the Levites, were offered an heave-offering to the Lord before. So that all the tithes, as well those from the people to the Levites, as those out of them from the Levites to the priests, were, by this ceremony of heaving, rendered as completely a part of the ceremonial law as the rest of the offerings under that dispensation were. The nineteenth chapter of Numbers treats of legal pollutions and uncleanness; and of the water of separation or purification, by which unclean persons were to be cleansed, directing how it should be made and used: which water was a lively type of the blood of Christ; who being himself perfectly clean, by sprinkling cleanseth the unclean.

By the interposition of these matters in these two chapters, we miss the account of the Israelites coming again to Kadesh in the wilderness of Sin; where we find them in ch. xx. Only Moses, briefly reciting their journeyings in Deut. ii., tells us, that after they had been beaten by the Amalekites and Amorites, they turned and took their way in the wilderness along the Red Sea, as God had commanded Moses, Num. xiv. 25, and encompassed Mount Seir many days (which both Tremellius and our Bible in their notes reckon thirty-eight years), till at length the Lord said, "Ye have compassed this mountain long enough, turn ye northward." Deut. ii. 3.

Kadesh, where Miriam (who was sister to Aaron and Moses, and older* than both) died, and was buried. In this place the Israelites, impatient of any inconvenience, for want of water, began (as usual) to exclaim against Moses and Aaron, saying, "Why have ye brought the Lord's people into the wilderness to kill them and their cattle? Why did you persuade us to leave the fertile land of Egypt to bring us into this barren place, which affords us neither water to quench our thirst, nor fruits to satisfy our hunger? Would to God we had perished with our brethren before the Lord." Moses and Aaron in these difficulties, as before, address themselves to God; who commands Moses to take the rod, and with Aaron to assemble the people; and then, said the Lord, "Speak ye to the rock in their sight, and it shall yield water for them." Moses hereupon taking the rod † from before the Lord, went, and with Aaron's assistance, assembled the people together before the Lord. Moses hitherto had paid an exact and absolute obedience to all the commands which God had enjoined; but now, in deviating from his instructions, though seemingly but a little, he committed the greatest miscarriage of his whole life: for he was ordered to speak to the rock before the people; but instead of doing this, he speaks to the people, saying, "Hear now, ye rebels! Must we fetch water for you out of the rock?" In which he not only expressed impatience and haughtiness of spirit, but assumed to himself and Aaron the honor which belonged alone to God. Notwithstanding which, when he had smitten ‡ the rock twice with the rod, there imme-

* *Elder.* That she was elder than Moses appears from Exod. ii. 4, where she is said to be left to watch him when he was exposed in the ark of rushes.

† *Rod.* The text does not expressly tell us whether this was the rod with which he performed so many miracles in Egypt formerly, or that by which they were so lately reclaimed from a rebellion. It seems most likely to be the latter; because in Num. xx. 9 it is called "the rod from before the Lord," and which yet bore a miracle upon it, the buds and almonds. But be it which of them it may, the design of the Lord in commanding Moses to take the rod was, that the people at the sight of it might see their error, repent, and confess that nothing was too hard for their God.

‡ *Smitten.* If it should be alleged in favor of Moses, that when he was sent to the rock before, Exod. xvii. 5, 6, he was ordered to take his rod in his hand, and smite the rock, that the water might come forth, and that from thence he might infer he was also now to smite the rock with his rod, it may be said, that as he then followed his instruction, so he should have done here. He smote the rock then, because he was commanded; but he did not speak to it, because he was not commanded: so now he should have spoken to it, and not have smitten it, because he was commanded to do the one, but not the other. Those expositors who would excuse this diffidence of Moses, impute it to his great age (old age being naturally prone to choler and impatience), and that, being provoked at this fresh murmuring, he in diffidence struck the rock; not that he doubted of the power of God, or his faithfulness in performing his promise of producing water from it (for in his and Aaron's speech to the people he taxes them with incredulity), but he questions whether God would think so rebellious and incredulous a people worthy of a miracle, who had slighted and so soon forgotten the many and late deliverances they had received from his bountiful hand, that never yet failed to relieve them in any distress; or whether God, so justly provoked, had promised *ironically*, or *sarcastically*, or *conditionally*, that if the Israelites would cease to murmur, he would send them water. And that therefore he struck the rock with diffidence, believing it impossible or improbable, that such incredulous wretches should be indulged with a miracle. But these are mere conjectures and suppositions; for God is an absolute sovereign, and expects an absolute obedience to his commands. Nor will he allow even his favorite servant Moses to vary from his command, or mix his own conceptions with it unpunished.

diately issued out water in great abundance: by which we may see, that God would not lose the honor of his miracle for the fault of his servant, but caused the water to flow from the rock. But to show that he expected an exact obedience to his commands, though Moses had been his faithful servant in performing all his instructions before, yet now for the breach of his obedience he denounces to Moses and Aaron (who was implicated in the same transgression) their doom, in these words: "Because ye believed me not, to sanctify* me in the sight of the children of Israel, therefore you shall not have the honor of leading the people into the land† which I have given them." From this unhappy event, the place was called "Meribah," which signifies the water of contradiction.

Moses being thus reprimanded, humbly submits, but continued in his command and care of the people; and intending to decamp, that he might secure their march from Kadesh, he sent an embassy to the king of Edom (upon whose borders they now were), to inform him of the travels and labors of the Israelites; desiring leave to pass through his country, on account that they were both descended from Isaac and Rebecca; assuring him that they would commit no acts of hostility, nor trespass in his fields or vineyards, nor so much as drink of his water, without paying for it, but only travel on the king's highway. The surly Edomite not only refused them passage, but with a potent army came out to defend his frontiers, and oppose the Israelites, should they attempt to pass. They therefore turned another way, and marching from Kadesh came to Mount Hor, near the borders of Edom. And now the time drawing near when they were to enter the promised land, into which the Lord had informed Aaron he should not be admitted, because of his transgression at Meribah, God gave him notice of his approaching death, and commanded Moses to take him, and Eleazer his son, who was to succeed him in the office of high-priest, to the Mount, there to strip him of his priestly garments, and put them upon Eleazer his son. Which, when Moses had done, Aaron died on the top of Mount Hor, being a hundred and twenty-three years old. And when the people saw that Aaron was dead, they bewailed him thirty days.

It was the beginning of the fifth month of the fortieth year of their travels from Egypt, when they were upon the borders of Canaan; and Arad, one of the kings of Canaan, who dwelt in the south, hearing which way they came, went out and fought them, and took some of them prisoners. This defeat brought them to a sense of their duty; and knowing they were now upon the borders of the promised land, they made a vow to the Lord, promising

* *Sanctify.* That is, you should show them that I am holy, omnipotent, merciful, and true; and that I can and would perform my promise to this wicked and ungrateful people, as ye know, and ought to remember, I have often done.

† *Land.* This was the real land of Canaan on the other side of Jordan; for Moses did afterwards enter the promised land on this side of Jordan, when he took the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, which he gave to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh. This was a sore mortification to Moses not to see the promised Canaan, being thereby frustrated of the fruit of his long and troublesome conduct. By which we ought to learn to die to the world and ourselves, and live only to God.

that if he would deliver this people into their hands, they would utterly destroy their cities. God takes them at their word, and gave them such success that at Hormah* they engaged these Canaanites, and defeated them, took their cities, and utterly destroyed them.

Flushed with this victory, they dislodged from Mount Hor, and took their way by the Red Sea, marching round Edom, through which they had been denied † a passage, and forbidden to force ‡ their way. And because the way was long, the passes uneasy, and the country barren, they, forgetting their late success, and reflecting only on the present discouragements, relapse into their old humor of murmuring, complaining directly against God and Moses: "Wherefore," say they, "have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness, where there is neither meat nor drink, but this manna, § which our stomachs loathe." God seeing them thus forgetful of the many and repeated acts of his providence, punishes their bold impiety by sending fiery serpents || among them, which destroyed a great number of these rebels. This punishment brought the rest to their senses, who, flying to their injured leader, acknowledge their guilt, and cry for mercy. Moses, notwithstanding he had lately incurred the Divine displeasure on their account, addresses

* *Hormah*. See Judges i. 17. This seems to be the same place to which the Amalekites had chased and beaten the Israelites about thirty-eight years before, Num. xiv. 45.

† *Denied*. See Num. xx. 18-21.

‡ *Force*. See Deut. ii. 5.

§ *Manna*. This is the same complaint which they made before. See Num. xi. 6.

|| *Serpents*. The Hebrew word is *seraphim*, or *burners*, so called either from their fiery color, flaming and resplendent, resembling copper, or rather from the inflammatory effect of their bite, producing a sensation of intolerable heat. The serpent named *dipsas* has been usually selected as answering to the nature of these fiery serpents. This creature possesses an active penetrating venom. Dr. Shaw in his Travels, p. 388, says: "Vipers, especially in the wilderness of *Sin*, were very dangerous and troublesome, not only our camels, but the Arabs who attended them, running every moment the risk of being bitten." As the doctor gives them only the general name of vipers, we know not whether they were of the same kind as those by which the Israelites were bitten. It appears, however, that serpents abound in that country.

Mr. Bruce says that the kind of serpents called *cerastes* were the most numerous in the district he travelled. He describes this serpent as found among the balsam-trees; and if we add, "darting from tree to tree," as we find described by Niebuhr, we come pretty near to the idea of these poisonous flying serpents.

The remedy which God, on the submission of the people, graciously provided for their cure, was not only miraculous, but singular in its kind, and designed to be a most instructive emblem to the Church in all future ages. We ought not to forget that sin, more poisonous and destructive to the soul than the venom of the serpent to the body, has spread its baleful influence through the whole race of mankind. But the power and grace of our God are displayed in the removal of this fatal malady, and in a way similar to that whereby the wounded Israelites were restored. For so, an infallible commentator on this history assures us, John iii. 14, 15, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life."

The serpent, formed of brass on this occasion, remained among the Jews more than seven hundred years, to the time of Hezekiah, king of Judah, who, in a holy zeal, pursuant to the command of God, Deut. vii. 5, in removing the high places, breaking the images, and cutting down the groves, brake also in pieces this brazen serpent among the rest (though so valuable a piece of antiquity), because he found the people had for a long time committed idolatry, in burning incense to it. And to put a contempt upon it, he called it *nehushtan* a piece of brass only, 2 Kings xviii. 4.

himself again in prayer to God for them, who, however, did not immediately take away the serpents; but leaving them to be a further scourge, and to make them more sensible of their transgression, provided a remedy to prevent their death and heal their wounds, for he ordered Moses to make a serpent of a fiery color, and to set it up on a high pole, that the people who were bitten by the fiery serpents might, by looking up to it, be recovered. Moses accordingly made the form of a serpent in brass, and set it up as a banner; and whoever afterwards was bitten by a serpent, if he looked upon that brazen serpent, recovered.

The Israelites at this time were at Phanon, whither they were come from Salmona, their first camp after they removed from about Mount Hor. From Phanon they went and encamped at Oboth, and thence to Ije-abarim, in the desert that is before Moab to the eastward. Decamping from thence, they came to Zared, and afterwards encamped by the river of Arnon, which is in the desert, and runs to the frontiers of the Amorites, for it divides them from the Moabites. They held on their march, and at length came into the plains of Moab, on the banks of Jordan, opposite to Jericho, to the top of Pisgah. From hence Moses sent ambassadors to Sihon, king of the Amorites, to demand a passage through his country, promising not to break into the fields or vineyards, nor to drink of the water, but only to march along the highway till they were past his country. The Amorite prince, not thinking it safe to receive so numerous and unsettled a people into the heart of his kingdom, positively denied them passage; and thinking it better policy to attack than be attacked, gathering what force he could, marched out to give them battle at Jahaz, where Israel routed him, and seized his country. They likewise took Heshbon, and the villages about it, which Sihon had before taken from the Moabites; and being thus possessed of the Amorites' land, they dwelt there. After this, Moses sent out forces to discover Jazar, another city of the Amorites, which they took, with all its territories, and drove out the people that dwelt there. Then turning another way, they marched towards Bashan, where the giant* Og, another Amorite king, reigned. This monstrous prince, with his gigantic troops, drew out to give the Israelites battle. But lest they should be discouraged at the sight of this formidable army, who exceeded the common size of nature, Moses, by the command of God, bid them fear nothing, for he had delivered them into their hands, and they should obtain as easy a conquest over them as they did over Sihon, king of the Amorites. Israel thus encouraged, joined battle, and slew King Og and his sons, and all his people. They also took all his cities, threescore in number, all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides open towns and villages a great number, destroying utterly all

* *Giant.* The description of this gigantic king, who was the last of the race of the giants, we have in Deut. iii. 11, etc., whose stature we may guess by the size of his bed, which being made of iron, for strength, was nine cubits in length and four cubits in breadth, after the cubit of a man, which being the common cubit, containing half a yard, or one foot and a half of English measure, if reduced to yards or feet, will make four yards and a half, or thirteen feet and a half for the length, and two yards, or six feet, for the breadth of the bed.

the inhabitants, but keeping all the cattle and the spoil of those cities a prey to themselves, as they had done before in the case* of Sihon, the other Amorite king.

Encouraged by these successes, the Israelites march to the plains of Moab, and encamp on this side Jordan by Jericho. The approach of these victorious strangers strikes a terror wherever they come, and the fame of their late success against the Amorites threw the king of Moab and his people into a terrible consternation.† Balak, the king, knowing himself too weak to engage the mighty force of Israel, advised with the chiefs of Midian,‡ to whom he represented the common danger of these invaders. The result of

* *Case, etc.* See Deut. iii. 4-7, and so they were commanded, Deut. xx., where the laws of war are particularly laid down, by which they were required, upon their approach to any city, to offer peace first, which, if the inhabitants accepted, and surrendered to them, they should make them tributaries. But if they refused peace, and obliged them to besiege and storm the place, they should, when they had taken it, put all the men to the sword, but might keep the women and children, with the cattle and other spoil, for themselves. These were their instructions for the cities of remoter countries; but for the cities of those neighboring people, which the Lord had given them for an inheritance, as particularly the Hittites and Amorites, the Canaanites and Perizzites, the Hivites and Jebusites, they were to save none alive, but utterly to destroy all the men, women, and children. Now as this execution was a type of the spiritual warfare against the enemies of the soul, of which none, old or young, great or small, are to be spared or saved alive, so the political reason of this martial severity is given in the eighteenth verse of Deut. xx., "That they teach you not to do after their abominations, which they have done unto their gods, so should you sin against the Lord your God."

The enemies of Revelation have raised a hideous outcry against the cruelty of the Israelites in their treatment of the Amorites, etc., and have asserted that they could never have received their instructions for that purpose from God, the fountain of all goodness. But we are to observe that the Israelites were in this instance merely the instruments of a righteous Sovereign, who had long been provoked with the outrageous wickedness of the nations. Four hundred years before this period, we find God saying to Abraham, Gen. xv. 16, "The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full," but now it is evident that they had arrived to a dreadful pitch of wickedness. A specimen of their morals we have in the prostitution of the young women of Midian, in order to reduce them to the practice of idolatry, to which abomination they were extremely devoted, even to the dedicating their children to Moloch and sacrificing them to him by fire. Adultery, incest, bestiality, and all kinds of abomination were avowedly practised among them. The Israelites, therefore, were merely the instruments which God employed for the extirpation of a people unfit to live, and were no more to be blamed than an executioner who performs the sentence of the law upon a criminal justly condemned to die. It is true there is something very affecting in the case of the multitude of young children, who were involved in the common calamity; but we may as well object to the providence of God in other calamities, as when a pestilence, a famine, or a deluge sweeps away, without discrimination, old and young; and it is no uncommon thing for children to be involved in the miseries of their offending parents. In a word, we are assured by sacred writ that the expulsion of the nations of Canaan was the just reward of their extreme vices; see Deut. ix. 4, 5, "Speak not thou in thine heart, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thy heart dost thou possess their land, but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

† *Consternation.* If the Moabites had known the protection they were under, they needed not to have been afraid; for, if they would have been quiet, they were particularly exempted from the sword of Israel. Deut. ii. 9.

‡ *Midian.* The Midianites were neighbors and confederates with the Moabites; therefore Balak represents to them the danger, and asks their advice and assistance.

their consultation was this, that king Balak should send messengers to Balaam* the son of Beor, who lived at Pethor, a city of Mesopotamia, to invite and bribe him to curse the Israelites; for they had so great an opinion of his skill and power in divination, that they thought he could curse or bless as he pleased. By general consent therefore they depute a select number of their chief men, with presents, to invite him to accompany them to Balak. When they came to him and had delivered their message from the king, he desired them to tarry with him that night, for he could give them no answer till he had consulted the Lord.

God, who knew the sordid mind of Balaam, to try how he would represent the matter, asked him, "What men they were, who were with him." "They are some (said he) whom the king of Moab hath sent to me, to let me know that there is a people come out of Egypt which cover the face of the earth; and to desire me to come to him, and curse them, in hopes that he then may be able to overcome them and drive them away." But God said to him, "Thou shalt not go with them, nor curse that people, for they are blessed." Balaam, not daring to disobey the command of the Lord, arose in the morning, and dismissing the messengers, said, "Return to your own country, for the Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you." They return to the king, but misreport Balaam's answer; for, instead of telling him that God had refused to let him come, they tell him that Balaam refused to come. Whereupon Balak falsely suggesting to himself that either the number and quality of his messengers did not answer Balaam's ambition, or the value of the presents his covetousness, resolves to gratify both; and therefore he immediately dispatches messengers of more honorable rank, and with larger proposals. "Let nothing (said he) hinder thee from coming to me; for I will promote thee to very great honor, and give thee whatsoever thou wilt ask, if thou wilt come and curse this people."

Though Balaam had received an express command from the mouth of God, neither to go, nor to curse Israel, yet he did not disapprove of the offer, and only tells the messengers, "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God." But to show his wicked inclination to the promised reward, he fawningly entreats the messengers to tarry all night with him, that he might know what the Lord would say further to him. This was tempting God; who therefore in displeasure left him to his own will.† He had positively at first told him His mind, and it was the highest disobedience and presumption to pretend

* *Balaam*. Several fathers represent Balaam as a wizard and prophet of the Devil, but by the free access he had to God, particularly Num. xxiv. 13, and xxii. 18, it appears that he was not a prophet of the Devil, though it is plain from the holy text that he was covetous; and 2 Peter ii. 15, says, "He loved the wages of unrighteousness."

† *Own will*. Thus God dealt with the Israelites afterwards, when they, rejecting his government, would needs have a king, that they might be like other nations. 1 Sam. viii. 7. He answered their desire; but he did it in anger. Hosea xiii. 11. And at other times, when they would not hearken to Him, He gave them up to their own hearts' lust, and let them walk in their own counsels. Psalm xviii. 11, 12. From whence we may observe how unfit we are to choose for ourselves; especially in opposition to God's immediate commands and instructions.

or offer at the reversing of it by a further application. However, blinded with covetousness and pride, he again addresses himself to God; who, offended at his obstinacy, leaves him to himself, and tells him, "If the men come to call thee, rise* and go with them; but what I shall say to thee, that only shalt thou do."

Notwithstanding this permission to go, God was resolved to make Balaam sensible of his displeasure. Upon this concession he arose in the morning and went with the princes of Moab; but as he was on the road, the angel of the Lord stood in the way with a drawn sword in his hand. Balaam's mind was so taken up with the expectation of the advantage he should make of this expedition, that he thought on nothing else; but it pleased God to give the ass on which Balaam rode such quickness of sight that she both saw the angel and shunned him by turning out of the road into the field. Balaam for this beats the ass, and struggling to put her into the way, the angel stood in another narrow path between two walls which enclosed some vineyards. The ass, seeing the angel, pushed up to the wall and crushed Balaam's foot. This so incensed him, that he beat her again. But when the angel went further, and stood in a narrow place, where the ass could not turn, she fell down under him. Balaam was now in a greater passion than before, and beat her with his staff. But God, to rebuke the madness of the prophet, miraculously opened the mouth of the ass, and she said to him, "What have I done to thee, that thou shouldst beat me these three times?" "Because (said he) thou hast deserved it in mocking me; had I a sword in mine hand I would kill thee." The ass replied, "Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast been used to ride ever since I was thine; did I ever serve thee so before?" He answered, "No." † The unusualness of this incident, one would think, might have been an admonition to Balaam, to let him know there was something more than common in the ass's speaking; but his resentment against the ass for bruising his foot and throwing him, and stopping him thus upon the road, when he was in haste to be made rich and great, had so blinded him that he thought nothing of it, till God himself opened his eyes, and let him see the angel standing in the way with his sword drawn in his hand; at the sight of which he bowed himself down, and fell on his face. The angel expostulates with him, tells him his undertaking was perverse, in attempting to go against the express command of God, and that therefore he was come to stop him; and but for his ass, which he had so barbarously used, he had slain him.

* *Rise, etc.* This, by the consent of interpreters, is looked upon not as a command, but a permission, and seems ironically spoken; as if God had said, "Since thou art so eager to go, though thou knowest it is against my mind, take thy own course, — go if thou wilt. But yet thou shalt not gain thy end; thou shalt go with this restriction on thy will, thou shalt say nothing but what I shall direct thee."

† It has been objected that Balaam discovers no surprise at this wonderful event — the speaking of a brute creature. But it is possible he might express his amazement, though in the brevity of this history it be omitted. Infidels have affected to laugh at the power of speech given to an ass, but nothing is too hard for the Lord, and any miracle might as well be objected to as this.

Balaam, convicted with this just reproach, confesses his sin, and faintly offered to turn back, if his journey displeased the Lord. But this he needed not have said; for he knew well enough that his undertaking from the beginning displeased God, because at his first address he was forbidden by him to go. However, the Lord resolved out of this man's wicked inclination to raise some advantage; and therefore since he was gone so far, he would not send him back, but make him, who was hired to curse, be the instrument of pronouncing a blessing on his people. Having thus chastised Balaam on the way, he suffered him to go on, but with this charge, that he should only speak what God should tell him.

Balaam, thus dismissed, went on his journey with the princes of Moab; and when Balak understood that Balaam was coming, that he might the more oblige him by personal civilities, he came out himself to meet him, receiving him upon the confines of his dominions. At their meeting, the king in a friendly manner blamed Balaam for refusing to come to him upon his first sending, since it was in his power to advance him; but Balaam, to excuse himself, let him know what restraint the Lord had laid upon him. Then Balak entertaining him publicly with his princes and great men that day, the next day he brought him up into the high places * of Baal, † that from thence he might take a view of the camp of Israel. While they were here, the prophet directs the king to order seven ‡ altars to be erected for him there; and seven oxen, with seven rams, to be prepared. Which being done, they both together offered an ox and a ram upon each altar. Then leaving Balak to stand by his burnt-offering, Balaam withdrew to consult the Lord, who meets and instructs him what to say; and returning to Balak, whom he found standing at the altar, and the princes of Moab with him, he thus addressed himself to them: "Thou hast caused me, O king, to come from Aram, § out of the mountains of the East, to curse the family of Jacob, and bid defiance to Israel. But how shall I curse those, whom God hath not cursed? and how shall I defy those, whom the Lord hath not defied? From the top of the rocks I see their Protector, and from the hills I behold him. Behold, this people shall be separated to God, and distinguished from all other people in religion, laws, and course of life: they shall not be reckoned among the nations." Then setting forth the prosperity and increase of Israel, he concluded by saying, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

* *High Places.* The Scripture calls *high*, those eminences and groves which the idolatrous nations consecrated to their gods, and where they in a brutish and lascivious manner solaced themselves.

† *Baal.* Some will have the temple of Baal to be in those high places, others the statue. As to the word Baal, it is sometimes a proper name (as in this place); sometimes it is the common name of idols: thus the Phœnicians called their god Baal; the Babylonians theirs Bell, or Belus, which is the same.

‡ *Seven.* The number *seven* was esteemed sacred among the Israelites (from whom probably Balaam might have learned it), as appears in Levit. iv. 6, where the priest is said to sprinkle the blood of the bullock seven times before the veil of the sanctuary.

§ *Aram.* The same as Mesopotamia, which the Hebrews call Aram Naharaim.

Balak was offended at this answer, and in a passionate haste asks, "What hast thou done? I sent for thee to curse my enemies, and thou hast blessed them!" Balaam excused * himself by the necessity of his instructions, from which, at this time, it was not in his power to deviate. However, Balak is not discouraged; from a change of the place, he hopes a change of fortune, or better success; and therefore taking Balaam into the field of Zophim to the top of Pisgah, he tries whether he can curse from thence. Balaam, who was willing to please him, had seven altars erected there, and a bullock and a ram offered on each. Then withdrawing again, as before, to consult the Lord, he received fresh instructions. Balak now began to understand the interview between the Lord and Balaam, and upon his return to him and his attendants, who were big with expectation of the result, demanded what the Lord had spoken? Upon which Balaam, to bespeak the greater attention and regard to what he should say, began thus: "Consider, O Balak, thou son of Zippor, consider, that God, who hath already blessed Israel, and forbidden me to curse them, is not like man, that he should renounce his promise, or repent of his purpose. Hath he promised, and shall he not perform? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? Behold, I have received a commission to bless, and he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it. He hath not † beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel: the Lord his God is with him, and the shout ‡ of a king is among them. God hath brought them out of Egypt; he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn. § Surely no enchantment can prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel. So that considering what God shall work at this time for the deliverance of his people, all the world shall wonder and say, What hath God wrought! Who hath put his people out of the reach of fraud or force, and turned the intended curse into a blessing." And to show their future strength and success, he adds, "The people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up themselves as a young lion: they shall not lie down until they eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain."

This was such a mortification to Balak, that he silences Balaam, forbid-

* *Excused.* From Balaam's excuse, Num. xxiii. 12, some interpret, as if he would have cursed the Israelites, if he could; and, indeed, if we consider what Moses told the Israelites, Deut. xxiii. 5, "Nevertheless, the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but turned the curse into a blessing to thee," we may well conclude that Balaam did earnestly labor with God by persuasion or entreaty to have had liberty to curse the children of Israel.

† *He hath, etc.* The former national sins of Israel were atoned for and pardoned: the people were not at that time guilty of idolatry or rebellion, but were in a very obedient disposition, had much true religion among them, and were comparatively righteous. Thus the true believer is fully pardoned and accepted, and really sanctified and obedient: in him the Lord beholds not iniquity, or perverseness; none allowed, none unsubdued, none unpardoned. — *Scott.*

‡ *Shout.* So Jerome, Arias Montanus, Tremellius and Junius render it. That is, the triumph of a king victorious over his enemies.

§ *Unicorn.* This animal (generally supposed to be the Rhinoceros, or Rheem) is generally used to express extraordinary strength; as here Num. xxiii. 22; Psalm xxix. 6; Job xxxix. 12; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Psalm xxii. 21, and xcii. 11, etc.

ding him either to curse or bless. But his eagerness to have Israel cursed made him change his mind, for he calls for Balaam again, and entreats him to try another place, in hopes that God would permit him to curse Israel. Upon which, Balaam followed Balak to the Mount of Peor, a hill that looked towards the wilderness. Whatever ground Balak might have for his hopes, it is certain that Balaam knew the positive will of God in this case was to bless and not to curse; and this he had declared to be irreversible, when he told Balak God was not like fickle man; yet stimulated with the blind desire of reward, he consents to the wish of Balak again to tempt the Lord, for he there erected seven altars, and laid seven sacrifices thereon. But having in vain tried all his arts of divination,* and seeing that God was resolved to continue to bless Israel, without withdrawing, as before (under pretence of consulting the Lord), surveying the extended camp of Israel, the Spirit † of the Lord came upon him, and he cried out in an ecstasy, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" Then, by significant metaphors, he foretold the extent, fertility, and strength of Israel, and that those who blessed them should be blessed, and those who cursed them should be cursed.

Balak, exasperated to find that Balaam, whom he had called to curse the people of Israel, had blessed them three several times, smiting ‡ his hands together, upbraided Balaam with having deceived him, in blessing those whom he was sent for to curse. Then, unable any longer to restrain his anger, he commands him to make haste and be gone; "for I thought," said he, "to have promoted thee to great honor, if thou hadst effected my design in cursing Israel; but the Lord hath hindered thy preferment." Balaam had recourse to his old excuse, that he could not exceed the commands of the Lord, but must speak what He put into his mouth; and though he was willing to gratify the king of Moab in some sort, and perhaps (considering his covetous temper) to entitle himself to some reward, he offered to advertise § him now at parting, what the Israelites should do to his people in the latter days; but still against his own inclination, he bestowed blessings on Israel, and prophesied that a Star should come forth from Jacob, and a Rod from Israel; that it should smite the chiefs of Moab, and destroy the children of Seth; that Edom should fall under its power, and that the Amalekites and Kenites should be extirpated. In fine, he foretold that the western nations, the Greeks and Romans, should vanquish the Assyrians, destroy the Hebrews, and themselves perish.

After these predictions, as if vexed at his own disappointment in missing the expected reward, and to be revenged on the Israelites as the occasion of

* *Divination.* See Numb. xxiv. 1.

† *Spirit.* In Numb. xxiii. it is observable that while Balaam used his art of divination or enchantment, he had only a word put into his mouth; but now having laid aside his enchantments, the Spirit of God came upon him.

‡ *Smiting, etc.* This was a token of great displeasure, as smiting the breast was of sorrow.

§ *Advertise.* See Numb. xxiv. 14. But that this was in revenge is plain from the next note.

it, he instructs* the Moabites and Midianites in a wicked artifice; which was to send their daughters to the camp of the Israelites, to draw those people into idolatry — the sure method to deprive them of the assistance of God, who protected them. This artifice succeeded, for the very next account we have of the Israelites is, that they lay encamped at Shittim; † where many of them were deluded by the Moabitish and Midianitish women, and were drawn in not only to commit fornication with them, but to assist at their sacrifices, and worship their gods, even Baal-Peor. ‡

The greatness of this sin appears in the severity of the punishment; for God commanded Moses to take the chiefs of those who had joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and hang them up before the Lord in the sight of all the people. Moses accordingly gave charge to the judges § of Israel to see execution done, every one on the men under his charge, who had sacrificed to Baal-Peor. Their fornication must, however, be punished as well as their idolatry, which was aggravated exceedingly by a person of considerable worth and dignity. The daring Zimri, the son of Salu, prince of a chief house among the Simeonites, took Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, who was also a prince of a chief house in Midian, and insolently brought her to the Israelitish camp, in contempt of Moses, and in sight of all the congregation (who, because of the late execution done upon their princes, stood weeping before the door of the tabernacle) led her openly to his tent and his bed. This superlative impudence, and open violation of God's law, none offered to resent but Phineas, Aaron's grandson, who, rising up from the congregation, and filled with a holy zeal, took a javelin in his hand, and followed them to the tent, where he thrust them both through. This zealous act of Phineas put a stop to the plague which God had sent among the people for this audacious act of Zimri, and the lewdness and impiety of his comrades. However, there died on this occasion no less than twenty-four || thousand. This remarkable instance of pious zeal for the honor of God procured for him not only the Divine approbation, but a perpetual settlement of the priesthood in himself and his posterity.

These disorders being quieted, and the offenders punished, the next busi-

* *Instructs.* After Balaam had given Balak what hints he could concerning the ruin of his people by the Israelites, which was no very comfortable admonition (for he did not at the same time instruct him how to avoid that ruin), by way of revenge he puts them in a method to render the people of Israel odious to their God, and taught Balak how to betray Israel, and draw them into fornication and idolatry, which soon after followed. This indeed is not mentioned in Numb. xxiv., where this passage or interview between Balak and Balaam ends; but Moses, in Numb. xxxi. 16, plainly refers to the counsel of Balaam, and lays the whole blame on him.

† *Shittim.* Which signifies *turning aside.*

‡ *Baal-Peor.* Supposed to be the beastly Priapus, adored with obscene rites.

§ *Judges.* These were the judges, probably, whom, by the advice of his father-in-law, Jethro, with God's approbation, he had set over the people, Exod. xviii.

|| *Twenty, etc.* In this number, it is probable that Moses includes the thousand princes that were hanged. Which computation reconciles this place to that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 8, where he mentions but twenty-three thousand, without the thousand princes that were hanged.

ness was to take vengeance on the Midianites,* who had debauched the Israelites with their idolatry and fornication. In order † to which, Moses commanded a detachment of twelve thousand select men, a thousand out of every tribe, to go against the Midianites; among whom went the zealous Phineas, who carried with him the holy instruments, or trumpets, to animate the people. This was indeed but a small army to invade so great and powerful a people. But God, who put them upon this expedition, went along with them, and blessed them with such wonderful success, that they slew five kings and all their men; among whom was the wicked prophet Balaam, ‡ who though he had before escaped the sword of the angel, yet now fell a sacrifice to the injured people of God. They burned all the cities and castles, took all the women and children prisoners, and seized on their cattle, flocks, and goods: after which, laden with the spoils of their enemies, they return in triumph to the Israelitish camp. In their way home they are met by Moses, and Eleazar the high-priest, and all the princes, who congratulate their success. But Moses, seeing the Midianitish women among the captives, was much offended with the officers of the army for saving them; for these, said he, by the counsel of Balaam, caused the Israelites to sin against the Lord in the business of Peor, and provoked him to send a plague upon the congregation of Israel. And thereupon he commanded them to kill every male among the children, and every married woman, and to save none alive but the virgin females. After which they were to abide seven days without the camp, and both soldiers and spoils pass through the ceremonies of a legal purification; which when they had performed, God directed Moses to take an account of the whole prey, and dividing it into two equal parts, to give one to the soldiers who had taken it, and the other to the rest of the people

* *Midianites.* Under this name the Moabites were comprehended.

† *In order.* In Num. xxv. 16, God commanded Moses to vex the Midianites for betraying Israel, and to smite them. But the execution of this order is interrupted by some things, of which, as they are not strictly historical, we shall here give a short account. After the plague, the Lord commanded that the people, that is, the males, should again be numbered. In which the same method was appointed to be taken that was used in the former numbering, Num. i. For the other tribes, being numbered with respect to war, and to their possessing the land, were reckoned from twenty years old; but the Levites being exempted from war, and excluded from possessions, were numbered from a month old. The account of this is recorded at large in Num. xxvi., by which it appears, that of all who were first numbered by Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sinai, Num. i., there was not then a man left alive, besides Moses, Joshua, and Caleb. So that in less than forty years, six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty grown men (for so many were numbered, Num. i., beside the tribe of Levi) died in the Wilderness. And yet now at this second numbering there were found six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty men of twenty years old and upwards, besides Levites.

The next thing is an enumeration of divers laws and ordinances; some of which were more general, as relating to the daily burnt-offerings, and other offerings upon particular festivals. Some were more particular, as private vows of virgins, wives, widows, and divorced persons, and the settling of inheritances in the female line. Of which, see from Num. xxviii. to xxx.

‡ *Balaam.* By this it seems he had not got home; and it may be, with reason, conjectured, that he was devising much the same mischief against the Hebrews, when he was among the Midianites, as when he was among the Moabites; and therefore he justly fell by the sword of Israel.

that stayed at home. Out of the soldiers' portion, he levied the five hundredth part, both of persons and beasts; which he paid as a tribute to Eleazar the priest, for a heave-offering to the Lord; and out of the other portion, which belonged to the people, one part out of fifty of both persons and beasts was given to the Levites. Then the officers of the army, out of the other parts of the booty which they had taken, as jewels of gold, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets, brought their expiatory offering, to atone for their transgression in saving the Midianitish women, and their gratulatory offering of thanksgiving for so great a victory. The greatness of which may be gathered from the number of their prisoners and cattle; the virgin females were thirty-two thousand; all the rest of the people, men, women, and children, were put to the sword. The spoil, in cattle and flocks, consisted of six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand oxen, and sixty-one thousand asses, besides rich goods and ornaments; and to render this victory the more brilliant and memorable, it was obtained without the loss of a single man on the part of Israel, as appears from the report of the officers on a muster* made after the battle.

The Israelites thus taking possession of the country on this side Jordan, the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, observing it to be a fertile soil and good pasturage, requested leave of Moses to settle in that country, on condition that they should march with the other tribes to conquer the land in which they were to settle, that they would not return till the other tribes were in possession, and that they would claim no part of the lands that were beyond Jordan. Moses at first thought they intended to venture no further, but wished to sit down in a country already gained, and to forsake their brethren, the rest of the tribes, upon which he severely blamed them for attempting, by so base a proposal, to discourage the rest of the Israelites. But when he understood their real design, and upon condition that they should perform their promise, he granted their request.

After † this, Moses gives a particular recital of the several stations and removals, which the children of Israel made from Rameses in Egypt, to the river Jordan in Canaan. Then he describes the bounds of the promised land, and gives the names of the persons appointed to divide it among the tribes of Israel. And afterwards order is given that the children of Israel should assign to the Levites forty-eight cities, with suburbs annexed, in which they might live among the tribes, and of which number six were appointed to be cities of refuge, to which the man-slayer might flee, who had happened to kill a man unintentionally. But provision was made that he who should be duly convicted of wilful murder should be put to death; and in capital cases it was provided that none should be convicted of such crimes by the evidence of one single witness. A law was also made that every daughter who should possess an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, should be married to one of the tribe of her father, that so the chil-

* *Muster*. See Num. xxxi. 49.

† *After*. The matter of this paragraph is contained in Numbers xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv.

dren of Israel might enjoy every one the inheritance of his father, and the inheritance not be transferred to another tribe. This was grounded upon a law before * made, which empowered daughters to inherit lands, where the heirs male should be deficient, and was the case of Zelophehad's daughters, who, upon obtaining this act, were required to marry within the family of their father's † tribe.

By this time the forty years allotted for their journey were nearly expired. Moses, therefore, considering that the present generation of the Israelites, now ready to pass over Jordan to take possession of the promised land, were either born since the law was given at Mount Sinai, or were at that time too young to understand and remember it, thought proper to make a solemn and public repetition thereof.

A little before his death, therefore, he assembled the people of Israel, on the first day of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year from their departure out of Egypt (the people being yet in the plains of Moab, by Jordan, and near Jericho): he repeated to them briefly all ‡ that had befallen their fathers since they left Egypt; the gracious dealings of God with them; their unruliness, disobedience, and rebellions, which had so often provoked the Lord to punish them, and brought not only upon them, but by their means upon himself also, that grievous sentence, That they should not enter into the good land. Which account he often repeats, that these might take warning by the miscarriages of their forefathers. Then he repeated the Decalogue, § and divers other laws and precepts formerly given, though not without some variations, with the addition of some new laws on various subjects, and explanations of the old, exhorting them to a strict observation of them, promising they should soon enter the land of Canaan, and commanding them to destroy all the idols of the inhabitants of the country, and to extirpate the people. He encouraged them to be faithful to God, assuring them that if they kept his commandments they should have blessings heaped upon them; and threatening them with all manner of calamities if they departed from them. He renewed the covenant with the people in the name of the Lord; commanded them with a loud voice to proclaim on the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, beyond Jordan, blessings on those who kept the covenant, and curses on all those who broke it, and to erect an altar in the land of Canaan, on which they should write the terms and conditions of their covenant with God. These things, with rehearsals sometimes of their fathers, and their own prevarications, || Moses not only delivered to the people by word of mouth, but wrote them in a book, which he committed to the custody and care of the Levites, with direction from the Lord that they should put it into the side of the ark,

* *Before.* See Num. xxvii. 1, 2, etc.

† *Father's.* Upon this they are said, Num. xxxvi. 11, to be married to their father's brother's sons. That is, as it is explained in ver. 12, They were married into the families, or to some that were of the families, of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, which takes off the force of their argument, who from hence would infer the lawfulness of marriages between first cousins.

‡ *All.* See from Deut. i. to iv.

|| *Prevarications.* Ibid.; see from ch. iv. to ch. xxxi.

§ *Decalogue.* Ibid. ch. v.

to be kept there for a witness against Israel, if they should rebel. Besides this, Moses, by the immediate direction of God, composed a song,* in which are at large described the many benefits and favors of God to his people, their ingratitude to, and forgetfulness of him, the punishments by which He corrected them, with threatenings of greater judgments if they persisted to provoke him by a repetition of their follies. This song Moses recited to the people, and gave order that they should learn it and repeat it frequently, that when, for their transgressing the law, many calamities and troubles should befall them, this song might be a witness for God against them.

The time was just now approaching, and the people ready to pass over Jordan; but the Lord having told Moses that he should not conduct the people into the promised land, because of his error at the waters of Meribah, He bade him now get up into the mountain Abarim, unto the Mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, opposite Jericho, and take a view of the land of Canaan, and then die there on that mount, as his brother Aaron had died on Mount Hor.

Moses had before endeavored to deprecate one part of his sentence, his not being permitted to enter into the promised land, but in vain; he therefore now humbly submits to the pleasure of God, and takes a solemn farewell of the people in a prophetic blessing, which he pronounced upon each tribe, as Jacob had done just before his death. And having before, by God's command, appointed Joshua to be his successor, to conduct the people to the promised land, laying his hands upon him in such a solemn and public manner as gave all the people to understand that after his death Joshua was to be their leader, Moses went up to the top of Pisgah, over against Jericho, from whence, as the Lord had promised, he could take a full view of the countries round about.

Though his end was just approaching, and he an hundred and twenty years old, yet he was in such good health and full strength, that neither was his eye dim, nor his natural force abated; † therefore, while these lasted, he with pleasure surveys the beauteous prospect. He views the delightful town and plains of Jericho; sees Lebanon's fair cliffs and lofty cedars, and then resigns his soul into the hands of angels, who waited to convey him to a happier Canaan than what he had just before surveyed.

The Lord, who knew the wanton inclination of the Israelites to idolatry, lest they should pay any superstitious adoration to his remains after death, paid the funeral honors to this great prophet himself, and in a valley in the land of Moab, opposite Beth-Peor, buried him so secretly, that no man ever knew where his sepulchre was. And though he had no public monument or tombstone erected, yet this stands as an honorable epitaph on him recorded in Holy Scripture, Deut. xxxiv. 10-12.

* *Song.* Deut. xxxii.

† *Abated.* The extraordinary activity and zeal of Moses cannot be too much admired. Those lively and pious exhortations which abound in the Book of Deuteronomy were delivered during the last month of his life. What a bright example does this afford, especially to the ministers of the gospel, to be unwearied in their exertions for the glory of God even after they have received intimations that the time of their departure is at hand.

What prophet by the sacred breath inspired,
 What friend of God with holy raptures fired,
 Whose deathless name can equal glories share,
 Or with God's servant Moses can compare?
 With mortal eyes th' Invisible he saw,
 On trembling Sinai's top received the Law:
 From Egypt's fetters ransomed Israel brought,
 And in their sight great signs and mighty wonders wrought.

Thus died that illustrious prophet Moses, whose death the children of Israel lamented with great solemnity, weeping and mourning for him in the plains of Moab thirty days.

THUS far the sacred history was of Moses' inditing, which contains the first five books of the Bible, and is thence called the Pentateuch. All antiquity, both sacred and profane, acknowledge Moses to have been the legislator of the Jews; and that whole nation has always carefully preserved his books as containing their law.

When the tribes were divided into two kingdoms, both of them preserved the same respect for those books, as being written by him. The Samaritans, who came afterwards, received them from the Israelite priests; the Jews carried them to Babylon when they were led captives thither; they brought them back, and afterwards revised and corrected them. Profane authors have spoken of them, as written by Moses. In short, it is as certain that they were written by Moses, as those which are ascribed to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Cæsar appertain to those whose names they bear. It is possible there may have been some slight additions and alterations made in them; but the bulk of the history and the laws could not be altered.

As to the fruth of the history we have several proofs. 1. It is the most ancient in the world; for whether Moses was contemporary with Inachus the first king of Argos, who lived six hundred years before the war of Troy; or whether he did not live till the time of Cecrops king of Athens, who reigned three hundred years before that war, it is certain he is much more ancient than Homer, Hesiod, or any profane writer. 2. Moses is the only person that has given a plain and historical account of the origin of the world, and who has continued that history uniformly, and without any interruption to his own time. All that others have written of the first ages is, as they own themselves, mere ignorance, darkness, and fable. 3. Moses wrote at a time when he could be sure of the truth of what he wrote, and when it might have been easy to have convicted him of falsehood, had he delivered any fables. 4. We have nothing in ancient history, nor in fable, to prove that the world is older than Moses represents it. 5. His history agrees with the profane historians of several nations. We there find the originals of several nations, and their ancient names, which many of them have still preserved. But if religion did not convince us that the books of Moses were written by Divine inspiration, yet reason ought to persuade us that his history is true, and the

only one wherein we can learn when the world began, and how long it has lasted. As for the last chapter of Deuteronomy, it was undoubtedly written by Joshua, as a preparation to his history, and could not be supposed to have been written by Moses, as giving an account of his own death.

The five books of Moses contain the history of the Jewish people and their immediate ancestors from Adam, for the space of two thousand five hundred and fifty-three years. The style of his writings, and the matters of which they treat, are singular, interesting, and admirable; and in one particular he differs from every other legislator; for while others are contented with the honor of giving laws, Moses delivers the reasons on which those laws are founded, and derives them immediately from the Almighty. Nor, amid the blaze of his sublime descriptions, and his ardent zeal for the honor of God, has he forgotten to record his own failings and imperfections, with a degree of humility as rare as it is honorable. His writings, and the concurrent testimony of all ages, deservedly place him as the first of prophets, historians, lawgivers, and poets: and though much of what he wrote was wrapt up in the obscurity of types and shadows, yet this was intended to lead the people of God to the knowledge of the Redeemer. Hence our Lord says to the Jews, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me."

No prophet, beside Moses, had the honor of saying, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken." This has been fully accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth, to whom therefore we ought to give ear. And we ought to remember the declaration of the New Testament, that "if he that despised Moses' law died without mercy, of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who shall refuse to hear Him that speaketh from heaven."

SECTION III.

UPON the death of Moses, Joshua, by the command of God, undertakes the charge of the children of Israel. He had been prime minister to Moses for the greatest part of those forty years, in which the Israelites had wandered in the wilderness; had seen the wonderful works God wrought by Moses; understood well the nature and disposition of the people; was one of the twelve spies who were sent to search the promised land, and one of the two who gave a just report of it, in opposition to the other ten who gave an evil and false account of it. For these and other qualifications, he was formally installed into his office with very solemn ceremonies; Moses having, by God's command, presented him before Eleazar the priest, laid his hand upon him, and imparted to him some* of the honor that was upon himself in the sight of the whole congregation.

Being now ready to enter and take possession of the promised land, God, for the greater encouragement of Joshua, confirmed and enlarged his former commission, by giving him a more immediate and express command, as he had before done to his servant Moses, to conduct the people over Jordan; telling him, that every place upon which the sole of their foot should tread, should be their own; and assuring him that no man should be able to stand before him all the days of his life: for as he had been with Moses, so he would be with him, and never fail nor forsake him: therefore he commanded him to be strong and of good courage, for he should divide the land for an inheritance to the people. And to engage him to a performance of the law which he had delivered to Moses, he annexes a continual series of prosperity and success; charging him to make it his study day and night, as the standard of all his future actions, and repeating the former assurance of his presence with him wheresoever he should go.

Joshua, thus encouraged, prepares to execute the command of the Lord; and that nothing material might be omitted, he orders the officers to go through the camp, and give notice to the people, that within three days they should pass the river Jordan, in order to possess the land which the Lord their God had given them, and that they should furnish themselves with provisions for such a march.

The city of Jericho was just opposite to the place where they were to pass. Joshua, therefore, before † his order for their making provision for this march,

* *Some, etc.* See Num. xxvii. 20.

† *Before.* This direction for marching is mentioned in the text, before the sending of the spies to Jericho. See Joshua i. 11, and ii. 1. But it seems the spies were sent before that,

sent two spies thither, to observe the situation and strength of the place, and the avenues to it; because it would be the first place they were to attack, after they had passed the river. These spies* entering Jericho, went to a public house of entertainment, which was kept by Rahab,† and there took up their lodging. But being observed by some to go in there, information was presently given to the king of Jericho, that two Israelites were come to search the country. Upon this, the king sent to Rahab to produce them; but she, having timely notice, had hid them upon the roof‡ of the house, under the stalks of flax which she had spread there. Having thus secured the men, she put off the king's messengers with a feigned story, pretending that some men did come to her house, but she knew not who they were, nor whence they came; and that when it grew dark, before the gates were shut, they went out, but she knew not whither. And to prevent any further suspicion, she advised an immediate pursuit of them, as they could not be far off. Upon this they sent out several persons to take them, who went as far as the fords of Jordan, but in vain.

When they were gone, Rahab went up to the men she had hidden, and thus accosts them: "I know the Lord hath given you this land, and the fame of you is become so terrible to us that our people are utterly discouraged. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea for you to pass over, when ye came out of Egypt; and how ye subdued Sihon and Og, the two Amorite kings, on the other side of Jordan. These actions have flashed terror among our people, and quite dispirited them. Your God is the only God in heaven and earth. Now, therefore, in regard of the service I have done in concealing you, show favor to me and my family when you come into power, and save us alive: and of this ye shall give me some assurance." They readily promised, upon their lives, to secure her and all that belonged to her; upon which she let them down by a cord from the window which faced the country, for her house stood on the town

and returned to the camp at Shittim, before their march towards Jordan: for the spies spent longer time in their search than was between the notice given for marching and the march itself, which was but three days: whereas they lay hid three days in the mountains for their safety, beside the time they spent in Jericho, and in going and returning; which they could not have done, had they been sent away previous to the order for marching was given. So that what is delivered in the second chapter of Joshua, should in order of time come in about the middle of the first chapter, between the ninth and tenth verses, being, as Junius and Tremellius observe, displaced by a figure called *Hyperbaton*.

* *Spies*. These spies are fabulously supposed by the Rabbins to be Phineas and Caleb; which is very improbable. For Phineas was designed by God to be a priest, and Caleb a man in great authority. But Josh. vi. 23 positively states that they were young men.

† *Rahab*. It is generally thought that she was an hostess, a keeper of an inn, and that this is the true signification of the original word; though St. Jerome and others understand it of a prostitute; but there is no reason to think she was a woman of that character; had she been so, it is not likely that Salmon, a prince of the tribe of Judah, would have taken her to wife.

‡ *Roof*. The roofs of houses were then built flat, so that they could walk upon them, and set their goods there, having battlements round them to secure them from falling off, Deut. xxii. 8. And such a roof it was that David afterwards walked upon when he unhappily noticed Bathsheba.

wall. When they had descended, she advised them immediately to make to the neighboring mountains, and there to conceal themselves for three days, till their pursuers should give over the search. The spies, perceiving the sincerity of the woman in consulting their security, resolved to make her easy in their promise to her, and for a token of their integrity in the performance of it, give her this further assurance. When she should see the Israelitish army approach the town, they bade her be sure to tie a scarlet cord in the window, through which she let them down, and to bring her father, mother, brethren, and all her family home to her house, and be careful to keep them within doors, that when their forces should enter the town, by this token they might distinguish the house, and spare them. And that if any should straggle from the house, their blood should be upon their own heads; but if any one in the house should come to any damage, they would answer for it. To these terms she gladly agreed, and so dismissed them.

The spies, having hitherto thus happily succeeded, take Rahab's advice, and make the best of their way to the mountains, where they lay concealed three days, in which time those who went in pursuit of them, despairing to find them, returned to Jericho; and the spies, descending from the mountains, ford the river, arrive safely in the Israelitish camp, and give Joshua, their general, a faithful account of their expedition, adding that, unquestionably, the Lord had delivered the country into their hands, for the people were utterly dispirited at the fame of them.

Joshua, roused at this news, decamps from Shittim, and approaches the river Jordan; then, reminding the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, of the agreement made between them and Moses, that they, leaving their families and cattle on this side the river, should, with their best forces, go over armed before their brethren, to assist in subduing their enemies, and placing them in their possessions, they acknowledge the agreement, and declare their readiness to go; promising in all things to be subject to him their general, as they had been to Moses, and in all things to obey his commands, under penalty of death.

The army being provided with necessaries for their march, the officers, going through the host, commanded the people, that when they should see the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord their God, and the priests of the Levites bearing it, then they should move and follow it, that they might know the way by which they were to go, because they had never before passed that way. And that order might be observed in their march, direction was given that they should leave a space of about two thousand* cubits between the ark and the people.

* *Two thousand.* There were two thousand cubits between the ark and the camp when they marched, Josh. iii. 4, and in all probability the same proportion was observed when they rested: this distance of ground some interpret to be one mile, some two; some measuring it according to a less, others according to a longer cubit, which they term a geometrical cubit. But all agree in this, that these two thousand cubits were a Sabbath-day's journey; because on the Sabbath-day they were all to repair to the place of God's public worship, which was two thousand cubits distant from those who encamped nearest.

Things being thus disposed, Joshua, early in the morning, on the ninth day of the first month, exhorted the people to sanctify themselves, because the Lord would on the next day do wonders among them; and giving order for the priests to move, they took up the ark, and marched with it before the people, to the banks of Jordan, where they halted: here the Lord assured Joshua that he would so distinguish him in the sight of all Israel, that they should know his presence would be with him, as it had been with Moses. He directed him to tell the priests who were to carry the ark to halt on the brink of the river, which they accordingly did; and Joshua thereupon calling the people together to hear the words of the Lord their God, told them, That they should hereby know that the living God was among them, and that he would drive out the nations before them: for the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord of all the earth passing into the river Jordan before them, as soon as the feet of the priests that bare it should touch the waters, they should divide and stand as a heap. Accordingly, the priests march into the river with the ark, and stopping in the midst of it, they stood on firm ground, the rapid stream dividing, and the waters, forgetting their fluidity, condense in heaps to afford them a dry passage. Thus did God make good his word to Joshua, in promising to magnify him in the sight of the people, by dividing the waters of Jordan, as he had done before to Moses, when the Israelites passed the Red Sea.

But before the people crossed the river, the Lord commanded Joshua to select twelve men, one out of each tribe, who, as soon as the people had passed the river, were to take up twelve stones from the place where the priests stood on dry ground, according to the number of the twelve tribes, and to set them up as a memorial of this great miracle in that place. He commanded them likewise to take other twelve stones, and to carry them on shore, for another memorial of the same miracle.

The priests who carried the ark walking on dry ground to the midst of Jordan, and halting there, as Joshua had ordered them, he commanded the rest of the people to follow, forty thousand of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, well armed, leading the van. When they were all safely arrived on the other side of the river, the general commanded the priests who bare the ark, which stood in the midst of Jordan till all the people had passed over, to come out of the river with it; which they had no sooner done than the waters returned to their natural channel, and overflowed the banks as they usually did.

The Israelites, having thus securely passed Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, encamped in a place called afterwards Gilgal, which was in the east border of Jericho. Here Joshua erected the twelve stones, which the twelve men had brought out of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, that when the descendants of the Israelites in future times should ask the reason of it, they might know that the Lord their God had dried up the waters of Jordan, and caused his people to pass that river on dry land, as he had formerly dried up the Red Sea for their passage out of Egypt, and that all the people of the earth might be sensible of the omnipotency of the mighty God of Israel.

The fame of this miracle soon spread through the neighboring countries, and struck the inhabitants with astonishment and terror, for when the kings of the Amorites, who were on the west side of Jordan, and the kings of the Canaanites, who inhabited the sea-coast, heard that the Lord had miraculously conveyed his people over the river by dividing the waters, their hearts sunk for fear, and their courage entirely failed them.

Joshua, having thus conducted the Israelites through the river, God commanded him to cause them all to be circumcised,* which being done, the Lord said to Joshua, "This day I have taken away the shame † of Egypt from you." And from this act of circumcision, the place where it was done was then called Gilgal. ‡ Here the Israelites tarried till their circumcision wounds were healed; and here it was they kept the passover, § on the fourteenth day of the first month, in the evening. Now did the Israelites begin to enjoy the good of the land, the delicious products of the promised inheritance, for on the next day after the passover they ate of the corn; and there being plenty of all fruits, on the morrow the manna was withdrawn.

All things being ready for approaching the city of Jericho, Joshua gives the word, and the army marches towards it. The place was strong, well provided, and full of inhabitants who had retired into it, and seemed resolved to make a brave defence. Joshua therefore undertakes to view the place by himself, to find out the most advantageous approaches to it. While he was

* *Circumcised.* The great goodness, as well as wisdom, of God was very conspicuous in this act of circumcision after the Israelites were safe on the other side of Jordan, for their miraculous passage through that river, and the fame of former miracles wrought by God in their favor, had so affected the neighboring nations with fear that they dared not offer the least opposition to Israel in their passage. But now that they were safe on the other side of the river, God had a work to do upon his people, which would render them for a while not only unable to assault their enemies, but even to defend themselves. For during their travel in the wilderness circumcision had been omitted, not, it is supposed, through neglect of that ordinance, but being, or at least expecting to be, always upon the march, they thought it unsafe to expose themselves to the hardship of it; and all who were men when they came out of Egypt, and had been circumcised there, being dead (Joshua and Caleb only excepted), most of the present generation being such as had been born within the forty years of their travel in the wilderness, had not been circumcised hitherto. Therefore, now that they had passed over Jordan, and were ready to take possession of the promised land, and the inhabitants of it having shut themselves up in Jericho, under a general consternation, the Lord commanded Joshua to prepare for the circumcision of the people.

† *Shame.* This shame might be either the reproachful diffidence of the Egyptians, who would not believe that the Lord would make good his promise in bringing his people into the promised land (which Moses often hinted, when he addressed himself to God in behalf of the people, to deprecate God's anger from them, urging that their enemies from thence would take occasion to ridicule and question his omnipotence), or, remaining uncircumcised, they were like the Egyptians and other idolatrous nations.

‡ *Gilgal.* Or *Galyal*, which signifies removing, rolling, or taking away. This word is used before in Joshua iv. 19, and in Deut. xi. 30; but it was in either place only by way of anticipation. This place is called by St. Jerome *Golgal*, a famous city, formerly about fifty furlongs from Jordan, and ten from Jericho, in the straight road thither.

§ *Passover.* This was the third passover the Israelites celebrated. The first the day before they came out of Egypt, Exod. xiii. The second was the year after, upon their receiving the law and setting up the tabernacle in Sinai, Num. ix. 2. The third was this in the holy land, in the plains of Jericho, Josh. v. 10.

making his observations, there appeared the awful form of a man, but with a lustre in his face that bespoke him more than mortal. In his hand he held a flaming sword, and his whole appearance far surpassed anything of human nature. The Israelitish general advances to this great Unknown, with a courage becoming his character, and boldly demands, who he is for? He answers, for Israel, of whose army and people he was the Guardian. At these words the general falls prostrate, and waits the command of his Lord, who bids him loose his sandals, and not profane the holy place with irreverent approaches.* Joshua obeys, and receives new orders for the better management of the siege of Jericho. He was to cause all the forces to march round the place six days successively, and that on the seventh day the priests should take the seven trumpets made of rams' horns, which were used to proclaim the Jubilee † year; that they should go before the ark, and round the city, and when the trumpets sounded, first loud, and then low, the people should all give a shout, for then the walls of the city should fall, and every man should march in at the place which was directly before him.

Having encircled the city six days, as they were commanded, on the seventh, by break of day, they encompassed it seven times, and at the seventh time, when the priests blew the trumpets, the general said to the people, "Shout! for the Lord hath given you the city." Upon which the people gave a shout, and immediately the wall of the city fell down; so that the army marched directly up to it, and took it, putting all to the sword, both man and beast, old and young: only Rahab, and those in her house, were saved alive; for Joshua had given a strict charge beforehand to the two spies (whom she had formerly concealed) to take care, when the town should be taken, to go to her house, and bring out her family in discharge of their oath to her: which they accordingly did, and left her, with all her kindred and substance safe without ‡ the camp of Israel. Then setting fire to the city, they destroyed everything in it, except the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, which were put into the treasury of the house of the Lord, as it had been commanded. And lest any one should attempt to rebuild this

* *Approaches.* This great personage who appeared in a human form, was no other (as Bishop Patrick judges, with the ancient Fathers) than the Son of God, the eternal Word, who frequently, before his incarnation, thus manifested himself to his favored servants, and, on this important occasion, in a military style.

By the act of adoration and the title of Lord, given to him by Joshua, it is plain that this illustrious person, the guardian or captain of the Lord's host, was Christ, the Son of God, who was pleased in this manner to appear to Joshua, both to encourage and direct him. Wherefore, having first bidden Joshua (as was Moses at the burning bush, Exod. iii. 5) to put off his shoes, because the place on which he stood was holy (which confirms that it was Christ, whose presence consecrates every place where he appears), and Joshua having obeyed, Josh. v. 13-15, the Lord said, ch. vi. 2, "See, I have given into thy hands Jericho, and the king thereof, with the mighty men of valor;" and instructed him in what manner he should besiege and take the city, ch. vi. 2, etc.

† *Jubilee.* This word is derived from the Hebrew word *Jobel*, which signifies a ram, and also a ram's horn; as here in Josh. vi. 4, where the word *Jobelim* is used and expounded by the Chaldee paraphrast, *rams' horns*.

‡ *Without, etc.* Being aliens, or heathens, they were not permitted to come within the camp, till they were proselyted, or at least legally purified.

city, Joshua published this prophetic imprecation on the bold undertaker; "that he should lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son:" by which he meant that it should be the ruin* of his family.

Before the city was taken, Joshua had cautioned the people not to spare anything that was in it, but to destroy all that lay in their way, except silver, gold, brass, and iron, which were to be consecrated to the Lord. And therefore he warned them not to meddle with anything, for fear of bringing a curse, not only upon themselves, but upon all the nation of the Israelites.

Notwithstanding the strict charge of Joshua against meddling with anything that was devoted to this general destruction, or consecrated to the Lord, yet so prevailing was the sacrilegious thirst of gold, that one of the tribe of Judah, whose name was Achan, contrary to the command of the general, took a portion of the spoil of each sort and hid it. This proved of ill consequence to Israel at large, and was discovered on the following occasion. Joshua, being desirous to take a little city named Ai, near Beth-aven, to the east of Bethel, and knowing that it was neither populous nor well defended, detached a body of three thousand men only to go and attack it; who no sooner approach the town than the inhabitants sally out, repulse them, and drive them back to the camp, whither those that escaped returned in such consternation that they diffused a general terror throughout the whole army.

This defeat so much afflicted Joshua that, rending his clothes and prostrating himself before the Ark of the Lord, he lay there till the evening, both he and the elders, in token of extreme sorrow† and humiliation, sprinkling dust on their reverend heads. But Joshua, being wholly ignorant of the offence, and desirous to know what had provoked God to desert his people, in an humble expostulation thus complains to Him: "Wherefore, O Lord God, hast thou brought this people over Jordan to deliver them into the hands of the Amorites to destroy them? We had been happy, hadst thou permitted us to have dwelt on the other side of Jordan. What shall I say when Israel turn their backs upon their enemies? For when the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of this land shall hear of this, they will surround us and cut us off; and what will become of thy honor?"

The Lord, not willing to let his servant Joshua languish under the melancholy thought of being deserted by Him, tells him there is a latent cause of his displeasure among the people,—that some of them had taken of the accursed‡ thing, and also of those things which were devoted to the Lord, and

* *Ruin.* This was exactly fulfilled in Hiel the Bethelite; who in the days of Ahab king of Israel (above five hundred years after) began to rebuild Jericho with the loss of his eldest son Abiram, and finished it with the loss of Segub his youngest son, 1 Kings xvi. 34.

† *Sorrow.* See 1 Sam. iv. 11; Neh. ix. 1.

‡ *Accursed.* That is, of that which was devoted to destruction. Our old translation renders it in Joshua vi. 17, 18, *execrable thing*; and in vii. 11, 12, *excommunicate thing*; which are synonymous terms. In which places the distinction of the spoil is plainly expressed. All the inhabitants of Jericho, except Rahab and her family, with their effects of all sorts, were to be destroyed; only gold, silver, brass, and iron were to be consecrated to

pretending that they had brought it all into the treasury of God, had concealed it for their own private use; and to put him in a way to clear the camp of the accursed thing which had brought this judgment upon them, the Lord commanded Joshua to proclaim among the people: "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel! ye cannot stand before your enemies until ye have removed the accursed thing from among you."

The Lord then directed Joshua how he should detect the offender; and when he was found and convicted, how he should be punished. Early the next morning the tribes were all summoned before the Lord, and the lot being cast upon the tribes, the tribe of Judah was found to be that to which the guilty person belonged. Then, proceeding by lot, from tribe to family, from family to household, and thence to particular persons, the lot fell at last upon Achan. Having thus happily discovered the person, Joshua, like a prudent judge, with great mildness examined the criminal, and brought him to this confession: "I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, for when I saw among the spoil a royal * garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, with a wedge † of gold of fifty shekels weight, my covetousness prompted me to take them; which I did, and hid them in the earth in the midst of my tent."

Joshua, for his more evident conviction, sent messengers to Achan's tent, who, finding the things hidden as he confessed, brought them to the assembly, and laid them before the Lord. And now, Achan being duly convicted by his own confession and the notoriousness of the fact, Joshua proceeded to execution by the express ‡ command of God, which was thus: They take Achan, with the garments, the money, and the wedge of gold, as evidences of his guilt, and with him his sons, § his daughters, his cattle, his tent, and all his movables, and brought them into the valley of Achor (which from

the Lord. These are by the Septuagint called *holy*, because they were to be laid up in the treasury for the service of the tabernacle; but all the rest was profane, and ordered to be destroyed. The Septuagint retains the word *anathema* in the aforesaid text, which signifies separated or accursed, and implies that the profane spoil was not to be mixed with what was holy. In the same sense is the word *anathema* used in the New Testament, particularly by Paul, who pronounces offenders *anathema*, separated from God, that is, accursed; which is the old word for excommunication, in the most early ages of the church.

In this instance it is observable, that, though it was but one man that was actually guilty, yet the guilt was charged upon the whole people, and they felt the effects thereof till they had convicted and punished the offender. How great then is the guilt of nations in general, where sins are epidemical, and repeated from age to age?

* *Royal*. This is rendered *Babylonish*, supposed to be such a rich garment as the kings of Babylon formerly wore. The Hebrews call it *Sinhar*, that is, *Babylonish*; for Babylon was in the land of Shinar, Gen. xi. 2. Thence the Latins render it *pallium coccineum*, a *scarlet cloak*. The Greeks render it *stoleen poikileen*, a *garment of state of divers colors*. But this variety of versions all agree in this, that it was a rich garment.

† *Wedge*. This was made in the form of a tongue, and for that reason is not improperly sometimes called a *tongue of gold*.

‡ *Express*. See Josh. vii. 15.

§ *Sons, etc.* This judgment only appertains to God, and to whom he will reveal it. To man he hath expressly commanded not to punish the fathers for the children, nor the children for the father's sake, but that every one should be put to death for his own sin, Deut. xxiv. 16

him took its name, signifying *trouble*), where he and his family being first stoned, were afterwards burned. And to perpetuate the memory of this for a warning to others, they raised a great heap of stones over them.

The wrath of God being appeased by this execution, he encourages Joshua to attack Ai afresh, assuring him that he had given the king of Ai, and all his people and country, into his hand; and that he should do to them as he had done to Jericho and her king; only, for the encouragement of the soldiers, he allowed them the plunder of the city and the cattle for themselves, giving Joshua particular instructions * to lay a party of men in ambuscade † behind the city.

In order to this action, Joshua selected thirty thousand men, out of whom he appointed five thousand to secrete themselves between Bethel and Ai, who, upon the signal that he should give them, which was by holding up a spear with a banner upon it, should enter the city, and set it on fire, himself having first, by another stratagem, drawn all the forces out of the town to pursue him in his pretended retreat.

The ambuscade being laid as he had directed, he drew up the army before the north part of the city of Ai, and towards night he marched into the valley, in sight of the enemy, to tempt them to sally out upon him. This succeeded as Joshua desired; for the king of Ai, thinking them now entirely in his power, drew out his whole army, early in the succeeding morning, to give them battle. Israel, at the very first onset, gave way and retreated. This so animated the king of Ai's army, that, concluding the Israelites fled indeed through fear of them, they called out all the citizens to assist in the pursuit, which they eagerly did, leaving the town naked and defenceless. But this confidence of victory cost them dear; for when Joshua, by his sham retreat, had drawn them to a considerable distance from Ai, he gave the signal to the ambuscade, who immediately enter the city and set it on fire. When Joshua, by the rising smoke, perceived that his soldiers had made themselves masters of the town, he faced about and charged the enemy, who, not in the least expecting the Israelites to rally, began to think of retiring to the city; but when they saw their city in flames, they were so dispirited that they had no power to fight or fly. In the meantime the ambuscade having performed their orders in burning the city, fell upon the rear of the king of Ai's dismayed forces, which, being thus encompassed, were cut to pieces.

Joshua having thus gained a complete victory, marched to Ai, and put all he found in it to the sword: so that the number of slain on that day amounted to twelve thousand men and women. The cattle and spoil of the city were given to the soldiers, who burned the city, and made it a heap of ruins. As for the king of Ai, he was taken prisoner in the fight; and being brought before the general, he was by his command hanged on a tree till sunset; ‡ at

* *Instructions.* God would not destroy Ai by a miracle, as he had done Jericho, because he chose to make his people formidable for their power and policy to other nations with whom they were afterwards to engage.

† *Ambuscade.* This is the first ambuscade we read of in history.

‡ *Sunset.* This was in pursuance of the Law. See Deut. xxi. 22, 23.

which time he was taken down, and buried under a great heap of stones at the entrance of the gate of the city.

Joshua, having thus happily succeeded in this action against Ai, in token of gratitude to the Great Giver of victory, erected an altar to Him in Mount Ebal, as the Lord had by Moses* before commanded, on which he offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings: and then he not only read to the people, both Israelites and strangers, the words of the law given by Moses, but wrote also, upon great stones, a copy † of the law which Moses had written.

The fame of the Israelites in their successful attack on Jericho and Ai, and the terrible slaughter of the inhabitants, alarmed all the kings on that side Jordan, who, consulting the common security, confederated together, entering into a league for their mutual defence. But the Gibeonites, who were more deeply affected with the rumor of the Israelites' courage and power, distrusting a confederated force against so great and numerous a people, who were so well skilled in the art of war, had recourse to a stratagem, to preserve themselves from the general destruction which they plainly perceived hung over their heads. They chose a certain number of their men, who were instructed to feign themselves ambassadors travelling from a distant country to treat for peace, and enter into a league with Israel. And to persuade them into a belief of the great distance from whence they came, they dressed themselves in old clothes, with old clouted shoes on their feet, and put dry mouldy bread into old sacks, and wine into old bottles.‡ Thus accoutred, they came to the Israelitish camp at Gilgal, and presenting themselves before the general, told him they were come from a far country, and desired to enter into a league with Israel.

The people at first suspected these ambassadors, and intimated that perhaps they possessed part of that land which God had given them; and if so, they could not make a peace with them. And Joshua put the question directly to them, asking them who they were, and from whence they came? To which they artfully but deceitfully replied: "From a far country are we come, where we have heard of the fame of the Lord thy God: of all that he did for thee in Egypt, and to Sihon and Og the Amorite kings. Wherefore our governors ordered us to take provision for our journey, and to assure you that we are your servants, and desire to be in amity with you." Then producing their mouldy bread, their torn bottles, and their old clothes and shoes, they assured them that they took the bread hot out of their houses when they came from home; that their bottles were then new; and that their garments and shoes were become old by reason of the length of their journey.

The Israelites in this suffered themselves to be outwitted, for they had a sure way to have known the whole truth of this matter; but neglecting to

* *Moses.* See Ex. xx. 25, and Deut. xxvii. 5.

† *Copy.* It is no great difficulty to apprehend how many of the Gentile nations came to imitate the Jews in many of their religious observances and rites, since the Mosaic law was so publicly exposed to the sight of all.

‡ *Old bottles.* These bottles were not of glass or earth, as those in use among us; but were made of leather, in which they formerly, and now in some countries, kept their wine.

ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord, they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the seeming simplicity of the subtle Gibeonites. This stratagem of theirs had the desired effect: the credulous Israelites believe the plausible story of the Gibeonites, confirmed sufficiently, as they thought, by ocular demonstration; so that without any further hesitation, they received them into their alliance, Joshua making peace with them to preserve their lives, and the princes of the congregation swearing solemnly to observe it. But within three days this deception was discovered; and they who pretended to come from a distant country, proved to be their neighbors, who inhabited a part of that land which God had given Israel to possess.

When the Israelites found their new allies had put a trick upon them, and what noble plunder the rich cities of the Gibeonites would have afforded them, they could not forbear mutinying against the princes who had sworn to observe the league; which they perceiving, endeavored to pacify them by urging the necessity they were under of keeping their oath, lest they should incur the Divine displeasure; and that though the alliance extended to the saving their lives, yet it did not exempt them from tribute or service, from which they might reap considerable advantages, intending to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the use of all the congregation. This being approved, the people were appeased; and Joshua calling for the Gibeonites, expostulates the matter with them for thus imposing upon and deceiving them. They in excuse answered that they were sensible God had given them all the land where they dwelt, and commanded them to kill all the inhabitants; and that they had made use of this stratagem to save their lives.

They did, indeed, save their lives by this trick, but were condemned to perpetual bondage, and Joshua himself pronounced this sentence against them: "Now therefore are ye cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, even hewers of wood, and drawers of water, for the house* of my God." The Gibeonites, rejoicing in the preservation of their lives, gladly submitted to this humiliating sentence, and replied, "Behold, we are in thy hand, do to us what thou wilt." Thus Joshua delivered the Gibeonites from the fury of the Israelites, who would have put them all to the sword. But though they had by this policy saved their lives with the loss of their liberty, yet their neighbors, the Amorites, put them in fresh danger of losing them: for deserting the common interest, and making a separate league with Israel for themselves, they resolved to take revenge on them. Accordingly, Adonizedec, king of Jebus,† taking with him four neighboring kings, Hoham, king of Hebron, Piram, king of Jarmuth, Japia, king of Lachish, and Debir, king of Eglon, with their united forces they encamp before Gibeon. The Gibeonites, not daring to trust to the strength of their city against so potent and confederated a force, dispatch

* *House*. From the Gibeonites being thus given or dedicated to the service of the tabernacle, and of all the congregation, their posterity, after the building of the Temple, were called *Nethinims* (that is *given*), in 1 Chron. ix. 2, and often so in other places.

† *Jebus*. This place was afterwards, in David's time, called Jerusalem.



“GEBAL.”

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messengers to their new and great allies at their camp in Gilgal, to acquaint them that the kings of the Amorites who dwelt in the mountains had armed against them, and to entreat them to march immediately to their relief. Joshua was bound in honor and interest to succor them; to which God himself gave particular encouragement, assuring him of victory. Upon which Joshua, by a forced march, came up with them by night, and surprised them early in the morning. The action was severe for a time, but they were soon put to flight; and as they fled a storm of hail overtook them, which fell with such violence upon them, that more were destroyed by the hailstones than by the sword. The five confederate kings escaping the storm of hail, in their flight made to a cave in a place called Makkedah, and there secreted themselves from the pursuit of the enemy; but Joshua, having intelligence of their concealment, ordered the cave to be blocked up, and set a guard upon it to prevent their escape; commanding the rest of the army to continue the pursuit, and to do execution on their enemies, lest they should retreat to any fortified place. And that they might not want time to complete their victory, Joshua, addressing himself to God in prayer, received authority to command the sun, in the sight of Israel, to stand still, saying, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon." The great machines obeyed, and stood unmoved at his command. This was a long day indeed; for never before or since did God honor man so much as to change the course of nature, and arrest the light of the rolling orbs.*

Heaven thus miraculously assisting Joshua in gaining the victory, he returns from the pursuit; and ordering the cave to be opened, where the five kings lay concealed, he commanded them to be brought before him. Then calling for the officers of the army, he ordered them to set their feet upon the necks of those kings, which they did. This was not to exult over

* *Orbs.* This miracle was so astonishingly great that the infidels take occasion from it to discredit Revelation itself, and many writers of the Jews explain it away, by saying it only signifies the wonderful speed of Joshua in the pursuit of his enemies at the close of the day: some Christian writers have weakly countenanced this Jewish fiction.

To remove a variety of difficulties which have been started from this remarkable story, the following elucidation of the matter, derived from a just interpretation of the Hebrew words used in the narration, is offered to the reader:

"The place now quoted has been constantly brought as an objection against the Scriptures allowing the motion of the earth, and is insisted on as a proof, that the Scriptures assert the motion of the sun round the earth. But I conceive that this mistake arises from quoting the place imperfectly. It is usually said—does not Joshua say, 'Sun, stand thou still?' and the next words are generally dropped: whereas, it runs thus, 'Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon; and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon.' Now I ask—was the body of the sun in Gibeon, or the body of the moon in the valley of Ajalon? Surely no; but the *light* proceeding from the sun, and the *light* reflected from the moon, were both there. Joshua means, not the *bodies*, but the *lights* of the sun and moon, which were made to remain for a time in the same situation in Gibeon and Ajalon. And this was effected by a miraculous power, without making any alteration in the bodies of the sun, moon, or earth. The Hebrew words, *Shemesh* and *Yarah*, mean the *light* of the sun and moon."—See *Pike's Philosophia Sacra*, p. 47.

It is remarkable that the ancient chronicles of China record this wonderful phenomenon, and in almost the words of Scripture: "The sun and moon stood still in their places, and hasted not to go down for the space of one whole day."

the wretched captives, but was an emblematical prediction of their future success over the enemies of God's people; for thus, says Joshua, I will do to all that oppose you. Then commanding execution to be done upon them, he caused them to be hanged upon several trees until the evening, when he ordered them to be taken down and cast into the cave where they had hid themselves, making their intended sanctuary their sepulchre.

Joshua having thus successfully cleared the field of his enemies, the next thing he undertakes is the reducing of the cities. He marched first to Makkedah, then to Libnah; from thence to Lachish, where he slew the king of Gezar, who came to the relief of Lachish. From Lachish he marched to Eglon, from Eglon to Hebron, and from Hebron to Debir; all which places he took by storm, and put the inhabitants, both kings and people, to the sword, as God had commanded.* Joshua, having performed such great exploits, and conquered so many kings and nations in one expedition,† through the assistance of the mighty God of Israel, returned with his victorious army to his camp at Gilgal.

These great successes of Israel alarmed the more distant nations, especially the Hazorites, whose king, thinking it in vain for the princes of Canaan to encounter singly with so powerful and victorious an army, sends to Jobab, king of Madon, to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, and to all the neighboring princes within reach, to invite them into a league, that with their united force they might drive the Israelites out of the land they had conquered.

These potentates, the next campaign, with an almost innumerable army, prepare to encounter Joshua, whose God, to chastise the pride and presumption of his enemies, and to encourage his general, bids him not to fear them, "For to-morrow," says he, "I will deliver them into the hand of Israel, and thou shalt disable their horses and burn their chariots."

The confederate princes, thinking themselves secure in their numbers, little thought Joshua durst look them in the face; but he, in pursuance of the encouragement and instructions God had given him, without delay takes the field, marches directly towards the enemy, and falls so suddenly upon them that he immediately routed them, and in the pursuit put all to the sword. And because Jabin, the king of Hazor, had been at the head of the confederacy, he caused that city to be burned to the ground. But all the other cities, whose inhabitants were slain in the action, he left standing, and gave the cattle and plunder of them to the soldiers.

Thus did Joshua, by degrees,‡ recover all the land of Canaan, subduing

* *Commanded.* See Deut. xx. 16, 17.

† *One expedition.* All these great achievements are by some chronologers reckoned to have been performed in the first year of Joshua's government, and placed in the year of the world 2553. But they rather seem to have extended into, if they did not wholly take up, the year 2554.

‡ *Degrees.* These great achievements may be allowed to have taken up some years. And indeed, in Josh. xi. 18, it is said, "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings." And from Caleb's words, in ch. xiv. 6 and 10, where he says, it was *forty-five years* since he was sent as a spy into the land, it may reasonably be gathered that between six and seven years were spent in this war.

the people that possessed it, and slaying all their kings, thirty-one in number, with the Anakims, or giants, of whom he left none remaining, except in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod. And* now Joshua began to think of a settlement, which he did by dividing the land beyond Jordan among the nine tribes and a half, who, being settled in their several possessions, Joshua set up the tabernacle at Shiloh. Then calling the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh, and acknowledging that they had faithfully kept their covenant in accompanying their brethren, and helping them to subdue their enemies, he kindly dismissed them, advising them to continue steadfast in their duty to God; and giving them his blessing, they returned to their families laden with spoils, consisting of gold, brass, iron, raiment, and a great number of cattle, which was their share of the plunder taken from the enemy during the war.

These two tribes and a half, being safely arrived on the borders of Jordan, erected an altar, not for any religious use, but as a memorial to succeeding ages, that, though they were separated from their brethren by the river, yet they were all of one extraction and religion, and had an equal right to the altar of the Lord at Shiloh, and the worship performed there. This circumstance had nearly proved of very serious consequence, and threatened a war between them and the other tribes, to whom the matter being either misrepresented, or they misapprehending it, and suspecting their brethren on the other side of Jordan were about to revolt from God and them, they unanimously assemble their forces at Shiloh, in order to declare war against them. But before they proceeded to extremities they chose ten princes, one out of each tribe, who were the chiefs of their families, with Phineas and Eleazar, and sent them away to inquire the cause of this newly-erected altar.

As soon as they were come to them, they fell very roughly upon them, charging them with rebellion against the Lord; and, to aggravate the matter, they put them in mind of the sin of Peor; † and to let them see that it was not out of any officious, busy temper or humor, that they came to them thus, but out of a general concern for the whole people, they said, "If you thus rebel against the Lord, He will soon be angry with the whole congregation of Israel." This they enforce by the late instance of Achan. And to prevent any objection, and take from them all pretence of excuse or defence, they add, "If ye have done this from any apprehension that the land ye possess on that side Jordan is unclean, or less holy than ours, because the tabernacle

* *And, etc.* The other things which are mentioned in the book of Joshua may be supposed to have taken up the rest of Joshua's time, as the dividing the land among the nine tribes and half by lot, from ch. xiv. to ch. xix.; (for the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, had their portions assigned and given them on the other side Jordan, by Moses himself, Num. xxxii., which is in Josh. xiii. 20, 21, repeated, and the lots described.) The setting up of the tabernacle at Shiloh, ch. xviii. 1, the appointing cities of refuge for the man-slayer, ch. xx., the setting out cities for the Levites, some out of each tribe, ch. xxi., with many other things of more particular concern, which not being historical, we have thought proper to omit in the text, and from hence refer the reader to the texts above mentioned, and what follows.

† *Peor.* See Num. xxv., for which sin of Peor, the plague was sent among the congregation.

is on our side the river, return and settle among us, where the tabernacle resteth; but by no means rebel against the Lord, nor us, in building you an altar beside the altar of the Lord."

The Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, were very much concerned at the ill opinion which their brethren had conceived of them; but, conscious of their perfect innocence in this matter, they, making a solemn appeal to the Searcher of hearts, return the following answer to Phineas and his companions: "The Lord God of the whole world, and all Israel, shall know how innocent we are of the rebellion with which you charge us. If we have set up an altar in opposition to the Lord's altar, let him judge, and punish us: neither do ye show us any favor. But when you shall know the truth, you will find what we have done was to prevent what you fear. For we considered that in time to come, your children might say unto our children, what have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel? For since the Lord hath made Jordan a border and bound between us and you, you have no part in the Lord; that is, you do not belong to the congregation of the Lord: nor have you any right to come before this tabernacle, nor to offer upon his altar; and so your children might be an occasion to our children to become rebels against the Lord. Therefore we agreed to build an altar, not for burnt-offering, nor for sacrifice, but to be a witness between you and us, and our generations after us: that when we should come to perform service to the Lord with our burnt-offering and sacrifice before him, if your children should say unto ours, Ye have no part in the Lord; our children might reply, Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord, which our fathers made, not to sacrifice upon, but to be a witness between us and you. But as to the matter you charge us with, God forbid that we should rebel against the Lord, and turn this day from following the Lord, to build an altar for burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, or sacrifices, beside the altar of our God that is before his tabernacle."

When Phineas, and the princes of the people that were with him, heard this fair and just vindication of the Reubenites and the rest, they could not forbear showing great satisfaction, and were overjoyed at the proof of their innocence. Phineas looking upon this as a happy token of God's presence among them, testifies the same to the injured Reubenites, assuring them by this test of their loyalty to God, that he was still present with them. Then taking leave of their brethren, they return in triumph to the Israelites at Shiloh, who, with infinite pleasure and joy, receive the good tidings of their brethren's innocence, and of their pious care and zeal to preserve their posterity in the fear and service of the true God; and, changing their angry thoughts of war into those of tenderness and peace, they blessed God for the happy issue of this dangerous affair. As for the Reubenites and their brethren, to prevent any future jealousy or suspicion of their intentions, they called the altar which they had built *Ed*, which signifies a witness, adding this as the reason of the name. "For it shall be a witness between us and our brethren, the other tribes of Israel, that the Lord is God." Intimating by this, that, though they lived at a distance from the rest of their brethren, yet both had but one God, who was the God of Israel.

After this, Joshua reaped the fruits of his victories in the quiet enjoyment of peace; and at last being grown old, and perceiving his end to be near at hand, he caused all Israel to be assembled, to whom he thus briefly enumerated the blessings that God had bestowed on their ancestors and themselves: "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of Jordan, from whence the Lord brought Abraham his servant to this happy country, where he blessed his old age with a son, and that son with two others, Jacob and Esau. Esau possessed Mount Seir; but Jacob and his family went into Egypt, where their posterity remained under slavish bondage till God sent Moses and Aaron to deliver them. You cannot be ignorant of the wonders God wrought by their hands when he plagued Egypt for their sakes, nor of his care in protecting them against the Amorites. Yourselves have lately seen confederated nations fall before you, and the power of the Almighty hath always pointed out the way to an easy victory for you over all your enemies. And now, at last, he hath left you in quiet possession of a land that aboundeth with all manner of plenty; whose happy soil, without your labor, yields the comfortable produce of all that nature can give. In recompense for all this, your great Protector and Benefactor requires only an exact obedience to his laws." Then solemnly declaring, "that, what course soever the rest should take, he and his house would serve the Lord," and exhorting them to a faithful observance of the laws of God, he invited them to renew the covenant with God. Which having done, in very ample and significant terms he wrote the words of their covenant in the book of the law of God. Then setting up a great stone under an oak by the sanctuary of the Lord, he bade the people take notice, that that very stone should be a witness to them, to remind them of the covenant which they had made, to preserve them, at any future time, from denying their God.

Soon after this, Joshua, being arrived at the hundred and tenth year of his age, died, and was buried in the border of his inheritance, in Timnath-Serah, in Mount Ephraim, which city, upon the division of the land among the tribes, the children of Israel, by God's direction,* gave unto him, in token of gratitude for the many services and benefits they had received by his administration.† Much about the same time also, died Eleazar, the son

* *God's direction.* See Joshua xix. 49, 50.

† In this remarkable history we perceive "a beautiful representation of the faithfulness and sufficiency of the Saviour, while we observe the Israelitish general fixing and establishing his people in their inheritance. It was the purpose of God from the beginning, and had been repeatedly declared to his servants in different ages, that the descendants of Abraham should possess the kingdom of Canaan — the land which the Lord had "espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, and which was the glory of all lands," Ezek. xx. 6; Deut. xi. 10–12. Many previous measures were taken in order to prepare for this event, but the completion of the design was reserved for Joshua. It was he who, in a triumphant manner, conducted the hosts of Israel into that delightful country, who assigned to the various tribes their respective portions, and saw them settled in peace and prosperity around him. Then, when the whole scheme was accomplished, they were all required to testify, that "not one thing had failed of all the good things, which the Lord their God spake concerning them." To Him, therefore, "who keepeth truth forever," they were taught to ascribe the praise. "For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save

of Aaron the priest, whom they buried in a hill which was given him in Mount Ephraim, and which descended to Phineas, his son, and successor in the priesthood.

The children of Israel, as has been said at the end of the first book, being obliged by oath to carry Joseph's bones with them when they should be delivered from the Egyptian bondage, having them still with them, now bethought themselves of the obligation they lay under to perform the solemn charge of their venerable ancestor; they therefore buried Joseph's bones in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob had formerly bought of the son of Hamor, the father of Shechem, which parcel of ground afterwards became the inheritance of Joseph's posterity

them, but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them," Psalm xlv. 3.

In these several circumstances we discover a striking resemblance of the great plan of salvation. The redeemed of the Lord shall "inherit a kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world," for "it is their Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom," Matt. xxv. 34; Luke xii. 32. Much has been done in various ways to forward the gracious design; but the full performance of it is intrusted to the care of Jesus. He is "the Captain of the Lord's hosts," who stands engaged to bring them to heaven. This was the object of his counsels from the beginning, nor will he leave his scheme unfinished. For the accomplishment of his purpose, he relinquished the throne of his glory, was obedient to the law, was made a curse, died, was buried, and rose again; and, though he now reigns above, he is carrying on the same work, and, with a particular regard to it, he will continue to maintain universal dominion, "until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." Not one of his faithful followers shall fail of attaining "the promise of eternal inheritance;" for it is "reserved in heaven for them," and they "are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation," 1 Pet. i. 4, 5. His grace and truth are pledged for their present security, and for their final admission into "the joy of their Lord." They shall "sit with him in his throne, and shall reign forever and ever," Rev. iii. 21, xxii. 5.

Canaan, we have seen, as the land of *rest* into which the Hebrews were conducted, typified the heavenly country to which our expectations are raised. But how inferior and how defective the former, in comparison of the latter? The rest of the Israelites was far from being complete, and was but of a short duration, and therefore one of a more excellent nature is provided for us by the gospel. "For if Jesus (or Joshua) had given them rest (in the full sense of the word), then would he not afterward have spoken of another day," Heb. iv. 8. But now "there remaineth a rest for the people of God"—a rest which may properly be called so, perfect in degree, and everlasting in continuance. How delightful the prospect! "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is," 1 John iii. 2. — *Robinson's Scripture Characters*, Vol. I.

SECTION IV.

THE Israelites,* as yet preserving the recollection of Joshua's solemn exhortation, and being warned of the dangerous consequence of the murmuring of their forefathers, dared not undertake anything without God's direction. And there still remaining several of the Canaanitish kings unconquered, and who might be troublesome to them, they unanimously repair to the sacred oracle at Shiloh, to ask counsel who should go first up for them, to fight the Canaanites. The Lord gave this first post of honor to the tribe of Judah, with an assurance of victory. Whereupon they invited the tribe of Simeon, whose lot lay within theirs, to accompany them in this expedition; they promised them, if they would join forces with them now, they would do the like for them afterwards. Simeon agrees; and, taking the field, they both attack the cruel king of Bezek, who, having fortified himself in his city, could not hold out long against victorious Israel; but, seeing his heartless troops give way, quits the place, and endeavors by ignoble flight to save his life. But in vain; for the Israelites having taken the town and put ten thousand of the people to the sword, they pursue Adonibezek the king, and having taken him, they cut off his thumbs and great toes. This execution drew from the tyrant an acknowledgment of the justice of God upon him; for he confessed he had cut off the thumbs and great toes of not less than seventy princes, whom, in this mangled condition, he obliged to gather their food, like dogs, under his table.

The ancient city Jebus,† with its territories, lay in two parts, of which one part fell to the lot of Judah, the other to that of Benjamin. Judah soon overran that part of it which belonged to him, and having put the inhabitants to the sword, set the place on fire. Hither it was they brought the captive king Adonibezek, where he died.

The next march of the Israelites was against the Canaanites, who dwelt to

* *The Israelites.* After the death of Joshua, the Israelites were long without any king or sovereign. Every tribe being governed by its elders, chose its own commanders for war, and they by degrees subdued the rest of the inhabitants of the country, either destroying or making them tributaries. The neighboring kings made war on, and sometimes subdued them; but God from time to time raised up great and eminent men, who delivered them from their oppressions. In acknowledgment for which benefit the people appointed them their judges; that is, their supreme magistrates, to administer justice, and to govern them.

† *Jebus.* This city and its territories had hitherto been possessed by the Jebusites, who sprung from Jebusi, the third son of Canaan, Gen. x. 16. It is in Judg. i. 8 called Jerusalem, which name it retained long after; for when the Israelites had sacked and burned it it was rebuilt again, and possessed by the Jebusites.

the southward on the mountains, and in the plains, where, having taken Hebron, they marched to attack Debir, which was a part of Caleb's portion, but possessed by the Canaanites. This being Caleb's property, notwithstanding his great age, he resolves to storm the place; and to encourage his men the more in this brave attempt, he made proclamation in his camp, that he would give Achsah his daughter to the brave hero who should attack and take the town. The hopes of this beautiful prize excited in all the youth a generous emulation, and spurred them on to the daring enterprise; but none came near the brave Othniel,* whose conquering sword at the head of his party hewed down all before him, and led the way to victory. In short, he won the place, and with it the fair reward.

Othniel's gallantry being thus nobly rewarded by Caleb, the beautiful Achsah thinking herself not a sufficient recompense for the service of her valiant hero, puts him upon asking of her father a parcel of land which lay commodiously near their estate. Othniel thinking his service already overpaid, seems backward in the request; therefore Achsah, addressing herself to her father Caleb, desired him in general terms to give her a blessing; but more particularly she thus applied to him: "Thou hast already given me a pleasant estate in the south part of the country, but it is hot and dry, and likely to prove barren; give me, I pray thee, this parcel of land, which is well watered." Upon which the generous parent granted her request, giving her the upper and lower springs.†

The venerable Caleb, though he had passed his eighty-fifth ‡ year, yet retaining his youthful strength and vigor, pushes on his successes, and takes Hebron, as has been already said, with other places, expelling the gigantic race of Anak; but the inhabitants of the valley kept their ground, being a hardy people, and well provided with warlike instruments, such as iron chariots, etc.

Those of Joseph's family who went up against Bethel, did, by the assistance of the Lord, prevail, for, sending out spies to discover the city, they, observing a man come out of it, seized him, and promised him mercy if he would show them the avenues to it. The man, to save his life, gave them the best information he could, by which they so well succeeded that, having given notice to the rest of their forces to join them, they entered the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword, except the man who had discovered the entrance, with his family.

As for the other tribes, they also possessed themselves of the lands allotted them; but did not destroy the inhabitants, contenting themselves with making them tributary, and suffering them to dwell promiscuously among them. Only the children of Dan were so unsuccessful against the Amorites that they were forced to quit the plains, and retire to the mountainous parts of the country, where they were kept pent up for a time. But the rest of the

* *Othniel*. He was somewhat of kin to Caleb, being, as Tremellius and Junius say, of the posterity of Kenaz; from whom Caleb being descended, was therefore called the Kenezite, Num. xxxii. 12, and Josh. xiv. 14.

† *Springs*. See Judg. i. 15.

‡ *Eighty*. See Josh. xiv. 11, 12.

Israelites, who had been successful against the Canaanites and Amorites, fell into a great error; for, either through lenity or covetousness, not making the right use of their victories, as they were expressly commanded* by God, they not only permitted them to live, but encouraged them to trade and deal with them. This disobedience and neglect of the Divine precept not only proved a snare to them, but likewise incensed God against them, who, to make them sensible of their folly, sent an angel † to remind them of the many favors he had bestowed upon them in delivering them out of Egypt, and bringing them into that good land, and of his faithfulness in keeping his covenant with them, which they had so unfaithfully violated, by which ingratitude they had provoked God to withdraw his help and protection from them.

This reproof, for the present, brought the people to themselves, and made them so sensible of their sin that they fell into a general weeping, deplored the wretchedness of their condition, and offered sacrifice to the Lord to appease his wrath, calling the name of the place where they received this reproof Bochim, which signifies weepers. But ‡ scarcely were their tears wiped off at Bochim, when, forsaking the Lord God of their fathers, they fell into open idolatry, worshipping Baal and Ashtaroth,§ the idols of the heathens; which so provoked the Lord that he often || suffered them to be taken and enslaved by their enemies. But that which brought these calamities upon them was their favor to those enemies with whom God had forbidden them all manner of correspondence; for, besides that it was expressly forbidden in the law, Joshua, but just before his death, had particularly

* *Commanded.* See Exod. xxiii. 32, 33; Deut. vii. 2, etc.

† *Angel.* That is, a messenger, for so the word implies. The rabbins will have this messenger to be Phineas the priest. But by the words of the text, Judg. i. 1, it must have been an angel or divine messenger, by whose mouth God declared, "I brought you out of Egypt," which could not be applied to Phineas.

‡ Mention was made in Josh. xxiv. 31, (and the same is repeated here, Judg. ii. 7,) that "the people of Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua," who had seen all the great works of the Lord that he wrought for Israel. But when that generation was dead, and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel, v. 10, the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord and served Baalim, v. 11, that is, the less or tutelar gods, so called by the nations about them.

§ *Baal and Ashtaroth.* That is, idols or gods of the heathen, for by Baal, or Baalim, were signified all the male gods, as the females were by Ashtaroth, which was the idol of the Zidonians, represented in the form of a sheep. The first idol, or Baal, was that of Nimrod, which the Assyrians worshipped; for Nimrod was Baal or Belus, the father of Ninus, husband to Semiramis. And Baal, Bal, Beel, Bel, Belus, etc., are the same. From the Assyrians the Babylonians took the idol and worship of Belus, as it is plain in the history of Bel and the dragon, (which, according to the Latins, is the fourteenth chapter of Daniel.) And from the Babylonians, the Zidonians and Phœnicians took them. Hence all the idols or gods of the heathen, by an extensive name, were called Baal, Bel, Baalim. And from the variety of gods, or their places and events, they were named, as Beelphegor, that is, Priapus, the lustful god; Beelzebub, the god of flies; Beelzephon, the god of eagles, or mercury; Baalgad, the god of fortune. And from the word Baal are compounded several African names (which language, as well as country, bordered on the Hebrews), as Hannibal, that is, lord of camps; Hasdrubal, lord of villages, etc.

|| *Often.* See Judges ii., from the fourteenth verse to the end of the chapter.

warned them of the danger they would fall into, if they should entertain any familiarity with those nations that God had doomed to destruction; and above all things, he laid a most strict charge on them to take care that they did not intermarry with them, which he knew would naturally lead them to idolatry. Yet, notwithstanding they knew all this, they so far indulged themselves in a loose conversation with the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, Hivites, and Jebusites, that, forgetting the obligation they lay under, they made intermarriages with them, the immediate consequence of which was that they served their idols.*

By these provocations God was so incensed against Israel, that He left them to themselves; who without his care and protection made but a poor defence against their enemies: for Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, invading them, made an easy conquest of them, and enslaved them for eight years. During which time of servitude, the Israelites coming to a sense and acknowledgment of their transgressions, and crying to the Lord for help, he raised up a deliverer for them. This was the brave Othniel, who, in recompense of his valor, had married Caleb's daughter. This hero, being divinely inspired,† undertook the deliverance of the Israelites, defeated Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, and by this victory over the Syrians procured to the Israelites a peace of forty years,‡ during which time Othniel governed Israel, and was the first of those we call Judges.

The Israelites, having under Othniel's peaceful administration enjoyed uninterrupted rest and tranquillity, grew wanton; and ungratefully forgetting the former benefits which God had bestowed upon them, relapsed into their former sins of apostasy and corruption in religion. Of which the two following events § are notorious instances.

There was about this time a devout woman of the tribe of Dan, who, through a mistaken zeal, had dedicated a sum of money to the Lord, and laid it by, intending her son should make with it an idol, or teraphim. Her son, whose name was Micah, finding the money, but not knowing to what use his mother had devoted it, took it for himself. She, missing the money, and not suspecting her son, did in his presence curse the sacrilegious

* *Idols.* See Judges iii. 6.

† *Inspired.* All excellent qualities, whether natural or supernatural, are in the Holy Scriptures ascribed to the "Spirit of the Lord." Thus Bezaleel, Ex. xxxi. 3, is said to be "filled with the Spirit of God," when he was appointed to build the Tabernacle. The same is said of Gideon, Samson, Saul, and others.

‡ *Forty years.* That is, from the death of Joshua, as some compute it; but it must be in all probability from the time of their deliverance by the conduct of Othniel, who, Du Pin says (and with great reason), governed Israel in peace for the space of forty years.

§ *Events.* These two events are mentioned in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of Judges; and being inserted toward the end of the book, seem as if they referred to later times; but in the judgment of most learned men, they were transacted about this time. Their reasons are too many to recount; we therefore insert them here, as the most likely times for such evils to have been committed in. For it is plain from the text that these things happened "when there was no king (that is, *ruler*; for, properly speaking, there had hitherto been no king) in Israel," but every man did what was right in his own eyes. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1.

thief; which so affrighted the son, that he confessed the fact, and restored it to her, being in all eleven hundred shekels * of silver. The mother, having received her money again, took two hundred shekels of it, and gave them to a founder to make an idol; which being done, she placed it in the house of her son's gods, for he had made a teraphim † and an ephod, and consecrated ‡ one of his sons to be priest for awhile till he could procure a Levite, which he shortly did; for soon after, a certain young man who was a Levite, and had dwelt some time at Bethlehem-Judah, travelling from thence to seek a better settlement, came in his way to Micah's house in Mount Ephraim. Micah, glad of this opportunity, invited the young Levite to dwell with him, and be to him a father § and a priest, offering him for his wages ten shekels of silver by the year, his diet, and two suits of apparel, one for common use, and the other to officiate in. The Levite, liking the terms, closes with Micah, and became one of his family. On the other hand, Micah was as much pleased in the hope and confidence that the Lord would prosper him because he had procured a Levite || to be his priest.

About the same time some of the tribe of Dan, finding the lot which fell to them, upon the division of the land in Joshua's ¶ time, too little for them,

* *Shekels.* Which, if common shekels, at one shilling and three pence each, would amount to sixty-eight pounds, fifteen shillings of English money; but if shekels of the sanctuary, double that sum.

† *Teraphim.* We have already spoken something of teraphim in the story of Jacob's flight from Laban, when Rachel took away with her her father's teraphim, to which we refer. Though the times in which this happened were evil, for want of due government, and intermingling with their heathen neighbors, yet we can hardly conceive they were already so degenerate as to set up oracular images whereby to ask counsel of the Devil. It is more probable that they conceived they might lawfully worship God by or through images (as too many called Christians falsely suppose they may); and it is evident from the text, Judges xvii. 3, that Micah's mother dedicated that money to Jehovah, with which the teraphim, etc., were to be made; and Micah, when he formed the teraphim, made also an ephod, *ver.* 5, which was a kind of sacred garment appointed of God himself, for the use of the priest, Exod. xxviii. 4, and by which they were used to ask counsel of God, as in the case of David, 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8.

‡ *Consecrated.* This was a great abuse, and imputable to the licentiousness of those times, when "every man did what seemed right in his own eyes." What is here, Judg. xvii. 5, rendered *consecration*, is originally *filling the hand*, and is a Hebrew phrase; consecration being performed as well by filling the hand with gifts and victims, as by the anointing-oil.

§ *Father.* The priest was called a father for reverence sake, being indeed a spiritual father to the laity, as having the care of their souls, and the charge of the holy things. Thus are preceptors called fathers to their pupils, senators fathers to the citizens, princes fathers of their countries, etc.

|| *Levite.* Who this young Levite was, is difficult to say. He is called Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, xviii. 30. But who this Manasseh was, is uncertain. Tremellius and Junius call Jonathan *Pronepos Moschis, ex Manasseh*; *Annot.* on Judg. xvii. 1. As if Manasseh had been Moses' son, Gershom Moses' grandson, and this Jonathan Moses' great-grandson. But since we read of no more than two sons that Moses had, *viz.*, Gershom and Eliezer, Exod. xviii. 4, this must be considered some other way. The old Latin translation, which is called St. Jerome's, reads it Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. And another says, the Hebrews read Moses for Manasseh; which seems most likely, if any such Jonathan, the son of Gershom, can be found, and whose age may suit the time of this story.

¶ *Joshua's.* See Josh. xix. 47.

and not even enjoying all that (for the Amorites, as has been already said, would not suffer them to possess the valley, which was the best and richest part, but forced them up into the mountains), they were obliged to seek out more room to enlarge their quarters. Whereupon, choosing five men of courage, they sent them to take a view of the country. These spies, in their travels, came to Micah's house, where they were entertained; and knowing the young Levite by his voice, they asked him how he came thither, and what business he had there. He told them what agreement Micah had made with him, and that he was Micah's priest. When they heard this, they desired him to ask counsel of God, that they might know whether their journey would be prosperous or not. And the priest said unto them, Go in peace. With this encouragement they went on till they came to Laish, where, observing the people lived very secure and careless, without any sort of discipline or government, they concluded it would be no difficult matter to conquer them and take possession of the place. With this report they returned to their friends, giving them an account that the land abounded with all the necessaries of life.

The Danites embrace the opportunity, and arming a party of six hundred men, they sent them to take possession of the city of Laish. These, marching through Mount Ephraim, came in their way by Micah's house, where, making a halt, the five spies, who were guides to this party and had been there before, acquainted the rest that there were in that house an ephod and teraphim, and a graven and a molten image, desiring them to consider whether they had best tarry there to ask counsel of the Lord concerning the success of their enterprise, or to take the ephod and images with them, to consult upon all occasions. The last seemed most expedient; for the five spies that were the guides, leaving the party at the gate, went into the house. Micah being from home, they saluted the Levite, whom they sent to the gate to talk with the Danites; and while they entertained him without, the guides having been there before, and knowing the rooms of the house, plundered it of the ephod, the teraphim, and other images, and brought them out to their brethren at the gate. The priest seeing this, was amazed at the boldness of the attempt, and asked them what they meant by it. They bade him be silent, and consider whether it were better for him to be a priest to a single family, or to a whole tribe in Israel. This advantageous offer soon gained the young priest to their side, who joined with them, and went off with the plunder.

Micah returning, and understanding that his priest and teraphim were gone, gathered as many friends as he could, and pursued the Danites. But they were a long way from his house before he could overtake them. At length coming within view of them, some of the Danite soldiers in the rear heard them make an outcry, and facing about, asked Micah what ailed him? He told them they had robbed him. Upon which the Danites advised him to be silent; for if they provoked the rest of the party, it would cost them their lives. Micah finding himself overmatched, was obliged to put up with the wrong, and return home without either his gods or his priest.

The Danites, having thus got rid of Micah and his friends, continuing their march, came in a short time to Laish; and finding the people quiet and secure, they set the city on fire, and surprising the inhabitants, who were busy in extinguishing the fire, they put them all to the sword. Afterwards rebuilding the city, they called it Dan, after the name of their father; and settling there, they set up Micah's graven image, which they had stolen from him; and making the young Levite Jonathan their priest, he and his sons continued to officiate as priests to the tribe of Dan all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh, until the captivity of the land, which is supposed to be till the ark in Eli's time was taken by the Philistines,* about three hundred years after this.

This story is an instance of the great apostasy and corruption of religion among the Israelites; that which follows is as pregnant a proof of immorality and depravation of manners among them; which was thus:

A Levite who dwelt on the side of Mount Ephraim, having taken a wife out of Bethlehem-Judah, she proved a lewd woman, and either through fear or shame, left her husband and ran home to her father at Bethlehem-Judah, where she tarried four months. In which time her husband, having somewhat digested the injury, went, at the four months' end, to her father's, with an intent to be reconciled to her and bring her home with him; in order to which he took a servant and a couple of asses. Having arrived at her father's house, he was received with great joy, and entertained for three days. At the importunity of the father, he stays the fourth day, and was kept till the afternoon of the next day; but the Levite, resolving to be gone, took his leave, and with his wife and servant set out. By the time they were got as far as Jebus,† the day being far spent, the servant, fearing to be benighted, desired his master to put in there. But the place being not fully possessed and inhabited by Israelites, he endeavored to reach Gibeah,‡ where they arrived just at sunset; and sitting down in the street, as the custom of travellers then was, they waited to see who would invite them to a lodging. After waiting long, an old man came from his work out of the field, and seeing strangers sit in the street, went up to them, and saluting them, asked whence they came and whither they were travelling. The Levite told him, and complained of the incivility of the people,—none having invited him to a lodging, though he had his own provisions with him. The hospitable old man, who was of Mount Ephraim, though he dwelt at Gibeah, courteously invited them to lodge at his house, where he entertained them very hospitably. While they were at supper, the men of the city, having observed where they put in, came to the house, and, knocking with great violence at the door, demanded of the master of the house to deliver the man that came in there, that they might know him.§ The good old man, to prevent danger to his guests, ven-

* *Philistines.* See 1 Sam. iv.

† *Jebus.* This was that part of Jerusalem which belonged to Benjamin, but was possessed chiefly by the Jebusites.

‡ *Gibeah.* This city belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, and is also called Ramah.

§ *Know him.* Just as the Sodomites offered to Lot, demanding to have the Levite delivered to them, that they might abuse him in an unnatural way.

tured among this tumultuous rabble to appease them, offering them his only daughter, who was a virgin, and the Levite's concubine, to use at their pleasure, provided they would not offer any violence to his guest. This would not do; whereupon the Levite, seeing them so outrageous, to save himself, turned his concubine* out among them, who abused her all night, not letting her go till break of day: and then she, returning to the house where her husband lay, fell down dead at the door, her hands lying upon the threshold. The Levite, opening the door and seeing her lie there, concluded she was asleep, and therefore bade her get up that they might be going; but when he perceived she was dead, he took her up, and, making no complaint there, laid her upon one of the asses, and hastened home as fast as he could. And now he had time to meditate a revenge suitable to the affront, which he in this horrid manner expressed: he divided his dead concubine into twelve pieces, and sent to every tribe a piece, through the whole coasts of Israel, with an account of the barbarous and inhospitable treatment he had met with at Gibeah, that so the whole family of Israel in general, being made sensible of the wrong done to him and his concubine, might join in revenging it.

The fact indeed was in itself most barbarous; but the revengeful Levite's expressing his resentment in a manner so horrid, enhanced the heinousness of the crime, and made a deeper impression on the minds of the Israelites, who, upon sight of each piece of the divided concubine, unanimously declared, That there was never such a deed done or seen since the day that the children of Israel came up out of Egypt. And to acquit themselves of the guilt of so wicked a transaction, the whole congregation of Israel met at Mizpeh, that they might there examine the business before the Lord; where, demanding of the Levite an account of the whole matter, he thus, in short, sums it up to them: "I came with my concubine to Gibeah, which belongs to Benjamin, to lodge; but the men of Gibeah beset the house where I was with a design to murder me; and my concubine have they forced, that she is dead; by which they have committed lewdness in Israel. Whereupon I took my concubine home, and having cut her to pieces, I sent her throughout all the inheritance of Israel. Now ye being sons of Israel, are concerned in this abuse as well as I: therefore consider and advise what is to be done." When the people had received this account of the matter, they were highly incensed against the men of Gibeah, and resolved not to return to their houses till they had brought the offenders to condign punishment. And that they might lose no time, they agreed to draw ten men out of every hundred, an hundred out of every thousand, and a thousand out of every ten thousand, who should be employed to furnish the army with provisions and other necessaries.

But before they proceeded to extremities, they resolved to send messengers through all the tribe of Benjamin, to lay the matter before them, and to demand those men who had committed this outrage to be delivered to them, that they might do justice on them. But the people of Benjamin, in contempt of their brethren the Israelites, resolved to stand by the offenders, and

* *Concubine.* She is sometimes called wife, as in Judges xix. 1, but oftener concubine.

mustered up all their force to defend them. The Israelitish army consisted of four hundred thousand able men; that of Benjamin, but of twenty-six thousand: (a great disparity, and which showed the latter desperate.) The Israelites, over-confident of their strength, and despising the Benjamites, who were so few, depending on the justice of their cause, never went to ask counsel of God, (as in such emergencies they usually did,) whether they should go to war with their brethren or not; but taking that for granted, to prevent any difference that might arise among the tribes about precedence in this expedition, they went up to the house of God only to know which tribe should lead the van, and the lot fell to Judah. Upon this, the Israelitish army advanced, and sat down before Gibeah; from whence the Benjamites made a brisk sally upon them, cut off two-and-twenty thousand of them, and retreated to the town with very little loss. This unexpected disaster made the Israelites sensible of their neglect, in not inquiring of the Lord whether they ought to have undertaken this war or not. Wherefore, bewailing their misfortune in the last action, they ask counsel of the Lord, (but in an irregular manner,) who, to punish them for their presumption, bade them go, but promised them no success. The heedless Israelites taking this for an assurance of victory, drew up their army again before Gibeah, offering the Benjamites battle; who being flushed with their former success made another bold sally, and cut off eighteen thousand more of the Israelites. The second defeat brought the Israelites to a sense of their former presumption and neglect: wherefore, going up to the house of the Lord, they humbled themselves with weeping and fasting that day, and offered burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings before the Lord. And having thus regularly proceeded in their humiliation, they again inquired of the Lord whether they should attack the Benjamites, or forbear; for at this time the ark of the covenant of God was in Shiloh, and Phineas* was priest. And now the Lord having sufficiently corrected the confidence of the Israelites, not only gives them commission to go against the Benjamites, but assures them of victory.

With this encouragement the Israelites prepare a third time to attack the Benjamites; and to make their victory the more secure, they lay an ambuscade in the meadows behind Gibeah, that when the fight was begun, the Israelites by a feigned flight drawing the Benjamites from the city, those that lay in ambush should seize the city, and set it on fire as a signal to the main body of the Israelitish army to rally, and renew the fight.

Matters being thus disposed, ten thousand choice troops of the Israelites appear before Gibeah; which the Benjamites seeing, sallied out of the town, and fell briskly upon them, killing about thirty of them. The Israelites then retiring, as if they were afraid, pretended to fly; and the Benjamites, supposing the day was their own, eagerly pursued them so far, that they were at a distance from the town sufficient to give the ambuscade an opportunity to seize the place, and set it on fire. The main body of the Israelitish army

* *Phineas*. This passage, in Judg. xx. 28, (rejecting the Rabbinical dream, that Phineas lived three hundred years,) shows plainly, that this happened in the time of the Judges.

seeing this, faced about, and charged furiously upon the Benjamites, who now began to think of retreating to their city; but when by the smoke and flame they saw themselves circumvented, they fled toward the wilderness, hoping to secure themselves there: but in vain; for being enclosed by the main army and the ambuscade, they were easily trodden down. In this action and the pursuit, twenty-five thousand one hundred of the Benjamites were slain; and a thousand more having been destroyed in other actions, there remained but six hundred men of the Benjamites, who fled to the rock Rimmon, and hid themselves there: all the rest of that tribe, together with their towns and cattle, suffered military execution.

The heat of this action being over, the Israelites began to reflect on the low condition to which the tribe of Benjamin was reduced by this general slaughter, and which affected them in a very sensible manner; and the rather, because upon their first engaging in the quarrel, they had rashly sworn that no Israelite should give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite. Upon this they repaired to the tabernacle where the ark was, and mourned all day, saying, "O Lord, why is this come to pass, that there should this day be one tribe wanting in Israel?" Then rising early the next morning, they built an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings to the Lord. After which, applying themselves to find out some expedient to elude their rash oath and save the sinking tribe, they recollected that they had at first bound themselves by oath to put to death all those who should not appear with them at Mizpeh, and join in the common cause against the Benjamites. Upon inquiry, they found that none came from Jabesh-Gilead to the assembly at their camp: therefore sending twelve thousand of the best men to Jabesh-Gilead, they commanded them to put man, woman, and child to the sword, except such young women as were virgins, whom they were to bring with them to the camp. These troops having done execution on Jabesh-Gilead, as they were commanded, brought away with them four hundred virgins to the Israelites; who immediately sent heralds to the rock Rimmon, to treat with the few remaining Benjamites, offering them peace, and inviting them to return. The poor Benjamites gladly embrace the offer; and coming to the camp, the Israelites bestowed on them the Gileadite virgins for wives. But the Benjamites being six hundred in number, there was not one for every man. Upon which, they invented another expedient to supply this deficiency: once a year there was a solemn feast held at Shiloh, at which the young maidens of Shiloh used to attend and to dance: the Israelites therefore directed the Benjamites who wanted wives to lie in wait in the vineyards at the time of the feast, and when they should see the Shiloh damsels come to dance, they should seize every man one for his wife, and carry them away into their own country, promising them that if any of the relations of the damsels should complain, they would screen them from danger. The Benjamites pursue these instructions; and watching their opportunity, took every one his damsel, and carried them off to their own inheritance: where, repairing their cities, they settled again, and in time recruited their tribe.

These civil and intestine quarrels among the tribes being thus reconciled, the Israelites did not long enjoy peace; for continuing to provoke God by their profaneness and irregularities, he again chastises them by their enemies: the most powerful of whom was Eglon, king of Moab. Him God raised up to be a scourge, who otherwise had neither strength nor courage to attack Israel. But being designed by the Almighty to be the instrument of his vengeance, Eglon armed the Ammonites and Amalekites, and fell upon the Israelites, whom he defeated, and possessed himself of the city of Palm-trees. And as an aggravation of their offence in so suddenly transgressing after their late deliverance from bondage, God enlarged their punishment, for their servitude was now advanced from eight years to eighteen, which was the space of time they served Moab.

But when the Israelites, under a sense of their misery, addressed themselves to their God, he raised them another deliverer in the person of Ehud, the son of Gera, a man who was left-handed in consequence of lameness in his right hand. Ehud was a wise and politic man, and having observed the weakness of the Israelites by their eighteen years' slavery, and the low condition of the Benjamites, that they were not able by open war to attempt anything against their oppressors, he contrives first to take off Eglon privately; knowing it would be much easier to deal with the Moabites, when they should be in confusion for want of a leader, than while they had their king at their head. To effect this the more plausibly, he repairs to the Moabitish court, where, under pretence of delivering a present to the king from his servants, the children of Israel, he is admitted into the king's presence. When he had delivered the present, and dismissed his servants that brought it, he, returning to the king, told him he had a private message to him. The king then ordered him to be silent till the company were withdrawn; after which, Ehud approaches, and informs his majesty that he was charged with a message from God * to him. Hearing this, Eglon, in reverence to the name of God, arose from his seat, when Ehud, seizing the favorable moment, stabbed him in the belly with a dagger which he had concealed under his clothes, so forcibly, that he thrust the dagger, hilt and all, into his belly; and the king being a very fat man, the fat of his belly closed over the dagger, so that he could not draw it out. Ehud seeing him dead, left him wallowing in his blood, and shutting the door after him, which he also locked, he made the best of his way home.

The servants of the king, observing Ehud retire, returned to pay their usual attendance on their master; but finding the door locked, they concluded he chose to be alone, and therefore withdrew; but after long waiting, and finding the door still shut, they took a key and opened it, and to their

* *God.* This was Ehud's commission from God to dispatch Eglon, and therefore is not to be drawn into an example by others; for in *Judg.* iii. 15, Ehud must be supposed to have done this by the inspiration of God; for he is in the text called a Saviour of the children of Israel, raised up by God himself. Therefore this paraphrase may be allowed on these words, "I have a message to thee from God," that is, "God commands me to slay thee, the oppressor of Israel."

great surprise found their king a breathless corpse on the ground. This long delay gave Ehud a fair opportunity to escape, which he improved by his utmost speed; and coming to Mount Ephraim, he blew a trumpet, at which signal the Israelites flocked to him, to whom he related what he had done, and bade them follow him; For God, said he, hath delivered your enemies, the Moabites, into your hands. They readily obeyed him as their leader, and securing the fords of Jordan towards Moab, suffered not a man to pass over; but falling courageously upon the Moabites while they were in that consternation for the death of their king and want of a leader, they slew about ten thousand of the chief of them, at the same time delivering Israel and subduing Moab.

After the death of Ehud, God raised up for Israel another deliverer in the person of Shamgar, the son of Anath, a strong and valiant man, who, when the Philistines in another quarter invaded Israel, with no better weapon than an ox-goad, slew six hundred of the Philistines, and delivered them from all the dangerous neighbors who were borderers on that side. After which Israel enjoyed a peace of eight years. In which time of liberty and ease they grew wanton and forgetful of their former servitude; which neglect and ingratitude provoked God to raise up other instruments for their correction, the chief of whom was Jabin, who, assuming to himself the title of The King of Canaan, reigned in Hazor. He was a powerful prince, well supplied with warlike munition, having nine hundred chariots* armed with iron, and his subjects a military people. This king lorded it over the oppressed Israelites with great severity for twenty years, God, upon the repetition and aggravation of their transgressions, justly increasing their punishment. And so cruel were the people to them, that they durst not travel the common roads upon their ordinary occasions, but were forced to seek by-ways† to avoid their enemies, so that their highways were disused; neither could they in safety dwell in their villages, being attacked by their archers‡ if they went out but to draw water. Nay, so servile was their condition that they were not suffered to keep any arms.§

The wretched Israelites languishing thus under the tyranny of their enemies, God was pleased at last to remember them in mercy, and, seeing their sufferings had brought them to a sense of their sins, he found out a way to deliver them beyond what they could imagine or expect; for it is very much to be suspected that at this time the Israelites, by the severity of their servitude, were so degenerated and dispirited that scarcely a man could be found qualified, in their present exigencies, to assume the reigns of government. Hence it is recorded that Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, judged Israel at that time. She was a prophetess, and the Israelites used to come to her for judgment. To this extraordinary woman the Lord communicated

* *Chariots.* These chariots were armed with scythes and swords, which, being driven among the enemy, cut down all before them. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, will have Cyrus to be the author of these chariots; but it is plain from hence, and from Josh. xvii. 16, that they were used nine hundred years before the days of Cyrus.

† *By-ways.* See Judg. v. 6.

‡ *Archers.* Ibid. v. 11.

§ *Arms.* Ibid. v. 8.

his intention of delivering his people, and by his Spirit directed her to send for Barak, the son of Abinoam, a brave young prince of the tribe of Naphtali. He came, and she informed him that it was the pleasure of the Lord that he should collect together ten thousand men of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun, and lead them towards Mount Tabor; and to encourage him, she told him, in the name of the Lord, that Sisera, the general of Jabin's army, with his army and chariots, should fall into his hands. Barak, considering the inequality of their forces and the greatness of the enterprise, and thinking it necessary to have the prophetess with him, to consult upon all occasions, as well as to encourage his men, told her, if she would go with him, he would go, but not else. The undaunted prophetess consented to accompany him; but pleasantly told him, for his diffidence, that this expedition should not be for his honor; for Sisera, the general, should fall by the hands of a woman.

Departing together for Kadesh, which was Barak's residence, he soon enlisted ten thousand volunteers in Zebulun and Naphtali, and led them to Mount Tabor, the prophetess still accompanying him. Such a number of distressed people being assembled together, it soon began to be rumored about the country; and notice being given to Sisera of this insurrection, he mustered all his force to suppress them, taking with him his nine hundred chariots of iron, and marched down to the river Kishon. Which the courageous Deborah seeing, being divinely inspired, gave the signal for battle, saying to Barak, "Up! for this is the day in which the Lord hath delivered Sisera into thine hand." Barak upon this marched down the mountain Tabor, and fell upon Sisera in the valley by the river: whose army God struck with such terror, by driving storms of rain and hail in their faces, that they could not stand before the Israelites, who pursuing them, put them all to the sword, except the general Sisera, who, not daring to trust to his chariot, fled from the field of battle on foot, till he came to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber* the Kenite, who dwelt in that country, which was at peace with king Jabin. Jael, seeing Sisera approaching, went out to meet him, and invited him to enter her tent. Rejoicing in having found such a retreat, he went in confidently, not suspecting any danger from her, whose husband was his master's ally.

Being extremely thirsty through the heat and fatigue of the day, he entreated Jael to give him a little water to drink, instead of which she gave

* *Heber.* He was of the posterity of Hobab, otherwise called Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and whose people went up with the children of Israel, to dwell among them, *Judg.* i. 16. This Heber, though a Kenite, had his family removed from the rest of the Kenites, and pitched his tent in the plain of Zanaïm, not far from Kadesh, where Barak lived. These Kenites, though they were proselytes, and worshipped the true God, according to the Mosaic law, yet being strangers by birth, and not of the promised seed, and so not pretending a right or title to the land of Canaan, they held it the best policy, in those troublesome times, to observe a neutrality, and maintain peace as well as they could, both with the Israelites and Canaanites. Upon this ground it was that there was a peace between king Jabin and the house of Heber the Kenite, and that gave confidence to Sisera in his distress to fly to Heber's tent for protection.

him as much milk as he desired, when, having allayed his thirst, he directed her that if any person should come to inquire after him, she should not acknowledge he was there. And now thinking himself safe, he lay down upon the floor to sleep, Jael very officiously covering him with a carpet, where he had not long reposed before he fell asleep, which, when Jael perceived, she took a hammer and a long nail, or tent-pin, and applying it to his temples, she struck it with such force, that it pierced through his head and pinned him to the ground, after which she cut* off his head, and so left him. Then going to the door of the tent, she soon perceived Barak coming in pursuit of Sisera, whom she went forth to meet, and inviting him in, told him that she could show him the man whom he sought, which she accordingly did. By these means did God assist the Israelites in subduing Jabin, king of Canaan; continuing the war till they had utterly destroyed him. Upon this victory, the heroine Deborah, and her valiant general, Barak, sang this triumphant song:

Let Israel their avenger's glory raise
 In lofty notes of everlasting praise!
 Hear, O ye kings! Attentive princes hear
 A wondrous song, that well deserves your ear!
 When Israel's God from hostile Edom came,
 With his own thunder armed, arrayed in flame,
 Trembled the earth, as o'er the clouds he rode,
 The clouds dissolve in rain, and own th' incumbent God.
 The mountains' tops at his approach retire,
 Their molten entrails run in streams of fire.
 O how unlike those novel gods, and vain
 The hopes their silly votaries entertain.
 Weak, unavailing names! no help they yield;
 War! war! the gates resound, and war the field,
 Th' alarm is given, in vain are spear and shield.
 By their insulting jealous lords bereft,
 No refuge, but inglorious flight was left;
 When Deborah arose at Heaven's command,
 When I arose to save the orphan land.
 Blessed be their names, the generous few who joined
 To urge the happy change by Heaven designed!
 By counsel or by action, pen or sword,
 To save their country, and to help the Lord.
 But curse ye Meroz; † an uncommon weight
 Of vengeance seize 'em, and a Neutral's fate!

* *Cut.* See Judg. v. 26.

† *Meroz.* What place this was is not certainly known, though very reasonably by some supposed to be Merom, the variation of one letter making but little difference if other circumstances do but agree, which they seem pretty much to do here. For about a hundred and twenty years before, we find, in Josh. xi. 1, etc., that Joshua at the waters of Merom killed Jabin, king of Hazor, one of the predecessors of this Jabin (king of the same Hazor), whose general, Sisera, was slain by Jael. Besides, according to *Adrichon ex Hieron*, Merom was a lake, thirty furlongs broad and sixty long, situated between Caesarea Philippi and the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan running through the middle of it. This lake, at the time of the snow melting on the mountain Lebanon, is very full of water, but at other times in a great measure dry. Those therefore that dwelled about this lake are cursed, because they did not only refuse succors to the Naphtalites, but underhand favored Sisera.

They would the spoil, though not the danger share;
 Now Sisera is fallen, they appear.
 His boasts, his fruitless hopes, his fears are o'er;
 He bowed, he fell, he sank, to rise no more.

So let thy foes, O God! to dust descend;
 But those that love Thee brighter stars attend!
 The sun himself less glorious be than they;
 The sun, triumphant in the blaze of day.

To these warlike and tumultuous transactions a time of tranquillity and rest succeeded. During which, the Israelites again provoking God by relapsing into their former transgressions, He takes them more immediately into His own hands, and chastises their presumption and ingratitude by a severe famine; which raging furiously among the Israelites, many of them are obliged to quit their habitations and seek for food in a foreign land. Among the rest, one Elimelech of Bethlehem-Judah, a man of condition and family, removed with his wife Naomi and his two sons Mahlon and Chilion, to the country of Moab, where Elimelech soon quits this life. After whose death, his two sons, not strictly observing the law of God, took each of them a wife of the women of Moab, of inferior condition. The name of Chilion's wife was Orpah, and the name of Mahlon's, Ruth. With these they lived about ten years, when Chilion and Mahlon both died childless. The unhappy Naomi, thus deprived of her husband and children, and left in a strange country, could not with satisfaction continue in a place where she had lost all the external comforts of life; but being informed that the famine was over in Israel, she resolved to return to her own country, and accordingly set out for Judah, accompanied by her two daughters-in-law.

While they were on their journey, Naomi, considering that it was a sort of cruelty to take her daughters from their friends and relations, advised them to return; and to convince them that it was not out of any dislike to their company, but mere pity, that she was desirous of parting with them, she gave them this affectionate blessing: "The Lord deal kindly with you, as you have done to me and mine; and grant that ye may marry again to your satisfaction, and enjoy a happy settlement." She then gave to each a parting kiss, but they in tears press her to accept of their company. She endeavors to dissuade them, by urging that if they stayed in their own country they might marry again; which they could not propose, if they went with her. At last her importunity prevailed with Orpah, who with tears taking leave of her mother-in-law, returned to Moab. But no persuasion could prevail with Ruth, who in the most pressing manner urged Naomi to take her along with her, saying, "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

Naomi, seeing the pious resolution of her daughter Ruth, pressed her no more to return, but they proceeded together to Bethlehem.

Naomi having arrived at Bethlehem, where she and her family had lived in a respectable manner, her return was generally taken notice of, and her old neighbors came to congratulate her upon her arrival in her own country. It was now the beginning of barley-harvest, (which usually was in the first month with them,) when Naomi returned to Bethlehem; and Ruth the Moabitess, being an industrious woman, though poor, desired Naomi to give her leave to go into the field to glean some corn. The mother consented; and she happened to go into a field belonging to Boaz, a very wealthy person of the family of Elimelech, and nearly related to him; and there she gleaned after the reapers. She had not been long there, before Boaz himself came into the field to look after his workmen; and having saluted them in a very devout manner, he took notice of Ruth, and asked his steward who she was. He told him, she was the Moabitish damsel that accompanied Naomi in her return from the country of Moab, and that she had asked leave to glean after the reapers. Boaz, having before been acquainted with her dutiful and affectionate behavior to her mother-in-law, his kinswoman, encouraged her to glean in his ground, and to keep with his servants, and fare as they did, and charged them not to molest her. Ruth, surprised at the unexpected civility of a stranger, returned her thanks in the most profound respect and acknowledgment of his courtesy. Boaz told her he had heard of her affectionate carriage to her mother-in-law, and that she was come with her into a strange country, out of a pious design to be under the care and protection of the God of Israel; whom he solemnly prayed to recompense her good behavior, and give her a full reward.

After this he treated her at his own board very liberally; and when his servants returned to their work in the field, he charged them to be civil to her, and to give her an opportunity of gleaning the more, by purposely dropping some of the sheaves. Thus Ruth continued gleaning among the servants of Boaz, till barley and wheat-harvest were over, dwelling still with Naomi, to whom she returned every evening with what she had gleaned, and acquainting her with the great humanity of Boaz. Naomi, studious to recompense this tender affection of her daughter-in-law, projects how she might engage her kinsman Boaz to marry Ruth, whose civility she might reasonably imagine proceeded from some other motive than that of common courtesy or humanity. Therefore acquainting Ruth that Boaz was her near kinsman, and informing her what the law of Moses required in that case, she advised her to wash, and anoint, and dress herself, and go to Boaz's barn, where he was winnowing his barley; but not to let it be known she was there, till he had supped, and was gone to rest; giving her instructions how to proceed.

Ruth follows her mother's directions, and going to the barn, placed herself so commodiously, that she could perceive, unobserved, what passed. When Boaz had refreshed himself, he lay down at the end of a heap of corn; and Ruth, waiting till he was asleep, came softly, and lifting up the clothes, laid herself down, undiscovered, at his feet. Boaz, waking about midnight, in a fright asked who she was? to which she answered, "I am Ruth,

thy servant: spread* therefore the wing of thy garment over me, for thou art a near kinsman." Boaz, though somewhat advanced in years, was so far from rejecting her, that he commended the method she had taken, and, being a virtuous man, told her she had shown more piety to her husband, since deceased, than while he was living, by marrying his kinsman,† and that her virtue was conspicuous in not following young men, whether poor or rich. And therefore he assured her, he would not fail to attend to her intimation of his duty as her kinsman, to which he felt the stronger inducement, as she had the general reputation of a virtuous woman. But at the same time he informed her, that, though he indeed was a near kinsman, yet there was another still nearer, to whom the custom of the country obliged him to give the preference, and that he would communicate the affair to him the next morning; and if that kinsman would take her to wife, he was at liberty so to do, otherwise he himself would assuredly marry her.

In the morning, very early, Ruth arose, that she might return undiscovered, and to avoid censure of their reputation and religion; but that she might not go home empty-handed, Boaz gave her six measures of barley, with which Ruth returned to her mother, who received her joyfully, both for the present of Boaz, and his kind treatment of her daughter; whom she advised to take no notice to any one of what had passed, but patiently to wait the event, assuring her that Boaz was a man of honor, and would perform his promise.

Boaz, according to his promise, appeared in the morning at the gate of the city, which was in those days the usual place of judicature. There he met with the kinsman whom he had mentioned to Ruth, and summoning ten more of the chief of the city, he, in their presence, acquainted him that Naomi, who was come back from the country of Moab, had a parcel of land to dispose of, which formerly belonged to Elimelech; of which he gave him this public notice, that he might redeem ‡ it, the right of redemption belonging in the first place to him, and therefore he desired to know his mind in this matter. The kinsman readily consented to redeem the land. But when Boaz informed him that at the same time he must likewise take Ruth the

* *Spread.* This was as if she had said, "Take me to wife, as the law directs;" for the phrase of "spreading the skirt or wing" over one, imports a taking such a one into protection. And because it is the part of a husband to protect and defend his wife from injuries, therefore to spread the wing over one is used for a *periphrasis* of marriage.

† *Kinsman.* Boaz considered it a token of singular love to her former husband, as well as of devotion to the religion she was now converted to, that she should choose to marry her husband's kinsman, to keep up her deceased husband's name and family, in observance of the law of God; though that kinsman was old, in comparison with her, who was young and beautiful, rather than please herself by marrying a younger man.

‡ *Redeem.* The reason of this seems to be grounded upon the law, Deut. xxv. 6, by which the first-born of such a marriage was to bear the name of the woman's former husband that was dead, to keep up his name in Israel; so that if that kinsman had married Ruth, and should have had but one son by her, that son being not to bear his name, but the name of her former husband, he himself would have had no son to keep up his name in Israel, and so his inheritance might have been lost from his name, by passing into another name and family, which he was not willing to hazard.

Moabitess to wife, to raise up the name of her deceased husband upon his inheritance, he declined the offer, giving this as a reason, that he could not do it on those terms without destroying his own inheritance, and therefore he willingly resigned his right of redemption to Boaz; who without any scruple accepts it; and his kinsman, according to the custom of those times, in token of relinquishing or transferring his right, takes off his shoe* and delivers it to Boaz. Upon which Boaz makes this declaration to the elders and all the people present: "Ye are my witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all that was his son's, of the hand of Naomi. Ye see likewise that I have purchased Ruth, the Moabitess, to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon their inheritance, that their name may not be lost among their relations. Of this I call you to witness this day." To all which the assembly gave their acknowledgment, adding a hearty prayer that she might be as fruitful as Rachel and Leah, who were the original mothers of the house of Israel. The fruit of this marriage was a son, whom they named Obed, and who was the father of Jesse, and grandfather of king David, of whom, according to the flesh, came † the Saviour of the world.

Deborah and Barak governed Israel with great care and prudence, during whose administration the Israelites enjoyed a profound peace. But when Deborah and Barak were dead, they fell into their old apostasy, provoking God by their idolatry to deliver them into their enemies' hands; which he soon did, for he permitted the Midianites to overrun their country, who for seven years kept them in such subjection that they were forced to betake themselves to dens in the mountains and caves in the earth, and to fortified places, from whence in spring-time they stole out to sow their land; but towards harvest the Amalekites and Midianites came and encamped in their country, and tarried till they had devoured all the provision and forage they could find, and then returned, leaving the Israelites nothing to support life. The wretched Israelites, treated in this manner year after year, were extremely impoverished, which at length reminded them of their sins, which had drawn down this punishment upon them, and that the only remedy was to have recourse to the Lord, who had permitted these evils to befall them. While

* *Shoe.* This was the manner of confirming bargains, sales, exchanges, and alienations among the Israelites. There were two sorts of it: the first was penal, as when a man refused to marry his brother's wife, to raise up seed to the deceased, who died childless, for then the law commanded, Deut. xxv. 9, that the woman should pluck off his shoe, and spit in his face, using these words, "Thus shall it be done to the man that refuseth to raise up issue to his brother's family." The second was cessionary, or in token of resignation, and did not reach to compel the kinsman in the second, third, or fourth degree to marry the widow; but he might transfer his right to any other of the kindred, and as a sign of his cession, or translation of his right, he took off his shoe, and delivered it to his kinsman, who would marry the widow, in the presence of the elders.

† *Came.* Herein is described, how Jesus Christ, who (according to the flesh) ought to come of David, proceeded of Ruth, notwithstanding she was a Moabite of low condition, and a stranger from the people of God; which is likewise a type, that the Gentiles should be sanctified by him, and joined with his people, and that there should be one sheepfold and one shepherd.

they were supplicating God for help, he sent a prophet* to expostulate with them on their base ingratitude, by which he brought them to a sense of their folly, and his justice in punishing them.

The people being, by a due humiliation, prepared for deliverance from the sad oppression under which they labored, God immediately provided an instrument for this great work, in the person of Gideon the son of Joash. At this time Gideon was threshing wheat, that he might hide it from the Midianites; and while he was thus employed in providing sustenance for his family, the angel of the Lord appeared to him, and said, "The Lord be with thee, thou mighty man of valor." Gideon was apprised, by the manner of this salutation, that it was a message extraordinary, and readily replied thus: "If the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us? And where are all his miracles, which our forefathers have related to us, saying, Did not the Lord bring us up out of Egypt? But now the Lord hath forsaken us and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites." The angel, looking on him steadfastly, said, "Be courageous, and thou shalt save Israel from the hand of the Midianites. Is it not I that send thee?" But Gideon, considering his own weakness, and the low condition of his family, more than the presence of him that spoke to him, answered, "In what capacity am I to save Israel, since my family is but poor in the tribe of Manasseh, and myself the least among them?" The angel, to encourage him, said, "Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites with as much ease as if they were but one man."

Gideon, upon this, began to entertain some hopes, but desiring to know who it was that talked with him, he said, "If now I have found favor in thy sight, be pleased to show me some token, whereby I may know that it is thou, the Lord, that talkest with me; wherefore depart not hence, I pray thee, till I return with my offering, and set it before thee." The angel promised to tarry; and Gideon having prepared a kid, and some unleavened cakes, he came and presented them before the angel: by whose direction, having laid them upon the rock, the angel, with the end of his staff, touched the cakes and the flesh; upon which fire came out of the rock and consumed them; and the angel instantly disappeared. Gideon upon this was satisfied that it was an angel that had appeared to him, and crying out in despair, said, "Alas, my Lord God! because I have seen an angel face to face, I shall die." But the angel, though Gideon could not now see him, to confirm and comfort him, bade him not fear, for he should not die. Gideon, in thankful remembrance of this gracious interview, and God's goodness to him, built an altar there, and called it *Jehovah-Shalom*, that is, the Lord of Peace.†

* *Prophet.* Of this prophet's name we have no further account. St. Augustine supposes him to be that angel which soon after appeared to Gideon; but others generally suppose him to be some person endued with the spirit of prophecy, and sent to the Israelites as other prophets were.

† *Peace.* That this was not a mere created angel, is evident from his assuming the incommunicable name *Jehovah*. See Judges iv. 14, 16, 23, etc. The Jews in their Targum, style him "The Word of the Lord." Doubtless he was the Son of God himself, appearing in a human form.

The same night the Lord commanded Gideon to demolish the altar of Baal, which in those corrupt times had been erected, and to cut down the groves there, and build an altar to the Lord his God upon the top of the rock; after which, to sacrifice his father's second* bullock upon it, which was seven years old, and offer it for a burnt sacrifice, with the wood of the grove which he was to cut down. Gideon readily obeys God; but considering that it would be difficult to accomplish this in the daytime, he resolves to do it by night; and taking ten of his servants to assist him, he did as God had commanded him. The inhabitants of the place, being informed of what Gideon had done, demanded him of his father, that they might put him to death; but Joash would not deliver his son, resolutely saying, "If Baal is God, let him avenge himself on him that destroyed his altar." From which occasion Joash called his son Jerub-Baal; which signifies, let Baal avenge. Thus this tumult ended.

It was now about the time when the Midianites and Amalekites, with other Eastern people, used to come and plunder the country, who, appearing in a vast body, encamped in the valley of Jezreel. Upon which, Gideon, inspired with a more than ordinary courage, by sound of trumpet summoned all those of his own family to come in quickly to him. Then sending messengers through the tribes of Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, they came in such numbers, that in a short time he could muster up an army of two-and-thirty thousand men: which were but few in comparison with the enemy's army, which consisted of a hundred and thirty-five thousand men. Gideon, considering the vast majority of the enemy's forces, entreated the Lord to grant a sign, or omen, to assure him and his army of success. The sign he proposed was, that he, laying a fleece of wool on the floor, the dew should be upon the fleece only, and the earth around it should be dry. Which the next morning was done; for the ground about it was dry, but the fleece so full of dew, that he wrung a bowl full of water out of it. Then inverting† the former manner, he desired that the fleece might be dry, and the ground dewy; which was likewise done.

Gideon, being fully convinced by this double miracle, resolves forthwith to attack the enemy. But God, knowing the folly and ingratitude of the Israelites, and rightly foreseeing, that if with this army they should conquer the Midianites, they would vainly impute it to their own courage and numbers, and not to his assistance, ordered Gideon to make proclamation in the camp, that whosoever was afraid, should have liberty to return home. Upon which, two-and-twenty thousand quitted this expedition, only ten thousand remaining with Gideon. This was a very inconsiderable number in com-

* *Second.* This bullock is thought by the Rabbins and others to be called the second, from the stall in which it stood and was fed, which was the second in order of place; and being as many years old, as their subjection to Midian was, the destroying this bullock might in some measure prefigure the breaking off the Midianitish yoke from the neck of Israel, by Gideon; whose name signifies a *breaker* or *destroyer*.

† *Inverting.* It may reasonably be supposed, that Gideon, for his own satisfaction, would not have been thus impertinent to require a repetition of the sign; but that he did it rather to encourage his men, and to take off all suspicion of art or contrivance.

parison with the numerous host of the Midianites; but yet, few as the Israelites were, it came within the verge of possibility that they might defeat their foes with this handful of men; and therefore God, judging them still too many, and resolving that the whole action and victory should appear to be his own doing, ordered Gideon to bring his soldiers down to the water, where he would give him a sign to direct him what men to select for this business; which was this: They who took up water in their hand and lapped it should go with him; but they who laid down to drink, should not go. Only three hundred of them drank out of their hands; them God commanded him to keep with him, and dismiss the rest. But lest Gideon, upon God's reducing his army to so small a number as three hundred men, should grow diffident of the promised success, God commands him to take his servant Phura, and late at night go to the enemy's camp and listen; where he should hear that which would encourage him. Which he accordingly did; and there he heard a soldier expounding a dream to another, which was so in favor of the Israelites, that he heard his own name mentioned with this advantage, that God had delivered the Midianitish army into the hand of Gideon.

Gideon, having heard this, in humble gratitude bows himself to God; and returning undiscovered, put his men in order, dividing them into three companies, an hundred in each; he then gave to every man a trumpet, and a pitcher with a burning lamp in it, charging them to observe his motions, and do just as they should see him do. Gideon having thus disposed this little body of men, put himself at the head of one of them, and giving the signal by breaking the pitcher and sounding his trumpet, the rest did the same, and with a terrible shout they cried out, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" This alarm affected the eyes and ears of the Midianites with unusual objects, which, increased by the horror of the night, so added to their confusion, that, mistaking their own party, they fell on each other's swords. God having before disposed the Midianites for destruction, Gideon and his army obtained an easy victory, having nothing to do but to pursue a flying, timorous enemy. In this they were assisted by those who, upon proclamation, had deserted the common cause; and who, though afraid to fight, yet had courage enough to pursue. Gideon, to make sure work, and to prevent the Midianites for some ages to give Israel any disturbance, sends orders to the Ephraimites to possess themselves of the passes on the river Jordan, that none of them might escape: which they accordingly performed, taking Oreb and Zeeb, two Midianitish princes, whom they slew, and then followed the pursuit; which Gideon and his party continued very closely till they came to Succoth, where, being faint and weary, they halted, and Gideon requested the inhabitants to furnish them with refreshment. The princes of Succoth, knowing that Gideon with his small party was in chase of Zebah and Zalmunna, two of the kings of Midian, who, with fifteen thousand men, were fled to Karcor, instead of giving Gideon and his soldiers any refreshment, ridiculed him on account of his little army, and in derision asked him if he was so secure of victory over the princes he pursued as to demand relief of them? This unmannerly and

inhospitable treatment so incensed Gideon that he told them, if the Lord should give him success against Zebah and Zalmunna, he would make them repent their incivility. The same he threatened to the inhabitants of Penuel for the like rudeness; and with his fatigued party continued the pursuit till he came to Karcor, where the two Midianitish princes, with their rallied forces, lay thoughtless of danger. Gideon, seizing the advantage of their security, surprised and defeated them, taking the two kings prisoners, whom he brought in triumph with him to Succoth, where, calling the chiefs of the place, seventy-seven in number, to a severe account, he chastised them with thorns and briers, as he had before threatened. Nor was he more lenient to Penuel, whose fortifications he demolished and slew the governors.

The two captive kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, had, in their march, laid all waste before them, and put many to the sword, among whom Gideon's family shared the common fate of the distressed at Tabor; and Gideon, intending to show mercy to the two kings if they had shown any to his family, demanded what manner of men they were whom they had slain at Tabor, who answered, somewhat flatteringly, that they were like himself, possessing the majestic appearance of princes. Gideon, from their answer, concluding they were his brethren whom they had slain, declared that if they had spared them he would have saved their lives; but since they had killed them, they must expect no mercy. Then commanding his son Jether to fall upon them, he being but a youth and somewhat timorous, Gideon dispatched them with his own hand,* ordering them to be stripped of their royal ornaments, and their camels of their rich trappings and furniture.

The Ephraimites who had slain Oreb and Zeeb, brought their herds to Gideon, to let him see what service they had done; and beginning to quarrel with Gideon for not calling upon them at the first, he wisely pacified them by magnifying their service and success in the pursuit. And now the strength of Midian being thus broken by the slaughter of their whole army, Israel enjoyed a peace of forty years.

The Israelites, enraptured with the military exploits of Gideon and the capacity he had discovered in the whole affair, unanimously determined to reward his patriotism by settling the government on himself and his family, of which they made him a generous offer; but Gideon, piously sensible that the whole glory of the late victory was due to God, as generously declined the flattering offer, saying, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son, but the Lord shall rule over you; yet, to let you see I do not slight your kindness, I will require one thing of you, and that is, that you will give me the ear-rings of your plunder." To this they all readily consented, and spreading a garment on the ground, they threw in the ear-rings, which by weight amounted to one thousand seven hundred shekels † of gold, besides

* *Hand.* It was common in very ancient times for great men to execute the sentence of the law upon criminals, as it is now to pronounce it. Officers like the *carnifices* of the Romans, or our executioners, were then unknown. Gideon might also wish his son to be animated in early life against the enemies of Israel, like Hannibal, in after times, against the Romans.

† *Shekels.* If the shekel of gold was in value fifteen shillings of English money, as Godwyn computes it, these one thousand seven hundred shekels would amount to one thousand two hundred and seventy-five pounds.

the rich ornaments and robes of the kings, with the chains that were upon the camels' necks. Of this gold Gideon made an ephod,* and placed it in his own city Ophrah, where he dwelt, as a monument of his victory, which in time being perverted, contrary to the intention of Gideon, proved a snare to his family, and, indeed, to the whole house of Israel.†

After this victory, Gideon lived forty years, he and all Israel enjoying a profound tranquillity; but no sooner was he dead than Israel fell into their old sins of idolatry and ingratitude, not only to God, but to the memory of Gideon their deliverer. Gideon, by several wives, had seventy sons; and by a concubine he had one son, whom he named Abimelech. And though Gideon had refused the government of Israel, both for himself and his sons, yet as soon as he was dead, his son Abimelech, an aspiring youth, suggesting to his mother's family at Shechem that his seventy brethren would usurp the government over them, advised them to consider whether it would not be better for them to be governed by one than by seventy persons, at the same time reminding them that he was of their own family and kindred. His relations, upon this suggestion, proposed advancement to themselves, which they insinuated to the Shechemites, who, closing with the project, contrived how to advance Abimelech to the government; and that money might not be wanting to forward their design, they took some out of the treasury of their god Baal-Berith, and gave it to Abimelech, who with it hired a company of dissolute fellows to attend him. With these ruffians he repaired to the house of his deceased father, at Ophrah, where he seized sixty-nine of his brethren, and slew them upon one stone,‡ the youngest, named Jotham, having timely notice, escaping. Soon after this bloody and unnatural

* *Ephod.* The ephod was the upper garment which the priest wore upon his shoulders. Gideon's design in making this ephod is variously questioned by commentators. Some will have it that he made an idol, and that, from Judges viii. 27, "Israel went a-whoring after it, which was the ruin of Gideon and his family." But this inference is unjust; for who can suppose that a man familiar with God, and chosen by him, as Gideon was, after so signal a victory as he, by God's immediate assistance and direction, had gained, should turn idolater? Others think that Gideon made of this gold a military garment, as a monument of this victory, which the Israelites afterwards turned into an idol. But St. Augustine, with some others, seem to take it right, and by the ephod understand sacerdotal ornaments in general, and other necessary utensils belonging to the princely office, which the Israelites, after Gideon's death, perverted to idolatrous uses; for the text says, during Gideon's life, which lasted forty years after this victory, the Israelites lived peaceably, and that Gideon died in a good age, which we cannot suppose if he had been an idolater. Nor can it be inferred from hence that his house was ruined in his time; for he left seventy sons behind him, so that this ruin befell his family in the general ruin of Israel, when they fell into intestine feuds and idolatry. We may therefore justly conclude that Gideon made this ephod with no other intention but that it might be a lasting monument of the victory obtained by Israel over Midian.

† *Israel.* Gideon probably intended, chiefly, a memorial of the great deliverance in his own city, but in process of time it was the occasion of superstition and idolatry. Gideon himself, in his old age, abated in his zeal for the true God and his worship, and it proved ultimately the ruin of his family. It often happens that a multitude of persons are led into false ways by one false step of a good and great man. The utmost care, therefore, ought to be taken not to make innovations in the worship of God as prescribed in his own Word.

‡ *Stone.* Some will have this stone to be an altar, dedicated by Abimelech to the idol Báal, and erected in the same place where his father, Gideon, had before destroyed the altar of Baal, to recompense the disgrace done by him to the idol.

execution, the Shechemites having nothing to fear from Gideon's house, assembled together at Millo, and chose Abimelech king.*

When young Jotham heard this, he went to the top of Mount Gerizim, where, in a parabolical † oration, he represented to the Shechemites how his father, Jerub-Baal (Gideon), having refused to have the government of Israel settled upon him and his family, and that they had now disposed of it to one as much inferior in virtue and honor to Gideon and his lawful sons, as the bramble is to the olive, fig-tree, or vine, ‡ he expostulated on the injury done to his family, and reproached them with their ingratitude: "If you have done truly and sincerely in making Abimelech king, and if you have dealt well with Jerub-Baal and his house, who merited so well of you, (for my father fought for you, and delivered you from the oppression of Midian, and yet you have risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, and made Abimelech, the son of his concubine, king, because he is your brother.) If you have done well in this, then rejoice in Abimelech, and let him rejoice in you. But if not, let fire § come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem, and the house of Millo; and let fire come out from the men of Shechem, and from the house of Millo, and devour Abimelech." Jotham, having thus delivered himself to the Shechemites, made his escape to Beer, where he lived secure from Abimelech's rage. And within three years afterwards his curse was verified both upon Abimelech and the Shechemites, for they conspired against Abimelech, attempting to seize or kill him. || But being disappointed of their purpose, they joined another profligate wretch and his company, — one who lived by the spoil of others, as the Shechemites did. His name was Gaal, the son of Ebed, an impudent boaster, but a very coward.

Gaal being set at the head of this dissolute gang, ravaged the country without control for some time, spoiling the vineyards of the Shechemites who made Abimelech king; and in their mirth and jollity they despised Abimelech, but none spoke with more contempt of him than Gaal. The wild carriage of this foolish fellow soon reached the ear of Zebul, who was Abimelech's viceroy in Shechem; but he not being strong enough to chastise him for his insolence, sends privately to Abimelech, to acquaint him that

* *King.* In this choice there was neither the call of God, nor the consent of the people, (who seldom, except in a tumultuous manner, had anything to do with things of this nature,) for Abimelech was not appointed king by the body of the Israelites, but by a few disorderly seditious Shechemites, without the knowledge of Judah or the other tribes, and reigned only in Shechem.

† *Parabolical.* See Judges ix. 8.

‡ *Vine.* This fable, the first we meet with in ancient history, was composed long before the time of Æsop, or any other writer of fables with whom we are acquainted. Truth, in this disguise, made a deeper impression, and gave less offence than when conveyed in direct terms. As this is one of the first, so it is one of the most beautiful compositions of the kind.

§ *Fire.* That is, let Abimelech be a scourge to the Shechemites, and they to him, in expiation of their injustice and ingratitude to the house of Gideon.

|| *Him.* "The triumphing of the wicked is short." Jotham had said, "Let fire come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem, and let fire come out from the men of Shechem and devour Abimelech;" and in the course of three years it begins to be accomplished, by the spirit of discord, let loose among them. Judges ix. 23.

Gaal and his mad crew were come to Shechem, and had fortified the city against him, advising him to come by night, and lie in ambush till the next morning, that so he might surprise them. Abimelech approves of the stratagem, and forthwith put it in execution, which succeeded so well that Gaal and those that followed him were defeated and slain, and the next day he stormed the place and took it; and to express his resentment more furiously, after he had demolished the city, he sowed it with salt.* But during these transactions, some that escaped the fury of the conqueror's sword, and had fled to the tower, seeing the houses of the city destroyed, not supposing themselves safe in the tower, took sanctuary in a fort belonging to the temple of their god Berith; † which Abimelech hearing, he takes an axe in his hand, and commanding his army to do the same, he marches up to Mount Zalmon, where grew a grove of trees, and cutting down a bough, he laid it on his shoulder and brought it to the fort. The rest did the same, and when they had laid the boughs together, Abimelech set them on fire; by which about a thousand men and women were destroyed.

This success encouraged Abimelech to attack the city of Thebez, which he took by storm; but there being a strong tower in the city, the inhabitants fled thither, and maintained it for some time against all the force of Abimelech; which so irritated the impatient conqueror, that, pursuing his fate, he came near the tower to encourage his men, and facilitate the taking it by his presence; but pressing too near the door, with a design to have set it on fire, a woman from above cast down a piece of mill-stone upon his head, which fractured his skull. ‡ Abimelech, finding himself mortally wounded, called hastily to his armor-bearer and commanded him to dispatch him, that it might not be said he died by the hand of a woman. § His servant obeyed him, and the report of his death was no sooner rumored among the troops than they dispersed. Thus were Abimelech and the Shechemites mutual scourges to each other, and Jotham's curse was accomplished in the face of both.

* *Salt.* This was an old custom of punishing cities for treachery. Not that the strewing of salt signified drying up, or rendering of the soil barren, (for there was no occasion for that in an inhabited town,) but to show the detestation of their rebellion, and that thereafter none should rebuild or re-people it. In this action, part of Jotham's curse was accomplished; for Abimelech, though not a lawful king, yet treated the Shechemites justly, who, after they had made him their king, revolted from him.

† *Berith.* *Baal-Berith*, or *Baal the Purifier*, was an idol worshipped by these people. This name denoted not only the purifying nature of fire (that *σοφισιον ἀμεμψες, unsullied element*), but expressed their expectation of the great *ברית Purifier from sin*. To this Baal, probably, as well as to others, they sacrificed their children by fire, and thus, by a horrid perversion of the original revelation of a Redeemer, they "gave their first-born for their transgression, the fruit of their bodies for the sin of their souls," Micah vi. 7. This temple of their god, in which they took refuge, proved "a refuge of lies," and they were miserably burnt in the house of their *fire-god*. Let Christians rejoice that "the name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe."

‡ *Skull.* The retributions of Providence deserve notice. It is remarkable that Abimelech, who slew his numerous brethren on a stone, was himself destroyed by the falling of a stone on his head.

§ *Woman.* This circumstance, however, history has recorded, and it was well remembered by the Israelites — hence Joab refers to it, 2 Sam. xi. 21. The ignominy which men wish to avoid by sin, is thereby frequently perpetuated.

Tola, the son of Phua, uncle by the father's side to Abimelech, of the tribe of Issachar, was appointed ruler or judge of Israel in his stead. Of him nothing is recorded, but that he governed Israel twenty-three years.

To him succeeded Jair of Gilead, who reigned twenty-two years. After which, God, being provoked by the idolatry of the Israelites, He permitted the Philistines and the Amorites and the Ammonites to overrun the country as they pleased for eighteen years; and in the last year the Ammonites bent their whole force against the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. The Israelites, finding themselves unable to resist the vast numbers of their enemies, become sensible of their folly, by which they had provoked God thus to punish them, and therefore acknowledging their sin of idolatry, they beg of God to assist them this one time. God upbraids them with their ingratitude, and to increase the pungency of their sorrow, bids them cry to the gods which they had chosen, and try if they can deliver them in the time of their distress. This was a cutting reproof to the Israelites. However, hoping to recover the favor and protection of God, they commence a reform; for they discarded their idols, and served Jehovah, who was pleased to accept their repentance and appear in their behalf.*

There was, at that time, in the half-tribe of Manasseh which settled on the east side of Jordan, a man of note among his people, whose name was Gilead, of the family of that Gilead, the son of Machir, to whom Moses gave the city of Gilead,† from whence the family were called Gileadites. This Gilead had several sons by his wife; and he had one son by a concubine, whom he named Jephthah. When Gilead's lawful sons arrived at maturity, they thrust out Jephthah, telling him, that, not being born in lawful matrimony, he should have no inheritance among them. Jephthah, upon this, expecting worse usage, hastened from them, and took up his station in the land of Tob; which place, being very subject to the depredations and military incursions of the enemy, Jephthah the rather chose for his residence, being himself naturally brave and forward. In their occasional expeditions against the enemy, he always distinguished himself, so that at last he was invited to accept the command of a company of young fellows, with whom he went a-foraging.

In this time of frequent skirmishing, the Gileadites being hardly pressed by the Ammonites, resolved upon a war, but wanted a general. Wherefore, at a general meeting of their chiefs, it was agreed upon that he who should first attack the Ammonites should be their general. Then bethinking themselves of Jephthah, whom they knew to be a man of courage and conduct, they addressed themselves to him, and offered him the command of their army. Jephthah, surprised at this sudden change, asked them what they meant, who had expelled him from his father's house, and whether they

* *Behalf.* The misery of the people at this time seems to have been uncommonly great, for (speaking after the manner of men) it is said of Jehovah that "his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel;" their repentance, too, appears to have been extraordinary, for under the government of three successive rulers we have no more idolatry.

† *Gilead.* See Num. xxxii. 47.

could expect any succor from him in their distress? They acknowledged their present distress was the only motive of their application, and repeated their entreaties to him to take the command of their army.

Jephthah, considering the case and temper of the people, who had once used him ill, and probably might do so again, was resolved to be on sure terms with them: "If I go along with you (says he), and succeed against the Ammonites, shall I be your ruler afterwards?" Their necessity was so pressing at this time, that they readily consented, solemnly engaging that he should. Upon this, Jephthah went with them, and the people made him captain over them, Jephthah repeating the covenant or agreement between them and him before the Lord in Mizpeh.

Jephthah, having the security he proposed for the establishment of the government upon himself, sends ambassadors to the king of Ammon, to demand the reason of his invading the Israelites. To which the Ammonitish king replied, that the land was his, and that the Israelites, upon their coming out of Egypt, took it from the Ammonites, which now he demanded, or he would oblige them to restore it. Jephthah, by other ambassadors, recites the case from the beginning: That the Israelites, in their passage from Egypt, being refused leave to pass through the countries of Edom and Moab, were forced to make a circuitous march till they came to the land of the Amorites, where they were not only denied a passage, but attacked in a hostile manner by the Amoritish king, whom the Israelites defeated in a pitched battle, fairly conquering not only the kingdom of the Amorites, but whatsoever else belonged to Sihon; who, having before taken from the king of Moab the land now in dispute,* it fell with the rest, by conquest, from the Amorites to Israel; besides, the title of Israel was now confirmed by a long prescription—the peaceable possession thereof for three hundred years. But these reasons had no weight with the king of Ammon, who immediately marched against the Israelites, and was by them as warmly received. But before the action commenced, Jephthah, the more readily to secure to himself the victory, made this vow to the Lord: "If (says he) thou wilt give me success against the Ammonites this day, whatsoever cometh forth of mine house to meet me, when I return, I will surely consecrate to the Lord, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering."†

* *Dispute.* See Num. xxi. 26.

† *Offering.* No one can read Jephthah's vow, and the execution of it, as most translations express and represent it, without horror and amazement. To find a man, and that not a wild barbarian, but an Israelite, offering in a burnt-offering a young, innocent, and beautiful maid—to find an indulgent, fond father burning the fruit of his body, his own child, nay, and his dutiful and obedient child, too; the object of his hopes and present comforts—to find him, whom the Apostle numbers in the catalogue of the most pious and faithful worthies of the Old Testament, vowing to offer a human sacrifice to God, at the very time in which the Scripture says the Spirit of the Lord was upon him; and putting his vow afterwards in execution, though human sacrifices were hateful to the Lord, and provoked him utterly to destroy the Canaanites, and kindled his indignation against the Israelites, when they brought the king of Moab to the sad necessity of "offering his eldest son for a burnt-offering upon the wall of his city,"—is certainly very puzzling and unaccountable. But it is very strange that translators should have rendered several passages of this vow in favor of such a cruel

To this victory of Jephthah, a civil war succeeded between the tribe of Ephraim and the tribe of Gilead. The Ephraimites were an ambitious,

and barbarous sense; especially our translators, who knew that the words could well admit of a very different and reasonable meaning, as may be seen in the notes they have placed in the margin of the 31st and 40th verses of that chapter. No one can deny that the word which is rendered *and*, signifies *or*, in a great many passages of Scripture: though there are some who say that the propriety of speech will not admit of translating *or* for *and* in this place. But surely they would not think so if they had considered that the words "shall be the Lord's," would be more properly rendered, "shall be consecrated to the Lord;" that is, dedicated and set apart for God's special service, as the Nazarenes were. And that it is in such a case as this, that Jephthah is said to "have done according to his vow," is clear, because it is immediately subjoined, "And she knew no man;" for if she was sacrificed just as she came down from the mount, this expression is altogether superfluous, because it is plain, from her bewailing her virginity for two months, that she had known no man before, and it is very certain she could know no man after. So that it is very natural to understand the words thus: That Jephthah, according to his vow, had set apart his daughter for God's special service, and that she continued unmarried; which will more fully appear, if we consider that the words, which are rendered to *lament*, in the following verse, signify also to *talk with her*.

But against this it is said, that parents had no power to oblige their children to a single life. To which it may be answered:—1. That the objection militates more against the other opinion: for if the want of a right to do a thing be an argument that *that* thing is not done, then the more degrees of injustice and unlawfulness there are in anything, the more boldly we may conclude that it has not been done. So that if it follows that if Jephthah did not oblige his daughter to perpetual virginity, because he had no just power to do so, then it is most evident that he did not sacrifice her, because such an action was impious and barbarous, and contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and humanity.

2. Jephthah's not having a right to oblige his daughter to perpetual virginity, only proves that he should not have done it, and not that he did it not. For he might have thought he had a right, or, out of blind zeal, fancied himself obliged to perform his inconsiderate and unlawful vow; and it is much more reasonable to suppose this, than to imagine him to have been so grossly ignorant as not to have known the barbarity and impiety of human sacrifices, or so very stupidly zealous, as to have performed so abominable an action, if he could have been capable of vowing it.

But then, 3. It cannot be proved that fathers had not such a right under the law. It is plain they had a power to dedicate their children to God's peculiar service, and to oblige them to several things, somewhat unpleasant to flesh and blood. It is likewise plain that fathers were to determine what was reasonable for their children, while under their care, to vow and promise; because the vows made by such children signified nothing without the father's consent; but that if the father did allow them, "every vow and bond with which they bound their soul was to stand." Num. xxx. 4, 5. From which it appears that parents might advise their children to reasonable vows, and, with their consent, bind them to anything that was not unlawful, and that if the father did vow anything in the name of his child which the child did not agree to, that then the father was forgiven, as the children were when their vows were disallowed by their father; which is sufficient to answer this objection.

But it is further said, that if this had been all that Jephthah had vowed, he had not been so much troubled as he was, when, at his return in triumph, his daughter met him; for it is said, "He rent his clothes, and said, Alas! my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me." But they who think so seem to be strangers to the Old Testament notions, and to human nature. It appears from several places in the Old Testament, that the being without children, and consequently perpetual virginity, was looked upon as a curse and reproach; and how desirous men are to see their posterity increase, is very evident. So that it is not surprising to find Jephthah troubled, and rending his clothes, when his only child was to live and die under this reproach; when he saw his family extinct, and himself excluded from all hopes of posterity, and particularly from the hopes of having

quarrelsome people, and this was not the first* instance of their ill-temper, which formerly proceeded no further than words: but now the mutinous Ephraimites carry it further, and with as little reason. For assembling their forces together, they came upon Jephthah, and demanded why he fought the Ammonites without them? Jephthah very calmly expostulates the matter with them, and throws the blame wholly upon themselves, who refused to come to his assistance when the Ammonites attacked him. The unreasonable Ephraimites were so enraged at this just reproach, that, having nothing to urge in vindication of themselves, and depending on their numbers, they threatened to burn his house over his head. Jephthah, finding it to no purpose to reason longer with them, musters what force he could in so short a time, and, being flushed with the late success, resolves to fight the Ephraimites; who had no reason to despise the Gileadites by calling them fugi-

the Messiah to come of his seed, which was the general hope and desire of all the Israelitish women.

But, besides what has been urged against Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter, what we have before mentioned of translating the word *or* instead of *and*, we may very fairly suppose that by this vow Jephthah had regard to the fitness of the subject, or the thing vowed for a burnt-offering. So that if what came forth to meet him were not fit for a sacrifice, then it should be offered for a burnt-offering. Now the things that were not fit for sacrifice were mankind, and unclean beasts and birds. But though these might not be offered in sacrifice, yet they might be vowed, and afterwards be redeemed with money, at the valuation of the priest, or not redeemed, at the vower's choice; and if not redeemed, might be sold, as appears by the Law. Levit. xviii. 21.

It has been objected that Josephus, Philo, and many of the Fathers, are for the common notion of Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter. It is very possible that the Fathers believed so on the testimony of these two Jews: and so should we, too, if they had certain tradition to build their assertion. But since they want this, it is to be looked upon as their private opinion, for which we are to have no greater value than the reasons which they give for it deserve. The Fathers were too much wedded to the visions and fancies of the Jews, and especially of Josephus and Philo; which often betrayed them into the belief of several ridiculous whims, and particularly of that senseless opinion of the angels begetting giants on the women that were before the Deluge; which they took to be the meaning of those words in Genesis, "The sons of God went in unto the daughters of men," Gen. vi. 4.

In Judg. xi. 40, we read, That the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament Jephthah's daughter; but the margin more properly says, to *talk with her*, in which Pagnine, Arius Montanus, Tremellius, and Junius agree; and by this version of *talking with her*, may reasonably be meant that they went yearly to visit her, after her being dedicated to the service of God. From which likewise may very well be inferred, That she was alive long after her father had performed his vow upon her, and after his death too; for he reigned over Israel but six years.

Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter, is by our ingenious countryman, Dr. Brown, placed among his *Vulgar Errors*, where he very learnedly refutes it by the authority of Scripture and Reason. In fine, from what has been said, it is reasonable to conclude, that Jephthah did not sacrifice his daughter; and that part of *ver.* 31, of Judg. xi., "shall be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering," ought thus to be translated, "I will consecrate it to the Lord, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering," according to the circumstances of the person or creature that should first meet him.

* *Not the first.* Though Gideon had called the Ephraimites to assist in the pursuit of the Midianites, and had given them the advantage of plunder, and the honor of taking Oreb and Zeeb, two princes of Midian, yet because they were not called at first to the battle, they took upon them to reprehend Gideon very sharply for the affront; which he, like a prudent man, took patiently, and appeased them with good words, extolling their valor, and applauding their success.

tives of Ephraim; nor did they need this reproach to rouse or whet their courage, especially under the conduct of their valiant general Jephthah. The armies join, and after a short but sharp dispute the fortune of the battle declared for Gilead, Ephraim being obliged to fly. Jephthah, resolving to make sure work, and prevent the Ephraimites from disturbing him again, secures all the passes on the river Jordan, which those Ephraimites who had escaped in the fight must necessarily pass in their way home; so that as fast as any of them came thither, if, upon examination, they owned themselves Ephraimites, they were put to the sword; if any denied, they gave them the test, which was to pronounce the word SHIBBOLETH,* which they could not do, their provincial pronunciation of the word being SIBBÓLETH, and which small variation cost them their lives. In this action and pursuit there were slain forty-two thousand of the Ephraimites.

Jephthah, having thus successfully rid himself both of his foreign and domestic enemies, spent the rest of his life in peace; which, however, was not long, for the whole time of his administration was but six years.

Jephthah was succeeded by Ibzan of Bethlehem, of whom there is nothing more recorded than that he had thirty sons and thirty daughters, and that he reigned seven years.

Elon, a Zebulonite, succeeded Ibzan, who governed Israel ten years; and after him Abdon, a Pirathonite, ruled eight years. All that is said of this last is, that he had forty sons and thirty grandsons.

In these three reigns Israel enjoyed a peace of twenty-three years, in which time becoming wanton, they returned to the practice of their former transgressions, by which God was again provoked to punish them, which he did, in delivering them into the hands of the Philistines.

Samson, who was the last of those who are accounted extraordinary † judges of Israel, is supposed to have been born about the time of Jephthah's ‡ victory. His birth being attended with unusual circumstances, we shall relate the particulars. Samson was the son of Manoah, a Danite, § whose wife having been long barren, the angel of the Lord appeared to her when she was alone, and informed her that she should conceive and bear a son, directing her how to manage and order herself while she was pregnant, by forbearing wine or strong drink, and all unclean meats, and that after

* *Shibboleth*. Which signifies a stream, water-course, or falling of waters.

† *Extraordinary*. That is, judges or deliverers raised up in an extraordinary manner. Others were raised up at the time when they were wanted; but Samson was promised for a deliverer before he was born. Therefore, because there were many extraordinary things that happened, both leading to and attending his birth, it is very proper to trace his history from the beginning.

‡ *Jephthah's*. Allowing Samson to have been born at this time, he must be at least thirty years old at the death of Abdon, his immediate predecessor, and when he took upon him the administration.

§ *Danite*. The tribe of Dan, bordering on the Philistines, was most exposed to their incursions and invasions, and therefore God out of that tribe chose Samson for a judge and avenger, which is very agreeable to the prophecy of Jacob when he blessed his sons a little before his death: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder by the path, biting the heels of the horse, so that his rider shall fall backwards."

the child should be born, he should be treated as a Nazarite, that his head must not be shaved,* and that he should prove the deliverer of Israel from the oppression of their neighbors. The woman acquaints her husband with this interview between herself and the angel; and he, being not so much surpris'd as overjoyed at the hopes of having a son, had the curiosity to see this heavenly messenger himself, his pretence for it being to be further instructed in the management of the child when he should be born. God graciously answered his request, and the angel again appeared, repeating to the expecting couple the former instructions. The angel appearing in human shape, Manoah took him to be a man of God, and pressed him to accept of an entertainment. The angel, however, declined this, but advised him to express his gratitude in a burnt-offering to the Lord. Manoah, accordingly, prepares a kid, and a meat-offering, and offered it upon a rock unto God; and then the angel, in a wonderful manner, discovered himself, which he before refused to do at Manoah's importunity; for when the flame ascended from the altar, the angel ascended in it and disappeared. Manoah, alarmed and terrified, now began to repent his curiosity, and both he and his wife prostrate themselves on the ground; and, considering themselves as lost, he cried out, "We shall surely die, because we have dared to see God." But the good woman, armed with stronger faith and courage, argues with her timorous, desponding husband, and tells him that if the Lord had intended to destroy them, he would not have accepted an offering from them, nor have condescended to communicate such a blessing to them as he had promised.

According to the appointed time, the woman was delivered of a son, whom, from the angel's appearing the second time to her, she called Samson. It is reasonable to suppose that Samson's parents observed the directions given by the angel for his nursing and erudition; for while yet a child, the Lord blessed him so that he grew to a wonderful strength; and while he was but a youth, the Spirit of the Lord began to move him † at certain times to exert

* *Shaved.* Long hair was very much esteemed among the Jews, and here Samson's mother was forbidden to cut his hair, because he was to be a Nazarite unto the Lord, that is, dedicated to the Lord, the sanctity of his consecration consisting in his long and uncut hair, which was a token, not only of beauty, but of majesty and veneration. As to the cutting off his hair afterwards by Delilah, it was done in a fraudulent manner and with a hostile intent, not only to deprive him of his hair, but of his strength, that so they might destroy him. Besides it may be said to be done in judgment upon him for suffering himself to be deluded by an infidel harlot.

† *Move him.* This is a Hebrew phrase, and is often used upon particular occasions, where God very signally appeared in the action; but in none oftener than in the history of Samson's administration; for upon every emergency it is said "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him." Hence St. Ambrose observes on Luke i. 17, "He shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias;" these two, the spirit and power (which is fortitude), are always joined together; for all fortitude, whether in attempting or suffering, is from the Holy Ghost, who inspires us. Thus John the Baptist is said to have "the spirit and power of Elias;" and the angel Gabriel said to the Blessed Virgin, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." And our blessed Lord tells his Apostles, Acts i. 8, "Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you." Whence we see power is always attributed to the Holy Ghost; and therefore the Septuagint very aptly in this place terms it,

himself in actions of strength and activity, in the old camp* of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.

Samson having arrived at man's estate, determined to travel and see the country; and coming to Timnath, a city belonging to the Philistines, he happened to cast his eyes on a beautiful Philistine, who so captivated the young hero that he could not live without her. But, in duty to his father and mother, he would not marry without their consent. The fond parents expostulated with their son on the unreasonableness of the match, in offering to marry into an uncircumcised family. But the amorous youth, consulting his passion more than his religion, was so pressing in his request to his parents, that their indulgence was not proof against it; therefore, to gratify him, they accompanied him to Timnath to see her, and to treat with her parents about the marriage.

As they were on their journey, Samson being at a distance from the company, a young lion came with great fury out of the vineyards of Timnath, and attacked him. Upon which the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, so that he slew the lion with as much ease as if it had been a kid. After this action he went on, and overtook his parents, but acquainted them not with this adventure of the lion. Being arrived at Timnath, the match was soon concluded upon; and not long after, Samson and his parents took another journey to solemnize the nuptials; but in their way to Timnath, Samson, remembering the place where he had encountered the lion, his curiosity led him to see what was become of the carcass; when, to his great surprise and amazement, he found in it a swarm of bees, with some honey: of which, taking some in his hands, he went on eating, and when he overtook his parents he gave them some of it, but did not tell them whence he had it.

Being arrived at Timnath, Samson entertained the relations on both sides for seven days; and to grace the nuptials, his wife's kindred brought thirty of their principal youth to bear him company. To these young men, Samson, during the wedding-feast, proposed a riddle, which was this, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." He gave them seven days to expound the riddle, upon condition that if they expounded it, he would give them thirty changes of garments; but if they did not, they should give him the same number. The young men, not knowing how to expound the riddle, applied themselves to his wife, and persuaded her to discover the meaning of it. After much importunity, she prevailed upon her husband, who was so weak as to trust her with it, and she immediately told

"The Spirit of the Lord began to go along with him," Judg. xiii. 25; that is, always inspired and stimulated him on to the performance of godly and heroic actions. "The Spirit of fortitude was with him from the Lord to strengthen him," says the Chaldee paraphrase.

* *Old camp.* This camp of Dan was probably that place where the Danites pitched their camp in their expedition and enterprise against Laish, Judg. xviii. 11. For it is not at all likely that the Philistines, who had the Israelites at that time under an entire subjection, should suffer them to have any standing camp. And, if the reader looks back a little, this is another argument that the affair of Micah, and of the Danites' expedition, were both transacted before the time of Samson, though, by the compilers of the Bible, they are related after it, as the story of Job is.

it to those young men, who came to Samson at the end of the seven days, and said, "What is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?" Samson was convinced that his wife had discovered the secret; for he knew he had told it to no other person; and therefore, to let them know he was sensible of foul play in the matter, he, with indignation, replied: "If you had not ploughed with my heifer, you could not have expounded my riddle." Then yielding his wager lost, he prepares to pay it; and going to Ascalon, a city of the Philistines, he slew thirty men, whose garments he gave to those who had expounded the riddle. And being incensed against the Philistines for this unfair dealing about the riddle, he left Timnath, and returned to his father's house. But though he had entertained a just resentment against the Philistines, yet he retained a fondness for his wife, to whose weakness he did not so much impute the discovery of the riddle as to the fraud of her countrymen. Some time after, he returned to Timnath to visit his wife, and as a token of his affection, he brought a kid with him for a present; and preparing to retire to her chamber, and sleep with her as before, her father objected, urging as an excuse, that, because he had slighted and deserted her, he had given her in marriage to one of his companions,* but that, if he thought proper, her younger sister, who was more beautiful, might become his wife.

This was an additional provocation, for which Samson intends a sharp revenge, and which he executed thus. He found means to catch three hundred foxes,† which he tied two and two together by the tails, with lighted torches to them, and drove the foxes into the standing corn; by which means he burnt not only the corn, but the vineyards and olive-trees. The Philistines understanding it was Samson, son-in-law to the Timnite, who had done this mischief, because his father-in-law had taken away his wife, came in revenge to Timnath, and burnt Samson's wife and her father. This gave

* *Companions.* It may be supposed to be one of the thirty whom they had provided to bear him company at the wedding, and, it is very probable, as a reward of the treachery in discovering the secret of the riddle.

† *Foxes.* The catching of so many foxes (a very cunning and wary creature) is very ludicrously questioned by some. But if they would consider that what Samson did in this case was by Divine inspiration, and that in every other great action of his, "the Spirit of God is said to come mightily upon him," their mouths might be stopped. It is plain from Scripture, that Judea, and especially that part of it which was the portion of the tribe of Dan, (to which Samson belonged,) abounded with foxes; for the Septuagint render Judg. i. 35, "Salebin, in which are foxes," but foxes are left out in our translation. And yet, incredulous as some would seem to be of transactions mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, they readily admit the almost incredible accounts of profane authors. Julius Cæsar is said to have produced at one show four hundred lions. Probus, the Emperor, a thousand leopards, a thousand stags, a thousand bears, etc. Heliogabalus, a thousand weasles, etc., as Lampridius and Vopiscus testify in their Lives, and Pliny, 1, 8, c. 16. How strange is it, then, that Samson's getting three hundred foxes together should seem so extravagant to any one! But, besides the satisfaction Samson might take in expressing his resentment thus on the Philistines, he may reasonably be thought to have another end in it; for by catching so many foxes he secured the vineyards of his own people from these mischievous creatures, so that this injury to the Philistines was a benefit to them. The common fox, *Canis vulpes*, as well as the jackal, or *vulpes aureas*, are both very numerous in Palestine. The Hebrew word shugnal, or shual, may be translated for either. — See *Hasselquist's Travels*, and Solomon's Song, ii. 15.

Samson occasion of quarrelling with the Philistines again, and he was so far from concealing his resentment, or using any stratagem to be revenged on them, that he openly declared he would have satisfaction; which he forthwith obtained in a great slaughter of them.

After this action, Samson, well knowing that he had provoked the Philistines to the highest degree, took up his residence, for greater security, in the top of the rock Etam: which, when the Philistines understood, they marched into Judah, and encamped there, demanding Samson of the inhabitants, that they might have satisfaction of him for the wrong he had done them. The men of Judah, dreading the consequence of this invasion, immediately detach three thousand men of their tribe to go and take Samson, saying to him, "Didst thou not know that we were subject to the Philistines, why then hast thou provoked them so much?" Adding that they were come to seize and deliver him to the Philistines. Samson knew his own strength, but would not employ it against his countrymen; only obliging them by oath not to unite with the Philistines against him, he gave them leave to bind him: upon which they brought him to the place where the Philistines lay encamped; who, seeing him brought bound, thought they were now sure of him, and came forth, shouting for joy, to receive him. But before they could lay hands on him, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him so powerfully, that he broke the cords from his arms with as much ease as if they had been burnt flax; and looking about him for a weapon, he could find no better than the jaw-bone of an ass; however, being inspired, he, with that contemptible instrument, dispatched a thousand of the Philistines. The violent exertion used in this action rendered him so extremely thirsty, that he was ready to faint, and being in a place where no water could be procured, he thus addressed himself to the Lord: "Thou hast given this great deliverance into the hand of thy servant; and shall I die with thirst, and fall into the hands of ^{the} uncircumcised?" God heard his complaint, and miraculously gratified the champion's thirst by a supply of water from a rock, which never before produced any moisture; he clave a hollow rock,* called Mactes, which was at Lehi, and water plentifully flowed from it; of which Samson having drank, his spirits were immediately revived.

* *Rock.* Vatablus, Junius, and Tremellius, have remarked, that all the versions, except the Chaldee paraphrase, have transformed the place where Samson killed the thousand Philistines, which is called Lehi, into a *jaw-bone*; and a *hollow rock*, which was in that place, into a *hollow tooth*, which was in the jaw-bone: translating Judg. xv. 19, "God clave a hollow place, which was in the jaw, and there came water thereout;" whereas they should have translated, "God clave a hollow rock, called Mactes, which was at Lehi," etc. The same rock, Mactes, is mentioned in Zephaniah i. 11, where our translation renders it the *low place*. It was called Mactes because it had the figure of a mortar; the Chaldee paraphrase says, that it was situated near the brook Kedron, or near Tiberias, according to the allegorical comments of the Jews. Nor did Josephus the historian understand this text otherwise, when he remarks, *Antiq. l. 7, c. 10*, "That God having heard the prayer of Samson, made a fountain to spring in a rock, which did send out abundance of sweet and clear water." And those who have travelled through Palestine, assure us that this fountain remains to this day. St. Jerome tells us he saw it; and Michael Glycas, who lived about the year 1120, says, that it was to be seen at that time in the suburbs of Eleutheropolis, and that it was called *The Fountain of the Jaw*.

Samson's next exploit was at Gaza, another city of the Philistines, whither, invited by curiosity, or desire of the Philistine women, he went, and took up his lodging at a house of public entertainment. He was not long concealed here, for the inhabitants of the place having notice of him, beset the house; and, watching for him all night at the gate of the city, concluded they should seize him in the morning, and then they would dispatch him. Samson, being informed of their design, lay still till midnight; and then rising, took the gates of the city, with the two posts and bars, and laying them on his shoulders, carried them to the top of a hill which looks toward Hebron, and so escaped the danger that threatened him. But a more fatal disaster than this shortly befell him; for, falling in love with a beautiful woman, who dwelt in the Vale of Sorek, whose name was Delilah, he was so captivated with her charms that he paid little regard to his own safety. The princes of the Philistines, observing Samson's fondness, took advantage of it; and addressing themselves to Delilah, promised to give her, each of them, eleven* hundred shekels of silver, if she could entice him to discover to her wherein his great strength lay, that so they might bind and punish him for the great mischief he had done them. So valuable a bribe easily prevailed with the woman to betray her lover, who, after much solicitation and importunity, informed her that he had been a Nazarite to God from his birth, and that no razor had ever yet come upon his head; but if he were to be shaven, his strength would be no more than that of a common man. Delilah, having thus extorted from him the fatal secret, sent for the princes of the Philistines to come to her, assuring them that he had revealed to her the true secret of his strength. They accordingly come, and bring the money they had promised her; and she, having lulled him to sleep, as his head lay on her lap, a man, whom she had provided, shaved off the seven locks of his head; and then rousing him, she said, "The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!" He, not knowing what was done, thought to stretch himself as he used to do, for as yet he knew not that the Lord was departed from him; but he too soon discovered it by the loss of his strength. The Philistines seeing him now really disabled, seized him immediately; and to make sure of him, they put out his eyes, and bringing him to Gaza, they fettered him, and obliged him to work in the prison.

Some time after, the Philistines kept a day of rejoicing for the victory obtained over their potent adversary, and offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to their idol Dagon,† in his temple. When they had feasted awhile, and were become merry, they called for Samson to make sport; upon which he was brought from the prison, and being placed between the two pillars that supported the roof, they made themselves merry with him. Besides the great

* *Eleven, etc.* The number of these princes of the Philistines is supposed to be five, from the five chief cities, viz., Accaron, Ascalon, Azoth, Gaza, and Gath, 1 Sam. vi. 17. So that five times eleven hundred, or five thousand five hundred shekels of silver, each in value fifteen pence, would amount to about three hundred and forty-three pounds, fifteen shillings.

† *Dagon.* This Dagon was the common idol of the sea-coasts, having the form of a man from the navel upwards, and downwards of a fish; from which the word is derived.

conflux of people of all sorts who came in the house of Dagon at this solemnity, there were about three thousand on the roof, who were to be spectators of Samson's misery.* By this time his hair was somewhat grown; and it is probable his strength might begin to return: however, whether it did or not in that manner, it is very likely that these indignities, offered him by the Philistines, provoked him to the highest degree; wherefore persuading the lad who guided him, to place him so that he might feel both the pillars on which the house rested, on pretence of leaning on them to rest himself, he, with great earnestness, prayed to God to strengthen him this one time, that he might be avenged on the Philistines for the loss of his eyes. God heard his prayers, and gave him such an accession of strength, that, taking hold of the two pillars with both his hands, he bowed himself with all his might, and at the same time saying, "Let me die with the Philistines," he exerted his strength in such a wonderful manner, that, forcing the pillars from their bases, the house fell down with a dreadful crash on the vast assembled multitude who were in it: so that Samson had a full revenge on his enemies, and put an end to his own miserable condition; slaying more at his death, than in the height of his prosperity.

Thus died Samson, who is said to have judged Israel twenty years; and was rather a scourge to the Philistines, than a deliverer of the Israelites. Yet he may be said to have begun to deliver Israel in this last action, though it cost him his life. When his relations heard of his death, they came and brought him to his father's sepulchre, between Zorah and Eshtaol, where they buried him.†

After the death of Samson, the administration of the government of Israel seems to have devolved upon Eli, who was then high-priest. In the begin-

* *Misery.* Houses in the East were built round a court, with cloisters. Samson was in the court or area, and the flat roof of the surrounding buildings, as well as all the windows, was filled with spectators. Dr. Shaw, in his Travels, says: "I have often seen hundreds of people diverted in this manner upon the roof of the Dey's palace at Algiers; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister over against the gate of the palace, (Esther v. 1.) made in the fashion of a large pent-house, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or centre. In such open structures as these, the great officers of state transact their public offices and distribute justice. Here likewise they have public entertainments, as the lords of the Philistines had in the house of Dagon. Upon a supposition, therefore, that in the house of Dagon there was a cloistered structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or centre pillars only which supported it, would be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines.

† The example of Samson cannot be pleaded in defence of suicide. He was a public person, the declared enemy of the Philistines, and raised up of God to punish them for the oppression of his people. It was not the destruction of his own life that he sought on this occasion, but that of Israel's enemies, and as a magistrate and soldier, he "counted not his own life dear, so that he might finish his heroic course" with triumph. The miraculous power with which he was again endued from on high, seems fully to justify this extraordinary action.

Herein also we may discern a remarkable emblem of the great Deliverer, the Saviour of the world, who destroyed Satan's kingdom as Samson did Dagon's temple; who, when his arms were stretched out on the cross, as Samson's to the two pillars, gave a fatal convulsion to "the gates of hell," and "through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil." Heb. ii. 14, 15.

ning of his reign was born Samuel the prophet, the son of Elkanah, a Levite, descended* from Korah. He lived in the city of Ramah, which belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, with his two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. The latter of them had children, but the first had none. Elkanah, according to the custom, went up to Shiloh, once a year, to worship, and sacrifice to the Lord, taking his two wives and his children with him; where, after he had made his offerings, he gave presents to both his wives; but Hannah being his best beloved, he gave her a double share of his favor. This occasioned a difference between the two wives, and Peninnah, priding herself in her children, reproached Hannah for her sterility. Her husband endeavors to comfort her; but Hannah seeks her consolation from above, addressing herself earnestly in prayer to the Lord, and vowing at the same time, that, if he would bless her with a son, she would dedicate him to the Lord all the days of his life, and that no razor should come upon his head. Eli the priest, who was near her, perceiving her lips move, but not hearing her speak, supposed she was intoxicated with wine, and chid her for it; but finding himself mistaken, he turned his reproof into a blessing, praying to God to hear her petition. Being returned to Ramah, she conceived, and was in due time delivered of a son, whom she named Samuel, because she had asked him of God, which his name implies.

Hannah, having weaned her little son, according to her promise, brought him to the house of the Lord at Shiloh, with an offering, acquainting Eli she was the woman, who some time since had prayed to the Lord for a child, and that she came to perform her vow, which was to dedicate him to the service of the Lord. Eli, upon this, gave thanks to the Lord, for having heard and answered Hannah's prayer; and Hannah, in a holy rhapsody, did the same. Elkanah and Hannah, having performed their vow, prepare to return, and Eli, pronouncing a blessing upon them, said, "The Lord give thee seed of this woman; for the loan which is lent unto the Lord," meaning Samuel; whom they left behind them with Eli, who put on him a linen ephod, and he served in the house of the Lord as Eli had directed him. After that, once a year, till he grew up, his mother, when she came up to offer the yearly sacrifice, made him a little coat, and brought it to him.

Eli, the priest, had two sons, who were extremely wicked; for, valuing themselves upon the authority and dignity of the priesthood, they domineered over the men, and debauched the women. And to such a degree of insolence had they arrived, that, not content with the portion of the flesh of the sacrifice which God in the law had assigned to them, they would seize what they liked best, and at what time they pleased. By these means, the service of God grew contemptible in the eyes of the people, who were indifferent whether they offered or not. But how heinous soever the sins of the priests might be, they did not excuse the people from guilt in neglecting the service of the Lord.

* *Levite, descended, etc.* Elkanah was descended from that Korah who, in Moses' time, for his rebellion in the wilderness, was swallowed up by the gaping earth, and all that he had with him, Num. xvi., except his son, Num. xxvi. 11, from the eldest of which, named Assir, the genealogy is carried down to Samuel, in Chron. vi. 22-28.

Eli himself had often been informed of the wickedness of his sons, yet did not restrain or punish them as he, who was both their father and a magistrate, ought to have done, giving them only a slight reproof, which was so far from dissuading, that they still persisted in their wicked practices. At last a Man of God * came to Eli, with a message that threatened him and his household with ruin, for his mild but careless administration: first upbraiding him with ingratitude for slighting the honor done his family, by investing the priesthood in it; threatening his sons, Hophni and Phineas, with death, which he foretells shall happen at one and the same time. And to show Eli the wretched poverty into which his posterity should be plunged, he added, That every one that should be left in his house should come and crouch to a more faithful priest, whom the Lord would set up, for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread; and should say, "Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices, that I may have a piece of bread to eat."

Soon after this, the Lord gives Eli another denunciation of his judgment by a younger messenger. Samuel being lodged in the further part of the tabernacle, among the Levites, the Lord in the night called him by his name, who, as the manner was, answered, "Here am I;" and starting up, ran to Eli's apartment, supposing he had called him. But when Eli told him he had not called him, he went and lay down again. This was repeated three times; and Samuel began at last to be positive with Eli that he certainly did call him. This roused Eli, and led him to think there must be something extraordinary in it, which idea he communicated to Samuel, bidding him retire to his bed again, and directed him that if the Lord should call him again, he should say, "Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth." As Eli expected, so it happened; and Samuel did as he was directed. Then said the Lord to Samuel, "All that I have spoken concerning Eli and his house I will perform, for I have assured him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity to which he is privy; because his sons made themselves vile, and he did not restrain them; therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice, nor offering forever." †

* *Man of God.* Who this Man of God was, that brought this unwelcome message to Eli, is very uncertain. Tremellius and Junius, in their notes upon the place, take him to be Samuel, which is very strange, and very unlikely to be true, for Samuel was then too young, and in 1 Sam. iii. 1, he is set forth as one not yet acquainted with the voice of God; and also, that the Lord, when he had spoken to Samuel, tells him as a thing he knew not before, that he had denounced a judgment against Eli and his house. It is certain that it was a very dark time; there was no open vision, no certain known prophet, such as Moses had been before, and as Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, and others were afterwards.

† The example of Eli suggests an affecting lesson to parents, magistrates, and ministers. In each of these stations important duties are required, for the due performance of which they are responsible; and the rule laid down in the case of Eli will be found by experience to be generally adopted in the conduct of Divine Providence. "Them that honor me, I will honor; and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." A large degree of tender affection is due to children; but if we resign our authority to them, and permit them, unrestrained, to follow their corrupt inclinations, we are chargeable with the guilt of provoking God, betraying his cause, and bringing a curse both on ourselves and them. It is true that the most pious parents cannot bestow grace upon their children; but they may and ought to



HIGH PRIEST.

This sentence was so terrible, even to Samuel, who had no share in it, that he was afraid to inform Eli; but Eli, now thoroughly awakened by the message he had before received, and the apprehension he now entertained that the Lord had revealed something like it to Samuel, obliged him to repeat what the Lord had said to him. Samuel obeys, and tells him the very worst; to which afflicted Eli humbly submitted, saying, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

And now, to the great comfort of Israel, God was pleased to appear again in Shiloh, revealing himself to Samuel there. For as Samuel grew up, both in stature as a man, and in grace as a man of God, the Lord was with him, and accomplished whatsoever He spoke by him; so that all Israel knew, from one end of the land to the other, that Samuel was established as a faithful prophet to the Lord.

The Israelites being again favored with a prophet, promised to themselves great things, concluding that whatever they undertook would succeed; and being animated with this thought, they were inclined to make an effort for shaking off the Philistine yoke. Wherefore, intending to give them battle, they encamped in a place which afterwards, upon better success, was called Eben-Ezer. The Philistines sat down by Aphek, a city of Judah, and in a short time the armies joined; but the Israelites, instead of victory, found the judgments of God, denounced against priest and people, ready to fall upon them; for in the action they lost four thousand of their men. The rest making an orderly retreat to their camp, the elders began to consider what might be the cause of this defeat; and fondly supposing it to be for want of having the Ark, they resolved to carry it with them in all their future expeditions. They then sent messengers to Shiloh, for Hophni and Phineas, the priests, to bring the Ark into the camp, which they forthwith did; and when the Israelites saw it, they gave such a shout as made the earth ring; which so disheartened the Philistines, that they were on the brink of despair, especially when they heard the true cause of this exultation.

The Israelites, on the other hand, were as presuming as the Philistines were dejected. For, concluding themselves secure under the protection of the Ark, and not in the least questioning success, they again offered battle to the Philistines; who, engaging, slew thirty thousand of their foot, among whom were Hophni and Phineas, put the rest to flight, and (which was the most distressing circumstance of all) the Ark of God was taken. One of the

"restrain" them when they begin to "make themselves vile," and not be too indulgent, lest they make themselves accessory to their crimes and their ruin. Human nature is depraved, and education must be adapted to it as such; much instruction, caution, and advice is necessary. The vicious inclinations of youth, their love of vanity and of vain company, must be opposed and repressed, and moderate restraint and correction must be employed, (Prov. xiii. 24, and xxiii. 14.) Without this care, the pretended fondness of parents is in reality cruelty of the worst kind. And though, in some few cases, the faithful discharge of parental duties is not attended with the usual success, yet, when the children of good men are, like Eli's, "sons of Belial, who know not the Lord," it will generally be found that there has been some gross carelessness and deficiency in their education. "Train up a child," said the wisest of men, "in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it," Prov. xxii. 6.

soldiers, of the tribe of Benjamin, seeing the day lost, made his escape from the field of battle, and came running to Shiloh, with his clothes rent and earth upon his head; which, in those countries, were emblems of extreme sorrow for the greatest losses and misfortunes.

Though Eli had offended the Lord greatly, by his remiss and careless administration, yet he had a religious concern for the safety of Israel, and a deep veneration for the Ark of God. On this account, therefore, he went and sat at the gate to hear (for he could not see) how affairs went; while he was thus sitting, the Benjamite who escaped in the fight having informed the citizens what had happened, there was a dreadful outcry among them. Whereupon, Eli asking what was the meaning of that tumult, the Benjamite soldier was brought to him, who told him that the Israelites were routed; that his sons were in the number of the slain; and that the Ark of the Lord was taken. Eli kept his seat till the last piece of news was related, but then, his spirits failing, he fell backwards from his seat; and being heavy as well as aged, his neck was broken with the fall, and he died, having judged Israel forty years. The wife of Phineas, who was pregnant, and very near her time, hearing of the melancholy death of her father and her husband, and of the loss of the Ark, fell into labor; and being delivered of a son, she, with her dying breath, named him "Ichabod;" which signifies, "No glory;" adding, as the reason of giving the child this name, "The glory is departed from Israel;" for so she justly interpreted the capture of the Ark.

The Philistines having cleared the field, and carried off the plunder, brought the Ark to Ashdod, and placed it in the temple of Dagon, near to the idol; which, the next morning, they found fallen down upon his face before the Ark of the Lord. They set him up, however, in his place, and next day coming in again, they not only found him fallen to the ground, but his head and the palms of his hands were broken off, and lying on the threshold, his lower part only being left entire. Whence a superstitious custom arose among the Philistines, that neither the priests nor the people would tread upon the threshold.

And now, to convince these idolaters that the cause was no longer between the Philistines and the Israelites, but between God and Dagon, the Lord laid his heavy judgments on Ashdod, and all the coast-towns thereabouts; afflicting the people with secret diseases, and at the same time destroying the country by mice. The inhabitants of Ashdod were sensible that this was a judgment from the God of Israel for taking and detaining the Ark; therefore consulting what to do, the princes of the Philistines, partly to redress the complaints of the Ashdodites, but chiefly to carry the Ark about in triumph, sent it to Gath, where the same judgments pursued the detainers of it. Therefore they removed it to Ekron, the inhabitants of which no sooner saw it but they exclaimed, "They have brought the Ark of the God of Israel to us, to slay us and our people!"

While the Ark was here, as they conjectured, a deadly plague attended the people; wherefore, calling the priests, they resolved to send the Ark away, but could not immediately determine on the proper method of doing

it. The priests advised them not to send it away empty, but to prepare a trespass-offering, for an atonement of their sacrilege, which was to consist of five golden emerods and five golden mice, according to the number of the princes of the Philistines, hoping that by thus acknowledging the glory of the God of Israel, he would deliver them from the punishments he had inflicted on them; for "Why (said the priests) should you be obstinate, as the Egyptians were, to your own destruction?" Then directing them to provide a new cart, and two milch-kine that had never been yoked, and fasten them to the cart, without their calves, they bid them lay the Ark on the cart, and put the golden emerods and mice in a coffer by the side of the Ark, and send them away; but cautioned them strictly to observe which way the cart went; for if it went by the way of Bethshemeth, they might conclude that it was the God of Israel who had plagued them; but if it went not that way, they should look upon all these judgments merely as common accidents.

The Philistines sending the Ark away in this manner, the kine that drew it went on, lowing, directly to Bethshemeth. The five princes of the Philistines followed at a respectful distance to see what would become of it, who, when they saw it arrive safely at Bethshemeth, returned to Ekron. The Bethshemites, who were reaping in the valley, seeing the Ark, were overjoyed. The kine, having drawn the cart into the field of Joshua the Bethshemite, stood still there by a great stone, called the stone of Abel; which the Levites* observing, they took down the Ark of the Lord, and the coffer that was with it, and laid them upon the great stone. Then, cleaving the wood of the cart for fuel, they offered the kine for a burnt-offering to the Lord. But some of the Bethshemites, whether moved by joy or curiosity, took the liberty of looking into the Ark, contrary† to the Law; for which presumption the Lord slew seventy‡ of them, which so terrified the rest that they cried out, "Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and to whom shall he go from us?" This made them desirous of removing the Ark. They therefore sent to Kirjath-jearim, to acquaint them that the Philistines had sent back the Ark of the Lord, and desired them to come and fetch it. Accordingly they came, and conveyed the Ark to the house of Abinadab on the hill whose son Eleazar was consecrated to keep it, and where it abode twenty years.

Samuel having, upon the death of Eli and the loss of the Ark, taken upon him the administration, governed Israel twenty years; when, finding in the people a disposition to repent and return to the Lord, he exhorted them to put away the strange gods, Baal and Ashteroth, and to serve the Lord only; promising, that if they would do so, they should be delivered from the Philistines; then, ordering all Israel to meet him at Mizpeh, they humbled themselves there with prayer and fasting. The Philistines, having notice of this general meeting, approached them armed, and occasioned a terrible con-

* *Levites.* Bethshemeth was a city which belonged to the Levites. See Job xxi. 16.

† *Contrary.* See Num. iv. 40.

‡ *Seventy.* Bochart proves that the number mentioned, 1 Sam. vi. 19, should be translated *seventy*.

sternation. The Israelites, thus alarmed, begged of Samuel to intercede for them to the Lord. Samuel thereupon took a sucking lamb, and offered it whole for a burnt-offering, praying to the Lord for the people. His prayers were so effectual, that the Philistines coming to attack them at the same instant, the Lord sent down such a peal of thunder on them, just as they were ready to engage, that the Israelites obtained a mighty victory, and pursued them from Mizpeh beyond Beth-car. From which time the Philistines came not into the country of the Israelites, who recovered the towns those people had taken from them, from Ekron to Gath. And Samuel, in memory of this great deliverance, set up a monumental stone between Mizpeh and Shen, calling it Eben-Ezer, that is, "The Stone of Help."

After this, Samuel, for the better administration of justice, took a circuit through Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, returning every year to Ramah; but growing in years, and unable to travel, he constituted his two sons, Joel and Abiah, judges over Israel; who, degenerating from their pious father, were corrupted with bribes, and acted unjustly. In consequence of which the elders of Israel, assembling, went in a body to Ramah, and complained to Samuel, saying, "Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us like all the nations." The cause of their complaint was just; but in demanding a king, they forfeited the care of God, as well as the favor of Samuel. He, however, consulted the Lord; who ordered him to give them a king, as they desired, but reproached them for their ingratitude to himself and to Samuel; and to warn them of the dangerous consequences of rejecting him and his prophet, for the purpose of having a king, He gives him instructions to lay before them what they were to expect from this wanton and fickle temper: That their monarch should enslave them and their children, by making them subject to every menial office; that they should be always in arms and tumults, liable to the inconveniences of a constant war, and subjected to heavy taxes; and that then they would cry to the Lord, but he would not hear them.

Notwithstanding this caution, which Samuel expressly delivered to the people, they persisted in their resolution, positively saying, "We will have a king over us, that we may be like other nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles." Samuel, seeing them so positive, again consulted the Lord, who ordered him to comply with their desire, and make them a king. Upon this, Samuel dismissed the elders of Israel to their cities; and since the setting up of a king at that time was but to gratify the humor of a fickle people, God accommodated them with a man extraordinary in his person, being taller by the head and shoulders than any of the people. This was Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, a handsome youth. The asses of Kish, his father, having gone astray, he sent his son Saul with a servant to seek them; who, after much wandering about, came to the town of Ramah-Zophim, Samuel's residence, without hearing any news of what they sought for. Here Saul's servant said to him, "There is a seer (or prophet) in this town who perhaps may tell us where the asses are." Saul approved what his servant proposed, and went into the town, inquiring

for the seer. God had, the day before, given Samuel notice of Saul's coming, and declared to him that he was the person whom he had chosen to be king. Saul meeting there with Samuel, who was going up to the high-place to offer sacrifice, asked him where was the house of the seer? Samuel, understanding that he was the person whom God had appointed to be king, answered: "I am the seer; go up with me to this high-place; you shall dine with me to-day, and I will dismiss you to-morrow. As for the asses which were lost three days ago, be not concerned about them, they are found again." Then he assured him that all the best things in Israel should be his; and bringing him home with him, he invited thirty persons to bear him company, seating Saul and his servant at his table, but placing Saul above all the other guests, and distinguishing him also by setting before him the best of the meat.

After they had eaten, Samuel, taking Saul to the top of the house, had further communication with him; and early in the morning calling him up, that he might dismiss him, they went out together; and as they were going down towards the end of the city, Samuel bade Saul order his servant to go before, but stand still himself for a while, that he might show him what God had said concerning him. The servant being gone out of sight, Samuel, taking a vial of oil,* poured it upon the head of Saul, and kissed † him, adding that he did this because the Lord had appointed him to be a prince over his inheritance. Then, as a token that what he had communicated was true, he foretold several particulars which should happen to him in his return: That near Rachel's tomb he would meet two men, who should inform him that his father's asses were found again; that, departing thence, he should meet three men going to Bethel, one of them carrying three kids, the second three cakes of bread, and the third a bottle of wine, and that they should give him two parts thereof; and lastly, that when he came to the Mountain of God, where was a garrison of the Philistines, he should meet a company of prophets going into the city, where the Spirit of God should fall upon him, and he should prophesy among them. After this, he ordered Saul to go to Gilgal, where in seven days he might expect to see him, because there Samuel intended to offer a peace-offering. All which signs Saul found punctually fulfilled.

And now, though Samuel had thus privately anointed Saul, which was known only to themselves, yet, for the general satisfaction of the people, and that the choice and inauguration of the king might be more public and solemn, Samuel summoned them to appear before the Lord at Mizpeh; to which place the Ark of the Lord was brought, that the choice might be openly made, and declared by casting lots among all the tribes of Israel, to know from which of them the king was to be chosen. The lot fell on the tribe of Benjamin; and casting the lot again among the families of Benjamin, the lot fell upon the family of Matri, and at last on Saul, the son of

* *Oil.* Saul was the first king of Israel that was anointed, though unction was in use before, as we may see in Judges ix. 8.

† *Kissed.* This signified a communication of grace and a mutual concord between the regal and sacerdotal offices, a kiss being an emblem of friendship and peace.

Kish. Saul being before assured that the choice would fall on him, was not present at the casting of the lot; but the people inquiring of the Lord whether they should fetch him or not, he not only consented, but expressly directed them where to find him. Accordingly they went for him; and having brought him, they set him among them, where he appeared taller than any of the people, from the shoulders upwards; which Samuel observing, said to them, "Behold him whom the Lord hath chosen: there is none like him among all the people!" At which words the people gave a general shout, saying, "God save the king!" Then Samuel stated to them the duty of a king, and the manner of the kingdom, writing it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord. This done, he dismissed the people, and Saul went home to Gibeah, attended with a particular company of men, whom God had inclined to wait on him.

But there were other persons* who felt dissatisfied with the election; and though they concurred in the general wish of having a king, despised Saul in their hearts, and expressed their dislike by refusing to make such presents † to him as others did on this occasion. This contemptuous conduct might naturally have excited his keen resentment, armed as he now was with the supreme power; but Saul, with equal meekness and policy, passed by ‡ the offence, and "held his peace."

* *Other persons.* These are called sons of Belial, 1 Sam. x. 27, that is, men of a rebellious, proud, disobedient spirit; who, though they had desired a king, yet now refused him; desiring what they had not, and despising what they had. They did not express their contempt of him by name, but did it worse, in a more general way, saying, v. 27, "Shall he save us?"

† *Presents.* Presenting the king with gifts was one way of recognizing him. The Chaldee paraphrase says, "They came not to salute him," which is the same thing; for the first salutation offered to a king was always attended with presents, which presents carried with them a sign of peace and friendship, of congratulation and joy, and of subjection and obedience. It was a general custom, and still continues among the Eastern potentates, to bring presents; there being no approaching them without.

‡ *Passed by.* The Hebrew says he was deaf, that is, seemed or pretended not to hear. In which he was very politic, being unwilling to begin his reign with any tumult, which his just resentment of such an affront might have occasioned. If he had taken any notice of the affront, and not revenged it, he had shown himself mean-spirited, and if he had resented it, the people might have charged him with severity and cruelty.

SECTION V.

THE first memorable exploit of Saul, the new monarch of Israel, was against Nahash, king of the Ammonites, in consequence of an application for aid from the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, to whom Nahash had refused to grant reasonable conditions. Saul dispatched his messengers throughout Israel, commanding all, on pain of death, to come to the relief of Jabesh. The Israelites readily obeyed, and in a very short time an army of three hundred thousand Israelites, besides thirty thousand of the tribe of Judah, was collected. This army Saul divided into three parts, and by break of day surprised the careless Ammonites. The action continued till noon, the victorious Israelites bearing down all before them. This glorious success, heightened much by the greatness of the deliverance from so insulting an enemy, afforded no small satisfaction and encouragement to Saul and his friends, some of whom, calling to mind the reflections thrown upon Saul at his election, demanded to have his opposers brought to condign punishment: but the king, with equal generosity and policy, replied, that he would not suffer that day of general joy to be clouded with the death of a single Israelite.

Upon this signal victory, Samuel, earnestly desirous of reconciling all parties, and of giving an opportunity to those who had opposed Saul now to recognize him, proposed a general meeting at Gilgal, to confirm his election, which they accordingly did, in the most unanimous manner; and having sacrificed peace-offerings to the Lord, both the king and people celebrated their meeting with joy. But, lest any intemperance in their mirth should make them forget God, Samuel took occasion there to remind them of their former transgressions, in slighting his administration, and changing the government; challenging them to convict him, if they could, of any injury he had done them. Of which they unanimously acquit him. Then, repeating the many deliverances which God had given to their forefathers and themselves, and setting before them their last transgression in rejecting the government of God and desiring a king, he assures them, that, notwithstanding all this, if they would serve and obey the Lord, both they and their king should continue under the care and protection of God; but if they would not, that then the hand of the Lord should fall in judgment upon them and their princes. And to convince them that he uttered not this of himself, nor from any prejudice against them, but merely by the Divine suggestion, he assured them that the Lord himself would confirm what he had said by a great storm of thunder and rain. Accordingly, upon Samuel's praying,

there fell such a storm of thunder and rain, as affrighted the Israelites into a sense of their former transgressions; and made them entreat Samuel to pray to God for them, acknowledging that they had sinned in desiring a king. Samuel continued his exhortation, advising the people to serve God, assuring them that he would not only pray for them, but that he would always be ready to teach them their duty; at the same time threatening them with destruction if they disobeyed, both them and their king.

After the victory obtained by Saul over the Ammonites, he dismissed his large army, retaining only three thousand men; two thousand of whom he kept with him at Michmash and on the mountains of Bethel, while the other thousand was placed under the command of his son Jonathan at Gibeah. Jonathan being a brave young prince, and ambitious of renown, cut off the garrison of the Philistines at Geba, which was a sort of signal to both sides to prepare for war. The Philistines soon received notice of this; and in order to revenge it, raised a vast army; which, besides a great number of foot, consisted of three* thousand chariots and six thousand horse, with which they came and encamped at Michmash. Saul, by sound of trumpet, collected what force he could raise to oppose them, and ordered the rendezvous to be at Gilgal; where he encamped, daily expecting the arrival of Samuel. Disappointed, however, in this, the people were utterly discouraged, and generally deserted their new and much-desired king, every one shifting for himself, some hiding themselves in the rocks, and others, not thinking themselves safe, passing the river Jordan.

Saul, finding himself thus forsaken, and despairing of Samuel's coming, called for a burnt-offering and a peace-offering, and offered the burnt-offering; which he had no sooner done than the approach of the prophet was announced, upon which he went out to meet him. Samuel asking him what he had done, Saul told him all, adding, as an apology for his conduct, that, seeing the people deserted him for want of his presence, and the near approach of the enemy, he was afraid they would attack him before he could address himself to the Lord for success; and therefore he had offered a burnt-offering before he came. Samuel sharply reprov'd him, and charged him with a breach † of God's commandment, by which he had forfeited his

* *Three.* This is, by the neglect of transcribers, rendered thirty thousand. But it is not likely that the Philistines had thirty thousand chariots of war, since Shishack, the most powerful of all the kings of Egypt, had but twelve hundred, 2 Chron. xii. 3, and since Pharaoh had but six hundred, and all the other princes, whose equipage is related in Scripture, fewer still, as may be seen in many places. For which reasons the Syriac and Arabic versions have given the Philistines but three thousand chariots. To these considerations we may add, that the cavalry was always more numerous than the chariots of war, and yet they had no more than six thousand horsemen.

† *Breach.* What that breach was is hard to guess; for, according to the text, it is plain, 1 Sam. xiii. 8, that Saul tarried seven days for Samuel, but he came not; though his impatience might shorten the last day, and Samuel have deferred his coming to the last, to try Saul's obedience. Some will have it that Saul himself offered the burnt-offering, which can hardly be supposed; for the Ark of the Lord being with them, they could not want a priest to do that office. But whatever the cause was, Saul was guilty of that which cost him his kingdom almost in the beginning of his reign.

kingdom, and which God had now transferred to another. Upon this, Samuel left Gilgal and went to Gibeah, whither Saul and Jonathan, with about six hundred men, and those very ill provided, followed. For the Philistines, to prevent the Israelites from arming, had taken care that they should have no smith; so that they were forced to make use of their working-tools, such as ploughshares, mattocks, axes, and coulters, instead of military weapons.

While this little army lay at Gibeah, the vanguard of the Philistines, in three bodies, sallied out to ravage the country; but their main body continued in the straits of Michmash. Jonathan, observing their position, and inspired with a more than ordinary courage, privately withdrew from the camp, attended only by his armor-bearer, to whom he had imparted his design, and who promised to stand by him. Being come near the outguards, the Philistines, discovering them, took them to be some of the Israelites who had skulked about the rocks, and in ridicule called them to come near. The way by which they were to pass was steep and narrow, having a sharp rock on each side, so that Jonathan and his servant were obliged to climb up on their hands and feet. As soon, however, as they reached the summit, they laid about them so furiously, that, in a short space of time, they slew twenty Philistines. This bold attempt of two men only, on a whole army, occasioned a general panic, the natural effect of which was so great a disorder, that, while they sought every man to save his own life, they fell on each other's swords. Saul, being informed of this disorder by his sentinels, mustered his army in haste in order to find out the cause of it; upon which Jonathan and his armor-bearer were the only persons missing. The soldiers then prepared for action, and the deserters themselves flocked to his standard. The whole body, taking advantage of the confusion of the Philistines, armed themselves with their enemies' weapons, and fell upon them with such desperate fury that they soon became masters of the field.

Saul had taken an inauspicious step in the commencement of his reign, and unhappily was guilty of another in this action: for before he engaged, to secure the victory as he hoped, by keeping his men from falling too soon on the spoil, he made proclamation in the camp, that every man should be cursed who should eat before night. Herein he followed too much the dictates of his own will, without consulting God, as he did a little before the action, when calling for the Ark, and the priest, to inquire of God what to do, in a preposterous haste, fearing to lose time, he stopped the priest, bidding him withdraw his hand, that he might not lose the opportunity of falling on the Philistines in their confusion. By this unhappy conduct Saul defeated his own purpose; for the people, for want of sustenance, especially those who had hidden themselves, were so feeble, that they were not able to pursue the enemy; in consequence of which many escaped who must otherwise have fallen into their hands. Jonathan, having left the camp before this proclamation was given, knew nothing of it; and, passing through a wood where honey dropped as he marched, he took some of it and ate, offering part to the people who had joined him; but they refused, telling him that his father had charged them with an oath not to eat. Jonathan was concerned at his

father's oversight, for he knew that the glory of the day would thereby be diminished. However, he excused himself on account of his faintness; but the people, who were almost famished, could not refrain from imitating him; and falling on the plunder, they also began to eat.

Saul again rashly proposed to pursue the Philistines by night; but the priest opposed him, advising him to consult the Lord: which he did, but received no answer. Saul was uneasy at this; and imputing this repulse to a breach of his orders concerning not eating, he resolved to find the offender by casting the lot, which fell upon Jonathan, whom Saul would certainly have put to death, if the people had not interposed, and pleaded the merit of the prince, to whom the honor of that day was wholly owing. Jonathan being thus rescued from death, Saul gave over all thoughts of pursuing the Philistines, who by that means escaped to their own country.

Notwithstanding these miscarriages of Saul, he still continued * in the government of Israel as king; nor was he so much out of favor, but that the Lord would employ him again in another expedition, that he might have an opportunity to recover himself, and make some amends for his former mistakes. In a short time, Samuel came to him again with a message from the Lord, which was this: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I remember that which Amalek did to Israel; how he laid wait for him in the way when he came out of Egypt.† Now go, and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have. Spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox, sheep, camel, and ass." This command was so express and plain, that it was scarcely possible to mistake it; and Saul, without hesitation, prepares to execute it. But before he committed any act of hostility, he advised the Kenites, who had been kind to the Israelites upon their leaving Egypt, to depart, lest they should share in the fate of the Amalekites, with whom they lived in common. The Kenites took his advice, and marched off; and Saul then fell upon the Amalekites. But he forgot, or designedly broke his orders; for he not only saved the king of the Amalekites, but spared the best of the cattle, and everything that was valuable. Of this Samuel had notice from the Lord, who so highly resented this inexcusable disobedience of Saul, that, expressing himself after the manner of men, he

* *Continued.* See 1 Sam. xiv. 47, where it is said that "Saul took the kingdom over Israel." From which words some think that the two years wherein he is said to have reigned, ch. xiii. 1, were all the time he reigned lawfully, and after that, declining from that manner of ruling, which from the Lord, Samuel had prescribed and recorded in a book, ch. x. 25, he governed arbitrarily by a standing force. And it may not be unlikely that he, who was a jealous prince, and always regardful of his own safety, observing how dear his son was to the people, might not think himself altogether out of danger of being dethroned, and therefore took what measures he thought best to secure the kingdom to himself; and being a military prince, he might probably think a standing force the most secure. And indeed he wanted not occasions for raising one, and keeping it up; for he had wars on all hands, being frequently attacked by the neighboring princes all his reign.

† *Egypt.* This may seem a severe piece of justice, considering that it was executed upon a whole nation for a fact committed above four hundred years before, and for which too the aggressors were then punished in their own persons, Exod. xvii. 13. But this shows God's faithfulness and love to his people; and that, first or last, he will avenge their cause.

said to Samuel, "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king; for he is turned from me, and hath not performed my commandments." This so grieved Samuel, that he cried all night, in Saul's behalf, to the Lord; and rising early the next morning to meet Saul, he found him at Gilgal. At their first interview, Saul saluted Samuel very cheerfully, informing him that he had performed the commandment of God. "What then, said Samuel, is the meaning of the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?" Saul told him they were saved to be offered in sacrifice to the Lord. Then said Samuel, "Hear what the Lord hath said to me this night: When thou wast mean in thine own sight, did I not make thee the head of the tribes of Israel? And did not the Lord anoint thee king over Israel, and command thee to destroy the Amalekites? Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the Lord?" Saul justified himself, and said that he had done so; but that it was the people who had reserved the best of the spoil for sacrifice. To this Samuel replied, "Obedience is better than sacrifice; but rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness as iniquity and idolatry. Now therefore, hear thy doom, O Saul: Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being king." These words roused Saul, who immediately acknowledged his sin, and entreated Samuel to pray for him, and accompany him to worship the Lord; but Samuel refusing, and offering to depart, Saul caught hold of the skirt of his mantle, and it rent; whereupon Samuel told him prophetically, That God had rent the kingdom from him, and had given it to another more worthy of it than himself.

The loss of the kingdom made the deepest impression upon Saul; and apprehending, that, if Samuel should refuse to go with him to worship the Lord, it would lessen him in the esteem of the people, he again acknowledged his fault, and entreated Samuel to honor him now before the people, and turn again with him, that he might worship the Lord his God.

Samuel complied with his pressing request; and Saul having performed his devotions, Samuel asked for the king of the Amalekites, who being brought before him, expected mercy from the reverend prophet, but, without any ceremony, he fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal, saying, "As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women." Upon this, Samuel went to his own house at Ramah, and Saul to his palace at Gibeah; after which Samuel never* more saw Saul, yet could not forbear to mourn for him.

God having already made it known to Samuel that he had fixed upon another to rule in Israel instead of Saul, ordered him to prepare to go to Bethlehem, under color of sacrificing there, to invite Jesse and his sons to the sacrifice-feast, and to do as he should there direct him. Samuel obeyed,

* *Never.* The transposition of words and phrases renders the translations obscure in many places. Thus it is in 1 Sam. xv. 35, where the word *until* is placed so as to make one imagine that Samuel saw Saul at the day of his death; but on the contrary, as St. Jerome observes on another text, Matt. i. 25, the word *until* implies not that he saw Saul at, or after his death, but that he never afterwards saw him.

and approaching Bethlehem, the elders of the city were surprised,* and going out to meet him, inquired if he came peaceably? He replied, Yes, and added, that he came to hold a feast † unto the Lord. He therefore bade them prepare themselves, and come with him to the feast; but in a more peculiar manner he addressed himself to Jesse and his sons, whom he sanctified and invited to the feast. After this, going to Jesse's house, and observing his seven sons, he concluded that Eliab, the eldest, who was a tall and comely man, was the person whom God had pitched upon to succeed Saul. But God soon corrected his judgment; and having surveyed the seven, he asked their father if he had not more children? He told him that he had one son more, who was in the field watching the sheep. Samuel bade him send for him, for he would not sit down to eat till he came. When he came, Samuel viewed him with pleasure and admiration, for he was very beautiful; and at the same time the Lord instructed him to anoint him, for this was he. Then Samuel, pouring oil on the head of David, anointed ‡ him in the midst of his brethren. And from that day the Spirit § of the Lord was upon David; but He departed from Saul, and an evil spirit || possessed him, which soon appeared in the sad perturbations wherewith his distempered mind was frequently agitated; which his servants observing, they advised him to divert his melancholy with music, which would settle and quiet his disturbed spirits. Saul, desirous of ease from these disquietudes, consented; upon which one of them recommended David to him, telling him he was not only an excellent musician, but a brave ¶ and prudent man, and a very comely person; adding

* *Surprised.* The cause of their surprise was to see him unattended, fearing that he came to denounce some terrible judgment against them, which was the cause of their demanding whether he came in peace or not.

† *Feast, or Sacrifice.* Sacrifice, in a strict and proper sense, as a burnt-offering for sin, might not be offered by the law in any other place than before the ark; but peace-offerings or feasts might.

‡ *Anointed.* David was three times anointed. First, privately, as at this time, not that he should immediately reign, but succeed Saul at his death. Secondly, he was anointed publicly when he was made king of the tribe of Judah. Thirdly, when he was made king of all the tribes of Israel.

§ *Spirit.* The Spirit here mentioned has many epithets bestowed on him by interpreters, who call him the Spirit of Fortitude both of mind and body, which enabled David to perform those heroic and warlike exploits, which to his bare natural strength had been insuperable; for it was after his anointing that he slew the lion and the bear, and the giant Goliath. He is by others called a royal and majestic Spirit; for as God, calling Saul from keeping asses to a kingdom, changed his rustic temper into a noble and magnanimous spirit, so he transferred the same spirit from Saul to David, that he who before had employed his thoughts only about the care of his sheep, should now devote them to the more useful government of Israel.

|| *Evil spirit.* Josephus, and many later authors, are of opinion that this evil spirit was a deep melancholy which Saul had contracted upon his being rejected by God, and deprived by Samuel; representing to his distempered mind the sad passions of jealousy, envy, grief, despair, anger, and other anxieties, which are often dissipated and appeased by music; as is plain from David's being recommended to Saul to divert and quiet him, when he was at any time agitated by any of these perturbations.

¶ *Brave.* 1 Sam. xvi. 18, David's character is set out at large for his courage and knowledge of war, and of God's being with him, as it is afterwards, when he became eminent in the world of those excellencies; from whence some note that David had slain Goliath before

that the Lord was with him. This character of David pleased Saul, who sent messengers to David's father, to desire him to send his son to him. Jesse, knowing the custom of the court, to recommend his son the better, sent a handsome present with him to the king, who, at first sight, was pleased with David; but when he exercised his skill upon the harp, Saul was so much delighted with his performance, that he repeated his request to Jesse to permit him to continue with him; to which the old man readily consented; and Saul, experiencing advantage from the musical powers of David, in order to attach him to his service, promoted him to the office of his armor-bearer.

In this short interval of peace, David often exercised his talent on the harp, to the great satisfaction of Saul, who enjoyed serenity of mind only when David thus diverted him. And now, the Philistines having rallied their scattered troops, and recruited their forces, appeared again with a great army to revenge their former dishonor and losses; and marching to Shochoh, which belonged to Judah, they encamped between Shochoh and Azekah, in the borders of Dammim. Saul prepared to meet them, and accordingly marched his army to the hill above the Valley of Elah, which separated the two camps. While the two armies were in sight of each other, a champion, of prodigious stature, came forth from the Philistine camp, and challenged any Israelite to single combat, on the decision of which the fate of either army should depend. He was of a gigantic size, being nearly ten feet high, and his arms and armor were proportioned to his vast bulk and strength. The appearance of this monstrous champion was so terrible to the Israelites, that none dared accept the challenge which this presumptuous infidel for forty days successively had insolently offered. At last, the God of Israel furnishes Saul with a champion of his own in the person of David, whom* we suppose to have been dismissed from the service of Saul for the present, upon his going into the field to command the army, if not before. However, at this time, the three eldest sons of Jesse served in the army under Saul, and David going frequently to visit his brethren, and carry them provisions, God so ordered it, that on the last of those forty days, during which the Philistine champion, Goliath, used to challenge Israel, David came to the camp just before the armies were to engage; and leaving the provisions with those who guarded the carriages, he ran into the army to salute his brethren. While he was talking with them, Goliath came out of the Philistines' army

this recommendation; but they ought to have considered that what is here spoken, being written afterwards, was spoken *prophetically*, as the words plainly denote; for David, though anointed by Samuel before this, returned to his usual employment of looking after sheep, as appears from ver. 19.

* *Whom.* Saul having found relief from his melancholy indisposition by David's playing on the harp, and the war coming on again, his mind was probably employed by military preparations, which might divert his melancholy; it is probable he might for a season dismiss David, who went home to his father's house, and followed his old employment, during which time he often went between the camp and his own house, to inquire after the health of his brethren who were in the army, and to furnish them with necessaries: for in those early days of the Israelitish kingdom, it may reasonably be supposed that those who served in the army served at their own proper expense, and not at the king's; which appears pretty plain by the provisions which Jesse sent by David to his sons in the army.

as usual, and in David's hearing bade defiance. The Israelites were still terrified at the sight of him; but to encourage some hero to accept the challenge, the royal proclamation was repeated, which stated, that, "Whoever would accept the challenge, and slay the gigantic enemy, should be nobly rewarded; and that the king would give him his daughter in marriage, and make his father's house free* in Israel." This being repeated to him again, his eldest brother, Eliab, hearing his reply to it, took an occasion from thence to quarrel † with him; which David, to avoid, turned from him, and talked with another man, expressing a more than ordinary zeal and courage for the cause of the God of Israel, and a high contempt of the insolent Goliath: insomuch, that David's words at last reached the ear of Saul, who immediately sent for him; when, being introduced to the king, he, with perfect composure, said, "Let no man fear this Philistine, for I, thy servant, will fight him." Saul, surveying David's youth, with concern told him he was too young to engage with such a veteran as Goliath. To this David answered, that he had performed as great things as the killing of the gigantic champion could be; that he had slain a lion and a bear with his own hand, and did not question but the same Providence that had delivered him from them, would now save him from the hand of the giant.

Saul, perceiving David's fixed resolution, orders him to be clad in his own armor; but not having been used to such accoutrements, he declines them altogether, and desires to choose his own arms. Then taking nothing but his staff and sling, with five smooth stones, he marched to meet his adversary, who, seeing a youth with so effeminate a countenance, and considering it as done in contempt of him, he could not forbear cursing; and moving towards him to dispatch him in his rage, David instantly proceeded to meet him, and fitting a stone to his sling, ‡ he threw it with such violence, that, God directing it, it struck him on the forehead, and sunk into it, upon which Goliath fell flat on his face. David immediately ran to him, and drawing the Philistine's own sword, cut off his head with it. His countrymen, seeing their champion slain, immediately fled in great disorder; but the Israelites, on the success of their young champion, and the flight of the enemy, gave a great shout, and pursued them through the valley of Ekron, making a great slaughter among them. After which, returning from the pursuit, they plundered the Philistine camp, and enriching themselves with the spoil of their tents and other goods, they returned to their own camp.

The field being cleared, David, among the rest, returns from the slaughter of the enemy, and is met by Abner, the general, who conducts him to Saul,

* *Free.* That is, would make him noble, and exempt him from all tributary payments and taxes.

† *Quarrel.* It is likely Eliab bore David less good will since the time that Samuel had anointed him, by which he thought himself slighted, his youngest brother being preferred before him.

‡ The Israelites were famous for slinging stones in war, long before this. See Judg. xx. 16. And what had probably been David's amusement while feeding his father's sheep, now became in the hand of Omnipotence an instrument of Israel's deliverance.

David carrying Goliath's head in his hand. Saul inquires who* this young hero is. David tells him, he was son to Jesse the Bethlehemite. There was no applause wanting to set off this glorious action of David; but none expressed so much satisfaction as Jonathan, who, being himself a prince of great bravery, was so enraptured with David's courage and conduct in this enterprise, that he contracted a firm friendship with him; and having made a mutual covenant of amity, the prince gave David his robe, his sword, belt, and bow. After this, Saul takes particular notice of David; and, in recompense of his service, gives him the command over his men of war, in which post he behaved himself with so much prudence, that he acquired the general applause.

David's virtues commanding respect from all men, excited a jealousy in Saul, which disturbed the peace of his life, and was soon aggravated by an unhappy circumstance; for when David returned with Saul from the victory over the Philistines, among the crowds of people that graced the triumph were certain women, playing upon musical instruments and singing, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." This gave Saul an unlucky hint of David's succeeding him; for, besides the distinction made in favor of the latter by this acclamation, he suggested to himself that he affected the kingdom.

From this time Saul resolved to take him off, which he first attempted

* *Who.* Commentators differ much about the time when this combat between David and Goliath was fought. For since we read in 1 Sam. xvi. 19, before this account of the Philistine's defiance, that Saul sent for David, and that David came to him, played on his harp before him, grew into favor with him, and was made his armor-bearer, ver. 21, 22, it is strange that neither Saul nor Abner should remember or know him when he came to offer himself to the combat. This has made some think that this combat was fought before the time that David was sent to play before Saul. To which the character given of David by Saul's servants, when they recommended him, not only as a skilful musician, but a mighty valiant man, a man of war, and that the Lord was with him, ver. 28, seems to give some countenance. But on the other hand, as it cannot be supposed that this encounter with Goliath happened before David had been anointed by Samuel, so, since the Spirit of the Lord, upon that anointing of David, came immediately upon him, from that day forward, ver. 13, it is reasonable to conclude, that from that very time the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul; and the evil spirit disturbed him: and that very soon after, Saul's servants perceiving him to be troubled, recommended David to him; and that upon David's playing, the evil spirit had left Saul, and he had become well, ver. 23, before this invasion of the Philistines. And though the character Saul's servants gave of David's valor may very reasonably be supposed to have been spoken prophetically, yet it may likewise well enough arise from his bold and brave undertaking, in encountering the lion and the bear in defence of his flock; which, though Saul had not, yet some of his servants might have heard of, and from thence infer the Lord was with him. Besides, we read that David went, and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem, ch. xvii. 15. And since we never read of his going to Saul but upon that occasion of the evil spirit that troubled him, and at this time when he went to fight the Philistines, it is most likely his going to him there, mentioned ver. 15, was when Saul was so troubled; and his returning from him to his sheep again was after the spirit had left Saul. For after David had slain Goliath, it is said Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house, but set him over the men of war, ch. xviii. 2 and 5. So that if this duel had been before his playing to Saul, there would have been no occasion to have sent for David to play before him, because he must be supposed to have been with him.

with his own hand on the very next day, in the following manner: His melancholy returning, David attended as usual, and touched his harp before him; and while he was thus engaged, not in the least suspecting any danger, Saul darted his javelin at him, but happily it missed him; upon which David withdrew. After this David was removed from his attendance on Saul's person, and degraded from his general command over the army to that of a thousand men only; in which he behaved with such modesty and prudence that he was caressed by all the people, which still inflamed the jealousy of Saul, and put him upon inventing means to rid himself of him.

According to Saul's declaration before the battle, David might have claimed one of his daughters as part of the promised reward; but David was so well contented with the honors already bestowed on him that he never claimed this part due to his services; nor had Saul any regard to the performance of his promise till his jealousy suggested to him that it might be rendered an effectual means of David's destruction. Therefore calling for him, he told him that he intended to bestow his eldest daughter on him, but engaged him to continue in his service, which he knew would expose him to continual danger. David modestly excused himself, representing the meanness of his family, which Saul immediately lays hold of, and disposes of his daughter to Adriel, the son of Barzillai. But having another daughter, and who, he was informed, was partial to David, he proposes her to him, but on this condition, that he expected no dowry,* only, for the exercise of his valor, and to revenge the king on his enemies, that he should slay one hundred Philistines. David would probably have declined the honor of alliance to the king by this daughter, as he had by the other, but being now pressed in point of honor, he could not excuse himself without the imputation of cowardice; and therefore accepting the terms, with a select number of men, he made an incursion upon the Philistines within the time prescribed by Saul, and slew two hundred of them, as a double dowry for his daughter. David's death had been more welcome to Saul than this; however, having so publicly engaged himself, he could not avoid the fulfilment of his promise, and therefore gave him his daughter Michal. In the next engagement with the enemy, David so signalized himself above all the officers of the army, that his courage and conduct were the only themes of applause.

Saul being still defeated in all his attempts and designs against David, resolves to engage his whole family in his resentment, and charges Jonathan and all his servants to kill him. Jonathan abhorred the thought of such ingratitude and inhumanity; and being doubly engaged to David as a brother and a friend, to prevent his being surprised, gave him timely notice of the impending danger, advising him to secure himself till the morning, in which time he would take an opportunity of expostulating with his father on the unreasonableness of such a design. David being retired to a place of security, Jonathan talks with his father, and so successfully pleaded David's merit and innocence that Saul (though in appearance only) is recon-

* *Dowry.* It was the custom of those times for men (not as now, to receive portions with their wives, but) to give dowries for their wives.

ciled to David, and Jonathan introduces him into his presence. But David's fame still increasing, and the jealousy of Saul augmenting, it burst out again with more vehemence than before; for being seized with another frantic fit, David was sent for to allay his passion with his harp, and Saul, taking the opportunity while David was engaged in touching the instrument, darted his javelin at him. But David, having a watchful eye upon him, as being before apprised of his malice, nimbly stepped aside and withdrew to his own house, whither Saul sent his guards to beset the house and kill him. Michal, David's wife, acquainted him with the design, and in tender concern for his safety soon contrived a way for his escape, by letting him down through a window; from whence, by the help of the dark night, he once more defeated Saul's wicked intent. And to prevent a quick pursuit, when the guards entered the house to search for him, Michal told them he was sick in bed. The guards return to the king with this answer; who, thinking now he had him secure, commands them to bring him in his bed before him. The guards obey, but return again, telling him that David had escaped.

David being thus happily preserved by the contrivance of his wife, Saul, looking upon her as the author of it, reproved her severely; but she in excuse told him that her husband threatened to kill her, if she attempted to detain him.

Profiting by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the by-roads, David made the best of his way to Ramah, where his good friend Samuel dwelt, to whom he made his complaint, and related the cause of his coming: for David, finding hitherto that all human means for his security were likely to prove ineffectual, threw himself upon God's more immediate protection, in flying to Samuel; who for his better safety takes him to Najoth,* where they both dwelt. Saul soon had notice where David was, and, notwithstanding the sanctity due to that holy place, impiously offers to violate the privilege of this sacred asylum, by sending messengers to take David from thence: who coming into the presence of these holy persons, and finding Samuel instructing them, the Spirit of God came upon them, and they behaved themselves as the rest did. Saul's restless malice rendered him hitherto incapable of admonition; for having sent messengers three times successively, and received no satisfaction, at length he goes himself; but as he was on the way, the Spirit of God came upon him also, and he went on prophesying † till he came to the place where Samuel and David were; and being come thither, he stripped ‡ himself of his upper garment, and lay almost naked on the

* *Najoth* was a school or college in or near the city of Ramah. The Chaldee paraphrase calls it *The House of Learning*; that is, a college, or religious house, where those were educated that were set apart or devoted to the service of God, whom the Holy Scripture generally calls prophets; which places in those times obtained the privilege of a sanctuary.

† *Prophesying*. This being a word of an extensive signification, interpreters take it in this place for singing of psalms and hymns of thanksgiving and praise.

‡ *Stripped*. This, and other texts, that the versions make to say, that they were *stripped* and went *naked*, as 1 Sam. xix. 24, Isa. xx. 2, 3, 4, Micah i. 8, and John xxi. 7, cannot be read without conceiving that the persons spoken of in them were altogether *naked*; though there is nothing more false, as will easily appear to those who consider the true signification of the words in the original, or the circumstances of the places in particular. * For,

ground that day and the next night. This gave David an opportunity of escaping from Saul; and, leaving him at Najoth, he hastened back to his friend Jonathan, and consulted with him how to secure himself from his father's malice, which would not allow him rest in any place. Jonathan assured him of his best offices, and to comfort David, solemnly renewed the friendship which they had both before sworn to each other, and promised to let him know if he could make any discovery of Saul's designs against his life. Then directing him where to conceal himself for a few days, he gave him a signal whether or not to appear, which was to be made by shooting an arrow; and then mutually embracing, they parted.

The feast of the new moon being at hand, Saul returned from Najoth to celebrate it, and taking his seat as usual at the table, the rest of the company sat down, but David's place was vacant. Saul took no public notice of his absence the first day; but missing him the second day also, he asked his son Jonathan what was become of the son of Jesse; (for so he called him in contempt.) Jonathan answered that he had desired leave to attend the anniversary feast of his family at Bethlehem, and that this was the cause of his absence. Saul well knew the intimacy that subsisted between them, and suspecting Jonathan in this excuse, he could not contain himself, but in a violent and indecent rage reproached him; telling him that David's friendship would be fatal to him, for as long as the son of Jesse lived, he would not inherit the kingdom; therefore he commanded him to produce him. Notwithstanding this unkind language, Jonathan could not forbear to be David's advocate, and mildly expostulates with his father, inquiring why he thus persecuted David. This so enraged Saul, that, breaking through all the

1. The words of the original, which are rendered *naked*, or to be *naked*, signify often nothing else but to have a part of the body uncovered, as the versions translate it, 2 Sam. vi. 20, or only to be without a gown or upper garment, according to the custom of the Eastern people, and of the Romans; who, when they went abroad or made any public appearance, wore a long upper garment, called in Latin *toga*, as may be seen in several authors, who prove that the Greeks and Latins have often employed the words which signify *naked* in this sense. Nor, 2. Is it at all probable that the prophets could have been guilty of such indecency as to go altogether naked, in public or in private, God having always testified his abhorrence of nudity; and having expressly enjoined the priests to wear several garments to cover the body, that thus they might be distinguished from the Pagan priests, who were not ashamed to appear naked. And, 3. We need only consider the circumstances which Isaiah and St. John remark when they speak thus, to be persuaded that they did not mean being altogether naked; for God commanded Isaiah to put off his sackcloth, and to go barefoot for three years, only to denote that the Egyptians and Arabians were to be carried away captive in the same manner by the Assyrians. But it was never the custom to strip captives altogether naked, but only to strip them of their best clothes, and to give them worse and shorter, that they might be the more fit for service, as Sanctius and Grotius have observed. Besides, it is not probable that Isaiah could have lived three whole years without any clothes to cover him. We must therefore render the sentence, "That Saul stripped himself of his upper garment, and lay almost naked on the ground," in the same sense that Aurelius Victor, speaking of those who were sent to Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, to bring him to the Senate to be made Dictator, says, that they found him naked, ploughing on the other side of the Tiber. For it were ridiculous to imagine that he was altogether naked. And Titus Livius, relating the same story, observes, that he called to his wife Rucca for his gown or *toga*, that he might appear fit to accompany them.

ties of paternal love, he threw his javelin at his son with an intent to kill him. Jonathan avoided the blow, and withdrew in haste; and next morning, taking his bow with him, he went into the field, and gave the appointed signal to David to appear. They affectionately embrace, and Jonathan gives David a faithful account of all that had passed between his father and himself. Upon which, David, finding he could no longer be safe in any place within the reach of Saul, resolves to go further off; and taking leave of Jonathan, they mutually swore perpetual friendship, and parted.

David directs his course to Nob, a city belonging to the priests, where the tabernacle then was, that he might, by the help of Ahimelech the priest, inquire of the Lord what course he should take. Ahimelech, who knew his quality and person, but not that he was out of favor, was surprised to see him without suitable attendants, and inquired the cause; this David thought proper to conceal, pretending that he was sent on a secret expedition, and in such haste that he had neglected to make provision for himself and those few with him; therefore he requested that if he had any bread, he would spare him some. The priest answered that he had no common bread, but he had some consecrated bread, which, in this necessity, he gave him. Then David asked him, if he had any arms? He replied, that he had no arms except the sword* of Goliath whom he slew; he might have that if he pleased. David gladly accepted it, saying, there was none like it. David pretending he came in the king's name, and that he was about the king's business, thus unhappily induced Ahimelech to accommodate him and to appear as an accomplice with an outlaw: a circumstance that soon proved of fatal consequence; for it happened at that time that Doeg † the king's herdsman was there, who soon after reported this interview to Saul.

David having refreshed, began to think of some place of security, which he knew that this city, though a privileged place, could not long afford, if Saul should be informed of his retreat, and which was but too probable from Doeg's being privy to it. Not thinking himself safe, therefore, in any part of Saul's territories, he determines on going to Achish, the Philistine king of Gath. But he had not been long there before he was discovered and pointed out to be the person who had so formidably defeated the Philistines. David, to elude the discovery, pretended to be mad, and acted the part of a lunatic so artfully that the king reprehended the informers, which gave him an opportunity of escaping from thence, and flying to the town of Adul-

* *Sword.* David having slain Goliath, presented his head to Saul, and afterwards brought it to Jerusalem; but whether then or some time after is uncertain. The giant's armor, as his own spoil, he laid up in his tent; only the sword, with which he cut off his head, seems by 1 Sam. xxi. 9, to have been dedicated to the Lord, and delivered to the priest to keep, as a monument of his victory, and of Israel's deliverance.

† *Doeg.* Whether Doeg was detained here by a vow, or by reason of the Sabbath, or on what other occasion, is uncertain; but it is probable that his presence at the time of this interview between David and Ahimelech was the reason why David feigned the story of his being sent by the king; that if (which was likely, and which David suspected) Doeg should turn informer, the priest might have the king's name and authority to plead in his own justification, for having entertained David in so friendly a manner.

lam;* whither all his family resorted to him, as did several malcontents, debtors, and other distressed persons, to the number of four hundred men, who made him their captain.

David, assured that the malice of Saul would soon detect him, and that this little army would prove but a slender security to him, out of a tender regard for the safety of his father and mother, addressed himself to the king of Moab, who was an enemy to Saul, and desired his protection. Which having obtained, he tarried with them till the prophet Gad came, and advised him to quit Moab, and return to the land of Judah, upon which David leaving Moab, went into the forest of Hareth.

While David remained in this concealment, Saul was in Gibeah, where, being informed that David had raised forces in his own defence, he violently upbraids the officers of his army with criminally refusing to revenge him on his enemy, and accused them of joining with his son in a conspiracy against their king. The officers, conscious of their perfect innocence, made no reply.

At this juncture, Doeg, who had seen David at Nob, when Ahimelech, the priest, relieved him, very officiously stepped in, and informed the king of all that had passed there between David and Ahimelech. Saul, glad of any opportunity to vent his passion, and revenge himself on any who seemed to countenance David, sent for Ahimelech, and all the priests who were in Nod, to come and appear before him. The priests, not suspecting the cruel project of Saul, readily obeyed, and presented themselves before him. The king furiously charged them with the conspiracy. Ahimelech being entirely innocent, thus defended himself against the king's unjust charge: "How could I do less than entertain a person so honorable as David, and so highly in favor with my prince, especially when he came in the king's name, and about his affairs? As to my inquiring of the Lord for him, it was not the first time; thou knowest I have often inquired of the Lord for him before. And as to any conspiracy against thee, far be it from me; I can safely answer for myself and family, we know nothing of it."

This defence, though perfectly just, made no impression on the obdurate heart of Saul; but, determined in his bloody purpose, he rashly pronounces sentence against innocent Ahimelech and his whole family, and commands his guards to put them to the sword. The guards having listened to the priest's defence, in abhorrence of so unjust and cruel a sentence, would not move a hand in its execution. Whereupon, the king, impatient at the delay of executing his revenge, looking about him, and seeing Doeg in the presence, commands him to dispatch the priests, which he readily did; and with his sacrilegious hand slew eighty-five of them. Nor did Saul's resentment stop here; this stream of innocent blood was not sufficient to glut his rage. He sends a party to Nob, the city of the priests, with command to put all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the sword,† and to spare not

* *Adullam.* It was a town in the tribe of Judah. Here was a rock of the same name, in which was a cave, naturally strong and well fortified, to which David fled from Saul.

† *Sword.* This execution of the priests, though extremely unjust, cruel, and inhuman in Saul, was yet just from God, being the completion of that judgment denounced long before by God, against Eli and his house, 1 Sam. ii. 31.

so much as the very cattle. Of all that belonged to Ahimelech, one only escaped the slaughter, namely, Abiathar, a young son of Ahimelech, who, making his escape to David, now at Keilah, gave him the sad account of the massacre of the Lord's priests, which though David lamented the more, as looking upon himself to be the innocent occasion of it, by his going to Nob, yet, he was the less surprised at it, because he had observed that Doeg was there at that time, who, he might reasonably suppose, would not fail to inform * Saul of all that passed † there between him and Ahimelech. David, to comfort Abiathar, assures him of his protection, telling him he should share the same fortune with himself.

While Saul was thus imbruing his wicked hands in innocent blood, David was employing his arms in the just defence of his country; for having notice that the Philistines had made an incursion upon Keilah, a city of Judah, and having first consulted the Lord by the prophet Gad, he went and relieved the place, defeating the enemy, and taking a great booty of cattle from them. Saul soon heard of David's success, and thinking that he would fortify himself in Keilah, sent troops to besiege him there. But David being distrustful of the inhabitants, notwithstanding he had lately done them great service, caused the young priest, Abiathar, to ask counsel of God what he had best do in this affair; who warned him of the treacherous temper of the Keilahites, telling him, if he continued there, they would certainly deliver him up to Saul. David followed the Divine advice, and with six hundred men marched out of Keilah, to seek some place of greater security: which Saul hearing, he desisted from pursuing him at that time. David retired into a wood in the desert of Ziph; of which Jonathan having received advice, he went privately to him, and encouraged him; assuring him that the Lord would not suffer him to fall into the hands of Saul. Then renewing their former league of friendship, Jonathan returned home, leaving David in the wood. ‡

David was not long secure in this place; for the officious Ziphites went and acquainted the king with the place of his retreat, and assured him that if he would send a sufficient force, they would betray David to him. Saul thanks them, and commends their loyalty, but desires them to return and inform themselves more perfectly of David's haunts, and then to give him notice, that he might the more easily secure him. But David having intelligence of their intended treachery, changes his quarters, and goes to the desert of Maon, whither Saul pursues him. Here David was hard pressed, for Saul was so near him that nothing but a valley parted them; and Saul's forces being far more numerous than those of David, he proposed to surround the mountain on which David then was, to prevent his escape. But Providence here interposed: for a messenger came in haste to acquaint

* *Inform.* This treachery of Doeg, and cruelty of Saul upon the priests, gave occasion to David to compose the fifty-second Psalm.

† *Passed.* This in all likelihood was the reason that David pretended he was sent by the king; that Ahimelech, if examined, might allege it in his defence, as he afterwards did.

‡ *Wood.* Here David is supposed to have written the sixty-third Psalm.

Saul that the Philistines had invaded the land on the other side, and desired him to hasten to repel them.

Saul was obliged, for the present, to forego the gratification of his private resentment to preserve the public safety; and therefore, withdrawing his army to march against the Philistines, he afforded David an opportunity of escaping to the strongholds of Engedi.* But Saul, having repulsed the Philistines, renews the pursuit after David; and taking three thousand choice men with him, he went to seek him on the rocks of the wild goats, the highest and most craggy part of the country. On the way, seeing a cave, † he went into it to rest awhile, little thinking that David was so near him, who with some of his men had hid themselves in the clefts of the cave, unseen of the king, though they could see him. David's men, observing him enter alone, thought this a happy opportunity of putting an end to their troubles, and advised David to make use of it and dispatch him. But David, actuated by nobler principles, restrained them, saying, "God forbid that I should stretch forth my hand against the Lord's anointed." Nevertheless, to convince Saul that it was in his power to have destroyed him, he went softly to the place where his robe lay, and cut off the skirt of it. This action, though no personal detriment to Saul, yet so affected David, that he was conscious to himself of boldness and disrespect to the majesty of the king.

When Saul had retired from the cave, David went to the top of an adjacent hill, out of Saul's reach, but near enough to be heard; and calling to him, bowing with his face to the ground, he thus addressed him: "Why ‡ is the king persuaded to believe that David intends him any hurt? Thine eyes may see that the Lord had delivered thee this day into my hand in the cave; but I would not take the advantage I had of thee, for thou art the Lord's anointed. Let the skirt of thy robe witness for me, that I spared thy life when it was in my power; and that I have no evil design against thee, though thou seekest my life. The Lord judge between thee and me, and plead my cause, and deliver me out of thy hand."

This generous action and affecting address of David made so deep an impression on Saul, that he melted into tenderness and called him his son, acknowledging with tears his own guilt, and David's own innocence. Then concluding, from the wonderful care which God had always taken of David in his deepest distress, that he should succeed to the kingdom, he told him he was sure that the Lord would establish the kingdom of Israel in his hand; therefore he conjured him by all that was sacred not to destroy his family. David, to satisfy his mind, swore he would do as he desired; upon which Saul returned home. But David, notwithstanding Saul's fair

* *Engedi.* Here, or at least on this occasion, it is probable that David composed the fifty-fourth Psalm.

† *Cave.* In those countries there were very large caves in the sides of the rocks or mountains, partly natural, but probably much enlarged by art, for the sheltering of sheep from the heat of the sun. It was in this cave that David composed the one hundred and forty-second Psalm.

‡ *Why.* See 1 Sam. xxiv. 10.

words, did not think it safe to trust to them, but retired to the fastnesses in the hills.*

About this time the prophet Samuel dying, the Israelites were gathered from most parts to lament his death, and to bury him among his own family at Ramah. And funerals of such importance usually taking up a long time, especially among the Israelites, David had the greater opportunity to provide for his own safety. In which time, leaving Engedi, he marched to the Desert of Paran, not far from Maon, where he had been before. Here dwelt a very wealthy and powerful man, whose name was Nabal, and who was well descended, deriving his pedigree from Caleb, but of a very churlish and morose disposition. His wife, who was the reverse of her husband, was not only a beautiful woman, but very discreet and virtuous.

It happened to be the season of sheep-shearing when David was in these parts, which was a time of great entertainment and mirth among them. David, hearing of this entertainment, and being probably in want of provisions for his soldiers, sent messengers to Nabal to salute him, and beg the favor of some refreshment for his men; and the more to incline him to accommodate him at this time, he ordered them to remind him of the civil behavior of his people when they were in these parts before; that they never plundered them, nor offered any act of hostility, but lived peaceably and in amity near them. Having delivered their message, they modestly waited Nabal's answer, who, like himself, pretends not to know David, of whose fame it was impossible he should be ignorant, and, in a most scornful and cruel way of reflecting on him, cried, in contempt, "There are many servants nowadays that run away from their masters, and on such I shall not bestow my provisions." When David heard this, it stung him to the quick; so that, arming himself, and commanding four hundred more to do the same, he vowed a severe revenge, which he bound with an imprecation, that he would not leave a man alive of Nabal's family. But God prevented his resentment from being carried into effect, which might have hurried him on to shed innocent blood with the guilty. It happened that one of Nabal's servants, having overheard how roughly his master had dismissed David's messengers, and dreading the consequences, knowing likewise that their mistress was a prudent woman, went and acquainted her with it; advising her to find out some expedient to prevent a mischief, which they might reasonably expect for such rude and unmannerly treatment, from men who frequently had it in their power, but who were so far from injuring them, that they protected their persons and their cattle.

Abigail, the amiable wife of Nabal, knowing full well the churlish temper of her husband, thought it altogether in vain to consult him; and therefore immediately ordered her servant to take two hundred loaves of bread, two †

* *Hills.* Here David is thought to have composed the fifty-seventh Psalm.

† Two bottles of wine would not bear any proportion with the other parts of the present, nor answer the occasion, if they should be understood of such bottles as are now commonly in use, whether of earth, stone, or glass. But in those Eastern countries they used to carry and keep wine or water in leathern bags or sacks, made on purpose to hold liquids; which

bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs. Having packed up this present, and laid it on asses, she ordered the servants to go before, herself following them. As she was descending a hill, she saw David coming down another, so that they both met in the valley. With great presence of mind and due respect, she addressed herself to him in such pathetic terms, that she at once disarmed the hero's rage, and pleased his generous mind. Then receiving her presents, he assured her of his protection, and she returned home overjoyed with the success of her embassy. When she came thither, she found her husband still kept open house, and feasted like a king; but observing that he had drank too much, she deferred acquainting him with what she had done till the next morning, and then told him the whole matter, which, when he had heard, and considered the danger to which he had been exposed, he was so terrified with the thoughts of it, that his heart sunk within him, and he grew as inanimate as a stone,* and after languishing ten days he died.

David, hearing of Nabal's death, thanked God for avenging him on him, and preventing his shedding of blood; and afterwards calling to mind the comeliness of Abigail's person, and her excellent conduct when she came to divert his resentment, he sent his servants to inform her that he had a desire to take her to be his wife. Abigail, to show how much she thought herself honored by the proposal, told the servants she desired no greater honor than to wash their lord's feet. Then dressing herself, and taking five maids with her, she went with the messengers and came to David, and became his wife. Soon after which he married another, named Ahinoam, a Jezreelite; but his first wife, Saul's daughter, was by her father given to Phalti, the son of Laish.

The solemnity of Samuel's funeral being finished, and Saul having returned to Gibeah, the Ziphites again informed him that David was about the moun-

vessels they called (at least we so translate them) bottles. Such were those the Gibeonites brought to Joshua's camp, which they said were worn out, rent, or torn, in their pretended long journey, Josh. ix. 13. And of such, it may be, our Saviour spake, Matt. ix. 17, where, in the marginal note to our old Bible, bottles are explained by bags of leather, or skin, wherein wine was carried on asses or camels; and of such sort of bottles as these, two might hold a quantity of wine suitable to the rest of the present which Abigail carried with her. Very large bottles, made of leather, are still in use in India.

**Stone.* It is observed, that after Abigail had made Nabal sensible of the fault which he had committed, "That his heart died within him, and he became a stone." But our version rightly renders it, "And he became *as* a stone." Where we may likewise observe, that the particle *as* is often to be supplied, when the Scripture affirms something of another which is not absolutely of the same nature. For no man can imagine that Nabal was turned into a stone, though the original expressly says he was; that "he became a stone." The Latin poets have employed the same way of speaking to express a great surprise. Ovid represents Ariadne expressing her grief and astonishment upon the flight of Theseus, who had abandoned her in the island Dia, as if she had been turned into a rock. The fable says that Niobe was turned into a statue of stone. But Cicero, in *Tuscul*, observes that this fiction only represents her perpetual silence in her mourning; and Palphatus, that it signifies that Niobe having made a statue of stone for herself after her children's death, placed it upon their sepulchre.

tain Hachilah, near the wilderness. Upon which, Saul, taking three thousand men with him, goes in pursuit of David, who being then in the wilderness, and having by his spies obtained certain intelligence of the place where Saul lay encamped, he first went privately by himself to observe the situation of the camp; and afterwards taking his cousin Abishai with him, they went by night, and found Saul within the trench fast asleep, his general Abner, and the rest of his army lying round about him in the same posture. Abishai would gladly have seized this opportunity of killing Saul; but David would not suffer him, for the same reason that he had saved his life in the cave. But he bade Abishai take the spear that stuck in the ground near him, and the cruse of water, and follow him. When they arrived at the top of the hill on the other side, and were out of danger, David called to Abner, and reproved him severely, for want of attention to his sovereign: "As the Lord liveth, ye deserve to die for neglecting thus the Lord's anointed. See here the king's spear, and the cruse of water that was at his bolster!" Saul, hearing David's voice, called him by his name. David then expostulated with him, in much the same manner as he did after his escape from the cave; adding this aggravation of his severity, that by driving him from the inheritance of the Lord, in obliging him to go and converse with the uncircumcised for refuge, they did in effect force him to serve other gods. David pleaded also his own insignificance, to be made the object of pursuit by the army of Saul. The king, once more subdued by the generous conduct of David, acknowledged his own cruelty and folly; and pronouncing a blessing on him, together with a prediction of his ultimate success, he departed homewards, and David returned to his associates.

And now David was at leisure calmly to consider what steps to take for his future safety. Knowing the instability of Saul's temper, notwithstanding his specious declarations of peace, and that it would be unsafe to remain within his dominions, he resolves at last to go over to the Philistines; thinking, that when Saul heard he was not among his own people, he would forbear to pursue or inquire after him. Wherefore, having obtained safe conduct from Achish at Gath, he went over with the six hundred men that were with him, and dwelt with Achish at Gath, taking with him his two wives, Abigail and Ahinoam. Not satisfied, however, with the accommodations of Gath, he desired Achish to give him the town of Ziklag; which was granted, and he lived more unobserved here than in the royal city, which was David's object in removing from Gath.

While he continued here, several of Saul's best* soldiers and ablest officers came over to him, some of whom were of the tribe of Gad, but the greater part were of the tribe of Benjamin, Saul's brethren; whom, though David at first suspected, yet he at length found reason to confide in, and promoted them to commands. Strengthened with these recruits, David made incursions upon the Amalekites, and induced king Achish to suppose that the booty he had brought to Ziklag was taken from the Israelites.

* *Best.* The names of those that came to David at Ziklag are registered in 1 Chron. xii.

Achish believing this, was much gratified; and thinking that David hereby rendered himself odious to his own people, thought he might put the greater confidence in him, and concluded that he was certain of his future assistance. To prevent any discovery of this mistake, a favorable opportunity now presented itself; for the Philistines making war against Israel, Achish told David he would now try his fidelity, desiring him to prepare his men to accompany him in this campaign. David was obliged to comply, though doubtless it was contrary to his inclination to fight against his own people: and it would have been highly dishonorable and ungrateful to betray a prince who had so courteously treated him and generously confided in him. But Providence found out an expedient to preserve the honor of David; for the Philistines rendezvousing at Aphek,* the men of quality, seeing David in the rear with their king, were ready to mutiny; and though the king assured them that he was entirely in his interest, they would not trust him, but insisted on his being dismissed previously to the action, for fear of treachery. Achish, wisely judging it improper to dispute with them when he was just about to engage the enemy, calling David aside, told him how the case stood, and acknowledging his services, advised him to retire to Ziklag.

Though David secretly rejoiced in this decision, yet, dissembling his feelings, he seemed to resent it, which rendered Achish more importunate for his departure. David, in his march from Ziklag in this expedition, had very considerably increased his number; for some of the tribe of Manasseh joined him as he went, and others in his return, who afterwards rendered him considerable service.

Saul prepares to oppose the Philistines; but having taken a view of the Philistine army, while they lay encamped in Shunem, before they came to Aphek, he was seized with a terrible panic; and what increased his perplexity was, that he had consulted the Lord, but received no answer. Nor was it likely to be otherwise; for he had destroyed the priests, and Samuel the prophet was dead. But he was determined to procure advice by some means or other; and though he had banished all the wizards, and those that made use of familiar spirits, yet he commanded his servants to seek for a woman who had a familiar spirit, that he might obtain from her a knowledge of his fate. They informed him there was a woman at Endor who was a sorceress: upon which, Saul, disguising himself, took two servants with him, and went to her, desiring her to raise up the person he should name. The woman suspecting him to be a spy, refused to oblige him; but Saul swearing to her by the Lord, that no harm should happen to her, she consented, and asked him whom she should cause to appear. He told her, Samuel. She then raised up (as she supposed) an evil spirit, which came in the likeness of Samuel; as soon as she saw it, she cried out to Saul, and said, "Why hast thou deceived me? For thou art Saul."† He bade her not be afraid, and

* *Aphek*. See 1 Sam. xxix., which, according to the series of time, must come before the xxviiiith chapter.

† *Saul*. It is to be supposed that she learned from the spirit whom she had raised that it was Saul who had employed her.

asked her what she had seen. She told him she saw gods ascending out of the earth. Saul, not satisfied with this answer, asked her of what form he was that was coming up? She replied, "An old man is coming up, covered with a mantle." Saul concluding it to be Samuel, as soon as he saw the apparition, bowed to the ground. The apparition then asked Saul, "Why he had disquieted him?" Saul, to excuse himself, answered that "He was in great distress; for the Philistines, with a powerful army, had invaded him, and God had deserted him, refusing to give an answer to his addresses." "Why then (said the apparition) dost thou ask of me, since the Lord is departed from thee, and become thine enemy? The Lord hath done as he spake by me; for he hath rent the kingdom from thee, and given it to thy neighbor, even to David. This thy disobedience has brought upon thee, in sparing Amalek, whom God commanded thee to destroy. To-morrow shalt thou and Israel fall into the hands of the Philistines, and thou and thy sons be with me." This doom so affected Saul that he fell on the ground as dead; upon which the woman, and his servants, knowing that he had fasted long, and thinking that he might be dispirited for want of refreshment, desired him to eat, which he refused at first, but at last yielded to their importunity, and did eat of what they set before him; which when he had done, he returned to the camp.*

While Saul labored under these heavy pressures, David was shocked with a sudden and unexpected calamity: for when, after three days' weary march, he returned from the Philistines' camp to Ziklag, to his great grief and surprise, he found the town in ashes; his wives, and all the women and children, carried away captives; and their goods and cattle plundered: and that which aggravated the misfortune was, the people mutinied against David as the occasion of it. David, in this distress, applies himself to the Lord, by the priest Abiathar, to know what measures he should take; who advises him to pursue the enemy, and promises success. David proceeds; but after three days' march, two hundred of his men were so fatigued, that they were

* *Camp.* It has been supposed, that the person who appeared to Saul was Satan himself, or some evil spirit, assuming the character of Samuel. But we have no right to conclude from the words of the sacred history, that it was any other than the very prophet whose name is mentioned. The solemn address here made to Saul was such as suited the messenger of the Lord, in his lifetime neglected and despised by the king, and now commissioned to ratify his former declarations. But it is objected, that it were absurd and impious to imagine a wicked woman could have power to summon a departed saint, by the profane arts of divination. This is readily granted, and we contend that the appearance was not effected by the influence of the witch, and that it was altogether different from what she had expected and desired; for she was much terrified by it. But we see no inconsistency in allowing that God himself interposed, at the very time that Satan was consulted, and sent his servant to declare the doom of an obdurate sinner. In the same manner, the sorceries of Balak, the king of Moab, were overruled by a divine impulse upon the mind of Balaam, who was constrained to pronounce a sentence quite opposite to his own wishes, and to those of the prince who had employed him: Num. xxiii. Thus also, when Ahaziah, under a dangerous disease, had dispatched messengers to ask information of Baal-zebul as to the event, hoping, doubtless, for a favorable answer, the Lord God, to manifest His abhorrence of the wicked enterprise, commanded Elijah to meet them by the way, and to assure them from Him, that the king should certainly die: 2 Kings i. — *Robinson's Scripture Characters*, vol. ii., p. 63.

left behind at the brook Besor, while he and the other four hundred continued the pursuit. On their way they overtook a poor straggler, half dead with hunger, who, when they had refreshed him, informed them that he was an Egyptian, but servant to an Amalekite,* which nation had made an incursion into Judah, and had burned Ziklag; and that, having fallen sick by the way, his master had left him. David asking him whether he could direct them to the place where they were, he told him, if he would neither kill him nor deliver him up to his master, he would bring him to the place; which he accordingly did, where this party of the Amalekites lay, in a very careless manner, sporting and rejoicing over their plunder. David surprising them, soon routed them, putting all their foot to the sword. Thus he recovered, not only his two wives, and what the Amalekites had plundered from him, but all that they had taken from others in that expedition.

When he returned to Besor, the two hundred men whom he had left there came out to congratulate him on his good success, whom he courteously saluted, and, after some controversy, distributed an equal share of the spoils to them. And returning to Ziklag, he sent presents to his friends of Judah, where he and his men had been sheltered and entertained.

While David was thus employed in rescuing his wives, and recovering his property, the two armies of the Israelites and Philistines engaged. But the Israelites being forced to give way, fled to Mount Gilboa, where many of them fell. The Philistines closely pursued Saul and his sons, three of whom, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua, fell in the pursuit; and soon after, Saul, being hard pressed by the enemy's archers, was severely wounded. Finding himself not likely to live, and dreading to fall alive into the enemy's hand, he ordered his armor-bearer to run him through with his sword; which he refusing, Saul fell upon his own sword, and expired; which his faithful armor-bearer perceiving, drew his sword, and dispatched himself. The Philistines, stripping the dead, found the bodies of Saul and his three sons; cut off Saul's head, hung up his armor in the temple of Ashtaroth, and his body on the walls of Bethshan. Which, when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard, selecting a party of their best men, they marched by night, and brought away the bodies of Saul and his three sons to Jabesh, and burning them, they buried the bones under a tree there; after which, in token of mourning, they fasted seven days.†

David had not been more than two days at Ziklag, before the sad news of

* *Amalekite.* This incursion of the Amalekites was in revenge for the ravage and devastation which David had made among them upon his removing from Gath to Ziklag.

† The death of Saul is extremely affecting. We see a life of disobedience and cruelty closed by suicide. At his commencement, some hopeful appearances of religion were discernible, but soon departing from the plain line of duty he became more and more vile. His formality, hypocrisy, and wilful disobedience, at length issue in despair. Let us dread the indulgence of any known sin, lest, like him, we fall by little and little. The execrable impiety of consulting a witch, a thing so contrary to reason as well as the express law of God, (see Deut. xvii. 10 and 11,) seems to have filled up the measure of Saul's iniquities, and left him to the stroke of Divine vengeance. Any consultation with fortune-tellers is also an express breach of the law of God.

this defeat was brought to him by an Amalekite, who, giving a particular account of the action, produced Saul's crown and bracelet, for a confirmation of his death; adding, that at his own request he had dispatched him. David asked him, "How he dared to destroy the Lord's anointed: thy blood (said he) be upon thine own head, for thine own mouth hath convicted thee." Then calling to one of his guards, he ordered him to dispatch the Amalekite. After which David lamented over Saul and Jonathan in a Funeral Elegy.

Thy glory, Israel! and thy beauty mourn!
'Tis vanished, never, never to return.
Ah! who in feeble mortal's strength would trust?
Whose glory is so near allied to dust!

Oh, tell it not in Gath's triumphing gate,
Nor in the streets of Askalon relate,
Lest Caphor's daughters should insulting cry,
Their Dagon conquers Him who rules the sky.

O fatal Gilboa, where my friend was slain:
No dew on thee descend nor kindly rain!
No corn nor wine thy blasted surface yield,
Accursed and burnt, as Sodom's dismal field:
For there was lost the warrior's mighty shield,
The shield of Saul was lost; his sacred head,
Though the blest oil was round his temple shed,
Profaned and mingled with the vulgar dead!

Thy warlike bow was never drawn in vain,
Thy arrows drank the blood of thousands slain.
What armies fell by Saul's victorious sword,
Too faithful now to its despairing Lord!

Princely his stature, charming was his air
With him alone could Jonathan compare:
Lovely in life, in death too near allied,
Not death itself their friendship could divide:
Swifter than eagles cut their airy way,
Stronger than lions when they seize their prey.

Mourn, all ye Loves! ye tender Virgins mourn!
Your flowery wreaths to cypress garlands turn:
Mourn your loved monarch's lamentable fate,
On whom so oft your charming choir did wait,
As he from fight returned in kingly state:
For you he conquered; you with him did share
The wealth of peace, and glorious spoils of war:
Lay by your purple robes from Sidon's shore,
And wear your splendid coronets no more;
For Saul, who gave them, generous Saul is lost,
And silent shades receive his mighty ghost.

How are the mighty fallen! Their strength is vain:
O Jonathan! thou wert in battle slain!
Stretched on the earth, thy lifeless limbs lie cold,
Nor those dear eyes must I again behold.

O Jonathan! how shall I thee commend!
My more than brother, and my more than friend!
My life, my Jonathan! and can we part?
I feel thy loss hang heavy on my heart.
With mortal anguish is my soul opprest,
I wear thy bleeding image in my breast.
Thy friendship did the tenderest love excel;
'Twas like thyself, 'twas all a miracle;
A pure, a constant, and a heavenly fire,
Beyond the softer sex's kind desire.

How are the mighty fallen! their fate deplore!
Thy sword, thy spear and shield, O Israel, are no more.

SECTION VI.

DAVID being at Ziklag when Saul was slain, and not knowing what step to take, consulted the Lord; for he had the high-priest and the ephod at hand. He was directed to go up to Hebron; which accordingly he did, taking his wives and all his people with him. While he was here, the men of Judah came to congratulate him on his return, and offered him the crown, which he accepted, and was by them anointed king of Judah. On the other hand, Abner, the son of Ner, general of Saul's army, proclaimed Ishbosheth the son of Saul, who was acknowledged by all the other tribes.

Upon this division of the kingdom, a bloody war commenced between the two kings and their subjects; Judah following David, and Israel Ishbosheth. There were many skirmishes between the forces of the rival kings, but none so remarkable as that which Abner occasioned, by sending a challenge to Joab, David's general, demanding twelve men, whom he would match, and who should fight single-handed. Joab agreed, and sent twelve men, who engaging each his man, all fell upon the spot. This so fired the soldiers on each side, that the armies presently joining, a sharp battle ensued; wherein Abner was routed, and himself forced to fly. In the pursuit, Asahel, Joab's younger brother, a young man remarkable for his speed and agility, pursued Abner, who knew him and advised him to return, for he was unwilling to kill him; but young Asahel, fond of the honor of taking the general prisoner, would not be persuaded to leave him; upon which Abner, making a stand, thrust him through the body with his spear, and he died on the spot. Joab and Abishai, his other brother, and the rest of the army who pursued Abner, seeing Asahel lie dead on the ground, halted; which gave Abner time to rally his scattered forces, and drawing into one body, he made a stand with them on the top of a hill, where he could not easily be attacked. Then sounding a parley, he called to Joab, and reminding him that they were all brethren, both by nation and religion, each army retreated, Abner with his to Mahanaim, and Joab with his to Hebron; the loss on Abner's side being three hundred and sixty men, and that on Joab's but nineteen.

This war continued for some years, in which time David always gained ground of Ishbosheth, which advantage was much improved by an oversight of Ishbosheth, who quarrelling with Abner for profaning his father's ashes, as he thought, in taking Rizpah, Saul's concubine, to him, Abner not only reproached him for his ingratitude to him, who had set the crown on his head, but secretly, at the same time, corresponded with David, and at last promised to acknowledge his title, and use his interest to bring all Israel

over to him. David, who knew the value of the man, would not readily seem to comply with his proposal, but making a seeming difficulty of it, required a previous condition of him, which was, that he would receive him upon no other terms than that of bringing his wife Michal to him. To facilitate this, David sent ambassadors to Ishbosheth to demand Michal, who took her from her husband Phaltiel, and sent her to David, Phaltiel following her weeping as far as Bahurim, where Abner meeting with him, ordered him to return.

After this Abner began to treat with the chiefs of Israel, and particularly with the Benjamites, who were more immediately concerned for Saul's family, all of whom he brought over to David's interest; and then, attended only with twenty men, he went and presented himself to David, who received them courteously, and entertained them at a feast. Abner was pleased with his reception, for taking his leave of David that time, he promised to go and bring in all Israel to him. Abner was no sooner gone from Hebron, than Joab, David's general, returned from an expedition laden with the spoils of the Philistines; and being soon informed that Abner had been there, and how he had been received, a fatal jealousy possessed him; and his prejudice took rise, not so much from the death of his brother Asahel, whom Abner slew fairly in his own defence, as from the fear of being supplanted by him in his command: for Abner was not only a man of great interest among all the other tribes, but esteemed a general of excellent courage and conduct.

In this ill-humor Joab goes to the king, and in a very rude manner blames him for what he had done, assuring him that Abner came only as a spy; and going out of the presence, he sends messengers after Abner to let him know that the king had something of moment to communicate to him, which he had before forgotten. Abner obeys: and Joab, waiting for him at Hebron, and saluting him under a pretence of friendship, most basely stabbed him.

This treacherous action so much affected David, that he thought he could not do enough to clear himself of it, laying this murder at Joab's door, and the curse of it on him and his posterity. Then, commanding a general mourning, he ordered the funeral; himself as chief mourner following the corpse. This took off all suspicion from David in the eye of the public; but to his domestics he was more particular in his lamentation of Abner's loss, and plainly pointed at the very cause why Joab slew Abner, for, said he, "Those sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, take the advantage of my unsettled state, and are too hard for me, therefore I cannot call them to an account for it, but must leave them to the Lord to requite them." Besides the baseness of the fact, David had reason to lament the death of Abner; for in him he lost a very useful and serviceable friend, and to all appearance the measures taken for uniting the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel had been broken, if Ishbosheth had lived a little longer. But this was prevented by a no less treacherous and inhuman murder than that of Abner. When the unhappy Ishbosheth heard of Abner's death, and consequently lost all hopes of recovering his assistance, (which possibly he might entertain so long as he lived,) he became dispirited, and not only neglected himself, but

was disregarded by others, which gave an opportunity to two ruffians to conspire his death. These regicides coming to Ishbosheth's house under pretence of fetching wheat, went directly to his bed-chamber, where, it being the heat of the day, they found him lying on his bed asleep, in which condition they slew him, and cutting off his head, they carried it away with them, and got off undiscovered. Then making the best of their way to Hebron, where they thought they should be welcome guests, they presented the head, with this short compliment, to David: "Behold the head of Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, thine enemy, who sought thy life; the Lord hath avenged the king this day of Saul and of his family." David was so far from rejoicing at the death of his rival, that the sight of the head of the murdered prince struck him with horror and indignation, and in a just rage, passing sentence upon the assassins, he commanded his guards to fall upon them, which they immediately did, and cutting off their heads and hands, hanged them over the pool in Hebron, for a terror to all regicides, who should dare to lay their profane hands on the sacred person of their king; but the head of Ishbosheth they buried in the sepulchre of Abner in Hebron.

This murder of Ishbosheth made way for the union of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah; for all the tribes came into David at Hebron, and acknowledged him for their king; where he was by general consent anointed, and where he feasted them for three days.

David being now at the head of the united forces of Israel and Judah, begins to think of enlarging his territories, which he commences by attacking Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Jebusites; who, trusting to the strength of the place, when David summoned them to surrender, in derision answered, that, though there were none but the blind and lame to defend it, he with all his forces could not take it. But they soon found their mistake; for David, resolving to correct their insolence, proclaimed throughout the army that whosoever should take the fort should be captain-general of all his forces. Joab, a bold and enterprising man, who before had the command of the forces of Judah, undertook and performed it; the buildings of which fort David afterwards enlarged and converted into a palace; and after other improvements of the town, he called it the City of David.

David's affairs being in this flourishing condition, his fame soon spread among the neighboring princes; one of whom, Hiram, king of Tyre, sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his accession to the crown, with a present of cedars, and workmen to build him a palace. But the Philistine princes had other thoughts of David's success, looking upon his increasing greatness to be a fatal presage of their ruin; and therefore they thought to put a stop to his further encroachments on them, by attacking him first: in order to which they collected a considerable army, and came and encamped in the valley of Rephaim. David continued in the citadel, till he had consulted the Lord; who assuring him of success, he marches against the enemy, whom he assaulted with such vigor, that he soon routed them, and they fled in so much haste that they left their gods behind them; which the king commanded to be burnt.

This defeat did not discourage the Philistines; for they soon recruited their forces, and came and encamped in the same place, where they had before been routed. David, though flushed with his late victory, would not presume upon that success; but to proceed securely, he again consults the Lord, who now alters his march, and orders him not directly to engage, but to take a compass behind the enemy, and fall upon them opposite to the mulberry-trees; and when he should hear the sound,* or rushing of the trees, then to engage, for the Lord would then go out before him. David observed the sacred orders, and accordingly succeeded, giving the Philistines such a defeat, that they did not for a considerable time after give Israel any disturbance.

A time of peace succeeding, David proposes to his officers to summon all Israel to attend at the bringing the ark to his capital; which was unanimously approved, and the king went with them to Kirjath-jearim, to the house of Abinadab; where the ark remained about fifty years.† But they were guilty of a great oversight in removing the ark; for either through inadvertency, or neglect of the law,‡ which obliged the priests to carry the ark upon their shoulders, they, in imitation of the Philistines, put it upon a cart, appointing Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, to drive the cart. And in this manner they proceeded, rejoicing, and playing on several sorts of instruments, till they came to the threshing-floor of Nachon, where the oxen that drew the cart, stumbling, shook it so violently, that Uzzah, fearing it would fall, officiously laid hold of the ark to stay it; which profanation§ cost him his life, for he fell down dead immediately by it. This awful event made David afraid to carry the ark to Jerusalem; and he left it in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite, who was a Levite; where it rested three months, and very much to Obed-Edom's advantage; for while it continued there, the Lord blessed him with a great increase of his substance.

David, being informed of this, and perceiving that he had drawn a wrong

* *Sound.* This, in the text, 2 Sam. v. 24, is called, "The sound of one going on the tops of the trees." By which Josephus, and others, understand the agitation or shaking of the tops of the trees when there is no wind stirring. But others, not approving this, are of opinion that the angels, whom God sent before David, ver. 24, made this noise for a signal to him to engage the Philistines in the front, while another part of his army attacked them in the rear.

† *Fifty years.* The ark is said to have been twenty years in the house of Abinadab, at Kirjath-jearim, 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2. But that twenty years must be in reference to the time of the single administration of Samuel in the government; for the ark was taken in the last year of Eli, and the Philistines kept it but seven months, 1 Sam. vi. 1. Samuel, succeeding to Eli in the government, is reckoned to have governed Israel by himself twenty years before there was a king. And twenty years more are allotted to Samuel and Saul together, and Saul by himself after Samuel. So that, from the death of Eli, when the ark was taken, to the death of Saul, must be forty years. And though seven months of that time it was with the Philistines, yet David having, after Saul's death, reigned seven years and six months at Hebron, and some time after that in Jerusalem, before he went to fetch the ark, it must have been fifty years, or upwards, that the ark had been at Kirjath-jearim in the house of Abinadab.

‡ *Law.* See Num. vii. 5.

§ *Profanation.* This action of Uzzah's was contrary to the Law, which forbade all but the priests, even the Levites themselves, to touch the holy things, Num. iv. 15.

conclusion in supposing Uzzah's death to be an intimation that the Lord would not have the ark brought to him, took courage, and proposed to remove it from Obed-Edom's house to his own city; which he did with great pomp and regularity, declaring, that none ought to carry it but the priests; and disposing of every man in his proper order, the king, dressed in a linen ephod, conducted it, singing and dancing before it, to a house which he had purposely built for it, where, when he had placed it, he offered to the Lord a great number of cattle in sacrifice. As the king passed through the city, dancing before the ark, his wife Michal, Saul's daughter, seeing the king so engaged, entertained a very contemptuous opinion of him; for being herself the daughter of one king, and the wife of another, she thought it did not become the royal dignity for David to act the part of a singer and dancer. And when she came out to meet him, she could not forbear reproaching him, and in derision said, "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day! who, being stripped of his royal robes, acted the part of a fool." David retorted her malicious jest with a sober truth, and told her, "That how vile soever he might seem in her opinion, what he did was in honor of that God who had chosen him rather than her father, or any of his family, to govern Israel. And that he would still persist in his humility, for which, he doubted not, he should be honored of all those that she thought despised him." From this time Michal never had any children.*

The building of David's house, for which Hiram, king of Tyre, had furnished him with materials and workmen, was now completed; and being peaceably settled in it, he was at leisure to think of religious affairs. The first of which that occurred to his mind was the building a temple. He therefore sent for Nathan the prophet, and said, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." Nathan took the hint, and that so good an intention might not want encouragement, answered, "Go, do all that is in thine heart, for the Lord is with thee." But herein the prophet was too forward; for he judged of the thing from his own apprehension of the goodness of it, and not from the will of God, for whom it was intended, and who therefore ought chiefly to have been consulted therein. The same night, therefore, God gave Nathan charge concerning David's design, forbidding him to build a temple, assigning for a reason, (as he himself † afterwards told his son Solomon,) because he had shed much blood. David receiving this prohibition from the Lord, in obedience to his will, desists from his intended building, and to express his gratitude for the gracious promises of God to him and his posterity, he goes into the Tabernacle, and there prostrates ‡ himself on the ground before the Lord; where, after

* *Children.* Interpreters agree, that Michal never had any children by David, Phaltiel, or any other husband, but was naturally barren; which here, 2 Sam. vi. 23, is confirmed upon her as a curse, for deriding her husband the king.

† *Himself.* See 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

‡ *Prostrates.* It is said, that "he sat before the Lord," 2 Sam. vii. 18; but this is the only place in Scripture which mentions sitting as the posture of any servant of God in religious worship; and from David's humility, as expressed on this occasion, we may reasonably suppose that he prostrated himself before the Lord; and that the word "sat" refers to his continuance in the Tabernacle.

acknowledging the goodness and munificence of God, in raising him from a mean condition to that which he now enjoyed, and for establishing the government in his family, he concludes with an earnest supplication, that the blessing of God might rest upon him and his house forever.

David, finding that God had raised him to this pitch of greatness, not to build his temple, but to fight his battles, and subdue the enemies of Israel, again engages in his former practice of war, and beginning with the royal city of Gath,* subdued it, and the towns belonging to it. Then turning his arms upon Moab, he reduced them to so low a condition, that he forced them to dismantle all their places of strength; and none lived[†] but by his permission. Thence he went to secure the borders of the country, at the river Euphrates, where Hadadezer, king of Zobah, meets him at the head of a mighty army, which David bravely engaged, and soon routed, taking seventeen hundred of his horse, and twenty thousand foot; out of the horse he reserved only enough for an hundred chariots, and hamstringed[‡] the rest. The Syrians, about Damascus, hearing how ill it had fared with Hadadezer, came to his assistance, but were likewise defeated, losing two-and-twenty thousand men; which loss so weakened them, that David put garrisons where he pleased, and made the Syrians tributaries to him. In his return from Syria, he engaged a great army of Edomites, in a place called the valley of Salt, of whom he slew eighteen thousand; the rest being forced to submit, received garrisons of him, and became tributaries to him.

From this expedition the victorious king returned, laden with the spoils of his enemies, bringing abundance of gold and brass with him, which, with the rich presents he received from the neighboring princes, he dedicated to the service of the Lord. And now, having become famous for these victories, he struck a terror into all about him, who sent presents and courted his alliance; among whom, Toi, king of Hamath, hearing of David's success against Hadadezer, with whom he had been engaged in war, sent his son Joram to compliment him upon his success, with a superb present of plate.

Having thus subdued his enemies and procured peace to his people, David begins to remember the former kindness of his dear friend and brother Jonathan; and inquiring whether there were any of Saul's family left, to whom he might show favor for Jonathan's sake, Ziba, an old servant of Saul, informed him that there was one son of Jonathan yet living, named Mephibosheth, who was lame of his feet. David, glad of this opportunity to revive and preserve the memory of his dear friend, sends for Mephibosheth, receives him courteously, assures him of his protection, restores his grandfather Saul's lands to him, and as a particular mark of his esteem, obliges him to eat at his table. Mephibosheth receives the royal bounty with great humility and

* *Gath*. This is called, 2 Sam. viii. 1, *Methegammah*, or the *Bridle of Bondage*, because it kept the country in bondage.

† *Hamstringed*. The reason of this was that God had forbidden them, by his law, to multiply horses, Deut. xvii. 16, lest they should trust in the power of their cavalry, and lest by going to purchase horses in Egypt, the people should be corrupted and tempted to idolatry.

respect, which David, to render still more secure to him, constitutes Ziba his steward, who, with his fifteen sons and twenty servants, managed the estate, while Mephibosheth dwelt at ease in Jerusalem, and ate at the king's table as one of his sons.*

About this time, king David, hearing that his old friend † Nahash, king of Ammon, was dead, and that his son Hanun had succeeded him, gratefully remembering the civilities of the father, sends an embassy of condolence to the son, and congratulates him on his accession to the crown. The ambassadors arriving at the Ammonitish court, the princes of Ammon persuaded their king that David had not sent his embassy out of any respect to the memory of the late king, or honor to the present, but to discover the weakness of the place, that he might invade it. Hanun was too easily seduced by these officious counsellors, for at their instigation he treated the ambassadors in a most vile and inhospitable manner, shaving off one half of their beards, ‡ and cutting off their garments in the middle, and in that reproachful manner sent them away.

Being thus scandalously treated and exposed, they were ashamed to return; of which David having information, advised them to tarry at Jericho till they had retrieved § their disgrace by the growth of their beards; then resenting this violation of the law of nations, as became so great a prince, he sent an army under the command of Joab to call the inhospitable Ammonites to an account; which being expected, they had provided against, for besides their own forces, they had hired thirty-three thousand mercenaries of the Syrians, who lay encamped at some distance in the fields, while the Ammonites lay before their own city. Joab, observing this disposition of their forces, divided his own army into two bodies, one of which, composed of choice men, himself led against the mercenaries, leaving the rest with his brother Abishai, to watch the motions of the Ammonites, agreeing to relieve each other as occasion should require. Then Joab, encouraging his men, made a brisk charge upon the Syrians, and soon routed them; which the Ammonites perceiving, they were so discouraged that they fled into the city. Joab, having thus obtained an easy victory, returned in triumph to Jerusalem; where he soon received information that the Syrians had raised a great army, to which Hadadezer had added the Syrian troops beyond the river; all which were to rendezvous at Helam, under the com-

* *Sons.* David had many sons; for while he was at Hebron he had six, and after he came to Jerusalem he had thirteen by his wives, besides those he had from his concubines.

† *Friend.* It is very probable that Nahash, king of Ammon, had showed some kindness to David in the time of his troubles under Saul, as David himself intimates in 2 Sam. x. 2.

‡ *Beards.* This affront was as ignominious as could be invented by the malice of man in those countries; for decalvation, or leaving any part where hair grew bald, was a great offence; then the cutting off half the beard (which made them very ridiculous) was a great addition to the affront, where beards were in great veneration and esteem. But the worst and most immodest of all was the cutting off half their robe or vest; whereby they were immodestly exposed, as they wore no under-garments.

§ *Retrieved.* It was an establishment in the Jewish Law, not to have any part of the head or beard shaved, Levit. xxi. 5. And therefore the Ammonites, who were neighbors to the Hebrews, knew they could not offer a greater affront to them than cutting off their beards.

mand of Shobach, king Hadadezer's general. David, hearing of this, and uniting all his forces, marches in person with them to Helam, where he finds the enemy ready to receive and give him battle. The armies engage, and David soon defeated the Syrians, who lost their general, Shobach, and about forty-seven thousand of their men. The petty kings who were tributaries to Hadadezer, finding it in vain to oppose the conquering sword of Israel, quitted his interest, and submitted to David, who, resolved to chastise the insolent Ammonites yet more sharply, sent Joab next campaign with a gallant army against them; who, having ravaged the country and put the Ammonites to the sword wherever he could meet with them, at last laid siege to Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites.

Hitherto David's affairs proceeded in an uninterrupted series of successes, and victory declares on his side, wherever he turns his arms. But at last, unhappy prince! he becomes his own enemy; for, indulging himself in ease and luxury, the bane and rust of the mind, he insensibly gives way to loose desires, which captivate his reason and betray him to the perpetration of the vile acts of adultery and murder. It happened that having taken his repose one afternoon on his couch, (as it was the custom for great persons in those hot countries to do,) he walked on the flat roof of the house for the benefit of the cool air; where among the variety of objects that presented themselves to his wandering eye, that of a beautiful woman bathing in her garden unhappily ensnared him. The unguarded king sees, and is undone, and growing impatient with desire of enjoying the forbidden beauty, he inquires who she was, and is informed that she was Bathsheba, the daughter of Ammiel, and wife to Uriah the Hittite,* an officer in his army under Joab, now at the siege of Rabbah.

Though Uriah was bravely hazarding his life for the service of his king, David ungenerously attacks him in his weakest part, his wife; who, dazzled with the glories of a court, and royal favor, too readily submits to his illicit desires. David, the better to conceal his adulterous commerce, sends Bathsheba home to her own house; but being soon informed that she is pregnant, he begins to fear the shame of his wantonness, and therefore to conceal it, orders Joab to send Uriah to him, as if he had some particular business with him. David's design in this was, that Uriah should cohabit with his wife, and that the child, when it should be born, should pass for his. But God herein disappointed him, intending to make an example of him. For when David had asked Uriah several questions relating to the siege, in seeming kindness he desires him to go to his house and refresh himself after his journey; and, supposing he had done so, he sent a present of meat after him. But though Uriah took leave of the king, he went not home, but slept in the guard-room. Which when David next morning understood, and asking him why he did not go home, Uriah told him, "That since the ark, with Israel and Judah, abode in tents, and that his lord and general Joab, with the rest

* *Hittite*. Uriah, though an Hittite by nation, was proselyted to the Jewish religion, and so marrying with this Israelitish woman, lived in Jerusalem.

of the king's servants, were encamped in the open fields, he would not so far indulge himself as to return to his habitation, and enjoy his domestic comforts." David, being thus disappointed, tries another method; and entertaining him at his own table, supplied him with liquor, that he made him drunk, hoping then that he would go home to his own bed. But David was still disappointed, for Uriah slept that night also in the guard-room; wherefore resolving to make short work of it, he dismisses him, with a commission for his own death, to Joab; who, according to the king's instructions, posted Uriah in the most dangerous place of action, where being purposely deserted, he was exposed to the enemy's arrows, and killed. Thus the innocent, the brave Uriah, fell a sacrifice to the unlawful love of his wife and his prince, who concealed the base adultery with the fouler deed of murder.

Bathsheba, hearing of her husband's death, made a formal mourning for him; but her hypocritical tears were soon wiped off, for David sent for her to his palace, and declared her his wife. And now, Joab having laid close siege to Rabbah, pressed the inhabitants so hard that by assault he seized the water-works which supplied the place; and having them now at his mercy, he dispatched a messenger to acquaint David that he had so straitened the town that they could not long subsist. Joab thus declining the honor of taking the place, David, with a reinforcement, comes to crown the victory; and entering with great fury, gave no quarter to the inhabitants, plundering the town, and carrying off all the spoil. And thus he treated the other cities of the Ammonites, after which he returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

But these successes could not obliterate David's late crimes, for though he might, with impunity from human justice, think to indulge himself in the arms of Bathsheba, whom he had brought to his bed with the dishonor and blood of her husband, yet the all-seeing eye of the great Judge of the world rouses him out of his adulterous lethargy, and makes him unintentionally his own judge. This the Lord effected by his prophet Nathan, who proposed to David the following parable, demanding justice of him for a poor oppressed man: "There were," said Nathan, "two men in one city, the one rich, and the other poor. The rich man abounded in all manner of plenty; but the poor man lived by the mere providence of God, his whole stock consisting of but one poor ewe-lamb, which he fondled as his child. It happened that the rich man being visited by a friend, he sent and took away the poor man's lamb, and dressed it to entertain his guest." David, incensed at the barbarity of the act, in a rage passes this sentence on the offender: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing deserves to die. And he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and had no pity." David, little conceiving that he had pronounced sentence against himself, the prophet plainly said: "Thou art the man! Hear then what the Lord hath determined against thee. I anointed thee king over Israel; I delivered thee from Saul, and gave thee his kingdom, with all that thou couldst desire. Why then hast thou despised the commandment of the Lord, in contriving the death of Uriah, and taking his wife? For this thy crime, the sword shall not depart from thy house so long as thou livest; and because thou

hast taken the wife of Uriah, behold I will cause an affliction to rise against thee out of thine own house, and I will suffer thy wives to be taken from thee before thine eyes; I will even suffer them to be taken by thy domestic, and he shall defile them before the face of the sun. For though thou didst sin secretly, I will do this before all Israel, in the most open manner." David attempted not to excuse himself, but made a short and full confession, saying, "I have sinned against the Lord."* Upon which, God was pleased to transfer the sentence of death which David had pronounced against himself, from him to the child, the prophet telling him, "That he should not die, but that the child he should have by Bathsheba should not live." Which accordingly took place, for soon after the infant was born, it fell sick; and though David wept and fasted, to incline the Lord to mercy, it died the seventh day. Which David hearing, he forbore mourning, saying, "Why should I afflict myself for the death of the child? I cannot bring him back again; I shall go to him, but he will not return to me." Then dressing himself, he went into the house of the Lord and worshipped, after which he returned to his palace and refreshed himself; and conversing with his wife Bathsheba, she conceived, and bare him another son, whom, by the express † command of God, he named Solomon (that is, peaceable), because the Lord had promised that he should be a man of rest, and give peace to Israel.

God had before transferred the sentence of death from David to the child which was born of the adulterous commerce; but the curse ‡ of the sword was not yet completed in his family, which too soon fell out, to the great distress of David, and soon after of the whole kingdom of Israel.

David had many sons, yet but one daughter, that we read of, whose name was Tamar, sister to Absalom, his third son, whom he had by Maacha, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. Tamar was a virgin of admirable beauty, with which Amnon, § David's eldest son, was so captivated, that he pined away with a hopeless || desire of obtaining her. This alteration in Amnon was soon discovered by his friends, but by none so fully as by Jonadab, his intimate friend and cousin-german; ¶ who being very solicitous to know the cause, Amnon plainly told him that he was in love with his sister Tamar. Jonadab, who was a man of intrigue, soon put the prince into a way to obtain his object; for advising Amnon to feign himself ill, he knew that his father's tenderness would induce him to visit him; and then instructing him how to manage himself, he advised him to request the favor of

* *I have sinned, etc.* It was on this occasion that David composed the fifty-first Psalm, every line of which is expressive of the just sense he had of his crime.

† *Express.* See 1 Chron. xxii. 9.

‡ *Curse.* See 2 Sam. xii. 10, 11.

§ *Amnon.* He was the king's eldest son, whom he had by his wife Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess.

|| *Hopeless.* She being a virgin of the blood royal, was so carefully kept within the king's house (as the manner of training the Jewish damsels was), that Amnon, though her brother, knew not how to come at her.

¶ *German.* Jonadab was son of Shimeah, the brother of David.

his sister Tamar to superintend his diet, and to gratify his peevish appetite, that she might bring it to him. David, like a fond parent, indulges his son, and consents that Tamar should oblige him, not suspecting the fatal consequence. Innocent Tamar obeys, and came attended as became her state, with a collation, which she thought might tempt him to eat; but Amnon sullenly refused it, till the attendants were withdrawn; when taking the opportunity of their absence, he rudely seized her, and proceeded to indecencies. The poor affrighted princess expostulates with him on the folly and scandal of his wicked desires, in vain; the royal maid unhappily becomes a sacrifice to his lawless embraces. Having thus accomplished his base design, his furious passion turns to the opposite extreme of aversion, and he bids her quit his presence; in vain she argues with this brutish man on the baseness of this additional unkindness; he calls to his servants, and commands them to turn her out of his apartment.

Tamar afflicts herself with the most pungent sorrow, tearing her robes, and showing all the expressions of the most extravagant grief. In which distracted condition she repairs to her brother Absalom, to whom she related the whole transaction. Absalom, though a prince of a haughty spirit, and impatient of wrong, was forced to conceal his resentment, and advised his injured sister to do the same; telling her, that, considering Amnon was their elder brother, and heir-apparent to the king, it was unlikely she should have justice done her on him, and therefore he advised her to bear it as patiently as she could, and tarry with him. She takes his advice, and Absalom, to prevent all suspicion of his entertaining malice against Amnon for this affront to his sister, never so much as mentioned it to him; but when the king heard of it, he was exceedingly angry and displeased with Amnon for his cruel and wicked conduct, but we have no mention of any punishment inflicted on him for it.

Absalom's revenge had lain smothered in his breast two whole years before it burst into a flame, which he executes upon the occasion of sheep-shearing; for that being a time of great mirth and jollity in those countries, he invites his friends and relations to an entertainment, and to color the matter the better, he pretends to be very pressing to have the king's company, who being unwilling to put him to so great an expense, declined his invitation. This answered Absalom's purpose, who observed to the king, that, since he would not honor him with his presence, he hoped he should have his brother Amnon's company; to which David consented, and all the king's sons went with him to his country-seat at Hazor.

Absalom had prepared his servants to execute his bloody purpose, charging them, upon the signal he should give, to fall upon Amnon and dispatch him, assuring them of indemnity. Accordingly, when Amnon was far advanced in wine, they fell upon him and killed him; which occasioned such a consternation among the other princes, that they instantly fled from the house, lest they should share the same fate. But notwithstanding their hasty flight, the news of Amnon's murder had reached the court before their arrival there, and the king concluded that Absalom had murdered all his

brothers; which threw him into the utmost agitation and despair; but Jonadab, to mitigate his sorrow, assured him that only Amnon was slain, and that his death had been determined by Absalom from the time of the rape of Tamar. Shortly after, the princes arrived, who, together with the king and the whole court, bitterly wept and lamented the fate of Amnon.

Absalom, meanwhile, dreading his father's resentment of the murder, made a precipitate escape to his mother's father, Talmi, king of Geshur; where he lived a voluntary exile three years. In which time, David's grief for the death of Amnon abating, and his resentment against Absalom beginning to decline, paternal affection revived, and he felt an inclination to recall him. Which Joab perceiving, he promoted by a cunning artifice in this manner. He hired a certain woman to pretend herself a mourner for the death of one of her sons slain by another, and that she should go to the king, and complain that her relations demanded the surviving son to be delivered up to justice for the murder of his brother, by which she should be deprived of her only child, and thus the name of her deceased husband would be extinct. The woman observed her instructions, and addressed herself so artfully to the king, that he gave her a fair hearing, and promised that he would take care of the business. But this declaration being too general, it would not answer her end; she therefore demanded protection of the king for her son against the prosecutors. Upon which he promised that no person should molest him. But the woman pressing for a pardon for her son, to put an end to her importunity, he said to her, "As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of thy son fall to the earth." The woman having now carried her point, frankly declared her design; and that under this pretence, she had pleaded the cause of his own son Absalom, whose absence the people lamented, and desired that he might be recalled from banishment.

The king thus over-reached, and suspecting Joab to have had a hand in the contrivance, asked the woman whether it were not so? She honestly confessed the matter, and acknowledged that Joab had instructed her what to say. Upon which the king calling for Joab, told him that he had granted the pardon of Absalom, and ordered him to bring him home; but with this restriction, that he should retire to his own house, and not come to court. This restraint was uneasy to Absalom's roving mind; therefore he sent for Joab, with a design to engage him to intercede with the king for his enlargement; but Joab not coming, after two messages, Absalom resolves by a trick to fetch him, ordering his servants to set fire to a field of barley belonging to him, which bordered upon his own. The servants obeyed, and Joab in a rage comes and expostulates with Absalom for so unkind and unneighborly an act, to one who had been so serviceable to him. Absalom replied, that it was because he could not otherwise procure an interview with him; and that his business with him was, to intercede with the king that he might be admitted into his presence. That, if the king should think him worthy of death, let him use his pleasure, for he had rather die than live under this confinement. Joab once more undertakes Absalom's cause, and represents it to the king so successfully, that he obtains leave for him to come to court;

where, being introduced, he prostrates himself before the king his father, and is received with a kiss—a token of forgiveness and of royal favor.

Absalom, thus restored, soon begins to make a base requital of his father's goodness, and takes every opportunity of ingratiating himself with the people; to whose favor the advantages of birth and nature did not a little recommend him. For his eldest brother Amnon being dead, he now seems to be the eldest* son; which being seconded by an incomparable form and beauty, and a familiar fawning address, he so insinuated himself into the good graces of the people, that they were ready to adore him. Absalom perceiving their inclinations towards himself, takes care to lose no occasion of improving them; for he provided a far more magnificent equipage than usual, and instead of riding on a mule, as the king's sons were accustomed to do, he appeared in a chariot drawn by horses, with fifty footmen running before him; and yet, with all this pomp of appearance, he would stoop to salute and oblige the meanest of the populace; for he would watch every morning at the palace-gate, and offer to transact any man's business, and treat all with as much familiarity as if they had been his equals. Then, to make his father's government contemptible, he would, with a sigh, bemoan the neglect of his ministers; and to insinuate what great things he would do, were he in power, he would add, "Were I a judge, I would do every man justice."

By these dishonest artifices he robbed his father of the duty and affection of the people, and stole their hearts. And now thinking his interest sufficiently strong, he unnaturally plots his father's ruin; which he thus endeavors to accomplish. He begs leave of the king to go to Hebron, to pay a vow, which he had vowed to the Lord when he was in exile, "that if the Lord would bring him back to Jerusalem, he would offer a peace-offering to him." The good king, not suspecting his son's treachery, consented, and wished him a good † journey.

The ambitious Absalom, having thus obtained his father's consent, sets forward well attended to Hebron, for he had taken with him two hundred choice men, but acquainted them not with his design; and being arrived at Hebron, he gives birth to the conspiracy, sending his agents among all the tribes to sound the inclinations of the chief men of Israel, and to direct all whom they could gain to his faction to be ready at the sound of the trumpet

* *Eldest.* Though Absalom was David's third son, in the order of his birth, Amnon by Ahinoam, and Chileah by Abigail, being older than he, 2 Sam. iii. 2, 3, yet he now seems to be the eldest son; Amnon being slain, and Chileah supposed to be dead before.

† *A good, etc.* This is said in the text, 2 Sam. xv. 7, to be after forty years; but from whence to compute them is not plain. They who would date these forty years from the beginning of David's reign, are much mistaken; for David, who reigned but forty years in all, reigned several years after this. Tremillius reads it *before*, instead of *after*, [*ante finem quadraginta annorum*; before the end of forty years.] But, from better authority, (as in other places, so in this,) it seems probable that an error has crept into the text, which several learned men have thought should be rectified, and that the forty years here mentioned must be reduced to four years only, which are to be reckoned from the time of Absalom's re-establishment in Jerusalem, or from his reconciliation with his father David, to the time in which he asked leave to go and pay his vow.

to acknowledge him king; and to secure to himself an able statesman, he invites Ahithophel, a crafty man, and one of David's counsellors, to support his interest, who readily sided with the faction at Hebron.

David had early notice of this unnatural rebellion, and the general defection of his subjects to his ungracious son, and considering himself in great danger at Jerusalem, he marched from thence, attended only with six hundred men, leaving his concubines behind him to take care of his house. Among those faithful loyalists who followed the king, was honest Ittai the Gittite, whom the king could not prevail upon to leave him; for he, having fled to David for protection, was resolved to share the fortune of his protector in life or death. Ittai, therefore, with his family, passing over the brook Kidron, the king with his party followed; and they marched in a mournful condition towards the wilderness. Zadok and Abiathar, the priests, hearing that the king had resolved to leave Jerusalem, prepared to follow him, taking the Levites, and the Ark of the Covenant with them. But David advised them to return, and carry back the Ark with them; "For," said he, "if the Lord intend me mercy, he will restore me; but if he have otherwise determined, I submit." Besides, he told Zadok he might do him great service by continuing in the city, where his character would protect him from any violence that the usurper might offer, and that he might give him intelligence how matters went with the faction. Upon which, Zadok and Abiathar returned with the Ark, and David went forward by the ascent of Mount Olivet, at the top of which he made a halt, and there worshipped God.

While he was here, his old friend and counsellor, Hushai, the Archite, came to him with all the tokens of sorrow, on seeing his royal master in distress, declaring he would share his fortune, whatever should happen. But David, willing to make the best advantage of so useful a man, advised him apparently to unite with the faction, that he might defeat the intrigue and cunning of Ahithophel, of whose abilities David being well apprised, he thought he had the greatest cause to expect danger from him. And to encourage Hushai to this undertaking, he tells him that Zadok and Abiathar were entirely in his interest, and that by their two sons he might communicate anything of moment to him. Hushai, being always ready to serve the king, readily obeyed, and returned to Jerusalem before Absalom arrived there. But David went forward, and in his way was met by the perfidious Ziba, whom he had lately made steward to Mephibosheth, his friend Jonathan's son. Ziba, bringing a refreshment of bread, fruits, and wine, David asked him where his master was, expecting that he, above all men, in point of gratitude, would have kept firm in his interest; but Ziba falsely told him that he was in Jerusalem, and hoped to be restored to his father's kingdom. The too credulous king, believing this treacherous sycophant, passed a hasty sentence on the innocent Mephibosheth, giving Ziba all his estate.

After this, David marched to Bahurim, a city in the tribe of Benjamin, where he was very rudely accosted by an audacious rebel, named Shimei,*

* *Shimei*. Whether this man had been a personal sufferer in the fall of Saul's family, or

of the family of Saul, who, walking on the side of a hill over against David, was heard to say, "Come out, come out, thou bloody man, thou man of Belial! The Lord hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, and hath delivered the kingdom into the hand of thy son Absalom, and thou art taken in thy mischief." Thus he went on cursing and railing, and threw dust and stones at the king. Abishai was so impatient at this insolence that he desired leave of the king to take off his head; but David, conscious of his own guilt in the case of Uriah, and of God's judgment denounced against him for it, saw and acknowledged the just hand of the Almighty in all this, and therefore would not permit Abishai to revenge him on Shimei.

Being fatigued, David and his company enter Bahurim, and refresh themselves. About this time Absalom, with his gang of rebels, came to Jerusalem, where Hushai presents himself to Absalom, and offers his service. Absalom, knowing Hushai to have been an intimate friend and counsellor to his father, banters him about deserting his friend, which Hushai cunningly enough excused, and answered so artfully to Absalom's questions that he receives him as a faithful friend, and admits him into his council. And now Absalom, unwilling to lose a moment, calls a council, and asks what is most expedient to be done. Ahithophel, who held the highest place in Absalom's esteem, speaks first; and he, fearing a reconciliation between the father and the son, resolves to make the breach so wide between them that there should be no room left for an accommodation, and therefore advised Absalom to lie with his father's concubines, alleging that when all Israel should hear how much by that act he had incensed his father, they would despair of pardon, and stick the closer to him. The next thing Ahithophel advised was to take twelve thousand choice men, and pursue David that very night, and fall suddenly upon his guard, who must be exceedingly fatigued, and in no posture of defence, assuring him that thus they might easily defeat them, and take the king.

Absalom approved both these proposals, the first of which he executed, but he would consult Hushai before he engaged in the latter; which, if he had done it, must have been of fatal consequence to David, for Ahithophel was right in his conjecture. Hushai being called in, and hearing what had been proposed, to prevent all suspicion, did not condemn nor slight Ahithophel's last proposition, but thought it not expedient at this time; "For," said he, "we all know that David and his men are brave, and at this time desperate; and if they should happen to defeat the party sent against them, it would be a very inauspicious beginning;" therefore it was his advice that they should arm the whole kingdom; and then they might fall upon him when they pleased, or drive him out. Absalom, and the rest, except Ahithophel, were of Hushai's opinion: upon which, Ahithophel, finding his advice slighted, and perhaps foreseeing by Absalom's feeble conduct, that matters

what else had exasperated him against David, does not appear. But it seems he had conceived some very great offence against David, and thought that now he might vent his malice with impunity.

were not likely to succeed, without any ceremony mounts his ass, and returns home, where, having settled his household affairs, he soon after died of grief.*

Hushai having thus wisely diverted the storm that threatened David, dispatches away Jonathan and Ahimaaz, the two priests' sons, with an account of all that had passed; advising David to cross the river Jordan, not knowing but Absalom might change his mind, and revive Ahithophel's advice of pursuing him. The young men being discovered on the way by some of Absalom's party, hid themselves in a well till those who pursued them returned. Being come to the king, they delivered their message, who followed the advice of his friends, and at break of day, decamping, passed Jordan. Then marching to Mahanaim,† he there made a stand, whither resorted to him Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai, with variety, and plenty of provisions to refresh the king and his friends. But here they had not been long before Absalom, having raised a large army, passed the river with it in pursuit of his father, the command of which he gave to Amasa, the son of Ithra, who had married Joab's mother's sister.

David hearing that his rebel son had passed Jordan, and encamped so near that it was impossible to avoid a battle, divided his army into three bodies, giving the command of the first to Joab, of the second to Abishai, and of the third to the faithful Gittite, Ittai, intending to go in person with them. But for their own sakes, as well as his, they dissuaded him; to which he consented, being willing to please the people at this time, and unwilling to engage in person against his son, for whom he still retained a paternal tenderness, as appears by the strict charge which he gave his three generals, as they marched out of the city, in the hearing of the soldiers, that for his sake they should treat Absalom well, if he should fall into their hands.

The two armies being drawn out, they joined battle in the Wood of Ephraim,‡ belonging to the tribe of Manasseh; where, though in all probability Absalom's army was far superior in number to that of David, yet the victory declared for the king, whose loyal troops killed of the rebels upon the spot twenty thousand men; and doubtless more had fallen, had not Absalom been taken and slain. For he, to avoid his father's soldiers, riding under the boughs of a thick oak, his hair § being very thick and long, he was so entangled among

* *Grief.* Some of the most learned Jewish doctors affirm, that Ahithophel did not hang himself, but that he was stifled with grief: and it seems that the Septuagint did not think that the original word signified anything else, since they translate it by the same word here, 2 Sam. xvii. 23, which St. Matt. xxvii. 5, makes use of in speaking of the death of Judas. Besides, all that Salmasius has collected from the Greek authors, to prove that the Greek word ἀνυψαρο signifies to hang, proves much rather to signify die of grief, as several learned men have shown.

† *Mahanaim.* This was a city in the tribe of Gad, built in the place where Jacob was met by the angels of God on his return from Laban, Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

‡ *Ephraim.* So called here, because, as some think, the Ephraimites drove their cattle over Jordan, to feed them in this wood. But others, with more probability, suppose it to be called the Wood of Ephraim, from the great slaughter which Jephthah had formerly made of the Ephraimites in that place. See Judg. xii.

§ *Hair.* His head of hair was of an incredible largeness; for when he polled, or cut his

the boughs that, his mule running from under him, he could not disengage himself, but hung there between heaven and earth. Joab, being informed of this by a private soldier, blamed the man for not killing him, who excused himself upon the king's command, given in the hearing of the army. Joab, not regarding David's order, which he thought might be proper for a parent but not for a king, and unwilling to lose time, took three darts in his hand, and going to the place where Absalom hung, he thrust them through him, and to make sure work, he commanded ten of his servants to smite him. Upon this, Joab, to prevent further effusion of blood, sounded a retreat, which gave Absalom's party an opportunity of returning to their homes. Then taking down Absalom's body, they threw it into a pit in the wood and raised a great heap of stones upon him. Such was the end of this unnatural rebel and graceless son of the most indulgent father.

Joab dispatches messengers with news of this victory to David, who sat between the two gates of the city Mahanaim, in doubtful expectation of the event of the battle. The sentinel who stood over the gate upon the wall, gave notice that he saw a single man running. "If he be alone,* (says the king,) he brings news." But as the messenger drew nearer, the sentinel discovering who he was, gave notice that it was the faithful Ahimaaz. Upon which David concluded that he had brought good news. As soon as Ahimaaz came within call, he cried out aloud, "All is well." Then coming to the king, he paid his duty to him, and said, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, who hath delivered up the men that lifted their hand against my lord the king." The king, solicitous for his son, asked Ahimaaz whether the Prince was safe. But he, unwilling to be the messenger of ill news, told him that when Joab dispatched him and Cushy with the tidings, he observed a great tumult, but knew not the occasion of it. He had no sooner spoken than Cushy arrived, who related the whole account of the battle, and that Absalom was slain. Upon this the king withdrew to his apartment, and in a most pathetic and mournful exclamation † thus vented his grief: "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"

The king's excessive grief for Absalom turned the triumph of this victory into mourning among the soldiers, who came silently into the city, as if they had been beaten by the enemy, and fled. Joab, a man of more courage than compassion, observing this, and presuming upon his service, went boldly to the king, and, in a manner more necessary than decent, roused him from his grief, and induced him, to the great satisfaction of his loyal subjects, to

hair, (which he did that it might not grow too heavy for him,) we read, 2 Sam. xiv. 26, that he weighed it at two hundred shekels of the king's weight, which of our weight is four pounds and two ounces.

* *Alone.* This was a token that the messenger brought good tidings, and that his party were employed in pursuit of the enemy; for if his party had been worsted, those that fled would have come in crowds to the city for refuge.

† *Exclamation.* It is probable, that not only paternal affection moved David, but the sense of his son's rebellion, and of the quick judgment of God upon him for it, raised his passion to so high a pitch.

make his appearance among them, for they thronged about him, congratulating him upon the important occasion.

The rebels too, having lost their new-made king, return to their duty, and strive who should be most forward to restore the king; only the tribe of Judah, which was the king's own family, seemed backward, or at least indifferent; which so affected David, that he sent to the two priests, Zadok and Abiathar, to remind them of their duty. And to soften Amasa, he gave orders to say to him, that he still considered him as his near relation, and that it was his intention to advance him to the post of commander-*in-chief of his army in the room of Joab.

David, sincerely rejoicing in the return of the people's affection to him, carried himself so obligingly to all, that even the men of Judah melted, and unanimously petitioned the king to return with all his family, and came to Gilgal, to meet and conduct him over Jordan. In this number came that insolent rebel Shimei, who before had cursed the king to his face, and threw himself at his feet, entreating pardon, which the king readily granted, giving him not only his royal word, but an oath to assure him of his life. Among those who came to congratulate the king upon his return, was the perfidious Ziba, attended with his fifteen sons and twenty servants, to wait upon David, and conduct him home. As for Mephibosheth, he tarried at Jerusalem, where he had continued mourning for the king's absence, and being lame, was obliged to wait there till the king returned; for Ziba had again imposed upon his innocent master, who had ordered him to saddle his ass, that he might go to meet the king, but he failed him. Upon which, Mephibosheth complained to David when he asked him why he did not go with him when he left Jerusalem; but though he justified himself from the calumny of Ziba, and the king admitted of his excuse, yet he too credulously inclined to favor the false Ziba, making him a partner with his master in the whole estate. To which unjust sentence Mephibosheth cheerfully submitted, saying, "Let him take all, since I am so happy as to see my lord the king return in peace again to his palace."

Good old Barzillai, hearing that the king was on his return from Jerusalem, though loaded with years, would nevertheless come and pay his duty to him, and see him over Jordan. Then offering to take leave of him, the king, in recompense of his former services, invited him to go with him to Jerusalem, and spend the remainder of his days there; which Barzillai modestly declined, telling the king that he was now, by reason of his great age, past the pleasures of a court, and therefore desired that he might retire to his own estate, and spend the rest of his life in peace; but if his majesty pleased to bestow any favor on his son Chimham, it would be esteemed as a kindness conferred on himself. The king consents, and, kissing Barzillai, dismissed him.

* *Commander.* Though David concealed his resentment as well as he could, yet Joab had by many base actions lessened himself very much in David's esteem; as in the murder of Abner formerly in cool blood; his killing Absalom now, contrary to his express command, when it was in his power to have saved him; and in his late bold reproof, and rough treatment of the king.

At this time, a quarrel arose between the men of Israel and the men of Judah: the former thinking the latter had too great a share of the king's favor. This misunderstanding was soon increased by a seditious fellow, named Sheba, of the tribe of Benjamin, who from hence took occasion to proclaim, "We have no part in David, neither have we any inheritance in the son of Jesse. Every man to his tents, O Israel." Upon which, those malcontents of Israel deserted David and followed Sheba; but the men of Judah persisted in their loyalty, and conducted the king to Jerusalem; where calling for Amasa, he commanded him to get the army together in three days, and give him an account. But Amasa having exceeded the time, David, to prevent any miscarriage which this delay might occasion, ordered Abishai, with what men he could get together at so short a warning, to pursue after Sheba, and attack him, if he could, before he should get into any place of strength. Abishai takes his brother Joab, and the men under his command, with him, and when they were come to the stone of Gibeon, Amasa, with the army, joined them, and took upon himself the command. This so provoked Joab, who was very malicious and revengeful, that he resolves to put an end to Amasa's* command and life together, which he soon effected: for, girding his sword over his armor very carelessly, but designedly, his sword dropped out of the scabbard. This he caused to happen as he was within sight of Amasa, whom he was going to meet, and keeping the sword drawn in his hand, he went on to salute Amasa with all apparent friendship; but as soon as he came within reach of him, he took him by the beard, and ran him through the body; upon which Amasa dropped down dead, his bowels issuing out at the wound. Joab left Amasa wallowing in his blood, and, with Abishai, pursued Sheba, leaving a servant by Amasa's corpse to direct the people to follow him.

Sheba, in his flight, had gathered some small force, but not sufficient to oppose the king's arms; and finding himself pursued, he, with his army, retreated into Abel,† where Joab besieged him; and, battering the wall to make a breach, a woman of singular prudence and wisdom, fearing that Joab would carry the town by storm, called to the besiegers from the wall, and desired to speak with the general. Joab came within hearing, and the woman handsomely addressed herself to him, putting him in mind, that by a long prescription of time, it had been a custom, drawn from the law ‡ of God, to

* *Amasa's.* Joab, who was naturally of a proud and revengeful spirit, could not bear to see himself superseded in his command, especially by one who had lately headed a rebellious army against the king, (though it is most likely his own revenge was the chief motive that put him upon this base act,) which undoubtedly was the cause of this tragical end of Amasa. From hence, therefore, princes may learn how cautious they ought to be in removing their servants, and that nothing but merit should be the ground of their promotion. And from Amasa's fate, let rebels learn to shun the reward of their treason, for though David had forgiven and promoted him to the chief command of the army, yet he did it for a political reason, which did not in the eye of God discharge Amasa's guilt, who was doubly a rebel, and deserved his fate for flying in the face of his king and uncle.

† *Abel.* A city in the tribe of Manasseh, called, for distinction sake, Abel-Bethmaachah, or the house of Maachah, from Maachah, the wife of Machir, the father of Gilead, 1 Chron. vii. 15.

‡ *Law.* See Deut. xx. 10.

offer peace when they came before a town; which he had neglected, and endeavored to take the town by assault, though the people had never offended, but were peaceable and loyal subjects of the king. Joab replied that he meant the people no harm, but that they harbored Sheba, a traitor to the king, whom he demanded; and if they would deliver him up, he would be gone. Upon this the inhabitants, meeting together, agreed to cut off Sheba's head, and to cast it over the wall, which they did; and Joab, sounding a retreat, retired to Jerusalem.

These two rebellions being thus subdued, David reforms his court; Joab is again made captain-general; Benaiah, captain of the guards; Adoram, treasurer; Jehoshaphat, recorder; Sheva, secretary of state; Zadok and Abiathar, priests; and Ira, a Jairite, was principal favorite of the king.

David had an army of three hundred thousand men, who did duty in rotation every month, and were relieved by the succeeding part, till it came to their turn again, which was once a year. This was in time of peace; but in time of war they were all to be in readiness to serve, as occasion should require.*

While David was at war with the Philistines, the enemy's army encamped in the valley of Rephaim, between David's camp and Bethlehem, and where the Philistines had a garrison. David being extremely thirsty, longed for water out of the well that was by the gate of Bethlehem, and said, "Oh, that some one would give me of that water to drink!" Three of David's chief captains hearing this, broke through the Philistines' camp, and drawing water out of the well of Bethlehem, they brought it to David, who, when he heard with what hazard it had been procured, would not drink it, but offered it to the Lord.

Towards the end of David's reign, the land was visited with a severe famine, which lasted three years. The long continuance of this calamity gave David occasion to think that it did not proceed from any common cause, but from the immediate hand of God. And, therefore, inquiring of the Lord for what reason the land was visited with this plague, the Lord answered, "It is for the sin of Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." †

* *Require.* Of their order and course of serving, with the names of the principal commanders, see 1 Chron. xxvii., as likewise of the names of the heads of the tribes, principal captains, and most renowned warriors, with a brief account of some of their most memorable exploits in 2 Sam. xxiii., and 1 Chron. xi.

† *Gibeonites.* 2 Sam. xxi. 1. These Gibeonites were not of the children of Israel, but the remains of the Amorites, who upon Joshua's taking possession of the promised land, imposed upon him and his counsellors, and cunningly drew the Israelites into a league with them, which they confirmed by oath, and by that means saved their lives. And though this league was fraudulently obtained, yet being sworn to before the Lord, it could not be violated. And therefore Joshua and the princes of Israel, though they otherwise punished the Gibeonites for deceiving them, yet they kept the league inviolably with them, and would not suffer the Israelites to touch them. Neither was this league violated during the administration of the Judges who succeeded Joshua, for above three hundred years, till Saul's time, who, it seems, in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah, slew the unoffending Gibeonites; though when or where this slaughter was committed is not particularly recorded in Scripture.

David discovering the cause of the famine, soon finds a remedy; for immediately sending to the Gibeonites, to know what satisfaction they demanded, they sent him word that they expected seven persons of the race of Saul to be delivered to them, that they might hang them before the Lord in Gibeah. David complied with their demand, and sent them Saul's two sons, which he had by Rizpah his concubine, and the five sons of Merab,* the elder daughter of Saul; and they hanged them up in Gibeah as they had proposed. Rizpah tarried by the bodies of her dead sons, to prevent their being torn or defaced by the birds and beasts. David receiving information of this, ordered their bones, with those of Jonathan and Saul, to be brought away, and deposited in the tomb of Kish, the father of Saul, at Zelah, in the country of Benjamin. After which God sent them rain, which produced plenty, and intimated his acceptance of the measure which had been adopted.

Of all the enemies which disquieted Israel, the Philistines were the most restless and troublesome; and notwithstanding the many victories which the Israelites had gained over them, yet they still recruited, and invaded them again. And now, just upon the ceasing of the famine, David, who hoped to enjoy some quiet at the close of his reign, is attacked by the Philistines; and his people were obliged to fight four successive battles: in the first of which his life was exposed to the most imminent danger from the sword of a Philistine, whom Abishai slew, just as he was going to run the king through. After which, David went no more into the army; and the other three battles were only remarkable for the killing of four men of Arapha, of gigantic stature. Upon their death, the Philistines probably were discouraged or weakened, for there was no more war between the two nations during the rest of David's reign.

And now David being at leisure, in a thankful sense of God's gracious favor for the many deliverances he had bestowed on him, composed that excellent song of acknowledgment, thanksgiving, and praise, which we find in the eighteenth Psalm. But still as the mercies of the Lord increased towards Israel, they increased in impiety and ingratitude, and their king became the occasion of their punishment; who, being moved † by a vain curiosity to

Nor was this a general slaughter. For David had recourse to some Gibeonites to offer them satisfaction, which shows that they remained a people. But Saul, by killing some of them, had broken the league and violated the oath; for which Divine vengeance was come upon Israel in a general calamity; for even kingdoms sometimes suffer for the transgression of kings. Thus forty years after Manasseh was dead, Judah suffered under Nebuchadnezzar, for the sins of Manasseh, 2 Kings xxiv. 3.

* *Merab.* Michal is put in the text indeed, 2 Sam. xxi. 8, and not by mistake, as some conjecture: for Michal was not the wife of Adriel, but Merab; yet Michal brought up those children which Merab had by Adriel. And the Jews observe upon this occasion that whoever brings up a pupil in his house is in Scripture said to have begotten him.

† *Moved.* Libertines and atheists, without regard to the error of the translators, take occasion from this text, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, to profane the Scriptures, and make God the immediate author of evil. Our translation says, that God moved David to number the people, though God in that very place tells him that his anger was kindled against Israel upon that account; and though the guilt of it could not be expiated but by the death of seventy thousand of the people, who died of the pestilence on that occasion; and though it is expressly said, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, that it was the Devil that moved David to that action. We must therefore translate

ascertain the strength of the kingdom, commanded his generals to go through all the tribes and number the people. Joab saw the snare, and endeavored to dissuade the king, and, in a more humble and modest manner than usual with him, argued how unnecessary a thing it was at that time, when all the people were entirely at his disposal and ready to obey him. Joab in this was seconded by the rest of the commanders; but to no purpose; David was obstinately bent upon it, and would be obeyed.

Joab and the rest of the officers of the army, having spent above nine months in traversing the country, returned to Jerusalem, and brought a list of eight* hundred thousand men of Israel fit to bear arms, and of five hundred thousand men of Judah. But this numbering cost David and his people dear; for no sooner was the account given in, than David was sensible of his error, which immediately brought him to an acknowledgment of his sin, and a deprecation of it: "I have sinned greatly," says he, "in what I have done. Therefore I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly." But now, in whatsoever the weight † of David's sin lay, the punishment was left to his own choice; for God sent the prophet Gad to command him to choose famine, or pestilence, or war. The choice was a favor, but it was very difficult; which constrained David to say to the prophet, "I am in a great strait." But knowing the mercies of God to be many and great, he threw himself into the hands of the Lord, and chose the pestilence; which immediately invaded Israel, and in three days' time there died of the people seventy thousand. The destroying angel having scattered the plague through the land, was about to smite Jerusalem with it; but David taking the blame wholly upon himself, prayed to the Lord rather to punish him and his family than to afflict the people further; upon which God commanded the angel to desist. The angel receiving this countermand, stood between the earth and heaven, near the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and dispatched the prophet Gad to David, to com-

2 Sam. xxiv. 1, with Castalio, conformably to the original: "The anger of the Lord continued to burn against Israel," for David was moved to say, "Go and number the people."

* *Eight, etc.* The account of this numbering of the people is differently related: for in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, the sum given is eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword in Israel, and five hundred thousand in Judah. Whereas in 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, the sum given in for Israel is eleven hundred thousand, and for Judah but four hundred threescore and ten thousand. So that this latter account has three hundred thousand more than the former in Israel, and thirty thousand less than the former in Judah. But it may be considered that Joab, through a dislike of the undertaking, gave over numbering, and left it unfinished, as appears from 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, which might occasion the different accounts brought in by some more fully, and by others more sparingly.

† *Weight.* The nature of David's sin is not particularly expressed. But besides presumption in desiring to know, that he might glory in the number and strength of his people, and his doing it without any reason, but merely to gratify his own pleasure, he is supposed by some to have transgressed in not raising the Lord's tribute upon the people when they were numbered, according to an express law, Ex. xxx. 19, 13, where it was provided, That when the people were numbered they should every man, from twenty years old, pay half a sanctuary shekel, (which is, according to the value of our money, thirty cents,) as an atonement and ransom of their lives, that there might no plague come among them. Which money was to be appropriated to the service of the tabernacle of the congregation. But others are of opinion, that this tax was not to be raised upon every numbering of the people.

mand him to build an altar in Araunah's threshing-floor. As David was going thither, Araunah came forth to meet him, and hearing his business, complimented him with the offer of his threshing-floor, and the utensils belonging to it, with the oxen* for the burnt-offering. But the king refused his kind offer, declaring he would not present an offering to God of that which cost him nothing. Therefore Araunah fixing the price, David gave him for the threshing-floor and the oxen, fifty † shekels of silver; and building an altar there, he offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and called upon the Lord, who answered him by fire from heaven upon the altar; and the plague ceased.

David now began to sink under the weight of years; and his natural heat being almost extinguished, it was resolved to supply that defect by artificial warmth. But that failing, his friends had recourse to another expedient, and procured a young virgin to sleep with him, thinking by that means to communicate a more natural heat to him than that of warm clothing. The name of the young person selected for this purpose was Abishag.

Adonijah, who was the king's eldest son, being by order of birth next to Absalom, thinks his father lives too long, and ambitiously aspires to the crown before his time. He was a prince of a beautiful form, and admired by all, and so indulged by his father that he never contradicted him in anything. These advantages, and an ambitious propensity, urged him on to his own ruin, and the unhappiness of his father. His brother Absalom's fate might have been a warning to him: but ambition is blind and deaf to all admonition, for he imitates him in his equipage, providing himself with chariots, horsemen, and a guard of fifty footmen, as Absalom had done. In order to the carrying on his ambitious design, he consults Joab and Abiathar, whom he gained to his interest, and who encouraged him in his rebellion,

* *Oxen.* It may be inquired, perhaps, by some, what relation the oxen had to the threshing-floor. To which it may be answered, that the ancients used oxen for the treading or threshing out their grain; and sometimes with the oxen drew a wheel over the corn upon the floor, by which the corn was beaten out. The use of oxen for this work appears in the Mosaic law, which commanded that they should not muzzle the ox when he trod out the corn, Deut. xxv. 4, which the apostle applies to another purpose, 1 Cor. ix. 9. And that they used to get out the corn by turning a wheel about upon it, the prophet Isaiah tells us, ch. xxviii. 27, 28, where he says, "The fitches are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is the cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin;" implying that the cart-wheel was turned about upon the grain; which custom is thought by some to be alluded to in Prov. xx. 26, where the wise king is said to scatter the wicked by bringing the wheel over them. The threshing instruments also mentioned here by Araunah, comprehending the yokes of the oxen, and the wheels, with such other implements as were necessary to fasten the oxen to the wheels, would afford much more wood for the burnt-offerings than many flails could do.

† *Fifty.* Interpreters find it very difficult to reconcile 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, where it is said, "That David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver," with the of 1 Chron. xxi. 25, where it is said that "David gave Araunah for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight." Some think that the threshing-floor and oxen only are meant by the account of the book of Samuel; but in that of the Chronicles we are to understand all the adjacent land and houses that belonged to Araunah. But this does not satisfy others, who are of opinion, that that which gave occasion to this contradiction in the versions was, that the translators did not consider that the Hebrew words which they have translated *silver* and *weight*, do also often signify money in general, and the value of any piece.

advising him to make a public entertainment, and to get as many to side with him as he could by that popular method. Accordingly, he invited all the king's sons, except Solomon, and all the chief men of Judah, except Nathan the prophet, Benaiah captain of the guards, and the officers of the army, who, with Zadok, the other high-priest, were not in his interest. The design was, that when they had feasted well, and made the people merry, they should proclaim Adonijah king.

Nathan, the prophet, having notice of this conspiracy, acquainted Bathsheba with it, and advised her, for her own and her son's security, to communicate it to the king, and to claim his promise of Solomon's succession to the crown, which he had given her upon oath. Bathsheba, thus instructed, went to the king, and having acquainted him with Adonijah's proceedings, desired him to nominate a successor according to his oath. While she was talking with the king, Nathan entered, and confirmed what she had said. Then David calling for Bathsheba, who had withdrawn upon Nathan's entrance, he declared Solomon his successor; and sending for Zadok and Benaiah, he commanded them all to place Solomon on the mule which he himself used to ride, and to conduct him to Gihon, where Nathan and Zadok should anoint him king, and then to sound the trumpet and say, "God save king Solomon." Which done, they were to bring him back to sit on the throne, that he might reign over Israel and Judah. This was immediately executed, the people of Jerusalem approving of the choice by their loud shouts and acclamations of joy.

Adonijah and his party, having by this time finished their feasting at Enrogel, were just upon the point of proclaiming him king, when they were surprised with the sound of the trumpet, and the shouts of the people who attended Solomon. While Joab was considering what should be the meaning of this noise, Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, came in, and told them that David had made Solomon king, and that he had confirmed the succession to him in the presence of the court. This so startled Adonijah and his guests, that they rose up alarmed, and precipitately fled in various directions. Adonijah escaped to the altar for refuge, where he remained till he had an assurance from Solomon that he would not put him to death. Solomon, however, promised him his life, on condition that if ever he attempted anything against him in future, he should die. Upon this Adonijah quitted the altar, and was conducted to the king's presence, where, bowing himself to Solomon in token of thankfulness for his life, and acknowledgment of his sovereignty, he was dismissed, and permitted to retire to his house without restraint.

David, now sensibly finding his strength decay, ordered all the princes of Israel, and officers of his court and army, to be assembled, whom he acquainted with his design of building a temple, and that he had provided materials for the work; but that God had forbidden him, and appointed Solomon, whom he had chosen king, to undertake and finish it. Then exhorting them all, and particularly his son, to serve God, he gave Solomon the model of the temple, with all the apartments and offices, as he had received it by the Spirit; likewise the courses of attendance of the priests



DAVID COUNSELLING SOLOMON.

and Levites, and the manner of the vessels and utensils of service in the house of the Lord. Then he delivered to him, by weight, the gold and silver which he had been collecting, and appropriating to this use, with particular directions how to apply it. And encouraging Solomon to go on cheerfully, he assured him that God would assist him in this great work, and that all the princes and people would be at his command: to whom, upon that account, he addressed himself, wishing them to consider that Solomon, his son, whom the Lord had chosen to that work, was but young and tender, and the work was great; for the house which he was to build was not for man, but for God. Then informing them, that beside the materials of metal, wood, and stone, he had given of his own proper goods three* thousand talents of gold, and seven † thousand talents of refined silver, he invited the people to a voluntary contribution; who very readily offered for the service of God five ‡ thousand talents of gold, and ten § thousand pieces, and ten|| thousand talents of silver, and eighteen thousand talents of brass, and one hundred thousand talents of iron, besides precious stones. All which they offered freely; which so highly gratified the pious heart of David, that in a holy rapture, he sung a hymn of praise and prayer to the Lord, before all the people. He then exhorted them to bless the Lord their God; which they did, bowing their heads, and worshipping the Lord, and then did reverence to the king.

The next day they offered a prodigious sacrifice to the Lord, consisting of a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, a thousand lambs, with their drink-offerings, feasting and making public rejoicings before the Lord: in the midst of which festivity they a second time proclaimed Solomon king, anointing him to be their governor, and Zadok to be chief priest. Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord, as king, ¶ all Israel obeying him.

David, now finding his end approaching, called for his son Solomon, and gave him his dying charge, which was, in brief, to be steady in his duty to God; and descending to some particular affairs relating to the state, he obliged him to execute justice on Joab, who had treated him** ill, and treacherously murdered the two generals, Abner and Amasa, in cold blood. Then reflecting upon the impudent profaneness of Shimei in cursing him when he was on his way to Mahanaim, he charged him in his discretion to take vengeance †† on him; but in grateful remembrance of good Barzillai's

* *Three, etc.* Which amount to thirteen million five thousand pounds.

† *Seven, etc.* Which amount to two million six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

‡ *Five, etc.* Five thousand talents amount to two-and-twenty million and five hundred thousand pounds.

§ *Ten, etc.* That is, ten thousand drachms, which, at fifteen shillings a piece, comes to seven thousand five hundred pounds.

|| *Ten, etc.* Which amount to three million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

¶ *King.* That is, in conjunction with his father during the short remainder of his life; for it does not appear that David resigned his sceptre till he resigned his breath.

** *Treated him, etc.* Probably referring to his killing Absalom contrary to his express command, and speaking so boldly to him afterwards.

†† *Vengeance.* This direction of David to his son Solomon concerning Shimei, may, to some, seem too severe, because he had before, upon Shimei's submission, granted him his

service, in furnishing him with provisions when he was in distress, he charged Solomon to be kind to his sons, and to let them eat at his table. Having finished his advice to his son, he prayed to God for him, in which prayer* he made a kind of prophetic declaration of the greatness, prosperity, peace, and justice of Solomon's reign. Thus this great prince, having reigned forty years over Israel, seven in Hebron, and thirty-three in Jerusalem, died at the age of seventy years and a half, and was buried in that part of the city which he had taken from the Jebusites, and from him called the city of David.

David was certainly a character of peculiar eminence, though not without considerable blemishes. He was, upon the whole, "a man of God," "a man after God's own heart;" that is, eminently qualified to perform his will, and establish his worship in opposition to his predecessor, Saul, who was as remarkable for his disobedience, Acts vii. 46, xiii. 22.

The Psalms of David will be an everlasting monument of his sublime poetical genius, considered even as human productions, while they are to be prized infinitely more as sacred odes divinely inspired, and descriptive of the person, glory, and kingdom of Christ, as well as admirable models of prayer and praise for the imitation of the church of God in all ages. In these, David appears foremost in the rank of prophets, and must be considered, in that character, as a very eminent type of the Messiah, who is distinguished by the very same name.†

As a king, also, David bears a typical resemblance to Christ, to whom is given "the throne of his father David."‡ To the possession of this throne, long before promised, the true David, like his predecessor, passed through many tribulations. As "the leader and commander of the people," as the victorious conqueror over all his enemies, in his zeal for the house of God, his earnest care for the regulation of sacred ordinances, and in many other particulars, the resemblance may be fairly traced; but in all things the antitype must "have the pre-eminence," for in his character there is no blot, and "of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."

life. But it will not prove so, if we consider that Shimei's offence was as much against God as against David; for God's law was express, Exod. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not curse the ruler of thy people." Now David was not only the ruler of the people, but God's anointed, a king of his immediate choice, whom he had raised up to fight his battles, and to execute his judgment upon Saul and his house for his disobedience. This Shimei knew; and therefore in railing at, and cursing David, calling him a bloody man, and that with particular respect to the blood of Saul's house, 2 Sam. xiv. 8, he blasphemed God, who had taken the kingdom from Saul and given it to David. And although God was pleased to give David leave to show his own condescension and clemency in forgiving Shimei's personal offence against him, 2 Sam. xix. 23, yet he would not so pass by the sin against himself. And therefore he both stirred up David to commit the punishment to his son and successor Solomon, and gave him wisdom so to adjust the punishment, that Shimei might have escaped the severest part of it, if he had not brought it upon himself by a new transgression in breaking his oath afterwards.

* *Prayer.* This prayer, in some respects, was predictive of the reign of Christ. It takes up the place of the seventy-second Psalm, and the concluding words of it speak it to be the last prayer or Psalm that David made, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, etc.

† Jerem. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; Hosea iii. 5.

‡ Luke i. 32.

Solomon,* upon the decease of his father, was immediately put into peaceable possession of the kingdom. But he had not been long seated on the throne before an unhappy occasion occurred, which determined him upon taking off his brother Adonijah, who, whether with a design to stir up new troubles, as was suspected, (for, as we have before seen, he had in his father's time aspired to the crown,) or whether only captivated with the charms of Abishag, the beautiful Shunamite, his father's concubinary wife, he applied himself to Bathsheba, the queen-mother, to prevail with the king to give him Abishag to wife. The queen, not perceiving the great impropriety of the proposal, promised him her best endeavors, and went directly to the king concerning it. Solomon, being startled at such an unexpected request, and suspecting that Adonijah,† Abiathar, and Joab were engaged in a new conspiracy against him, resolves upon Adonijah's death, and sends Benaiah, the captain of his guards, to dispatch him. And to secure himself of the other two, he banished Abiathar into his own country, forbidding him to exercise the priestly function. Joab hearing this, was sensible of approaching vengeance; therefore, hoping for protection from the holiness of the place, he took sanctuary in the tabernacle of the Lord at the foot of the altar; and refusing to come out at the king's command, Benaiah was ordered to kill him there.‡ Abiathar being removed from the office of high-priest, Zadok succeeded him, as Benaiah did Joab in the command of the army.

Shimei had reason to expect some severe punishment, considering these proceedings against the faction; and when Solomon sent for him, he might well conclude it was to receive sentence; but to his great surprise his doom was changed into a lenity beyond his desert; for he was only made a prisoner at large in Jerusalem, for which with great joy he thanked the king, and retired to his house. Three years he kept within the bounds of his confinement, but at last he transgressed; for going after some of his slaves who had fled to Achish, king of Gath, Solomon received notice of it, and upon his return put him to death.

The heads of the faction thus removed, Solomon considered himself safe, and assembling all his officers, and the chiefs of Israel, he went with them to the high-place§ that was at Gibeon, where he offered a thousand burnt-offerings, on the brazen altar before the Lord; of which he was pleased to express his gracious approbation by appearing to Solomon in a dream that

* *Solomon.* Though Solomon was but a young man when he came to the crown, yet that he was married some time before appears by the age of his son Rehoboam, for Rehoboam was forty-one years old, 2 Chron. xii. 13, when he began to reign, which was immediately after his father's death, who reigned but forty years, 1 Kings xi. 42. So that Solomon had a son a year old when he began to reign.

† *Adonijah.* See 1 Kings ii. 22.

‡ *There.* Besides Joab's treason in siding with Adonijah, he was doubly guilty of murder in the premeditated assassinations of Abner and Amasa, for which it was lawful to take the murderer from God's altar and slay him, Exod. xx. 14.

§ *High Place.* Though David had brought up the Ark of God from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, where he had pitched a tent for it, yet the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses had made in the wilderness, and the brazen altar that Bezaleel had made, remained still at Gibeon.

night, and allowing him to ask what he should give him; upon which, Solomon, having first recognized the blessings which God had bestowed on his father David, and with great humility depreciating his own ability to govern so great a nation, desired of God knowledge and wisdom to enable him to discharge so important a trust. This request of Solomon so pleased the Lord that, beside the wisdom for which he had asked, he promised that he should exceed all princes, before or after him, in royal state and magnificence, assuring him at the same time that if he would observe his commands, he would, beside granting a vast accumulation of wealth and honor, bestow upon him the additional blessing of length of days to enjoy them. Solomon, awaking from his sleep, was satisfied that this dream, or vision, was from heaven; and, going to Jerusalem, he presented himself before the Ark of the covenant, and offered peace-offerings before the Lord, and feasted all his servants.

It was not long before an opportunity occurred, in which Solomon displayed his eminent wisdom. Two women who dwelt by themselves in the same house, had each of them been delivered of a child, and one of them had overlaid her infant. She who found the dead child in her bed accused the other woman with taking away her living child, and substituting the deceased in its place. The other confidently persisted in it, that the living child belonged to her. In order to discover the real mother, he commanded it to be cut in two, and one-half to be given to each of the claimants. The mother of the living child hearing this, entreated the king to give it to the pretended mother, rather than kill it; but the other cried, "Let it be neither thine nor mine, but let it be divided." Thus Solomon discovered the true mother; and ordered the living infant to be given to her, whose tenderness and compassion sufficiently demonstrated her to be so. This wise determination gained him great reverence and respect from his subjects;* and the reputation of his wisdom was so widely diffused, that people came from all parts to consult him. But beside his admirable administration of justice, and the accurate and exact economy of his family, he gave other instances of his wisdom in his works; for he composed three thousand proverbs,† a thousand and five poems, and several treatises of natural philosophy.

Solomon had now begun to make alliances‡ with his neighbors, taking

* History informs us of some singular instances of address, resembling, though in an inferior degree, this of Solomon. Suetonius, in his life of Claudian, says that the emperor discovered a woman to be the mother of a young man, whom she would not acknowledge as her son, by commanding her to be married to him; for the horror of committing incest obliged her to declare the truth. Diodorus Siculus, also, relates that Ariopharnes, king of the Thracians, being appointed to arbitrate between three men, who all pretended to be sons of the king of the Cimmerians, discovered the true son and heir by ordering each of them to shoot an arrow into the body of the deceased king, which one of them refusing to do, was deemed the true claimant.

† *Proverbs.* Most of these are supposed to have been lost in the captivity of Judah in Babylon.

‡ *Alliances.* Solomon had married an Ammonitish woman before he was king, who we may suppose was a proselyte to the Jewish religion, or else his father David would not have allowed it. So now, having made affinity with Vaphres, king of Egypt, he took his daugh-



MT. LEBANON, FROM BEIRUT.

the king of Egypt's daughter to wife, whom he brought into the citadel, which David had built on the top of Mount Sion, till he had erected not only his own house, but the house of the Lord, and the wall round the city; but afterwards he built a palace for his queen. And now being at leisure, he remembered the charge which his father had given him concerning the erection of the temple. Hiram, king of Tyre, his father's old friend, having at this time sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his accession to the crown, he returns his compliment in another embassy; and desiring that the ancient amity between the two crowns might be continued, he entreats him to furnish him with servants to fell timber, whom he would pay at a certain price. Hiram, rejoicing that so wise a prince as Solomon had succeeded his friend David, returns a very obliging answer,* assuring him of all the assistance he could give, either in the performances of his subjects, or any production of his country. Having received this assurance, Solomon caused a muster† to be made of all his workmen who were strangers, the number of whom amounted to two hundred and thirteen thousand and three hundred men: of these, he appointed seventy thousand to bear burdens, a hundred and ten thousand to hew timber and stone, and the other three thousand three hundred to be overseers of the work. Beside these, he raised thirty thousand of his own people, whom he sent to Lebanon to labor with the king of Tyre's workmen.

And now, all things being in readiness, on the second day of the second

ter to wife, who, it is likely, was a proselyte also, because it is said presently after, 1 Kings iii. 3, "That Solomon loved the Lord, and walked in the statutes of David his father."

* *Answer.* Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, gives us the letters which passed between Solomon and Hiram on this occasion, for the genuineness of which he appeals both to the Jewish and Tyrian records.

"King Solomon to King Hiram, greeting:

"Be it known unto thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind and purpose to erect a temple to the Lord, but being perpetually in war, in his days, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in a time of peace, both to begin and finish it, according to the direction, as well as prediction, of the Almighty. Blessed be his great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! And, by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honor and worship. Wherefore I make it my request, that you will permit some of your people to accompany some servants of mine to Mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building, (for the Sydonians understand it much better than we do;) and as for the workmen's reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable, shall be punctually paid them."

"King Hiram to King Solomon:

"Nothing could have been more welcome to me than to understand that the government of your blessed father is, by God's providence, devolved into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor. His holy name be praised for it! That which you write for shall be done with all care and good will; for I will give orders to cut down and export such quantities of the fairest cedars, and cypress trees, as you shall have occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-side for you, and from thence ship them away to what port you please, where they may lie ready for your men to transport them to Jerusalem. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange as may stand with your convenience, for that is the commodity which we islanders most want."—*Jewish Antiq.* l. 8, c. 2.

† *Muster.* See 1 Kings v.

month, in the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, the temple was begun on Mount Moriah;* and in his eleventh year, in the eighth month, it was finished in all its parts; so that it was seven years and six months in building. † And such care was taken in preparing the materials before they were brought thither, that there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of iron, heard in it while it was erecting. It was sixty cubits † long, twenty broad, and thirty high. The porch was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, projecting from the front of the temple. He built about it on the outside three stories, with stairs to ascend to them. Besides the gate in front, there was one in the right side. The roof was raised five cubits. All the timber work was of cedar. The walls were of square stone, lined with cedar from the top to the bottom.

The sanctuary was separated from the rest of the temple by a cedar screen, adorned with carving, which stood twenty cubits from the end of the structure. The inside of the sanctuary was covered with plates of gold, in the midst of which stood the ark. Solomon had ordered two cherubim of olive-wood to be made, and covered with gold, ten cubits high, and their wings five cubits long: they stood upright, and stretched out their wings; one wing of each cherubim touched the wall, one on each side, and the other two met in the midst of the sanctuary, over the ark. There were two doors to go into the sanctuary. The porch was adorned with a brass pillar on each side, eighteen cubits high. In the court he made a large round brass basin, five cubits high, and of ten cubits diameter, which stood upon twelve oxen of brass, resting on ten bases, each of which had four wheels. This great basin was called a sea; besides which, there were ten lavers of brass four cubits high, each standing on ten bases. The same things were in the temple as had been in the tabernacle, the ark with the propitiatory, and the altar of frankincense in the sanctuary. The altar of sacrifice which Solomon made was larger than the former, being twenty cubits long, twenty broad, and ten high. The table he made for the shew-bread was of gold; and instead of one candlestick, he made five of gold. The censers and all the vessels and instruments for sacrificing, were of gold; the kettles, caldrons, and basins, of brass. All which work was made by a Tyrian artist.

When the temple was finished, all the elders of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the heads of the families of the children of Israel, assembled at

* *Moriah.* The foundation of the temple was laid in this place, where the Lord had appeared to David, and in the very place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite; and where Abraham long before had been directed by God to offer up his son Isaac. Gen. xxii. 2.

† The temple itself was not a large building, but the numerous and extensive courts and offices around it rendered the whole a prodigious pile; and if we consider the exquisite art with which the whole was executed, and that by a few artists, the dispatch with which it was effected was uncommonly great.

The building of Diana's temple at Ephesus employed all Asia for the space of two hundred years: and no less than 360,000 men were at work for twenty years together in erecting one pyramid in Egypt. We are not to wonder, then, that seven years and a half were occupied in building Solomon's temple.

† *Cubits.* The cubit consisted of three feet, English measure.

Jerusalem to convey the ark of the covenant into the temple. The priests and Levites (whose peculiar charge it was) took up the ark, with all the holy vessels, and bringing them into the temple, disposed them in their respective places. Then they, with all the officers, singing a hymn, with their trumpets and other musical instruments, the cloud filled the house of the Lord. Which Solomon observing, took occasion from thence to infer that the Lord had taken possession of the place. Then turning his face about, he prayed * for, and blessed the people; after which, addressing himself to the whole assembly, he exhorted them to be sincere and steadfast in their duty to God, to walk in his statutes, and to keep his commandments.†

Having finished his prayer and blessing, he, and all the people with him, offered sacrifices before the Lord, upon which, the Divine acceptance of his prayer was shown by fire from heaven, which consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices. The feast of the dedication of the temple was kept seven days successively, during which Solomon offered two-and-twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep. On this occasion Solomon appears in all his glory. The splendor of his retinue is far exceeded by the piety of his character, nor can we conceive of anything upon earth more noble and majestic than the spectacle exhibited at the dedication of the temple. We cannot but revere the monarch who, with so much zeal, stands forward in the presence of his nobles and his people, acknowledging the God of his fathers, and imploring, in a most admirable manner, his blessing upon himself, his country, and posterity. Happy is the land in which the wisdom, the wealth, and the piety of a prince are thus united in the service of God, and the encouragement of religion!

Solomon, having thus finished and dedicated the house of the Lord, erected a stately palace for himself and his queen, which was thirteen ‡ years in building, besides several other magnificent edifices and stately cities, which he rebuilt and fortified. In all which undertakings the king of Tyre was very serviceable to him, supplying him with money, men, and ships, to procure and convey materials from his own and other countries, in requital of which Solomon gave him twenty cities in the land of Galilee, § which Hiram, how-

* *Prayed.* See this prayer in 2 Chron. vi.

† The Temple was undoubtedly a distinguished type of Jesus Christ; the habitation of Deity; in whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Our Lord himself justifies this opinion by saying, in reference to his own body, when present at the Temple, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."

The extreme magnificence of this edifice, and the wonderful ornaments with which it was enriched, rendered it a suitable emblem of Him who was adorned with every Divine grace, and anointed with the Holy Spirit without measure.

Others say that the outward court denoted the visible church; the "holy place" was an emblem of the church invisible; and the holiest of all represented the church triumphant in glory. By baptism we enter into the first, by regeneration into the second, and by death into the third.

‡ *Thirteen.* This was longer in building than the temple, because Solomon had all the materials to provide for building his own house, which his father had provided for the building of the temple.

§ *Galilee.* This country bordering upon Tyre is reckoned by Tremellius and Junius not a part of the Holy Land; and for that reason perhaps is called Galilee of the Gentiles, Matt. iv. 15.

ever, restored, not from a principle of generosity, but because he thought them unworthy of his acceptance. These cities were afterwards colonized by Solomon.

The gracious promise * which God had made him—that, because he had not asked riches or honor, but wisdom only, that he might the better serve the Lord and govern the people—he now found to be accomplished, for God gave him both wisdom, riches, and honor, in which he excelled all the kings of the earth; for as they all sought him for instruction from his prudent administration, they came not empty-handed, paying him a yearly tribute of silver, gold, vestments, armor, spices, etc. And among the many royal persons, whom the fame of his wisdom and grandeur drew to his court, the queen of Sheba † was one of the most distinguished. Having heard much of his wisdom, she came with a magnificent retinue and a superb present to the king, and had a conference with him, in which she proposed several enigmatical questions, all of which he resolved in so judicious a manner that she was perfectly astonished at the profundity of his judgment. But when she had viewed the temple of Jehovah, and the king's palace, and considered the economy of his household, she was convinced that fame had spoken truly: and breaking out into admiration and praise, she exclaimed, "Happy are those that attend thee and continually hear thy wisdom; and blessed be the Lord thy God, who delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel, because the Lord loved Israel, to establish them forever, therefore did he make thee king over them to do judgment and justice."

The queen of Sheba having thus gratified her curiosity in conversing with the wisest of kings, took her leave of Solomon, and returned laden with a royal present, and filled with admiration at his wisdom and grandeur. And indeed the magnificence of his court, particularly of his table, exceeded all the princes of the world before or since his time; for his daily provision was thirty measures ‡ of fine flour, and sixty of meal, ten stall-fed oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep; besides harts, roebucks, fallow-deer, and fatted fowl. In his stables he had four thousand § stalls for horses, chariots in proportion, and twelve thousand horsemen. Add to these

* *Promise.* See 1 Kings iii. 12, 13.

† *Sheba.* This country is supposed to have been some part of Arabia the Happy.

‡ *Measures.* They are called in our margin *cors*. And the *Hebrew cor* being computed by Godwin in his *Moses and Aaron*, l. 6, c. 9, p. 290, to contain five bushels and five gallons, the thirty *cors* of fine flour make a hundred and sixty-eight bushels, and six gallons. According to which computation, the sixty *cors* of meal must make three hundred and thirty-seven bushels and four gallons; both sorts, flour and meal, five hundred and six bushels and two gallons.

§ *Four thousand.* Through a mistake which has crept into the original, by the negligence of transcribers, it is said, 1 Kings iv. 26, that Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for chariots; for Ezra, relating the same history, mentions only four thousand stalls; and supposing that Solomon had four horses to every chariot, (though chariots of war had commonly but two,) every horse must at least have had three or four stalls; he having in all but a thousand and four hundred chariots, 1 Kings x. 26, and 2 Chron. i. 14. But this is altogether improbable, and contrary to the common custom, which does not allow several stalls for one horse.



SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

the great plenty of gold, which was so common that silver was deemed of little value; for not only the vessels of his house were of gold, but he made two hundred large targets of gold, and as many small ones. He had an ivory throne, inlaid or ornamented with gold, with six steps to ascend to it, and on the sides were the figures of twelve lions. In short, never was the reign of any prince more pacific, plentiful, and happy, till he ungratefully neglected the laws of God, upon the performance of which the promises of the Lord were conditionally founded. These he violated by giving way to his loose and ungovernable passion; for he not only abandoned himself to the wanton embraces of many women, but of strange women — such as were not Israelites by nature or profession, but strangers to the covenant, being of idolatrous nations, with whom the Lord had expressly prohibited* Israel in general, and their king in particular, from contracting marriage. And so extravagant was his attachment to pomp, that he had no less than seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines, who soon seduced him to worship strange gods, as Ashtoreth,† the goddess of the Sidonians; Moloch,‡ the god of the Ammonites, and Chemos,§ the god of the Moabites.

This apostasy and ingratitude of Solomon so provoked the Lord that, as a punishment for his sin, he declared || to him that he would leave to his son but one tribe to govern; and to make him sensible of the danger of his disobedience, he raised up several enemies to disturb that peace which he enjoyed without interruption so long as he faithfully served the Lord. The first of these was Hadad, of the royal blood of Edom, who, having fled from Joab when he ravaged the country and put the male children to death,

* *Prohibited.* See Deut. xvii. 17.

† *Ashtoreth.* Commentators differ very much about the name and nation to which this goddess is appropriated. Ashtoreth is, no doubt, a Syrian word, and signifies sheep, particularly ewes, when their dugs are turgid, and give milk; and from the fecundity of those creatures, which in Syria breed a long time, the Tyrians and Sidonians framed the notion of a deity, which they called *Astarte*; and must, without dispute, be the *Venus* of the Syrians; which Cicero, in his third book, *De Natura Deorum*, confirms. “The fourth goddess,” says he, “is Venus, who was conceived at Tyre, and is called *Astarte*.”

“*Easter*, or *Æster*, was the Saxon goddess which they sacrificed unto in the month of April, whom the Britons worshipped by the name of *Adraste*, the same with the Phœnician *Astarte*, and the Sidonian *Ashtoreth*, 1 Kings xi. 5. *Ashtoreth*, the goddess of the Zidonians.” — *Gale's Court of the Gentiles.*

From hence, probably, is the name *Easter* derived, by which word our translators have strangely rendered *μελη το πασχα*, after the *passover*, Acts xii. 4.

‡ *Moloch.* The word, both in the Hebrew and Ethiopic, signifies king, and he was the god of the Ammonites. This idol was a large statue, made hollow, into which, some say, they put their children and burnt them; others, that they put their children into the arms of the statue, and then set fire to the combustible matter within it. But whatever was the manner of sacrificing children to this idol, it is certain that they offered children to him by fire, 2 Kings xxiii. 10, Jer. xxii. 35, Psal. cv. 37, 38.

§ *Chemos.* From the resemblance of the Hebrew word *כמוש Chamos*, to the Greek *Comos*, this idol is supposed to be *Bacchus*.

|| *Declared.* Probably by the prophet Ahijah, who is mentioned 1 Kings xi. 29. Thus we see how dangerous temptations, prosperity, and plenty are; but, above all, the excessive love of women, which, as a wise man says, is insuperable when once we let loose the reins to our passion; for the valiant Samson, the holy David, and the wise Solomon were captivated by them.

escaped to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and married his sister, and returned into his own country after the death of David, from whence he gave Israel great and frequent disturbances. Besides Hadad, God stirred up another enemy to Solomon, in the person of Rezon the son of Eliadab; who, flying from his lord Hadadezer, king of Zobah, had gathered a great number of men, over whom he made himself captain, and seizing on Damascus, reigned there as king of Syria, and infested Israel all the time of Solomon's declining reign. But the most dangerous enemy of all was Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, a subject of Solomon, and whom, for his great abilities, he had made ruler over the house of Joseph. Him God singled out to be a scourge to the house of Solomon by particular appointment; for, sending the prophet Ahijah to him, they met in a field, where Ahijah told Jeroboam that God had appointed him to be the successor of Solomon over ten of the twelve tribes; but, that, in consideration of David's piety, he would not do this in Solomon's time. Then he assured Jeroboam that if he would serve the Lord as he required, his family should be established in the government of Israel; but that he would reserve one entire tribe for David's sake.

Though this matter was concerted with so much privacy between the prophet and Jeroboam in the field, yet Solomon soon obtained notice of it, and concerted measures to take Jeroboam; but he made his escape to Shishak, king of Egypt, where he remained till the death of Solomon, who, having reigned forty* years, died, and was buried in the City of David.

The defection of Solomon in his latter years is an affecting proof of human weakness and depravity. Well may we say, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom!" Who could have thought that the man whose knowledge exceeded that of all other men, who began his reign with such exalted piety, who was honored with such remarkable communications from heaven, and who was laid under such peculiar obligations by his unparalleled prosperity, should thus devote himself to sensual excesses, and form alliances with idolatrous women, in direct defiance of the law of God? That he should suffer the worship of idols in his dominions would seem strange; but that he should erect altars for them, and himself bow down at them, is most marvellous! Yet, such was the conduct of the wisest of men—of him who had the honor of erecting to Jehovah the most sumptuous structure that perhaps the earth ever bore!

Lord, what is man! Henceforth let no man trust in himself, nor in any

* *Forty.* For the rest of the acts and wisdom of Solomon, of which, no doubt, many and great instances must occur in the forty years' reign of so great and wise a prince, we are, in 1 Kings xi. 43, referred to the *book of the Acts of Solomon*: a book undoubtedly lost, with other excellent pieces of his. And in 2 Chron. ix. 29, for a further account of the acts of Solomon, we are referred to the book of Nathan the prophet, to the prophecy of Ahijah, and to the visions of Iddo the seer; some of which are now extant, at least under those titles. As to his age, notwithstanding the variety of opinions about it, it would seem that he was fifty-eight years old when he died, having succeeded to the crown at eighteen, and reigned forty years.

other human being. Let us put no confidence in education, profession, or attainments, but learn the importance of that exhortation — “Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall!”

The sacred history does not gratify us with a particular account of the close of Solomon’s life. Every reader would wish to know how he finished his days, and whether his repentance was as exemplary as his apostasy. Perhaps a veil is drawn over this, lest any should be tempted to imitate his excesses, in confidence of equalling also his penitence.

Yet we are not without hope concerning his latter end. The book of Ecclesiastes, which is thought to have been written in his old age, is a Penitential Discourse on the Vanity of the World, in which he exposes the folly of his own pursuits, and points out to mankind — the *summum bonum* — the chief good, namely, “True Religion, or the Fear of God.”

Immediately after the funeral of Solomon, Rehoboam, his son, went to Shechem, to which place he summoned all Israel to make him king. But the people having labored under some heavy taxes in his father’s reign, demanded a redress of their grievances before they would consent to proclaim him king: and to enforce their address they sent for Jeroboam out of Egypt, thinking thereby to awe Rehoboam into a compliance with their desire. But he was far from gratifying their wishes, putting them off for three days, during which he consulted his father’s counsellors, men of years and experience, who advised him by all means to comply with the people in their request, as it would certainly engage them in his interest for ever. The haughty prince cannot approve of this counsel, but demands the opinion of young and inexperienced men, more fit companions for his pleasures than for the weighty emergencies of state. These young politicians advise him to despise the advice of his father’s counsellors, and instead of redressing the grievances of his people, to increase their burdens. Finding no hope of the abatement of their taxes, ten of the tribes immediately revolted from Rehoboam; and when he sent Adoram, the collector of his tribute, to gather the revenue, they fell upon him and stoned him to death. Rehoboam, sensible too late of his error, consults his own safety, and repairing to his chariot, hastens to Jerusalem. In the mean time those ten tribes, which had revolted from the house* of David, inviting Jeroboam, created him king. And thus was that great and goodly kingdom, almost in its infancy, split into two unequal † parts, and thereby the foundation laid for the ruin of both.

* *House, etc.* The ten tribes that revolted were afterwards, in distinction from the house of David, called by the name of Israel.

† *Unequal.* This must be understood by a *synecdoche*, the greater part on either side being taken for the whole: for some of the tribes, in drawing the lots of their possessions, being intermixed with others, (as Manasseh had divers towns in Issachar and in Ashur, Joshua xvii. 11, and Simeon’s inheritance was within that of the tribe of Judah, Josh. xix. 1,) such of the Israelites as dwelt in the cities of Judah, continued their subjection to Rehoboam, 1 Kings xii. 17, and perhaps some part of the tribe of Benjamin, bordering upon some of the other tribes that fell away to Jeroboam, might go along with their neighbors, and take him for their king. Which might give ground for that saying in 2 Kings xii. 20, “There was

Rehoboam, having returned to Jerusalem, began to think of revenging the affront offered to himself in the person of his collector Adoram; and expecting to reduce these rebels by force of arms, he collected an army of a hundred and eighty thousand soldiers: but when he was upon his march, the word of God came to Shemaiah, the man of God, to prevent a civil war, which was just ready to break out, assuring the people of Benjamin and Judah that it was the sovereign will of God that the kingdom should be so divided, and in his name commanded them to return to their own homes: which message they obeyed, and every man went peaceably to his own house, instead of going to Jeroboam. After which, each king fortified his country as well as he could, but after a different manner. For Rehoboam, the first three years, served the Lord, as David and Solomon had done in the best of their time; but Jeroboam, fearing lest the kingdom might again submit to the house of David, if his subjects went to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, as was prescribed* by the law, forbade them to repair thither; and to prevent their forming an excuse from the want of worship nearer home, he immediately furnished them with gods, setting up two golden calves with altars belonging to them; and, for the greater accommodation, he placed one in Bethel, which was in the southern part of the country; and the other in Dan, which was in the northern part.† He likewise built a temple, wherein he had altars for idolatry, and idol-priests of the meanest of the people; and thrusting out the priests and Levites, suffered them not to execute their office to the Lord. Upon which they all retired to Jerusalem; and as many of other tribes as had any regard for the worship of the God of Israel, followed them; which proved a considerable accession of strength to Rehoboam, and a diminution of that of Jeroboam.

The latter, perceiving the decline of his interest, instituted a feast on the

none (that is, no entire tribe) that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only;" for otherwise we find all along that Benjamin (that is, the main body of that tribe) adhered to the house of David in conjunction with the tribe of Judah, 2 Kings xii. 23, and in other places.

* *Prescribed.* All the males of Israel were to appear before the Lord three times a year, in the place which he should choose; which was now at Jerusalem, the metropolis and royal seat of Rehoboam's kingdom.

† Bethel and Dan, in which Jeroboam set up his golden calves, were at the two extremities of his kingdom. During his residence in Egypt, he had learned the idolatrous worship of that country, where *Osiris*, or the sun, was adored under the form of an ox or calf, called *Apis*.

Thus Milton:

"Fanatic Egypt and her priests . . .
 Her wandering gods disguised in brutish forms
 Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape
 The infection, when their borrowed gold composed
 The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
 Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
 Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,
 JEHOVAH, who in one night, when he passed
 From Egypt marching, equalled with one stroke
 Both her first-born and all her bleating gods."—*Par. Lost*, b. 1.

fifteenth * day of the eighth month, at Bethel, where he appeared in person ; and standing by his newly-erected altar, a man † of God, who came from Judah, publicly foretold ‡ that the same altar by which he then stood should one day be destroyed by a child born of the house of David, Josiah by name ; and added, as a proof of the truth of his prediction that it should immediately be split. Jeroboam, incensed at this freedom of speech against his new religion and altar, stretched out his hand over the altar, and ordered his people to seize the prophet ; for which profaneness his hand withered, and the altar split asunder. Jeroboam was instantly sensible of his impiety, and desired the prophet to pray to God to restore him his hand ; which the prophet did, and he recovered the use of that member. Upon this, Jeroboam invited him to dine with him, and offered him a reward ; both which he refused, urging the command of the Lord to the contrary, for he was forbidden to eat or drink in that country, and ordered to return another way. But, though he declined Jeroboam's invitation, yet his easy credulity betrayed him to his ruin ; for an old prophet, being informed by his sons which way he had taken, saddled his ass, and overtaking him, invited him to return, assuring him that he had instructions so to do from God himself ; and notwithstanding the man of God urged the commands of the Lord to the contrary, yet he at last prevailed with him, and went to his house and refreshed himself. After which, taking his leave, he went on his way ; but he soon paid dear for his disobedience, for a lion met him and slew him, and afterwards stood by him, preying § neither upon him nor on his ass. The report of this event was soon carried to the old prophet, who rode to the place, and brought the body back, and buried it in his own sepulchre. ||

Notwithstanding the visible judgment of God upon Jeroboam's hand, the rending of the altar, and the death ¶ of the prophet, yet he obstinately per-

* *Fifteenth.* Whereas God had appointed the feast of tabernacles to begin on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, Lev. xxiii. 34, Jeroboam appointed his on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, probably with this design, that the people of Judah, their own feast being over a month before at Jerusalem, might have an opportunity to attend his also, if their curiosity should incline them.

† *Man, etc.* Josephus, St. Jerome, and others are of opinion that this man of God was Iddo, who wrote the Acts of Solomon, 2 Chron. ix. 29. But this is very unlikely ; for, beside the variation of the name, which they mangle very much to make it like Iddo, the circumstance of time will not allow this prophet time enough to write the Acts of Solomon, by reason of his death so soon after by the lion. Beside, the Iddo who wrote the Acts of Solomon lived at least seventeen years after Solomon ; for it is said, 2 Chron. xiii. 22, that he wrote the Acts of Ahijah, king of Judah.

‡ *Foretold.* This was predicted three hundred and fifty years before it came to pass ; the accomplishment of it is a strong proof of the Divine authority of the true religion in opposition to idolatry. See 2 Kings xxiii. 16.

§ *Preying.* The lion's not eating the body, nor tearing the ass, was an argument that this was not an accidental thing, and that the lion did not kill the man for hunger.

|| *Sepulchre.* The death of the prophet for a single act of disobedience strongly enforces the necessity of paying exact regard to the commands of God, even in the smallest particulars ; and shows, at the same time, how much God is displeased even with the sins of his own people.

¶ *Death.* By the text in 1 Kings xiii. 33, where it is said, "After this thing Jeroboam turned not from his evil ways," it is plain that Jeroboam knew of the calamity that befell the man of God.

sisted in his idolatry. Nor was his rival Rehoboam much behind him in iniquity; for after his three years' good reign he degenerated so basely that he and his people exceeded all that went before them; for they built them high places, images, and groves on every hill and under every tree; and, to add to all their wickedness, the abominable sin of Sodom crept in among them. Such crying transgressions* as these provoked the Lord to chastise them, which he did by Shishak, king of Egypt, who, in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, invaded Judah and Benjamin with a vast army, consisting of twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand horse, and an innumerable company of foot, composed of several nations. Shishak, having ravaged the country, and possessed the fortified towns, approached Jerusalem. Rehoboam and the people were filled with consternation; when the prophet Shemaiah, addressing himself to them in the name of the Lord, declared that this invasion was a judgment of God upon them for their disobedience and apostasy, and that he would deliver them into the hand of the king of Egypt, to make them sensible of the difference between serving the Lord and serving earthly princes. But upon their submission, the prophet, to comfort them, informed them that God had remitted part of their punishment, and would not utterly destroy them, but that they should be tributaries to the king of Egypt. Shishak soon after entered Jerusalem, plundered the temple and palace of all their rich furniture and movables, and carried off all that was valuable of the inhabitants. In this depredation they carried away the golden shields which Solomon had made, in the place of which Rehoboam substituted shields of brass.

While Rehoboam and his people were thus visited for their idolatry, Jeroboam also found his punishment in his sin, for God touched him in the most tender part. Young Abijah, his son, a hopeful prince, falling sick, his father, solicitous to know the event, sends his wife to the prophet Ahijah to consult with him, but ordered her to disguise herself, so that the prophet might not know who she or the child was.† She obeys, and taking a present with her, went to the house of the prophet, who being by God admonished of her coming, was prepared to give her an answer. As soon as she approached Ahijah, he told her that he knew who she was, and the errand she came upon. Then he declared to her the heavy sentence God had denounced against her husband and his family, which should begin with the death of the child, about whom she came to inquire, and terminate in their utter extirpation; and that the idolatry of her husband had brought this judgment upon them all. With this doleful message Jeroboam's wife returned to

* *Transgressions.* The idolatrous worship of Venus, Bacchus, Priapus, etc., was frequently performed in obscure caves and groves, and accompanied with the most vile and filthy practices. It was probably the gratification of the most impure appetites that induced the Israelites at any time to fall in with their idolatrous neighbors. But the religion of the Bible is most holy.

† This application of Jeroboam to a prophet of Jehovah, seems to show how little confidence he had in his idols; and his sending his wife on this errand was, probably, to keep the application a secret from his subjects. Yet, how infatuated must the king be to suppose that the prophet who could foretell future events should be unable to detect the imposition.

Tirzah, which was then the royal city; and the moment she entered the palace, the child expired.

Rehoboam reigned in Judah twelve years after the plundering and subjecting of Jerusalem by Shishak, and died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and fifty-eighth of his age, leaving his beloved son Abiam * his successor, who began his reign in Judah in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam king of Israel. Abiam was an active prince, and of a martial spirit; and resolving to end the long dispute between the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, he raised an army of four hundred thousand men. Jeroboam, whose dominions were of a larger extent, intending to overpower Abiam with numbers, raised an army of eight hundred thousand men, whom Abiam resolves to engage, notwithstanding the great inequality of two to one. Just before the battle, Abiam, in a long oration, † expostulated with the Israelitish army on the injustice of their cause, in revolting from his father Rehoboam. While he was thus engaged, Jeroboam, to obtain a complete and easy victory, surrounded him and his army; which when the men of Judah saw, they addressed themselves in prayer to the Lord for success, and the priests sounding the trumpets, and the soldiers giving a great shout, they charged the Israelites so bravely that they soon obliged them to give way, and in the whole action put five hundred thousand of them to the sword. ‡ Abiam improves his victory and pursues Jeroboam, from whom he took many considerable places of strength, § which so weakened Jeroboam that he was never afterwards able to oppose him. Abiam, by this and other successful achievements, grew very great and powerful; but his reign was short, for he died in less than three years after his accession to the throne.

Abiam is succeeded by his son Asa, a prince of great piety and virtue, who came peaceably to the crown; and reigning in peace for the first ten years, he reformed many abuses of the former reigns, expelling the Sodomites, breaking down idols, destroying the high places, || and demolishing their altars in all the cities of Judah. He then restored the sacred vessels of gold and silver to the temple, and compelled Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and to keep his law. In this time of peace, Asa built many cities,

* *Abiam*. So he is called, 1 Kings xv. 1; but in 2 Chron. xiii. he is called Abijah.

† *Oration*. See 2 Chron. xiii. 5. This is justly considered as a fine piece of eloquence; but it seems to have made no impression on Jeroboam or the people. Truth was not their object, but victory.

‡ *Sword*. This was a remarkable victory, and must be ascribed to the God of Judah, to whom they cried, and in whom they trusted. The text says, "God smote Jeroboam," and "God delivered them into their hand;" and "the children of Judah prevailed because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers," 2 Chron. xiii. 13, etc.

§ *Strength*. Among the conquered cities was Bethel, where one of the golden calves was placed; but we do not find that Abiam destroyed it, as he ought to have done, for "his heart was not perfect with God," nor did he improve his victories for the honor of Jehovah.

|| *Places*. There were two sorts of high places. One was used for idolatrous purposes; these Asa removed. Others, where the true God was worshipped, were deemed venerable on some religious account, and, though unlawful, were winked at by many good kings, who had not courage to encounter the popular opinion in their favor; but Hezekiah afterwards made ■ thorough reformation, and totally removed them.

and fortified others, for the security and strength of his kingdom; but after these ten peaceable years, Zera, king of Ethiopia, threatens Judah with an army of ten hundred thousand men, and a great number of armed chariots. Asa was not unprovided, for he immediately raised five hundred and eighty thousand men to oppose him; but seeing himself so overmatched by the enemy, he applied to the Lord for succor, in an humble confidence, saying, "Lord, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord, our God, for we rely on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee." So acceptable was this short but hearty prayer of king Asa, that he routed the Ethiopians, pursuing them to Gerar; where he gave them a total overthrow, and plundered the country round about Gerar; after which he returned to Jerusalem with the spoil of the enemy.

Upon Asa's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, God, to encourage him to persevere in his duty, sends Azariah, the prophet, to admonish him of the necessity of continuing in his service, and to assure him of his care and protection, so long as he served him, but no longer. Upon which Asa made a thorough reformation, not only demolishing the idols which still remained in Judah and Benjamin, but in the conquered countries; and repairing the altar before the porch of the temple, he summoned not only the natives, but all the strangers that were among them, to join in devotion with him; where they offered of the spoil that they had taken seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep; engaging in a covenant at the same time, that whosoever should forsake the true worship of the Lord should be put to death. This they confirmed by oath, which God accepted, and gave them rest.

While affairs were going on thus successfully in Judah, considerable changes happened among the Israelites: for Jeroboam did not long survive the defeat which Abiam gave him, but died in the first or second year of Asa's reign, leaving his son Nadab, who succeeded him in his kingdom, and, unhappily, in his sins. He had scarcely completed two years of his reign, when he was slain by Baasha at the siege of Gibbethon, a town belonging to the tribe of Dan, but then in possession of the Philistines. Baasha, thus possessed of the throne of Israel, to secure himself therein, determined to extirpate Jeroboam's family, which he soon effected, not leaving one alive, as the prophet Ahijah had foretold to Jeroboam's wife. But though Jeroboam's idolatry was the cause of his ruin, yet Baasha imitates him therein; and to prevent a total defection of his subjects, who from all quarters of Israel revolt to Asa, upon the reformation which he had begun in Judah, he went with an armed force and built Ramah, and fortified it, keeping a powerful garrison in it, to prevent the Israelites from removing to Judah.

Asa having hitherto obeyed the Lord, and effected a thorough reformation in his kingdom, at last makes a false and fatal step; for not thinking himself sufficiently strong to encounter Baasha, instead of applying to God, as he had done in his former distresses, he sacrilegiously takes all the silver and gold that was in the temple and in his own exchequer, and sends it as a present to Benhadad, king of Syria, requesting his assistance against Baasha.

Benhadad, tempted with so rich a present, immediately attacks several cities of Israel with such success that Baasha was obliged to relinquish his new design of fortifying his frontiers towards Judah, to defend other parts of his kingdom; of which Asa taking advantage, marches to Ramah, which he demolishes, and with the materials of it builds two cities in his own dominions, called Geba and Mizpah. But while he was thus employed in securing himself by his own politics, without due regard to the providence of God, which had hitherto supported him, the Lord sent Hanani, the prophet, to him, who reminding him of the many and great deliverances which he had received from the mercy of God, and reproaching him with his diffidence in applying to the king of Syria, instead of God, he informs him that the rest of his reign shall be spent in war. Asa, who had hitherto been attended with a constant series of successes, could not endure this reproof; and, to be revenged of the prophet, he put him in prison.

About the same time, Jehu, the son of this Hanani, the prophet, was sent by the Lord to Baasha, upon the same errand, but with a severer doom. For after having reproached him with the sin of idolatry, and of following the steps of Jeroboam, he told him that the Lord would cut off him and his posterity.*

Baasha † dying in the twenty-sixth year of king Asa, his son Elah succeeded him; who, being an impious and sensual prince, was, in the second year of his reign, assassinated, while he was carousing in his steward's house, by Zimri, captain of part of his cavalry; who usurped the kingdom, and

* *Posterity.* One branch of the threatening denounced against Baasha was, that "God would make his house like the house of Jeroboam," 1 Kings xvi. 3, which was exactly fulfilled; for as Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, reigned but two years, so Elah, the son of Baasha, reigned no more: and, as Nadab was killed by the sword, so was Elah; so remarkable was the similarity between them in their lives and in their deaths. Those who resemble others in their sins may expect to resemble them in their plagues.

† *Baasha.* Here the series of history grows intricate; and the greatest commentators have been unable to reconcile the difficulty. Scaliger follows the series of the kings of Judah, according to the time mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, without any regard to the comparison of it with the reigns of the kings of Israel. It is probable that Baasha did not live long after Jehu the prophet had denounced the judgment against him. He is said to have slept with his fathers, and Elah his son to have succeeded him in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, king of Judah. 1 Kings xvi. 6 and 8. Yet Baasha's expedition against Asa, in order to build Ramah, is said to be in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa. 2 Chron. xvi. 1. Junius and Tremellius, to reconcile this difference, would have that thirty-sixth year to relate, not to Asa's reign, but to the date of the kingdom of Judah, from the division of the kingdom of Israel, at Rehoboam's coming to the crown, and to be but the fourteenth year of the reign of Asa. But that cannot be, since this expedition of Baasha, for the building of Ramah, was some time after Asa had defeated the king of Ethiopia; for the prophet Hanani reproached Asa for forgetting the deliverance God had given him from that king, when he desired help of Benhadad, king of Syria, against Baasha. And yet the defeat of the Ethiopians, or at least the covenant for reformation, which Judah thereupon entered into, is expressly placed in the third month of the fifteenth year of king Asa's reign. So that that thirty-sixth year, in which Baasha is said to go up to build Ramah, (and which seems to have been a good while after the reformation-covenant, made in Asa's fifteenth year,) can by no good computation be made to be the fourteenth year of Asa's reign. In short, the occasion of this difference must proceed from the mistake of some transcriber, which alone can reconcile it, as is the case in many other places.

extirpated Baasha's family, not sparing any of his kindred or friends. At this time the army was encamped before Gibbethon, which was in the possession of the Philistines; and the news of Zimri's conspiracy and Elah's death being brought to the camp, the army proclaimed Omri, their general, king; who raising the siege of Gibbethon, marched directly to Tirzah, the royal city, and there besieged Zimri; who, not able to defend the place, and despairing of succor, retired to the palace, and burnt both it and himself.

Zimri having thus put an end to his short reign, (which lasted but seven days,) the people of Israel were divided, some following Tibni, the son of Ginath, to make him king, and others adhering to Omri,* who in time prevailed, and reigned; but in wickedness he exceeded all his predecessors, making laws to bind the people to imitate him, which were afterwards called Omri's statutes.† There is nothing memorable of him, besides his purchasing the hill Samaria, of Shemer, for two talents of silver, on which he built the city, which from Shemer he called Samaria, and which was afterwards the metropolis of the Israelitish kingdom.

Ahab succeeded his father Omri in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, king of Judah. He reigned twenty-two years over Israel in Samaria, and far exceeded all his predecessors in wickedness. For he not only walked in the sins of Jeroboam, but, to aggravate his crimes, married Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-Baal, king of Zidon, by which he introduced all manner of idolatry among the Israelites; building a temple for Baal in Samaria, and, erecting an altar there, he served Baal and worshipped him, and made a grove for idols.‡ These abominations provoked the Lord to send Elijah,§ the Tishbite, to him, to pronounce a judgment against Israel; telling him that for

* *Omri*. He is said to have begun his reign over Israel in the thirty-first year of Asa, king of Judah, and to have reigned twelve years; and his son Ahab to have succeeded him in the thirty-eighth year of Asa; which must be incorrect, unless Omri's twelve years be computed from Elah's death, and take in the time wherein Tibni and Omri were competitors for the crown, which is supposed to have been four years. This mode of reckoning will come near the point.

† *Statutes*. See Micah vi. 16.

‡ *Idols*. The sacred historian says, "There was none like unto Ahab, who did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord." His zeal for idolatry seems to have been inflamed by his marriage with the daughter of an idolatrous prince. Jezebel herself was a woman of a fierce, abandoned, and persecuting spirit. How careful should young persons be, in forming a connection for life, lest a wife, instead of proving a help in everything virtuous and good, should become a tempter and a seducer! How many have given up their principles to please a husband or a wife!—more concerned for domestic peace than for peace with God.

§ *Elijah*, one of the greatest of all the prophets, is introduced without any previous account of his extraction: he is called the *Tishbite*, from his having been born, or having lived, at *Tishbe*, a town in Gilead. But we have no account of his call to the prophetic office. Hence various conjectures have been formed, but they are not worth notice, and are devoid of all authority. Certain it is, that he was a most extraordinary person, endowed with a bold and undaunted spirit, and well qualified to maintain the honor of Jehovah at a time when every effort was made to establish the worship of idols. He bore a noble testimony against the prevailing sin of the day, and approved himself to his God, but we do not find that his faithful ministry effected any remarkable change in the nation. The pious, however, were doubtless established in their faith, and the rest were left without excuse.

three* successive years there should be neither rain nor dew upon his country. Elijah having delivered his message, retires, by the direction of God, to the brook Cherith, which falls into the Jordan; where he was fed morning and evening with bread and flesh by ravens; but after awhile, the brook drying for want of rain, he received the command of God to remove to the house of a widow woman at Sarepta, a town belonging to the Zidonians: where he was no sooner come than he met the widow at the entrance of the place gathering sticks, of whom he requested a little water, which she readily went to procure; but as she was going, he desired her to bring him also a morsel of bread. The widow replied that she had but a small quantity of flour and a little oil, and was come out of the town to gather some sticks to bake that flour, that she and her son might eat their last meal. Elijah desired her not to fear, but to make him a little cake, and bake it on the embers, and afterwards make for herself and son, assuring her that the flour and oil should not fail till God should send rain upon the earth. The poor woman hesitated not to do as he directed her; and she and her family lived upon this little store many days. During Elijah's stay at this woman's house, her son fell sick and died, whom the prophet miraculously restored to life, which convinced the woman that he was a prophet of the Lord.

The drought continuing, as Elijah had predicted, a dreadful famine ensued. The third year, the Lord commanded Elijah to appear before Ahab, assuring him that he would send rain; whereupon Elijah set forward. At this time Ahab, and his steward Obadiah, (who was a man that feared the Lord, and showed his piety in saving a hundred prophets, whom Jezebel would have murdered,) dividing the land between them, went two several ways to seek for grass, to preserve the mules and horses. Providence so ordered it that Obadiah met Elijah, and knowing him, did him reverence, and with joy said, "Art thou my lord Elijah?" He replied, "I am; now therefore go tell thy lord that Elijah is here." Obadiah, having regard to Elijah's safety, and unwilling to deliver him up to Ahab, who had caused search to be made for him — and besides, being afraid, that when he should have given an account of him, he might remove, and that then, the king being enraged that he could not find the prophet, might put him to death — would have excused himself from going; but when Elijah assured him that he would certainly appear before Ahab that very day, he went and informed him. The king immediately came forth to meet Elijah, when, instead of saluting him, he upbraided him with troubling Israel. Elijah answered, that it was not he who had troubled Israel, but that Ahab and his family had done so; and that they suffered solely on account of having forsaken the Lord to follow Baal. "Now, therefore," says he, "to make it appear who hath troubled Israel, assemble the people at Mount Carmel, and bring thither the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and the four hundred prophets of the groves, whom Jezebel feeds at her table." When they were all assembled, Elijah

* *Three, etc.* That is, three years and six months; for so, both our Saviour in St. Luke iv. 25, and the apostle St. James, v. 17, reckon the time.

proposed to Baal's priests to have two bullocks brought, that they should lay one of them upon wood, without putting any fire under it; and that he would do the same by the other; that they should then call upon their gods, and he would call upon the name of Jehovah; and that the deity who should make it appear that he had heard their prayers, by consuming the sacrifice with fire, should be acknowledged as the true God. To this equitable proposal they readily agreed, and Baal's priests called upon their god till noon, but to no purpose. Then Elijah, filled with a holy indignation, began to mock them, saying, "Cry aloud; for either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked." Their disappointed importunity then urged them to cry aloud, and even to cut* themselves with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out.

Elijah, having allowed them sufficient time, invited the people to draw near him, and taking twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes, he repaired the altar of the Lord, which had been broken down; he then laid the bullock on the wood, and poured water on the sacrifice, the wood, and the altar, three successive times, to prove that there was no collusion by concealing any fire, and to render the expected miracle more conspicuous and incontestable. All things being thus disposed, and the time of offering the evening sacrifice being come, Elijah drew near to the altar, and said, "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, show this day that thou art the God of Israel, that I am thy servant, and that it is by thy command that I have done this thing. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that these people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that their hearts may be converted from their idols unto thee." He had no sooner done speaking than the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed not only the burnt-offering, but the wood and stones, the very dust, and the water in the trench about the altar. The people, seeing this miracle, in admiration and acknowledgment of it, fell on their faces, and owned that the God of Elijah was the true God. Upon this, Elijah directed them to secure the priests of Baal, and ordering them to be brought to the brook Kishon, caused them all to be put to death.

Elijah, having thus convinced the people of the omnipotence of Jehovah, and executed the priests of Baal, advised Ahab to eat and drink without fear of wasting his provisions, assuring him that there was abundance of rain at hand. Then ascending Mount Carmel, he ordered his servant to go and look towards the sea; the servant obeyed, and repeated it seven times; after which he brought him back word that he saw a very little cloud rise out of the sea, like a man's hand. Elisha then ordered him to go to Ahab, and advise him to prepare his chariot, and to hasten home, lest he should be prevented by the rain. Ahab, perceiving the sky overcast, makes the best of his way to Jezreel; and Elijah, having girded his vest about him, ran before Ahab; who immediately related to Jezebel his queen all that Elijah had done, and particularly how he had occasioned the death of the prophets. This so

* *Cut, etc.* This was the ancient custom of the heathen, by which they expressed extreme sorrow, and which God had positively forbidden his people to imitate, Lev. xix. 28, and Deut. xiv. 1.

enraged Jezebel, that she protested by her gods that Elijah should not survive them longer than the next day. On hearing this, he thought proper immediately to withdraw from the dominions of Ahab to Beersheba in Judah, where, leaving his servant, he went two days' journey into the wilderness, and being weary, he sat down at the foot of a juniper-tree, and wishing to die, fell asleep. He had not slept long, when an angel awakened him; bidding him rise and eat. On which, he found a cake of bread and a pot of water; and having eaten and drank, he laid himself down to sleep again; but the angel soon awakened him, and bade him eat once more, as he had a long journey to take. He did so, and went, through the strength of that meat, forty* days and forty nights, to Horeb the Mount of God. There it was the Lord appeared to him, and having, by several emblems of the wind, rending the rocks, the earthquake, and the fire, made him sensible of his power, he dismissed him to go and anoint Hazael king of Syria, Jehu king of Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in his own room; assuring him that he had reserved to himself seven thousand men in Israel, who had never paid adoration to Baal.

Elijah on his way met Elisha at plough; and as he passed by him he threw his mantle† upon him. Elisha, who knew the meaning of this, followed Elijah, and desired that he might take his leave of his parents. But Elijah giving him a short answer, said, "Go, return, knowest thou what I have done unto thee?" Thereupon Elisha, turning back from him in haste, slew two of the oxen and dressed them, and distributing them among the people, took his leave, and followed Elijah.

Affairs proceeding thus in Israel, Asa, king of Judah, having reigned thirty-nine years, was very much disordered both in mind and body. He had discontinued to apply to the Lord, as he used to do in his distress; and being greatly afflicted with a disease in his feet (probably the gout), he still neglected to apply to God, confiding wholly in his physicians; and having languished under the violence of his disorder for about three years, he died, in the forty-first year of his reign, and was buried in his own sepulchre.

Jehoshaphat, being thirty-five years old, succeeded his father, Asa, in the kingdom of Judah, in the fourth year of Ahab, king of Israel. On his accession to the crown, he fortified his frontiers, and God was pleased to bless him, because he walked in the first‡ ways of his father, which so en-

* *Forty.* Not that it was forty days' journey from Beersheba to Mount Horeb, (it being not above four or five days,) but Elisha must, through fear of being apprehended by Jezebel, who had vowed his death, wander out of the way; and so made it forty days before he arrived at Horeb.

† *Mantle.* This was the ceremony by which Elisha was instituted the companion and successor of Elijah. Which ceremony was in use long before, and after, in other cases; as in that of Boaz when he took Ruth, chap. iii. ver. 9, "Spread thy vest or mantle over thy servant;" and in that of Ezekiel xvi. 8, "I spread my skirt over thee."

‡ *First, etc.* In 2 Chron. xvii. 3, we read, "in the first ways of his father David." But it may be questioned whether David be not inserted here, by the fault of transcribers, in the place of Asa; for in 1 Kings xxii. 43, and in 2 Chron. xx. 32, Asa is named, not David; and it is certain Asa's first days were better than his last. But if we read it as here, "in the first ways of his father David," we must understand it of David's ways before he transgressed in the case of Bathsheba and Uriah.

deared him to his people that they brought him presents from all parts of his dominions, by which he became very rich. The first expressions of his zeal for the service of Jehovah were the extirpation of those Sodomites who remained in his father's reign, and the destruction of the idolatrous high places and groves in Judah. In the third year of his reign he sent to several of his princes, requiring them to entertain Levites and priests in the city of Judah; and, in order to establish true religion among them, he commanded them to take the book of the law, and teach the people throughout all Judah. This good work received the favor and approbation of God; and Jehoshaphat became the admiration of his own subjects, and the terror of the neighboring nations; insomuch that the Philistines brought presents of silver to him, and the Arabians flocks, in token of homage. Nor was he less potent in arms than in wealth, for he had a standing army of above eleven hundred thousand men, besides those in garrisons.

While Jehoshaphat was thus wisely ordering the affairs of his kingdom, Benhadad, king of Syria, invades Ahab, king of Israel, with a vast army, and sends an insolent message, demanding an entire surrender of all his treasure, wives, and children. Ahab at first was terrified into submission, which, however, was far from pacifying the arrogant Syrian; who, repeating his insolent demand, with further requisitions, Ahab took courage, and consulting his people, they advised him not to consent. Benhadad, enraged at this, vowed revenge, and immediately attacked the city, thinking to carry it by storm. But God, in compassion to Israel, and provoked by the insults of the haughty Syrian king, sent a prophet to Ahab to assure him of victory. Ahab, aware of the smallness of his own force, (which consisted of little more than seven thousand men,) and doubtful of success against so superior an enemy, asked the prophet by whom he should gain the victory. The prophet replied, "By the young men, servants to the princes of Israel." Ahab then numbered them, and found that they consisted of two hundred and thirty-two men; who, upon the signal given, sallied out of the city at noonday, and surprised the Syrians. Benhadad and the thirty-two princes that assisted him were drinking in their tents as secure of victory; and when the news of the sally was brought to him, he commanded that they should bring them alive before him. But the assailants, followed by the rest of the little army, continued the assault in so determined a manner that the Syrians were completely defeated, their king himself with difficulty escaping on a horse.

Ahab returning to the city laden with the spoils of the enemy, the prophet came and warned him to provide for his defence against the next year; for then, he informed him, the Syrians would return again; which accordingly happened, for the Syrians, to wipe off the disgrace of their being defeated by so small an army of the Israelites, told their king that* the gods of the Israelites were gods of the hills, and that, in consequence of fighting them in the hill country, they were too strong for them. They therefore entreated

* *That, etc.* See 1 Kings xx. 22.

him to permit them to fight in the champaign country, in which case they should not doubt of victory. The king accordingly took their advice; and having raised an army equal in number to that which was defeated the year before, returned to fight the Israelites with full assurance of success.

Ahab, by the advice of the prophet, was prepared to receive the enemy; and upon their appearance on his frontiers, marched out with a resolution to give them battle, the prophet having assured him of success. The two armies having been in full view of each other seven days successively, at length engaged, and Israel, with a force very much inferior to the Syrians, soon routed them, killing upon the spot a hundred thousand men; the rest, flying to Aphek, threw themselves into that city, where, instead of safety, twenty-seven thousand of them met their fate, being crushed to death by the falling down of the wall upon them. Benhadad, among others, fled to Aphek and hid himself; but his servants seeing no security in that place from their victorious enemy, persuaded him to let them throw themselves at the feet of the king of Israel; for, said they, the kings of Israel are merciful princes. Benhadad consents; and putting on sackcloth, and ropes about their necks, they went and presented themselves before Ahab in that suppliant posture, and begged mercy for their king and themselves. Ahab, overjoyed at this sight, melts into tenderness, (which afterwards cost him very dear,) and kindly inquiring after Benhadad's welfare, calls him his *brother*. The soldiers readily catch hold of this kind expression, and repeat it, saying, "Thy brother Benhadad." Upon which, Ahab bade them conduct their master to him. Benhadad, thus unexpectedly preserved, appears before Ahab, who very affectionately receives him, and takes him into his chariot with him, where Benhadad, overjoyed, promises to restore all the places which he or his father had taken from Ahab and his predecessors. Ahab, approving these conditions, made a league with him, and set him at liberty.

Having made no better use of the advantage which he had obtained over the king of Syria, he receives a severe check from God, who sent a prophet to him with this message: "Since thou hast suffered the man to escape whom I appointed to utter destruction, thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people." Ahab, instead of humbling himself at the pronouncement of this heavy sentence, or showing any penitent sorrow for his fault, retired to his palace sullen and displeased; and soon after adds to his former guilt by casting a covetous eye on the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which was situated contiguous to his own garden; for which he offered Naboth any other piece of land as an equivalent for it, or the value of it in money. Naboth had no reason to refuse so fair a proposal, had it not been for the express command of the law,* of which Naboth was a conscientious professor, which forbade the children of Israel to sell their inheritances, and which Naboth pleaded as an excuse to Ahab. This disappointment, though a trifle in itself to so great a prince, so affected Ahab, that in a sudden fit of vexa-

* *Law.* See Levit. xxv. 23, and Num. xxxvi. 7, etc.

tion, he took to his bed, and refused his food. Jezebel, his wife, understanding the cause of his disquiet, reproaches him with pusillanimity, that he who was a king would not exert his royal power to gratify himself. Then to relieve him, she exhorted him to be cheerful, for she had invented an expedient to put him in possession of the vineyard. The queen was not tardy in the execution of her wicked purpose; for writing letters in the king's name, and sealing them with the royal signet, she sent them to the elders of Jezreel, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to procure two false witnesses to depose that Naboth had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him to death. This was accordingly executed; and that there might be none to lay claim to Naboth's inheritance, they stoned his sons* also. Upon this Ahab takes possession of Naboth's vineyard, which he had no sooner done than Elijah the prophet came to him by the express command of God, with this awful declaration, that, since he had in so wicked a manner killed Naboth, and seized his vineyard, in the same place where dogs had licked Naboth's blood should dogs lick the blood of Ahab; and that he and his race should utterly perish.

Ahab, terrified with this dreadful but just doom, rent his clothes, and putting on sackcloth, humbled himself before the Lord; who, in respect to his repentance, told Elijah that the evils he had threatened to Ahab's house should not happen during his reign, but in that of his son. And that Jezebel, the wicked contriver of this mischief, might not go unpunished, the prophet pronounced her sentence, which was, that dogs should eat her by the wall of Jezreel.

Ahab's humiliation might probably prove an inducement to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to make a league with him; which was soon after strengthened by an alliance between the two families, for Jehoshaphat married † his son and heir to Ahab's daughter. This unhappy league and alliance soon after occasioned an interview between the two kings, Jehoshaphat going to Samaria to visit Ahab, who entertains him and his friends in a splendid manner; and, improving this opportunity to the best advantage, he invites Jehoshaphat to go with him to the siege of Ramoth-Gilead, then in possession of the Syrians. Jehoshaphat unwarily consents, and promises to assist him; but recollecting himself, he would not undertake anything in this affair without the approbation of the Lord. Ahab thereupon assembled his prophets (prophets of the groves) and put the question to them: who unanimously answered, "Go up, for the Lord will deliver the place into thy hands." Jehoshaphat, not satisfied with the report of the false prophets, asked Ahab if there were not a prophet of Jehovah at hand, of whom they might inquire. Ahab told him there was one, but that he never prophesied good of him. But Jehoshaphat desiring to have him produced, Ahab, unwilling to disoblige him, sent for the prophet Micaiah; who, charging Ahab's prophets with falsehood, foretold that the enterprise would be fatal to Israel, and advised the two kings to desist. Ahab, refusing to give credit to Micaiah's words, ordered

* *Sons.* See 2 Kings ix. 26.

† *Married.* See 2 Chron. xxi. 6, and 2 Kings viii. 18.

him to be secured in prison to his return; and being resolved to give the Syrians battle, he marches towards them. Though Jehoshaphat had heard all that had passed, and could not but know Micaiah to be a true prophet, yet having engaged himself with Ahab, he accompanied him to Ramoth-Gilead. And now being in sight of the enemy, Ahab began to cool, and recollecting Micaiah's prophecy, he thought to frustrate it by a project of his own; for disguising himself, he fought in his chariot like one of his captains, but he advised Jehoshaphat to fight in his robes. The king of Syria had commanded his officers to make all their efforts against the king of Israel, who being disguised, the Syrian officers not knowing him, took Jehoshaphat for him, and pressed him very hard; but perceiving it was not Ahab, they left him. Jehoshaphat escaped at this time; but Ahab's political expedient did him no service, for he was mortally wounded by a random arrow: notwithstanding which, the action growing hotter, he was held up in his chariot to encourage his soldiers; but about sunset he died, and the retreat was sounded. The body of Ahab was then conveyed to Samaria, and buried there: but that the prophecy of Elijah might not go unfulfilled, his chariot being stained by the blood which flowed from his wound, it was washed in the pool of Samaria, where the dogs licked up his blood, as had been foretold by the prophet.

As for Jehoshaphat, though he escaped without hurt in the battle, yet the Lord was displeased with him, and sent the prophet Jehu to meet him upon his return to Jerusalem, with directions to chide him for assisting the enemies of the Lord; but, lest he should be too much dejected, he was nevertheless assured that God had graciously accepted him, highly approving his removal of the idolatrous groves, and because he had prepared his heart to serve him. This gentle reproof had so good an effect upon the pious Jehoshaphat, that he purged his kingdom throughout, himself going in person from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim, to bring the people back to the worship of the Lord. After this, he settled the legislature of his kingdom, and reducing all matters, public and private, under an exact economy, he assured his people that if they did their duty, the Lord would be with them, which was soon found to be experimentally true; for the Moabites and Ammonites, with their confederates, came with a vast army and invaded Judah, which greatly alarmed Jehoshaphat. This pious prince, however, immediately applies himself to God, and proclaiming a fast, the people were assembled from all the cities of Judah to Jerusalem, to ask help. Then Jehoshaphat, in the name of all the people, addressed himself in prayer* to the Lord, standing before the congregation in the temple. To whom God was pleased, by his servant Jehaziel, the Levite, to give a gracious answer, and assure them of success the next day. Upon which, the whole congregation having worshipped the Lord, and the Levites having praised him with a loud voice, they marched out early in the morning to the wilderness of Tekoa; where, making a halt, Jehoshaphat, in a short, but pathetic speech, exhorts them to the service of

* Prayer. See 2 Chron. xx. 6.

the Lord, assuring them that, if they would believe him and his prophets, they should prosper. The king then appointed singers, who were to march at the head of the army, and to sing: "Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever." This chorus was to be the signal; for as they began to sing, it pleased the Lord so to confound and infatuate the ambuscades of the enemy, that they fell upon one another through mistake; the Ammonites, Moabites, and the people of Mount Seir, killing and destroying those that opposed them, and afterwards themselves; so that there was a victory gained without the people of Judah drawing a sword; for when Jehoshaphat came with his army where the enemy lay, he found nothing but dead bodies; and the spoil was so great, that it was more than they could carry off. Three days they were in gathering it, and on the fourth, meeting in the valley, they gave thanks to God for this deliverance; from which, the place was called *Berachah*, or "the Valley of Blessing."

Jehoshaphat enters Jerusalem in triumph with his victorious troops, and is received with the utmost expressions of joy by his people, who see the hand of God apparent in this defeat of their enemies; which, indeed, being so manifest, struck terror into the neighboring nations, insomuch that Jehoshaphat enjoyed an uninterrupted peace all the rest of his reign.

On the decease of king Ahab, his son Ahaziah ascended the throne. With his father's kingdom he inherited all his vices: yet, with this wicked prince, good Jehoshaphat was drawn into confederacy; they agreeing to fit out a fleet at their joint expense, to fetch gold from Ophir.* But God not approving of this enterprise, it came to nothing; for the ships were lost in the harbor. Ahaziah, in the second year of his reign, received a hurt by a fall through a lattice† in his upper room; upon which he sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether he should recover, or not. This so provoked the Lord, that he sent Elijah to meet the messengers, who

* *Ophir*. A variety of conjectures have been formed as to this place. It appears, from consulting the different texts which mention Ophir, that the same ships which went to Tarshish, went also to Ophir, and that these sailed from Ezion-Geber, a port of the Red Sea; that the voyage required three years, and that the fleet returned with gold, ivory, etc.

Josephus says that Ophir is in the Indies. It is thought he meant Chersonesus Aurea, now called Malacca. Others say Pegu is the ancient Ophir, and that its inhabitants are descended from the Jews, whom Solomon sent to work in the mines of that country.

Columbus thought he had discovered it in Hispaniola. Some place it in Peru; others in Africa; and others in Spain.

Grotius thinks that Solomon's fleet did not proceed to India, but only to Apher, a port of Arabia, to which the Indians brought their commodities.

Mr. Bruce was of opinion that Ophir was on the eastern coast of Africa, called by the Arabians Zanguebar, and that Solomon's fleet went out of the Red Sea, and from the harbor of Ezion-Geber entered the Mediterranean Sea by a canal of communication, doubled the cape of Guardafui, and coasted along Africa to Sophala, the country of which Ophir is a part. See *Calmet's Dictionary* — art. *Ophir*.

† *Lattice*. That is, through the latticed or chequered window of the battlement: for in Palestine the upper chamber was the roof of the house, where they used to walk, sup, and sleep. And this being built round with a battlement, as the law required, Deut. xxii. 8, to prevent any one's falling, it is probable that this chequered window gave way, and Ahaziah fell through it.

said to them, "Is there no God in Israel, that you go to consult Baal-zebul,* the god of Ekron? Tell your master, the Lord saith he shall not recover of this distemper, but shall surely die." The messengers went no further, but returned with that account to Ahaziah, who, by the description of the man they met, concluded that it must be the prophet Elijah. Upon which he dispatches a captain with fifty men to fetch him. The captain approaching him as he sat on the top of a hill, said to him, "Man of God, come down." To whom Elijah answered, "If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and destroy thee and thy fifty men." Immediately fire fell from heaven, and consumed the captain and his men. The same happened to another captain and fifty men; but the third captain, dreading the fate of his predecessors, came trembling over their ashes, and paying a most profound respect to the prophet, begged his life and that of his soldiers. While the captain was thus interceding for himself and his people, the Lord hinted to Elijah to go with the captain to Ahaziah, and fear nothing. Elijah obeyed, and delivered to him this message: "Thus saith the Lord, since thou hast sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebul, as if there were no God in Israel, thou shalt not come down from off that bed on which thou liest, but shalt surely die." This event soon took place, for he died in the beginning of the second year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Jehoram.

And now the time being at hand when Elijah was to be translated to heaven, he went to Gilgal, taking Elisha, who was to be his successor in the prophetic office, with him. From thence they went to Bethel, from Bethel to Jericho,† and from Jericho to Jordan. In the first two places Elijah would have left Elisha behind him; but he would not be shaken‡ off. When they were come to the river's side, Elijah with his mantle divided the waters, so that they both passed over on dry ground. Elijah then asked Elisha what he should do for him before he parted from him. Elisha entreated a double§ portion of the Spirit to be dispensed on him. Elijah told him that he asked a difficult thing; but yet it should be granted him, provided he could see him || when he should be taken from him, otherwise not.

* *Baal-zebul*. He is called the god of flies, because he was wont to be invoked by the people of Ekron to drive away the flies, with which that country was much infested, being very hot and moist, and near the sea.

† *Jericho*. This city was rebuilt by Hiel the Bethlehite, who, according to the word of the Lord, which above five hundred years before he spake by Joshua the son of Nun, Joshua vi. 26, laid the foundation of it in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his younger son Segub, 1 Kings xvi. 34.

‡ *Shaken, etc.* The total silence of any business which Elijah had at Bethel and Jericho, may lead to a conjecture that Elijah, knowing that Elisha was to be his successor, took these journeys to try his zeal, faith, and constancy. But it is possible that Elijah made this circuit to the schools of the prophets to give them his last advice.

§ *Double*. Elisha is here thought to have alluded to the law for inheritances among the Jews, Deut. xxi. 17, by which he, who in right of primogeniture, succeeded to the father in the government of the family, enjoyed a double part or portion of the goods, or estate. And therefore, since God had been pleased to adopt him to be Elijah's successor in the prophetic ministry, he entreated the privilege of primogeniture, a double portion of that spirit with which Elijah had been endued.

|| *See him*. Implying that there must be a spiritual vigilance in him who expects to receive a spiritual blessing.

While they were thus talking, there appeared a chariot of fire and fiery horses, which parting them asunder, Elijah was carried up to heaven in a whirlwind.* Elisha, to let Elijah know that he saw this, and to express his concern at the loss of so great a public blessing, cried after him, "My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" — thus lamenting the removal of the guide of his youth, and the guard of the national welfare. After which, rending his clothes to express his sorrow, he took up Elijah's mantle, which fell from him as he ascended, and with it dividing the waters of the Jordan, as Elijah had done before, he passed over.

Elisha was soon recognized as Elijah's successor by the sons of the prophets, who said one to another upon the miracle of dividing the water, "The spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha." And when they came near him, they paid him the same respect which they had done to Elijah. After this he went to Jericho, where the inhabitants complaining that their water was unwholesome and their land barren, he remedied both. Going from hence to Bethel, a company of youths, scoffing at and mocking his venerable head, cried, "Go up, thou bald-head! Go up, thou bald-head!" † The prophet resenting this indignity offered to his character, cursed them in the name of the Lord, upon which, two bears rushed out of the wood upon them, and killed ‡ two-and-forty of them. From hence Elisha went by the way of Mount Carmel to Samaria, where God soon gave him an opportunity of exerting his prophetic office in a miraculous manner.

Jeroboam being advanced to the throne of Israel by the death of his brother Ahaziah, was not altogether so wicked as his father and brother; for he removed the idols of Baal, but continued to imitate the impieties § of

* *Whirlwind.* Thus was Elijah, like Enoch in the antediluvian world, "translated that he should not see death," and in the presence of many witnesses. This was indeed a singular honor, designed, doubtless, to testify the approbation of that good man, who had been generally despised and insulted, and "of whom the world was not worthy."

Hereby, also, the Lord gave a strong confirmation of the doctrines Elijah had taught, a decided proof of a future state, and an encouragement to the few godly persons who were left in the land, to persevere in righteousness, however persecuted for it. — *Robinson's Scripture Characters*, vol. 2.

† *Bald-head.* This was not only a reproach on account of the prophet's baldness, but a profane allusion to the ascension of his predecessor, Elijah, in a fiery chariot to heaven. "Ascend," said they, "ascend," as he did. This showed how little effect the miraculous removal of that great prophet had upon the people.

‡ *Killed.* It is not to be supposed that so severe a judgment had been inflicted upon these youths, had their mocking proceeded only from childish folly. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the prophet was sensible that they had been encouraged by their idolatrous parents, or others of that place, (for Bethel had been, and, for aught that appears, was then the chief seat of idolatry in Israel, where Jeroboam had set up one of his calves, 1 Kings xii. 28, 29,) to deride and mock him as a prophet of the Lord, who was zealous against their idolatry; and the indignity offered to him in his prophetic capacity reflecting on the Lord, who sent him, was therefore the more exemplarily punished, that others might fear and learn to beware.

§ *Impieties.* In worshipping the golden calves set up by Jeroboam, and compelling the people to do the same; lest, if the people should go up to Jerusalem to worship the true God in the temple there, they should revolt to the king of Judah. This was Jeroboam's false and wicked policy, and continued by his successors, till at last, for their blindness and obstinacy, they were all cut off.

Jeroboam. However, he began his reign with a just war upon the Moabites; the occasion of which was this: the Moabites, from the time that David conquered* them, had continued tributaries to Israel till Ahab's death: upon which they refused to pay their tribute † to his son Ahaziah, who, having but a short and sickly reign, had not reduced them. Jehoram makes demand of the tribute of Mesha, king of Moab, who refusing to comply with the ancient contract, Jehoram resolves to compel him by force; and raising an army, he sends to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to assist him in the recovery of his right. Jehoshaphat readily consents, and with their joint forces they marched through the wilderness of Edom, and took the king ‡ of Edom with them. These three kings, taking a circuitous route, in order to come upon the rear of the enemy, and surprise them, it occupied seven days; during which, they being in a scorching desert, water grew extremely scarce, and they were all ready to perish. Jehoram, indeed, concluded they must all die with thirst, or fall into the enemy's hands; but the piety of Jehoshaphat found out a remedy to prevent both; for taking the two kings with him, he went to the prophet Elisha, who was angry at the sight of Jehoram, and reproached him with the idolatry of his parents; but for the sake of Jehoshaphat, the Lord gave them instructions § to procure water, and at the same time promised them victory over the Moabites. The next morning water came on a sudden by the way of Edom; and the Moabites, who, on the invasion of the three kings had collected all their forces to oppose them, seeing the water like blood, (for so God had ordered it,) in a place where they knew there never used to be any water, and concluding that the three kings had quarrelled, and that their armies had engaged, began to plunder their camp; but were so warmly received by the Israelites, that they not only killed many on the spot, but pursued them to their own country, destroyed their fortified places, filled up their wells, and ravaged wherever they came. The king of Moab fled to his capital, Kirharaseh, where the confederate armies besieged him, and employed all their engines against the city, but could not demolish the wall. However, the king of Moab, hopeless of maintaining the place against so great a force, choosing seven hundred brave men, made a desperate sally, intending to break through the king of Edom's quarters; but being repulsed, he was obliged to retreat into the city; where, in an act of despair, and resolution to dispute it to the last, he sacrificed his eldest || son upon the wall of the city, in full view of the Israelitish

* *Conquered.* See 2 Sam. viii. 2.

† *Tribute.* This was an hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams, with the wool, 2 Kings iii. 4.

‡ *King.* Though he is called a king here, 2 Kings iii. 9, he was indeed but a viceroy to Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings xxii. 47, for Edom had been tributary to Judah ever since David subdued them, 2 Sam. viii. 14, and for some time after this continued so.

§ *Instructions.* See 2 Kings iii. 16.

|| *Elders.* Some think, (particularly Tremellius, and Junius, in the Annotations on Amos i. 16, in the English ii. 1,) that it was not his own son that the king of Moab thus sacrificed, but the son and heir of the king of Edom, whom he had taken in the late sally. But, had it been so, the cruelty of the action would have enraged the confederate kings to have pressed the siege with redoubled fury, and not to have desisted as they did. It is therefore more

army, who being struck with horror at so desperate an action, raised the siege, and returned to their own country.

Elisha, having left the three kings, returned to Samaria, where a certain widow, relict of one of the sons of the prophets, complained to him that her husband had left her poor, and that having nothing to satisfy his debts, the creditors came to take her two sons, and make slaves* of them. Elisha asked her whether she had anything left in her house. She answered, Only a little oil. Elisha ordered her to borrow what empty vessels she could of her neighbors, and take them home with her; then, to shut herself up with her two sons, and from her little but multiplied store, to pour into the vessels till they were all full. The widow obeyed, and the oil increased till she had filled all the vessels. Then, with tears of joy, returning to her benefactor, she relates the success; who advised her to sell as many as would discharge her debts, and maintain herself and her family with the rest.

This miracle was succeeded by another. Elisha being hospitably entertained at the house of a wealthy Shunamite, and pleased with the kind treatment and accommodations he received from his civil host, sent his servant Gehazi to the Shunamite's wife, to acquaint her that he would gladly make her grateful amends for her civility, and if she had any request to the king or the general, he would present it for her. She told Gehazi, that she lived amicably with her neighbors, and had no occasion to complain, or seek redress for anything. Gehazi delivered her reply to his master, who asked him what he thought he could do for her. Gehazi replied, "She hath no child, and her husband is old." Then, sending for her, he said, "About this season, according to the course of life, thou shalt have a son." She at first distrusted the prophet; but soon after she found herself pregnant. When the child was grown up, so that he could run about, he was taken sick in the field, while he was with his father among the reapers; and being carried home by a servant, he expired in his mother's arms.

The afflicted parent, thus bereft of her only child, carried him up to the chamber where Elisha used to lodge, and laid him upon the bed; then with impatient haste and grief she hurries away to Carmel, where the prophet then resided. Her interview with him, and the effects which it produced, are

probable that it was his own son, and that his burning the bones of the king of Edom into lime, mentioned in Amos, related to some other fact and time.

Some think that the language of this shocking ceremony was—"See to what a desperate strait you have reduced me—you see the whole process: the child brought out—the wood—the fire—the knife—why will you force me to the slaughter? Do you proceed? Let his embittered spirit haunt you, terrify you, blast you even to death!"

By this dreadful act, both the king of Moab and the inhabitants of the city would be more bitterly enraged against Israel than ever, and be more inflexibly determined to persist in the contest. This being perceived by the besiegers, might be the reason of their raising the siege and departing home.

* *Slaves.* The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and other ancient nations exercised, and thought they had a right to exercise, the most uncontrolled authority over their children. The Jews might sell their children for seven years, in order to pay their debts, and their creditors might compel them to do so. The prophet does not reprove the creditor nor the mother in this case, but puts her in a method to discharge the debt.

beautifully described in the Sacred Text: "And it came to pass, when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to Gehazi, Behold, yonder is that Shunamite: run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, Is it well with thee? Is it well with thy husband? Is it well with the child? And she answered and said: It is well. And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught him by the feet: but Gehazi came near to thrust her away. And the man of God said, Let her alone, for her soul is vexed within her; and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me. Then she said, Did I desire a son of my Lord? Did I not say, Do not deceive me? Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child. And the mother of the child said, As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her. And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child, but there was neither voice nor hearing: wherefore he went again to meet him, and told him saying, The child is not awaked. And when Elisha was come into the house, behold, the child was dead, and lay upon his bed. He went in, therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the Lord. And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands, and he stretched himself upon the child, and the flesh of the child waxed warm. Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro and went up, and stretched himself upon him; and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes. And he called Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunamite. So he called her: and when she was come in unto him, he said, Take up thy son. Then she went in, and fell at his feet, and bowed herself to the ground, and took up her son, and went out."

After this miracle, Elisha departed to Gilgal, where, at that time, there happened to be a great dearth. He ordered his servant to prepare some pottage for his disciples, who were many in number; and one going into the field, through mistake, instead of wholesome herbs, gathered his lapful of a poisonous plant, called *Colloquintida*;* and shredding them into the pot, they no sooner tasted of the pottage, than they exclaimed to Elisha that it was poison. The prophet calls for some meal to put into the pot; upon which the pottage became wholesome and palatable, and they did all eat without any harm. During his stay here in the college of the prophets, Elisha miraculously fed an hundred men with twenty loaves of barley, and had some to spare.

These miracles encouraged the young prophets to address themselves to Elisha to have their habitation enlarged, which they complained was too scanty for them; and therefore they desired leave of him that they might go to Jordan to fetch timber, and that he would accompany them. He went with them; and as they were felling trees, one of them dropped his axe into

* *Colloquintida* or *Colocynthis*, the *Bitter Apple* or *Wild Gourd*. Some have called it *The gall of the whole earth*. It is now used, in small quantities, as a purge; but used largely for food, must have been very prejudicial, if not fatal.

the river, and acquainting Elisha with the loss, and showing him where it had fallen in, the axe floated upon the water, and the man took it up.

Elisha returning to Samaria, a fresh opportunity was presented of showing the miraculous power with which God had invested him; for Naaman, the king of Syria's general, a man famous for exploits in war, and in great esteem with his master, being leprous, was advised by his friends to obtain letters of recommendation from the king of Syria to the king of Israel, to procure a remedy from the prophet Elisha. His master consents; and the general, taking a noble present with him, sets forward for Samaria; and having delivered the letter to the king of Israel, the king suspecting it to be a design to quarrel with him, cried out, "Am I a god, to kill and make alive, that this man doth send to me to recover a man of his leprosy?" News of this soon reached Elisha's ear, who sent this message to the king: "Let the leper come to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel."

The king, referring Naaman to the prophet, with all his stately equipage he went to Elisha's house, who, without ceremony, sends his servant to him, commanding him to go and wash himself seven times in the Jordan, and his flesh should come again. The haughty Syrian, who expected great formalities from the prophet, and that by some personal act he would have performed the cure, began to storm at this contempt, and went away in a rage; but upon better advice he obeyed the prophet's direction, and having dipped himself in the Jordan seven times, his flesh came again like that of a young child. Then returning to Elisha, he acknowledged there was no god in all the earth but the God of Israel, and importunately pressed Elisha to receive a present from him, which the prophet refused.

Naaman, in a grateful sense of the benefit he had received, protested he would never offer sacrifice to any but the God of Israel; and begged two mules' burden of earth* to carry home with him; and to deprecate any offence that might arise from his waiting on the king his master, when he went to worship in the temple of Rimmon, the god of the Syrians, he, addressing himself to the prophet, said, "The Lord † pardon thy servant,

* *Earth.* With which, it is supposed, he intended to build an altar; zealously, but ignorantly, thinking either that there was some inherent sanctity in the earth of that country, or that the God of Israel would not be sacrificed to upon any other earth than the earth of Israel, or that the prophet who performed the cure could put some miraculous virtue into the earth. Such superstitious ideas are not to be wondered at in a heathen.

† *The Lord.* Various are the opinions of interpreters on this text, 2 Kings v. 18, some imputing hypocrisy to Naaman in this act, others excusing him. It is most certain that all adoration of idols was forbidden to the Israelites, without any exception or reservation; but strangers were not under that obligation. Some, from Elisha's answer, very inadvertently infer an allowance or connivance at this idolatrous adoration of Naaman's, by saying, "Go in peace," (which was no more than a valediction among the Israelites.) Others, varying the version, read, "When my master went," etc., for "When my master goeth," etc., and make the sense of the words to entreat pardon for a sinful practice in times past, not a license to continue in it for the time to come. Others again, not allowing any to halt between two opinions, are inquisitive to know why Elisha did not admonish Naaman of this sin, which he acknowledged. To which, take the answer of Peter Martyr, and others: 1. Naaman was but in the infancy of his conversion, and it might have been inexpedient, if not dangerous, to extinguish the smoking flax of his good disposition towards the true worship; for admoni-

that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon, and he leaning on my hand, I bow myself in the house of Rimmon,* the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing." To this the prophet gave him no other answer than "Go in peace."

Elisha having thus dismissed the Syrian general, Gehazi thinking it unreasonable that such a potent and wealthy person should depart without paying anything for so great a benefit, resolves to get something for himself, though his master Elisha had refused the presents; therefore, secretly, as he thought, he followed Naaman, and soon overtook him; who, knowing him to be the prophet's servant, out of respect to his master, alighted from his chariot, and demanded his business. Gehazi, forging a message in his master's name, desired a talent of silver, and two changes of garments, for two sons of the prophets, that were just come to visit him. Naaman, glad of an opportunity of obliging the prophet Elisha, pressed Gehazi to take two talents of silver besides the garments, and sent them with him by two of his servants, whom Gehazi dismissed before they came to the house, and then hid the money and the garments. But his master, by inspiration, knowing where he had been, and what he had done, taxes him with it, and reproaches him with falsehood; and then, for his punishment, told him, that Naaman's leprosy should continue upon him and his posterity. Gehazi was immediately struck with it, and withdrew from his master's presence a leper as white as snow.†

About this time war was declared between the kings of Syria and Israel; and the king of Syria consulting with his officers where to lay an ambuscade for the king of Israel, and having pitched upon the place, Elisha gave notice of it to the king of Israel, who sent a sufficient force to secure it. The king of Syria suspecting himself to be betrayed by his officers, taxed them with it; but one ‡ of them assured him that it could be no person but Elisha the prophet, who was endued with power to discover even the secrets that were spoken in the king's bed-chamber. The king of Syria then inquired where he might

tions ought to be tined to the weak. 2. The prophet had no need of reprovng Naaman, because he was conscios of his sin; wherefore he did not so much want to be instructed as to be cherished and strengthened by the help of God.

* *Rimmon.* An idol of which we read nothing in any other place. Some think it is a name of the *sun*, others of *Saturn*. It is not likely that Naaman requested leave to worship this idol, after the declaration he had made; but he begged permission still to attend his master when he adored it; and mentions this, lest he should be thought to partake in the guilt of idolatry, by being present.

† *Snow.* The crime of Gehazi was exceedingly aggravated, for it included — a profanation of God's name; a downright theft; deliberate and impudent lying; a desperate contempt of God's omniscience, justice, and holiness; a horrible reproach cast on the prophet; and a pernicious scandal given to Naaman and every other Syrian who might hear of it. — *Poole's Annot.*

How true is it that "the love of money is the root of all evil," and that "they who *will be rich* fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

‡ *One, etc.* Probably one that had been at Samaria with Naaman, and who might there, by the miracle he saw wrought on the general, get further knowledge of the power of Elisha in other things.

be found; and having learned that he was at Dothan, a small city near Samaria, he sent a party of horse and foot to seize him. Elisha, having notice of their approach by his servant, who in great alarm came and informed him of the circumstance, bid him not fear, for he had a better army to defend him than those that came to attack him; then praying to the Lord, the young man's eyes were opened, and he saw the mountains covered with horses and chariots of fire* about his master.

The Syrians coming near to seize Elisha, he prayed again, and the Lord struck them with blindness. Elisha then telling them they were out of the way, said if they would follow him, he would show them the man they looked for; upon which he led them into the midst of Samaria. The king of Israel having so great a part of the enemy in his power, would have put them to the sword; but Elisha would not permit it, advising him to treat them kindly, and give them liberty, which he did. This Elisha did to create a good opinion in the king of Syria for the generous usage of his subjects, when they were at the mercy of the Israelites.

This generosity, however, did not long ensure peace; for shortly, Benhadad, king of Syria, having collected a vast army, laid close siege to Samaria, and reduced the city to such extreme distress by famine, that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver,† and three‡ quarters of a pint of pulse§ for five. These sorts of provisions were above the reach of the poor,

* *Fire.* Though there was probably something miraculous in the defence of Elisha, yet it is a truth applicable to all who truly fear and serve God—"that the angels of the Lord encamp round about them," and are "ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation." God's people have a Divine protector, and while they are engaged in the path of duty, each of them may say with David in the midst of apparent danger, "I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people who have set themselves against me round about;" for, "if God be for us, who can be against us?"

† *Silver.* Reckoning these pieces of silver, or shekels, at fifteen pence a piece, they came to five pounds sterling.

‡ *Three, etc.* This was the least measure for dry things, and was called cab, mentioned only in 2 Kings vi. 25.

§ *Pulse.* All translators have been manifestly mistaken in rendering the Hebrew word *chirjonim* or *dibjonim* by that of *dove's dung*, 2 Kings vi. 25, and interpreters have invented several ridiculous conjectures to explain how the famine could have been so great, that the inhabitants should be obliged to buy so small a measure of it at so great a price. Some think they were forced to make use of it for food, though there is not the least nourishment in dove's dung. There are others who are of opinion that it served them to dung and fatten the fields and gardens of Samaria, to provide against the famine the year following. But how can it be thought that there could be many fields within that city, or that those who had some grain remaining to live upon could think of sowing it in such a scarcity? The Talmudists have pretended to avoid all these difficulties by translating the term of the original by *crop of doves*, and have affirmed that they kept many doves at Samaria to bring them provisions from the country, by disgorging the grain which they had picked up, and which their masters sold at a dear rate. But who can imagine that so great a number of doves, as was necessary for such a purpose, could have been suffered to live in a city so pinched with famine? Or that the doves should have been so docile as to bring to their masters what they had ranged for? Or indeed that they could have found nourishment in a country which was in a manner covered with the enemy, who had altogether laid it waste? Junius and others think they have found a remedy for all these inconveniences, by translating the Hebrew word by that of the belly or entrails of doves: but their proofs are so solidly refuted by Bochart, that every reasonable person must be of his mind. He observes that the Ara-

who were driven to the utmost extremity, insomuch that mothers* were compelled to eat their own children; which the king hearing, it affected him so much, that he rent his clothes, and in a vehement rage, swore to take off the head of Elisha, whom he considered as the cause of this calamity. Elisha had notice of the king's design against his life by divine revelation, and told the company where he was, that a messenger was coming to dispatch him, and that the king was at his heels. While Elisha was telling his friends that this calamity was not accidental, but a judgment from God for their sins, the king came in, and hearing him say so, replied, "If this evil be from the Lord, why should I wait for him any longer?" Elisha, unable any longer to contain himself, cried out, "Hear the word of the Lord: thus saith the Lord, To-morrow at this time shall a measure† of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for the same price." A certain lord who waited on the king hearing this, and considering the present scarcity, imagined it an impossibility, and said in derision, "If it should rain corn, could this thing be done?" This incredulity and contempt provoked the prophet to give him this short answer, "Thou shalt live to see this, but shalt not eat thereof." This impossibility (as it appeared to them) was soon developed by the secret and invisible power of God, who in a miraculous manner verified what he had spoken by his prophet.

At this time there were four lepers who sat at the entrance of the city, being by the law‡ forbidden to be in the city, lest they should infect others. These poor creatures, concerting what measures to take in this miserable condition, concluded that if they went into the city they must there starve, and if they continued without the gate they could expect no other fate, resolved to try the generosity of the enemy; concluding that at the worst they could but die. This they put in execution before it was day, expecting to be seized by some of the out-guards; but meeting with no man, they went on to the camp, where to their great amazement they found no living creature but the horses and asses, all the soldiers having fled: for God had so disposed it in the night, that the Syrians fancying they heard a noise of chariots and horses, concluded the king of Israel had called in to his assistance the Hittites and Egyptians, and were coming to surprise them. This apprehension filled them

bians give the name of *dove's dung*, or *sparrow's dung*, to two several things: the first is a kind of moss that grows on trees or stony ground, which resembles a sort of pease, to which those of Racea, upon the river Euphrates, give this name. They also give the name of *cicer*, *chick-pease*, or *dove's* or *sparrow's dung*, to a sort of pease or pulse which was common in Judea, and which, when dried or parched, resembles the dung of pigeons, as may be seen, 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where the Gileadites and the Ammonites in the present which they brought to David had *parched pulse*, as St. Jerome has very well rendered it. Whence the famous city of Emesius on the frontiers of Judea seems to have taken its name. Travellers further observe, that they have magazines in Grand Cairo and Damascus, where they constantly fry this kind of pulse, of which those who go in pilgrimage to Mecca make provision for their journey. Some think that even *coffee* is meant by this word.

* *Mothers*. This was one of those judgments which Moses had long before told the Israelites should come upon them, Deut. xxviii. 53, if they rebelled against the Lord.

† *Measure*. This is thought to contain a gallon and a half, or six quarts. It is particularly called *seah*, and by the Latin interpreters commonly rendered *modius*, 2 Kings vii. 1.

‡ *Law*. See Levit. xiii. 46.

with such alarm, that it immediately spread through the whole army, and deserting their camp, every man shifted for himself, and made the best of his way home. The poor lepers meeting with no resistance, passed through the camp, and before they fell to other plunder, first gratified their hunger; then seizing what rich movables they could carry off, they hid them. But considering that while they were thus regaling and providing for themselves, their countrymen were under the dismal apprehension of starving in the town, or perishing by the enemy, they returned to the gate, and gave the porter notice of the enemy's flight, who soon communicated it to the king. But the king suspecting this to be a stratagem of the Syrians to entice them out of the city, sent out parties to discover whether there were any ambuscades laid. The parties returning, told him that all the ways were strewed with arms and garments, which the Syrians had dropped as they fled. Upon this the people impatiently rushed out of the city, and began to plunder the Syrian camp; where, besides great riches, they found such store of provisions, that being brought into Samaria, a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel. And to prevent this plenty from being embezzled, the king appointed the nobleman who before had slighted Elisha's prediction, to guard the gate through which the spoil of the Syrian camp was to be brought; where the impatient people crowding in great numbers, trampled him under foot, so that he died: and thus, though he saw the plenty, yet he tasted not of it, as the prophet had predicted.

After this, a severe and tedious famine wasted the land of Israel; of which Elisha gave his hostess, the Shunamite, warning, advising her to go to some other country with her family, and tarry there till the famine should cease; which she did, and at the end of seven years, returning, she found her estate seized and possessed by others in her absence. And not prevailing with the usurpers of her right to give her re-possession, she was forced to address herself to the king, who at that juncture was talking with Gehazi, whom he had commanded to recount to him the miraculous performances of his master, the prophet Elisha. Gehazi, seeing the Shunamite and her son coming to present her petition to the king, told him that she was the woman of whom he had been speaking, and that this was her son whom Elisha had brought again to life. The king hearing a confirmation of what Gehazi had told him from the woman's mouth, gave order for her estate to be restored to her, and that the profits should be paid her from the time she had left the land until that day.

From the miraculous raising of the siege of Samaria till about this time we have no other account than that of the sickness of Benhadad, king of Syria, which happened about the same time that Elisha arrived at Damascus, the capital of Syria. The king hearing of it, and being well acquainted with the power of the prophet, sent a servant of his, named Hazeal, with a present, to inquire of the Lord by him, whether he should recover of his sickness. The prophet told him he might recover;* but, added he, "The Lord hath

* *Recover.* This text of 2 Kings viii. 10, seems difficult and contradictory to itself, and the versions confound it. The Rabbins and others read, "Thou shalt not recover;"

showed me that he shall surely die." The sense of which, and the mischief he would afterwards do to Israel, made the prophet look sternly on Hazael, and drew tears from Elisha's eyes. Hazael asking the cause of his grief, Elisha told him that it proceeded from the sense he had of the evil he would one day bring upon Israel, in demolishing their fortifications, putting their men to the sword, dashing their children in pieces, and ripping up their women with child. Hazael, considering the meanness of his present condition, and the improbability of his doing such things, expressed his abhorrence of so great an inhumanity.* But the prophet answered, "The Lord hath showed me that thou shalt be king of Syria." Hazael's ambition took wing at this; and returning to his master, he told him that he should certainly recover; but to prevent it, the next day he stifled him, and usurped his throne. Let us now return to the affairs of the kingdom of Judah.

Jehoshaphat, the good king of Judah, four years before his death had taken his son Jehoram † into partnership with him in the government; after which he died, and left his son in sole possession of the throne of Judah; who was so far from imitating his father's piety that he walked in the steps of the kings of Israel, as Ahab's family had done; for which this reason is assigned, that he had the daughter of Ahab to his wife.‡ Nor did he himself only become an idolater, but compelled his subjects to be idolaters also. He was, in short, a complication of all wickedness, and so unnaturally cruel that he murdered his six brothers, and several other princes. But he was soon reproved and punished; for there came a writing to him from Elijah § the prophet, to tell him, That since he had deviated from the ways of his pious ancestors, and followed the wicked examples of the kings of Israel, and murdered his brothers, who were better than himself, God would visit him and his people with a great plague, and destroy him with a painful disease; which soon after happened; for the Edomites || revolted from the govern-

but the Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Latin versions, "Thou shalt recover." But this text, rightly taken, admits of no contradiction; for the former part of the answer, "Thou shalt recover," related to the nature of the disease, which of itself was not mortal, but curable; the latter part, "he shall surely die," related to the foreknowledge the prophet had received from God of the treachery of Hazael, who should murder Benhadad.

* *Inhumanity.* When the prophet intimated to Hazael the horrid cruelties he would commit, he immediately exclaimed: "What! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" Those who are unacquainted with the depravity and deceitfulness of the human heart, little think what crimes they may commit, if strongly tempted to them. But we ought always to suspect ourselves, and pray against temptation, for "he that trusteth in his own heart is a fool," and such, alas! the presumptuous Hazael proved, for immediately on his departure he began to fulfil the prediction.

† *Jehoram*, or *Joram*.

‡ *Wife.* See 2 Chron. xxi. 6, so dangerous a thing it is to "be unequally yoked."

§ *Elijah.* Elijah having been translated some years before, it is thought by some that Elijah instead of Elisha has by neglect crept into the text. Others pretend that Elijah sent this letter from Paradise, or the place to which he was translated, to king Jehoram by an angel in human form, or by the prophet Elisha. But Junius and Tremellius say that Elijah in his lifetime wrote it by a prophetic foresight, and left it for him.

|| *Edomites.* Whom David had subdued, 2 Sam. viii. 14, and who, from that time to this, had no king of their own, but were governed by a viceroy or deputy set over them, 1 Kings xxii. 47.

ment of Judah, and set up a king of their own. And though Jehoram went to suppress them, and did some small execution on them, yet they maintained their revolt, and were never afterwards reduced* to the subjection of Judah. At the same time Libnah † threw off the yoke of Judah; and literally to fulfil what Elijah's letter threatened, ‡ the Lord stirred up the Philistines and Arabians to disturb Jehoram, who, breaking into Jerusalem, plundered the royal palace, and carried away his wives and children, leaving him none but Jehoahaz, § his youngest son. And now to complete the judgment pronounced against Jehoram's person, God smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease, under which he labored two years, when his bowels fell out.

Thus died Jehoram, after having reigned eight || years. His death was un lamented by the people, who buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchre of the kings, nor with any funeral pomp or honor. His youngest son, Ahaziah, ¶ succeeded him, all his other sons having been slain by the Arabians and Philistines in the late incursion. His reign was but short, and nothing of consequence occurred in it. What was remarkable was his affection to, and alliance with, Jehoram king of Israel, with whom he marched against Hazael, king of Syria, to Ramoth-Gilead, where Jehoram being defeated and wounded, and returning to Jezreel to be healed, Ahaziah went thither to visit him, and bear him company while he lay sick of his wounds.

And now the time was come when God in his righteous providence had determined that Ahab's family should be extirpated, and Jezebel be punished for her wickedness. In order to which, Elisha calling to him one of the sons of the prophets, bids him go to Ramoth-Gilead, and there anoint** Jehu,

* *Reduced.* In this the prophecy of Isaac seems to have been in a great measure completed, which foretold Edom's subjection to Israel, and his breaking afterwards Jacob's yoke from off his neck, Gen. xxvii. 40.

† *Libnah.* This was a city and territory of good account, which in Joshua's time had a king of its own, Josh. x. 29, 30, and was afterwards given to the children of Aaron for a city of refuge to the manslayer, Josh. xxxi. 13.

‡ *Threatened.* See 2 Chron. xxi. 14.

§ *Jehoahaz.* Who is also called Ahaziah, 2 Chron. xxi. 1, and Azariah v. 6.

|| *Eight.* Of these eight years he is supposed to have reigned four as *Co-Rex* with his father, and the other four as sole king.

¶ *Ahaziah.* Transcribers must necessarily have been mistaken in what is said of Ahaziah, 2 Chron. xxii. 2, that he was two-and-forty years old when he began to reign; for if this had been right, Ahaziah must have been born two years before his father; as it is observed in ch. xxi. 20, that Jehoram his father was but forty years old when he died. This circumstance is likewise directly opposite to 2 Kings viii. 26, where it is plainly said, that Ahaziah was but twenty-two years old when he began to reign. The most learned interpreters acknowledge that this difficulty cannot be resolved without admitting it to be a fault in the transcribers. Some think that the words should be rendered, that Ahaziah reigned to the age of two-and-forty years; which is plainly contrary to the text. Others think the forty-two years do not relate to Ahaziah, but to the kingdom of Israel, which can by no means be allowed. It seems indeed most reasonable to own that there has a fault crept into the text by the negligence of transcribers, who have written *forty-two* years instead of *twenty-two*. This solution seems to be the most probable, if we consider the agreement of the versions: the Septuagint in several copies, the manuscripts of Cambridge and Oxford, that of Rome, and the Syriac and Arabic, with several others, retain the number of *twenty-two*.

** *Anoint.* This seems to be the second time of Jehu's being anointed; for the first was

which he did; and Jehu was immediately, by general consent, acknowledged king, and proclaimed by the army. The prophet having, at Jehu's anointing, given him instructions to take vengeance of Jezebel, and to cut off Ahab's family, he in a council obliged the officers of the army to let no man stir out of Ramoth-Gilead, that Jehoram, hearing nothing of what had happened, might not be apprehensive of danger. Jehu, being punctually obeyed in this, set forward for Jezreel, that he might surprise and seize the king there. But in his march he was discovered from a watch-tower by a sentinel, who gave notice of it to the king; and he receiving no accounts from two messengers whom he sent to inquire, mounted his chariot, and* taking his friend Ahaziah with him, they both went out to meet Jehu, which meeting happened to take place in the very spot of ground which Ahab had taken from Naboth the Jezreelite. Jehoram being come within hearing, asked Jehu whether he came in peace or not. To whom Jehu replied, "What peace canst thou expect, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" Jehoram guessed the rest, and exclaiming "Treason!" to his friend Ahaziah, fled: but Jehu with a swift arrow soon reached him, shooting him through the heart; and seeing him drop, commanded an officer to throw him into Naboth's field, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled. Ahaziah seeing his friend Jehoram thus disposed of, fled another way; but Jehu having a watchful eye upon him, detached a party to pursue and dispatch him too; which they did: for being mortally wounded, he fled to Megiddo, and died there; from whence his servants removed his body to the royal sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Jehu, having thus done execution on the two kings,* makes the best of his way to Jezreel, where Jezebel, the queen-mother, having dressed herself, and resolving to keep up her grandeur, reproached him with treachery, comparing him to Zimri, who slew his king and master Elah. Jehu, looking up to the window where she was, called to the eunuchs, who, by his order, threw her out of the window; and her blood by the fall stained the walls of the palace. When she lay upon the pavement, the horses trampled on her, and the dogs devoured her body. Jehu, entering the palace, refreshed himself and his men; and recollecting the condition of this wicked woman, commanded his servants to take care of her body and bury her, because she was of royal extraction. But when they went to inquire after her, they found no part of her body remaining, except her skull, her feet, and the palms of her hands; which when Jehu heard, he observed to those that brought the news, that this was the effect of Elijah's prophecy, who predicted that in Jezreel dogs should eat Jezebel, and that her carcass should be as dung upon the earth, so that no one should say, "This is Jezebel."

(1 Kings xix. 16) when the prophet Elijah anointed him and Hazael over Israel and Syria. But that unction was only previous, and, as it were, a prognostic of their reign. But that second unction of Jehu, by the order of Elisha, was a collating him to the crown, and making him king.

* *Kings.* Ahaziah's destruction was due to him, not only as he was a branch of Ahab's family, (being the son of Ahab's daughter,) to all of whom utter destruction was denounced, but as he walked, the little time he reigned, in the way of his grandfather Ahab.

Jehu, to make sure of as many of Ahab's family as were any way within reach, sends a letter to those who had the care of the princes* of the blood at Samaria, to choose the fittest of them for their king. This he did to sound their inclinations; but they, hearing how he had dispatched two kings already, and perceiving that all things looked ill to the house of Ahab, sent a submissive answer to Jehu, and referred themselves wholly to him. Upon which he sent an order to them to bring him the heads of those princes by that time to-morrow. In this he was punctually obeyed; after which he put to death all that remained of Ahab's family in Israel, the great men of his court, and all his friends and priests.

In his way to Samaria he met with the brothers and kindred of Ahaziah, who were going to pay a visit to the court at Samaria. These he likewise slew, and at Samaria cut off all that remained of the house of Ahab. Then intimating that he designed himself to worship Baal, he, by proclamation, invited all the ministers and priests of Baal to offer sacrifice in his temple, to which they repaired in great numbers; and that none but his worshippers might perish, he gave strict charge to them to search the temple, and see that none of the servants of Jehovah were there among them, but the worshippers of Baal only. Then setting a guard of eighty men, to prevent any escape, as soon as the burnt-offering was ended, he ordered the guard to go in and put them all to the sword. This done, he commanded the images to be burnt, and the temple of Baal to be razed to the ground.

But, notwithstanding his zeal for the service of God, he suffered the golden calves,† which Jeroboam had set up at Bethel and Dan, to remain. However, Jehu's diligence in readily executing God's judgments upon the house of Ahab was so acceptable that the crown of Israel was entailed upon his family to the fourth generation. Yet because he offended in following the example of Jeroboam, God made him sensible of his displeasure; for he suffered the Syrians to make incursions into his kingdom, who ravaged the country from the river Jordan to the ocean, and ruined the countries of Gilead, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. Jehu, having reigned twenty-eight years over Israel, died, and was buried in Samaria. During this reign, no doubt, there happened many remarkable transactions, which are lost.‡

While Jehu was executing the command of the Lord in Israel, Athaliah, the queen dowager of Judah, and mother to the late king Ahaziah, hearing

* *Princes.* In 2 Kings x. 1, Ahab is said to have had seventy sons in Samaria, under which term nephews or grandsons are sometimes comprehended.

† *Golden Calves.* The setting up of these was not so much a religious as a political piece of idolatry, and contrived, at the first division of the kingdom, to keep the Israelites from going up to Jerusalem to worship, lest they should in time take the crown along with them, and reunite themselves in Judah. The same interest and reason of state prevailed possibly with Jehu to continue them.

‡ *Lost.* For the rest of the acts and power of Jehu, we are referred to the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel, which cannot be either of the books now extant under that name, for very little mention is made of him in either of those books; nothing in comparison to what is said of him in the ninth and tenth chapters of the second book of Kings. Whence we may conclude that that book of Chronicles, to which we are here, and often elsewhere referred, is lost.

that her son was slain, usurped the government of Judah, and, in revenge of the death of her father Ahab's family, murdered all the blood royal, that she might extinguish the race of pious Jehoshaphat, and secure the kingdom to herself and her other* children. But by the good providence of God, Joash, an infant of a year old, escaped the effects of her rage; for his aunt Jehoshaba, the daughter of king Joram, and sister to the late king Ahaziah, concealed him and his nurse in an apartment of the house of the Lord, which she could more conveniently do, because she was the wife of Jehoida the high-priest.

Here, this young prince continued under the care of his aunt, unknown to Athaliah, for six years; and in the seventh year his uncle Jehoida, having engaged the priests and Levites, and the leading men in all parts of the kingdom in the infant prince's interest, in a public assembly produced him, and made them take an oath of fidelity to him. Then distributing the arms which had been consecrated by David, and kept ever since in the temple, he arranged the people with him into three bodies — one to guard the king's person and the other two to secure the gates — with a strict charge, that if any should attempt to break in upon them they should be put to death. Things thus disposed, Jehoida brought out the young king, placed the crown on his head, and put the book of the law † into his hand; and having anointed him, they clapped their hands and shouted for joy, proclaiming him with sound of trumpet, and shouting "God save the king!"

The loud shouts and acclamations of the people soon reached the ears of Athaliah, who, in great haste repairing to the temple, to her great surprise saw the young king on the throne, and the people about him rejoicing; upon which she rent her mantle, and exclaimed, "Treason! treason!" But Jehoida soon silenced her; for he commanded the guards to seize and carry her out of the temple, and put to the sword all that should offer to rescue or assist her. The guards obeyed, and led her without opposition to the horse-gate, and slew her there.

Then Jehoida made a covenant between the Lord, the king and the people; and also between the king and the people; and going from hence to Baal's temple, they broke down the images, demolished the altars, pulled down the whole building, and slew Mattan, Baal's priest. Jehoida, after this, purged out several corruptions, which, in former reigns, had been introduced into the temple; and then he and all the officers and people conducted the king to the royal palace, and put him into possession of the kingdom of Judah.

Joash began his reign at seven years of age, in the seventh year of Jehu, king of Israel, and reigned forty years. He was a just and religious prince, so long as the good high-priest Jehoida lived, and restored the worship of the true God; but he did not destroy the altars that were in the high places.‡

* *Other.* That Athaliah had other sons may be proved from 2 Chron. xxiv. 7.

† *Law.* This was according to the law, Deut. xvii. 18.

‡ *High Places.* Where the people sacrificed and burnt incense; which, so long as they did it to the Lord, not to Baal or other idols, was winked at; though expressly contrary to God's command, Num. xxxiii. 52, and commonly destructive to the people.

During his minority, Jehoida reformed the ecclesiastical state; and when he was grown up to man's estate, he repaired the temple, which through the corruption of former times was very much decayed, and sacrilegiously stripped by Athaliah and her children.

All things hitherto went on hopefully, and Jehoida's presence and advice kept the young king within the bounds of his duty. But the good old man being an hundred and thirty years of age, paid the last debt to nature; and in consideration of his great services towards God and his house, in restoring the true worship and settling the kingdom in the house of David, they buried him in the city of David among their kings.

And now the great men of Judah, who had lived in the idolatrous reigns, take the advantage of their king's youth,* and by their flattery and other insinuations prevail upon him to forsake the worship of the Lord, and to adore their idols. For this, the Lord, by several prophets, admonished the people of Judah, but they regarded them not: at last the Spirit of the Lord came upon Zachariah, the son of Jehoida the high-priest, who, for reproving them, was stoned to death in the porch of the temple, and at the command of the king; though the sacredness of the place, the dignity of his office, and his father's services might very reasonably have stayed their wicked hands. But God soon required the innocent blood of Zachariah, both of the king and people: for within a year after his death, Hazael, king of Syria, took Gath from the king of Judah with a small army; and seizing the advantage of their surprise, marched directly to Jerusalem, where he put to the sword all the princes who had seduced their king to idolatry. So remarkable was the justice of God in punishing those princes, that they fell by the arms of an idolater; for such was Hazael, king of Syria. Joash, greatly alarmed at the sudden arrival of Hazael, presented him with all the consecrated vessels and goods of the temple, which his-ancestors and himself had devoted to the service of God, together with all the gold that was in the treasures of the temple, and of his own palace, in order to induce him to leave Jerusalem.

The Syrian army was no sooner withdrawn than God calls Joash himself to an account for his idolatry and the murder of the pious Zachariah. He had before been very infirm in his health, and laboring under a complication of diseases, his servants Zabad and Jehozabad, conspired against him for the blood of the son of Jehoida the priest, and murdered him in his bed. Thus died Joash after a reign of forty years; and being of royal extraction, they buried him in the city of David, but not in the royal sepulchre, because he had been an idolater.

Jehu dying in the twenty-third year of Joash, king of Judah, his son Jehoahaz succeeded him; who imitating his predecessors in the political idolatry of the golden calves, to preserve the crown of Israel from being united to that of Judah, he provoked the Lord to afflict both him and his people, which he did by delivering them into the hands of Hazael, the king

* *Youth.* Jehoida the high-priest is supposed to have died in or near the twenty-third year of Joash's reign; so that Joash was about thirty years old when the princes of Judah seduced him to idolatry.

of Syria, and afterwards into the hand of his son Benhadad. Yet when Jehoahaz returned to the Lord, he had compassion on him, and in due time sent them a deliverer; but this was not in the reign of Jehoahaz, but of his son Joas.* Jehoahaz was brought to so low † a condition by the frequent invasions of the Syrians, that he had but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot-soldiers left. The many defeats he had received, and the oppression under which he labored from the Syrians, so dispirited him, that, grown weary of government and of life, he died, and was succeeded by his son Joas, a prince more successful, though not more religious, than his father.

Elisha had lived to see the completion of what he predicted to Hazael before he was king of Syria, which was literally fulfilled in the reign of Jehoahaz; and being now very old, and taken sick in the beginning of king Joash's reign, he receives a visit from him upon his sick-bed. Young king Joash, seeing him very weak, in tears lamented the approaching death of so great a prophet and so holy a man. The prophet observing this, and knowing that the Lord had determined to deliver Israel by this king from the oppression of the Syrians, by the allusion ‡ of the bow and arrows, showed him what success he was likely to obtain against his enemies. Joash, encouraged with this favorable prediction, in three pitched battles obtained victories over Benhadad king of Syria, and recovered from him all the cities of Israel, which had been taken from them by Hazael his father; during which transactions the prophet Elisha died, and after he had been some time buried, gave the Divine power, by which he wrought so many miracles in his lifetime, gave a sacred approbation of his prophetic actions by a posthumous one; for a certain man being buried in Elisha's sepulchre, the corpse no sooner touched the bones of the prophet than he revived and stood upon his feet.

Joash, king of Judah, having received the reward of his ingratitude and cruelty from his two treacherous servants, his son Amaziah succeeded him, and for a while walked in the ways of the Lord; but he did not long persevere in this good course; for, following the example of his father, he suffered the high places to stand, and permitted the people to offer sacrifice and burn incense there. As soon as he was settled in the government, he took revenge of the two traitors who had murdered his father; then having newly officered and newly modelled his army, upon a general muster he found he had three hundred thousand able men. But not thinking them strong enough, he

* *Joas.* The synarchies of joint-reigns of father and son in those times (which were frequent) have rendered the chronology very difficult, as in this case; for Jehoahaz, in 2 Kings xiii. 1, is said to have reigned seventeen years; which cannot be according to what is said in the same verse, viz., That he began his reign in the twenty-third year of Joash king of Judah; for then he could reign but fourteen at the most. To reconcile this, then, we must suppose him to be taken into partnership in the government by his father two or three years before his death; which is very probable.

† *Low, etc.* Now it was that the prophet Elisha had seen the fulfilling of that prediction, which he had given Hazael, concerning the cruelty and devastation he would exercise upon Israel, when he came to the crown of Syria.

‡ *Allusion.* See 2 Kings xiii. 15.

added a hundred thousand hired troops of Israelites, and with these he intended to fall upon the Edomites, but was forbidden by a prophet, who advised him to discharge the Israelites; which with great reluctance he did, and marched against the Edomites with his own people only, and, attacking them in the valley of Salt, he killed ten thousand upon the spot, and took ten thousand prisoners, whom he cruelly destroyed by precipitating them from the brow of a steep rock. But this victory was somewhat eclipsed by the Israelites, whom Amaziah had discharged; for they, thinking themselves ill-used in not being permitted to engage against the Edomites, in their return plundered all the towns in their way, killed three thousand men, and carried away much spoil. But the greatest misfortune of all was, that Amaziah brought home the Edomite gods with him, to which he paid adoration, and offered incense.

This so provoked the Lord, that, sending a prophet, he reproached him for his apostasy, and threatened to cut him off. Which prediction soon came to pass; for Amaziah, being somewhat elated with his late success against the Edomites, and thinking himself bound in honor to avenge the damage which the Israelitish army had done his towns, sent a challenge to Joash, king of Israel, to meet him and fight a pitched battle. Joash despised this vain prince, and advised him to stay at home; which so provoked Amaziah that he, without delay, drew out his forces, and marched to meet Joash; who was so well prepared to receive him that he routed the army, took the king prisoner, and carried his victorious arms to Jerusalem; where he entered in triumph, broke down four hundred cubits' length of the wall, plundered the temple and palace of all that was valuable, and taking hostages with him, he left the king of Judah to deplore his fate at Jerusalem, while he marches in triumph to Samaria. Amaziah lived fifteen years after this defeat; but there is nothing remarkable of him to be found, except that he was slain at Lachish by some inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had conspired against him; and being without any state or formality brought to Jerusalem, he was buried in the city of David.

Joash, king of Israel, was succeeded by his son Jeroboam, who came to the throne in the fifteenth* year of Amaziah king of Judah. This king enjoyed a long reign, and was successful in many military achievements, to which he was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, whom God for that end sent to him; for taking pity on the distress of Israel, which had long been exposed to the incursions of their neighbors, and unwilling to let them be quite extirpated, under the conduct of this king Jeroboam, he restored them in part to their former condition. Joash recovered the greatest part of the country which his ancestors had lost, and restored the ancient boundaries of the kingdom of Israel from Hamath to the sea of the plain.

† The king of Israel having thus reduced his troublesome neighbors to a

* *Fifteenth.* This is Josephus's calculation, which seems to be very just, for he reigned thirty years, fifteen of which he lived after the death of Joash king of Israel, who died in the fifteenth year of Amaziah.

† To some part of this king's reign (viz., Jeroboam's) should be referred that action which

more peaceable temper, the prophet Jonah* who † had encouraged and directed him in all his warlike undertakings, was commanded by God to go to another place. His commission ‡ was expressly for Nineveh, whither he was to go and exhort the inhabitants to repentance; for the cry of their sins was come up before the Lord.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian monarchy, and very ancient, being built soon after the flood by Nimrod, great-grandson to Noah; (for so interpreters take the words in Gen. x. 11, which have some confirmation from Micah v. 6,) but being afterwards enlarged by Ninus, it took its name from him. It was a city of great extent, being fifty miles in compass. And how populous it was may be gathered from its containing more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons, who knew not their right hand from their left, which may be understood of infants. It is therefore probable that it contained at least six hundred thousand inhabitants. §

The sharp message which Jonah was here to deliver, (no less than the destruction || of their city after the expiration of forty days,) and the great power of the people, so terrified him, that forgetting the presence of God, who is everywhere, he thought to evade ¶ this errand by going to some other place. Intending therefore to go to Tarshish, he went down to Joppa, a sea-port town, to seek his passage, where, finding a ship ready to sail, he paid the fare and went on board. But God soon convinced him of his disobedience;

we read of in 1 Chron. v. 18, which was performed by the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, who, mustering forty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty able men, well skilled in war, made war upon the Hagarites; and being assisted by the Lord, to whom in the time of the battle they addressed themselves, they gave the Hagarites a very great defeat, and took a prodigious booty from them, consisting of fifty thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, two hundred thousand asses, and one hundred thousand prisoners, besides a great number that were slain in the action. Thus they prospered, because God engaged on their side; and these two tribes and a half having dispossessed the Hagarites, they dwelt in their places till the captivity.

* *Jonah.* He is called the son of Amittai, Jon. i. 1. This probably was the name of his father; but St. Jerome, in his prologue to this prophet's book, says, the Hebrews affirm that he was that son of the widow of Sarepta whom the prophet Elijah raised from the dead, 1 Kings xiv. 17.

† *Who.* See 2 Kings xiv. 25.

‡ *Commission.* The reason of the Lord's sending a prophet to a heathen city, when prophets were wanting to correct and instruct his own people, was, that the heathens being converted by the mighty power of his word, and that in three days' preaching too, Israel might see how horribly they had provoked God's wrath, who had, by the diligent and constant preaching of his prophets for so many years, endeavored to convert them.

§ This city stood on the banks of the Tigris. Modern travellers say that its ruins are still visible on the eastern bank of the river, and nearly opposite the city of Mozul or Mozil, which many confound with it. At the time when Jonah was sent to Nineveh, Phul is thought to have been the monarch, and in the days of his son Sardanapalus, it was taken by Arbaces and Belis, about the time of the foundation of Rome, A. C. 747. "It was taken a second time by Astyages and Nabopolassar, A. C. 626." After which it never recovered its former splendor.

|| *Destruction.* See Jon. iii. 4.

¶ *Evade.* Some interpreters suppose the reason of Jonah's disobedience to be, "That it was new and unusual for the prophets of the Lord to be taken from the elect people, and sent to the Gentiles."

for when they were out at sea a tremendous storm arose, which continuing, the seamen, seeing their ship in danger of being lost, cried to their gods for help, and unloading the ship, found Jonah in the hold fast asleep. Then rousing him, they bade him call upon his God, that they might not all perish; but the storm increasing, they agreed to cast lots,* that they might know which was the guilty person, for whose sake this calamity befell them. The lot falling upon Jonah, they pressed him to tell them what he had done, who he was, and from whence he came. Jonah now plainly perceived that the justice of God had overtaken him. He candidly acknowledged who he was, and the crime of which he had been guilty, declaring that it was for his sake that the tempest was come upon them, and directing them to cast him into the sea as an effectual means of averting the storm. The seamen, with much reluctance, and with earnest prayer to God that the guilt of innocent blood might not be laid to their charge, took him up, and cast him into the sea accordingly. This was no sooner done than the tempest subsided, and the sea became perfectly calm. The astonished seamen were now convinced of the reality of Jonah's guilt, and of the power of his God, and immediately offered a sacrifice to Him, and made vows.

Though God was pleased thus to punish Jonah's disobedience, yet in the midst of judgment, remembering mercy, he had prepared a great fish † to

* *Lots.* Which was wont to be done, when there was no hope that all could escape; for the heathens used to cast lots in cases of necessity.

† *Fish.* Infidels, in all ages, have made this passage of Scripture the subject of their ridicule, and have treated it either as a wild romance, or at most a parabolical representation of something else. They have pretended that the throat of a whale, as this fish is generally supposed to have been, is insufficient to receive the body of a man, and that if received, human life could not have been supported for any length of time.

To remove the first difficulty, it has often been remarked, that in the book of Jonah it is not called a *whale*, but "a great fish, (Jonah i. 17,) which the Lord had prepared." It is indeed called a *whale* in Matt. xiii. 4, from the Septuagint, where the fish is named ΚΗΤΟΣ, a whale. Many learned men, knowing that whales are seldom seen in the Mediterranean Sea, where Jonah was cast away, and that the throat of most kinds of whales is so narrow as to be incapable of receiving a man, have concluded, that the fish in question was not a whale, but a *shark*; for sharks are a species of fish common in that sea, and it is too well known capable of swallowing a man whole. The learned Bochart was of this opinion. See Bochart, vol. iii. 743. The authors of the Universal History, vol. x. p. 554, also observe that "The word here used (Matt. xii. 40) signifies no more a whale than any other large fish that has fins; and there is one commonly known in the Mediterranean by the name of *Carcharias* or *Lamia*, of the bigness of a whale, but with such a large throat as to be able to swallow the largest man whole." See also Parkhurst on the word *Ketos*, who observes, that the fame of Jonah's preservation was so widely propagated as to reach even Greece; whence was derived the story of Hercules's escaping alive out of the fish's belly, as alluded to by *Locophron*; who, speaking of Hercules, says,

". . . . Whom of old,
Triton's carcharian dog with horrid jaws devoured."

That is, says Bochart, whom the *Canis Carcharias*, or *Shark* sent by Neptune, swallowed up.

But, with all due deference to these learned men, it is, after all, not only possible, but probable also, that the fish by which Jonah was swallowed was literally a whale; for though it be true that the greater part of whales, of which the Greenland kind is the most usual, have a throat not more than four inches broad, yet it is ascertained beyond a doubt that there is another species of whale, called the *Cashelot*, *Catodon*, or *Pott-fish*, from the huge head of which the unctuous substance called spermaceti is derived, whose throat is so very large that

receive him, which swallowing him up, he continued in the belly of the fish three* days and three nights; after which time, having prayed to the Lord,

he could swallow a whole ox. For this very important information, which throws more light on the subject than all the critics have done, we are indebted to a valuable book — Mr. Crantz's *History of Greenland*, vol. i. p. 112, etc., who describes this fish particularly, and mentions a case in which one of these whales having been struck with a harpoon, in his anguish threw up a whole shark which was twelve feet long; at the same time there were found in his stomach fish-bones two yards in length. Its under jaw has from thirty to fifty teeth about half a foot long, and as thick as a man's arm. It has a bunch on its back, and a fin behind each eye, near which it may be easily wounded, though its skin in general is very tough. One hundred barrels of blubber have been obtained from one of these whales. The head is disproportionally large, and is the principal magazine of the spermaceti. In the brain are twenty or thirty cavities in which this unctuous matter is found; but it circulates also through the other parts of the head and body of the fish by means of an artery or vessel as thick as one's leg. Many barrels of it are obtained from a single fish.

Mr. Crantz refers, for a larger account of this whale, to *Anderson*.

The establishment, therefore, of this fact, that the *Cashelot* is a whale capable of swallowing a man whole, will, we hope, for ever silence the objections of future infidels.

Another difficulty that has puzzled many persons is, how it is possible for a man to live for two or three days in the stomach of a fish.

This difficulty is also removed by the following facts.

First. A very remarkable fish was taken on our own coast, though probably it was not of the full size, and therefore could not contain the body of a man; but others of its species very well might. A print and curious description of it, by Mr. J. Ferguson, may be seen in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. liii. p. 170; from which even this small one appears to have been near five feet in length, and of great bulk; and to have merely, as it were, one vast bag, or great hollow tube, capable of containing the body of any animal, of a size that was but in some small degree inferior to its own. Unquestionably, such a kind of fish, and of still larger dimensions, may, consistently even with the most correct ideas of any natural historian, be supposed to have occasionally appeared in the Mediterranean, as well as on our own coasts, where such a one was caught, having come up so far as the Bristol Channel and King's Road.

Secondly. A man may continue in the water, in some instances, without being drowned. Derham tells us, (*Physico-Theology*, book iv., cap. 7, note, p. 158, 159, 12mo.) that some have the *foramen ovale* of the heart remaining open all their lives, though, in most, it is closed very soon after birth; and that such persons as have the *foramen ovale* so left open, could neither be hanged nor drowned; because, when the lungs cease to play, the blood will nevertheless continue to circulate, just as it does in a fetus in the womb. Though Mr. Cheselden doubted this fact, yet Mr. Cowper, the anatomist, says he often found the *foramen* open in adults; and gives some curious instances. Mr. Derham mentions several persons who were many hours and days under water, and yet recovered; and one who even retained the sense of hearing in that state. Dr. Plott (*History of Staffordshire*, p. 292) mentions a person who survived and lived, after having been hanged at Oxford for the space of twenty hours, before she was cut down. The fact is notorious; and her pardon, reciting this circumstance, is extant on record. Ray, on the Creation, p. 230, observes, "That having the *foramen ovale* of the heart open, enables some animals to be amphibious." Where then is the absurdity in conceiving that Jonah might have been a person of this kind, having the *foramen ovale* of his heart continuing open from his birth to the end of his days? In which case he could not be drowned, either by being cast into the sea, or being swallowed up by the fish.

Thirdly. Neither could Jonah be injured by the digesting fluid in the fish's stomach; for Mr. J. Hunter observes, "That no animal substance can be digested by the digesting fluid usually existing in animal stomachs, while life remains in such animal substances. Animals," says he, "or parts of animals, possessed of the living principle, when taken into the

* *Three, etc.* In this respect Jonah was a striking type of our blessed Saviour, who for the same space of time was in the belly of the earth, the grave.

the fish vomited him out upon the dry land. Jonah being thus miraculously delivered from his living prison, no more disputes the command of his God, but hastens away to Nineveh; and advancing a day's journey into the city, he, with a freedom and dignity becoming his character, proclaimed, *yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown*. The people of Nineveh, believing this message to be sent from God, proclaimed a fast, and putting on sackcloth, showed such tokens of sorrow and repentance that God reversed their doom. This displeased Jonah exceedingly; for, having positively denounced destruction to Nineveh, and fixed the time, he thought this clemency of God in sparing them would subject him to the censure of having been a false prophet, and accordingly he expostulates with God about it; who gently reproved him, asking him whether he did well to be angry.

Jonah, however, in discontent, went out of the city; and building a booth, he sat under the shade of it, waiting to see what would be the fate of the city, seeming rather to desire the destruction of the place than endure the least reflection on his prophetic office. But God gave him a rational conviction of his partiality to himself and want of pity to the Ninevites; for he

stomach, are not in the least affected by the powers of that viscus, so long as the animal principle remains. Thence it is that we find animals of various kinds living in the stomach, or even hatched or bred there; but the moment that any of these lose the living principle, they become subject to the digestive powers of the stomach. If it were possible for a man's hand, for example, to be introduced into the stomach of a living animal, and kept there for some considerable time, it would be found that the dissolvent powers of the stomach could have no effect upon it; but if the same hand were separated from the body, and introduced into the same stomach, we should then find that the stomach would immediately act upon it. Indeed, if this were not the case, we should find that the stomach itself ought to have been made of indigestible materials; for if the living principle were not capable of preserving animal substances from undergoing that process, the stomach itself would be digested. But we find, on the contrary, that the stomach, which at one instant — that is, while possessed of the living principle — was capable of resisting the digestive powers which it contained, the next moment, viz., when deprived of the living principle, is itself capable of being digested, either by the digestive powers of other stomachs, or by the remains of that power which it had of digesting other things." (Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxii., p. 449.) Consistently with the observations of Mr. Hunter, we find that smaller fishes have been taken alive out of the stomachs of fishes of prey; and (not having been killed by any bite, or otherwise) have survived their being devoured, have swum away well recovered, and very little affected by the digesting fluid. Two instances of this kind are mentioned by Dr. Plott, (History of Staffordshire, p. 246,) and many others might be added.

There appears, therefore, nothing unphilosophical or absurd in supposing that Jonah (or indeed any other man, having the *foramen ovale* of the heart open, or such a construction of his frame as those persons mentioned by Derham had) might be cast into the sea, and be swallowed up whole by a great fish, and yet be neither drowned, nor bitten, nor corrupted, nor digested, nor killed; and it will easily follow, from the dictates of common sense, that, in that case, the fish itself must either die, or be prompted by its feelings to get rid of its load; and this it perhaps might do more readily near the shore than in the midst of the waters, and in that case such person would certainly recover again, by degrees, and escape. I acknowledge, there must have been a miraculous Divine interposition in causing all the circumstances of the presence of the fish, of the formation of Jonah, and of the nearness of the shore at the time of his being thrown up, to concur rightly to effect his deliverance; and how much further the miraculous interposition might extend, we cannot, nor ought, to presume to ascertain; but solely to show the fact to be philosophically possible, even according to the experience we are permitted to be acquainted with, is sufficient to remove and fully to answer the objections of scoffers.— See *King's Morsels of Criticism*.

prepared a gourd,* and made it shade him from the scorching beams of the sun, which were troublesome to him. This pleased Jonah; but early the next morning God prepared a worm, which gnawed the gourd, and made it wither. Jonah having lost this defence from the heat of the sun, was so infested with its scorching heat, and the violent east wind, that he fainted, and in the extremity of pain he wished to die. Upon which God expostulated with Jonah thus: "Thou hast had compassion on the gourd, for which thou hast not labored, neither didst thou make it grow, and which came up in a night, and perished in a night. And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?"

Here the Book of Jonah ends; but it gives no account of what became of the Ninevites, or of Jonah himself, after this: though from God's convicting him by the miracle of the gourd, and his compassionate expression concerning the Ninevites, ch. iv. v. 11, it is likely he reversed their doom.

Though Nineveh was spared for a time, yet being taken by Arbaces in about sixty years afterwards, the people must, no doubt, have suffered by the war. The prophets Nahum and Zephaniah foretell its ruin in a very particular and pathetic manner: the exact method in which these predic-

* *Gourd.* That translations, by adhering too closely to the original, and likewise by going too far from it, have multiplied controversies, and given occasion to several foolish and superstitious fancies and dangerous errors, we have here in this text of Jonah iv. 6, (among many others,) a very remarkable instance. What this gourd was, no one certainly knows. There are many conjectures about it, and it has afforded matter for much debate formerly, especially between the two fathers St. Jerome and St. Augustine. St. Jerome translated the Hebrew word *kikaion* by that of ivy; but the Septuagint and vulgar Latin, which were St. Augustine's favorite versions, translated the one "a wild gourd," the other a "pumpkin." St. Jerome's freedom had like to cost him dear, for St. Augustine attacked him violently in several letters, to which St. Jerome always answered very civilly, telling him he did not pretend to determine positively that it was an ivy, but that it must have been some such plant, rather than a gourd or a pumpkin, which, growing close to the earth, could not have shaded Jonah from the heat of the sun. But this was not all, for St. Jerome complains that he was sent for to Rome, and there accused of sacrilege and heresy by St. Augustine's friends, for changing the name of this plant from a gourd to ivy; and that those who vindicated his version of this word were so shamefully used that they were often forced to come to blows. Whatever name this plant should go by, no doubt it consisted of a spreading leaf, whence some have taken it for a *wild vine*, others for a *cucumber*, or a *pumpkin*, and perhaps it might be the *palmetta*. If any desire to be further informed of this ridiculous controversy, they may consult Ribera on Jonah, Sixtus Senensis, Martinius, and Calvin's Commentary on the place.

It is certain that some plants in Egypt and in the East grow with wonderful rapidity, and, as is generally the case with such plants, perish as quickly. *Volney*, in his *Travels*, vol. i., p. 71, speaking of the plant *el-kerra*, says, "It is, no doubt, this (salt) property of the air and the earth (of Egypt) which added to the heat, gives vegetation an activity almost incredible in our cold climates. Wherever plants have water, the rapidity of their growth is prodigious."

Yet, allowing for this vast rapidity of vegetation, we must admit that, as it is said concerning the fish, *The Lord prepared it*, so of the gourd, it was He to whom all things are easy that so suddenly raised the shadowy plant, and as suddenly caused it to wither. The plant itself was probably of rapid growth, and well calculated to form a shade; but its production in a single night must be ascribed to the Divine agency.

tions were accomplished may be seen at large in Bishop Newton's Dissertation on the Prophecies.

The Book of Jonah, though short, is full of instruction. We observe with pain the perverseness and peevishness of a good man; for such he was, notwithstanding these imperfections; but let us, instead of judging him, examine and judge ourselves, and endeavor to avoid those tempers which we condemn in the prophet.

Let the severe punishment that God inflicted upon his servant teach us the danger of disobedience, and that God is greatly displeased even with the sins of his own people. Yet how encouraging it is to notice the condescending regard of God to the prayer of his penitent servant! and let no one despair of mercy who seeks it, like him, though, as it were, "out of the belly of hell."

But the repentance of the inhabitants of Nineveh, as soon as Jonah delivered his message, is peculiarly observable, especially as we find our Lord applying it to the Jews. "The men of Nineveh," said he, "shall rise in judgment against this generation, and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold, a greater than Jonah is here." Let us apply this to ourselves. How much greater are our advantages than those of Nineveh! But are we humbled? Do we believe the report of the gospel? If not, how shall we escape? But if we are enabled to repent of our sins, and seek mercy as offered to us through Jesus Christ, the readiness of God to turn away his threatened anger from Nineveh, may encourage us to hope that he will "multiply to pardon."

It ought also to be remarked that our Saviour refers to the restoration of Jonah from the fish's belly, and makes it a sign, or type, of his own resurrection. The deliverance of Jonah was probably the means, in the hand of God, of convincing the Ninevites that his message deserved full credit; and it is by the resurrection of Christ from the dead, that he is "proved to be the Son of God with power;" it is the grand evidence of his mission, and we are "begotten again to a lively hope" by that most important fact.

Return we now to the affairs of Judah, whose last king was assassinated at Lachish by some conspirators of Jerusalem. His son, young Uzziah,* at the age of sixteen years, is proclaimed king. He was a religious prince during the former part of his reign, maintaining the worship of the true God, for which the Lord blessed his arms with success. He defeated the Philistines in many battles, dismantled the cities of Gath, Jabneh, and Azoth, and was so successful against the Arabs and the Ammonites, that he became terrible to his neighbors; and to secure and adorn his royal city, Jerusalem, he built towers on the walls of it, from whence, by engines, they could throw darts and stones on an approaching invader. He was a great admirer of husbandry, which he much improved, and thereby augmented his wealth. But the glory of all his kingdom was his army, which consisted of two thousand six hundred officers, and three hundred and seven thousand and five hundred soldiers, completely armed both for offence and defence. Thus success-

* *Uzziah*. In 2 Kings xv. 1, he is called Azariah.

ful in all things was this happy king, so long as the prophet Zechariah* lived, which was till the thirty-third year of his reign; but after his decease the king was so elated with his greatness that, forgetting himself, he would needs go into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar. Azariah the priest seeing this, attended by eighty other priests, followed the king, and reminded him that it was not his office to burn incense, but theirs. The haughty king, enraged to be thus reproved by his subjects, holding a censer in his hand, threatened them, and was just going to burn the incense; but in that instant, he was struck with a leprosy, and obliged to depart from the temple in a shameful manner; nor did he ever recover of this disease, but was forced to dwell apart by himself; and his son Jotham, as viceroy, took upon him the administration during his father's life. Uzziah, having reigned fifty-two years,† died, and was buried in the same field in which the royal sepulchres were, but at a distance from them.

While the affairs of Judah were in a flourishing condition, under that part of Uzziah's reign in which he served the Lord, the kingdom of Israel began to decline; ‡ for Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, the fourth and last of the race of Jehu, who succeeded his father in the thirty-eighth year of Uzziah king of Judah, was, at the end of six months, murdered by Shallum, who usurped the Israelitish crown, which he possessed but one month; for Menahem, going from Tirzah, § slew Shallum, and made himself king. || Menahem, being settled on the throne, took the town of Tiphseh, which had refused to open its gates to him; for which he put the inhabitants to the sword, and was so barbarously cruel, that he ripped up all the women that were with child in the place; after which he plundered and laid waste all the country about it as far as Tirzah.

In these times was Israel torn with terrible convulsions — rapine, murder, and all manner of violence, and especially superstition and idolatry, reigning throughout the land; and though God often admonished, reproved, and threatened them by his prophets, yet they continued impenitent; whereupon

* *Zechariah.* He was not only a prophet, but preceptor to the king. St. Jerome says, this Zechariah was the son of that Zechariah the son of Jehoida, who was stoned by the command of king Joash, and born after his father's death. Helvicus will not allow the Zechariah whom he mentions in the thirty-third year of Uzziah's reign, to be the same with the prophet Zechariah who wrote the prophecy under Darius, and with good reason.

† *Years, etc.* The prophecies containing but little historical matter in them, we shall only take notice of them in the reigns of those kings in whose time they prophesied.

‡ *Decline.* King Zechariah was the fourth from Jehu, and the last king of his race; in whom was fulfilled that gracious promise, which the Lord was pleased to make to Jehu, as a reward of his courage and zeal in executing the judgment which God had commanded him to do upon the house of Ahab, viz., That he and his family should sit upon the throne of Israel unto the fourth generation, which was about an hundred years; the last of the family being this king Zechariah the son of Jeroboam the second.

§ *Tirzah.* Josephus says that this Menahem was at the siege of Tirzah by king Zechariah's order, where it is probable he might be general, because of making himself king upon the death of Shallum.

|| *King.* We are referred to the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel for an account of the rest of the acts of these three last kings, Zechariah, Shallum, and Menahem; of which acts no mention is made in either of those books of Chronicles which we have. This makes it still more evident, that that book, so often referred to, is lost.

God permitted Phul,* king of Assyria, to come and invade the land. Menahem understanding this, had the policy to make an advantage of this threatening storm; for presenting the Assyrian king with three thousand talents of silver, which he raised among his own people, he not only persuaded Phul to withdraw his forces, but before he went, to confirm the possession of the crown to him. This answered his purpose, for he reigned quietly ten years, and was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, in the fiftieth year of Uzziah king of Judah.

Pekahiah had not reigned more than two years, when Pekah, the general of his army, conspired against him, and having slain him in the tower of the palace royal, seized the crown, which he wore twenty years, though not with great quiet; for Tiglathpileser, king of Assyria, fell upon Ijon, Abethmaachah, Janoah, Kadesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, all subject to the crown of Israel, and carried the inhabitants captives to Assyria. Hoshea the son of Elah, taking advantage of Pekah's confusion and distress by this ravage and pillage of his country, murders him, and assumes the throne; where, for a while, we will leave him, and return to the affairs of Judah.

Jotham was five-and-twenty years old when he began to reign, though, as viceroy for some years before, the whole administration had passed through his hands. He had frequent war with his neighbors, particularly with Rezin king of Syria, and with Pekah king of Israel: he made war likewise with the Ammonites, whom he defeated, and obliged to pay him tribute. He was a just, powerful, and religious † prince; and of a public spirit, for he built a gate to the temple, and raised many other structures for the service and strength of his kingdom. After sixteen years' reign he died, and was succeeded by his son Ahaz, a wicked prince, who degenerated from the piety of his father and grandfather, and so far exceeded the worst of his predecessors, that he not only walked in the steps of Jeroboam, who set up the worship of calves, but made molten images for all the inferior gods of the heathen. He sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree. He likewise burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, (a place not far from Jerusalem,) and, to add to his other impieties, he made his son to pass through the fire ‡ according to the custom of

* *Phul*. This Phul is by some taken to be that king of Nineveh, then the chief city of the Assyrian monarchy, who is said to have repented at the preaching of Jonah.

† *Religious*. Though the high places remained during his time, 2 Kings xv. 35, yet the people who sacrificed there, sacrificed to Jehovah.

‡ *Fire*. Interpreters agree that this passing through the fire was done, either by causing the child to pass to Moloch between two fires, made near to each other for that purpose, by which the child was not killed, but consecrated to that idol; or, by shutting up the child in the body of the idol, which was made of brass, in body like a man, but in head like an ox; in bulk so great that the body was divided into seven distinct cells; into one of which the child to be sacrificed being put, was suffocated and burnt to death by the heat which was conveyed from a fire without. And, that the shrieks of the children might not be heard, the priests beat drums; from whence the place was called Tophet, which signifies a drum.

The following extract from a modern writer will serve to show in what manner the passing through, or over, the fire was anciently performed in India:

"A still more astonishing instance of the superstition of the ancient Indians, in respect to

the heathen, whom God had cast out in order to make room for the children of Israel. But God soon called him to a strict account for these abominable sins, by permitting the kings* of Syria and Israel to invade and ravage his country. These two kings, with their joint forces, laid siege to Jerusalem; which exceedingly alarmed Ahaz and his people: but the Lord sent the prophet Isaiah to him to comfort him, and to foretell the destruction of his enemies, and the establishment of himself and people, if they would believe in the Lord. For confirmation of this, the prophet desired Ahaz to ask a sign of the Lord; but the stubborn king refused, under an hypocritical pretence that he would not tempt God. This, however, was nothing but a distrust of his preservation.

The two kings having spent some time in the siege of Jerusalem, despairing of taking it, retired; but they committed most barbarous hostilities in other parts of the kingdom; for Rezin, king of Syria, recovered Elath, out of which he drove the Jews and settled the Edomites in it, and returned to Damascus with a great booty. Pekah, on his side, ravaged the country with an unlimited fury, putting a hundred and twenty thousand men of Judah to the sword, and carrying away two hundred thousand women and children captives. At the same time Zichri, a powerful man of Ephraim, slew Maasiah, the king's son, together with Azrikam, the great master of the king's household, and Elkanah, who was next in authority to the king. These barbarities provoked the Lord, who, in pity to distressed Judah, sent the prophet Obed to reprove the cruel Israelites for the slaughter they had made, and the prisoners they had taken. Upon this the chiefs of the tribe of Ephraim opposed the bringing the captives and plunder into Samaria, alleging that they had sufficiently provoked the Lord already, and ought

their venerated fire, remains at this day, in the grand annual festival holden in honor of Darma Rajah, and called the *Feast of Fire*; in which, as in the ancient rites of Moloch, the devotee walks barefoot over a glowing fire extending forty feet. It is called the feast of fire, because they walk on that element. When they come to the fire, they stir it, to animate its activity. They walk over it either fast or slow, according to their zeal. *Some carry their children in their arms, and others lances, sabres, and standards.*

"The most fervent devotees walk several times over the fire. After the ceremony the people press to collect some of the ashes to rub their foreheads with, and obtain from the devotees some of the flowers with which they were adorned, and which they carefully preserve."

* *Kings, etc.* As this story is related in the books of Kings and Chronicles, there seems some disagreement; for in 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, etc., it is said that God delivered Ahaz into the hand of the king of Syria, who smote him, and carried away a great multitude of prisoners to Damascus. And that he was delivered into the hand of Pekah, king of Israel, who slew in one day sixscore thousand men of Judah, and carried two hundred thousand women and children, with much spoil, to Samaria. And in 2 Kings xvi. 5, it is said that Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem, and besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. And Isaiah, chap. vii. ver. 1, etc., says the same as 2 Kings xvi. 5. To accommodate these several relations, we must suppose that the account given in the Book of Kings, and by the prophet Isaiah, related to one time, and that of Chronicles to another; or else, that the two kings of Syria and Israel, after they were forced to raise the siege of Jerusalem, committed those hostilities of killing so many men, and taking so many captives, in other parts of the kingdom. For there seems to be no ground for suspicion of any mistake of the transcriber in either place; the text agreeing in all three, only that in Isaiah and Chronicles is more particular than that in Kings.

not to make this addition. This so weighed with the army, that they quitted both the prisoners and the booty, and the princes of Israel clothing those who had been stripped, and supplying them with necessaries, sent them and the spoil to Jericho to their friends.

The Edomites having obtained possession of Elam and the territories belonging to it, grew troublesome neighbors to Judah, which they infested with frequent incursions, as did the Philistines, who took several cities in the south part of Judah. Under these afflictions, Ahaz, instead of repenting, persisted in his idolatry, and sacrificed to the gods of Damascus, hoping for success from them, because he saw that the people flourished. But this, and his mistaken policy, in calling in a foreign aid, contributed to his ruin; for distrusting the providence of the Lord, he sent ambassadors to Tiglath-pileser,* king of Assyria, with a present of silver and gold, to desire him to come and assist him, against the kings of Syria and Israel, offering to become tributary to him. The Assyrian king, glad of this opportunity, makes short work with the king of Syria, for coming with a large army against Damascus, he besieged and took † it, slew Rezin the Syrian king, and carried away the people captive. But before the Assyrian king left Damascus, Ahaz came to pay him a visit ‡ there; where he increased his idolatry, by unhappily observing and admiring an idolatrous altar, with which he was so delighted that he caused a model of it to be made, and sent it to Urijah the priest at Jerusalem, to make him such another against his return. Urijah pursued the king's directions, and when Ahaz came to Jerusalem, he sacrificed on it, and became so strongly attached to this additional idolatry, that he introduced many alterations and innovations, removing to it part of the vessels which were in the temple, and at last shut the temple up: and to extinguish altogether the worship of the God of his fathers, he caused altars to be erected in every corner of Jerusalem; and in all the cities of Judah he made high-places to burn incense unto other gods. In the height of these impieties Ahaz died, having reigned sixteen years, and was buried in Jerusalem; but not in the royal sepulchre of the kings of Judah.

Hoshea the son of Elah having murdered Pekah, king of Israel, and seized the crown, soon found his usurpation attended with many incumbrances. For, imitating his wicked predecessors, and the people continuing in disobedience and rebellion against the Lord, slighting the admonitions and threatenings of the prophets, the Lord, whom they so dishonored, was greatly displeased, and therefore deserted them, permitting the king of Assyria § to

* *Tiglath-pileser*. He is also called Tiglath-pilneser, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

† *Took*. This destruction of Damascus was not only foretold by Isaiah, chap. 7, but by the prophet Amos, chap. i. 3, and also chap. iii. 12.

‡ *Visit*. This may be reasonably supposed to be done in policy, lest the victorious Assyrian should come to Jerusalem, after his success against Damascus, and take the advantage of the nakedness and weakness of Judah, which had been of late so often pillaged; and that what the king of Assyria did against the enemies of Judah, was not so much out of pity to them, as to enrich himself. For, as the text says, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, "Tiglath-pilneser troubled Ahaz, but did not strengthen him."

§ *Assyria*. The king of Assyria is called in Isa. x. 5, "the rod of his anger."

afflict them. For Hoshea was scarcely settled in his ill-gotten throne, when Salmanassar, the Assyrian monarch, invaded the land. Hoshea for this time, pacified him with large presents, and a promise of becoming a tributary to him: but neglecting to pay the tribute-money, and intending to revolt by the assistance of the king of Egypt, Salmanassar, having early intelligence of his designs, marches with a vast army directly to Samaria, and laid siege to it: which held out three years, but at last was obliged to yield, which was in the ninth and last year of Hoshea's reign. Salmanassar having taken the place, put Hoshea in irons, and confined him close, and carrying all Israel captives into Assyria, he placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river Gozan, and in the cities of Media. Thus were ten tribes dispossessed of the land of Canaan, which God had given to their fathers, "because* they obeyed not the voice of the Lord their God, but transgressed his covenant, and all that Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded, and would not hear them, nor do them:" and of this calamity they had been often admonished, and their captivity foretold by the prophets.†

Among the captive Israelites who were led away by Salmanassar was Tobit,‡ a man of the tribe and city of Naphtali. He had served God from his infancy, and done many acts of charity. He married a wife of his own tribe, called Anna, by whom he had a son named Tobias, or Tobit, whom he brought up very piously. In their captivity this little family served God, and would not eat of the food of the heathen, but lived after the manner of the Jews. His piety was conspicuous to all, and so won upon the conqueror Salmanassar, that he made him his purveyor, and gave him leave to go wherever he pleased. Of this liberty he availed himself to visit and relieve his enslaved countrymen. He went one day to Rages, a city of the Medes, with ten talents of silver, which the king had bestowed on him, and finding Gabel, who was of his own tribe, very poor, he lent him the ten talents, and took a receipt. After the death of Salmanassar, Sennacherib persecuted the Israelites, yet Tobit did not cease to assist them; for he went daily to visit his kindred, and distributed among them what he had, to the utmost of his

* *Because.* See 2 Chron. xviii. 12, and more at large, 2 Kings xvii., from ver. 7 to 24, where the justice of God in disheriting the Israelites, and the cause of it, are very amply set forth.

† *Prophets.* Isaiah viii. 4, and ix. 9, to the end. Hosea viii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and chap. xiii. 16. Amos iii. 9, to the end; chap. v. 2, 3, 5, and chap. vi. 7, and vii. 17, and Micah i. 5, 6, etc., chap. ii. 3, 4, etc.

‡ *Tobit.* The Jews themselves considered the history of Tobit to be true, though they have not placed his book among their canonical books of Scripture. It is generally believed to have been written by the two Tobits; but of this there is no certainty. It is likely that the book was first written in Chaldaic, which was the language of the country where Tobit was captive. St. Jerome translated it from the Chaldaic original, which is now lost; from which the Greek varies a little.

Whatever degree of authenticity may attach to the story of Tobit, which the council of Trent has very precipitately, perhaps improperly, placed in the canon of Scripture; and though it includes various circumstances of a very strange, not to say romantic kind, it will, however, be found to afford excellent examples of piety, chastity, parental affection, and filial duty. It is on these grounds, and particularly in what relates to the young Tobias, that the history is here introduced.

power; he fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and buried those that died, or had been killed. Sennacherib, after flying from the land of Judah, in consequence of a plague that God had sent among his soldiers, and retiring into his own country, caused many of the Israelites to be slain, whose bodies Tobit buried. The king being informed of this, commanded him to be killed, and his goods to be seized. Tobit hearing this, fled, and having been a friend to many in distress, he did not now want a friend to conceal him. About six weeks after this, the king was murdered by his two sons: upon which Tobit returned to his house, and had all his goods restored to him. The danger he had been in did not deter him from again burying the dead; and having one day very much fatigued himself in that charitable office, he lay down to sleep under a wall, and as he slept, there fell from a swallow's nest some hot dung into his eyes, and blinded him. This affliction he bore with much patience, during which he and his wife were reduced to such poverty, that she was forced to take in work to maintain them.

Tobit believing that he had not long to live, gave his son excellent instructions,* and ordered him to go to Gabel, at Rages, to recover the ten talents he had lent him, and return his receipt. Young Tobias was unwilling to undertake this journey alone; therefore his father bade him inquire for some civil person to bear him company, whom he would requite for his trouble. The angel Raphael appeared to Tobias in the form of a young Israelite, and offered to conduct him to his father's friend, Gabel, at Rages, at whose house he said he had been, calling himself Azariah, the son of Ananias, and promised to carry out and bring back the young man in safety. As soon as they were gone, Tobias's mother wept, fearing she should never see her son again; but her husband, trusting in God, comforted her. Tobias being on his way, and coming to the river Tigris, went to wash his feet, and saw a great fish coming out of the water, which he feared would devour him; but the angel encouraged him, advising him to lay hold of the fish and pull it upon the land: when he had so done, the angel directed him to take the entrails of it, and to keep the heart, the gall and the liver, assigning for a reason that the liver and the heart being burnt on the coals, the smoke of them would drive away evil spirits, and that the gall was proper for curing blemishes in the eyes. They then dressed some of the fish, and salted up the rest to serve them till they came to their journey's end.

Being come near Ecbatan, a city of Media, the angel told Tobias that there was a man in that city called Raguel, who was of the same tribe, and his near kinsman; that he should go and lodge at his house, and ask his daughter in marriage, and by that means he would obtain possession of his whole property. Tobias said that he was informed she had been married already to seven husbands, who were all dead, and that the evil spirit had killed them; that he feared the same fate would befall him; being an only son, his death would cause so great affliction and grief to his parents that it would hasten their death. The angel answered, that the persons over whom

* *Instructions.* See Tobit 4.

the evil spirit possessed power were such as had married without the fear of God, and only with a view to gratify, like the beasts, their sensual desires; that to prevent the misfortune that had befallen the others, when he married the young woman, he should strictly observe continence for the first three days, wholly devoting himself and his wife to prayer. That the first night he should lay the liver of the fish on the fire, and it would drive away the evil spirit; and when the third night was passed, he should take the young woman, in the fear of the Lord.

Tobias having arrived at Raguel's house, was received with much joy and respect, which encouraged the young man to demand his daughter in marriage. Raguel at first felt some difficulty to give her, fearing the same fate might attend him, which had happened to the seven who had already married her; but the angel bidding him not fear, he immediately gave her to him. Tobias punctually performed the angel's injunctions. He roasted the liver of the fish on the coals, and spent three nights in continence and prayer. Raguel, who expected the death of his eighth son-in-law, was surprised and delighted to see him alive and well in the morning; and as a testimony of his joy made a feast, and conjured his son Tobias to stay with him a fortnight. In which time, that he might not neglect his father's affairs, he entreated the angel, whom he still took to be Azariah, to go to Rages, to receive the money of Gabel which he owed to his father. The angel obeyed, went and received the money, told Gabel what had happened to young Tobias, and conducted him to the wedding.

In the meantime, the parents of Tobit were in great pain for their son. The mother was inconsolable, but the father still had hopes. And now, Tobias, considering his parents' uneasiness at his long absence, took leave of his father-in-law, and set out with the angel, his wife, men and women-servants, cattle and camels, which carried a considerable sum of money. They arrived in eleven days at Charan, which is not far from Nineveh. The angel and Tobias set out before his wife; and the dog that had gone with them ran home before them. By this the good old parents knew that their son was not far off, and went out to meet him. After embraces and mutual salutations, Tobias rubbing his father's eyes with the fish's gall, a sort of white film dropped from them, and the old man recovered his sight. Sarah, Tobias's wife, and all their family came seven days after; and being now all met, there was great feasting and rejoicing for a whole week; after which, Tobias, designing to reward Azariah, offered him half of all he had brought home from his journey. Upon which he, whom they took for Azariah, declared that he was the angel Raphael, and vanished.

Tobit lived to be a hundred and fifty-eight years old. Before his death he foretold the approaching destruction of Nineveh, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. He advised his son to depart from Nineveh with his seven children, as soon as his mother was dead. The son obeyed him, and immediately after the decease of his mother, taking his wife, children, and grandchildren, he left Nineveh, and returned to his father and mother-in-law, whom he found still living in a good old age. Upon Raguel's death he inherited all

that he had; and, having lived a hundred and twenty-seven years, died in the fear of the Lord.

The wretched Israelites being forced out of their own country, the Assyrian king drew several colonies of his own people from Babylon and other provinces, and sent them into Canaan,* where they took possession of the cities, and dwelt in them; but polluting the Holy Land with various idolatries, the Lord sent lions † among them, which slew many of them. The people, attributing this affliction to their not worshipping the god of the country in the manner which had been established, dispatched messengers to the king of Assyria, to inform him that the god of the land had sent lions among them, because they, not knowing how that god would be served, had performed no worship to him. Upon this, the king ordered one of the priests who had been brought captive out of the land of Israel, to be carried back thither, to instruct the new inhabitants in the worship of the god of the land. Accordingly, one of the captive priests was sent, who settled in Bethel, and taught the people how they should fear ‡ Jehovah. But these colonies, consisting of a mixture of people of several nations and provinces, each made a god of their own, according to the manner of the place from whence they came, and put them in the houses of the high-places, which the Israelites § had made. Thus was introduced among them a confused mixture of the worship of the true God and of false deities, they at the same time serving Jehovah and their own idols, the last of which were numerous and various, according to the customs of the countries from whence they came. They that came from Babylon set up Succothbenoth || for their god. They that came from Chuthath made Nergal ¶ their god. The men of Hamath set up Ashima.** The Avites had two gods, Nibhaz †† and Tartak. †† They that came from Sepharvaim had two, Adramelech §§ and Anammelech. |||

Though this captivity and the afflictions that attended it were a literal

* *Canaan.* This re-peopling of Samaria and other cities of Israel is ascribed to Esarhaddon, Ezra iv. 2; but he being the grandson of Salmanassar, by whom the country was depopulated, it may be considered, whether it be probable, that the country lay waste and uninhabited so many years as were between the grandfather and grandson, and whether they, who were sent by Esarhaddon, might not, probably, be a second colony.

† *Lions.* See 2 Kings xvii. 25.

‡ *Fear.* That is, how they should worship the calf, as the degenerated Israelites had done.

§ *Israelites.* 2 Kings xvii. 29, they are called Samaritans, because Samaria was the metropolis, or chief city of that kingdom.

|| *Succothbenoth* was the picture of a hen with her chickens. Godwyn, *Mos. and Aar.* l. 4, c. 7.

¶ *Nergal.* The Hebrew doctors call this the *Gallus sylvestris*, others a woodcock; but D'Assigny, l. 1, p. 103, says, "Nergal was a continual fire."

** *Ashima* was represented by a goat. Godwyn, *ut supra.*

†† *Nibhaz.* Supposed to be the same with Anubis, which the Egyptians worshipped in the image of a dog.

‡‡ *Tartak.* Worshipped in the form of an ass.

§§ *Adramelech.* Represented in the form of a mule.

||| *Anammelech.* In the form of a horse. But because the Sepharvites, 2 Kings xvii. 31, are said to burn their children in the fire to these gods, some have thence conjectured that these two idols were the same with Moloch.

completion of what the prophets had predicted would inevitably befall the Israelites for their disobedience, yet they were so far from being reclaimed that they still persisted in their wicked course of idolatry, and neglected the statutes and laws which the Lord had given to their forefathers. This was the end of the Israelitish kingdom, and the beginning of that mongrel people which were afterwards called Samaritans, — enemies to the Jews, and, as such, despised by them.

The kingdom of Israel being thus extinguished, that of Judah had a longer period, continuing about a hundred and forty years after the captivity of Israel. Good Hezekiah, succeeding his wicked father Ahaz, began his reign in the third year of Hoshea, and in the twenty-sixth year of his age. God blessed him with twenty-nine years of plenty and prosperity. He was a religious prince, and permitted no other worship throughout his dominions than that of the true God, as it had been appointed by the law. The very first month of the first year of his reign he caused the gates of the temple, which his father had shut up, to be opened, and the fabric to be repaired. Then, directing the priests and Levites to sanctify themselves, he commanded them to cleanse it, and to put all things in order. When the temple was thus cleansed, the king, having collected all the vessels and utensils that could be found there, caused them to be cleansed, and placed before the altar of the Lord. Hezekiah, having thus prepared all things for the worship of God, went early in the morning to the temple, attended with his chief officers; where he offered burnt-offerings and sacrifices in such abundance that the priests were too few to slay them, and were forced to accept of the help of the Levites, who (so great was the corruption then in the priesthood) were more ready to sanctify themselves than the priests. Thus was the service of the house of the Lord revived and set in order, to the mutual joy and satisfaction both of king and people. And now a way being opened for a thorough reformation, the king proposed the reviving of the passover; which, by reason of the division of the kingdom, and the frequent commotions that had happened thereupon, had not been regularly observed for a long time. Consulting therefore with his princes, it was agreed that, since it could not be kept in the first month, (the usual time,) because there was not a sufficient number of priests sanctified, and the people could not have timely notice to assemble at Jerusalem, it should be kept in the second month; and proclamation was ordered to be made from Dan to Beersheba, to invite not only the two tribes of the kingdom of Judah, but all those of the ten tribes of Israel who had escaped the captivity. Accordingly, letters were sent by post from the king, throughout all Israel and Judah. But when the messengers came to the countries of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Zebulun, they were derided and uncivilly used. However, several of the tribes of Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun, gladly embraced the opportunity of worshipping the Lord in the true way, and came to Jerusalem. As for the men of Judah, the power of God wrought so effectually upon them that they unanimously obeyed the king and his princes, who, they were sensible, acted by the command of the Lord.

All things being prepared, and the idolatrous altars in Jerusalem demolished, and thrown into the brook Kidron, the people met, and on the fourteenth day of the second month celebrated the passover. But good king Hezekiah, fearing that in so great a multitude there might be some who had not observed the appointed ceremony of sanctifying themselves, offered this prayer * in their behalf: "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, even the Lord God of his fathers, although he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary." The passover being ended, the king commanded all that were present to go into all the cities of Judah, and break down the images, burn the groves, and demolish the high-places and altars, not only in Judah, but in all parts of Benjamin, and in those places of Ephraim and Manasseh, which were subject to Judah. In fine, he restored the ancient worship which had been used in the temple, in all its solemnities; allotting to the priests and Levites their respective services, and allowances of provisions and other necessaries. And to perfect the reformation in point of religion, he broke in pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made, because the people had offered sacrifice to it till that time. †

Hezekiah continuing steadfast in the worship of the Lord, his piety was rewarded with a prosperous reign; and he merited the title of the best king of Judah before ‡ or after his time. He recovered those cities which the Philistines had taken from his father in the low country, and south parts of Judea; and being uneasy under the tribute which his father had engaged to pay to the king of Assyria, he refused to pay it any longer. Upon this, Sennacherib entered Judah in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, and besieging several cities, took them. Which Hezekiah hearing, and rightly conjecturing that he would at last bend his whole force against Jerusalem, resolved, while he had time, to make it as strong as he could; and to supply himself, and straiten the enemy, he stopped up all the springs without the city, and turned the brook Gihon into the city. Then he repaired the wall; § made several new fortifications, and added another wall without the old one. He likewise repaired the citadel Millo, and provided the city with all kinds of warlike ammunition.

Notwithstanding these preparations, Hezekiah, wisely considering his inferiority of power, thought it safer to submit and compound the matter than to run the hazard of a battle, and suffer his country to be ravaged and plundered by the enemy. To which end, he sent ambassadors to Sennacherib, who then was before Lachish, and by them acknowledging his offence,

* *Prayer.* See 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19, in which chapter is set down the rest of this great solemnity, the greatest that had been performed in Jerusalem since the time of Solomon.

† *Time.* This serpent was, no doubt, preserved as a memorial of the divine goodness; but when the people became so superstitious as to pay divine honors to it, Hezekiah called it *Nehushtan*, (a piece of brass,) intimating that no worship was due to it; and to prevent further abuse, wisely destroyed it.

‡ *Before.* That must be meant, since the division of the kingdom.

§ *Wall.* This was that part of the wall which Joash, king of Israel, had broken down in the time of Amaziah, king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

entreated him to withdraw his army, promising to submit to what terms he pleased. The haughty Assyrian monarch demands thirty talents of gold,* and three hundred talents of silver; † which Hezekiah with much difficulty raised; for in order to do it, he was forced to strip the temple and his own palace. The base Sennacherib, having received the money, refuses to stand to the agreement; and, instead of raising the siege, or withdrawing his army, sent away a large detachment under the command of three generals, Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, to take possession of Jerusalem; where Rabshakeh, in the name of his master, and in great contempt of the God of Israel and king Hezekiah, demanded the surrender of the city. Hezekiah had sent three of his ministers to parley with the three Assyrian generals, viz., Eliakim, comptroller of his household, Shebna, the secretary, and Joab, the recorder. To these Rabshakeh addressed himself in a most insolent manner, in the Jewish language, which he continued to repeat, that the people, hearing his proud threats and vain boasting, might be intimidated, and induce the king to yield to their insolent demands. The three ministers return to Hezekiah in a very mournful manner, and relate to him what had passed between the Assyrian commanders and themselves; upon which, the king sent Eliakim and Shebna to Isaiah, to desire him to consult the Lord for them, who, not in the least dismayed at the arrogance of the blasphemous king of Assyria, returned this short and comfortable answer ‡ to the king of Judah: “Thus saith the Lord; be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servant of the king of Assyria hath blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him; and he shall hear a rumor, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.”

Rabshakeh, having summoned Jerusalem to yield, and receiving no answer, returned to his master, who was encamped before Libnah. Here it was that Sennacherib heard the rumor which God threatened by Isaiah, which was, that his country was invaded by Tirhakah king of Ethiopia. In consequence of this intelligence, he resolved to return home with all speed; but before he departed, he sent a second summons to Hezekiah, as blasphemous and as insolent as the former. Hezekiah, having read the letter, went into the temple, and spreading it before the Lord, he prayed to him for deliverance from the haughty king of Assyria. Hezekiah had no sooner offered this prayer than the Lord returned him an answer § by the prophet Isaiah, containing an assurance of speedy deliverance; and telling him that the king of Assyria should not attack Jerusalem, but return without doing any injury. This was soon verified; for in that same night the angel of the Lord came into the camp of Sennacherib, and slew || a hundred and eighty-five thousand, who

* *Thirty, etc.* At four thousand five hundred pounds each, thirty talents of gold amount to one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds.

† *Three, etc.* Three hundred talents of silver, at three hundred and seventy-five pounds each, amount to one hundred twelve thousand and five hundred pounds. In all, two hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred pounds—a prodigious sum in those days.

‡ *Answer.* See Isaiah xxxvii. 6, 7.

§ See 2 Kings xix. 20.

|| *Slew.* What manner of death these men died is not mentioned in the text, so that there

were all choice men. Sennacherib,* the next day, seeing such a slaughter of his people, hastened, with the remainder of his army, into his own country, and took up his residence at Nineveh; where he had not long been, when, as he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch,† his god, his two unnatural sons, Adrammelech and Sharezar, assassinated ‡ him; who, escaping into Armenia, made way for Esarhaddon, their brother, to ascend the Assyrian throne.

After this defeat of Sennacherib, Hezekiah was highly respected by all the neighboring princes, several sending him presents; so that he became exceedingly rich and powerful; in the midst of all which he was seized by a mortal disease, and to assure him it was so, the prophet Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, came to advise him to settle his affairs, for he should die; and then withdrew. Hezekiah knew no other way to deprecate this sentence, than by applying directly to his God, whom he thus addressed: "Remember me, O

is room for a variety of conjectures, though most agree that it was a sort of suffocation, perhaps occasioned by lightning.

"Mr. Boswell, in his Life of Dr. Johnson, informs us that it was a subject of conversation between them in what manner so great a multitude of Sennacherib's army was destroyed. 'We are not to suppose,' says the Doctor, in reply, 'that the angel went about with a sword in his hand, stabbing them one by one, but that some powerful natural agent was employed; most probably, the samyel.' Whether the Doctor had noticed some picture in which the angel was thus employed, is uncertain; but it would seem that this idea is current; and even Dr. Doddridge appears to have conceived of the angel, as of a person employed in slaughter; for he says, on the passage where Christ mentions that his Father could furnish him with twelve legions of angels: 'How dreadfully irresistible would such an army of angels have been, when one of these celestial spirits was able to destroy one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians at one stroke!'"

The *samyel*, or *simoom*, referred to by Dr. Johnson, appears, from Mr. Bruce's Travels, and from other writers, to consist of a meteor, "appearing like a thin smoke, and passing with a gentle ruffling wind. It is peculiarly fatal to persons sleeping. It is felt, and is compared to a suffocating fire. Its extent is sometimes considerable; and it often happens in the night." From this description, and from the expression used in Isa. xxxvii. 7, "Behold, I will send a blast upon him," (Sennacherib,) it appears rather probable that the simoom was the agent which God employed in the destruction of this immense number of men.

* *Sennacherib*. He being the principal offender in this case, and his people but as subjects obeying him, it may be asked why he escaped in this great slaughter. To which interpreters answer: 1. That he might be sensible of that great power which he had so insolently blasphemed. 2. That after he had seen the slaughter of his people, and shamefully fled, he might die a more scandalous and ignominious death by the hands of his unnatural sons.

† *Nisroch*. Some take this god to be the figure of Noah's ark, others of an eagle. The Seventy call him Mesrach; Josephus calls him Araskes. The Hebrew of Tobit, published by Munster, calls him Dagon.

‡ *Assassinated*. The cause of this parricide is not mentioned in the sacred text. But Dr. Prideaux, in his Introduction to the Reading of History, p. 154, gives this plausible account. When Sennacherib reached home, with the loss of so great an army, he demanded of some about him what the reason might be that the irresistible God of heaven so favored the Jewish nation. To which he was answered, That Abraham, from whom they were descended, by sacrificing his only son to him, had purchased this protection to his progeny. Whereupon the king replied, "If that will win him, I will spare him two of my sons, to gain him to my side." Which, when his two sons, Sharezar and Adrammelech heard, they resolved to prevent their own death by his. To these times may be referred those prophecies of Isaiah which are contained in ch. x., xiv. 25, and xxxi. 8, and that of Micah, iii. 6.

Lord, I beseech thee; how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart; and have done that which is good in thy sight.”* This short prayer was so prevalent with God, that before Isaiah had got into the middle of the court, the Spirit of the Lord bade him return and tell Hezekiah that he had heard his prayers and seen his tears; that he should recover in three days, and that he would add fifteen years to his life; giving him at the same time an assurance of his care and protection of him and his people. Hezekiah, in surprise at the sudden reverse of his doom, asked the prophet by what sign he might know he should recover. Isaiah informed him, that he might take his choice; either to have the shadow on the sun-dial go ten degrees forward or backward; and he chose the latter, which accordingly came to pass. Then the prophet ordered a lump of dry figs to be laid upon the king’s ulcer, and he recovered.

Immediately after his recovery, he drew up a pathetic memorial of his affliction upon the expectation of his death, and a grateful acknowledgment of his recovery; which he committed to writing.† The fame of this cure, and the miracle attending it, spread so far, that it reached the ear of Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon,‡ who sent ambassadors with letters and presents to congratulate him on his recovery. Hezekiah, thinking he could not more honorably return the compliment than by showing them the grandeur of his kingdom, very indiscreetly § gave them a view of all his strength and treasure. For which Isaiah, by the order of God, reproved || him severely, and foretold that the day would come when all the treasures he had gathered, and his children also, should be carried into Babylon. Hezekiah, having erred through human weakness, not stubbornness, humbly bowing to the judgment, replied, “Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken, seeing there shall be peace and truth in my days.”

* *Sight.* The fear of death which seems to have prevailed in good Hezekiah may appear, at first sight, surprising, but we are to remember that in the Old Testament days, “life and immortality” were not so fully revealed as in these gospel times; and even now, if Christians are not favored with a lively view of eternal happiness, and their own title to it, through the righteousness of Christ, we are not to wonder if, for a time, they shrink from the approach of dissolution. But the interest of the nation which he governed, and which seemed to be so much connected with his continuance on the throne, may well account for the earnestness of his desire to live. We may add that his son and successor, Manasseh, was not then born.

† *Writing.* See Isa. xxxviii. 9, etc.

‡ *Babylon.* At that time Babylon was tributary to the Assyrian monarchy, and though Merodach Baladan is called king, he is thought to have been no more than viceroy.

§ *Indiscreetly.* Such actions have cost nations dear; and have been often the occasion of drawing the barbarous people into the Roman empire.

|| *Reproved him.* The sacred historian informs us, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, that, in this particular instance, “God left him to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart.” It is probable that Hezekiah, though a pious man, knew not that there was so much pride and vanity in his heart as this interview with the ambassadors discovered. “His heart was lifted up” — the distinguishing favors conferred upon him had produced an undue conceit of his own importance, and he had perhaps an unjustifiable dependence on his wealth and arms, which he ostentatiously displayed to these foreigners, that they might conceive more highly of him. But God reproved him by his prophet, and, no doubt, he became more humble and diffident.

From this time to the end of his reign he continued steadfast in the practice of righteousness, increasing in power, riches, and honor. All his undertakings for the public welfare prospered. He replenished his stores, victualled his camps, fortified his city, and succeeded in all his enterprises. At length, however, he "slept with his fathers," and the people, sensible of the blessings they derived from his government, paid him unusual honors at his funeral; for "they buried him in the *chiefest* of the sepulchres of the sons of David; and all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honor at his death."*

The burial-place called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David was a very sumptuous and stately building. It lies now without the walls of Jerusalem, but, as it is supposed, was formerly † within them before that city was destroyed by the Romans. It consists of a large court of about one hundred and twenty feet square, with a gallery or cloister on the left hand, which court and gallery with the pillars that supported it were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall of about twenty-four feet square, within which are several lesser rooms, one within another, with stone doors opening into them, all which rooms, with the great room, were likewise cut out of marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chiefest of these rooms was the body of Hezekiah laid in a niche probably cut on purpose at that time for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honor. And all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of king Solomon, for it could not have been made without vast expense, and it is the only true remainder of old Jerusalem, which is now to be seen in that place.

Hezekiah was immediately succeeded by his son Manasseh, who, at the time of his accession to the throne, was only twelve years of age. Though he was but a boy, he could not be unacquainted with the pious character and happy reign of his parent, whose example, however, he was so far from imitating, that he acted directly contrary to him in all things, especially in what related to the worship of God; for he adored idols, restored the high-places, erected altars to Baal, placed an idol in the temple, made his son pass through

* In Hezekiah's reign we read of two great ministers, Eliakim and Shebna, who were sent to receive the king of Assyria's message by Rabshakeh, and afterwards to consult the prophet Isaiah about it, 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, xix. 2. Eliakim was a good man; but Shebna a wicked man. The prophet Isaiah, xxii., was sent by the Lord to Shebna to reprove him, and tell him, that he would not only throw him out of his offices, and place Eliakim in them, but send him away captive, and would "violently turn and toss him, like a ball, into a large country, where he should die:" and he would give his office to Eliakim, (whom he had supplanted, and gotten from him the office of treasurer,) and would make Eliakim a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.

† *Formerly*. Maimonides, in his tract *Beth Habbechirah*, c. vii., says, In Jerusalem they do not allow a sepulchre, except the sepulchres of the house of David, and the sepulchre of Huldah the prophetess, which were there from the days of the former prophets. This proves these sepulchres to have been within the walls of Jerusalem, and that the words of Scripture, which place them in the city of David, are strictly to be understood.

the fire, and made use of diviners, enchanters, and those who said they had familiar spirits. He was naturally very cruel; for, to add to the rest of his crimes, he is said to have shed so much innocent* blood, that Jerusalem was filled with it. By these horrid impieties he provoked the Lord to send his prophet to him with this dreadful message; that he would bring such calamities upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever should hear of them, they should make their ears to tingle; declaring that he would forsake the remnant of his inheritance, and deliver them in the hands of their enemies. These judgments soon came to pass; for God permitted the Assyrians to enter Judah, who committed all manner of outrage, and seizing the guilty king, who hid himself among the briars, put him in irons, and with his people carried him prisoner to Babylon.

Manasseh, in this distress, came to himself; and considering that the hand of God was upon him for his abominable practices, he, in most pungent sorrow, and in a deep sense of his crimes, addressed himself to God, who graciously heard his prayers, and restored him to his kingdom. Upon his return, to manifest the sincerity of his repentance, he removed the idols and altars of strange gods out of the temple, and suffered none of them to remain in Jerusalem. Then repairing the altar of the Lord, he sacrificed thereon burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and obliged the people of Judah to serve the Lord. However, the people still sacrificed in the high-places, not to idols, but to the Lord their God only. And as he reformed the abuses in religion, so he did those of the state; for he garrisoned his towns, and built a very high wall, to enclose Mount Sion in the city. Having reigned fifty-five years, he died, and was buried, (not as the good kings of Judah, in the royal sepulchre,) but in the garden† of his own house, called the garden of Uzziiah.

In Manasseh we behold a remarkable proof of the insufficiency of education alone to form a good and virtuous character. Something more powerful is wanting to fix and preserve right principles in the human heart. The depravity of man, as in the case of this young prince, has often been so violent as to break down every barrier; so that the children of the most godly

* *Innocent.* Among the rest that composed this purple stream, it is more than probable that the innocent blood of the prophet Isaiah was spilt. For though the text gives no account of his death, yet ecclesiastical writers tell us that under this king Manasseh, (who is reported to have been his son-in-law,) he was, in his extreme age, after he had lived more than a hundred years, and prophesied more than sixty of them, most barbarously put to death, by being sawed in two with a wooden saw. To which, very probably, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews referred, when he said, "They were sawn asunder," Heb. xi. 37. He collected into one volume all the prophecies he had made under the kings Uzziiah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah.

† *Garden.* See 2 Kings xxi. 18, though his reign was the longest of any of the kings of Judah or Israel, and though his captivity was in a few years after his accession to the crown, yet we have little said of him in the Holy Scriptures after his restoration: but are referred to the book of the *Seers* for the former part of his reign. Who these *Seers* were, is not certainly known. In our margin they are called *Hozai*, which the Jews conclude to be the prophet Hosea, which cannot be. The Septuagint translates the word *Hozai* by that of *Seers*, making it not a proper, but common name; from which Vatablus rightly calls them prophets: for so was Samuel called, when Saul went to inquire of him.

parents have sometimes proved monsters of iniquity. One might have hoped that the example, instructions, and character of his father would have left some valuable impressions on his mind, especially when connected with the counsels of those worthy persons to whom, no doubt, his father had entrusted him. His guilt, however, was exceedingly aggravated by his apostasy.

From the atrocity of his conduct, what could be expected but consequences the most signally destructive. But "where sin abounded," there did "grace much more abound." Repentance, which is the gift of God, was remarkably conferred upon him; and he lived long enough after this happy change to evince, by his conduct, the reality of it, and thus the severe chastisement of God proved his choicest blessing.

The repentance of Manasseh, and the wonderful display of pardoning mercy towards him, are exceedingly instructive and encouraging. Let none despair. "There is forgiveness with the Lord that he may be feared." "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." Thousands, probably, have derived hope from the example of Manasseh, and God has obtained a large revenue of praise and glory.

Amon, the son of Manasseh, succeeded him. He inherited the worst of his father's vices, and followed the ill example he had set him in the beginning of his reign. "He sacrificed unto all the carved images which his father had made, and served them." Manasseh, it seems, had failed in one part of his duty when he suppressed idol-worship—he neglected to "burn the images with fire," as the law required,* so that his son, who knew where to find these images, made use of them again.

Amon imitated the vices, but not the repentance and reformation, of his father, in consequence of which Divine vengeance pursued him, and put a speedy issue to his reign, by permitting his servants to conspire against and assassinate him. He rebelled against God, and his own subjects rebelled against him. Herein God was righteous, but they were wicked, and the conspirators were, very justly, put to death by the people.

Josiah, the son of Amon, ascended the throne at the early age of eight years. This was the prince who was by name predicted to reign over Judah, about three hundred years before his birth; for "a man of God," in the presence of Jeroboam at Bethel, made this public declaration: "O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord, Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name, and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high-places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee," 1 Kings xiii. 2.

This youthful prince gave such early tokens of a pious disposition, that the Lord took him into his immediate care, and he formed his conduct from the example of his most pious predecessors. In the eighth † year of his reign he not only destroyed the idols and altars of Baal, but the altar at Bethel, and those that were in the high-places, with all other things that tended to idolatry. And to show his contempt of Bethel, where Jeroboam

* Required. Deut. vii. 5.

† Eighth. See 2 Chron. xxxiv. 2.

had set up one of the calf-idols, he sent the ashes of the idolatrous things that he had burnt thither. And to be satisfied in a thorough purgation of the idolatrous worship, he visited Bethel in person, where, after many expressions of zeal for the service of the true God, he not only deposed the false priests, but seeing many monuments of the dead in the mount, he ordered the bones to be taken out of them, and burnt upon one of the altars. But by the inscription, discovering the monument of the man* of God that came from Judah to declare against the altar at Bethel, he would not permit his remains to be disturbed. Josiah carried this reformation through all the cities of Samaria that were subject to the crown of Judah. And wherever he found any priests of the Levitical order who had sacrificed to idols, he deposed them from their sacerdotal office, and sacrificed the false priests upon their own altars, and burnt their bones there. How wonderful is that Divine presence, which sees, through ages to come, all things that shall come to pass; and what a fresh confirmation must this fulfilment of the prophecy give to the truth of Revelation, and the necessity of worshipping Jehovah alone!

And yet it should seem that the people in general imbibed but little of that zeal by which their gracious sovereign was so eminently distinguished. While Josiah was diligently engaged in restoring the true worship, the people discovered much indifference and reluctance, so that the exercise of his royal power was needful to compel them. So dangerous are ill habits, and difficult to be shaken off. Of this the prophet Jeremiah† heavily complained.

This pious prince having so happily carried on the reformation in the distant parts of the kingdom, had ordered the temple at Jerusalem to be repaired and cleansed of all the remains of idolatry; and having lodged the money which the officers by his command had collected for this work in the temple, while Hilkiah the high-priest was locking up the money, he found the book‡ of the law, which being brought to the king, and read by Shaphan the chancellor to him, he rent his robes, and immediately commanded Hilkiah and the princes of the kingdom to go and inquire of the Lord for him and themselves what they should do, lest God's wrath should be executed on them for the wickedness of their predecessors, who had so flagrantly disobeyed the words of the law. Upon which Hilkiah, attended with the principal ministers, went to Huldah§ the prophetess, the wife of

* *Man, etc.* See 1 Kings xiii. 31; 2 Kings xiii. 18; 1 Kings xiii. 11.

† *Jeremiah.* See Chap. iii. 4, 5.

‡ *Book.* This was the book of Deuteronomy, or rather the whole Pentateuch, 2 Chron. xxiv. 14, which Moses, by the command of God, had laid up in the ark; which book having been so neglected by Manasseh and Amon, it was looked upon as an extraordinary thing to find it in the temple. For those two impious kings had burnt or suppressed all the holy books they could meet with. So that king Josiah as yet had not the book of the law; for when Shaphan the chancellor read it before the king, he was so concerned that he had been ignorant of it all this while, that in grief he rent his robes; though some are of opinion that his grief proceeded from the heavy judgments denounced therein against its transgressors.

§ *Huldah.* She was a woman very much revered and esteemed for her age, wisdom,

Shallum,* keeper of the wardrobe, who dwelt in the college† in Jerusalem, and having imparted their business to her, she told them that the evils threatened in the book of the law would soon fall on the house of Judah; but as to the king, because he had humbled himself when he heard the judgments denounced against the people, he should die in peace, and see none of the evils which God intended to bring upon Jerusalem and the inhabitants of it.

With this answer they returned to the king, who thereupon assembled the people, and went with them to the temple; where, when he had distinctly read to them the words of the book of the law, he entered into a covenant to observe all that was contained in it, and engaged all the people to stand to that covenant. Then he kept the passover, with such state and solemnity as had never been observed from the days of Samuel ‡ to that time. §

These transactions, from the finding of the book of the law to the keeping the passover, were in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; from which time to his thirty-first year, which was his last, we have no account of him, but are referred to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah. The last act of this king was his opposing Necho king of Egypt, who marching through Josiah's country to attack Carchemish, a place belonging to the king of Babylon,|| Josiah immediately marched against him. The Egyptian king

and piety, as we read of other women before, viz., Deborah, Judges iv., and Hannah, the mother of Samuel, 1 Sam. ii. And therefore there is no ground for thinking it strange that at a time when there were men prophets, and so eminent as Jeremiah and Zephaniah, king Josiah should send his ministers to inquire at the mouth of a woman. Besides, as St. Jerome, i. 2, *contra Pelag.*, well observes, God in directing them to consult a woman on so awful and important an occasion, might do it as a secret reprehension for their own want of sanctity; for though Jeremiah the prophet was then in being, and prophesied, yet possibly he might be at some distance from Jerusalem (for, as he observes, ch. i. v. 1, he dwelt at Anathoth, three miles from Jerusalem); and besides, as others observe, he might possibly be engaged in admonishing and instructing part of the other ten tribes; so that the king, being impatient to know what to do to avert the judgments threatened in the book of the law against the violators of it (as they all at that time were), took the speediest way, and, as it proved, the best, for satisfaction in this case.

* *Shallum.* The Jews say that this Shallum was the uncle of Jeremiah's father.

† *College.* That is, in the Second City, near the second wall of the city (for in those days great towns had three walls). The Chaldee paraphrase calls this second city a house of learning, or school, and Vatablus says it held the second place of dignity next to the temple, and in which the prophets and doctors lived; others, that it was a school of profane learning; which is very likely at this time, when there were no books of the law in being that they knew of.

‡ *Samuel.* See 2 Chron. xxxv. 18.

§ *Time.* Ignorance of the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures of truth, will ever be favorable to the progress of iniquity, for if the solemn threatenings of God against sin are unknown, there is no effectual barrier to restrain men from it. It should therefore be considered as one of the distinguishing blessings of our land, that by means of printing, a copy of the Bible may be procured by almost every individual: and were this impracticable, the public reading of the Scriptures in all the churches must preserve all, but the wilfully irreligious, from absolute ignorance of the mind and will of God.

|| *Babylon.* He is called king of Assyria, 2 Kings xxiii. 29, but that cannot be properly meant so; for at that time Assyria was under Nabopolassar, (who is called Nebuchodonosor, senior,) king of Babylon, who was king of Babylon and Assyria too. Besides, Asarhaddon was the son of Sennacherib, who reigned but ten years after the defeat of his army by the

hearing this, sent ambassadors to desire him to desist; for he declared he came not to invade his territories, but to do himself justice on the king of Babylon; assuring him at the same time, that what he did was by instruction* from God. But Josiah, having so far advanced with his army, would not believe † the Egyptian king, for he did not know that this was of the Lord, otherwise than as Necho told him, whom, as an invading army, he thought he was not bound to believe; and therefore resolving to expel him, he disguised himself, and in the valley of Megiddo drew up his army to fight the Egyptian, who was not unprepared to receive him. The two armies engaged, and the action grew so hot that the Egyptian archers, discovering Josiah, notwithstanding his disguise, plied that quarter where he fought so warmly with their arrows, that, at last, one proved the messenger of death to him. Josiah finding himself wounded, bid his charioteer drive him out of the field; who, putting him into another chariot, brought him to Jerusalem, where he soon died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers. The death of this excellent prince was lamented by all his subjects; but by none so much as the prophet Jeremiah; who, upon that occasion, composed the greatest part of that mournful song, which is called "The Lamentations of Jeremiah," wherein he foretold the miseries that would fall upon the people after the death of Josiah. And in so great a veneration was the memory of this good king held, that upon all mournful occasions afterwards, the singing men and women were obliged to commemorate the untimely death of good king Josiah; which lasted an hundred years after, even to the prophet Zechariah's ‡ time. Though this monarch had endeavored by his own pious example, by wholesome advice, pressing instances, threatenings and force, to reclaim his people; yet the Lord, who well knew the obstinacy of their nature, before Josiah's death, declared, § that he would remove Judah out of his sight.

angel in Judea, the last king of Assyria, properly speaking. So that it was against Nabopolassar that Pharaoh Necho went, when king Josiah opposed his passage through the country.

* *Instruction, etc.* This, as St. Jerome says, was by word of mouth to the king of Egypt by Jeremiah the prophet, and that Josiah lost his life in that action for not obeying the word of the Lord. This is the more probable, as the Lord had often by his prophets admonished kings who were strangers to the law.

† *Believe.* It is reasonable to suppose, that Necho king of Egypt having to pass with his army through king Josiah's country, Josiah, not understanding his intent in this expedition, might suspect he had a design upon him; and therefore went out with an army to stop him, being unwilling to trust a foreign power in his country. But it is plain, that by this unadvised and wilful act of his, in going to fight with the king of Egypt, without any other cause than his own suspicion of that prince's invading him, though the Egyptian told him he had no design on him, and that what he did was by the advice of God, shortened his own life, and deprived himself of the benefit of that part of the Divine promise by the prophetess Huldah, that he should go to his grave in peace, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28.

‡ *Zechariah.* Who remembered it, by comparing the mourning which he then prophesied should in after times be in Jerusalem, to the mourning of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddo, which was the place where Josiah received his mortal wound.

§ *Declared.* See 2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27. From hence it is, that the prophets of that time complained so grievously of the people, and denounced the judgments of the Lord against them, even to the destruction of their city, and their own captivity: as did Jeremiah, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of this

as he had done Israel, (who was now in captivity,) and would reject the city of Jerusalem, which he had formerly chosen, and the temple in which he said that his name should remain.

The prophet Nahum, the Elkeshite, (so called in the title of his prophecy, either because he was of the town of Elkasha, in the tribe of Judah, or that it was the name of his family,) is supposed to have lived and prophesied about this time. It is certain he prophesied after the captivity of the ten tribes, and before that of Judah; which last he foretold in his first chapter, and the destruction of Nineveh in those that follow. Tremellius and Junius refer him to the latter part of Josiah's reign. Which seems the more likely, as being nearer to the destruction of Nineveh, and the Assyrian monarchy, to which Nahum's prophecy more particularly related. Nor did this prophet only prophesy against Nineveh, but the prophet Zephaniah also, who began to prophesy in the days of Josiah king of Judah, Zeph. i. 1, and prophesied directly against Assyria in general, and of the destruction of Nineveh in particular, ii. 13, etc.

And since we are speaking of the time in which some of the prophets lived, it may not be amiss to inform the reader of the reason why their writings are misplaced; for in the Bible they are not arranged according to the order of time in which they delivered them. This is supposed to have happened through the negligence of the priests in those days, who had the charge of registering and keeping them. For the manner was, when any prophet had written a prophecy, he caused it to be fixed to the gate of the temple, where it remained for certain days, that all might read and take notice of it. And after it had stood there the appointed time, the priests took it into the temple to record it in a book; but for want of due care to enter them in course, as they were written, they left them in that disorderly manner in which we now have them. But besides that, it must be considered that several of the prophets, especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, wrote in very troublesome times; Ezekiel, and Daniel, when in captivity at Babylon; and Jeremiah, when all things both in church and state were in the greatest confusion and disorder at Jerusalem; and the first copy of his book was destroyed by king Jehoiakim, Jer. xxxvi. 23, so that it is not to be wondered at that they are so misplaced, but rather ought thankfully to be acknowledged that we have them at all. The account of time also, and computation of years, wherein some great events took place, and are mentioned by the prophets, are so differently related, that it is difficult, and sometimes scarcely possible, to reduce them to a certainty.

Upon the death of Josiah, his son Jehoahaz was proclaimed and anointed king; but his reign was short, lasting but three months: for the king of Egypt, improving his victory at Megiddo, deposed Jehoahaz, and set up Eliakim, Jehoahaz's elder brother, changing his name to Jehoiakim. Then making the crown of Judah tributary to Egypt, he obliged the country to

prophecy; and the prophet Zephaniah in his. With whom may be joined the prophet Habakkuk, who is supposed to have lived in the latter part of Josiah's reign, or under his son's, a little before their captivity by the Chaldeans, which he foretold, Hab. i. 5-12.

pay him a hundred talents of silver, and one of gold; which money Jehoiakim raised by a general tax upon the land, rating every man according to his ability.*

Jehoahaz being deposed, the king of Egypt loaded him with irons, and left him at Riblah, a city of Syria, while he pursued his expedition against the Assyrians,† and afterwards, at his return, he took him along with him to Egypt, where he soon died.‡ And now Jehoiakim being placed on the throne of Judah by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, instead of taking warning by the manifest judgments which God had inflicted on his predecessors, imitates them in the worst of their wicked actions; notwithstanding which, though he deserved immediate punishment, God in mercy, to reclaim him and his people, sent his servant, the prophet Jeremiah, to admonish and exhort them to repentance, and assure them that, if they persisted in their wicked way of living, he would make the temple like the house of Shiloh,§ and the city of Jerusalem a curse|| to all nations. This so enraged the priests and false prophets that they caused the people to seize ¶ Jeremiah, and brought him before the princes of Judah in the temple, who were so far from pronouncing the sentence of death against him, as the priests and false prophets had done already, that they unanimously acquitted him, saying, "This man is not worthy of death, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God." And to confirm this, their judgment, they urged as a precedent, the prophet Micah, who predicted the destruction of Jerusalem before Hezekiah with impunity. To balance which, they urged a later precedent of one Urijah, a prophet of the Lord, who for prophesying against the city and whole land was by king Jehoiakim put to death. But it pleased God to raise up for Jeremiah a powerful friend in the person of Ahikam, one of the king's counsellors, who protected him from the malice of the priests and rage of the people. He being thus secured by this good man Ahikam, went on more boldly in the work of the Lord.

Soon after Jehoiakim was made king, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Assyria, to revenge the late expedition of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, against Cherchemish, having gathered a large army, attacked the

* *Ability.* See 2 Kings xxiii. 35. It is very probable the prophet Jeremiah had regard to this taxation when in his mournful complaint he said of Jerusalem, "She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!" Lam. i. 1.

† *Assyrian,* or rather Babylon, as we have observed in our note on the word Babylon in a preceding page.

‡ *Died.* This the prophet Jeremiah foretold, ch. xxii. 10, 11, 12, where he bids the king and people of Judah, "not weep for the dead, (meaning Josiah,) but for him that goeth away, for he shall return no more, nor see his native country." For, says he, "Thus saith the Lord concerning Shallum, (which was the right name of Jehoahaz, Jer. xxii. 11,) the son of Josiah, king of Judah, who reigned instead of Josiah his father, and who went forth out of this place, he shall not return hither any more."

§ *Shiloh.* The place where the ark had abode more than three hundred years; yet he had given it up to utter destruction.

|| *Curse.* Or rather, a pattern for cursing.

¶ *Seize.* See Jeremiah xxvi. 8.

king of Egypt there, and routed them, taking from him all the country that lies between the river Euphrates* and the Nile. After which he made an easy conquest of Judah; for he besieged Jerusalem, and took it, and carried the king and part of the vessels of the temple to Babylon. Where, after he had continued a prisoner for some time, he restored † him to his crown, on condition that he should become tributary to him. In the fourth year of his reign, Jeremiah delivered another message from the Lord to the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem; in which he positively assured them that since no admonitions and warnings would affect them, the Lord would bring Nebuchadnezzar his servant, ‡ with all the northern nations that were subject to him, against the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem, and would make them serve the king of Babylon seventy § years. Yet to let them see that he would not, even then, give them quite up, he told them that at the expiration of the seventy years he would punish the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and all the other nations that had afflicted them, for their iniquities.

Jehoiakim, having continued three years in subjection to Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth refused any longer submission to him. Upon which, Nebuchadnezzar ordered him to be attacked by some Chaldean troops, joined by the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites. This war lasted some time, during which God frequently admonished Jehoiakim and his people, by various means, to return to their duty. The first of which was this: the approach of Nebuchadnezzar's army having driven the Rechabites || from their habitation, they fled to Jerusalem for safety. The Lord intending by these to convince and reprove Jehoiakim and the Jews, he commanded Jeremiah the prophet to bring them into an apartment of the temple, and to offer them wine; which they refused, alleging that it was contrary to their institution, which they had hitherto religiously observed. The prophet commended their obedience, and promised them a reward from God; and applying this to the Jews, he reproached them, who were the peculiar people of the Lord, for being less obedient to him than the poor Rechabites were to the appointment of their ancestor. But this method not having the intended effect, the Lord

* *Euphrates.* See 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

† *Restored.* This is not expressly mentioned in the Holy Scripture, yet some passages give a hint that way; and as it is the common opinion, so it may somewhat help to make out the time of his reign, and give more room for the prophecies that belong to it, which are many, for he reigned eleven years. At this time, and also with him, it is thought (and with great reason) that the prophet Daniel, with his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, (who were Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego,) were carried to Babylon, Dan. i., vi. For Daniel, ch. i. 1, says, When Nebuchadnezzar took Jehoiakim and the vessels of the temple, he spake unto Ashpenaz, the master of the eunuchs, that he should bring with him to Babylon some of the children of Israel, of the seed of the king and of the princes, such as were well-favored and without blemish, of good parts and well educated; that, being instructed in the language and learning of the Chaldeans, they might be fit to serve the king in his palace; and that the eunuch in consequence made choice of those four, i. 3, 4, 6.

‡ *Servant.* See Jeremiah xxv. 9.

§ *Seventy.* See Jeremiah xxv. 11.

|| *Rechabites.* They were the posterity of Rechab, who came from Jethro, or Hobab, the Kenite, and by the institution of Jonadab, their founder, were obliged to build no houses, but to dwell in tents, and to drink no wine.

commanded Jeremiah to make a book, and to write in it all the prophecies which the Lord had given him against Israel and Judah, from his beginning to prophesy, in order to see if the Jews, upon hearing all the judgments summed up together against them for their disobedience, would return to their duty, that he might forgive them. In compliance with this command, Jeremiah employed Baruch as his amanuensis, to write what he should dictate to him; and when it was finished, the prophet ordered Baruch to take it, and because he was shut * up, that he might not enter into the house of the Lord, to go and read it to the people in the temple upon the fast-day.† Baruch pursues his instructions; and going to the temple, read what he had written in the book. This was done in Gemariah's apartment, and afterwards in the secretary's office, before all the princes; who, being satisfied that what Baruch read was the prophet Jeremiah's indicting, they advised him and Baruch to withdraw to some place of security, till they knew the king's pleasure concerning the book. They then secured the book in the secretary's office, and went and informed the king of what they had heard. Upon which, sending Jehudi, one of his attendants, for it, he commanded him to read it; but he had not proceeded far in it, when the king, impatient at the judgments that threatened him, took the book out of his hand, and cut it into pieces, and, notwithstanding the importunity of some of the first persons of his court, he threw it into the fire, where it was burned. And to show his want of penitence, he dispatched officers to apprehend the prophet Jeremiah and his amanuensis, Baruch; but Providence had secured them. This wilful act of Jehoiakim, in burning the roll, so provoked the Lord that he commanded the prophet to provide another, and write the same words in it that were in the first, with this addition, that Jehoiakim should have none to sit on the throne of David, and that his dead body should be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that he would bring upon the inhabitants of Judah all the evils pronounced against them. And to let him see that God was in earnest, he permitted this obstinate prince to fall into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, who put him in irons, intending to have carried him to Babylon, if he had not died on the way.

To Jehoiakim succeeded his son Jehoiakin,‡ a youth of about eighteen

* *Shut up.* It is uncertain what the prophet meant here, Jeremiah xxxvi. v. 5, by saying, "He was shut up." Some say he was shut up in prison by the malice of the priests, who, no doubt, were malicious enough to do so; but the contrary appears from v. 19, where the princes advised him and Baruch to hide themselves, which they did, v. 26. Tremellius and Junius suppose three ways of his being shut up, and leave us to take which of the three we like best. The first is, that the king had forbidden him to go into the temple to speak to the people; but the prophets of God did not use to observe such prohibitions of their prophetic ministry. The second is, that the chief priests had excommunicated him, and therefore he might not go; but that, in all probability, he would have less regard, for the same reason. The third is, that God, to provide for the safety of his prophet, and to punish the people, would not let him go among them. This of the three seems the most probable, and so his being shut up was by a restraint in his spirit or mind.

† *Fast-day.* This, it seems, was a fast of their own appointing, as was usual when they feared war, or any great plague from God, as now they did by the Babylonians.

‡ *Jehoiakin.* In 1 Chron. iii. 16, he is called Jechoniah. In 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, he is said to be but eight years old when he began to reign, and in 2 Kings xxiv. 8, he is said to be

years of age; who treading in the steps of his wicked father, the Lord sent his doom by the prophet Jeremiah,* which was soon executed upon him; for in the fourth month of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar, having conceived some ill suspicion of this young prince, who was viciously inclined, came and besieged Jerusalem in person, at the head of a powerful army. Jehoiakin finding himself too weak to defend the place, surrendered himself, his mother, his princes, officers, and servants, to the king of Babylon, who carried them all away prisoners, taking with them all the treasure of the temple and the royal palace, and all the useful artificers; leaving none but the poorest sort of people behind.

The conqueror having thus disposed of the captives, above seven thousand in number, substituted to Jehoiakin his uncle Mattaniah, the third son of good king Josiah, whose name he changed to Zedekiah, who, though he had seen the ruin of his two brothers, Jehoaz and Jehoiakim, and of his nephew Jehoiakin, yet persisting in their wicked ways, God sent the prophet Jeremiah to admonish him, who related to him the vision † of the two baskets of figs, the one good, and the other bad. By the first, representing the captivity of those that were in Babylon, which being limited to a time, was for the good of their posterity; the latter, the condition of Zedekiah, and those that remained in the land of Judah, all which the Lord threatened to deliver up to their enemies, and to make them a reproach and curse in all places; adding that the Lord would send the sword, famine, and pestilence among them till they were consumed.

In the reign of Jehoiakim, the prophet Jeremiah, ‡ by God's command, had made bonds and yokes, and put them upon his neck in token of the bondage with which the Lord had threatened Judah and other nations; and now he was commanded to send the bonds and yokes to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, to let them know that God had given their countries to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, his servant, § and to warn them of their idolatry, and to submit to him. But to Zedekiah, king of Judah, the prophet went in person, and advised him to submit to the king of Babylon, and not to believe the false prophets, who flattered him with hopes of Judah's recovering her former state, and foretold the destruction of Babylon. Among these was Hananiah, who gave Jeremiah much trouble; however, when the Lord commanded him, he readily went on his prophetic ministry. And taking the opportunity of Zedekiah's sending an embassy to Babylon, he sent a letter to the captive priests and people, to admonish them that their captivity was for their benefit, and that their pos-

eighteen. The latter is the most reasonable, because of the message which God sent to him by the prophet Jeremiah, which he would scarce have done to a child of eight years old. And as to the book of Chronicles saying he was eight years old, it must be supposed that his father had created him his partner in the kingdom at eight years of age, out of jealousy, that if he (Jehoiakim) should die, and leave his son young, his brother Mattaniah might take the advantage of his childhood, and put him by the crown.

* *Jeremiah.* See Jer. xxii. 24.

† *Jeremiah.* See Jer. xxvii. 2.

‡ *Vision.* See Jeremiah xxiv. 1, etc.

§ *Servant.* See Jeremiah xxvii. 6.

terity should return; but that God would severely judge those that were left at Jerusalem, both king and people, with sword, pestilence, and famine, and afterwards deliver them up to their enemies, to be a reproach and curse among all nations.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Shemaiah, a popular man among the captive Jews at Babylon, took upon him to write to Zephaniah, who was next in place to Seraiah the high-priest at Jerusalem, and to the rest of the priests there, representing Jeremiah as a madman, and a prophet of his own making, and advising them to confine him. Jeremiah hearing this letter of Shemaiah read, was commanded by God to send again to the captives of Babylon, to let them know that the Lord would punish Shemaiah and his posterity, because he had prophesied falsely to them. And to warn those who still remained at Jerusalem, God commanded Jeremiah to show them by the emblem* of the potter's bottle, that it was in his power to destroy the despisers of his word. But notwithstanding this, and the threats of the Lord by his prophets, they desperately resolve † to go on in their own ways, and plot against Jeremiah, abusing him with words and blows, and putting him into the stocks.

About this time was Ezekiel ‡ called to the office of a prophet, and made to see the visions of God. He having been instructed and encouraged in the service of God, by the glorious discoveries § made to him, prophesied the same things at Babylon that Jeremiah did at Jerusalem; which confirming Jeremiah's prophecies, was a great comfort to him. Thus did these two great prophets visit the people with several warnings, endeavoring, by very significant emblems and direct prophecies, to reclaim them. But they still persisting in their obstinacy and disobedience, God brought upon them those judgments he had so often by his prophets threatened, and which Zedekiah's impiety hastened: for he revolting, in the ninth year of his reign, from Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him king, provoked the haughty monarch to march with a vast army, and besiege Jerusalem. Where we will leave the Jews, and look back a little to an action which happened in another part of the kingdom of Judah, wherein Bethulia owed its deliverance to the policy and courage of the heroine Judith. ||

* *Emblem.* See Jeremiah xviii.

† *Resolve.* See Jeremiah xviii. 12, 18.

‡ *Ezekiel.* He was a priest, and carried to Babylon among the captives of Jehoiakim.

§ *Discoveries.* See Ezekiel i. 2-5, 8.

|| *Judith.* Some modern critics have endeavored to make the history of Judith pass for an allegory; but it has nothing of the air of fiction or parable. Both Jews and the ancient Christians looked upon it as a true history, though the former have not placed it among their canonical books. The author is not certainly known; but it is very probable that it was composed during the captivity, because it was written in the Chaldaic tongue. The original, from which were made the Greek versions, quoted by the fathers, and the Latin, done by St. Jerome, are lost. As to the time, it is most certain that it was before the burning of Jerusalem and the temple, and after the captivity in Jehoiakim's days; which appears from Judith iv. 3, where it is said, "They were newly returned from the captivity," which must be that in Jehoiakim's time, for that in Zedekiah's continued seventy years, before which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had subdued Arphaxad, king of the Medes, and demol-

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Nineveh, having defeated and taken Arphaxad, king of the Medes, proposed to himself to subdue the nations of Asia to the westward; on which expedition he sent his general Holofernes with a mighty army, who, spreading terror in all parts, made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, Libya, and Cilicia, which voluntarily submitted to him. After these conquests he turned his arms to the country of Edom, where he found as little resistance. The Israelites, taking the alarm, gathered what forces they had, possessed themselves of the mountains, and fortified their towns. Holofernes, surprised that they should think of opposing his army, inquired of the Moabites and Ammonites what strength that people had, and what motive could induce them to stand out. Achior, chief of the Ammonites, in a few words told him the history of that nation, and having informed him how they had been sometimes protected and sometimes abandoned by their God, concluded that, if they had offended their God, he would deliver them into his hands; but if they had not, their God would defend them, and that all his army would not be able to subdue them. Holofernes, hearing this account, with great indignation caused Achior to be sent into Bethulia, which he besieged, intending to destroy him when it was taken. The inhabitants of Bethulia, seeing the number of the enemy, began to be alarmed, and were so pressing with Ozias, the governor of the place, that to quiet them, he promised to surrender the town, if in five days they were not relieved. But that which pressed them most was the want of water, for otherwise the town, by reason of its high situation, was inaccessible. This want of water was occasioned by the advice of the Idumæans and others, whom Holofernes had subdued, who told him there was no way of reducing the place but by cutting off the water at the foot of the mountains, which supplied them. This advice Holofernes pursued, which made Ozias the governor, in despair, promise the people he would hold out no longer than five days.

At that time there dwelt in Bethulia a woman named Judith, as eminent for virtue and piety as for the great wealth and possessions her husband had

ished Ecbatana. This Arphaxad probably was Phrartes, or Aphraartes, who, as Herodotus tells us, was defeated by the Assyrians (who were then subject to the king of Babylon) and perished with his army. Which agrees with what is said in the first chapter of Judith, that Arphaxad was overcome by Nebuchadnezzar, who returned to Nineveh, which was the capital of the kingdom of Assyria. But to come more precisely to the time of Holofernes, king Nebuchadnezzar's general, in the second chapter of Judith it is positively said that Nebuchadnezzar put his general on this expedition in the first month of the eighteenth year of his reign, which was the ninth year of Zedekiah, king of Judah; so that the defeat of Holofernes and the siege of Jerusalem happened in the same year, though it must be supposed that the expedition against Bethulia was in the beginning of the year, and the siege at the end of it; for we read in the fifteenth of Judith, that Joakim the priest, with the elders, came from Jerusalem to salute Judith, and she returned to Jerusalem with them to give thanks, which could not be in the time of a siege. As for the Bethulians enjoying peace during Judith's life, it may be supposed that Nebuchadnezzar being employed two years in the siege of Jerusalem, might spend some years in reducing other parts of the country; and Bethulia being a place naturally strong, as situated in the mountainous part of the country, he was unwilling to weary his army before it, or make any attempt on it, till he had subdued the rest.

left her. She, hearing what the governor had done to quiet the people, sent for him and the leading men of the city, and in their presence reproved him for it, assuring them that God, by her, would find out an expedient to deliver them; but enjoining them not to inquire into her project, for she declared she would not inform them. Upon this they left her, wishing her good success. Judith was sensible of the charms of her person, for she was very beautiful, and with these she proposed to captivate and betray the proud general. Having therefore addressed herself in prayer to God, she adds all the embellishments of art and dress, and attended only by her maid, makes the best of her way to the Assyrian camp. Being come to the out-guard, she was stopped, and asked who and whence she was. She told them she was a Hebrew who had fled from her countrymen for protection, because she was sensible that her fate was near. Her dress and beauty commanded respect, and they immediately provided a chariot for her and her maid, and a guard of a hundred choice men to conduct her to the general's tent. Where being arrived, and waiting without the tent till the general was ready to receive her, the officers and soldiers with much pleasure surveyed and admired her beauty. Being introduced, Holofernes met her at the tent-door, and seating himself under a rich canopy of state, he assured her of his protection, and desired an account of the cause of her visit. After due respect paid to the presence of so great a person, she expressed herself to him as she had done to the advanced guard; and addressed herself so artfully to him in words that admitted a double meaning, as,* "That the Lord had sent her to perform such an enterprise with him as would excite the wonder of the world when it was known," so that he became enamored with her wit and beauty. Holofernes fondly concluding that the God of the Hebrews was angry with them, which he, through mistake, imagined the cause of Judith's quitting them, gave her leave to go and come whither and when she pleased, without control. Judith was a pious woman, and a strict observer of the ceremonies of her religion; and to prevent any pollution by eating with the Assyrians, when Holofernes pressed her to eat as he did, she declined it, telling him that she had brought enough to serve her till she had finished what she came about. Thus she continued three days in the Assyrian camp, and on the fourth day Holofernes invited her to an entertainment, where she drank of his wine, but ate only what she had ordered her maid to provide. The general was so well pleased with her conversation that he drank very liberally, and proposed to pass the night with the beautiful stranger; but he became so intoxicated that he fell upon his bed fast asleep. Upon which, Bagoas, the general's eunuch, dismissed all the company except Judith, and then himself withdrew. Now was Judith's project ripe for execution; praying therefore to God to strengthen her in the performance of it, she approached the bed, and finding his senses quite locked up with wine, she drew his scimitar, and at two strokes cut off his head, which she immediately gave to her maid, whom she had ordered to attend her without. The maid put up the head

* *As.* See Judith xi. 16.

in the bag in which she carried their provisions, and away they hasten towards the mountains of Bethulia. When they were come within hearing, Judith called to the watch to open the gates, and being admitted, the governor and people from all quarters of the town came thronging to see her; upon which she showed them Holofernes's head, assuring them that, though she had ensnared him with her beauty, yet he had committed nothing immodest with her. Judith, well knowing the consternation into which the sudden death of Holofernes would put the Assyrian army, advised the Bethulians to take the advantage of it, and arm to pursue and kill them. They had great reason to observe her instructions, whose conduct had so far put them in the way for their deliverance. The besieged therefore immediately ran to arms; and to encourage them, Judith had ordered the head of Holofernes to be hung upon the wall in sight of the enemy. The Bethulians appearing in the passes of the mountains, the enemy's out-guards gave notice to their officers, and the officers sent to the general; upon which, Bagoas, his eunuch, went to the tent, and knocked at the door, but having no answer, he opened it and went in, where, to his great amazement and surprise, he saw the headless body of his master wallowing in his blood; missing Judith, who he thought had slept with Holofernes that night, he went to her tent; but not finding her there, he straightway concluded who was the author of this mischief and disgrace to the Assyrians. This dismal news soon spread through the camp, and occasioned such terror that every one began to shift for himself, flying over the plains and mountains in the greatest confusion and disorder. The Bethulians took the advantage of this, and attacked them in small parties from several quarters, as did likewise all the neighboring people, who, as well as those of Bethulia, enriched themselves greatly with the booty. After this, Joakim came to Bethulia, attended with the chief men of Israel, and having saluted Judith and complimented her for her glorious conduct and policy, she returned with them to Jerusalem, where they all gave public thanks, and offered burnt-offerings; but Judith's offering was the plunder of Holofernes's tent, with all his equipage, with which the soldiers had presented her. After this, she returned to Bethulia, and died in a good old age, being a hundred and five years old. Return we now to the siege of Jerusalem.

The Jews being closely besieged, the prophet Jeremiah frequently applied to the king, acquainting him with his fate, and that of the city; with which Zedekiah was at length so much affected, that he and his people, to show some token of reformation, agreed to proclaim a manumission, or liberty to all Hebrew servants of both sexes, which they ratified by the ancient and usual solemnity of dividing* a calf into two parts, and passing between them. But this they soon retracted; for upon the coming of Hophra,† king of Egypt, to the relief of Jerusalem, the Chaldeans‡ raised the siege of the

* *Dividing.* Jeremiah xxxiv. 9, which imported a sort of imprecation on themselves, that they might be cut asunder in case they did not observe and perform the covenant into which they then entered.

† *Hophra.* He is called so by the prophet Jeremiah, xlv. 33; by others, Aphries; by Eusebius, Vaphres.

‡ *Chaldeans.* They were part of Nebuchadnezzar's army.

city, and went to fight the Egyptians; and the people of Jerusalem, who had made the proclamation of liberty, thinking that Nebuchadnezzar's army had fled for fear of the Egyptian army, obliged the servants to return every one to his respective duty and service. This prevarication so incensed the Lord, that he repeats his former judgments of sword, famine, and pestilence, by his servant Jeremiah. Shortly after which, Zedekiah sent Jehucal and Zephaniah the priest, to the prophet Jeremiah, to desire him to pray to the Lord for them. But he returned answer, that they were mistaken in concluding that the Chaldeans were gone; and supposing that the Chaldeans should be worsted, so that none but wounded men should be left, yet they would fire the city.

After this the prophet, seeing the siege raised for the present, thought fit to take this opportunity of the gates being open, to go into the country; but being stopped by the guard, was seized as a deserter, and carried before the princes, who were in such a rage, that they fell upon him, beat him, and committed him to prison. From whence he was, by the king's order, released, and brought to his house, where, between themselves, the king asked him if he had any word from the Lord concerning him. "Yes," replied Jeremiah, "for thou shalt be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon." Then expostulating with the king on the hardship of his case, who, for telling the truth in the siege of the city, and other matters, was punished and confined, while the false prophets were excused, he desired the king to put him in a more commodious prison; he was accordingly removed, and better care taken of him so long as any provision was left.

The good old prophet, though in prison, spoke what the Lord commanded him; and all that he said being a constant denunciation of the heavy judgments of God against the city and people of Jerusalem, particularly that it should be taken by the king of Babylon, and that they should languish under those three plagues—famine, pestilence, and sword—the princes were so enraged that they went to the king, and remonstrated with him on the subject, declaring that the prophet ought to be put to death, as his speeches discouraged both the soldiers and the people. The king, in this distress, not daring to contest with his people, who, upon every little occasion, were too apt to mutiny, allowed them to do what they pleased. Upon which, they took Jeremiah, and let him down by cords into a filthy miry dungeon, where he must inevitably have perished had not God raised him up a friend in the person of Ebedmelech, a black eunuch, who interceded with the king for him, and procured him to be brought back to his former prison. For this courtesy, Jeremiah assured the charitable Moor that when the city should be taken he should not fall by the sword.

And now the king, having the prophet near him again, desired him not to hide anything from him that he should ask. But the prophet, who had been ill treated before for speaking his mind so freely, began now to expostulate with him, and before he answered the king, he told him, that if he would promise* not to put him to death, if what he should report to him did

* *Promise.* See Jeremiah xxviii. 16.

not please him, and that if he gave him good advice, he would observe it, he would freely answer him. To the first the king answered positively, that no one should hurt him; but as to the second he was silent. However, the prophet ventured to advise him to surrender to the king of Babylon, with assurance of good quarter for himself and family. The king scrupled at it, but the prophet persisted; and at the breaking off of the discourse, the king obliged him to secrecy, which for his own sake he observed; for if the princes had known what had passed between him and the king, it might have cost the prophet his life.

The siege drawing near to a close, the people, through the scarcity of provisions, were reduced to extremity, being forced to rake the very dunghills for food, and at last to feed on one another.* In this sad condition, the city was taken by storm, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign. The Chaldeans having possessed themselves of one gate, king Zedekiah, with the few forces he had left, endeavored to escape at another gate; but the city being enclosed on every side with the enemy's army, he had not gone far before he was seized, and the few that were with him dispersed. The wretched king, thus taken, was carried to Nebuchadnezzar, who was then at Riblah, where, to add to his misery, he saw his sons put to death before his face, and the princes of Judah, who had opposed his inclining to believe the prophet Jeremiah, were likewise slain. As for himself, the king of Babylon commanded his eyes to be put out; and binding him in fetters of brass, he carried him in triumph to Babylon, where he died in prison. The people being put to military execution, the enemy fell to plunder, and destroyed the place. This was executed with the utmost rage by Nebuzaradan, captain of the king of Babylon's guards, for he threw down the walls, burnt the temple and royal palace, and all the principal houses, and set the rest of the city on fire. Those that escaped the sword, with them that had deserted during the siege, were sent prisoners to Babylon, none but a few of the poorer sort being left to till the country. All the sacred vessels, utensils, and treasure of the temple, were carried off, together with the priests, and some officers that used to attend the service of the Lord.

* *Another.* See Lament. iv. 5, 10, and Ezek. v. 10.

THE contemporary reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, being somewhat intricate, from the manner in which they run into each other in the Sacred History, the following table will exhibit an abstract of their several reigns, from the founding of Solomon's temple to the destruction of it at this period of the history.

KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

ABSTRACT OF THE REIGNS OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, FROM THE FOUNDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE IN THE YEAR OF THE WORLD 3983, TO ITS FINAL DESTRUCTION BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR. EMBRACING THE SPACE OF 423 YEARS.

Years before Christ.	Years of Reign.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Israel.	Years of Reign.	Years before Christ.	Prophets in their Reigns and Particular Events.
1011	4-36	Solomon.	Jeroboam I.	22	975	Nathan and Gad.
975	17	Rehoboam.				
958	3	Abiam.	Nadab.	1	953	
955	41	Asa.	Baasha.	23	952	
			Elah.	1	929	
			Zimri.	7 days.	928	
			Omri.	11 yrs.	928	
			Ahab.	20	917	Elijah prophesied.
914	25	Jehoshaphat.	Ahaziah.	1	904	Troy taken.
			Jehoram.	11	897	Elijah translated.
					896	Elisha succeeds him.
889	4	Jehoram.				
885	1	Ahaziah.	Jehu.	28	884	
884	6	Athaliah.				
878	40	Joash.	Jehoahaz.	17	870	Homer and Hesiod lived.
856			Jehoash.	14	856	
839	29	Amaziah.	Jeroboam II.	41	839	
			<i>Interregnum.</i>	11	825	Jonah prophesied.
810	52	Azariah.	Zechariah.	6 mo.	784	Amos. Hosea.
			Shallun.	1 mo.	773	
			Menahem.	10 yrs.	772	Jonah goes to Nineveh.
			Pekaiiah.	2	762	
			Pekah.	20	760	Isaiah began to prophesy.
758	16	Jotham.				Micah prophesied.
742	16	Ahaz.	<i>Interregnum.</i>	8	740	First captivity of Israel by Tiglath-Pileser.
			Hosea.	9	738	
726	29	Hezekiah.			730	Micah.
698	55	Manasseh.			721	Second captivity of Israel.
					677	Nahum prophesied.
643	2	Amon.				Third captivity of Israel by Esarhaddon.
641	31	Josiah.				Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah.
610	3 mo.	Jehoahaz.				First captivity of Judah.
	11 yrs.	Jehoiakim.				Daniel carried to Babylon.
						Second captivity of Judah.
599	3 mo.	Jehoiachin.				
599	11 yrs.	Zedekiah.				Mordecai and Ezekiel carried away captives.
						Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

588 The temple destroyed, and Judah, with the remainder of Israel, carried away to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar.

The number of the kings of Judah, of the race and family of David, excepting Athaliah, who was daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, was 21. Average of their reigns in 423 years, 20 years and 52 days each. Number of the kings of Israel in 254 years, from the reign of Jeroboam I. to the third captivity under Hosea, 19. Average of their reigns, 13 years 98 days each.

SECTION VII.

BEFORE Nebuzaradan had commenced the demolition of the city, the king of Babylon having understood what pains the prophet Jeremiah had taken to incline the king of Judah and his princes to a timely surrender, and what hardships he had suffered for so doing, gave a strict charge* to Nebuzaradan to pay particular attention to him, and to grant him whatever he should desire. But in the heat of the action he had neglected to inquire after him, and they who had the charge of transporting the captives had carried him away among the rest as far as Ramah. Upon which Nebuzaradan sent for him back, and gave him his liberty. Jeremiah understanding by Nebuzaradan that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor of the land, he went to him by Nebuzaradan's advice, and dwelt with him at Mizpah, as did several of king Zedekiah's officers, who upon the taking of the city had fled, and were dispersed about the country. Among these were Ishmael, who was of the royal blood, and Johanan and Jonathan, two brothers, and other principal men. All of whom Gedaliah took into his protection on condition that they would be subject to the king of Babylon, giving them leave to settle in what towns they pleased, and to furnish themselves with winter stores. The same liberty he gave to all the Jews that returned from the countries to which in the common danger they had fled.

But notwithstanding the generosity of Gedaliah, Ishmael was discontented; for envying the promotion of Gedaliah, who was an obscure person in comparison with himself, he with ten^r more conspired to murder him, which base design was secretly encouraged by the king of Ammon. Johanan discovered this conspiracy to Gedaliah, and offered his service to dispatch Ishmael. The generous governor, who was a man of honor himself, and not ready to entertain ill thoughts of others, would not believe Johanan, nor permit him to kill Ishmael. But his incredulity soon cost him dear; for the conspirators, pretending to pay a visit to the governor, murdered him; and to secure themselves, took advantage of the people's being unprovided for defence, fell upon them too, and slew not only the Jews, but the Chaldeans also. This they kept so private for some days, that fourscore Israelites, who were carrying offerings and incense to Jerusalem,† fell into their hands, whom they barbarously murdered, except ten, whom they saved for the purpose of discovering their treasures in the field.

* *Charge.* See Jeremiah xxxix. 40.

† *Jerusalem.* It is to be supposed that these Israelites had not heard that the temple and city were destroyed when they came from home.

* Ishmael not thinking himself secure here, leaves Mizpah, and taking what people were left as captives with him, (among whom were king Zedekiah's daughters,)* he makes the best of his way to the king of Ammon, who had put him upon this treacherous enterprise. But Johanan, having intelligence of the late massacre, collecting what forces he had, marched after Ishmael, whom he found at the pool of Gibeon. The people whom Ishmael had carried off from Mizpah, seeing Johanan and the rest come to rescue them, ran over to their deliverers; which Ishmael perceiving, fled, with only eight men in his company, to the Ammonites. Ishmael thus gone, Johanan and his company take up their dwelling at Chimham,† near Bethlehem, which they chose,‡ the rather that, if they should be attacked by the Chaldeans for Ishmael's conspiracy, they might the more readily take refuge in Egypt.

Jeremiah the prophet having taken up his dwelling with Gedaliah at Mizpah,§ was carried from thence by Ishmael the conspirator, after the death of the governor, among the rest of the captives; and Ishmael being routed, he accompanied Johanan to their new habitation at Chimham.|| Here Johanan and his company addressed the prophet, and entreated him to pray to the Lord for them, to direct them what course to take. The prophet promised them he would, and faithfully return them the answer which the Lord should give. Upon which they entered into a covenant of obedience to the prophet, and he supplicated God for them: but ten days elapsed before he obtained an answer; when calling Johanan and the people together, he told them that if they would live in subjection to the king of Babylon, and tarry in Judea till his appointed time, the Lord would screen them from all danger, and raise them up again; but if they offered to go to Egypt, the sword, famine, and pestilence should pursue them. This advice, being contrary to their inclinations, they refused to receive, and rudely charged the prophet with speaking falsely in the name of the Lord; and notwithstanding he urged in his defence that they had dissembled with him, when they entreated him to pray to the Lord for them, and gave a confirmation of the judgments that would attend them, they persisted in their former resolution of going to Egypt, and removed thither with all the remnant of Judah, taking the men, women, and children, with all the late king's daughters, the prophet Jeremiah, and Baruch his scribe.

They had not been long in Egypt, before the Lord, by his prophet, admonished them of the destruction of that country, and the extirpation of their false gods, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. But the stubborn Jews did not regard him, for they resolutely told him they would do what they thought fit, and would, according to the idolatry of the Egyptians, offer

* *Daughters.* See Jeremiah xii. 10.

† *Chimham.* This place may be supposed, from 2 Sam. xix. 38, to have been anciently given by king David to Chimham, the son of old Barzillai the Gileadite, and which yet bore his name, though nearly five hundred years after.

‡ *Chose.* See Jeremiah xli. 16.

§ *Mizpah.* See Jer. xl. 6.

|| *Chimham.* See Jeremiah xlii. 12.

incense to the queen* of heaven; the women, with equal insolence, said the same. This conduct provoked the Lord to denounce against them, by his prophet, the most fearful judgments † in positive terms; at the same time assuring them that Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, (under whose protection they lived secure, as they supposed,) should be delivered into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, as Zedekiah had been before.

And ‡ now the prophet Jeremiah, having discharged his duty to his own people the Jews, addressed himself, in the rest of his book, for the most part, to the Gentiles, § as did his contemporary, the prophet Ezekiel, || who was earnestly engaged in the like service in Chaldea. In which prophetic office they continued till the time of their death. ¶

Truly honorable and dignified was the character supported by the prophet Jeremiah. He commenced his work at a very early age, and was indeed sanctified and ordained to it from his birth. From a modest diffidence, he would have excused himself from the arduous office, saying, "Ah! Lord God! I cannot speak, for I am a child!" But his objections were overruled by the Divine assurance that he should be duly qualified for, and assisted in his work. "I have made thee," said the Lord to him, "a fenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land; and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee, for I am with thee to deliver thee." This promise was fulfilled, for he continued, amid all dangers, inflexibly firm in the discharge of his duty; and the astonishing deliverances wrought for him in times of the most imminent danger proved that God had not forsaken

* *Queen.* By which is meant the moon at least, if not all the planets. See Jeremiah xlv. 17.

† *Judgments.* Jeremiah xlv. 26, 27.

‡ *And, etc.* About this time both Jeremiah and his contemporary Ezekiel, left off historical matter, and foretell the wickedness and misfortunes of the heathen.

§ *Gentiles.* Thus Jeremiah prophesied against Egypt, xlv. 1, the Philistines, xlvii., Moabites, xlviii., Ammon, Edom, and other people, xlix., Babylon, l. and li., with some prophecies here and there interspersed; especially in ch. l., concerning the redemption of Israel.

|| *Ezekiel.* He prophesied against the Ammonites, xxv., against Tyrus, xxvi., against those that supported her, and traded with her, xxvii., against the prince of Tyrus, xxviii., against Egypt, xxix., xxx., xxxi., and xxxii., against the shepherds of Israel, xxxiv., against Mount Seir, or Edom, xxxv., against the lofty ones of Israel, xxxvi., with a promise of their restoration to their own country, by the emblem of the dry bones, xxxvii., against other enemies of the church of God, under the name of Gog and Magog, xxxviii., xxxix. And from thence he describes the rebuilding of the temple, as a sure confirmation to his captive countrymen that their captivity should have an end, and that they should return to their own country.

¶ *Death.* The Holy Scripture makes no mention of the death of these two great prophets, either as to time, place, or manner. But St. Jerome, in the Life of Jeremiah, and Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, in his Synopsis of the lives and deaths of the prophets and apostles, says that Jeremiah was stoned to death in Egypt by the people—most likely by his renegade countrymen the Jews, who fled to Egypt against his advice and God's command, and took him with them against his will. For the Egyptians, being freed by the prophet's prayers from crocodiles, which very much infested them, held him in very great honor and esteem, which they testified by burying him in one of the royal sepulchres. As for the prophet Ezekiel, he is said to have been slain in Chaldea, by a prince of the children of Israel, whom he reproved for worshipping images. Towards the latter end of their time, Obadiah prophesied. His prophecy is directed against Edom, the posterity of Esau, against whom those other two prophets also denounced the judgments of God, Jeremiah xlix. and Ezekiel xxv.

him. The example of Jeremiah encourages all the people of God, but especially his ministers, "to obey God rather than man," and to conduct themselves with wisdom, courage, patience, and fidelity, assured that He, whom they serve, is able to deliver, and will never leave nor forsake them.

Daniel,* having been carried to Babylon among the captives in the first captivity of Judah under Jehoiakim their king, with his three friends, was obliged to change his name, and they theirs, by order of Ashpenaz, master of the eunuchs. This was done in token of slavery. Therefore they called Daniel, Belteshazzar; Hananiah, Shadrach; Mishael, Meshach; and Azariah, Abednego. Being bred up in the learning of the Chaldeans, in order to qualify them for the king's servite, Daniel, who was descended of the royal blood of Judah, and his three friends, had their daily allowance of meat and wine ordered from the king of Babylon's table. But Daniel, being a devout observer of the religion of his country, requested of the master of the eunuchs that he and his friends might be excused from it, desiring only pulse and water, which he said was sufficient sustenance for them. This upon trial agreeing well with them, they had their liberty to eat it, without having other meat forced upon them. This religious abstinence appears to have been pleasing and acceptable to their God, who, while they were pursuing their studies of the arts and sciences of the Chaldeans, furnished them with such an uncommon measure of understanding and knowledge, that when, at the end of three years, they were brought before the king, he found them by far to excel in wisdom all the magi and philosophers of his country; especially Daniel, to whom God imparted a wonderful faculty of understanding and interpreting dreams. A specimen of which he had soon an opportunity of displaying; for the king having a dream one night, it left such an impression on his spirits, as made him very uneasy, and that which added to his inquietude was, he could not recollect the substance of this dream.

Upon this, the most learned among the Chaldeans who pretended to divination were summoned, who excused themselves from telling the dream, but readily offered to interpret it, if he could recollect it. This was so far from satisfying the uneasy king that it threw him into a rage, and he threatened them and their families with utter destruction, if they did not relate and interpret his forgotten dream. They still persisted in their inability to perform what he demanded, urging that it was the province of a deity, and not of a man, so to divine; and that no king had ever before required such a thing of men of skill and learning. Nebuchadnezzar looking upon this as trifling with him, gave order that all who professed the magic art in his dominions should be destroyed.

Daniel and his three friends were now sought for, to be executed among

* *Daniel.* The Jews do not place him among the prophets, because he did not live after the manner of the other prophets. However, it cannot be denied that he was a prophet, and that what he wrote was a prophecy, as the Jews own. He prophesied at Babylon from the beginning of the captivity till the reign of Cyrus, that is, above eighty years. We do not read that he returned into his country, and therefore suppose that he died at Babylon. His book is partly historical and partly prophetic.

the rest; but Daniel, addressing himself to the captain of the guard, to know the cause of this sudden decree, and the captain acquainting him with the whole matter, he went into the king's presence, and assured his majesty that, if he would allow him time, he would both discover and interpret his dream. Daniel having obtained time, retired to his apartment, and communicated the whole affair to his companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, requesting them to unite with him in fervent prayer to God, that he would mercifully reveal this great secret to them, that they might not perish. God was pleased immediately to answer their prayers, and in a vision revealed the important secret to Daniel, who, after a return of praise and thanksgiving, applied himself to the captain of the guard, desiring him not to execute the king's decree, but to introduce him to him, and he would discover and interpret his dream.

Arioch the captain, glad to be excused from this bloody work, readily introduced Daniel to the king, who asked him whether he had found out the dream. Daniel answered, that the secret was beyond the reach of human wisdom, and that none but the God of heaven could reveal it, who had been so gracious, for the sake of those who might receive the benefit of the interpretation of it, to discover it to him. Then he thus began to declare the dream :

"Thou sawest, O king, an image of vast dimensions, admirable in brightness, but terrible in form. The head of this image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet partly iron and partly clay. Thou sawest, O king, a stone cut out of the mountain, but from whence it came, you knew not; which stone, falling upon the feet of this image, brake them into pieces, and then the rest of the image fell into dust, which the wind dispersed, so that it was no more to be seen; and the stone that did this execution on the image, increased to a great mountain, and filled the earth. This, O king, was the dream; and this is the interpretation of it :

"Thou art a king of kings, to whom the God of heaven hath given power, strength, and glory: thou, therefore, art meant by this head of gold; and after thee another kingdom shall arise, as inferior to thine as silver is to gold; and after that a third kingdom, signified by brass, which shall govern the earth. But the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron, and destroy all the other kingdoms; and whereas the feet were partly iron and partly clay, this kingdom shall be divided, and shall be partly strong like iron, and partly weak as clay, and shall not unite firmly together. But in the days of these kings, the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and that kingdom shall not be left to other people; but it shall disperse and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall abide forever. And whereas you saw that the stone which broke the image in pieces was cut out of the mountain without hands, the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; for the dream is true, and the interpretation of it is certain."

Nebuchadnezzar being satisfied by the discovery of his dream, that the

interpretation must be true, prostrated himself on the ground, and worshipped Daniel, commanding an oblation and sweet odors to be offered to him; but these extravagant honors Daniel piously refused,* and instructed the king to direct his devotions to Jehovah alone. For this great satisfaction which Daniel gave the king, in revealing and interpreting his dream, the king made him governor of the whole province of Babylon, and chief of all the learned men; and besides many great and rich presents which he gave him, he promoted his three friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who, by deputation from Daniel, were to oversee the affairs of Babylon.

Some time after this, the king, elated with his success against the Jews, Egyptians, and others, and elevated with the interpretation of his dream, which compared him to the golden head of the image, ordered a statue of gold to be made, thirty yards high, and of a proportionate bulk. This stupendous figure he caused to be set up in the plains of Dura, and summoned his subjects of all degrees and condition to appear at the dedication of it; at which time proclamation was made, that when the signal was given, they should all prostrate themselves and worship it, upon pain of being thrown into a burning furnace. This order was obeyed by all except the captive Jews: which some of the Chaldeans observing, they complained of them to the king; and not caring to meddle with Daniel, who at that time was the chief favorite, they impeached Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, his three friends. These being brought before the king, peremptorily refused to pay adoration to his image, assuring him they trusted in a God who was able to deliver them from his rage.

This presumptuous answer (as the king took it) so incensed him, that he commanded them to make the furnace seven times hotter than it was before, and to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and cast them into it. This cruel order was immediately executed; and though the heat was so intense that it burned those who threw them in, yet they themselves suffered no injury; but the bonds with which they were tied were loosed, and they walked freely in the midst of fire.

The king, at a secure distance, saw this execution: and the fierceness of the fire abating, he in great surprise and amazement cried out: "Did we not cast three men into the furnace? Behold, I see four men walking at large, without any hurt, in the midst of the fire, and the form of the fourth is like the Son † of God." Then, approaching the furnace, he called to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and said, "Ye servants of the most high God, come

* *Refused.* Though this be not so expressed, yet we may conclude that Daniel would not admit of such profaneness, from the king's answering Daniel, ii. 47, "I know of a truth, that thy God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret."

† *Son of God.* That is, angel of God; for so he is called, Dan. iii. 28. And in other parts of Scripture, angels are called the sons of God, as Job i. 6, and xxxviii. 7.

Some conceive that Nebuchadnezzar had heard from his pious and learned captives something of the expected Messiah — the Son of God; and had borrowed some notion of his appearance from the *Cherubic Figures* taken from the holy of holies, which were now in possession, and from other emblems of the temple, of which the *man* formed a part.

hither." Upon which they came out of the furnace, in the presence of the king and all his attendants, who saw them unhurt, without so much as a hair of their heads being singed, or the least smell of the fire about them.

The haughty king was now convinced that there was a more powerful being than himself, who could protect his servants from the rage of the most insolent and arbitrary tyrant; and therefore, in a sudden transport of devotion, he cried out, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him. Therefore I decree, that those who shall dare to blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill; because there is no other god that can deliver after this manner." Upon this, Daniel's three friends were again preferred, to the great mortification of those who envied their former promotion.

And now, king Nebuchadnezzar being freed from all the toils of war at home and abroad, indulged himself in the pleasures of his court, and quietly, for a time, enjoyed the fruits of his conquests; till, at length, another dream occasioned fresh disquiet; which dream being perfectly remembered, and concluding that his own people might be able to interpret it, he sent not for Daniel, but for the Chaldeans; to whom he related his dream, but they were as much at a loss as when the king demanded of them the discovery of his former dream which he had forgotten. But the revealing of these Divine secrets was reserved for the servants of God; and the king meeting with no satisfaction from his two subjects, sent for Daniel, to whom he recounted his dream, which was thus:—"I saw a tree of a prodigious magnitude, which seemed to reach from earth to heaven. It was fair and full of fruit, yielded shelter to the beasts and fowls, and sustenance to all flesh. I saw also an angel come down from heaven, who said aloud, Hew down the tree, cut off the branches, shake off the leaves, and scatter the fruit, and let all creatures depart from it: yet let the stump remain in the earth, with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from that of a man, and a beast's heart be given him, and let seven* times pass over him. This is the decree of the Holy One, that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whom he pleases, and setteth over it the basest of men."

Daniel, having heard the dream, was so affected with the dreadful judgments that it portended to the king, that he stood silent for the space of an hour; which the king observing, and guessing the true cause of his perturbation, commanded him freely to disclose the interpretation whatever it might portend. Then Daniel, addressing himself with much tenderness and concern

* *Seven.* By seven times, some think is meant a long time, which in Holy Scripture is signified by the number seven, because it denotes perfection; as if it had been said, until a perfect or full time, that the king thus brutified should repent. The number seven is sometimes applied to weeks; but oftener to years, especially in the prophecy of Daniel. It was the way of speaking among the Chaldeans, and a year was the most common measure of time, especially in the Chronicles of the Kings. See Daniel, vi. 25, and xi. 13, but some are of opinion that these seven years, at the prayer of Daniel, were changed into seven months.

to the king, wished that this inauspicious dream and the interpretation might affect the king's enemies, and thus interpreted it to him:

"The tree, O king, which thou didst see in thy dream, is thyself; for thy greatness reaches to heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And as to what the angel said of hewing down the tree, this is the meaning of it: It is a decree of the Most High which is determined against the king; for thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; thou shalt eat grass with the oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven; and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou knowest that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas it was ordered that the stump of the tree should be left, it shows that the kingdom shall be sure to thee, after thou shalt have known that the Lord of heaven doth rule. And now that thou hast heard the interpretation of thy dream, permit me humbly to offer my advice; and may my counsel be acceptable unto thee. Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity."

Nebuchadnezzar, who had witnessed the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecies, and been an eyewitness of God's wonderful power and providence, might have been somewhat depressed in mind at the report of such a judgment pronounced personally against himself: but instead of humbling himself, and deprecating the Divine sentence by repentance, as Daniel advised him, "his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride." About a year expired from the time of his remarkable dream, and Daniel's faithful admonition, when he gave full proof of his impenitence; for, surveying the vast strength and opulence of his capital, and the vast extent of his dominions, he uttered that arrogant, atheistical speech — "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built* for the metropolis of my kingdom?" The words had scarcely passed

* *Built.* Nimrod is said, Gen. x. 10, to be the first founder of Babylon, and undoubtedly he was so. But Nebuchadnezzar here calls himself the builder of this city, as those who alter or add to any great structures would seem to be reputed the first founders, and, by assuming to themselves the praise due to others, extinguish the memory of their predecessors. At first, indeed, Babylon was but a little city, and that often laid waste by the inundations of the river Euphrates; and because Semiramis afterwards very much enlarged and fortified it, and beautified it with many ornaments and fine buildings, she is likewise said to have built it, and is celebrated as the foundress of it. But after Semiramis's time, the Assyrian kings, neglecting Babylon, built Nineveh, making it the royal residence and metropolis of the Assyrian monarchy; and Babylon thus deserted, partly by the inundations of the Euphrates, and partly by the incursions of enemies, became ignoble and obscure. At last Nebuchadnezzar having destroyed Nineveh, made Babylon the seat of the empire, and very much enlarged and beautified it; for he added several walls to it, with magnificent gates. In that part where the royal palace stood, he built another city, which he enclosed with a wall of vast breadth and height, where he had those famous pensile gardens, so celebrated of old. Though authors differ very much as to the height and thickness of the wall of this city, yet it is certain they were prodigious in both — Orosius and all owning them to be fifty cubits, which, at the common estimation, is seventy-five feet; so that what Strabo and Curtius relate, viz., that chariots could pass by one another on the top of the walls, may reasonably be credited. As to the punishment which immediately befell Nebuchadnezzar upon this vain self-exultation, he may by this act be said to have hastened it upon himself, though it was a year before foretold by Daniel; for by emphatically calling himself the author of these

his lips, when a voice from heaven was heard to say, "Unto thee, O king Nebuchadnezzar, it is declared: thy kingdom is departed from thee, and they shall drive thee from the conversation of men, and thy dwelling shall be among the beasts of the field." And immediately he was driven* from the company of men, and he did eat grass as the oxen, and lived like a brute.

By this terrible example God made it appear how severely he can punish the pride and elevation of men's hearts, by debasing those persons into the condition of beasts who, by their arrogance, exalt themselves above the state of men.

What an affecting lesson to the world, and especially to the great, did this degradation of the mighty monarch afford! It was, probably, a sudden attack of insanity, by which he was thus depressed — an affliction, of all others to which humanity is liable, the most distressing. And who is so wise or so great as to be secure from this dreadful malady? How little, in this case, does proud man, with all his boasted talents, appear! In a single moment, his stores of learning, however ample, are all destroyed; his ideas, however just and accurate, are erased, like writing on the sandy shore; his possessions, however vast and extensive, rendered totally useless; and he, who affected to rule as the lord of the creation, is lowered in the scale of being to a level with the grazing brute. Oh that men were wise, and considered their dependence on Him, "in whose hand is our breath, and all our ways!"

After Nebuchadnezzar had continued his appointed time in this sad and forlorn condition, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and God was pleased, not only to restore him to his understanding and form, but to his former state and dignity; for which he made this thankful acknowledgment: "I,† Nebuchadnezzar, do praise, extol, and honor the king of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment; and those that walk in pride he is able to subdue."

The sacred historian has not informed us concerning the character and conduct of this monarch at the close of life. We presume not to determine whether the influence produced on his mind was permanent or not. He had

mighty things, he defrauded God of the honor, by whose permission he became so mighty, and capable of performing them.

* *Driven.* Some think that this being driven away was his own shunning human conversation during the disturbance of his mind, which made him betake himself to the fields and woods; others, that the people, grown weary of his tyranny, conspired against him, and forced him to fly; which last seems to be derived from a tradition of the Hebrews, who say, that his son, Evil-merodach, affecting the throne in his father's lifetime, helped to depose him; which is not probable, because, after Nebuchadnezzar's state of brutality expired, and he came to himself, his subjects desired his return; but it may be supposed that in his absence his son might act as regent. The reason of the variety of conjectures on this point proceeds from the distracted history of the Chaldeans, who in general speak of the reigns of their kings, but seldom mention minute circumstances; for no profane writers take notice of this part of Nebuchadnezzar's life.

† *I, etc.* See Dan. iv. 34. Of the time and manner of the king's death we have no account in the Scriptures. He is supposed not to have lived long after his restoration, but to have left his kingdom to his son Evil-merodach, who is thought to have supplied his place in the government during his father's state of insanity.

before professed his conviction, that the God of Daniel was the only true God, and yet afterwards relapsed into pride and idolatry, by which, no doubt, his sin was exceedingly aggravated; but charity leads us to hope, that after this peculiar visitation, and his recovery, he lived and died a true penitent, and a sincere worshipper of the Lord Jehovah.

After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evil-merodach succeeded him, who took compassion on Jehoiakim, the captive king of Judah, and released him from his imprisonment in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, treating him with great humanity and respect, allowing him an honorable maintenance, and giving him the precedence of all other princes in Babylon.

Evil-merodach's reign was but short, continuing but two years, at the end of which, his luxurious son Belshazzar succeeded him. In whose first year Daniel had his dream* of the four beasts, representing the four great monarchies; and in the third year of this same king, Daniel had that memorable vision † of the ram and the he-goat, with the interpretation of them. After ‡ which this luxurious king making a great feast for his courtiers, he commanded his servants to bring forth the sacred vessels of gold and silver, which his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple at Jerusalem, that he and his princes, with his wives and concubines, might drink wine in them: which accordingly was done, § and in their cups they sang hymns of praise to their idols.

Belshazzar, thus adding impiety to his excesses, so provoked the great God of heaven by this sacrilegious contempt of his holy worship, and the profanation of the vessels dedicated to his service, that he terrified this prince in the midst of his luxurious feast, with the appearance of a hand, which in three words || wrote the sentence of his condemnation. Belshazzar was so much astonished and terrified at this dreadful prodigy, which a guilty conscience suggested must needs have a fatal design, that he called for the most learned of his people to show him the meaning of it; but notwithstanding the promised reward of purple vests and chains of gold to those who could discover this mighty secret, they were so far from interpreting it, that they could not so much as read it. This occasioned the utmost consternation in the whole court, which, the queen ¶ dowager hearing, came immediately into the banqueting-house, and informed the king that he had a man in his dominions, named Daniel, in whom was the spirit of the holy gods, and whom his grandfather,** for his extraordinary ability in that respect, had made

* *Dream.* See Dan. vii.

† *Vision.* See Dan. viii.

‡ *After.* Though these visions are placed after the luxurious and profane banquet of Belshazzar, yet in order of time they should come before; for Daniel tells the time of each; as, the dream was in the first year, and the vision in the third year of Belshazzar.

§ *Done.* The city of Babylon was at this time besieged by Cyrus and the Medo-Persian army, and the final overthrow of the Babylonian empire drew near, as had been long decreed and foretold in the councils of Providence. See Isaiah xiii. and xiv.; Dan. vii.

|| *Three words.* מנא הקל זכרן

¶ *Queen.* This, in all probability, was Nitocris, the queen dowager, the relict of the great Nebuchadnezzar.

** *Grandfather.* Nebuchadnezzar is here, Dan. v. 11, called Belshazzar's father, not through mistake, but after the manner of the Chaldeans and Hebrews, who commonly call

master of the magi, who could show the king the interpretation of the words that so much troubled him. The king, rejoicing in the prospect of discovering this terrible secret, sent for Dàniel; who appearing before him, and slighting the honors and presents the king had promised in case he could interpret the words, addressed him to the following effect: That since he had not humbled himself, nor taken example by his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, who for his pride was chased from the conversation of men, and reduced to the state of beasts, but had lifted up himself against the Lord of heaven, and profaned the holy vessels dedicated to his service, God, being provoked by these his crimes, had sent a hand to write upon the wall his condemnation in these three words, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN; which Daniel interpreted thus: By MENE, God hath numbered* thy kingdom; by TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance of his justice and art found wanting; by UPHARSIN, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. The king having heard this dreadful sentence pronounced by Daniel,† how unwelcome soever the interpretation was to himself, yet bestowed upon the prophet the honors promised him, causing him to be clothed in purple, with a chain of gold about his neck, and to be proclaimed the third person in the kingdom.

As to the fulfilment of this prophecy, God immediately verified it, as Daniel had predicted; for the same night Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans,‡ was slain,§ God making him a terrible example to all who should slight his warnings, harden their hearts in sin, and profane his holy name.

The impious Belshazzar being thus overtaken by Divine justice, Darius, the Mede, assumed the throne;|| who, esteeming Daniel as a person filled with the Spirit of God, bestowed on him peculiar marks of his favor; for at first he made him one of the three presidents of the kingdom, and intended to make him viceroy. These honors, so properly conferred on Daniel, soon excited the envy and jealousy of the other presidents and princes, who, thinking it too much for a captive Jew to be preferred above them, conspired

grandchildren and great-grandchildren sons, and grandfathers and great-grandfathers fathers. Thus Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called fathers, after many generations of descents.

* *Numbered.* That is, the term of thy kingdom.

† *Daniel.* This prophet, who had been so great and powerful in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, is supposed to have retired from court during the reigns of Evil-merodach his son, and Belshazzar his grandson, and in those five years, at least, seems to have been forgotten by all but the old queen, widow of Nebuchadnezzar; during which time of his solitude, God vouchsafed by wonderful visions to discover to him the successions of all the empires of the world until the blessed kingdom of Christ.

‡ *Chaldeans.* See Daniel v. 30.

§ *Slain.* By the Medes, (under the conduct of Darius, king of the Medes, and with the help of his son-in-law, the great Cyrus,) who at that time besieged Babylon. These taking the advantage whilst the Chaldeans were thus revelling and overcharged with wine, to divide the river Euphrates, possessed themselves of the city, and surprised the court.

|| *Throne.* This revolution had been particularly foretold by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. The very name of the general—Cyrus—was previously declared two hundred years before; the method whereby it should be accomplished, etc., etc. See Isaiah xiii. 6-22; xxi. 2-10; xli. 1, etc.; Jer. i. 1, etc.

Read *Prideaux's Connection*, part 1, book 2; and Bishop *Louth* on Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

to ruin him. They could find no fault with his public administration, for he was perfectly just and faithful in all things that concerned the king. Wherefore concluding they should never find anything to accuse him of, except in the matter of his religion, they resolved to lay a snare for him in that respect. And in this they were, at first, at a loss how to bring their malice to bear against him, for they well knew that the king was apprised of his piety and zeal for the religion of his country, and that he stood so fair in the royal favor that they dared not directly attack him, and therefore they struck at him in a more distant way; for they persuaded the king to publish a proclamation, that whosoever should ask any petition, either of God or man, except of the king only, for the space of thirty days, should be thrown to the lions. The unwary king, not suspecting any fraud, concluded that, because they assured him that all the presidents, of whom Daniel was the first, had agreed to it, Darius consented to it, taking it for a testimony of their affection and loyalty to him at his accession to the throne, and without any hesitation passed it into a decree.

Though Daniel knew that this wicked law was levelled at him, yet, preferring the law of God to that of men, he continued his usual course of praying to, and praising God three times a day, kneeling upon his knees, with his chamber-window open towards Jerusalem. His enemies, who had laid this snare for him, soon found an opportunity to betray him; for, having taken him in the act of praying, they presented themselves before Darius, and accused Daniel of contempt and rebellion in disobeying the king's decree, desiring immediate execution of the sentence against him. The king, too late, perceived their design, and being vexed at his easy credulity in suffering himself to be thus imposed upon, labored to have the decree reversed; but the grandees represented to him that the royal decrees, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, were unalterable, and that therefore the penalty Daniel had incurred being irreversible, he must be cast into the lions' den. The king's weakness in this unjust act gave way to the solicitations of these wicked men; and though Daniel's piety and wisdom had recommended him very powerfully to his favor, yet he thought, in honor, he could not recede from his word, and therefore delivered Daniel to them, at the same time unwittingly predicting that the God whom he served continually would preserve him.

Daniel being thrown into the den, to prevent any means that might be attempted for his escape, a great stone was laid on the mouth of it, and sealed, not only with the royal signet, but with that of the lords too. The king retired to his palace very pensive, where he spent the night in great anxiety and uneasiness of mind for his favorite Daniel; and early in the morning, repairing to the den, between hope and despair he in a melancholy tone called to Daniel: "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" "Yes, O king," replied Daniel, "my God hath sent his angel, who hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me, because he found me innocent in his sight, and just to thee." The king, overjoyed to find the person he so

highly valued thus miraculously preserved, ordered him immediately to be taken out of the den, and at the same time commanded that all those who had accused Daniel, with their wives and children, should be cast into the same den, which was immediately done; and the lions seized and tore them in pieces before they ever came to the bottom of the den. The providence of God appearing so visibly in the preservation of Daniel, the king published a proclamation: "That in all parts of his dominions, men should fear and tremble before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God, and abideth for ever. His kingdom shall not perish, and his dominion shall always endure. He delivereth and rescueth, and worketh signs and wonders in heaven and earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions."

Daniel lived not only all Darius's reign, which was seventeen years, but also in the reign of Cyrus, the first Persian monarch. In whose third year, he had that extraordinary vision, relating more especially to the latter times of the Jewish state, mentioned in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters; which is the last account the sacred text gives of him. It is also silent as to his death, though he is said by others to have died a natural death in the land of the Chaldeans, and to be honorably buried there; being laid by himself in the royal sepulchre. But, however this might be, it is certain he lived to enjoy the high satisfaction of seeing liberty granted for the return of his captive brethren, and for rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem.

There are two stories in the Apocrypha, which some add to the book of Daniel, making that of Susanna's being accused by the two elders, who were convicted by Daniel, to be the thirteenth chapter of Daniel's prophecy; and, according to the Latin, the fourteenth chapter is the discovery which Daniel made to the king of Babylon of the idol's not eating the meat that was set before him in his temple, as the priests of that false god persuaded that prince; as also the destruction of the dragon, which the Babylonians adored, and which Daniel caused to burst. As to the time of these two stories, the first is said to happen in the reign of Astyages, who being called the king of the Medes, must be that Darius the Mede who slew Belshazzar and took Babylon, and whom Cyrus immediately succeeded. As to Darius the Mede's being called Astyages, it is as reasonable to suppose him to be the king in whose reign the history of Susanna is related, as to allow that he was called by other names; for he is by the Babylonians called Nabonides, by Herodotus, Labynet, and by the Greeks, Darius Medis. As to the history of Daniel's discovering the deception of Bell's priests, and bursting the dragon, by the latter part of it, which mentions his being cast into the lions' den against the king's inclination, it seems to be the same story with what we have related in the text of Daniel's being cast into the lions' den, and his deliverance from thence, with some addition of circumstances in the beginning, and want of others in the end; and it being said in this history in the Apocrypha, that it happened in Cyrus's reign, there must be a mistake in the transcriber, and Cyrus is put for Darius; for in Dan. vi. the text says positively that action of Daniel's was in the reign of Darius, who had promoted Daniel.

In the first year of the reign of Cyrus* the Persian, it pleased the Lord so to touch the heart of that prince (according to what had been foretold by the prophet Jeremiah)† that he published an edict, giving leave to all the Jews to return to their own country, to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, to worship their God, to take with them their gold, their silver, and their goods, and beasts for sacrifice. The Jews, who had long wished for that happy day, prepared to set forward; and Zorobabel, a prince of Judah, whom Cyrus had appointed to be their governor, led them to their own country, consisting of nearly fifty thousand souls. They took along with them all the vessels and utensils of the temple, which had been carried to Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, which were restored to them by express order from Cyrus.

When Zorobabel, and those under his conduct, were come into Judea, they met at Jerusalem, to undertake the rebuilding of the temple; the foundations of which they laid, offered sacrifices, and made solemn prayers to God, and kept the several feasts appointed by the law. It was in the second month of the second year of their return from the captivity that they laid the foundation of the temple, which was begun with all the solemnity and magnificence that the circumstances of time and place would admit; but some of the ancients, who had seen the first temple, before Nebuchadnezzar caused it to be demolished, burst into tears when they saw, by the foundation of this, how much inferior ‡ it was likely to prove.

Whilst they were proceeding with the temple, the Samaritans, who were planted in the several cities of Israel in the place of those Israelites that Salmanasser, king of Assyria, had long before carried away captives, hearing that the people of Judah had begun to build the temple, came to the governor Zorobabel, and desired to join with them in the work, alleging that they served the same God as the people of Judah did. But the governor and the chiefs of the families of Israel would by no means allow them to have any share in this work, fearing that they, who were idolaters, notwithstanding they pretended to worship the God of Israel, might profane the temple with idolatry. This refusal so exasperated the Samaritans that

* *Cyrus.* This was that Cyrus of whom the prophet Isaiah, about two hundred years before the birth of that prince, thus speaketh (Isaiah xlv. 28): "He saith to Cyrus, Thou art my shepherd, and he shall perform all my desire, saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be surely laid." This Cyrus being already king of the Medes and Persians, resolving to unite the Babylonian monarchy to his own, marched towards that city with his army, took Shushan, or Susa, and routed Nabonides in battle. After this defeat of Nabonides, or Darius the Mede, Cyrus besieged and took Babylon, by which he became master of all the East, which till then had been divided into several monarchies.

† *Jeremiah.* See ch. xxix. 10.

‡ *Inferior.* The Jews say that the second temple wanted five things, which were the chief glory of the first,—the Ark and its furniture, the Shekinah or cloud of the Divine Presence, the Holy Fire, the Urim and Thummim, and the Spirit of Prophecy. But these were probably not the reasons of that mourning which was made by the ancient Jews when the foundation was laid, but their consciousness that a few poor tributaries would never be able to erect an edifice at all equal to that which was built by the munificence of David and Solomon.

having, by bribes, corrupted some persons about the king, they put a stop* to it, which continued till the reign of Darius.†

Cyrus, the Persian, having taken the city of Shushan, in the territory of Babylon, it was by his successors made the residence of the Persian monarchs. Here it was that Ahasuerus solaced and regaled himself after the Egyptian expedition, inviting all the princes and governors of his provinces to an entertainment of an hundred and fourscore days; after which he invited the inferior people, with the rest, to another feast which continued seven days. Nor was this feasting only among the men, but also among the women, for Vashti the queen had provided a banquet for the ladies of the palace. On the last day of this feast, the king, in a frolic, determined to present his queen, who was very beautiful, in a public manner to his numerous guests, and sending his seven chamberlains to attend her, he ordered that she should appear with the crown on her head.

The haughty queen, disdaining to be made a public spectacle, refused to obey the king's command, which so incensed him that, consulting how to punish her for this public affront, it was agreed that, lest this act of the queen should be brought into a precedent, she should be deposed for her contumacy, and that a collection of the fairest women should be made for the king to take his choice of them.

This last proposal accorded with the inclinations of the luxurious monarch; and among the crowd of beauties who were brought to court, none pleased the eye of this amorous prince like the fair Esther.‡ She was of the Jewish race, niece to Mordecai, of the tribe of Benjamin. This virgin, having lost her parents, lived at Shushan with her uncle, at the time when queen Vashti was deposed. Esther's native beauty and sweet disposition so engaged the fond king, that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti, whom he had deposed. At the celebration of his nuptials he made

* *Stop.* This stop to the building of the temple may be supposed to have been in Cyrus's time, Esdr. iv. 5.

† *Darius.* This must be Darius Hystaspis; and the Darius in whose second year the building was carried on was Darius Nothus, in whose time the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied, and not before; see Esdr. v. 1. Indeed, if it were not for contemporary occurrences, the variety of names given to several kings would so confound the chronology, that it would be impossible to reduce it to any certainty. For Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, is called Ahasuerus. To him the Samaritans sent letters to stop the building of the temple. They likewise sent to Magus on the same account. This prince had possessed himself of the Persian empire after the death of Ahasuerus; and would not permit the Jews to rebuild their city or temple. He is likewise by historians called by several names, being, in Esdr. iv. 7, called Artaxerxes.

‡ *Esther.* As to the author of the book of Esther, it is uncertain who it was. Some have thought it was written by Mordecai, because the book takes notice that Mordecai wrote letters to all the Jews on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar; but it is not said that he wrote all the history. It is more likely that the great synagogue caused it to be composed to preserve the memory of that signal event, and give an account of the original of the feast of lots, Esth. iii. 7, and afterwards added it to the number of the sacred books; it was first written in Hebrew, as we have it in the nine first chapters of St. Jerome's version. Some Grecian Jew afterwards made additions, which have been inserted, in their proper places, in the Greek version, and placed all together by St. Jerome at the end of the book, from the twenty-fourth verse of the tenth chapter.

a feast to all his court, which, in honor to his new queen, he called Esther's feast, and for her sake not only made presents to his guests, but remitted the tribute of all his provinces.

Mordecai, at Esther's first going to court, had cautioned her not to discover that she was a Jewess, which she carefully observed; and it might be her uncle's care lest she should be refused by the king on account of her being a captive; for the same reason, probably, he took care to conceal his relation to Esther, lest it might be disadvantageous to her. These circumstances induced him to remain a contented servant at court, till some favorable opportunity should be offered for his promotion; and this soon occurred. It happened whilst Mordecai attended at the palace-gate, he obtained the knowledge of a conspiracy formed by two of the chamberlains to seize and murder the king. This he immediately communicated to his niece, the queen, who acquainted the king with it in Mordecai's name. Upon which, the two chamberlains were seized, convicted, and hanged, and the whole affair recorded in the Persian annals; but Mordecai was not immediately noticed.

About this time, king Ahasuerus had been very lavish of his favor to a proud Amalekite, named Haman, whose merits are not mentioned, and, it is probable, they might be as obscure as those of favorites generally are. However it was, Haman was advanced in honor above all the princes of the court; and all the attendants about the king paid him reverence, except Mordecai. This was not, at first, observed by Haman; but some of the attendants, who were desirous of obliging the court favorite, informed Haman that Mordecai the Jew refused to pay him reverence. This inflamed the haughty Haman, who immediately meditated revenge; but such a bloody one as nothing between man and man could deserve, for no less than a whole nation* must bleed to atone for the petty slight put upon this aspiring wretch. This was a great as well as a wicked undertaking; and Haman, to go surely to work in it, called his people about him, and made them cast the lot before him from day to day, from the first month to the twelfth, that they might know what month and day would be most propitious to their design. So that Haman, to his mortification, was reluctantly obliged to bear with Mordecai's contempt every day for a whole year.

At length, however, Haman having fixed a time, addressed the king, and obtained a decree to put all the Jews to death throughout the king's dominions. For this bloody execution, letters were dispatched to all the governors of provinces and cities, sealed with the king's seal; which, of course, filled the poor Jews with the utmost perplexity and terror, but especially those who resided in the royal city of Shushan, from whence this decree was issued. None in that place was more sensible of the dismal consequences of this cruel decree than Mordecai; who rending his clothes, and putting on sackcloth

* *Nation.* The fifty thousand that went with Zorobabel to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple were not all that were left of the Jewish nation, for we may rather suppose, that they multiplied at Babylon instead of diminishing. Ezra the scribe, and several others, returned after the temple was finished and dedicated. See *Ezr.* vii. 1.

and ashes, went through the city, bemoaning the hard fate that threatened him and his countrymen. This was soon taken notice of, and reported to the queen; who, not knowing the occasion, sent clothes to her uncle, which he refused, returning information by the messenger of the true cause of his mourning, and the danger which she and all her nation were in; and that unless she immediately repaired to the king, and interceded for them, they would all be cut off.

Esther, however inclined to the undertaking, met with a difficulty that seemed insurmountable, for there was a law, forbidding any person to come into the king's presence, without special order, upon pain of death. Mordecai returned answer, that she ought rather to run the hazard of her own life, than suffer all her nation to perish. This roused the queen, who immediately requested that he would cause the Jews in Shushan to fast three days, as she herself would do; and after that, she would address the king, though it was against the law, let what would happen.

At the end of this fast, she dressed herself in her royal robes, and going to the king's apartment, made a stop just as she came in sight of the king, who immediately held out his sceptre to her, and asked her what she requested of him. This encouraged her to approach nearer, and when she touched the end of the sceptre, he kindly assured her that he would grant her request, though it cost half his kingdom. Upon which, she declared that her particular wish was, that the king, accompanied by Haman, would do her the honor of partaking of a banquet which she had provided. This request was so much the more acceptable to the king because she had invited his favorite Haman; who, though he was a constant companion of the royal festivities, was not, at this time, present with his luxurious master; wherefore the king gave order that Haman should have speedy notice, that he might attend the queen's invitation.

All things being prepared, and the guests seated, the king was so well pleased with his entertainment that he again repeated his former promise of granting the queen whatsoever she should ask, even to the half of the kingdom. The queen, not thinking this a proper time to open the secret to the king, entreated his majesty and Haman to favor her with their company once more, on the following day, when she promised to present her request. The king readily consented, and so the company for that time broke up.

Haman, not a little pleased that he should be thus distinguished, not only by the king, but by the queen too, formed extravagant notions of future happiness to himself, and went out of the presence so elevated that he expected nothing less than the respect due to him, as the second person in the kingdom. As he passed along, every spectator paid him the most profound respect, except Mordecai, who took no notice of this gaudy courtier; which stung the haughty favorite to the heart. However, he concealed his resentment, and when he was come home he began to pride himself in his prosperous condition, and recounting to his family the honors the king had heaped upon him, he told them how the queen had distinguished him above all the court, inviting him only to accompany the king to a banquet, and

that to-morrow he was to attend her again upon a second invitation. "Yet," said he, "what pleasure is all this, so long as I see the hated Mordecai, who shows me no respect?" His friends concurred with him in his resentment, and to make short work with Mordecai, advised Haman to order a gibbet fifty cubits high to be prepared, and to petition the king, that Mordecai might the next day be hanged on it. Haman, who vainly imagined the king would not deny him such a trifle as the life of a wretched Jew, approved the project, and the gibbet was erected.

But God was pleased to dispose matters otherwise than this proud son of Agag had wished: for it happened that, the night before this entertainment was to have been given, a sudden inquietude seized the king, so that he could not sleep; wherefore, to divert himself, he called for the annals of his reign, and ordered an attendant to read them to him: who, coming to that passage which mentioned Mordecai's discovery of the treason of the two chamberlains, who had conspired against the king, he asked what reward had been bestowed on Mordecai for that service. They told him, none. Whereupon the king asked who waited without. They told him, Haman; whom he ordered to be called in.

Haman, whose resentment had kept him as wakeful as the inquietude of the king, was come early to court, to petition that Mordecai might be hanged on the gibbet he had provided; and being called into the presence by the king's command, he doubted not in the least of having his petition answered. But, full of hope as he was, the king prevented him, by asking him, what honor should be bestowed on the man whom the king delighted to distinguish? Haman, vainly concluding himself the happy man, resolved not to be wanting in proposing lavish honors, and gave his advice thus: "Let the man, whom the king deigns to honor, be clothed in the royal garments, be mounted on the same horse which the king himself is used to ride: let the royal diadem be set on his head, and the chief man in the kingdom lead the horse, walking before him, and proclaiming, Thus shall it be done to the man, whom the king delights to honor."

Haman had no sooner delivered this advice, than the king, quite contrary to his hope and expectation, ordered him to get the horse, apparel, and diadem ready, and to do just as he had said to Mordecai the Jew, charging him not to fail in the least part of it.

This unexpected stroke, so contrary to his proud and cruel expectations, cut him to the heart; but the king's word was law, and he knew there was no disputing it. Therefore he was obliged to obey, and attend Mordecai in the form which he himself had prescribed, proclaiming before him all the way he went, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delights to honor."

The ceremony being concluded, Mordecai returned to his post at the palace gate; and Haman, in great discontent, hastened home; where he related to his family the disgrace he had suffered, in being forced to do honor to his enemy. They, considering the condition of the man, told him the fate of declining favorites, and that if Mordecai were a Jew, he would rise upon his ruin.

While they were entertaining Haman with this melancholy passage, messengers came to hasten him to the queen's feast. Where the king having come, he asked her, as before, what her request was. She answered, "It was mercy for herself and all her nation, which he, by the advice of a cruel enemy, had delivered up to destruction."

The king, with great concern, asked her who had been guilty of so wicked a contrivance. She answered, it was Haman. This sentence immediately alarmed Haman; which the king observing, and looking upon him with great indignation, he rose from the banquet, and went into the garden: Haman also rose, and taking the opportunity of the king's absence, addressed himself to the queen to save his life; but whilst he was in this suppliant posture, the king returned, and seeing Haman so near the queen, jealousy suggesting that he had some base design on her, he cried out in a rage, "Will he force the queen before my face?"

No sooner had the words passed his lips than Haman's face was covered, which was a sure token of death to him, and Harbonah the eunuch, having notice of Haman's design upon Mordecai, told the king that Haman had prepared a gibbet fifty cubits high to hang Mordecai upon; which the king hearing, commanded them to hang Haman upon it. Execution thus done on Haman, the king gave his estate to the queen, which she resigned to Mordecai: to whom the king, in consideration of his former services, and relation to the queen, gave his ring, as he had before done to Haman.

But notwithstanding Haman was removed, the decree against the Jews remained in force, wherefore the queen desired the king to recall it; which he not only granted, but published another edict, giving leave to the Jews to take revenge on their enemies the same day. Pursuant to that order, the Jews slew their enemies and persecutors in Shushan, in which number fell Haman's ten sons, and throughout all the other cities of Assyria. Ever since the Jews have kept a solemn festival in memory of this signal deliverance on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar, which was called the feast of lots.*

* *Lots*. See Esth. iii. 7. It was called the feast of Purim, from the Persian word Pur, which signifies a lot. It was instituted by Mordecai in remembrance of the delivery of the Jews from Haman, by whom lots were cast day by day, and month by month, for their destruction. It was ordered to be kept two days for this reason: the Jews at Shushan had two days allowed them to revenge themselves of their enemies, but the rest of the Jews in other places had but one. This caused at first some difference in their time of feasting. For the Jews, in all other parts of the kingdom, having done execution on their enemies the thirteenth day, kept their festival on the fourteenth. But the Jews at Shushan being engaged both on the thirteenth and fourteenth days in defending themselves, kept the festival for their deliverance on the fifteenth day. But afterwards, when Mordecai had made a record of this great deliverance, he sent letters to all the Jews throughout the dominions of Ahasuerus, to establish it as a standing ordinance among them, that they should keep both the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar (which was the twelfth month with them; and takes in part of the twelfth and part of the first month with us) yearly, as the days whereon the Jews rested from their enemies. This Mordecai established, and being next in place and power to the king, he wrote to the Jews about it; and queen Esther wrote also with all authority to confirm his letters. The Jews thereupon, in all places, took it as an obligation upon them and their posterity that they would, without fail, keep these two days,

In this very remarkable and interesting portion of history, we have a wonderful display of the Divine power and goodness, in the protection of his ancient people the Jews, and in baffling the crafty and cruel projects of their enemies. The numerous Jews who resided in the provinces were threatened with immediate destruction. The folly of the king, the obstinacy of the queen, the advancement of Esther, the office of Mordecai, the ambition of Haman, the restlessness of the monarch, were all links in the chain of Providence, by which the Jews were to be preserved from utter ruin. The whole is an encouragement to the church of God, when oppressed and persecuted, to trust in the Lord, who “knows how to deliver the godly out of temptation,” and to effect for his people, in the darkest season of danger and distress, exceedingly and abundantly above all that they ask or think. Let us now return to the affairs of Jerusalem.

The building of the city and temple of Jerusalem having been delayed for many years, was at length recommenced in the second year of Darius,* at the instigation of the two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah. For being discouraged by the Samaritans, and the prohibition from the court, they concluded that this was not the time † the Lord had decreed for the rebuilding his house, though at the same time they took care to build convenient houses ‡ for themselves. For this the prophet Haggai reprov'd them, assuring them that their want of success in other affairs was owing to their neglect in not proceeding with the Lord's house. This roused both the governor and people, who, being sensible of their negligence, resolved to make amends by their future obedience, resuming their work with great alacrity; and to induce them to perseverance in this good temper, the prophet Haggai was again sent to them, to assure them that the Lord was with them in this undertaking; and that, notwithstanding the former temple far exceeded what this was likely to be, yet if they continued obedient, he would fill this house with greater § glory than he had done the former.

at the appointed time every year, in every family, province, and city, to be a memorial of their deliverance, to them and their posterity forever. In these two days they read the history of Esther in their synagogues; and as often as they hear the name of Haman mentioned, they beat with their fists and hammers upon the benches and boards, as if they were knocking upon Haman's head.

* *Darius*. This must be Darius Nothus, and not Darius Longimanus, whom some will have to be Esther's son; for the prophets Haggai and Zechariah are not mentioned till Darius Nothus's reign, in the second year of which, the building of both city and temple went forward; and Darius Longimanus reigning thirty-nine or forty years, it is scarcely probable that it began to go forward in his reign. Besides, if Darius Longimanus was the son of Esther, it may give occasion of wonder that so good a woman, and so zealous a Jew as Mordecai, having such interest as they had with king Ahasuerus, should not have promoted that work.

† *Time*. See Hag. i. 2.

‡ *Houses*. Ibid. ver. 4.

§ *Greater*. The prophet here means not any external pomp or worldly splendor; for in those the old temple, built by Solomon, far exceeded the new, as the best. But he means by the greater glory, that blessing of peace, Hag. ii. 10, which the world enjoyed at the birth of the prince of peace, the Saviour of the world, and the actual presence of the king Messiah in this very house, for it cannot be supposed that God by his prophet would speak so magnificently of any worldly splendor, when in ver. 7, 8, he said, he would “shake the heavens

Two months after Haggai had prophesied, and earnestly pressed the Jews to be zealous and diligent in building the temple, the Lord raised up another prophet, Zechariah, the son of Barachiah, to encourage them in their undertaking; in which neither governor, high-priest, nor people were wanting, but every one in his station forwarded the building so much, that it was nearly finished, when Tatnai, king Darius's governor, and other enemies to the Jews, having notice of what they were doing, came and asked by what authority they rebuilt the temple and the wall about it, and demanded the names of the undertakers.

Tatnai and his friends expected by these inquiries to have alarmed the Jews, and obliged them to desist from their enterprise; but the elders still persisted in the work, encouraged by the prayers and instructions of the prophets. These adversaries, disappointed of their object, and seeing the Jews would not be frightened from their work, acquainted the king with the whole matter, in a letter* to this purpose: "That going to the province of Judea, to the house of the great God, we found the building in great forwardness. Then asking the elders of the people, who set them to work, and their names, that we might certify to thee, O king, they returned us answer: that they were the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and were rebuilding the house that was many years ago built by a great king of Israel: but that their fathers having provoked the Lord God of Israel by their accumulated transgressions, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this building, and carried the inhabitants captive to Babylon. But the great Cyrus made a decree in their favor, empowering them to return and rebuild their city and temple, restoring to them all the sacred vessels and utensils. Upon this encouragement they laid the foundation of this house of God, that is, in Jerusalem; which is now almost finished. If the king therefore please, let search be made among the records, that we may know whether any such decree was made by Cyrus; and let the king direct us what to do in this affair."

Search accordingly was made; and in Ecbatana, the decree of Cyrus for rebuilding the temple and city of Jerusalem was found; which when king Darius had read, he gave a strict charge to Tatnai, and his other governors, to advance money out of the several tribes in their districts for that use, and to furnish them with materials for the same; and if they wanted beasts for sacrifice, or any provisions of corn, salt, wine, or oil, to distribute to them according to the direction of the priests that were at Jerusalem; and all this was ordered to be done, upon the penalty of having their houses pulled down and made a dunghill, and themselves hanged.

These men readily complied with the king's command, furnishing the Jews with all they needed; and the work went on so prosperously and speedily, that

and earth, the sea and land, and that the desire of all nations should come." And undoubtedly by moving the nations, ver. 8, he meant the calling of the Gentiles, which, by Isaiah and other prophets, was always joined with the coming of the Messiah, and therefore nothing but this could be that greater glory.

* *Letter.* See Ezra v. 7.

in the sixth year of Darius it was finished. After * this, those of the captivity, and those whom they had proselyted from the idolatry of the heathen, celebrated the feast of the dedication † of the temple with great joy, offering a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel; and having settled the priests and Levites in their order for the service of God, they kept the passover at the usual time, and the feast of unleavened bread seven days, for joy that the Lord had inclined the heart of the king to encourage and assist them in the rebuilding the house of the Lord God of Israel.

The temple being finished, Ezra, ‡ a priest and scribe, learned in the law of God, who had hitherto continued at Babylon, with others of the captivity, who had not yet returned, having obtained leave of the king, prepared to go to Jerusalem. To this the king not only readily consented, but gave him an ample commission § to take with him what he should think necessary, both for his journey thither, and service there; furnishing him with money to buy cattle for sacrifice, provisions of corn, wine, oil, and salt, and giving him credit to take of his treasures in those parts to the value of a hundred || talents of silver; besides which, he gave to the priests, Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinims, ¶ or ministers of the house of God, an indemnity from all toll, tribute, or custom; empowering Ezra at the same time to appoint magistrates and judges over the people, to do justice among them, and instruct those that knew not the law of God.

Ezra having returned thanks to the Lord, who had thus mercifully inclined the king's heart to beautify and adorn the temple, and given him favor in the eyes of the king and his princes, prepared to return to Jerusalem with those who were left at Babylon, being in number one thousand four hundred and ninety-six males. With these he took his way by the river that runneth to Ahava, where, encamping three days, he took an account of the people,

* *After.* Before this, viz., in the fourth year of Darius, the Jews in captivity had sent a message to Jerusalem, to know how they were to behave themselves in relation to their former feasts, now that the temple was rebuilding. (The several feasts they had kept were on certain mournful occasions; as particularly that fast in the fifth month, which was for the destruction of the temple; and that in the seventh month for the murder of Gedaliah their governor, Jer. iii. 12, and xli. 1, 2.) To this the Lord returned answer by his prophet Zechariah, ch. viii. 5, etc.: "That they had not in those fasts observed his will, (rather deploring their calamitous condition than humbling themselves by repentance,) and that it would please him better to see them execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion one towards another, and abstain from oppressing the widow, the fatherless, the stranger, and the poor, and from imagining evil one against another."

† *Dedication.* The feast of Dedication is termed in the New Testament Eukainia, a feast wherein something is renewed; because those things only are reputed consecrated which are separated from their common, and dedicated to some new and holy use. We read of many things consecrated in the Old Testament: as the tabernacle, the temple, priests, altars, vessels, and garments; but there was no anniversary or yearly solemnity appointed to be observed in remembrance of their consecration.

‡ *Ezra.* See his genealogy deduced from Aaron, ch. vii.

§ *Commission.* See Ezra vii. 12.

|| *Hundred, etc.* That is, thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds.

¶ *Nethinims.* These were under-officers, for the more servile work of the temple; such as the fraudulent Gibeonites were first appointed to.

and finding no Levites or Nethinims among them, he sent back Eliezer and some others to Iddo, who was chief of the Nethinims at Casiphia, requiring him to send with them some officers fit for the service of the Lord's house; upon which they brought several Levites, and two hundred and twenty Nethinims to the camp. And now Ezra, considering the great charge of money and plate they had with them, and to what dangers they might be exposed in their march, proclaimed a fast, to implore the Divine protection over them and their substance. For though he might, for asking, have had a convoy from the king, yet remembering he had told him that the hand* of their God would be upon them, he declined it. Therefore, having fasted and prayed on this occasion, they proceeded; and Ezra having delivered, by weight, to twelve of the priests the gold, silver, and vessels which the king and his counsellors, and others, had given him as an offering to the house of the Lord, he enjoined them to keep this treasure† safe till they came to Jerusalem, and there to deliver it by weight to the chief of the priests and Levites, as they had received it of him.

As Ezra had apprehended, they were in danger on their march, for they were waylaid;‡ but God was with them, and preserved them; and after a journey of four months, they arrived safe at Jerusalem, where, having refreshed themselves three days, they delivered the treasure, by weight, in the house of the Lord to those priests who were appointed to receive it, and an inventory of the number and weight was taken. Then they offered a burnt-offering of twelve bullocks for the twelve tribes, ninety-six rams, seventy lambs, and twelve he-goats. After which Ezra delivered the king's commission to the officers, who, in obedience to it, furnished the people with all things necessary for the service of the temple.

Soon after this, some of the chief Israelites complained to Ezra that the priests, Levites, and people had not separated themselves from the abominations of the ancient natives,§ but had taken their daughters for wives to themselves and sons. This threw Ezra into so violent a fit of grief that he tore off the hair of his head and beard; and those who feared God among the people assembled together with him, and lamented deeply the transgression of those that had been captives, and were lately drawn into these wicked practices; and Ezra, having continued in a sorrowful posture till the time of evening sacrifice, then fell on his knees, and, spreading out his hands to the Lord, made this humble confession || and prayer:

* *Hand.* See Ezra vii. 28, and *ibid.*

† *Treasure.* This treasure was of a considerable value; for there were six hundred and fifty talents of silver, which at three hundred seventy-five pounds to the talent, make two hundred forty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. The silver vessels weighed a hundred talents, which came to thirty-seven thousand and five hundred pounds. The gold in coin was an hundred talents, which, at four thousand five hundred pounds each talent, made four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Besides which, there were twenty basons of gold of a thousand drachms, and two vessels of fine copper, as valuable as gold.

‡ *Waylaid.* See Ezra viii. 34.

§ *Natives.* These were the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites, with whom the Israelites were expressly forbidden all manner of conversation, Deut. vii. 3, etc.

|| *Confession.* See Ezra ix.

“Our trespass is so great that I am ashamed to look up to thee, O Lord. We have been sinners from the beginning, for which thou didst deliver our kings and priests into the hands of the heathen kings. But thou hast showed us favor in our captivity, and inclined the hearts of the kings of Persia to be merciful to us, and restore us to Jerusalem. And now, what shall we say for our ungrateful disobedience in neglecting thy commandments? Thou hast forbidden us to defile ourselves with the abominations of the people of the land, to marry their daughters, or partake of their wealth; and yet we have broken thy commandment, and made affinity with them. Thou mayest justly be angry with us, till thou hast consumed us. But thou, O Lord, art righteous, for we remain, as appears this day. Behold, we are before thee in our sins, by reason of which we cannot justify ourselves.”

Ezra having ended this confession in a shower of tears, the Lord was pleased so to influence the minds of the people, that they likewise wept; which when Shecaniah, a man of condition in Israel, observed, he, in behalf of himself and the people, thus addressed himself to Ezra: “We have sinned in taking strangers to our wives; yet considering the disposition of the people to repent, there is hope in Israel that God will be merciful. Let us therefore make a covenant with our God to put away all the strange wives and their children, and do thou see that it be done as the law obligeth.”

Ezra accordingly caused proclamation to be made throughout all Judah and Jerusalem that they should meet at Jerusalem within three days, upon penalty of confiscation* of all their substance, and excommunication. Upon the summons they all met at Jerusalem; and standing in the streets they trembled partly through guilt, and partly through cold, for it was a very wet season. Then Ezra, repeating the occasion of their assembling, they promised to do as he would have them, but desired him to consider the great number of those that had transgressed in this thing, the inconveniency of the wet season, and that it was not the work of a single day. Therefore they had desired that their rulers might answer for them; and that all they who in the several cities had taken strange wives, should come at appointed times, and with them the elders of every city, to certify that these were all that were guilty in that place, and so proceed till the Lord was appeased. This was approved; and certain chief men of Israel were deputed to inspect the matter till it was finished, after which they took a list of all that had taken strange wives, and obliged them to give their hands † that they would put them away. Which being done, they offered a trespass-offering, as the law required; and so the matter was concluded.

Zorobabel the governor being now dead, and the administration of civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs passing through Ezra's hands, God was pleased to relieve him, by joining another in commission with him, which was Nehemiah, ‡ a captive Jew, and favorite of the king of Persia. It happened, one

* *Confiscation.* See Ezra x. 8.

† *Hands.* This was a certain ceremony of giving security, for the confirmation of any covenant, as in Ezek. xvii. 18.

‡ *Nehemiah.* Some will needs have this Nehemiah to be the same with Ezra; which cannot

day, that Nehemiah saw some men of Judah, who had been at Jerusalem, and were come back again to Chaldea. He asked them of the welfare of their brethren that were in Jerusalem; who told him, that they were in great affliction, and under great reproach from their enemies,* to whose insults they were daily exposed, because the walls† of the city remained in their ruinous condition, and the gates which had been burnt when Nebuchadnezzar took it, continued just as they were.

This melancholy account drew tears from Nehemiah's eyes, and preparing himself by mourning and fasting, he addressed himself to God in prayer, in behalf of his distressed brethren at Jerusalem, acknowledging their faults, deprecating the judgment of God, and begging a favorable audience of the king, to whom he intended that day to apply. Nehemiah's long course of mourning, and pungent sorrow for the sad state of his countrymen had produced such an alteration in his countenance, that when, in rotation, he was called to wait on the king, as his cup-bearer, he observed the change, and demanded the cause of it.

At first, Nehemiah was struck with fear; but considering the king's favor to him, he embraced the opportunity, and discovered the true cause of his grief; observing that his countenance could not be otherwise than sad whilst the city and place of his fathers' sepulchres lay waste, and the gates of it had been consumed with fire.

The king very mildly asked him what he requested of him. Nehemiah replied, "That thou wouldest send me to Jerusalem, the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may rebuild it." No sooner was this request presented than it was granted; but the king, unwilling to part with him altogether, demanded how long time it would require to go and return. Nehemiah fixed the time; and the king dismissed him with letters to the governors of his provinces to forward him in safety through their several districts; and to the keeper of his forests to furnish him with what timber he should require, not only for the gates and beams of the wall, but for a habitation for himself to dwell in, as president of the work, so long as he should have occasion to reside there.

Nehemiah set out, well attended; the king having ordered a party of horse, commanded by several officers, to protect him. When he came to Jerusalem, the people, seeing with what an equipage he came, received him with great respect; only Sanballat, an officer of the Moabites, and Tobiah, a man of note among the Ammonites, two enemies to the Jews, hearing that

be; for he was a companion part of the time with Ezra; and his speaking of Ezra in the third person, as he does, ch. vii. 65, and ch. viii. 9, and of himself in the first person, ch. i. 1, shows he was Nehemiah distinct from Ezra.

* *Enemies.* Probably the Samaritans, or other enemies of the Jews: but chiefly the Samaritans, who opposed their rebuilding the temple, after they refused to join with them.

† *Walls.* It is very likely that the walls of Jerusalem had not been rebuilt from the time of the demolition by the Chaldeans; and though Cyrus, at the dissolution of the captivity, gave permission to rebuild the temple, yet he did not allow the same for the city, and probably for this reason, because they were very subject to revolt, and therefore not fit to be trusted with fortification.



MOUNTAINS OF MOAB.

he came upon some good account to the Israelites, received him with indifference.

Nehemiah, however, took no notice of them ; but having refreshed himself three days, went out privately by night to view the dilapidations of the place, which he found everywhere in a ruinous condition. Having thus satisfied himself as to what was necessary to be done, he summoned the Jews together, put them in mind of the desolate condition in which they were, and exhorted them to assist in repairing the breaches, that they might be no more exposed to their enemies. And to encourage them, he informed them how gracious God had been to them, in giving them instructions in this affair, and how favorable the king had been to him in it. Then relating to them for their confirmation what had passed between the king and himself concerning the work, he showed them the king's commission. This so revived the poor Jews, that they joyfully and unanimously cried out, "Let us rise and build."

Sanballat and Tobiah had not yet any notice of Nehemiah's commission ; and seeing the people begin to clear the ground, in order to rebuild the walls, they in ridicule asked them what they meant, and whether they had a mind to turn rebels. Nehemiah gravely replied, he had sufficient authority for what he did ; adding, that the God of heaven would prosper them, and they would persist. "But for you," said he, "you have nothing to do with us, for you have no right, portion, or monument in Jerusalem, that you or your ancestors did ever belong to us." Upon this, these enemies of the Jews were forced to desist, though much against their will, for they dared not resist the king's authority ; and the people went on heartily with the building. Elia-shib, at the head of the priests, set them a good example, for they undertook the sheep-gate,* which was nearest to the temple, and which they soon finished and dedicated. In imitation of them, the rest of the people divided † the work amongst them : some parts were undertaken by private families ; some by corporations ; some by companies or trades ; and some were so zealous that, when they had finished one piece, they undertook another ; so that the whole work went on speedily and successfully.

The Jews proceeding so cheerfully in this work, began to be formidable to their troublesome neighbors ; but none resented it so much as Sanballat and Tobiah, who endeavored to disturb them by incensing the Samaritans against them, in whose hearing he said : "What do these feeble Jews mean ? Will they fortify themselves ? Will they sacrifice ? Will they finish in a day ? Will they reduce these heaps of rubbish to a regular building ?" And to back him, in a scornful, satirical way, said, "A fox will demolish this wall with her foot." These reproaches served but to inflame the zeal of Nehemiah, who called for vengeance on them that opposed the work ; and still encouraging the people to go on, in a short time the wall was joined in all parts, and raised half its height. This roused Sanballat and Tobiah indeed ; who, apprehending themselves in danger from the growing greatness of the

* *Sheep-gate.* It is so called, because the sheep which were to be sacrificed were brought through it.

† *Divided.* See Nehem. ii.

Jews, resolved to put a stop to their further progress in building. In order to do which they engaged in a close confederacy with the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodims, which they kept secret, intending to surprise the Jews, demolish their works, and put them all to the sword.

This conspiracy was not long a secret; for the neighboring Jews, having notice of the design laid against their brethren, informed them of their danger, and advised them to be upon their guard, for the enemy did not intend to attack them openly, but to surprise them. Nehemiah, upon this notice, first addressed himself in prayer to God for help, and then sending out scouts to observe the motions, and discover the approaches of the enemy, placed a guard, well armed with swords, spears, and bows, to defend and encourage the workmen. After this, Nehemiah went often in person among them, and by precept and his own example encouraged them to trust in the Lord, who had hitherto protected them, putting them in mind that they fought for their wives, brethren, and children.

In this posture of defence they continued till they understood that Sanballat and his party, finding their design discovered, and the Jews prepared to receive them, had laid aside their expedition. Upon which the Jews returned to their work, but with such caution that, to prevent any surprise, they wrought with their weapons by them, and the overseers of the work stood by them with their swords by their sides. And because, by reason of the length of the wall, the workmen were obliged to be at some distance one from another, Nehemiah had ordered a trumpeter always to attend him, giving instructions to the people that wheresoever they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should repair thither to relieve them that were engaged, assuring them for their comfort that their God would fight for them. And to let them see that himself would do his part in this work, Nehemiah and his guards would not put off their clothes, except to prepare themselves for washing.

But whilst they were all thus busily employed in building, a sort of mutiny broke out among the common people, which might have been of fatal consequence if it had not been in time composed. The poorer sort of people, being continually engaged in the public buildings, had not time* to cultivate and improve their own estates, by which means they were reduced to great straits, and provisions became very scarce and dear; and the rich, who by the law† ought to have supported and cherished them, oppressed them with unreasonable usury. This the poor Jews had long endured, having in this time taken up corn upon credit, and, not being able to pay, were forced to mortgage their lands, vineyards, olive-yards, and houses, to buy provisions, and were so hard pressed that they were forced to take up

* *Time.* This scarcity is not to be supposed to have been occasioned from the neglect of tillage during the time that the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilding; but from the return of the Israelites from Babylon, when they began to rebuild the temple, which was above four years before. Besides, the building of the wall took up but two-and-fifty days. See Neh. vi. 15.

† *Law.* See Deut. xv. 7, 8.

money upon their lands to pay the king's tribute.* But that which went nearest to them was, they had, by the unlawful exactions of their brethren, been compelled to subject their dear children to bondage, and were not able to ransom them, because the rich Jews had their lands.

Nehemiah was very much troubled to hear this complaint, but much more the cause of it, and to put an end to these unnatural and unjustifiable practices, he summoned the people of all degrees and conditions to a general assembly, where he severely reproved the richer sort for oppressing their poor brethren, and, reproaching them by his own example, he thus addressed himself to them: "According to our ability, we have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold to the heathen, and will you sell your brethren, or shall they be sold to us?" This was so sharp a truth upon the oppressing Jews that they could make no reply, and Nehemiah, taking advantage of their confusion, told them they did all these things, and made themselves a scandal to the heathen their enemies, advising them to desist from these base practices of usury, and restore to their oppressed brethren their lands, vineyards, olive-yards, and houses, and the hundredth part of the money, corn, oil, and wine, which they had exacted from them. The accusation being true, and all that Nehemiah had urged, matter of fact, they promised to restore them, and require nothing more of them; but to stand to what Nehemiah should decree. Then Nehemiah, to hold them to their promise, made them swear to observe it; and to oblige them to a strict performance of their oath, he shook † the middle part of his vest by way of imprecation, and said: "So God shake out every man from his house and from his service that performeth not this promise; even thus let him be shaken out, and made empty." † To this they all agreed, and praised God, and did according to their promise.

Nehemiah, the more powerfully to enforce his admonitions and precepts, did not, after the example of the former governors, his predecessors, exact the daily revenue of forty shekels § of silver, and the constant furniture of his table with provisions; but remitted them, and all other advantages, which were burdensome and chargeable to the people: and, during the whole time of his government, which was twelve years, he was so far from purchasing any land, or reaping any benefit at the expense of the people, that he not only refused the allowance which was due to him, as governor, from the

* *Tribute.* To this all the Jews were subject, Ezra iv. 13, except the priests and officers belonging to the service of the house of God, Ezra vii. 24.

† *Shook.* It was customary with the prophets, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc., not only to address themselves to the people by words, but by signs. Thus here, Neh. v. 45, the shaking of his lap was an emblem, that they who violated their oath should be shaken off from the protection of God, as he shook his lap, by which action nothing could remain there. And this was a just judgment against the covetous usurers, whom with great difficulty could he persuade to give anything of their great abundance to the support of the poor; but God, by some hidden or unforeseen punishment or accident, could shake out their wealth, though against their will, to the relief of the needy.

‡ *Empty.* That is, shall be deprived of all the fruit and product of his labor and income, as a garment, when it is shaken, has nothing in it.

§ *Forty shekels.* That is, fifty shillings.

people, but at his own charge kept open house, entertaining daily at his table an hundred and fifty of the Jews, and their rulers, besides strangers; for which he constantly allowed one ox, six fat sheep, besides fowl in proportion, and every tenth day wine of all sorts. This generous treatment of Nehemiah so gained the favor of the Jews, that they went on cheerfully with the work, and finished the wall; only the gates were not yet hung.

The successful management of Nehemiah, in carrying on and finishing this mighty wall, set the restless minds of Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem, at work; who, concluding, that so long as he lived, the Jews would be too powerful for their neighbors, resolved, by some stratagem or other, to take him off, which they knew by open force they were unable to accomplish. Intending, therefore, by an outward show of civility to betray him, they sent to invite him to a conference in one of the villages in the plain of Ono, a place belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, designing, when they had him there, to do him a mischief. But whether Nehemiah suspected their malice in this, or not, it is certain he excused himself upon account of the great work he had in hand, which must stop, if he should be absent; and, therefore, he sent word that he was not at leisure. This message they four times repeated, and he as often returned them the same answer; but at last, Sanballat, perceiving that Nehemiah was too cautious to be ensnared by a general invitation, resolved to try him by a more personal expedient, that should immediately concern him, and on pretence of clearing himself from an accusation, of no less than treason, oblige him to come to him. Therefore the fifth time he sent his servant with a letter in his hand, but open, to this purpose: "It is reported among the heathen, and Geshem affirms it, that thou and the Jews intend to rebel; for which cause thou hast built this wall, that thou mayest be their king. And thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem; and to say, there is a king in Judah. These things, thou mayest expect, will come to the king's ear; wherefore come now, and let us consult what is fit to be done." Nehemiah, conscious of his own innocence, easily saw through this shallow contrivance, and being resolved to make an end of the work which he had so successfully begun and carried on, returned this short and contemptuous answer to the perfidious Sanballat: "There are no such things done as thou sayest, but they are the inventions of thine own heart."

Sanballat and his friends were resolved to try some other way to betray the good Nehemiah; and, therefore, bribing to their interest Shemaiah, the son of Delajah the priest, who was a friend of Nehemiah, they doubted not to succeed at last. To his house Shemaiah repaired, after he had given Sanballat his last answer; but found him shut up, under pretence of a vow, as he said, for the safety of Nehemiah; and pretending to prophesy that his enemies would make an attempt to murder him that night, he would have persuaded Nehemiah to go with him into the inner part of the temple, and secure* themselves by shutting the doors. Nehemiah did not at first appre-

* *Secure.* The temple was much stronger than the city, because as yet the gates were not hung.

hend false Shemaiah's design; * however, from a sense of religion and honor, he declared he would not quit his station, telling Shemaiah, with disdain, it did not become a man in his post to take refuge. After this Nehemiah discovered the whole plot, and that Shemaiah had been bribed by Sanballat and his party; and God preserving him from all the treachery, he in two-and-fifty † days completed the whole work; which affected the enemies of the Jews with much fear, for they concluded that a work so great could not have been effected in such a short space of time, but by the peculiar providence of the God of the Jews.

Good Nehemiah, though he had continually surmounted all the difficulties which were thrown in his way, was still exercised with fresh troubles and dangers; for the princes of Judah held a correspondence with Tobiah, as they had all along done, which he by intermarriages had so improved, that they not only gave him an account of what passed at Jerusalem, but had confirmed this correspondence and friendship by oath. Tobiah, by these means, having gained a strong party to his interest, they had the audacity to commend him in the presence of Nehemiah, though they knew him to be an avowed enemy; and, what was still worse, they discovered Nehemiah's counsels to him, which so elevated the vain Ammonite, that he thought by his blustering letters to alarm Nehemiah.

These things increased his care, but not his fear; and therefore to prevent any treachery from his enemies within or without the city, he gave the charge of the gates to his brother Hanani, and to Hananiah, marshal of the palace, two men in whom he knew he could confide; commanding them not to suffer the gates to be opened till some time after sunrising; to see them safely barred at night; and to set the watch, which should consist of settled housekeepers, that were diligent men. After this, having found a register of the families of those who came from Babylon first, he assembled the

* *Design.* Shemaiah might do this to render Nehemiah contemptible to his friends, if he had through fear gone into the temple: or he might have a design to seize Nehemiah's person, when once he had him within the temple, and with the help of other conspirators deliver him up to the enemy. Or that by his thus hiding himself he might encourage the enemy, and discourage the Jews, who by these means would leave the work unfinished.

† *Two-and-fifty.* Interpreters have not yet agreed from whence to begin this computation. Tremellius and Junius would begin these two-and-fifty days after the stone wall was built; others, that they began after Nehemiah had sent his answer to Sanballat, which is less probable than the other. I rather incline to think that the whole work, considering the many hands that were employed, and the diligence that was used in it, was begun and ended in two-and-fifty days; nor can there be much more time allowed for it: for it was in the first month, called by the Jews Nisan, that Nehemiah was in Babylon, (see Nehemiah ii. 1) and obtained of the king leave to go to Jerusalem. And though we have not an express account what time he spent in his journey, and when he arrived at Jerusalem, yet if we may make conjecture from the time Ezra spent in the same journey, when he came from Babylon to Jerusalem, (allowing for the delay Ezra had at the river Ahava, when he first set out, Ezra viii. 15 and 13,) it is not probable that Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem till about the end of the fourth month; for though Ezra set out from Babylon on the first day of the first month, he did not reach Jerusalem till the first day of the fifth month: and from thence to the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month may make out the two and fifty days, and Nehemiah's three days rest before he began, or thereabout.

nobility, rulers, and people, to make a muster* of them by their genealogies. By this register some were at a great loss, not knowing their father's pedigree; and some of the priests also were at a loss to prove their genealogy by this register, and not being able to ascertain it, were deposed from their office as polluted; Nehemiah not permitting them to eat of the holy things till there should appear a priest, who by divine inspiration should determine whether they were of the priestly race or not. And now, considering that the city was large, and the inhabitants but few, it was agreed that part of the people which did not dwell at Jerusalem should by lot choose one out of ten,† to come and live at the metropolis, to be an additional strength to the place. This was looked upon as so tender a mark of affection to the public good, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem thanked these men, who had readily offered to come and dwell with them.

The affair of genealogies thus settled, the governor‡ and people made their free-will offerings for the work of the Lord. The governor presented to the treasury a thousand drachms of gold, fifty basons, and five hundred and thirty priests' vestments. Some of the elders gave twenty thousand drachms of gold, and two thousand two hundred pieces of silver; and the rest of the people gave two thousand pieces of silver, and sixty-seven vestments for the priests.

The affairs of the Jews being reduced to this happy condition of peace and order, Ezra, the learned pious scribe and priest, at the request of the people, produced the book of the law, which the Lord by Moses had commanded the children of Israel to observe; and standing in the street, before the water-gate, upon an eminence, that he might be seen and heard by the people, he opened the book in sight of them all; at which they stood up: and having given thanks to the Lord, they all lifted up their hands and cried, Amen, Amen; and bowing their heads, they worshipped the Lord with most profound reverence. The company being divided into several parts, Ezra, with thirteen more, read and expounded the law to them, which they heard with such attention and devotion, that, being sensible how much they had transgressed it, they mourned and wept. But Ezra and his assistants comforted them, telling them that it was not a time for them to mourn and weep, because it was a day§ holy to the Lord God; but bade them be cheerful, and eat and drink of the best, and send part of their provisions to the poor, for whom nothing was provided. The people readily obeyed, and went their way.

* *Muster.* There is some diversity in the account of families given in Ezra ii. and Nehemiah vii. The reason of this difference is by some supposed to be that the register or catalogue in Ezra was made at Babylon, before they set forward: the other, which Nehemiah found, was made at Jerusalem, after they had arrived there; and alterations might happen in their families in so long a journey.

† *Ten.* See Nehemiah xi. 1.

‡ *Governor.* He is called in Neh. vii. 70, and also in Ezra, *Tirshatha*, which in Nehemiah viii. 9 is explained: The word *Tirshatha* in the Persian and Chaldean tongues signifies a governor or president. Some will have it to be a cognomen; though among the Chaldeans it was taken for a name of magistracy or dignity.

§ *Day.* Because it was the Sabbath.

The next day, the chief of the fathers of all the people assembled again to be further instructed in the law; and upon search it was found* that the children of Israel should dwell in booths, in the feast of the seventh † month, and that they should cause proclamation to be made in all other cities, as well as in Jerusalem, That the people should go forth and gather olive-branches, pine-branches, myrtle-branches, palm-branches, and branches of trees thick with leaves, to form booths.

The people, who were now become very sensible of the danger of transgressing the law, by the woful experience of their ancestors, and some of their own, immediately went out and collected branches to make themselves booths; some upon the tops of their houses, others in their courts; some in the courts of the temple, and others in the streets. And this feast they celebrated with great solemnity and joy; and so much the more because it had not been observed from the days of Joshua ‡ till now; which was above a thousand years.

On the four-and-twentieth day of the same month the Jews assembled again, but upon a different occasion; for they appeared in sackcloth, with earth upon their heads, fasting and mourning, confessing their own sins, and deprecating the judgments due to their iniquities and to those of their fathers. Then acknowledging the omnipotence of God, in creating and preserving all things, and enumerating his gracious mercies to their fathers from the time of the covenant made with Abraham, they recognized all the grand instances of his providence, in delivering them from their enemies and persecutors; and deploring their fathers' and their own disobedience and rebellion, they acknowledged that they were deservedly liable to his justice. Finally, they made a covenant with the Lord, that they would walk in his law which was given by Moses. And to oblige them to the more strict performance of this covenant, it was engrossed, and the princes, priests, and Levites set their seals to it. And those who did not set their seals, of whatever age, sex, or condition, bound themselves with an oath to observe it.

Nehemiah having settled the affairs both of church and state in Jerusalem, according to his promise to the king, returned to the court at Babylon; where he had not continued above a year at most, before the Jews relapsed into their old corruptions, and became very irregular. All which was owing to the mismanagement of Eliashib the high-priest; who having the charge of the treasury, had been allied to Tobiah, the Jews' great enemy, and had prepared an apartment for him in the temple, in the place where they used to deposit the offerings, and other holy things, appointed for the service of the temple and priests.

The intimacy between Eliashib and Tobiah was the occasion of much mischief and confusion; for by conversing with the heathen, they soon broke the covenant they had so lately made, profaning the Sabbath, and mixing in marriage with them. So that when Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem, he found them all in the utmost disorder. It was matter of great concern and

* Found. See Lev. xxiii. 40.

† Seventh. This was the feast of tabernacles.

‡ Joshua. See Nehemiah viii. 17.

grief to him, to see the people led away, and debauched in their principles, by a man that was an open enemy to them; and that an apartment should be prepared in the house of God for one that was a declared enemy to his worship. This so inflamed the zeal of good Nehemiah, that he was resolved to put an end to these irregularities; but the corruption having become so general, he found himself under the necessity of using caution in his design, to prevent tumult; for he found that Tobiah had insinuated himself into the good opinion of most of the people, and especially those of note.

The first step which he took towards this reformation, to convince them of their errors, was, in causing the book of the law to be read publicly in the hearing of the people; in which it was found, "That the Ammonite* and the Moabite should not come unto the congregation of God forever; because they met not the children of Israel with refreshment of bread and water, when they came out of Egypt, but hired Balaam against them, to curse them; though God turned the curse into a blessing."

The people no sooner heard this part of the law than they were sensible of their transgression; and to show their readiness to reform, they separated from the mixed multitude. This gave Nehemiah an easy opportunity of getting rid of Tobiah, who was an Ammonite; for the law being positive, and the people, by his prudent conduct, disposed to obey it, he threw Tobiah's furniture out of the sacred chamber, caused it to be cleansed, and brought the vessels of the temple, with the offerings and incense, into it again. And finding that, in his absence, the allowance of the Levites had been withdrawn, and that they were forced to quit the ministerial service, and betake themselves to the country for maintenance, Nehemiah expostulated with the rulers concerning this neglect of the service of the house of God; and, bringing back the Levites to their offices, he ordered the people to bring in the tithes of corn, wine, and oil into the treasury, and appointed treasurers and deputies to receive and distribute them.

The next grievance the pious governor had to redress was the profanation of the Sabbath; on which day the Jews had, during his absence, done all manner of servile work, treading their wine-presses, and bringing in their corn, wine, grapes, figs, and all manner of burdens into Jerusalem, upon asses, as on common days; and they not only did this, but suffered strangers, the Tyrians, to bring fish, and all manner of wares, and sell them on the Sabbath in Jerusalem. Against these irreligious and profane practices, Nehemiah warmly protested, saying, "What an evil thing is this that you do in profaning the Sabbath day! Did not your fathers do thus; and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city for such things? Yet you bring more wrath upon Israel, by profaning the Sabbath." And to convince them that he was determined to make a thorough reformation among them, he issued a strict order, that towards the evening before the Sabbath, the city-gates should be shut, and not opened till the Sabbath was over; and that this order might be duly observed, he appointed some of his own ser-

* *Ammonite.* See Num. xxii. 5, 6, and Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.

vants to guard the gates, and suffer no burden to be brought in on the Sabbath-day. The chapmen and merchants, who came, as usual, over night with their goods, were surprised to find the gates shut against them; and being thus disappointed, were obliged to take up their lodging without the walls of Jerusalem. This they did once or twice, though Nehemiah reproved them for it; wherefore he at last told them, if they attempted to repeat the offence, he would apprehend them. Upon which they desisted; but, suspecting that they might, by some contrivance or other, attempt it again, he commanded the Levites to cleanse themselves, and take up their station at the gate, and guard it diligently, that the Sabbath-day might be kept holy. Thus with great care and difficulty this good man once more established the worship of the Lord at Jerusalem.

Nehemiah, as was observed, upon his return from Babylon to Jerusalem, in order to convince the Jews of their transgressions, caused the Book of the Law to be read before the people, which expressly declared against all conversation with the Ammonites and Moabites; and the people accordingly separated from the mixed multitude. But the case of mixed marriages with the heathen had taken such deep root, that Nehemiah found it a difficult matter to eradicate it; for which cause, he in nothing expressed a warmer zeal than against these forbidden marriages, which were made between the Jews and other nations, and which he well knew had in former ages betrayed the Israelites into idolatry and other abominations; the fatal consequence of which he at this time was the more active to prevent. Finding, therefore, that they had not so thoroughly reformed as they promised, and that there were among them some Jews who had married wives of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab, whose children, he observed, spoke a language half Ashdodite and half Jewish, but neither perfectly, he debated with them on the unreasonableness of these mixed marriages, and the visible consequence of it in the broken mongrel speech of their children, who in time would quite forget their native language. Then he argued warmly with them, and they so insolently defended themselves, that he was provoked to curse* them; and they persisting, he smote † some of them; and being incensed to the last degree, he plucked their hair ‡ off, and made them swear by the Lord that they should

* *Curse.* We are not to ascribe this to extreme anger or private resentment; but he acted as the minister of God, in declaring the curses of his word against such atrocious and hardened transgressors.

† *Smote.* This was usual among the Jews, their malefactors being buffeted either by the lictors or the mob. See Matt. xxvi. 67.

‡ *Hair.* The depriving the head of its natural ornament was a special punishment among the ancients; as among the Athenians it was part of the punishment for adulterers; and Nehemiah seems to have inflicted this as a punishment on them for their wantonness and luxury; which he did in this manner, that the guilty might see their liberty changed into a state of slavery. For baldness was a symbol of servitude, as hair was of liberty, and it so continues among the Eastern nations, and in China particularly, since their subjugation to the Tartars, to this day.

It was likewise a token of mourning, see Isaiah xv. 2, and Ezek. xxxviii. 37. But, in general, baldness was a mark of extreme ignominy among the Jews. Yet in this case, Neh. xiii. 25, it may look like a symbol of purgation, which was used by the Levites, lepers, and foreign women taken in war, before they were joined in marriage with the Jews.

not any more mix in marriage with the heathen nations; "For," said he, "did not Solomon, king of Israel, sin by doing these things? Though there was no king among the heathens like unto him; though he was beloved of his God, who made him king over all Israel; yet he was betrayed by strange women to commit idolatry. Is it reasonable then that we should imitate your example, to do this great evil, to transgress against our God, in marrying strange wives?" And to show himself an impartial judge in his administration, he made no distinction of quality or condition among them, for he punished all alike, whom he found guilty; an instance of which was in one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high-priest; who, having married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, was by Nehemiah's command expelled the city. Then praying to God to do justice on those that defiled the priesthood, and violated the covenant between the priests and Levites, and the Lord, he proceeded to purge the place from all profanation of strangers, appointing the priests and Levites their several apartments and offices, setting out the wood for the offering, and taking care of the first-fruits.

In this happy condition did this good man leave the Jews; but notwithstanding his pious care and pains to reform them, they soon after his death returned to their former wicked courses, as appears by the expostulatory reproaches of Malachi,* whom the Lord not long after commissioned to reprove them. He having at first demonstrated the particular esteem of God to the house of Israel in preferring † them to that of Esau, taxes them with their ingratitude and neglect of his worship, but more especially his priests, whom he charges with irreligious and profane approaches to the altar, with corrupting the covenant of Levi, and by giving an ill example in themselves, they had occasioned many to fall from the law. After which he threatens to judge them for all their sins, particularly for marrying with the heathen, and mocking God with their vain shows and pretences of religion, whilst they were notoriously guilty of sorcery, adultery, perjury, and oppression. He charged the people with sacrilege, in detaining the tithes and offerings; which being a part of the law, and appropriated to the maintenance of the priests and Levites, could not be detained without manifest violence and injustice, for which he severely reproached them. After this he

* *Malachi.* He was one of the three prophets whom God raised up for the comfort of the Jews after the captivity, and was the last of those of whom we have any writing, or mention in the Old Testament. After him there was none till John the Baptist was sent, which was either a token of God's wrath, or an admonition that they should with more fervent desire look for the coming of the Messiah.

† *Preferring.* Here, in Malachi i. 3, God is said to have hated Esau, and in other places the word hate is used in a severer sense than the original allows. For translators should have considered that the word, which here and elsewhere on the same occasion is rendered to hate, signifies also to love less, or to take less care of a thing, and not to intend any injury. And that it is thus to be taken here, appears from a parallel text in St. Matt. x. 37, where our Saviour says, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." Therefore is it but reasonable to translate the words of the apostle St. Paul, Rom. i. 13, taken out of Malachi i. 3, I have loved Jacob more than Esau, because God's dealing towards the Edomites does not show any real hatred against them, but only that he favored them less than the descendants of Jacob.

gives a hint of God's calling the Gentiles, promising the coming of the messenger of the covenant, whom they all desired. "Then," says he,* "shall the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem be acceptable unto the Lord, as in old times." And for the comfort of the good and pious, who had persevered in their duty, and steadfastly believed God's word, he declared that God would not forget his promise to their fathers, but would in his own good time fulfil it, assuring them that when that day should come, the proud, and all that had done wickedly, should be utterly extirpated; but those that had feared the Lord should enjoy prosperity and all manner of plenty. Then promising them victory in those days over their enemies, whom they should trample as dust under their feet, he bids them remember the law of Moses, the servant of the Lord, which he gave him in Mount Horeb. And at last, as a pledge of the completion of all that he had promised concerning the coming of the Messiah, he tells them the Lord would send Elias † the prophet before that great and terrible day, the happy effect of which should be the turning ‡ the hearts of the fathers to their children, and of the children to their fathers.

* *He.* See Malachi iii. 4.

† *Elias.* That is, St. John the Baptist, who is here called Elias, because he came in the spirit of Elias, Luke i. 17, Matt. xi. 14, and xvii. 11, 12, as Elias did before, to correct the depraved manners and corrupt doctrine of the Jews, sparing neither prince nor people, but reproving both with equal zeal and fervor.

‡ *Turning.* That is, should reconcile those that are at variance, and settle all in unanimity and concord. For from the time of the Maccabees to the coming of Christ, Judea had not only been worried with foreign enemies, but civil discords, occasioned by the different sects that were among them, the most prevalent on either side being those of the Sadducees and Pharisees, which threw that nation, and especially the city of Jerusalem, into terrible convulsions, and which the prophet literally foretold, (see Micah vii. 6,) according to the text here in Malachi iv. 6. Besides, this was very justly adapted to the character of the Messiah, who is by the prophet Isaiah called the prince of peace; and answerably to that character, at his birth, the world enjoyed profound peace and tranquillity.

KINGS OF THE GREEK KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

KINGS.	LENGTH OF REIGN.	DATE OF ACCESSION.
1. Seleucus I. Nicator.....	32 years.	October, 312.
2. Antiochus I. Soter.....	19 "	January, 280.
3. Antiochus II. Theos.....	15 "	January, 261.
4. Seleucus II. Callinicus.....	20 "	January, 246.
5. Seleucus III. Ceraunus.....	3 "	August, 226.
6. Antiochus III. the Great.....	36 "	August, 223.
7. Seleucus IV. Philopator.....	12 "	October, 187.
8. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.....	11 "	August, 175.
9. Antiochus V. Eupator.....	2 "	December, 164.
10. Demetrius I. Soter.....	12 "	November, 162.
11. Alexander Balas.....	5 "	August, 150.
12. { Demetrius II. Nicator (1st reign). } { Antiochus VI. Theos. } ... { Tryphon. }	9 "	November, 146.
13. Antiochus VII. Sidetes.....	9 "	February, 137.
{ Demetrius II. Nicator (2d reign). } ... { Alexander Zebina. }	3 "	February, 128.
14. Seleucus V.....	3 "	February, 125.
15. Antiochus VIII. Grypus.....	13 "	August, 125.
16. Antiochus IX. Cyzenicus.....	18 "	August, 113.
17. { Seleucus VI. } ...	18 "	August, 113.
18. { Antiochus X. Eusebes Philippus. } ...	12 "	August, 95.
19. { Tigranes. } ...	14 "	August, 83.
20. { Demetrius III. Eucærus. } ...	14 "	August, 83.
21. { Antiochus XI. Epiphanes. } ...	14 "	August, 83.
22. { Antiochus XII. Dionysus. } ...	14 "	August, 83.
23. Antiochus Asiaticus.....	4 "	August, 69.

TABLES OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE.

JEWISH WEIGHTS, REDUCED TO ENGLISH TROY WEIGHT.

	Lbs.	Oz.	Pen.	Gr.
The Gerah, the twentieth part of a Shekel.....	0	0	0	12
The Bekah, half a Shekel.....	0	0	5	0
The Shekel.....	0	0	10	0
The Maneh, sixty Shekels.....	2	6	0	0
The Talent, fifty Maneh, or three thousand Shekels.....	125	0	0	0

According to the Bishop of Peterborough's calculations, the Gerah is nearly equal to 11 grains Troy; the Bekah, to about $4\frac{3}{4}$ pennyweights; and the Shekel, to about $9\frac{1}{2}$ pennyweights.

TABLES OF SCRIPTURE MEASURES OF LENGTH, REDUCED TO ENGLISH MEASURES.

SHORT MEASURES.

	English Feet.	Inches.
Digit.....	0	0.912
4 | Palm.....	0	3.684
12 | 3 | Span.....	0	10.944
24 | 6 | 3 | Cubit.....	1	9.888
96 | 24 | 6 | 2 | Fathom.....	7	3.552
144 | 36 | 12 | 6 | 1.5 | Ezekiel's reed.....	10	11.328
192 | 48 | 16 | 8 | 2 | 1.3 | Arabian pole.....	14	7.104
1920 | 480 | 160 | 80 | 20 | 13.3 | 10 | Schœnus's measuring-line..	145	11.04

LONG MEASURES.

	English Miles.	Paces.	Feet.
Cubit.....	0	0	1.824
400 | Stadium or Furlong.....	0	145	4.6
2000 | 5 | Sabbath day's journey.....	0	729	3.0
4000 | 10 | 2 | Eastern mile.....	1	403	1.0
12000 | 30 | 6 | 3 | Parasang.....	4	153	3.0
96000 | 240 | 48 | 24 | 8 | A day's journey.....	33	172	4.0

*** 5 Feet = 1 pace; 1056 = 1 mile.

According to the Bishop of Peterborough, a parasang is equal to 4 miles, 116 paces.

TABLES OF SCRIPTURE MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

MEASURES FOR LIQUIDS, REDUCED TO ENGLISH WINE MEASURE.

	Gallons.	Pints.
Caph.....	0	0.625
1.3 | Log.....	0	0.833
5.3 | 4 | Cab.....	0	3.333
16 | 12 | 3 | Hin.....	1	2
32 | 24 | 6 | 2 | Seah.....	2	4
96 | 72 | 18 | 6 | 3 | Bath or Epha.....	7	4
960 | 720 | 180 | 60 | 20 | 10 | Chomer, Homer, Kor, or Coros.....	75	5

The Omer was one-tenth of an Epha, and contained 6 pints; the Metretes of Syria, translated in John ii. 6, "firkins," $7\frac{1}{2}$ pints; and the eastern Cotyla, half a pint. This Cotyla, says the bishop of Peterborough, contains just 10 ounces Avoirdupois of rain-water; the Omer, 100 ounces, the Epha 1000, and the Chomer 10,000 ounces. So by these weights all these measures of capacity may be expeditiously recovered to a near exactness.

MEASURES FOR THINGS DRY, REDUCED TO ENGLISH CORN MEASURE.

						Pecks.	Gallons.	Pints.
Gachal.....						0	0	0.1416
20 | Cab.....						0	0	2.8333
36	1.8	Omer or Gomer.....				0	0	5.1
120	6	3.3	Seah.....			1	0	1
360	18	10	3	Epha.....		3	0	3
1800	90	50	15	5	Letech.....	16	0	0
3600	180	100	30	10	2 | Chomer, Homer, etc.....	32	0	0

TABLES OF MONEY.

JEWISH MONEY, REDUCED TO THE ENGLISH STANDARD.

						£.	s.	d.
Gerah.....						0	0	1.3687
10	Bekah.....					0	1	1.6875
20	2	Shekel.....				0	2	3.375
1200	120	50	Maneh, or Mina Hebraica.....			5	14	0.75
60000	6000	3000	60	Talent.....		342	3	9
Solidus Aureus, or Sextula, was worth.....						0	12	0.5
Siclus Aureus, or Gold Shekel.....						1	16	6
Talent of Gold.....						5475	0	0

The Bishop of Peterborough makes the Mina Hebraica to contain 60 Shekels, and to weigh 27 oz. 7½ dwts., which, at 5s. per ounce, will amount to £6 16s. 10½d.; and the Talent of Silver to contain 50 Minæ, which, at 5s., will equal the amount in this table, £342 3s. 9d.

ROMAN MONEY MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, REDUCED TO THE ENGLISH STANDARD.

	£.	s.	d.	far.
Mite (Assarium).....	0	0	0	⅔
Farthing (Quadrans) about.....	0	0	0	1½
Penny, or Denarius (Silver).....	0	0	7	3
Pound, or Mina.....	3	2	6	0

According to the Bishop of Peterborough, the Roman Mite is one-third of our farthing; Quadrans, three-fourths of a farthing; the Assarium, a farthing and a half; and the Assis, three farthings.

. In the preceding Tables, Silver is valued at 6s., and Gold at £4 per ounce.

Since the publication, in 1727, of Dr. Arbuthnot's "Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures," that celebrated work has been regarded by the best divines as the general standard on these difficult subjects. More recently the Bishop of Peterborough has rendered good service to this part of biblical antiquity by entering into several nice and extensive calculations on the weights and measures mentioned in the Bible, which have, with very few exceptions, confirmed the previous investigations of Dr. Arbuthnot; and

as the axiom, "What is new in theology is false," holds good only in regard to the *doctrines* of Scripture, and not to its *statics* and *numismatics*, no hesitation has been felt in presenting the reader, under each of the preceding tables, with some of the most important of the results which the Bishop has thus obtained.

In the abstruse department of mensuration of superficies, the same learned prelate has also ably demonstrated that *the altar of incense*, described in Exodus xxx. 2, as consisting of a cubit in length, and a cubit in breadth, and yet "four-square," contained exactly one square cubit, that is, three English square feet, and about forty-seven square inches; that *the table of shew-bread*, described in Exodus xxv. 23, as being two cubits long and one broad, and rectangular, contained above six English square feet; that *the boards of the tabernacle*, described in Exodus xxvi. 16, as ten cubits in length and a cubit and a half in breadth, and rectangular, contained nearly fifty square feet of English measure; that *the mercy-seat*, which Moses is directed to make "two cubits and a half the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof," Exodus xxv. 17, contained twelve and a half square feet; that *the altar of incense*, which was directed to be "a cubit the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and four square," Exodus xxx. 2, contained upward of three square feet; that *the court of the tabernacle*, the orders concerning which were, "The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty everywhere," Exodus xxvii. 18, comprised upward of sixteen thousand six hundred and thirty-four square feet, or in English land measure one rood, twenty-one perches, and twenty-seven and a half feet; and that *Levites' glebe*, which is thus described in Numbers xxxv. 3-5: "The cities they shall have to dwell in, and the suburbs of them shall be for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their beasts. And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about. And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits," etc.; "and the city shall be in the midst;" contained three hundred and five acres, two roods, and one perch, which was, for each of the four sides, seventy-six acres, one rood, twenty perches, and eighty square feet.

Respecting the Egyptian *aroura*, which is sometimes mistranslated "acre," the Bishop remarks: "Reflecting upon Moses's measure by cubits, and," in the case of *the court of the tabernacle*, "finding them to be precisely five thousand square cubits, I observed that they were just half ten thousand, which I had observed from Herodotus to be the area of the Egyptian *aroura*, by which their land was as generally measured as ours is by acres and roods. I called also to mind a passage in Manetho, an Egyptian priest, cited by Josephus in his first book against Apion, where he affirms that Manetho, in his history of the reign, wars, and expulsion of the Pastors (whom Africanus affirms to be Phœnicians or Canaanites, and Josephus vainly believed to be Jews), wrote out of the public records of Egypt, that these Pastors made at Abaris a very large and strong encampment, that encom-

passed ten thousand *arouræ*, sufficient to contain two hundred and forty thousand men, and long to maintain their cattle. Hence it appears that not only the Egyptians, but also the Phœnicians or Canaanites that had dwelt among them, and had reigned there during the time of six kings successively, used this measure of land called *aroura*. Now this was long before the time of Moses; for the beginning of Amosis or Tethmosis, who expelled them out of Egypt, was very near the time of Abraham's death. Wherefore I believe that Moses, who was skilled in all Egyptian learning, especially in surveying, did of choice make *the court of the tabernacle* to be just half an *aroura*, which was a known measure to him and his people, and that Divine authority directed him to do so." In another part of his work he reduces the Egyptian *aroura* into English measure, and finds it to be three roods, two perches, and fifty-five and a quarter square feet.

A HARMONY OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

[FROM JENKS'S SUPPLEMENT TO THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY.]

FIRST CLASS.—THE MORAL LAW. WRITTEN ON THE TWO TABLES, CONTAINING THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

	EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	NUMBERS.	DEUT.
The FIRST TABLE, which includes—	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter
The First Commandment.....	20, 13	.....	.....	5, 6
The Second Commandment	20, 23, 34	19, 26, 18	.....	}
The Third Commandment	20, 23	.....	.....
The Fourth Commandment.....	}	}	19, 23, 26	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 5, 6, 10
				20, 23, 31, 34, 35	.....	5
The SECOND TABLE, which includes—				
The Fifth Commandment.....	20, 22	19	.....	5
The Sixth Commandment.....	20	19	.....	5
The Seventh Commandment.....	20	18, 19	.....	5, 23
The Eighth Commandment.....	20, 22	19	.....	5
The Ninth Commandment.....	20, 23	19	.....	5
The Tenth Commandment.....	20	.....	.....	5
The sum of both Tables.....	.....	19	.....	6

SECOND CLASS.—THE CEREMONIAL LAW.

Of the Holy Place	20	17	.....	12
Of the structure of the Tabernacle.....	25, 26, 27, 35			
Of the instruments of the same, viz. :				
Of the laver of brass.....	30			
The altar of burnt-offerings.....	27			
The altar of incense.....	30			
The candlestick of pure gold.....	25			
The table of shew-bread.....	25, 26			
The ark.....	25, 26			
Of the Priests and their vestments.....	28			
Of the choosing of the Levites.....	.....	.....	18, 3, 8	
Of the Priests' office in general.....	.....	.....	3, 18	
Of their office in teaching.....	.....	19, 10	.....	18, 12, 17, 31
— blessing.....	.....	.....	6	
— offering, viz. :				
What the sacrifices ought to be.....	.....	22	.....	15, 17
Of the continual fire .....	.....	6	.....
Of the manner of the burnt-offerings.....	.....	6, 7	.....
— peace-offerings.....	.....	3, 7	.....

SECOND CLASS.—THE CEREMONIAL LAW—(Continued.)

	EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	NUMBERS.	DEUT.
Manner and kinds of sacrifices, viz.:	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter
For sin in ignorance of the law.....	.....	4	5	.....
----- fact.....	.....	5, 7	.....	.....
For witting sin, yet not impious.....	.....	6	5	.....
The special law of sacrifice for sin.....	.....	6, 7	.....	.....
Things belonging to the sacrifices.....	.....	2, 6, 7	15	.....
Of the shew-bread.....	.....	24	.....	.....
Of the lamps.....	27	24	8	.....
Of the sweet incense.....	30	.....	.....	.....
Of the use of ordinary oblations, viz.:	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of the consecration of Priests.....	29, 30	6, 8	.....	.....
----- and office of Levites.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Of the dwellings of the Levites.....	.....	.....	35	.....
Of the anointing of the altar, etc.....	29, 30	.....	.....	.....
Of the continual daily sacrifice.....	29	.....	28	.....
----- Sabbath-day's sacrifice.....	.....	.....	28	.....
Solemn Sacrifices for Feast-days, viz.:	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of trumpets.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Of beginnings of months.....	.....	.....	28	.....
The three most solemn feasts in general..	23, 24	23	.....	16
Of the Feast of Passover.....	12, 13, 23, 24	23	9, 28	16
----- Pentecost.....	23, 24	23	28	16
----- Tabernacles.....	23, 24	23	29	16
----- Blowing the Trumpets..	.....	23	29	.....
----- Expiation.....	30	16, 13	29	.....
Of first-fruits.....	22, 23, 24	2	15	26
Of tithes.....	.....	21	18	12, 14, 26
Of fruits growing, and not eaten of.....	.....	19	.....	.....
Of the first-born.....	13, 22, 24	.....	.....	15
Of the Sabbatical year.....	23	25	.....	.....
Of the year of jubilee.....	.....	25	.....	.....
Of vows in general.....	.....	27	30	13
What persons not to make vows.....	.....	.....	30	.....
What things cannot be vowed.....	.....	27	.....	23
Of redemption of vows.....	.....	27	.....	.....
Of the vows of the Nazarites.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Laws proper for the Priests, viz.:	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of pollutions.....	.....	22	.....	.....
Of the High-priest's mourning.....	.....	21	.....	.....
Of his marriage.....	.....	21	.....	.....
Mourning of the ordinary Priests.....	.....	21	.....	.....
Of their marriage.....	.....	21	.....	.....
Forbidden the use of wine, etc.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Of sanctified meats.....	.....	6, 17, 19, 22	5, 18	12, 15, 18
Of the office of the Levites:	.....	.....	.....	.....
In teaching.....	.....	.....	.....	17, 27, 31
In offering.....	.....	.....	3, 4, 18	10
Other promiscuous Ceremonial Laws:	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of uncleanness in general.....	.....	15, 19	5	.....
Of uncleanness in meats, viz.:	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of blood.....Gen. ix.	23	7, 17, 10	.....	12
Of fat.....	.....	3, 7	.....	.....
Of dead carcasses.....	22	17	.....	14
Other meats and divers creatures.....	.....	11, 20	.....	14
Of personal uncleanness.....	.....	15, 12	.....	23
In the dead bodies of men.....	.....	.....	19	.....
In the leprosy.....	.....	13, 14	5	24
Of circumcision.....Gen. xvii.	.....	12	.....	.....

SECOND CLASS.—THE CEREMONIAL LAW.—(Continued.)

	EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	NUMBERS.	DEUT.
	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter
Of the water of expiation	19	.....	.....
Of the mourning of the Israelites	19	.....	14
Of mixtures	19	.....	22
Garments; and writing the Law.....	5	6, 11, 22
Of not taking young birds with the } dam.....	22
Of their paddle-staves.....	23

THIRD CLASS.—THE POLITICAL LAW.

The Magistrate is the keeper of the precepts of both Tables, and to have respect to human society; therefore the POLITICAL LAWS of the Israelites are referred to both the Tables, and are to be reduced to the several precepts of the MORAL LAW, viz.:

LAWS REFERRED TO THE FIRST TABLE.

I. To the First and Second Commandments.

	EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	NUMBERS.	DEUT.
	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter
Of idolaters and apostates.....	22	20	.....	13, 17
Of abolishing idolatry.....	23, 24	.....	33	7, 12
Of diviners and false prophets.....	22	19, 20	.....	18
Of covenants with other gods.....	23, 34	7

II. To the Third Commandment.

Of blasphemies.....	24	15	
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III. To the Fourth Commandment.

Of breaking the Sabbath.....	31, 35	15	
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POLITICAL LAWS REFERRED TO THE SECOND TABLE.

I. To the Fifth Commandment.

Of magistrates, and their authority	18, 30	11	1, 16, 17, 23
Of the power of fathers.....	21	20	.....	21

II. To the Sixth Commandment.

Of capital punishments in general.....	.....	.....	.....	21, 24
Of wilful murder.....	21	24	35	19
Of manslaughter and refuge.....	21	.....	35	19, 21, 22
Of heinous injury.....	21	24	.....	25
Of punishments, not capital.....	.....	.....	.....	25
Of the law of war.....	.....	.....	.....	20, 23

THIRD CLASS.—THE POLITICAL LAW.—(Continued.)

III. To the Seventh Commandment.

	EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	NUMBERS.	DEUT.
	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter	Chapter
Of unlawful marriages		18, 20		7, 22
Of fornication		19		23
Of whoredom.....	22	21		22
Of adultery and jealousy.....		19, 20	5	22
Of copulation against nature.....	22	18, 20		
Of divorcements				24
Other matrimonial laws.....	21	18, 20		21, 22, 24, 25

IV. To the Eighth Commandment.

Of the punishment of thefts.....	22		5	
Of sacrilege.....Jos. vii.				
Of not injuring strangers.....	22, 23	19		10
Of not defrauding hirelings.....		19		26, 25
Of just weights.....		19		25
Of removing the landmark.....				19
Of lost goods.....	22			
Of stray cattle.....	22, 23			22
Of corrupted judgments.....	23	19		16, 24
Of fire breaking out by chance.....	22			
Of man-stealing.....				24
Of the fugitive servant				23
Of gathering fruits.....		19, 23		23, 24
Of contracts, viz.:				
Of borrowing.....				15
Of the pledge.....	22			24
Of usury.....	22	25		23
Of selling	21	25		15
Of a thing lent.....	22			
Of a thing committed to be kept.....	22			
Of heirs.....			26, 27, 33, 36	21

V. To the Ninth Commandment.

Of witnesses.....		5		17, 19
Establishing of the political law.....				4
The establishing of the Divine law in } general.....				6, 11, 29, 30 31
From the dignity of the lawgiver.....		19, 20, 22	15	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 26, 27
From the excellency of the laws.....				4, 26
From the promises.....	15, 19, 23, 24	18, 26		4, 5, 6, 7, 10 11, 12, 28
From the threatenings.....	23	26		4, 7, 11, 27, 28, 29, 30

TABLE OF THE PSALMS AND PROPHECIES:

SHOWING AFTER WHAT SCRIPTURE ANY PSALM OR PROPHECY SHOULD BE
READ IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER; ALSO, THE PROBABLE
OCCASION ON WHICH IT WAS COMPOSED.

PSALMS.

Date.	Psalm.	Probable Occasion on which each Psalm was Composed.	After what Scripture.
B. C.			
444	1	Written by Ezra, as a Preface to the Book of Psalms.....	Neh. xiii. 3.
1044	2	On the Delivery of the Promise by Nathan to David —	2 Sam. vii. 29.
1024	3	a Prophecy of Christ's kingdom.....	
1023	4	On David's Flight from Absalom.....	2 Sam. xv. 29.
	5	During the Flight from Absalom.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.
	6	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1024	7	On the Reproaches of Shimei.....	2 Sam. xvi. 14.
	8	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1063	9	On the victory over Goliath.....	1 Sam. xviii. 4.
539	10	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
1062	11	When David was advised to flee to the Mountains.....	1 Sam. xix. 3.
	12	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 1.
	13		
539	14	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
	15		
1044	16	On the Delivery of the Promise by Nathan to David... .	2 Sam. vii. 29.
1060	17	On the Murder of the Priests by Doeg.....	1 Sam. xxii. 19.
1019	18	On the Conclusion of David's Wars.....	2 Sam. xxii. 51.
	19	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1038	20	On the War with the Ammonites and Syrians.....	2 Sam. x. 19.
1044	21	On the Delivery of the Promise by Nathan to David.....	2 Sam. vii. 29.
	22		
	23	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
	24		
539	25		
	26	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
	27		
	28	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
	29		
1017	30	On the Dedication of the Threshing-floor of Auranah....	1 Chron. xxi. 30.
1060	31	On David's Persecution by Saul.....	1 Sam. xxiii. 12.
1035	32	On the Pardon of David's Adultery.....	2 Sam. xii. 15.
	33		
1060	34	On David's leaving the city of Gath.....	1 Sam. xxi. 15.
1060	35	On David's Persecution by Doeg.....	1 Sam. xxii. 19.
539	36	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
	37		
	38		
	39		
	40	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
	41		
1023	42	On David's resting by the river Jordan in his flight	
	43	from Absalom.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.
710	44	On the blasphemous Message of Rab-shakeh.....	2 Kings xix. 7.
1044	45	On the Delivery of the Promise by Nathan to David.....	2 Sam. vii. 29.
896	46	On the Victory of Jehoshaphat.....	2 Chron. xx. 26.

PSALMS.—(Continued.)

Date.	Psalms.	Probable Occasion on which each Psalm was Composed.	After what Scripture.
B. C.			
1004	47	On the Removal of the Ark into the Temple.....	2 Chron. v. 10.
515	48	On the Dedication of the Second Temple.....	Ezra vi. 22.
539	49 } 50 }	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
1034	51	Confession of David after his Adultery.....	2 Sam. xii. 15.
1060	52	On David's Persecution by Doeg.....	1 Sam. xxii. 19.
539	53	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
1060	54	On the Treachery of the Ziphim to David.....	1 Sam. xxiii. 23.
1023	55	During the Flight from Absalom.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.
1060	56	When David was with the Philistines in Gath.....	1 Sam. xxi. 15.
1058	57	On David's Refusal to kill Saul in the Cave.....	1 Sam. xxiv. 22.
1058	58	Continuation of Psalm lvii.....	1 Sam. xxiv. 22.
1061	59	On the Soldiers of Saul surrounding the House of David.	1 Sam. xix. 17.
1040	60	On the Conquest of Edom by Joab.....	1 Kings xi. 20.
	61	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1023	62	On David's Persecution by Absalom.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.
1058	63	Prayer of David in the Wilderness of Engedi.....	1 Sam. xxiv. 22.
1060	64	On David's Persecution by Saul.....	1 Sam. xxii. 19.
	65	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
535	66	On laying the Foundation of the Second Temple.....	Ezra iii. 13.
539	67	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
1045	68	On the first Removal of the Ark.....	2 Sam. vi. 11.
	69	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1023	70 } 71 }	During Absalom's Rebellion.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.
1015	72	On Solomon being made King by his Father.....	1 Ch. xxix. 19.
710	73	On the Destruction of Sennacherib.....	2 Kings xix. 19.
588	74	On the Destruction of the City and Temple.....	Jer. xxxix. 10.
710	75 } 76 }	On the Destruction of Sennacherib.....	2 Ch. xxxii. 23.
539	77	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
	78	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
588	79	On the Destruction of the City and Temple.....	Jer. xxxix. 10.
539	80	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
515	81	On the Dedication of the Second Temple.....	Ezra vi. 22.
897	82	On the Appointment of Judges by Jehoshaphat.....	2 Ch. xix. 7.
588	83	On the Desolation caused by the Assyrians.....	Jer. xxxix. 40.
535	84	On laying the Foundation of the Second Temple.....	Ezra iii. 13.
536	85	On the Decree of Cyrus for the Restoration of the Jews..	Ezra i. 4.
	86	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
536	87	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.
1571	88	During the Affliction in Egypt.....	Ex. ii. 25.
539	89	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
1489	90	On the Shortening of Man's Life, etc.....	Num. xiv. 45.
1015	91	After the Advice of David to Solomon.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 19.
539	92 } 93 }	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
588	94	On the Destruction of the City and Temple.....	Jer. xxxix. 10.
	95	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1044	96	On the Removal of the Ark from the House of Obed-edom.	1 Ch. xvi. 43.
	97		
1004	98 } 99 }	On the Removal of the Ark into the Temple.....	2 Chron. v. 10.
	100		
	101	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
538	102	On the near Termination of the Babylonish Captivity...	Dan. ix. 27.
1035	103	On the Pardon of David's Adultery.....	2 Sam. xii. 15.
	104	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.
1044	105 } 106 }	On the Removal of the Ark from the House of Obed-edom.	1 Ch. xvi. 43.
536	107	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.
1040	108	On the Conquest of Edom by Joab.....	1 Kings xi. 20.
1060	109	On David's Persecution by Doeg.....	2 Sam. xxii. 19.

PSALMS. — (Continued.)

Date.	Psalms.	Probable Occasion on which each Psalm was Composed.	After what Scripture.		
B. C. 1044	110	On the Promise by Nathan to David.....	2 Sam. vii. 29.		
536	111	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.		
	112				
	113				
	114				
896	115	On the Victory of Jehoshaphat.....	2 Chron. xx. 26.		
536	116	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.		
	117				
1044	118	On the Promise by Nathan to David.....	2 Sam. vii. 29.		
444	119	Manual of Devotion by Ezra.....	Neh. xiii. 3.		
	120	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.		
121					
122					
123					
539	123	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.		
	124	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.		
536	125	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.		
536	126	On the Decree of Cyrus for the Restoration of the Jews..	Ezra i. 4.		
536	127	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.		
	128				
535	129	On the Opposition of the Samaritans to the Rebuilding } of the Temple.....	Ezra iv. 24.		
539	130	During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.		
	131	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.		
1051	132	Before the second Removal of the Ark.....	1 Chron. xv. 14.		
	133	Inserted towards the end of David's life.....	1 Ch. xxviii. 21.		
536	134	On the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezra iii. 7.		
	135	On the Dedication of the Temple.....	2 Chron. v. 14.		
136					
539	137			During the Babylonish Captivity.....	Dan. vii. 28.
519	138			On the Rebuilding of the Temple.....	Ezra vi. 13.
1048	139	Prayer of David when made King over all Israel.....	1 Chron. xiii. 4.		
1060	140	On David's Persecution by Doeg.....	1 Sam. xxii. 19.		
1055	141	Prayer of David when driven from Judea.....	1 Sam. xxvii. 1.		
1060	142	Prayer of David in the Cave of Adullam.....	1 Sam. xxii. 1.		
1023	143	During the war with Absalom.....	2 Sam. xvii. 29.		
	144				
1015	145	David, when old, reviews his past Life.....	2 Ch. xxviii. 10.		
	146	On the Dedication of the Second Temple.....	Ezra vi. 22.		
147					
515	148				
	149				
	150				

PROPHECIES.

Date.	Prophecy.	Probable Occasion or Period in which the Prophecy was Written.	After what Scripture.
B. C. 758	ISALIAH. i. 1.	General Preface to the Prophecies of Isaiah....	2 Ch. xxvi. 21.
740	2, to end.	On the desolate State of Judea on Pekah's } Invasion.....	2 Ch. xxviii. 19; Ob. xxi.
758	ii., iii., iv., v., vi.	Designation of Isaiah to the Prophetic Office..	2 Ch. xxvi. 21.
742	vii., viii., ix.;	On the Invasion of Judea by Rezin and Pekah.	2 Kings xvi. 4.
	x. 1-4.		
715	5, to end;	On the first Invasion of Palestine by the } Army of Sennacherib.....	Isa. xxiii. 18.
	xi., xii., xiii.;		
	xiv. 1-27.		
726	xiv. 28, to end.	On the Death of Ahaz, and the Accession } of Hezekiah.....	2 Ch. xxviii. 27.
726	xv., xvi.	On the approaching Invasion of Moab by } Shalmaneser.....	2 Ch. xxxi. 21.
742	xvii.	Against Damascus on the Invasion of Rezin...	Isa. x. 4.

PROPHECIES. — (Continued.)

Date.	Prophecy.	Probable Occasion or Period in which the Prophecy was Written.	After what Scripture.
B. C.	ISAIAH.		
721	xviii., xix.	On the approaching Captivity of the Ten Tribes, and against Egypt.....	2 Kings xviii. 8.
713	xx.	On the Capture of Ashdod.....	2 Kings xviii. 16.
713	xxi.	On the Appearance of the Medes and Persians in Sennacherib's Army.....	Isa. xxii. 14.
713	xxii. 1-14.	On the expected Appearance of Sennacherib's Army.....	Isa. xxvii. 13.
698	15, to end.	On the Luxury and Pride of Shebna.....	2 Kings xxi. 16.
715	xxiii.	On the Exultation of the Tyrians after the Retreat of Shalmaneser.....	Na. iii. 19.
715	xxiv., xxv., xxvi., xxvii.	On the Desolation by Sennacherib's Army.....	Isa. xiv. 27.
740	xxviii.	To the Ten Tribes, after the Destruction of Damascus.....	2 Kings xvi. 9.
713	xxix., xxx., xxxi.	On Hezekiah's Alliance with Egypt.....	Isa. xx. 6.
713	xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv.	On Hezekiah's Recovery.....	2 Kings xx. 11.
713	xxxvi., xxxvii.	History of Sennacherib's Invasion.....	
713	xxxviii. 1-8.	History of Hezekiah's Sickness.....	
713	9-20.	Hezekiah's Thanksgiving on his Recovery....	Isa. xxxv. 10.
713	21, 22.	Recovery of Hezekiah.....	
713	xxxix.	Visit of Merodach Baladin.....	
710 to 699	xl., xli., to end of the Book.	Written in the latter years of the Reign of Hezekiah, while the Kingdom enjoyed Peace after the Destruction of Sennacherib's Army.....	2 Kings xix. 37.
	JEREMIAH.		
628	i., ii.; iii. 1-5.	On the Designation of Jeremiah to the Prophetic Office.....	2 Ch. xxxiv. 7.
612	iii. 6, to end.	On the Backsliding after the Reformation by Josiah.....	2 Ch. xxxv. 19.
612	iv., v., vi.	On the Sorrows of the approaching Captivity..	Jer. iii. 25.
612	vii., viii., ix., x.	On the near Approach of the Captivity.....	Hab. iii. 19.
610	xi., xii.	To remind the People of Josiah's Covenant....	Jer. x. 25.
609	xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., xvii., xviii., xix., xx.	Appeals to the People before the Captivity.....	2 Kings xxiii. 37.
588	xxi.	On Jeremiah's Imprisonment by Pashur.....	Jer. xix. 15.
609	xxii. 1-23.	Jeremiah repeats his Predictions to Zedekiah..	Jer. xxxvii. 21.
599	24, to end.	On the approaching Fate of Shallum and Jehoiakim.....	Jer. xx. 18.
599	xxiii.	On the approaching Captivity of Jehoiachin... On the Overthrow of the Temporal Kingdom of the Jews.....	2 Kings xxiv. 9. Jer. xxii. 30.
599	xxiv.	On Jehoiachin being carried to Babylon.....	Jer. lii. 3.
606	xxv.	On the immediate Approach of Nebuchadnezzar's Army.....	Jer. xxxv. 19.
608	xxvi.	Apprehension of Jeremiah.....	Jer. xxii. 23.
595	xxvii., xxviii.	On the approaching Ruin of Zedekiah and of the surrounding Nations.....	Jer. xxxi. 40.
597	xxix.	Letter from Jeremiah to the Captives at Babylon.	Jer. xxiv. 10.
597	xxx., xxxi.	Prediction of the Restoration of the Jews.....	Jer. xxx. 32.
589	xxxii., xxxiii.	Imprisonment of Jeremiah, and Purchase of the Field of Hananeel.....	Jer. xxxiv. 10.
590	xxxiv. 1-10.	On the Commencement of the Siege of Jerusalem.....	Jer. xxxvii. 4.
589	xxxiv. 11, to end.	On the Recall of the Hebrew Slaves to their former Servitude.....	Jer. xxxvii. 10.
606	xxxv.	On the Rechabites taking Refuge in Jerusalem.	Jer. xlv. 12.
606	xxxvi. 1-8.	First Reading of the Roll by Baruch.....	Jer. xxxvi. 28.
605	9, to end.	Second Reading of the Roll by Baruch.....	2 Kings xxiv. 4.
590	xxxvii. 1-4.	Zedekiah sends for Jeremiah.....	2 Ki. xxxvii. 4.
589	5.	Part of the Narrative of the Siege of Jerusalem.	Jer. xxxiii. 26.
589	6-10.	Prediction of the Return of Pharaoh's Army.	Jer. xlvii. 7.
588	11, to end.	Jeremiah attempts to escape from Jerusalem....	Jer. xxxiv. 22.

PROPHECIES. — (Continued.)

Date.	Prophecy.	Probable Occasion or Period in which the Prophecy was Written.	After what Scripture.
JEREMIAH.			
B. C.			
588	xxxviii.	{ Jeremiah is committed to the Dungeon of Malchiah.....	Jer. xxi. 14.
590	xxxix. 1.	{ Commencement of the Siege of Jerusalem.....	2 Ch. xxxvi. 21.
588	2.	{ Capture of Jerusalem.....	
588	3.	{ Part of the History of the Capture of Jerusalem.	Jer. lii. 6.
588	4-9.	{ Flight of Zedekiah.....	
588	10.	{ Account of those who were left in Judea by Nebuzaradan.....	Jer. lii. 16.
588	11-14.	{ Jeremiah committed to the care of Nebuzaradan.....	Jer. lii. 11.
588	15, to end.	{ The Promise to Ebed-melech.....	Jer. xxxviii. 28.
588	xl.; xli. 1-10.	{ Conduct of Jeremiah after his Capture by Nebuzaradan — Conspiracy of Ishmael against Gedaliah.....	2 Kings xxv. 22.
581	xli. 11, to end.	{ Johanan rescues the Captives from Ishmael....	Jer. xli. 10.
587	xlii.; xliii. 1-7.	{ Jeremiah reproves Johanan.....	Jer. xli. 10.
587	xliii. 8, to end.	{ On the Arrival of Jeremiah in Egypt.....	Jer. xliii. 7.
587	xliv.	{ Predictions of Jeremiah at Tahpanhes.....	Jer. xlvi. 28.
606	xlv.	{ Address to Baruch on Reading the Roll.....	Jer. xxxviii. 8.
606	xlvi. 1-12.	{ On the Defeat of Pharaoh-nechoh at Carchemish.....	Jer. xxvi. 24.
587	13, to end.	{ On the Arrival of Jeremiah in Egypt.....	Jer. xliii. 13.
589	xlvii.	{ Before the Conquest of Gaza by Pharaoh.....	Jer. xxxvii. 5.
595	xlviii., xlix.	{ On the Ruin of the surrounding Nations by Nebuchadnezzar.....	Jer. xxviii. 17.
595	l., li.	{ On Seraiah's going to Babylon.....	Jer. xlix. 30.
599	lii. 1-3.	{ Part of the Life of Zedekiah.....	2 Ch. xxxvi. 10.
588	4.	{ Nebuchadnezzar commences the Siege of Jerusalem.....	
588	5-11.	{ Part of the History of the Siege of Jerusalem... Burning of the Temple of Jerusalem.....	Jer. lii. 27.
588	12-14.	{ Account of those who were left in Judea by Nebuchadnezzar.....	Jer. lii. 23.
588	15, 16.	{ Account of the Jewish Spoils.....	Jer. lii. 14.
588	17-23.	{ Murder of the Chief Priest after the Capture of Jerusalem.....	Jer. xxxix. 14.
588	24-27.	{ Recapitulation of the Captivities.....	Jer. xlv. 30.
587	28-30.	{ Release of Jehoiachin.....	Dan. iv. 37.
561	31, to end.	{ Jeremiah laments the Desolation of Judea.....	2 Kings xxv. 21.
588	LAMENTATIONS.		
EZEKIEL.			
595	i. ii.; iii. 1-21.	{ Commission of Ezekiel.....	Dan. i. 22.
595	{ iii. 22, to end; iv., v., vi., vii.	{ Prediction of the Destruction of Jerusalem....	Ezek. iii. 21.
594	{ viii., ix., x.; xi. 1-21.	{ On the Idolatries which occasioned the Babylonish Captivity.....	Ezek. vii. 27.
594	{ xi. 22, to end; xii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., xvii., xviii., xix.	{ On the approaching Ruin of Zedekiah, the False Prophets, and the Jewish Nation.....	Ezek. xi. 21.
593	{ xx., xxi., xxii., xxiii.	{ On Ezekiel's being consulted by the Jewish Elders.....	Ezek. xix. 14.
591	xxiv.	{ On the Commencement of the Siege of Jerusalem.....	Ezek. xxiii. 49.
587	xxv.	{ On hearing of the Capture of the City.....	Ezek. xxxiii. 31.
587	{ xxvi., xxvii., xxviii.	{ Prophecy of the Destruction of Tyre.....	Ezek. xxv. 17.
589	xxix. 1-16.	{ On Pharaoh's Retreat before Nebuchadnezzar. After the Siege of Tyre — Final Prediction against Egypt.....	Ezek. xxiv. 27.
572	{ xxx. 1-19.	{ On Pharaoh's Retreat before Nebuchadnezzar.	Ezek. xlvi. 35.
588	{ 20, to end; xxxi.		Ezek. xxix. 16.

PROPHECIES. — (Continued.)

Date.	Prophecy.	Probable Occasion or Period in which the Prophecy was Written.	After what Scripture.
B. C.	EZEKIEL.		
587	{ xxxii. 1-16. } 17, to end.	On hearing of the Fall of Jerusalem—Against Egypt.....	Ezek. xxviii. 26.
587	xxxiii. 1-20.	To the Captives in Babylon.....	Ezek. xxxii. 32.
587	21, to end.	On hearing of the Fall of Jerusalem.....	Jer. lii. 30.
587	{ xxxiv., xxxv., } xxxvi., xxxvii.	Appeal to the Heads of the Jewish Nation after the Fall of Jerusalem.....	Jer. xxxiii. 20.
587	xxxviii., xxxix.	Prophecy of Gog and Magog.....	Ezek. xxxvii. 28.
574	xl. to end of Book.	Vision of the future Spiritual Temple.....	Ezek. xxxix. 29.
	DANIEL.		
606	i. 1-7.	Capture of Daniel by Nebuchadnezzar.....	Jer. xlv. 5.
606	8, to end.	Condition of Daniel at Babylon.....	Lam. v. 22.
570	ii.	Nebuchadnezzar's First Dream.....	Ezek. xxx. 19.
570	iii.	The Golden Image set up.....	Dan. ii. 49.
569	iv.	Nebuchadnezzar's Second Dream.....	Dan. iii. 30.
539	v.	Belshazzar's Feast.....	Psalms cxxiii.
537	vi.	Daniel is cast into the Den of Lions.....	Psalms cii.
541	vii.	Daniel's Vision of the Four Living Creatures..	Jer. lii. 34.
539	viii.	Daniel's Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat..	Dan. v. 31.
538	ix.	Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.....	Dan. viii. 27.
534	x., xi., xii.	{ On the Interruption to the Building of the } Second Temple.....	Psalms cxix.
	HOSEA.		
809	i., ii., iii.	{ In the Distress of Israel in the Reign of Jero- } boam the Second.....	2 Kings xiv. 27.
776	iv.	{ On the State of the Country during the In- } terregnum after the Death of Jeroboam the } Second.....	2 Kings xiv. 29.
739	v., vi.	On Ahaz's Alliance with Tiglath-pileser.....	2 Ch. xxviii. 25.
725	{ vii. to end of } the Book.	On the Revolt of Hoshea from Assyria.....	2 Kings xvii. 4.
	JOEL.		
787	i., ii., iii.	On Uzziah's increasing his Army.....	2 Ch. xxvi. 15.
	AMOS.		
793	i. to vii. 1-9.	In the Reign of Jeroboam the Second.....	Hosea iii. 5.
784	{ vii. 10, to end of } the Book.	On being accused of a Conspiracy against } Jeroboam the Second.....	2 Kings xiv. 28.
740	OBADIAH.	Against Edom, on their assisting Pekab.....	2 Ch. xxviii. 19.
	JONAH.		
787	i., ii., iii., iv.	{ Soon after the Accomplishment of Jonah's } First Prophecy, 2 Kings xiv. 25.....	Amos vii. 9.
	MICAH.		
753	i., ii.	{ On the Continuance of Idolatry in the Reign } of Jotham.....	2 Kings xv. 35.
722	{ iii. to end of } the Book.	Written to support the Reformation by Heze- } kiah.....	Isa. xvi. 14.
	NAHUM.		
720	i., ii., iii.	{ Against Nineveh, immediately after the Cap- } tivity of the Ten Tribes.....	Isa. xix. 25.
	HABAKKUK.		
612	i., ii., iii.	{ On the Backsliding after the Reformation by } Josiah.....	Jer. vi. 30.
	ZEPHANIAH.		
624	i., ii., iii.	To assist the Reformation by Josiah.....	1 Ch. xxxiv. 32.
	HAGGAI.		
520	i. 1-11.	{ On Resuming the Building of the Second } Temple.....	Ezek. v. 1.

PROPHECIES.—(Continued.)

Date.	Prophecy.	Probable Occasion or Period in which the Prophecy was Written.	After what Scripture.
B. C.	HAGGAI.		
520	i. 12, <i>to end</i> ;	To encourage the Builders of the Second Temple.....	Ezek. v. 2.
520	ii. 1-9.		Zech. i. 6.
	10, <i>to end</i> .	Address to the Builders of the Second Temple.	
520	ZECHARIAH.		
	i. 1-6.	Exhortation to Repentance.....	Haggai ii. 9.
520	7, <i>to end</i> ; ii.	Address to the Builders of the Second Temple.	Haggai ii. 23.
	iii., iv., v., vi.		
519	vii., viii.	To the Messengers from Babylon.....	Psalms cxxxviii.
457	ix. <i>to end of the Book.</i>	Probably about the Time of Ezra's Reformation.....	Ezra x. 44.
	MALACHI.		
443	i., ii.; iii. 1-16.	On the Corruptions introduced after the Reformation by Nehemiah.....	Psalms cxix.
400	iii. 16, <i>to end</i> ;	After the Completion of the Reformation by Nehemiah.....	Neh. xiii. 31.
	iv.		

CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES

OF THE

HIGH PRIESTS OF THE HEBREWS,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE SUBVERSION OF THEIR STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

1. Succession, taken from several places of the Holy Scriptures.	2. Succession, taken from 1 Ch. vi. 3-15.	3. Succession, taken from Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 8, lib. xx. c. 10.	4. Succession, taken from the Jewish Chronicle, entitled Seder Olam.
1. Aaron, the brother of Moses, created High-Priest, A. M. 2514, died 2552.	1. Aaron.	1. Aaron.	1. Aaron.
2. Eleazar, created in 2552, died about 2571.	2. Eleazar	2. Eleazar.	2. Eleazar.
3. Phinehas, 2571, died 2590.	3. Phinehas.	3. Phinehas.	3. Phinehas.
4. Abiezer, or	4. Abishua.	4. Abiezer.	4. Eli.
5. Bukki.	} These were under the Judges.	5. Bukki.	5. Ahitub.
6. Uzzi.		6. Uzzi.	6. Abiathar.
7. Eli, of the race of Ithamar, created in 2848, died in 2888.		7. Zerabiah.	7. Eli.	7. Zadok.
8. Ahitub I.	8. Meraioth.	8. Ahitub.	8. Ahimaaz, under Rehoboam.
9. Ahiab. He lived in 2911, or 2912.	9. Amariah.	9. Ahimelech.	9. Azariah, under Abiah.
10. Ahimelech, or Abiathar. He was murdered by Saul, 2944.	10. Ahitub I.	10. Abiathar.	10. Jehoachash, under Jehoshaphat.
11. Abiathar, Ahimelech, or Abimelech, under David, from 2944 to 2989.	11. Zadok I.	11. Zadok.	11. Jehoiarib, under Jehoram.

HIGH-PRIESTS. — (Continued.)

1. Succession, taken from several places of the Holy Scriptures.	2. Succession, taken from 1 Ch. vi. 1-15.	3. Succession, taken from Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 8, lib. xx. c. 10.	4. Succession, taken from the Jewish Chronicle, entitled Seder Olam.
12. Zadok I., under Saul, David, and Solomon, from 2944 to about 3000.	12. Ahimaaz.	12. Ahimaaz.	12. Jehoshaphat, under Ahaziah.
13. Ahimaaz, under Rehoboam, about 3030.	13. Azariah.	13. Azariah.	13. Jehoiadah. } Under Josiah.
14. Azariah, under Jehoshaphat; perhaps the same as Amariah. (2 Chronicles xix. 11.)	14. Johanan.	14. Joram.	14. Phadaiah. }
15. Johanan, perhaps Jehoiadah, in the reign of Joash (2 Ch. xxiv. 15), in 3126. He died at the age of 130.	15. Azariah.	15. Issus.	15. Zedekiah, under Amaziah.
16. Azariah, perhaps the same with Zechariah, son of Jehoiadah, who was killed in 3164.	16. Amariah.	16. Axiara.	16. Joel, under Uziah.
17. Amariah, perhaps Azariah, under Uzziah, in 3221.	17. Ahitub II.	17. Phideus.	17. Jotham, under Joatham.
18. Ahitub II. } Under Jotham,	18. Zadok II.	18. Sudeas.	18. Uriah, under Ahaz.
19. Zadok II. } king of Judah.	19. Shallum.	19. Julus.	19. Neriah, under Hezekiah.
20. Uriah, under Ahaz, 3265.	20. Hilkiyah.	20. Jotham.	20. Hosaiah, under Manasseh.
21. Shallum, the father of Azariah, and grandfather to Hilkiyah.	21. Azariah.	21. Uriah.	21. Shallum, under Amon.
22. Azariah, who lived in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 10), 3278.	22. Seraiah.	22. Neriah.	22. Hilkiyah, under Josiah.
23. Hilkiyah, under Hezekiah.	23. Jehzadak.	23. Odeas.	23. Azariah, under Johoiakim and Zedekiah.
24. Eliakim, or Joakim, under Manasseh, and at the time of the siege of Bethulia, in 3348. He continued to live under Josiah to 3380, and longer. He is also called Hilkiyah. (Baruch i. 7.)	24. Joshua.	24. Saldam.	24. Jehozadak, after the taking of Jerusalem.
25. Azariah, perhaps Neriah, the father of Seraiah and of Baruch.		25. Hilkah.	25. Jesus, son of Jozadak, after the captivity.
26. Seraiah, the last High-Priest before the captivity, put to death in 3414.		26. Seraiah.	
27. Jozadak, during the captivity of Babylon, from 3414 to 3469.		27. Jozadak.	
28. Joshua, or Jesus the son of Jozadak. He returned from Babylon in 3468.		28. Jesus, or Joshua	

GENERAL VIEW OF THE STATE OF ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT,

DURING THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE DEATH OF NEHE-
MIAH AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

B. C. 335.

WITH the reforms introduced by Nehemiah into the administration of the affairs of Judea, ends what in strict propriety of speech deserves to be styled the History of the Old Testament, to connect which with the events immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity into the world, belongs rather to the chronicler of the Hebrews as a nation than to the biblical historian. Nevertheless, that our readers may obtain a more accurate understanding of that stupendous scheme which restored to fallen man his forfeited immortality, we will endeavor in this chapter, with as much perspicuity as our narrow limits will permit, to describe the principal occurrences, civil as well as religious, which took place in Judea, and the countries intimately connected with it, between the close of Nehemiah's government and the birth of the Redeemer.

While Nehemiah was ably discharging his duty as civil governor of Judea, the imperial crown became the prize of more than one bold usurper, passing within the space of eight months from Xerxes to Sogdianus, and from Sogdianus to Ochus, who thenceforth assumed the name of Darius Nothus. These were all the sons of Ahasuerus, the two former only being legitimate; but Xerxes having been murdered by Sogdianus, Ochus, under pretence of avenging his brother's death, slew him in his turn, and seized the throne. His reign, which began B. C. 423, and lasted till 404, was turbulent and uneasy. The Egyptians revolted from him, and maintained their independence; he involved himself rashly and unwisely in the affairs of Greece, by assisting the Lacedæmonians to crush the strength of Athens; and he was compelled to put to death his own brother in consequence of his heading a rebellion, which was not suppressed without difficulty. He swayed the sceptre in all nineteen years, and was succeeded by his son Arsaces, or Artaxerxes Mnemon. Artaxerxes had scarcely mounted the throne when his brother Cyrus conspired against him, and that short but memorable war began of which Xenophon in his *Anabasis* gives an account. Cyrus was slain, but a body of Greek auxiliaries, returning in good order through the whole extent of the Persian empire, carried back with them a thorough knowledge of the weakness of their rivals and of their own strength. This was further

demonstrated in the course of two campaigns in which Agesilaus, king of Sparta, commanded, till Artaxerxes, taught by experience that his gold was more influential than his soldiers, raised Athens from her depression, and set her up again as a rival to Sparta. The disgraceful peace of Antalcidas followed, which gave up to the Persian crown the whole of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, while the republics in Europe, with increased fury, turned their arms one against the other.

Artaxerxes, after subduing Cyprus, made an inroad into the mountainous tracts on the north of Media without success, and was equally unfortunate in his attempt to reduce Egypt. His latter days were, moreover, embittered by domestic broils, and he died broken-hearted at the age of ninety-four, leaving the crown to his son Ochus, otherwise called Dorab.

The land of Judea, and indeed the whole of Palestine, was in the meanwhile the scene of certain transactions, all of them more or less intimately connected with the great consummation to which the call of Abraham and the election of his descendants were the prelude.

Conspicuous among these was the erection of a temple in Mount Gerizim by Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, to the high priesthood of which Manasseh, the Jewish exile of whom we have spoken, was appointed; and the substitution, among the heterogeneous race that passed under the general title of Samaritans, of the pure worship of Jehovah for the religion which they had heretofore cultivated. Between the Jews and Samaritans there had ever subsisted a feeling of excessive jealousy, if not of aversion; it was now inflamed into rancorous hatred in consequence of the disputes which thenceforth arose as to the comparative holiness of the rival temples. Nor was this the only ground of disagreement between them. While the Jews acknowledged as canonical the Scriptures as they had been arranged by Ezra, and paid by degrees too much respect to the traditions of the elders, the Samaritans resolutely denied the authority of all except the five books of Moses; and the two people hated one another in consequence with a degree of bitterness of which it is not easy for us to form a conception.

After the demise of Nehemiah, Judea ceased to be honored with the presence of a civil ruler immediately appointed by the Persian crown. It was annexed to the province of Cælo-Syria, and the administration of Jewish affairs was left to the high-priest, though still subject to the control of the provincial governors. This circumstance naturally gave to the priestly office a value which it had not hitherto possessed; and men began to aim at it, as in other countries they aimed at the crown and sceptre. It happened that during the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, one Johanan, the grandson of Eliashib, wore the mitre, while his brother, who envied him the distinction, made interest with Bagoses, the Persian governor, to supplant him. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which Jesus, the claimant, was slain by his relative within the precincts of the sanctuary itself; which so provoked the Persian governor, that he levied a heavy fine upon every victim offered from thenceforth as a burnt-sacrifice.

It has been stated that Artaxerxes Mnemon died at a very advanced age,

and was succeeded by his son Ochus or Dorab I. This prince, who waded to supreme power through the blood of his nearest kindred, soon became involved in numerous wars, for the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and the Jews all revolted and joined the Egyptians, who still struggled for independence. Dorab inflicted upon most of them a tremendous punishment. Sidon he reduced to ashes, Egypt he totally conquered, and Judea he humbled by the capture of Jericho, and the removal of a number of its inhabitants as slaves into other provinces. But the most remarkable event in his reign was his embassy to Philip of Macedon, of whose preparations to invade Persia he was even then made aware; but whom first the state of Greece, and finally the grasp of death, prevented from carrying his well-laid plans into execution. Nor did the storm, which a hand more vigorous even than Philip's was destined to guide, burst upon the Asiatic empire during Dorab's day, who was poisoned, the twenty-first year from his accession, by Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, in revenge for the calamities brought upon his country.

We pass over the short reign of Arses, which, commencing B. C. 337, ended in 335, as well as the early transactions that took place under Darius Codomanus. While the former of these princes swayed the sceptre, and during the first years of the latter, things went on in Judea with sufficient regularity under the high-priest Jaddus, who attained the mitre on the demise of Jonathan, B. C. 341. But in the year 332, Alexander the Great, victorious over his rival in many battles, and enraged because the Jews remained faithful to Darius, while he was encumbered with the siege of Tyre, advanced upon Jerusalem with hasty strides. The inhabitants of that city entertained no hope of being able successfully to resist a warrior before whom the might of the Persian empire had given way: so they commissioned the high-priest to throw himself and them on the mercy of the conqueror. Jaddus accordingly put himself at the head of a procession of priests, arrayed in the full splendor of the sacerdotal robes; and, walking forth to meet Alexander, not only obtained the pardon of his countrymen, but received striking marks of respect from the haughty Macedonian. Alexander alighted from his chariot as soon as the priests appeared, saluted them in the humblest manner, and adored the great God whose name was inscribed on the front of the mitre; declaring that his successes were entirely owing to Jehovah, who had encouraged him long ago by a vision of the very persons now before him to undertake the war. Alexander was conducted into Jerusalem with great pomp, where the prophecies of Daniel respecting his own success were shown to him, with which he was so much gratified that he not only permitted the Jews to live according to their own laws and religion, but granted them an exemption, as often as the sabbatical year returned, from the payment of all tribute to the Persian crown.

The privileges bestowed upon the Jews excited, as was to be expected, the envy of the Samaritans, who, in imitation of their rivals, entreated him to honor their city also with a visit and to bestow upon them the same immunities which he had bestowed upon the people of Judea. Alexander, who was then on his march into Egypt, declined at that moment to accede to the

request, though he promised to take their claims into mature consideration as soon as he should return; but the Samaritans, by their own rashness, incurred his heaviest displeasure, and instead of favor drew down upon themselves a tremendous punishment. In a transport of popular indignation they murdered Andromachus, whom Alexander had left behind as governor of Syria and Palestine; and they were in consequence driven into exile, their city assigned to a Macedonian colony, and their territories given to the Jews.

While Alexander was pursuing his career of glory, the Jews enjoyed a state of profound tranquillity; but when, in the year 324, the mighty conqueror died, Palestine, like other provinces of his overgrown empire, became for a time the scene of bloodshed and strife. At the first partition among the Macedonian generals the provinces of Cælo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea were allotted to Laomedon, and they were confirmed to him on the second further partition; but Ptolemy Lagus, to whom Egypt had fallen, invaded them with a great army; and in the year B. C. 322, laid siege to Jerusalem. The place, which held out with great vigor, was carried at last through the superstition of its governor, who refused so much as to defend the works on the Sabbath-day, and Ptolemy was disposed to treat it for a season with excessive rigor. He beat down the walls, removed upwards of a hundred thousand of the people to Alexandria, the new capital of Egypt: but repenting of this severity, he afterward restored to the Jews their privileges, and behaved towards them with marked kindness. Ptolemy was not, however, permitted to retain possession of his conquest unmolested. The restless and ambitious Antigonus disputed with him the territory of Judea, of which he obtained the temporary superiority in 312; but being totally defeated some years afterward by the united forces of Seleucus and Lysimachus, Ptolemy quietly recovered the province, which he highly valued.

During the progress of these revolutions the high-priest's mitre had passed, in 321, to Onias, from whom, in 300, it devolved upon Simon B. C.
321. the Just, one of the most admirable characters of whom mention is made in these latter days of the Jewish republic. Under his superintendance the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther, and the prophecies of Malachi were added to the canon of Scripture; while to a work not less important, either in its immediate or remote consequences, his son Eleazar, who succeeded in 291, was mainly instrumental. The work to which we allude was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son and successor of Ptolemy Lagus on the throne of Egypt. It was accomplished by seventy-two of the most learned of the scribes, selected by the high-priest for the purpose; on which account it received the title of the Septuagint, and it was deposited in the noble library at Alexandria, according to Usher, B. C. 278.

During the pontificate of Manasses, which endured from 276 to 250, nothing occurred in Judea particularly deserving of notice. The several kingdoms into which Alexander's empire had been divided waged indeed frequent wars one with another; but in these the Jews as a nation took no part. They remained steadily attached to the crown of Egypt under Ptolemy

Euergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who succeeded his father B. C. 247, and was contemporary with the high-priest Onias II. Whether this person was the son of Simon the Just, or of Eleazar the predecessor of Manasses, chroniclers are not decided; but whatever his exact lineage might be, his avarice and embezzlement of the tribute due to the Egyptian treasury had wellnigh brought upon his country a fresh captivity. Euergetes had already ordered an army against Judea, with instructions to confiscate the land and reduce the inhabitants to slavery, when Joseph, the high-priest's son, nobly interfered to avert the threatened calamity. Upon his own credit he borrowed the sum necessary to pay up the tribute in arrear; and so ingratiated himself into the good will of the sovereign that he was appointed farmer-general of the revenues of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Salmone, and Judea. He held his office under Euergetes, Philopater, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, till the latter lost the provinces altogether to Antiochus the Great.

Ptolemy Euergetes died, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy B. C. 222. Philopater, between whom and Antiochus the Great a furious contest was carried on.

The latter, next after Alexander, and perhaps Seleucus, the most powerful of the Macedo-Grecian monarchs, after recovering almost all Asia Minor, Media, Persia, and Babylonia, which his predecessor had lost, was defeated by Philopater in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza, while endeavoring to subjugate Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia to the crown of Syria. Had Philopater followed up his victory with promptitude, nothing could have saved Antiochus from ruin; but overreached in diplomacy by the Syrian monarch, he imprudently made peace. Nor were his future proceedings marked by greater wisdom. Having visited Jerusalem in the course of a progress which he made through the chief cities of Cœlo-Syria, he insisted upon taking a survey of the interior of the holy of holies, and proceeded to force his way thither in spite of the earnest entreaties of the priests that he would respect the sanctity of the place. He failed, however, in attaining his end; for while he was passing through the inner court of the temple, a sudden tremor seized him, and he was carried out by his servants in a state of insensibility. Philopater did not fail to take ample vengeance upon the Jews for the repulse which he met with in the temple. He published a decree that worship should be offered to no other gods besides those authorized at court; and he cruelly persecuted the Jews, who, with a firm and honorable perseverance, refused to intermit their duty to Jehovah.

This monster of cruelty and profligacy of every kind died B. C. 205, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old. During the minority of that prince an alliance was entered into between Antiochus the Great and Philip, king of Macedon, which led to the conquest of Phœnicia, Cœlo-Syria, and Judea, by the former of these monarchs, — a change highly relished by the Jews, to whom the Egyptian yoke had become odious, and rendered still more acceptable in consequence of the respect with which their new master treated them. He not only forbade all strangers to enter the temple, a decree peculiarly acceptable after the late

proceeding of Philopater; but in proof of the confidence which he reposed in them, he colonized Lydia, Phrygia, and other sea-coasts of doubtful fidelity, with Jews from Babylonia as well as Palestine, from whom were descended the multitudes of Israelites scattered through those regions at the first preaching of the gospel. But Antiochus was not long permitted to enjoy the triumphs which he had won. Jealous of the growing power of the Roman republic, he declared war against it, which he prosecuted not according to the sage advice of Hannibal; and, being deserted by his ally Philip, he was defeated in numerous battles, and compelled to make peace on the most degrading terms. The close of Antiochus's career was as striking as it was equitable. He perished at last by the hands of the populace, while endeavoring to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus, at Elymais in Persia, and left the crown of Syria to his son Seleucus Philopater, in the year B. C. 187.*

While these changes took place elsewhere, the high-priesthood was held from 250 to 217 B. C. by Onias II., and from 219 to 195 by Simon II. At the last-mentioned era Onias III. obtained the mitre, during whose administration Seleucus Philopater succeeded to the throne of Syria; a prince who at first seemed disposed to treat the Jews with equity and even with kindness. It is recorded to his honor, as well as to the honor of the high-priest, that "the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness;" while "Seleucus himself, out of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices."† But there was at this time one Simon, the governor of the temple at Jerusalem, who had a quarrel with Onias, and who, to indulge his evil humor, made a report to the king that an immense treasure was laid up within its walls. Seleucus was poor, and the Roman tribute pressed heavily upon him. He could not resist the temptation of seizing this wealth; and he dispatched his general-in-chief, Heliodorus, to carry it away. But the impious Syrian was encountered by an apparition, which drove him with heavy blows from the sanctuary, and he recovered from the effects only in consequence of the high-priest's prayers that God would restore him.

No great while elapsed after the above sacrilegious attempt ere Seleucus was murdered by this very Heliodorus, who seized the crown, and for a short time wore it; but being expelled by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, mounted the throne B. C. 175. He was the brother of Seleucus, and had spent his early youth in Rome, whither he was sent by his father, Antiochus the Great, as a hostage; but he contrived latterly to obtain

* We have taken Polybius for our guide in this narration, in preference to Jerome, Appian, and Josephus, who contend that Judea was reannexed to the crown of Egypt in consequence of the marriage of Cleopatra, Antiochus's daughter, with Ptolemy Epiphanes. There is no doubt that Antiochus pledged himself to give, as the young queen's dower, not only Judea, but the whole of Cælo-Syria and Palestine; but that he ever fulfilled his agreement is extremely doubtful. Had he done so, it is not probable that Judea would have passed again to the crown of Syria under the reign of Antiochus's immediate successor.

† 2 Macc. iii. 1-3.

his release by substituting his nephew Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, in his stead.

Antiochus Epiphanes was by far the most cruel persecutor under whose authority the Jews had yet fallen. He made open traffic of the high-priesthood, deposing the righteous Onias, and selling the office first to Jason and afterward to Menelaus; the latter of whom plundered the temple of many of its golden vessels in order to perform his impious orgies. Nor did his guilt end there: he bribed Andronicus, the king's representative at Antioch, whither Onias had retired, to murder that excellent person, because he had presumed to lift up his voice against the enormities of which the new high-priest had been guilty. For this offence the governor of Antioch was justly put to death; yet such was the influence of money that Menelaus, the projector of the crime, not only escaped punishment, but was confirmed in his office as high-priest.

These matters were yet in progress when circumstances occurred to draw Antiochus into a war with the rival kingdom of Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Philometer, the nephew of Antiochus by his sister Cleopatra, having mounted the throne in 171, renewed the pretensions of the kings of Egypt to the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine; and the Syrian monarch, the more effectually to resist the claim, invaded his country with a large army. Antiochus was completely successful, making Ptolemy prisoner, and subjugating the whole of Egypt as far as the gates of Alexandria; but in the meanwhile disturbances broke out in Judea, which gave him for the moment serious uneasiness. It has been stated that Menelaus, by outbidding his brother Jason, obtained possession of the dignity which he now unworthily held. The latter, unable to resist the superior influence of Menelaus, retired into the country of the Ammonites, where he quietly waited for a convenient opportunity of reasserting his rights, and imagining that, through the absence of the king on the Egyptian expedition, the long-wished-for moment had arrived, he put himself at the head of an armed force, and entered Jerusalem. The city was for a time the scene of a cruel and desperate strife; till Antiochus, alarmed by a report that Judea was in rebellion, hurried thither with a powerful army. Unfortunately for the Jews, a rumor had previously reached them that Antiochus was slain in battle; and, as they had no cause to love the tyrant, they exhibited great joy on the occasion; but their joy was soon changed into bitter mourning, when the tyrant himself appeared among them, not so much to quell their seditions, as to take vengeance of the insult to which he had been subjected. A terrible persecution ensued. The holy of holies was polluted; a large sow was offered upon the altar of sacrifice, with the blood of which the entire temple was sprinkled; all the sacred implements were removed, the city was plundered, and upwards of eighty thousand persons put to the sword. But this was no more than the commencement of troubles, which, in the end, drove the Jews to despair and rebellion. Some years after, Antiochus being checked in another expedition against Egypt by the interference of an ambassador from Rome, vented his fury upon Jerusalem, against which he sent his general Apollonius with an army

who massacred many thousands of men while employed on the Sabbath at their devotions, and carried away the women and children to be sold as slaves. This was followed by a decree prohibiting the circumcision of children, and commanding, on pain of death by torture, the gods of Greece to be worshipped; and all who were found guilty of disobeying the edict suffered the fate awarded. Among others, a woman named Salomona, with seven sons, perished miserably rather than renounce their God; and the people were driven for shelter from the towns and cities to the woods and caves among the mountains.

At this momentous crisis, the standard of revolt was suddenly raised by Matthias, a priest of the family of Asamoneus, a noble race lineally descended from Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron. This man being followed to his retreat at Modim, a retired place in the tribe of Dan, was commanded by Apelles, the king's deputy, to abjure Jehovah; but, instead of complying, he seized a weapon, and slew on the spot a fellow-countryman while in the act of worshipping an idol. The spirit of resistance soon spread to no inconsiderable number of the spectators, Matthias's five sons, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Chozar, and Jonathan, setting the example; the people rushed upon Apelles and his attendants, and with loud shouts put them to death; after which they followed Matthias in great numbers to the mountains, and a war of extermination began.

For rather more than a year Matthias headed the patriots, who, having overcome the prejudice which at first prevented them from giving battle on the Sabbath-day, gained many and brilliant successes. He was succeeded at his demise by his son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, one of the noblest characters in Jewish history; under whom the faithful followers of God performed prodigies of valor. Apollonius, governor of Judea, and Seron, deputy of Coelo-Syria, each sustained a signal defeat; while Ptolemy Macron, Nicanor, and Gorgias, three of the king's most distinguished generals, were one after another totally routed. The towns of Judea, likewise, fell in succession into his hands; and as they submitted were purged from idolatrous altars, till Jerusalem itself was recovered, and the worship of the true God restored. One fortress only, situated upon Mount Acra, which from its position commanded the temple, held out; to it Judas laid close siege; but, finding that he could not spare troops enough to maintain the blockade, he contented himself with throwing up strong works about the temple, which thenceforth acted as a check upon the governor. This done, he took the field with constant good fortune against all the leaders whom Antiochus sent to crush him, whom he overthrew wherever he met them, and against every disparity of numbers.

While Judea was thus nobly asserting its independence, Antiochus had embarked in an expedition against Persia, with the design of plundering that temple of Elymias before which his father perished. He utterly failed in his object, the people again rising, *en masse*, to defend an edifice which they held as sacred; and he was soon afterward smitten with a painful and humiliating distemper, of which he died. The latter event occurred B. C.

164; and the throne of Syria was left to his son Antiochus Eupator, then a child of nine years old.

By the tenor of Epiphanes's will, the guardianship of the young king was assigned to one Philip, a great favorite of his master, who hastened to Antioch for the purpose of assuming the charge. He found, however, on arriving there, that Lysias had already taken upon himself the office; and Philip, being too weak to contest the point, fled into Egypt. One of Lysias's first measures was to renew the war with Judea, which he invaded with a prodigious army; but Judas gave him battle, totally routed him, and impressed him with so great a respect for the Jewish name that he willingly granted the nation peace on very honorable terms. The decree which established among them the heathen religion was repealed; they were permitted to live according to their own customs, with the single stipulation that Menelaus, the apostate, should be reinstated in his office of high-priest.

The tranquillity thus established was soon interrupted by a combination against the Jews of all the neighboring tribes, — the Jophites, the Jamnites, the Arabians, and the Idumeans. Over these, and many others, Judas and his brothers gained numerous successes, after which the gallant Maccabeus began to direct his attention to the reduction of the fort on Mount Acra, by which Jerusalem was sorely galled. But the investment of the place no sooner became known to Lysias, the king's guardian, than he returned to relieve it; for which purpose he assembled an immense army, and advanced towards Jerusalem. There was a small town called Bethsura between him and the Jewish capital, before which, as he was unwilling to leave it in his rear, Lysias sat down, while Judas, finding it impracticable at once to press the siege of Acra and succor his own countrymen, preferred executing the latter to the former design. He accordingly set out at the head of a handful of brave men, with whom he attacked the Syrian army in its lines, and gained in the confusion inseparable from surprise a considerable advantage; but risking a general action on the following day, he found himself compelled to retreat, after he had lost some of his troops and one of his brothers. The person who fell here was Eleazar, who, observing an elephant taller and more richly caparisoned than the rest, took it for granted that it must bear the king; and cutting his way through the intervening ranks, stabbed it in the belly, and was slain by the weight of the animal, which fell upon him.

Lysias, with his royal ward, left a division of the army to continue the siege of Bethsura, while, with the main body, he followed Judas to Jerusalem. The city appears to have offered no resistance; but Maccabeus, shutting himself up in the temple, held out with great resolution, till a rumor of civil commotions at Antioch itself compelled the besiegers to admit him to terms. Once more, therefore, it was stipulated that the Jews should govern themselves, and that no injury should be done to the temple. But Lysias no sooner made good his entrance within the gates of that edifice than he caused the fortifications to be levelled. He then departed for Antioch, carrying the traitor Menelaus along with him, whom he put to death soon afterward by commanding him to be smothered in ashes.

The civil commotions which interfered to save Jerusalem were excited by Philip, who took advantage of the absence of his rival to obtain possession of Antioch; but his adherents being defeated in a single battle, he was himself slain, and order was immediately restored. No great while elapsed, however, ere another and more formidable candidate for supreme power appeared upon the stage in the person of Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and consequently the rightful heir of the Syrian crown. That prince, who had spent his boyhood as a hostage, and his youth in an honorable exile at Rome, applied to the senate to establish him in his rights, and finding that they paid no heed to his petition, secretly fled from Italy, and landed at Tripolis, in Syria. The inhabitants and the soldiery everywhere declared in his favor. Eupator and his guardian Lysias were seized and put to death; and he ascended the throne thus made vacant almost without a struggle.

On the execution of Menelaus, one Alcimus had been appointed by Eupator to the high-priesthood of Judea; but being strongly addicted to heathenish practices, the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and expelled him from the city. The new king was no sooner secured in his seat, than Alcimus laid before him many and grievous accusations against his own countrymen in general, and against Maccabeus in particular, in consequence of which Bacchides, the governor of Mesopotamia, was commanded, with a numerous army, forcibly to see him reinstated. By dint of treachery, rather than by the exercise of valor, Bacchides so far succeeded in his design as to restore Alcimus to his position in Jerusalem, where he left him, with a force at his command, to administer the affairs of Judea: but the Mesopotamian had scarcely withdrawn when the people again revolted, and Alcimus was again compelled to seek shelter at the court of Antioch. A fresh invasion, under Nicanor, followed, which afforded Judas an opportunity of earning fresh laurels; and the land obtained rest in consequence for some time, of which Judas gladly availed himself, by dispatching ambassadors to Rome to seek the protection of that powerful republic. But before any answer to the application could be received, the illustrious Maccabeus perished while gallantly opposing Bacchides and Alcimus, whom Demetrius sent to avenge the defeat of Nicanor.

The fall of Judas was deeply and justly lamented from one end of Judea to another; and it was followed by a merciless persecution of his adherents by Bacchides and Alcimus. Upon this they elected Jonathan, his younger brother, as their chief, who, hearing that Bacchides was endeavoring to cut him off, retired with his brother Simon and a small army of followers to the fens of Jordan. Here he was attacked by Bacchides with very superior numbers; but though the encounter took place on the Sabbath-day, the Jews gallantly defended themselves, and at last swam the Jordan in order to escape the necessity of laying down their arms. They were not pursued, for Bacchides had seen enough of the temper of these men to dread the effects of their despair; so he returned to Jerusalem, repaired the works on Mount Acra, and once more settling Alcimus in his dignity, withdrew into his own province.

Alcimus did not long enjoy the elevated station to which his Syrian abettors had raised him. He was struck with a palsy at the end of a few weeks, and died; and, as there was no competitor at hand to dispute his title, Jonathan entered without opposition upon the office of chief magistrate. For two years all things went on smoothly; but there was a powerful faction in Jerusalem which hated the Maccabees, and these, entering into a conspiracy to arrest Jonathan, invited Bacchides to return and support them in their undertaking. He gladly accepted the call, and posted with an army into Judea; not, however, in time to prevent Jonathan from arresting and putting to death fifty of the chief conspirators; after which the gallant Maccabeus retreated to Bethabara in the wilderness. There he maintained himself some time with great resolution, and having defeated Bacchides in several encounters, the latter was well pleased to come to an accommodation; an exchange of prisoners took place, and the Syrians withdrew from Judea.

The treaty of peace just alluded to was signed B. C. 156, from which date till the year 153, Judea enjoyed perfect tranquillity. Jonathan was not idle during this interval: he rooted out the apostates, restored everywhere the true worship of Jehovah, re-established the law in full force, and repaired the works about Jerusalem; but his civil occupations were at last interrupted by the appearance of a rival to Demetrius on the Syrian throne. This was an impostor of Rhodes, called Balas, who, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took the name of Alexander, and was supported by the Romans, the kings of Pergamus and Egypt; and who, soon after his arrival at Ptolemais, ventured to take the field at the head of a formidable power. The candidates for the crown paid each of them great court to Jonathan and the Jews. Demetrius gave him a commission as general-in-chief in Judea; Alexander sent him an order to assume the vacant-office of high-priest; whereupon Demetrius, to surpass his rival, not only assured him of the same dignity, but offered to exempt his country from all taxes, to annex to it the seaport of Ptolemais, and to constitute himself, over and above, governor of four additional districts. Jonathan, however, preferred the favor of Alexander to that of Demetrius, from whom he had already suffered so much; and sending in his adherence, put on the high-priest's robes, raised troops, and provided arms.

In the war which ensued Alexander was victorious, and he strengthened himself in his seat by marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt; on which occasion Jonathan, who was present at the nuptials, received numerous marks of favor from the two sovereigns: but Alexander was a weak man, who resigned himself to the guidance of favorites, and soon lost the respect both of his allies and of his subjects. He was dethroned by Ptolemy, his father-in-law, who, setting up the son of Demetrius in his room, bestowed on him the same daughter whom he had formerly given to Alexander, and the unfortunate impostor perished at last by the hand of an Arab prince, at whose court he sought shelter.

While the struggle between these fresh competitors for the crown of Syria

was going on, Jonathan, against whom Apollonius, the governor of Cœlo-Syria, and a favorer of the young Demetrius, advanced, again covered himself with glory by totally routing the invaders, and wresting from them several towns. He then laid close siege to the citadel of Acra, but before he could reduce it the cause of Demetrius prevailed, and Jonathan was summoned to the royal presence to answer for his conduct. He obeyed without a moment's hesitation, leaving strict charges, however, that the siege should not be intermitted; and he made such excellent use of rich presents and fair speeches, that the king confirmed him in all his honors, and continued to Judea the exemption from taxes which his predecessor had granted. But Acra was a strong place, well supplied with provisions, and occupied partly by Macedonians, partly by apostate Jews, who maintained themselves with such determined resolution that the siege made no progress. In this emergency, Jonathan, who had returned to Jerusalem, entreated Demetrius to withdraw the garrison; and as the application chanced to be made at a particularly favorable moment, it was not merely granted, but other and more important benefits were secured. Demetrius, though he bravely won the crown of Syria, possessed not ability sufficient honorably to wear it. He disgusted his adherents by disbanding the native troops, and keeping about him only foreign mercenaries, insomuch that the inhabitants of Antioch assembled tumultuously together, and besieged him in his palace. It was at this period that Jonathan's messengers arrived to entreat the withdrawal of the garrison from Mount Acra, and the king gladly promised to obey their wishes, provided Jonathan would supply him with a body of Jewish troops to assist in the suppression of the sedition. Three thousand chosen men instantly marched to Antioch, and by their calm courage and good conduct freed the king from his difficulties; but the ungrateful monarch forgot the benefit as soon as the danger passed away, and not only continued his soldiers in the citadel at Jerusalem, but demanded payment of those duties from which he had formerly granted an exemption. What consequences might have ensued it is hard to say, had not Doates, otherwise called Tryphon, an old officer under Alexander Balus, at this critical juncture set up the son of his former master as king; and the whole empire, being weary of a prince as capricious as he was tyrannical, immediately declared for the new candidate. Demetrius was defeated, and fled into Seleucia, while his rival mounted the throne with the title of Antiochus Eutheus.

Jonathan, disgusted with the duplicity of Demetrius, early declared for Antiochus, and cheerfully assisted in the reduction of Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa, over which places, as well as over the whole country, from Tyre to Ptolemais, his brother Simon was made governor; but the castle of Acra still held out, though hemmed in on every side by a wall, and sore pressed by famine. It very soon appeared, however, that in giving his aid to Tryphon he had been the dupe of a traitor of the deepest dye. That warrior, whose object it had been from the first to place the crown upon his own head, artfully enticed Jonathan into his power and slew him, with his two sons and a thousand of his followers, in Ptolemais. He next

murdered Antiochus, mounted the throne, and proclaimed himself king of the Syrian empire.

The death of Jonathan was no sooner known than Simon offered his services to his countrymen, which being gladly accepted, he repaired all the fortresses in Judea, and put them in a posture of defence. His next measure was to reconcile himself and his people with Demetrius, then an exile at Laodicea, who not only granted them an amnesty on account of all past offences, but constituted Simon prince as well as high-priest of the Jews.

By virtue of this decree, Simon declared Judea an independent nation; and it was proclaimed in a public assembly that "the Jews were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and priest for ever, until there should arise a *faithful prophet*"—in other words, the Messiah. Nor did the good fortune of the tribes end here. The fort of Acra, which had so long held out, fell; its walls were razed to the ground, and the very hill upon which they had stood was levelled, while the Romans, in answer to an embassy from Jerusalem, admitted Simon as a free prince into the number of their allies.

In the meantime Demetrius, rousing from his sloth, formed an expedition against the eastern portion of the empire, to which he was invited by the inhabitants, then groaning under the misery of a Parthian subjugation. In this war, John the son of Simon took part, and distinguished himself so highly that he obtained the surname of Hyrcanus, in commemoration of the scene of his triumphs. But Demetrius, who was at first eminently successful, suffered himself to be surprised and was made prisoner. The captive monarch was not, however, harshly used by the head of the Parthian states, who, on the contrary, furnished him with an honorable maintenance, and gave him his own daughter in marriage; yet the circumstance led to great changes, and seriously endangered for a season the liberty of Judea. Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, indignant at his infidelity, offered herself to his brother Antiochus, and invited him to attempt the recovery of the throne from Tryphon; and Antiochus, readily closing with the proposition, wrote immediately to Simon, whom he addressed as high-priest and prince of the Jews. Simon did not oppose his progress, which was at once rapid and exceedingly prosperous; but the new monarch no sooner found himself secured by the death of the usurper than he violated all his engagements, and demanded the restitution of Joppa and Gaza. Simon would not agree to the requisition; an army was in consequence sent against him; but his gallant sons, Judas and John, took the field and entirely routed it. That, however, which open force could not effect, base and domestic treachery accomplished. Simon's son-in-law, Ptolemy, invited the venerable high-priest and his sons to an entertainment, and murdered them all except John

B. C. Hyrcanus, who, happily for Judea, had not accepted the invitation.
136. John, who chanced at the moment to be in Gaza, no sooner received

intelligence of the deed, than, apprehensive of suffering a similar fate, he fled with all haste to Jerusalem. There the people gladly received him, elected him as their chief ruler, and closed their gates against the assassin, who forthwith made application to Antiochus for a body of troops to assist

him in the accomplishment of his usurpation. But before the Syrians could arrive, Hyrcanus had driven Ptolemy from the field, and shut him up in a fortress near Jericho, out of which he escaped only by the recurrence of the sabbatical year, to spend the rest of his days in exile.

Antiochus all this while was not remiss in availing himself of the distracted state of the country. He besieged Hyrcanus in his capital, and reduced him to such extremities that Jerusalem once more opened its gates to a conqueror; its works were dismantled, a tribute imposed upon it, and Judea was reduced to the rank of a province. In his capacity of vassal to the Syrian crown, Hyrcanus afterwards followed Antiochus to the Parthian war, where by his valor and skill he contributed not a little to the success of the campaign, which restored Babylonia, Media, and other districts to the empire; but the Jews having returned to winter in their own country, while Antiochus with the rest of the army occupied cantonments in the conquered provinces, the latter were to a man surprised and cut off by the inhabitants.

With great promptitude and perfect justice Hyrcanus seized this favorable opportunity once more to assert the independence of his country; and while Demetrius, whom the Parthians had set at liberty, was contesting the succession with Alexander Zebina, he greatly enlarged its bounds by foreign conquests. He subdued Shechem; destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim, which Sanballat had built; conquered the Idumæans or Edomites, and compelled them to become converts to Judaism; and renewed the league with Rome, which conferred upon him higher privileges than any Jewish ruler had ever before enjoyed. His last military exploit was the capture of Samaria, which after a year's siege fell into the hands of his army, and was laid in ruins so completely as to leave but slender probability that it could ever be rebuilt.

Simon's latter years were rendered somewhat uncomfortable by the intrigues of the Pharisees, a sect not more notorious for hypocritical pretensions than for their restlessness and sedition; and he was in consequence driven to the necessity of quitting them, and enrolling himself among the Sadducees. But on the whole his pontificate was a prosperous as it was a long one, and he died in peace, after having worn the mitre thirty years, B. C. 106.

Hyrcanus left behind him five sons; the eldest of whom, by name Aristobulus, obtained the ethnarchy. Of a jealous and tyrannical disposition, he cast his own mother into prison, and there starved her to death, because she presumed, by virtue of her husband's will, to claim some share in the government; and he placed the whole of his brothers, except one, under strict surveillance. This person, whose name was Antigonus, he at first treated with great kindness. He associated him with himself in the sovereignty; employed him in his war with the Idumæans, a people of Cœlo-Syria, who bordered upon the territories of Manasseh, and left him to command the army when sickness compelled his own return. But even of him he became eventually so distrustful as to sanction his murder by the hands of his guards. It is but justice to Aristobulus to state that in this last act

of cruelty he was less to be blamed than his queen and counsellors. These inspired him with a notion, that because Antigonus had gone up to the temple in armor to return thanks for his victories over the Idumæans, it was his design to obtain possession of the priesthood by force; and by this artifice the innocent youth was ensnared into a danger which, had he been left to his own discretion, he might have avoided. Aristobulus sent messengers to desire that his brother would come to him as soon as he had ended his devotions, resolving to judge of his guilt or innocence according to the manner in which he obeyed the summons. If he came unarmed, then he was to depart uninjured; if in his armor, the guards were ordered to despatch him. The queen knew this, and directed the messengers to require his appearance in his armor. He came accoutred, and was slain. Aristobulus did not long survive the murder of his brother. He died after a reign of one year, being the first governor of Judea since the captivity who assumed the title of king and wore a diadem.

Aristobulus was succeeded on the throne by his brother Alexander Jannæus, whose reign was one continued scene of violence and bloodshed.

B. C. 105. At first hostilities were carried on against foreign powers only, beginning with an attempt on Alexander's part to recover Ptolemais; but the inhabitants, imploring the assistance of Ptolemy Lathyrus, whom his mother Cleopatra had deprived of the Egyptian crown, the Jewish monarch was soon involved in a war with that prince. Alexander suffered in this contest a severe defeat, in which thirty thousand of his people perished; and must have been totally subdued had not Cleopatra sent an army to his assistance, which compelled Ptolemy to evacuate his territories, and finally to take refuge in Cyprus, his original hiding-place. Jannæus next turned his arms against several fortresses on the Cælo-Syrian frontier, which had either been wrested from him or had revolted, recovered Gadara, and took Amal-lais; but he was attacked at disadvantage while returning from the latter place by Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia, and defeated with the loss of ten thousand men.

Alexander's worst and most implacable enemies were, however, the Pharisees, whom his father had thoroughly alienated, and whom he took no pains to conciliate. These so highly excited the people against him that he was pelted with citrons, and loaded with maledictions, while officiating as high-priest at the feast of tabernacles. Alexander, being a person of irritable temper, avenged the insult by causing his guards to massacre numbers of the crowd. The consequence was an increased feeling of hatred towards him, which, on the occasion of his receiving a severe defeat from Obodas an Arabian, broke out into a civil war, and fattened the soil of Judea for many years with the blood of her children. In almost every encounter Alexander was victorious; yet when, at the close of six years of horrors, he would have come to an accommodation with his rebellious subjects, they declared with one voice, that if he desired to gratify them, or to give peace to his country, he must cut his own throat; and sending for succors to Demetrius Eucharès, king of Damascus, they renewed the struggle with increased virulence. A

great battle ensued, in which Alexander was totally routed, his six thousand foreign guards cut to pieces, and his native troops dispersed; but this circumstance, in appearance so unfortunate, proved in the end exceedingly advantageous to him. Many of the rebels, repenting of the part which they had played, went over to the king in his misfortunes; and Demetrius retiring into his own country, Alexander soon recovered his superiority over the adverse faction. Finally, after driving them from the field, he shut up the remains of their army in Bethsura, which he carried by storm; and removing about eight hundred of the heads of the party to Jerusalem, he there crucified them, and put an end to the rebellion.

For three years after this, Alexander employed himself in the reduction of such castles as still held out, and extended his conquests into the territories of those powers which had taken part with his rebellious subjects. He was everywhere victorious; but being addicted to an immoderate use of wine and other stimulants, he brought on an ague, which put a period to his life. He died while employed in the siege of Rajaba, beyond Jordan, after having appointed his queen Alexandra to the regency during the minority of his sons.

Aware of the abhorrence in which he was held by the Pharisees, and justly dreading the consequences to his family, Alexander no sooner felt that recovery was impossible, than he advised the queen to conceal his death, till she should have carried back his body to Jerusalem. He directed her then to expose it to the discretion of that powerful body, as the corpse of one whose crimes deserved the abhorrence of all good men. The advice was exceedingly judicious, and the expectations under which it was bestowed proved well grounded; for the Pharisees, mollified by this show of humility, not only took the royal family under their protection, but granted to the remains of the deceased monarch a gorgeous funeral. But they soon showed that, though willing to forget the offences of the king himself, they were not equally disposed to pass over those of his advisers. They instigated the queen to commence a severe persecution of all such persons as were suspected of having been accessory to the crucifixion of their leaders; and they prevailed upon her to put to death several, among whom was Diogenes, a principal confederate of her late husband. The rest, however, were saved through the address of her younger son Aristobulus, who persuaded her to disperse them among the remote garrisons; and the Pharisees consenting to the measure, tranquillity was restored.

Alexandra had two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the former a young man of peaceable and domestic habits, the latter ambitious and active. Hyrcanus she advanced, as the elder brother, to the priesthood, while Aristobulus took the command of the army, with which he performed no exploit more memorable than to secure it absolutely to his own interests. A short contest with Ptolemy Minæus at Damascus, and a threatened invasion by Tigranes, king of Armenia, whom the Syrians had called to the throne, were the only public occurrences in her reign worthy of notice; but the first of these produced no results, and from the danger of the last Judea was deliv-

B. C.

78.

ered in consequence of the invasion of Armenia by a Roman army. Alexandra died after she had swayed the sceptre nine years, and was succeeded by her son Hyrcanus.

B. C. This prince, of whose unambitious and domestic habits notice has
69. already been taken, wore the crown but three months, when his brother Aristobulus compelled him to resign it, and retire into private life. Hyrcanus himself would have cheerfully consented to the measure; but there was about his person one Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, who professed a sincere friendship for him, and who persuaded him that he must either recover the crown, or die by the hands of Aristobulus. At the instigation of this individual, Hyrcanus fled to the court of Aretas, king of Arabia, who at his earnest entreaty readily supplied him with troops; and he returned at the head of fifty thousand men to assert his title to the throne. Aristobulus was defeated, compelled to retire to Jerusalem, and shut himself up in the temple; nor was it till he had gained over to his side Scarus, the Roman lieutenant, who had advanced as far as Damascus, that the siege of that strong fortress was raised. Aretas, however, was afraid to disobey the mandate of the haughty republican. He withdrew with his forces, and Hyrcanus became again an exile.

B. C. Not long after this, Pompey himself, having finished the war in the
65. north, arrived at Damascus, and stripping Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, reduced the kingdom of Syria to the rank of a Roman province. He was met here by ambassadors from all the nations round, each loaded with presents, and solicitous of his favor; but it was not till two years later that Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before him, to obtain a settlement of their dispute. Pompey, with great policy, determined to give an award to the elder and weaker of the claimants, though for the present he affected to leave the matter in doubt; but Aristobulus, penetrating his design, fled to Damascus, and began to arm Judea in his own defence. The Roman immediately marched into the country, upon which, Aristobulus, hopeless of being able to offer any effectual resistance, agreed to surrender his castles, and throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. But, as on more than one occasion, he resumed a hostile attitude, Gabinius, Pompey's lieutenant, pushed on to Jerusalem. Here, however, Aristobulus's courage forsook him. He came out to meet Gabinius, surrendered himself a prisoner, and issued strict orders that Jerusalem should be given up; but his followers, more resolute than he, refused to obey the command, and the place was besieged. The city itself was soon gained through the assistance of Hyrcanus's party; but the temple held out for three months with great resolution, at the close of which period it was carried by assault, with a terrible carnage of the garrison. Pompey himself penetrated into the holy of holies, and though he spared the treasury, caused its fortifications to be demolished. He beat down, likewise, the walls of the town, and after reinstating Hyrcanus in the office of high-priest, returned to Rome, whither he carried in his train Aristobulus, two of his daughters, and his sons Alexander and Antigonus, B. C. 63.



“JOPPA.”

While the prisoners were on their way to the Roman capital, Alexander, the elder of Aristobulus's sons, contrived to make his escape, and returning into Judea, soon gathered round him a considerable body of followers. So long as he was opposed by Hyrcanus's party alone, he carried everything before him; but Gabinius, the Roman prefect of Syria, sending Mark Antony to the assistance of the high-priest, Alexander was constrained to shut himself up in the castle of Alexandria. He was closely besieged here, and in the end obliged to submit; after which Hyrcanus continued for a time to enjoy his honors unmolested. These, however, it is to be observed, were more nominal than real. Pompey, when he took possession of Jerusalem, and restored Hyrcanus to the priesthood, had forbidden him to wear a crown, or assume other ensigns of sovereignty; and now Gabinius entirely remodelled the whole system of Jewish government. He deprived the sanhedrim, which had hitherto acted as courts of justice under the prince, of all authority; and setting up five independent tribunals at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and Sephoris, committed to them the power of administering summary justice to all the inhabitants within their respective districts. This necessarily threw the whole power into the hands of the nobles who presided in these courts, leaving to Hyrcanus little more than the name; and so things continued from B. C. 57 to B. C. 47, when Julius Cæsar, out of favor to Antipater, restored them to their ancient order.

We pass over a fresh attempt made by Aristobulus and his son Antigonus, to recover the dignity which the former had lost; and which, by effecting their escape from Rome, they were enabled to make. It ended, as Alexander's had done, in the defeat and capture of the malcontents, though their condition was so far bettered by it that the whole of the family, with the exception of Aristobulus himself, succeeded in obtaining their liberty. Neither is it necessary to give any account of the wars between Pompey and Cæsar, further than by stating that Aristobulus, having declared himself ready to take part with the latter, was by him set free, and perished by poison administered to him by Pompey's agents. Alexander, likewise his son, was beheaded, after a formal trial, at Antioch, having been convicted of levying forces with the same design. Yet such was the influence which Antipater had acquired over Cæsar, that he absolutely refused to listen to Antigonus the survivor, or molest Hyrcanus in the priesthood. On the contrary, he restored the government to its ancient form, abolished the aristocracy which Gabinius had established, and sanctioned the appointment of Antipater's two sons, Phasael and Herod, the one to the government of Jerusalem and the districts adjacent, the other to that of Galatia.

Herod, who was a man of daring spirit and high talents, soon attracted the envy and hostility of the Jews, and they anxiously watched for a fit opportunity of working his ruin. It happened that this district was much infested with robbers, against whom he took the field; and having broken up their bands, and secured several of the leaders, he put them to death of his own authority. He was immediately summoned before the great sanhedrim, to be arraigned on the charge of taking away life with-

out trial; but he appeared in a fashion which struck his judges dumb, and hindered them from carrying their designs into execution. One old man alone, by name Simeon, had the boldness to express his amazement that a criminal should presume to stand before his judges in a royal robe, predicting, at the same time, that he would yet prove a scourge to the country. Yet was Herod under the necessity of secretly withdrawing from Jerusalem, and putting himself under the protection of Sextus Cæsar, prefect of Syria, who, in consideration of a large sum of money, constituted him governor of Cælo-Syria, where he raised an army, and would have taken ample vengeance upon the sanhedrim, had not his father and brother interfered to prevent it.

While Julius Cæsar lived, Judea enjoyed greater prosperity than it had done since the Babylonish captivity. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, the tribute due to Rome was remitted every sabbatical year; and the internal administration of affairs was wisely carried on under Hyrcanus, by Antipater, his two sons, and one Malichus a Jew; but the assassination of Cæsar and the troubles consequent upon it again threw matters into confusion. Each new prefect imposed fresh burdens upon the province; while internal dissensions sprang up, as they invariably do, with a rapidity proportionate to the weakness of the general government. Antipater was poisoned by Malichus, through envy that an Idumæan should enjoy so much influence; and Malichus was cut off by Phasaël and Herod, to avenge their father's death. Tumults arose, in which Hyrcanus and the Roman commander Felix espoused the cause of Malichus's party; but the brothers proving too strong to be successfully resisted, the high-priest was fain to make his peace by bestowing upon Herod the hand of his granddaughter Mariamne.

An appeal was next made by the discontented among the Jews to Mark Antony, now victorious over Brutus, at Philippi; but he, partly in consideration of Antipater's services, partly in return for a considerable bribe, committed the entire management of Judea to the brothers, and detained fifteen of the principal men of the opposite faction as hostages for the good behavior of the rest. All, however, availed not to reconcile the Jews to the government of the Idumæans; they sent again a thousand of their number to supplicate against the decree, upon whom Antony scrupled not to inflict summary punishment; and when Herod would have returned to Jerusalem, they attacked his escort, and slew several persons. But there was assistance at hand, of which they gladly availed themselves.

Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, finding his cause desperate, had taken refuge at the court of the king of Parthia, from whom he solicited and obtained an army to assist him in asserting his claim to the throne of Judea. It chanced that he arrived in the country at the very moment when Herod's unpopularity was at the height, and he was in consequence joined by multitudes of persons, who at any other time might have opposed him. Herod wisely bent to a storm which he found himself incapable of resisting: he evacuated Jerusalem, carrying with him his wife Mariamne, his mother, his sister Salome, and Alexandra, Mariamne's mother, and placed them, with a numerous garrison on whose fidelity he could rely, in a strong hill-fort, called

Massada, on the western shore of the lake Asphaltites. This done, he retired towards Petraea, in Arabia; but being commanded by the king to quit his dominions, he returned to Egypt; from whence, finding that Antony was not there, he passed over to Rome.

In the meanwhile Antigonus, having secured the persons of Hyrcanus and Phasael, cut off the ears of the former, and was anticipated in his design of crucifying the latter by his committing suicide. He then put on the mitre, provided Jerusalem with ample stores, and after surrendering Hyrcanus into the hands of the Parthians, who carried him to Seleucia, prepared to hold out to the last extremity. Nor were these precautions needless: Herod pleaded his own cause so effectually at Rome that he obtained a grant of the Jewish crown to himself; and being supplied with a Roman army in order to realize it, appeared within a shorter space of time than could have been anticipated in the field. At first the war went on slowly, Silo, the Roman general, being in the pay of both parties; but in the end, Herod, after a second application to Antony, received fresh troops and fresh authority. Notwithstanding certain reverses which his party had suffered during his absence, in one of which his brother Joseph fell, Herod again drove Antigonus within the capital, which he closely invested with a force of sixty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. After a desperate resistance, which continued about a year, the city was taken by storm, and suffered the extreme rigor of military execution.

The fate of Antigonus was not different from that which he had reason to expect; though taken at first under the protection of Mark Antony, who designed to keep him alive for the purpose of gracing his own triumph, he was finally, at the urgent entreaty of Herod, publicly executed, the rods and axe of the lictor being employed to add ignominy to an end in itself sufficiently cruel. Thus was extinguished the Asmonean dynasty, after it had subsisted one hundred and twenty-six years, "a noble and illustrious house," says Josephus, "distinguished by their descent, by the dignity of their pontificate, and by the great exploits of their ancestors for the nation." B. C.
37.

Of the throne thus rendered vacant Herod made haste to take possession, and the better to secure himself in it, he put to death all who had opposed his growing influence. Of the sanhedrim, before which he once stood as a criminal, he left alive only two members, Polleo and Sameas, both of whom are spoken of by the rabbins under the names of Hylliel and Shamai, and them he spared not through any reverence for the office, but because they had been strenuous advocates for the surrender of the beleaguered city. His next measure was to nominate to the high-priesthood one Ananelus, a person of the sacerdotal family indeed, but utterly unknown; whom, however, through the remonstrances of Alexandra and Mariamne, supported by the interest of Cleopatra, he deposed within a year, that he might set up Aristobulus, the son of Alexandra, in his room. He then invited back to Jerusalem the aged Hyrcanus, whom Phraortes, king of Parthia, had treated with great respect; and for some time behaved to him with the deference due to his birth, and

the delicacy to which his misfortunes entitled him. But Herod was far from being at his ease so long as two members of the Asmonean family survived; and he accordingly began before long to meditate their removal.

Aristobulus was an exceedingly handsome youth; and though only eighteen years of age, discharged his sacerdotal duties with so much dignity that the people were greatly delighted with his air and carriage. Herod heard of this, and fearful lest they might rise in his favor, he invited the young high-priest to a sumptuous entertainment at one of his palaces in the city. There chanced to be a fish-pond near the house, in which the guests, after dinner, bathed; and Aristobulus, unsuspecting of treason, readily joined in the amusement. He was immediately surrounded by a band of courtiers, seized, as if in sport, and repeatedly ducked; till, by holding him under water a sufficient length of time, they deprived him of life. Great lamentation was made in consequence of the unhappy accident, and the high-priest was buried with much solemnity, Herod himself appearing as chief mourner: yet there was not an individual in the country, of any age or rank, who failed to see through the flimsy subterfuge. Alexandra and Mariamne, in particular, were both deeply affected by the occurrence; indeed, the latter survived the blow only with the hope of obtaining ample vengeance. For this purpose she renewed her intrigues with Cleopatra, who so far wrought upon Antony, that Herod was summoned before him; but the king, by the plausibility of his manner, not less than by the value of his presents, easily turned Antony's anger into compassion. Yet was his journey productive to him of many and serious misfortunes, though from a quarter where least of all he expected them to come.

When he quitted Jerusalem to proceed on this ominous journey, Herod left the administration of all his affairs, public as well as private, to his uncle Joseph, who stood to him likewise in the relation of brother, in consequence of his marriage with Salome. Among other injunctions, he required the regent, in the event of his failing to return, to put to death both Alexandra and Mariamne; giving out as his motive that he could not bear the idea of his beloved wife becoming the property of another; but more truly, perhaps, for the sake of securing the succession in his own family. Joseph, who had been strictly commanded to keep this part of his commission secret, imprudently made Mariamne acquainted with it; and she, as a necessary consequence, received the king with excessive coldness on his return. Herod was deeply wounded, for his love towards Mariamne was of no ordinary kind — more especially when Salome, who hated the queen, accused her of infidelity with her own husband, Joseph; but he so far commanded himself as to implore her not to conceal from him the reason of her unexpected and mortifying behavior. Mariamne, indignant at the charges brought against her, divulged the truth, which, instead of allaying, only confirmed Herod's suspicions. With the utmost difficulty he restrained himself from stabbing her to the heart; and he quitted her only to give orders that Joseph should instantly be put to death. From that hour Herod's domestic happiness was at an end. His wife, whom he adored with almost idolatrous fondness, con-

tinued estranged from him; his mother-in-law was engaged in constant intrigues against him, and his sister Salome, more mischievous than all the rest, was continually filling his mind with suspicions of those nearest and dearest to him. It might almost be accounted a relief to a man so situated, when the course of events upon the great stage of the world called him again into public, even though the occasion which drew him forth from his privacy chanced to be a momentous one.

The occasion to which we allude was the overthrow of Mark Antony, whose quarrel with Octavius Herod had warmly espoused, and whom he had served to the latest moment with a fidelity worthy of a better cause. Finding that the infatuated lover of Cleopatra was utterly ruined, Herod considered it incumbent upon him to provide for his own security, and he adopted the following expedients for that purpose: he put to death Hyrcanus, now upwards of eighty years of age, ostensibly because he had been detected in carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Malchus king of Arabia; but, in reality, to provide against the possibility of his being restored to the throne by Octavius; and then, with a hardihood as politic as it was uncommon, set out for Rhodes, where the victorious general had fixed his headquarters. Being admitted into the presence, Herod, so far from denying his attachment to Antony, explicitly avowed it. He said that he had always acted so far like a man of honor, and that if Octavius would accept his friendship, he would find that he who had proved faithful to one benefactor would not betray another. The address had the desired effect. Octavius, pleased with his manliness and candor, not only confirmed him in his kingdom, but treated him ever after with marked distinction: and Herod returned home to enjoy absolute prosperity as a monarch, but no happiness as a man.

The very same maladventures which had attended his journey to Alexandria occurred on the occasion of his excursion to Rhodes. The order of death which he had this time intrusted to an Idumæan, named Sohemus, was again divulged to her who was the subject of it, and his proffered embraces were again repelled with scorn. Mad with rage, he put one of Mariamne's confidential slaves to the torture, and having wrung from him a confession that the queen's behavior was occasioned by some communication made to her by Sohemus, the suspicions which formerly tormented him as to his wife's guilt returned with tenfold force. Sohemus shared the fate of Joseph, and Mariamne herself was solemnly arraigned before prejudiced judges, whose sentence of condemnation Herod, at the instigation of his mother and sister, was induced, in an evil hour, to carry into immediate effect. A violent illness was the consequence; during the continuance of which Alexandra, receiving a report of the king's death, made ready to seize the crown; but the latter no sooner recovered than he inflicted upon her the punishment which her many crimes deserved.

The remainder of Herod's life was spent with great external splendor, in the midst of numerous private miseries, the effect of numerous crimes. The public works for which his reign is memorable were, the erection of a splendid palace on Mount Sion, the site of the original Jebus which David took, and

of the citadel which so much annoyed the Maccabees during the Syrian wars; the restoration of Samaria, and the construction of the city and port of Cæsarea, near Stratos, a town on the coast of Palestine; but that on which he chiefly prided himself was the rebuilding of the temple, which time and the violence of war had contributed materially to injure. This mighty task he began in the year B. C. 17, after having devoted two whole years to the accumulation of materials; and such was the rapidity with which the workmen proceeded, that within a year and a half the sanctuary was finished. Eight years more were expended in the construction of the out-buildings, when the whole became again fit for the celebration of Divine service; though it was not till the year A. D. 62, long after Herod had returned into dust, that the magnificent structure can be said to have been completed.

With respect to his private transactions, these, if accurately described, would present little else besides a melancholy picture of cruelties and follies. His nearest relatives perished on every side — the victims of his own suspicions and his sister's treachery. Nay, his very sons escaped not the common fate, in which were involved all that approached the tyrant's person. Two of these, the children of Mariamne, died victims to his apprehensions and their own unguarded language; while a third received his just doom when contriving the death of his aged father. In the meanwhile the gates of the temple of Janus were shut at Rome, and throughout the whole compass of the civilized world the sound of war ceased to be heard. Augustus, victorious over all his enemies, swayed the imperial sceptre with moderation and justice, and mankind enjoyed, as it were, a breathing space from anarchy and strife, when the eventful period having arrived to which so many prophecies had pointed, the long-looked for and now anxiously-expected Messiah was ushered into the world.

SANHEDRIM.

No question connected with Jewish polity has given rise to disputes more violent than the origin of the sanhedrim, or judicial council, of which repeated mention has been made in the preceding chapter. According to the legends of the rabbins, it began in the wilderness under Moses, where the lawgiver was persuaded by his father-in-law to choose seventy men as judges in causes of lesser note; from which period till the final destruction of the temple by the Romans it never ceased to exert its influence in the management of public affairs; but to this notion so many and such obvious difficulties are opposed, that few persons of learning or discrimination will, we presume, be disposed to admit it.

To enumerate but a few of these: There is not, in the Book of Judges, the slightest mention made of any permanent judicial or legislative body established among the Israelites. We read, indeed, of magistrates in every city and town, to assist whom a sort of council of the heads of families was always at hand; and we find that the chiefs of tribes assembled in cases of extreme emergency to consult upon measures affecting the general weal; but of a body such as the rabbins represent the ancient sanhedrim to have been,

or similar either in its constitution or privileges to the sanhedrim in later times, no hint whatever is given. We are justified, therefore, in concluding that at that period of Jewish history at least it had no existence. Indeed, we are expressly told that the sanhedrim there was anarchy, every man doing that which was right in his own eyes. Again, during the continuance of the monarchy, from Saul to the Babylonish captivity, it is manifest that the sanhedrim was either unknown, or that it possessed no degree of authority in any matters of civil or religious administration. Whatever the king's disposition might be, it invariably prevailed, the people becoming idolaters or otherwise, according as he set the example; an occurrence which surely would not have taken place had such an institution existed as the rabbinical sanhedrim; while in civil affairs he appears to have exercised an authority perfectly uncontrolled by any council recognized by the constitution. Nay, even on the return from the Babylonish captivity in the days of Ezra, Nehemiah, and their immediate successors, we find no trace whatever of the sanhedrim; and it is quite as unreasonable to suppose that the sacred historians would have neglected to notice it had it existed, as that Livy or Tacitus would have omitted all allusion to the proceedings of the Roman Senate.

The conclusion to which the preceding reasoning leads is this: That the real sanhedrim had its origin in the times of the Maccabees, acquired strength and constancy under the Asmonean sovereigns, and at length rose to such a degree of authority as to become formidable to the sovereigns themselves. It was probably created in those times of anarchy when no man could venture to act for his country's good without carrying a powerful party along with him; and having about it something of the spirit of a popular assembly, the nation would never afterward permit the institution to be abolished. Respecting its constitution and the extent of its authority, on the other hand, no doubt whatever exists. It consisted of a president, called *nasi*, or prince of the sanhedrim; a deputy, called *abbeth-din*, or father of the house of judgment; and a sub-deputy, called *chacam*, or "the wise;" besides seventy members, who passed under the common appellation of elders or senators. "The room in which they met," says Calmet, "was a rotunda, half of which was built without the temple, and half within; *i. e.*, one semi-circle of the room was within the precincts of the temple; and as it was never allowed to sit down in the temple, they (the rabbins) tell us that this part was for those who stood up; the other half, or semi-circle, extended without the holy place, and here the judges sat." "The *nasi*, or prince, sat on a throne at the end of the hall, his deputy at his right hand, and sub-deputy at his left. The other senators were ranged in order on each side. This hall was called *Lish-cath-haggazeth*, or the hall paved with stones, and some think it to be the same called *lithostrotos*, or formed with stones." (John xix. 13.) "The authority of the great sanhedrim was very extensive. This council decided causes brought before it by appeal from inferior courts. The king, the high-priest, the prophets were under its jurisdiction; also the general affairs of the nation were brought before the sanhedrim. The right of judging in capital cases belonged to this court, and the sentence could not be pronounced in

any other place but in the hall called *Lishcath-haggazeth*; from whence it came to pass that the Jews were forced to quit this hall when the power of life and death was taken out of their hands, forty years before the destruction of their temple, and three years before the death of Jesus Christ." "As to the personal qualifications of the judges of this court, their birth was to be untainted; they were often of the race of priests or Levites, or of the number of the inferior judges. They were to be skilful in the law, traditional as well as written. They were obliged to study magic, divination, fortune-telling, physic, astrology, arithmetic, and languages. Eunuchs were excluded from the sanhedrim, usurers, decrepit persons, players at games of chance, those who had any bodily infirmity, those who had brought up pigeons to decoy others to the pigeon-houses, and those who made a gain of their fruits in sabbatical years. Some also exclude the high-priest and the king, because of their too great power; but others insist that the king always presided in the sanhedrim, while there was a king in Israel. Lastly, it was required that the members of the sanhedrim should be of mature age, rich, of good countenance and body. Such was the great national assembly of the Jewish people, before which both our Lord and his disciples were so often arraigned.

THE JEWISH SECTS.

SCRIBES.

IT is universally agreed that, while the Spirit of prophecy continued, there were no religious sects among the Jews, the authority of the prophets being sufficient to prevent any difference of opinion. The sects which afterwards prevailed among them sprang up gradually, and it is difficult to ascertain the time of their origin with precision; but as almost all of them seem to have arisen from the doctrines taught by the Scribes, after the return from the Babylonian captivity, it will be useful to give some account of that class of persons, though they are not usually considered as a religious sect themselves.

The Scribes are mentioned very early in the sacred history, and many authors suppose that they were of two descriptions, the one ecclesiastical, the other civil. It is said, "out of Zabulon come they that handle the pen of the writer;"* and the rabbies state that the Scribes were chiefly of the tribe of Simeon; but it is thought that only those of the tribe of Levi were allowed to transcribe the Holy Scriptures. These Scribes are frequently called "wise men," and "counsellors;" and those who were remarkable for writing well were held in great esteem. In the reign of David, Seriah,† in the reign of Hezekiah, Shebna, ‡ and in the reign of Josiah, Shaphan, § are called Scribes, and are ranked with the chief officers of the kingdom; and Elishama, the Scribe, || in the reign of Jehoiakim, is mentioned among the princes. We read also of the "principal Scribe of the host," ¶ or army; and it is probable that there were Scribes in other departments of the State. Previous to the Babylonian captivity, the word "scribe" seems to have been applied to any person who was concerned in writing, in the same manner as the word "secretary" is with us. The civil Scribes are not mentioned in the New Testament.

It appears that the office of the ecclesiastical Scribes, if this distinction be allowed, was originally confined to writing copies of the law, as their name imports; but the knowledge thus necessarily acquired soon led them to become instructors of the people in the written law, which, it is believed, they publicly read. Baruch was an amanuensis or Scribe to Jeremiah, and Ezra is called "a ready Scribe in the law of Moses, having prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and

* Judg. v. 14.

‡ 2 Kings xxii. 3.

† 2 Sam. viii. 17.

|| Jer. xxxvi. 12.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 18.

¶ Jer. lii. 25.

judgment;”* but there is no mention of the Scribes being formed into a distinct body of men till after the cessation of prophecy. When, however, there were no inspired teachers in Israel, no Divine oracle in the temple, the Scribes presumed to interpret, expound and comment upon the law and the prophets in the schools and in the synagogues. Hence arose those numberless glosses, and interpretations, and opinions,† which so much perplexed and perverted the text, instead of explaining it; and hence arose that unauthorized maxim, which was the principal source of all the Jewish sects, that the oral or traditionary law was of Divine origin, as well as the written law of Moses. Ezra had examined the various traditions concerning the ancient and approved usages of the Jewish church, which had been in practice before the captivity, and were remembered by the chief and most aged of the elders of the people; and he had given to some of these traditionary customs and opinions the sanction of his authority. The Scribes, therefore, who lived after the time of Simon the Just, in order to give weight to their various interpretations of the law, at first pretended that they also were founded upon tradition, and added them to the opinions which Ezra had established as authentic; and in process of time it came to be asserted, that when Moses was forty days on Mount Sinai, he received from God two laws — the one in writing, the other oral: that this oral law was communicated by Moses to Aaron and Joshua; and that it passed unimpaired and uncorrupted from generation to generation, by the tradition of the elders or great national council established in the time of Moses; and that this oral law was to be considered as supplemental and explanatory of the written law, which was represented as being in many places obscure, scanty, and defective. In some cases they were led to expound the law by the traditions, in direct opposition to its true intent and meaning; and it may be supposed that the intercourse of the Jews with the Greeks, after the death of Alexander, contributed much to increase those “vain subtleties,” with which they had perplexed and burdened the doctrines of religion. During our Saviour’s ministry, the Scribes were those who made the law of Moses their particular study, and who were employed in instructing the people. Their reputed skill in the Scriptures induced Herod ‡ to consult them concerning the time at which the Messiah was to be born. And our Saviour speaks of them as sitting in Moses’ seat,§

* Ezra vii. 6, 10.

† These traditions, as they were called, became too numerous, by the middle of the second century after Christ, to be preserved by the memory, and therefore the rabbi Judah, president of the Sanhedrim, as they continued to call the council of a remnant of the people, which remained some time in Galilee, collected them into six books, which were called the *Mishna*, or *Repetition* of the Oral Law. The *Mishna* soon became the study of all the learned Jews, who employed themselves in making comments upon it. These comments they called the *Gemara* or *Complement*, because by them the *Mishna* is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and religion completed. Thus the *Mishna* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both together make what they called the *Talmud*. That made by the Jews in Judæa is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and that by the Jews in Babylon is called the *Babylonian Talmud*; the former was completed about the year of our Lord 300, and the latter in the beginning of the sixth century.

‡ Matt. ii. 4.

§ Matt. xxiii. 2.

which implies that they taught the law; and he foretold that he should be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the Scribes,* and that they should put him to death, which shows that they were men of great power and authority among the Jews. "Scribes," "doctors of the law," and "lawyers," were only different names for the same class of persons. Those who in the fifth chapter of St. Luke are called Pharisees and doctors of the law, are soon afterwards called Pharisees and Scribes; and he who by St. Matthew † is called "a lawyer," is by St. Mark ‡ called "one of the Scribes."

They had scholars under their care, whom they taught the knowledge of the law, and who, in their schools, sat on low stools just beneath their seats, which explains St. Paul's expression, that he was "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel." § We find that our Saviour's manner of teaching was contrasted with that of these "vain disputers; for it is said, when he had ended his sermon upon the Mount, "the people were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes." || By the time of our Saviour, the Scribes had indeed in a manner laid aside the written law, having no further regard to that than as it agreed with their traditionary expositions of it; and thus by their additions, corruptions, and misinterpretations, "they had made the word of God of none effect through their tradition." ¶ It may be observed, that this in a great measure accounts for the extreme blindness of the Jews with respect to their Messiah, whom they had been taught by these commentators upon the prophecies to expect as a temporal prince. Thus when our Saviour asserts his Divine nature, and appeals to "Moses and the prophets who spake of him, the people sought to slay him," ** and he expresses no surprise at their intention. But when he converses with Nicodemus, †† (who appears to have been convinced by his miracles, that he was "a teacher sent from God," when he "came to Jesus by night," anxious to obtain further information concerning his nature and his doctrine,) our Lord, after intimating the necessity of laying aside all prejudices against the *spiritual* nature of his kingdom, asks, "Art thou a *master* in Israel, and knowest not these things?" that is, knowest not that Moses and the prophets describe the Messiah as the Son of God? and he then proceeds to explain in very clear language the dignity of his person and office, and the purpose for which he came into the world, referring to the predictions of the ancient Scriptures. And Stephen, ††† just before his death, addresses the multitude by an appeal to the law and the prophets, and reprobates in the most severe terms the teachers who misled the people. Our Lord, when speaking of "them of old time," classed the "prophets, and wise men, and Scribes" §§ together, but of the later Scribes he uniformly speaks with censure and indignation, and usually joins them with the Pharisees, to which sect they in general belonged. St. Paul asks, "Where is the wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?" |||| with evident contempt for such, as, "professing themselves wise above what was written, became fools."

* Matt. xvi. 21.

|| Matt. vii. 29.

†† Acts vii.

† Matt. xxii. 35.

¶ Matt. xv. 6.

§§ Matt. xxiii. 34.

‡ Mark xii. 28.

** John v.

||| 1 Cor. i. 20.

§ Acts xxii. 3.

†† John iii.

PHARISEES.

It will appear probable, from the preceding account of the Scribes, that the principles by which the Pharisees were chiefly distinguished, existed some time before they were formed into a regular sect. Godwin thought that the Pharisees arose about three hundred years before Christ; but the earliest written account which we have of them in any ancient author is in Josephus, who tells us that they were a sect of considerable weight when John Hyrcanus was high-priest, an hundred and eight years before Christ. Their name was derived from *pharas*, a Hebrew word, which signifies separated, or set apart, because they affected an extraordinary degree of sanctity and piety. Their distinguishing dogma was a scrupulous and zealous adherence to the traditions of the elders, which they placed upon an equal footing with the written law. They were strict observers of external rites and ceremonies, beyond what the law required, and were superstitiously exact in paying tithes of the most trifling articles, while in general they neglected the essential duties of moral virtue. They were of opinion that good works might claim reward from God, and ascribed an extraordinary degree of merit to the observance of rules which they had themselves established as works of supererogation. Of this sort were their frequent washings and fastings, their nice avoidance of reputed sinners, their rigorous observance of the Sabbath, and the long prayers which they ostentatiously "made in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets." "Trusting in themselves that they were righteous," they not only despised the rest of mankind, but were entirely destitute of humility towards God, which is inseparable from true piety; yet the specious sanctity of their manners, and their hypocritical display of zeal for religion, gave them a vast influence over the common people, and consequently great power and authority in the Jewish state. Dr. Lardner, in speaking of the Jewish sects, after quoting a passage from Josephus, in which he says that "the multitude was with the Pharisees," very justly observes that "there is in this respect a complete agreement between the Evangelists and Josephus. The people, as clearly appears from the Gospels, very generally held the tenets and observed the traditions of the Pharisees, yet they are never dignified so far as to be called Pharisees; they were rather an appendage than a part of the sect, and always called very plainly, the people, the multitude, and the like. The title of Pharisee seems to have been almost entirely appropriated to men of leisure and substance." The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the dead, and in the existence of angels and spirits; and it is supposed by many of the learned that they believed also in the pre-existence of souls, a doctrine which seems to have been commonly held in the time of our Saviour. The question of the disciples of Christ relative to the man that was born blind, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?"* and the doubts expressed by the people, whether Christ was John

* John ix. 2.

the Baptist, or Elias, or one of the ancient prophets,* are thought to have arisen from some opinion of this sort; but I confess I see no ground for the supposition, which some commentators have formed, that the Pharisees believed in the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Indeed I think this supposition is clearly contradicted, both by Josephus and the sacred writers. Josephus, in his second book against Apion, says, with an allusion to the rewards given by the heathen nations for meritorious conduct, "However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man has his own conscience bearing witness to himself; and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords to such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and *at a certain revolution of things*, shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before;" and in his Antiquities † he says, "They believe that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have power to revive and live again." St. Luke expressly says that the Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead; and we cannot suppose that he would call the metempsychosis by that name. And when St. Paul professed himself a Pharisee, and declared that of the "hope and resurrection of the dead he was called in question," ‡ the Pharisees vindicated and supported him, acknowledging that he was preaching a doctrine conformable to the principles of their own sect. We must, therefore, I think, conclude that the Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead in its proper sense, though their notions upon this important point were not correct and accurate.

SADDUCEES.

It is said that the principles of the Sadducees were derived from Antigonus Sochæus, president of the Sanhedrim about 250 years before Christ, who, rejecting the traditionary doctrines of the Scribes, taught that man ought to serve God out of pure love, and not from hope of reward, or fear of punishment; and that they derived their name from Sadoc, one of his followers, who, mistaking or perverting this doctrine, maintained that there was no future state of rewards and punishments. Whatever foundation there may be for this account of the origin of the sect, it is certain that in the time of our Saviour the Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead, § and the existence of angels and spirits, or souls of departed men; though, as Mr. Home observes, it is not easy to comprehend how they could at the same

* Matt. xvi. 14.

† Lib. 18, cap. 1.

‡ Acts xxiii. 6.

§ Acts xxiii. 8.

time admit the authority of the law of Moses. They carried their ideas of human freedom so far as to assert that men were absolutely masters of their own actions, and at full liberty to do either good or evil. Josephus even says that they denied the essential difference between good and evil; and though they believed that God created and preserved the world, they seemed to have denied his particular providence. These tenets, which resemble the Epicurean philosophy, led, as might be expected, to great profligacy of life; and we find the licentious wickedness of the Sadducees frequently condemned in the New Testament; yet they professed themselves obliged to observe the Mosaic law, because of the temporal rewards and punishments annexed to such observance; and hence they were always severe in their punishment of any crimes which tended to disturb the public tranquillity. The Sadducees rejected all tradition, and some authors have contended that they admitted only the books of Moses; but there seems no ground for that opinion, either in the Scriptures or in any ancient writer. Even Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, and took every opportunity of reproaching the Sadducees, does not mention that they rejected any part of the Scriptures; he only says that "the Pharisees have delivered to the people many institutions as received from the fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses. For this reason the Sadducees reject these things, asserting that those things are binding which are written, but that the things received by tradition from the fathers are not to be observed." Besides, it is generally believed that the Sadducees expected the Messiah with great impatience, which seems to imply their belief in the prophecies, though they misinterpreted their meaning. Confining all their hopes to this present world, enjoying its riches, and devoting themselves to its pleasures, they might well be particularly anxious that their lot of life should be cast in the splendid reign of this expected temporal king, with the hope of sharing in his conquests and glory: but this expectation was so contrary to the lowly appearance of our Saviour, that they joined their inveterate enemies, the Pharisees, in persecuting him and his religion. Josephus says that "the Sadducees were able to draw over to them the rich only, the people not following them;" and he elsewhere mentions that "this sect spread chiefly among the young." The Sadducees were far less numerous than the Pharisees, but they were in general persons of greater opulence and dignity. The council before whom both our Saviour and St. Paul were carried consisted partly of Pharisees and partly of Sadducees.

NAZARITES.

The Nazarites,* of whom we read both in the Old and New Testament, were of two sorts; such as were by their parents devoted to God in their infancy, or sometimes even before their birth, and such as devoted themselves either for life or for a limited time; the former were called *Nazaræi nativi*, and the latter, *Nazaræi votivi*. The only three instances of the

* They were so called from the Hebrew word *Nazar*, *separavit*.

Nazaræi nativi mentioned in Scripture, are Samson,* Samuel,† and John the Baptist.‡ Nazaritism was a divine institution; and it was very common for Jews, both men and women, “to vow a vow of a Nazarite,” in order to give themselves up to reading, meditation, and prayer, for the purposes of moral purification, and “all the days of their separation they were holy unto the Lord.” The laws concerning the Nazarites are contained in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers; and they consist principally in directing them to abstain from wine and all other intoxicating liquors; to suffer their hair to grow without cutting; not to come near any dead body; and, at the end of the time, to offer certain sacrifices, to shave the head at the door of the tabernacle or temple, and to burn the hair “in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings.”§ The rabbies say that the Nazaræi votivi could not bind themselves by a vow to observe the laws of the Nazarites for a less time than a month, but that they might bind themselves for any longer time.

HERODIANS.

The Herodians may perhaps be considered as a political rather than as a religious sect; but we are to remember that, among the Jews, religious and civil opinions were almost necessarily blended. Tertullian, and some other ancient authors, thought that the Herodians were so called because they believed Herod to be the Messiah; but Jerome treats this opinion with a sort of contempt; and there seems to be no foundation for it in Scripture, unless we suppose that it is alluded to in our Lord’s caution to his disciples against “the leaven of Herod.” It seems more probable that the Herodians were only a set of men strongly attached to the family of Herod, and of particularly profligate principles. St. Mark tells us that Christ charged his disciples to “beware of the leaven of Herod;”|| and in the parallel passage of St. Matthew’s Gospel, Christ says, “Beware of the leaven of the Sadducees;”¶ and hence some commentators have supposed that the Herodians belonged to the sect of the Sadducees. “These men,” says Dr. Doddridge, “from their high regard to Herod, would naturally be zealous for the authority of the Romans, by whose means Herod was made, and continued, king;” and it is probable, as Dean Prideaux conjectures, that “they might incline to conform to Roman customs in some particulars, which the law would not allow, and especially in the admission of images, though not in the religious, or rather idolatrous, use of them. Herod’s attempt to set up a golden eagle over the east gate of the temple is well known. These complaisant courtiers would no doubt defend it, and the same temper might discover itself in other instances.”

GALILEANS.

The Galileans are mentioned in Scripture, in strong terms of censure, as a turbulent and seditious sect: and Josephus, who does not name the Hero-

* Judges xiii. 5.

† 1 Sam. i. 11.

‡ Luke i. 15.

§ Vide Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, lib. 3, cap. 6, and Lardner, vol. i. p. 208.

|| Mark viii. 15.

¶ Matt. xvi. 6.

dians, not only speaks of the Galileans as a very considerable sect, but ascribes to them a great part of the calamities of his country. Their leader was Judas of Galilee, who was followed at first but by a small part of the Pharisees; but by degrees the Galileans swallowed up almost all the other sects; and it is highly probable that the Zealots, particularly mentioned at the siege of Jerusalem, were of this sect.

PUBLICANS.

The Publicans were not of any sect, civil or religious, but merely tax-gatherers and collectors of customs due to the Romans. These offices, though formerly conferred upon none but Roman citizens of the equestrian order, were held, at the time they are mentioned in Scripture, by persons of low condition, and the employment was generally esteemed base and infamous. Several things concurred to make the Publicans particularly odious to the Jews. Considering themselves as a free people, under the immediate government of God, they bore with impatience the taxes imposed by the Romans, and even questioned whether it were "lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar." The Publicans were generally Jews, who, forming the customs of the Romans, were too often led by motives of avarice to be extortioners also; and the people could ill endure the rigorous exactions from their brethren, who thus appeared to join with the Romans in endeavoring to entail perpetual subjection upon their nation, or at least in making the yoke more galling and oppressive; besides, the necessary dealings and connections of the Publicans with the Gentiles, which the Jews held to be unlawful, cast a peculiar odium upon the whole body; and thus we find our Saviour was reproached for being "a friend of Publicans and sinners."

ESSENES.

The Essenes* appear to have been an enthusiastic sect, never numerous, and but little known; directly opposite to the Pharisees with respect to their reliance upon tradition, and their scrupulous regard to the ceremonial law, but pretending, like them, to superior sanctity of manners. They existed in the time of our Saviour; and though they are not mentioned in the New Testament, they are supposed to be alluded to by St. Paul, in his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and in his first Epistle to Timothy. From the account given of the doctrines and institutions of this sect by Philo and Josephus, we learn that they believed in the immortality of the soul; that they were absolute predestinarians; that they observed the seventh day with peculiar strictness; that they held the Scriptures in the highest reverence, but considered them as mystic writings, and expounded them allegorically: that they sent gifts to the temple, but offered no sacrifices; that they admitted no one into their society till after a probation of three years; that they lived in a state of perfect equality, except that they paid respect to the aged and to their priests; that they considered all secular employments as unlawful,

* Michælis says that Essenes is an Egyptian word signifying the same as Therapeutai in Greek.

except that of agriculture; that they had all things in common, and were industrious, quiet, and free from every species of vice; that they held celibacy and solitude in high esteem; that they allowed no change of raiment till necessity required it; that they abstained from wine; that they were not permitted to eat but with their own sect; and that a certain portion of food was allotted to each person, of which they partook together, after solemn ablutions. The austere and retired life of the Essenes is supposed to have given rise to monkish superstition.*

PROSELYTES.

Proselytes are mentioned in Scripture in contradistinction to Jews, and they are represented by ancient Jewish writers, and by some modern Christian divines, as divided into two sorts; Proselytes of the Gate, and Proselytes of Righteousness, or of the Covenant. The rabbies give a long account of the different ceremonies of initiation of these two classes. It is allowed that the Jewish nation was gradually made up of two descriptions of people, those who were descended from Abraham, and those who, being originally Gentiles, were naturalized, and considered as Jews after a certain number of generations, which seem to have been less or more according to the merit and other circumstances of their respective nations. "Certain it is, the law made a difference between one nation and another, as to what is called 'entering into the congregation of the Lord.'† Edomites and Egyptians had this privilege in the third generation; though their immediate children were excluded, their grandchildren were admitted. An Ammonite or Moabite was excluded even 'to the tenth generation,' saith the law, or, as it is added, 'for ever,' which the Jews take to be explanatory of the tenth generation."‡ Those who contend for these two sorts of Proselytes, define a Proselyte in general to be a person who, being a Gentile by birth, came over to the Jewish religion, in whole or in part. Those who took upon themselves the obligation of the whole law are supposed to have been called Proselytes of Righteousness, or of the Covenant, and were entitled to the same privileges as the seed of Abraham, though these adopted children were considered as inferior to those who were children by birth. The Proselytes of the Gate are said to have been such Gentiles as were permitted by the Jews to dwell among them, and were admitted to the worship of the God of Israel, and the hope of a future life, but did not engage to observe the whole of the law; these were not circumcised, nor did they conform to the Mosaic rites and ordinances, being obliged only to observe the laws which the Jews call the seven precepts of Noah; § they were, however, allowed to offer up their prayers in the temple

* Eus. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2, cap. 17.

† The received opinion concerning "entering into the congregation of the Lord" is, that it signifies being permitted to bear any office in the Jewish commonwealth; but the rabbies assert that Proselytes were excluded from many civil advantages and privileges to which the Israelites by descent were entitled.

‡ Jennings's Jewish Antiquities.

§ These were, according to the rabbies, 1st, to abstain from idolatry; 2d, from blasphemy; 3d, from murder; 4th, from adultery; 5th, from theft; 6th, to appoint just and upright

and in the synagogues, but not to enter farther into the temple than the outer court, which was called the court of the Gentiles; and in the synagogues they had places assigned them separate from the Jews themselves.* The term Proselytes of the Gate is derived from an expression frequent in the Old Testament, namely, "the stranger that is within thy gates;" but I think it evident that "the strangers" were those Gentiles who were permitted to live among the Jews under certain restrictions,† and whom the Jews were forbid "to vex or oppress," so long as they lived in a peaceable manner. I must own that there appears to me no ground whatever in Scripture for this distinction of Proselytes of the Gate, and Proselytes of Righteousness. According to my idea, Proselytes were those, and those only, who took upon themselves the obligation of the whole Mosaic law, but retained that name till they were admitted into the congregation of the Lord as adopted children. Gentiles were allowed to worship, and offer sacrifices to the God of Israel, in the outer court of the temple;‡ and some of them, persuaded of the sole and universal sovereignty of the Lord Jehovah, might renounce idolatry without embracing the Mosaic law; but such persons appear to me never to be called Proselytes in Scripture, or in any ancient Christian writer.§

KARAITES.

The Karaites have their name from the Chaldee word Kara, Scriptura Sacra, because they adhered to the Scripture as the whole and only rule of faith and practice, admitting the authority of tradition only when it agreed with the written word of God. Upon the dissension between Hillel, the president of the Sanhedrim, and Shammai, the vice-president, about thirty years before Christ, their respective scholars formed two parties, and took different names. Those who adhered to Scripture only were called Karaim, or Scriptuarii, and were followers of Shammai; and those who were zealous for the traditions taught by the Scribes or rabbies, were called Rabbanim, Rabbanists, and were followers of Hillel. The Karaites, however, justly boasted the high antiquity of their principles, as being the followers of Moses and of the prophets, in opposition to human tradition; but when the doctrines of the rabbies were generally adopted among the Jews, the Karaites were considered as schismatics. They seem to have remained for some time in obscurity; but about the year of our Lord 750, Anan, a Jew of Babylon,

judges; 7th, not to eat the flesh of any animal cut off while it was alive. Maimonides says that the first six of these precepts were given to Adam, and the seventh to Noah; but they are not even mentioned by Onkelos, Philo, or Josephus.

* Naaman the Syrian, Cornelius the centurion, the Ethiopian eunuch, and the "devout men," mentioned in the Acts, are considered by Godwin, Benson, and many others, as Proselytes of the Gate.

† They were to abstain from idolatry; they were not to blaspheme the God of Israel; and they were to observe the Jewish Sabbath.

‡ Josephus mentions Alexander the Great, Antiochus, and Ptolemy, as having all worshipped, and offered sacrifices, in the temple at Jerusalem.

§ "I do not believe that the notion of two sorts of Jewish Proselytes can be found in any Christian writer before the fourteenth century or later."—*Lardner*.

of the stock of David, and Saul his son, both men of learning, publicly disclaimed the authority of the traditionary doctrines of the Talmud, asserted the Scriptures to be the sole rule of faith, and became heads of the Karaites or Scriptuarii, who again grew into repute, and increased in numbers. There are now some of this sect in Poland and Russia, but they chiefly reside in Turkey and Egypt; few or none are to be found in the western countries. Thus it appears that a remnant has been always left, who confined their faith to the written word of God, and that the absurdities of the Talmud revived the spirit of true religion among the Jews; for the Karaites are universally reckoned men of the best learning, of the greatest piety, and of the purest morals of the whole nation.

TABLE

OF THE OFFICES AND CONDITIONS OF MEN OF WHOM MENTION IS MADE IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

- Patriarchs.* Fathers of families, such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and his sons.
Judges. Temporary supreme governors, whether immediately appointed by God, or chosen by themselves to manage the affairs of the children of Israel.
Kings. Hereditary chief magistrates, either of the whole nation or after the falling off of the ten tribes of Judah and Israel.
Elders. Senators, the seventy or Sanhedrim.
Officers. Provosts, sheriffs, or executioners.
Judges. Inferior rulers, such as determine controversies in particular cities.
Israelites. Hebrews descended from Jacob.
A Hebrew of Hebrews. An Israelite by original extraction.
A Proselyte of the Covenant. One who was circumcised, and submitted to the whole law. (See Jewish Sects.)
A Proselyte of the Gate. A stranger who worshipped one God, but remained uncircumcised. (See Jewish Sects.)

OFFICERS UNDER THE ASSYRIAN OR PERSIAN MONARCHS.

- Tirshatha.* A governor appointed by the kings of Assyria or Persia.
Heads of the Captivity. The chief of each tribe or family, who exercised a precarious government during the captivity.

UNDER THE GRECIAN MONARCHS.

SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

- Maccabees.* The successors of Judas Maccabeus, high-priests, who presided with kingly power.

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

- Procurators.* Presidents or governors sent from Rome with imperial power.
Tetrarchs. Men who exercised kingly power in four provinces.
Proconsuls. Deputies of provinces.

INFERIOR OFFICERS.

- Publicans.* Tax-gatherers. (See Jewish Sects.)
Centurions. Captains of one hundred men.

ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICERS, RELIGIOUS SECTS, Etc.

- High-priest.* One who alone might enter the holy of holies.
Second priest or Sagan. One who supplied the high-priest's office in case he were disabled.
High-priests of the War. Persons set apart for the conduct of an expedition.
Priests, Levites. The sons of Aaron, divided into twenty-four ranks, each rank serving weekly in the temple.

Levites. Of the tribe of Levi, but not of Aaron's family. Of these there were three orders, Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, descendants from the several sons of Levi.

Nethinims. Inferior servants of the priests and Levites (not of their tribe) employed in drawing water and cleaving wood.

Prophets, anciently called *Seers.* Men who foretold future events, and denounced God's judgments.

Children of the Prophets. Their disciples or scholars.

Wisemen. Persons so called in imitation of the eastern magi, or Gentile philosophers.

Scribes. Writers or expounders of the law. (*See Jewish Sects.*)

Disputers. Men who raised and determined questions out of the law.

Rabbins or Doctors. Teachers of Israel.

Libertines. Freed men of Rome, who, being Jews or Proselytes, had a synagogue or oratory to themselves.

Gaulonites or Galilæans. Men who considered it unlawful to obey a heathen magistrate. (*See Jewish Sects.*)

Herodians. Men who shaped their religion to the times, and particularly flattered Herod.

Epicureans. A sect of philosophers who placed all their happiness in pleasure.

Stoics. Such as denied the liberty of the will, and pretended that all events were determined by fatal necessity.

Simon Magus. Author of the heresy of the Gnostics, who taught that men, however vicious their practice, would be saved by their knowledge.

Nicolaitans. The disciples of Nicolas, one of the first seven deacons, who taught the community of wives.

Nazarites. Men who, under a vow, abstained from wine. (*See Jewish Sects.*)

Nazarenes. Jews professing Christianity.

Zelots. Sicarii, or murderers, who, under the pretence of zeal for the law, thought themselves authorized to commit outrage.

Pharisees. Separatists, who upon the opinion of their own godliness, despised all others. (*See Jewish Sects.*)

Sadducees. Men who denied the resurrection of the dead, angels, and spirits. (*See Jewish Sects.*)

Samaritans. Mongrel professors, partly heathen, partly Jews, the offspring of the Assyrians sent to Samaria.

Apostles. Missionaries, or persons sent. They who were sent by our Saviour were from their number called the Twelve.

Bishops. Successors of the Apostles in the government of the Church.

Deacons. Officers chosen by the churches to take care of the poor.

Angels of Churches. Their bishops.

Elders. Officers next in rank to the bishops.

AUTHENTICITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

WE possess a venerable volume, under this title, consisting of twenty-seven independent books or writings, reputed to have been composed by eight different authors. It professes to contain, and is continually appealed to as containing, not only an accurate account of the history and doctrine of Jesus Christ, but an account written in the first age of Christianity, by its earliest disciples and advocates, who were contemporaneous with its author, and were, most of them, eye-witnesses of the events related. Now, before we can be reasonably warranted in placing implicit reliance in the New Testament, as *the book* of the facts and doctrines of the gospel, two important questions must be determined: First, *Is there satisfactory evidence that the several writings of which it is composed were written by the men to whom they are ascribed?* This involves the AUTHENTICITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Secondly, *Is the New Testament deserving of implicit reliance as to matters of historical detail, so that we may receive any narrative as unquestionably true because contained therein?* This refers to the CREDIBILITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Thus you perceive, that whether a volume be authentic, and whether credible, are two widely separate questions, neither necessarily implying the other, however the evidence of one may bear upon the proof of the other. Writings may be *authentic*, composed by the men whose names they bear, and yet not credible. They may be *credible*, because correct in their statements, and yet not authentic. The question of authenticity refers to the author; that of credibility to the narrative. "The Pilgrim's Progress" is authentic, because it was actually composed by John Bunyan, to whom it is ascribed; but as a narrative, it is not credible, being an allegory throughout. The book entitled "Travels of Anacharsis the Younger," is credible, so far as it professes to exhibit a view of the antiquities, manners, customs, religious ceremonies, etc., of ancient Greece; but it is not authentic, having been written in the eighteenth century by Barthelemy, and fictitiously ascribed to the Scythian philosopher. "Marshall's Life of Washington" is both authentic and credible, being a true history, and worthily honored with the name of that eminent and excellent man, from whose pen it professes to have come. That the New Testament is also authentic and credible, we undertake to show. We exclude the more ancient portion of the sacred volume,

not because of any deficiency in its evidence, but for the sake of unity and clearness in our inquiries; and because, when the argument for the New Testament is set forth in a conclusive form, the authenticity and credibility of the other is rendered, as will hereafter appear, a necessary inference. The two questions will be the subjects of different lectures. To that of *authenticity* our attention will, at present, be confined. Let us begin with the following:

How does it appear that the several writings composing the volume of the New Testament were written by the men to whom they are ascribed — the original disciples of Christ — and are consequently authentic?

We pursue precisely the same method in determining the authorship of the New Testament, as in ascertaining that of any other book of a past age. For example, we possess a celebrated poem entitled *Paradise Lost*. It bears the name of Milton. How do we know that Milton composed it? The answer is easy. Our fathers received it, as his production, from their fathers; and they, from theirs. By such steps, we ascend to the very year in which the book was first published, and find it invariably ascribed to Milton. Moreover, the history of the age in which he lived, speaks of it as unquestionably and notoriously his work. Writers of every succeeding age refer to, and quote it as well known to be his. The language of the poem bears the characteristic marks of Milton's times. Its spirit, genius, and style, display the distinctive features of Milton's mind and character. And, finally, though Milton had many enemies, and lived in a time of great divisions, and this poem redounded greatly to his praise, and many must have been disposed, had they been able, to discover some false pretensions in his claim to its authorship; no other person in that age was ever mentioned as disputing his title, but all united in acknowledging him as the writer of *Paradise Lost*. On this evidence, although the poem professes to have been written as far back as the year 1674, we are so perfectly certain of its authenticity, that the man who should dispute it would be justly suspected of idioecy or derangement. And had Milton lived in the seventh, instead of the seventeenth century, a similar body of evidence would have been equally satisfactory. If, instead of the seventh century, he had lived in the first of the Christian era, similar evidence, reaching up to his time, would still prove, beyond a question, that he wrote *Paradise Lost*. Thus it is evident that time has no effect to impair the force of such proof. Whether a book be ascribed to the Christian era, or to five centuries before or after, the evidence, being the same, is equally satisfactory. It as well convinces us that the history ascribed to Herodotus, in the fifth century before Christ, was written by that historian, as that the *Aeneid* was written by Virgil, a little before the birth of Christ; or the *Faerie Queene*, by Spenser, in the fifteen hundred and ninetieth year after that event. We are no less satisfied of the authenticity of the orations of Demosthenes, than of Newton's *Principia*; — though between the dates of their publication there is an interval of more than two thousand years. So little does the age of a book affect the evidence required to establish its authenticity.

Now in ascertaining the authorship of the New Testament, we are furnished with evidence precisely similar to that which settles the question so conclusively as to either of the works above mentioned.* An unbroken chain of testimony ascends from the present generation to the preceding, and thence to the next beyond, and thence onward again, till it reaches the very age of the apostles, exhibiting an uninterrupted series of acknowledgments of the New Testament, as having been written indeed by those primitive disciples to whom its several parts are ascribed. Besides this, historians and other writers of the age ascribed to this volume, as well heathen and Jewish as Christian, not only recognize its existence in their day, but speak of it as notoriously the production of its reputed authors. The language is characteristic of their age, nation, and circumstances. The style and spirit exhibit the well-known peculiarities of their respective minds and dispositions. And again, although the New Testament at the time of its first appearance, either in parts or collectively, was surrounded with numerous, learned, and ingenious, as well as most bitter enemies, both among heathens and Jews; and although there arose at an early period many animated controversies between the real believers in gospel truth, on one side, and sundry heretical pretenders to the Christian faith, whose cause would often have been materially served by a well-sustained denial of the authenticity of certain of the books of the New Testament; none in the primitive ages, whether heretics or open enemies, ever denied that this volume contained the genuine writings of the original apostles and disciples of Christ. On the contrary, all received, argued, and acted upon it as unquestionably authentic. Thus we have the same evidence that the books of the New Testament were written by those whose names they bear, as that *Paradise Lost* was written by the man whose name it bears. The force of this evidence is in no wise diminished by the consideration that the apostles lived in the first, and Milton in the seventeenth century.

Thus have you received a general outline of the argument. We proceed to a more particular view.

I. *The books of the New Testament are quoted or alluded to by a series of writers who may be followed up in unbroken succession from the present age to that of the apostles.* In proof of this, it is unnecessary for the satisfaction of any person of ordinary information to trace the line of testimony from the present time, or from any point of departure lower down than the fourth century. Whoever has the least acquaintance with the history of the civilized world, as far upward as the fourth century, must know that the acknowledgment of the New Testament, as composed of authentic writings, is interwoven with all the literature, science, and political, as well as religious institutions, of every subsequent age. We begin, therefore, the chain of testimony at the fourth century.

* "We know," says St. Augustine, "the writings of the Apostles, as we know the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and others, and as we know the writings of divers ecclesiastical authors; for as much as they have the testimony of contemporaries, and of those who have lived in succeeding ages."

It is a very impressive evidence of the high estimate in which the New Testament was universally held at this period, that beside innumerable quotations in various writings, no less than eleven distinct, formal catalogues of its several books, were composed at various times, during the fourth century, by different hands; and two of them by large and solemn councils of the heads of the Christian church. All of these are still extant; and all agree, in every particular important to the present argument, with the list of the New Testament writings as at present received. In the year 397, a national or provincial council assembled at Carthage, consisting of forty-four bishops — Augustine, bishop of Hippo, was a member. The forty-seventh canon of that council is thus written: "It is ordained that nothing beside the canonical scriptures be read in the church under the name of divine scriptures; and the canonical scriptures are these," etc. In the enumeration, we find precisely our New Testament books, and no more.*

About the same time Augustine wrote a book entitled "*Of the Christian Doctrine*," in which is furnished a catalogue of what he considered the authentic writings of the evangelists and apostles, agreeing entirely with ours. "*In these books*," says he, "*they who fear God, seek his will.*" †

A short time before this, Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, published an "*Explication of the Apostles' Creed*," in which he includes a catalogue of the Scriptures. It commences thus: "It will not be improper to enumerate here the books of the New and Old Testament, which we find, by the monuments of the fathers, to have been delivered to the churches, as inspired by the Holy Spirit." This list differs in nothing from ours. ‡

Jerome, a contemporaneous writer, universally allowed to have been the most learned of the Latin fathers, in a letter concerning the study of the Scriptures, enumerates the books of the New Testament in precise correspondence with our volume. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, he states that by some it was not considered as the work of Paul; though it is evident, from other places of his writings, that he was satisfied of its authenticity, and numbered it among the canonical Scriptures. §

In the year 380, wrote Philastrius, bishop of Brescia. In a book "*Concerning Heresies*," he gives a catalogue agreeing entirely with ours, except that it omits the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of Revelation. But it does not follow that these were not considered canonical. The object of his catalogue is to enumerate the books appointed to be read in the churches. The Epistle to the Hebrews, he says, was read in the churches "sometimes." "Some pretend," he writes, "that additions have been made to it by some heterodox persons, and that for that reason it ought not to be read in the churches, though it is read by some." Philastrius himself received it, and frequently quoted it as the work of St. Paul, and reckoned it a heresy to reject it. He received also the book of Revelation, mentioning its rejection by some among the heresies of the age. "There are some," he writes, "who

* Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, ii. 574.

† Lardner, ii. 578.

‡ Ib. ii. 573.

§ Ib. ii. 549.

dare to say that the Revelation is not a writing of John the apostle and evangelist."*

About the year 370, flourished Gregory Nazianzen, bishop of Constantinople, who, in a work "*On the True and Genuine Scriptures*," enumerates all the present books of the New Testament, except that of Revelation. This however he has quoted in his other works.†

At the same time wrote Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus; "a man of five languages." He wrote against heresies, and gave a list of the New Testament books which agrees exactly with ours.‡

About the year 350, another catalogue was published by the Council of Laodicea, differing in nothing from ours but in the omission of Revelation. The decrees of this council were, in a short time, received into the canons of the universal church; so that as early as about the middle of the fourth century, we find a universal agreement, in all parts of the world in which Christianity existed, as to the constituent parts of the New Testament, with the single exception of the Book of Revelation. That this was also generally received, and why any doubted its authenticity, will appear in our subsequent progress.§

Athanasius and Cyril, the latter bishop of Jerusalem, a little earlier in the century, have furnished catalogues,—that of the former agreeing entirely with ours; that of the latter in everything but the omission of the Revelation of St. John.

The last catalogue to be mentioned in the fourth century, is that of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished about the year 315. "A man," says Jerome, "most studious in the divine Scriptures, and very diligent in making a large collection of ecclesiastical writers." In his Ecclesiastical History, he mentions, as belonging to the canon of Scripture, all our present books. While he speaks of the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the third of John, and the book of Revelation, as questioned by some, he states that they were generally received, and declares his own conviction that they ought not to be doubted.||

The above testimonies, though capable of great multiplication, are amply sufficient to exhibit the universal confidence of Christians of the fourth century in the authenticity of the New Testament. Let us proceed to the *third*. In this, among other important names, we find that of the celebrated Origen, who flourished about the year 230, having been born A. D. 184. Jerome speaks of him as the greatest doctor of the churches since the apostles,—that he had the Scriptures by heart, and labored day and night in studying and explaining them.¶ Great numbers of all descriptions of men attended his lectures. Heathen philosophers dedicated their writings to him, and submitted them to his revisal. He wrote a threefold exposition of the books of Scripture, on which he bestowed all his learning. He lived within an hundred years of the death of St. John, and was therefore so near the time

* Lardner, ii. 522.

‡ Ib. ii. 414. Alexander on the Canon, p. 150.

† Ib. 470, 471.

|| Ib. ii. 368, etc.

‡ Ib. 416.

¶ Ib. i. 527.

of the publication of the books of the New Testament, that he could hardly avoid obtaining the most accurate knowledge of their origin and authors. His enumeration of these writings contains no other books than those of our sacred volume, and includes all that we receive, except the epistles of James and Jude, which could not have been omitted by design, as in other places he expressly acknowledges them as part of the sacred canon.

Besides Origen, we have in the third century, Victorinus, a bishop in Germany; Cyprian, bishop of Carthage; Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea; and Dionysius of Alexandria, in whose writings are found most copious quotations from almost every book of the New Testament.

We proceed to the *second* century. Here we meet with Tertullian, a native of Carthage, born about the year 150, within fifty years of the last of the apostles, and renowned in his day as a learned, vigorous, and voluminous writer in defence of Christianity. His works abound in quotations of the most direct kind, and with long extracts from all the books of the New Testament, except four of the minor Epistles, which, as he nowhere professes to give a formal catalogue, he may easily be supposed to have passed unquoted, without entertaining any opinion unfavorable to their authenticity. Tertullian's quotations occupy nearly thirty folio pages. "There are more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament in *this one Christian author* than of all the works of Cicero in the writers of *all characters for several ages.*"*

The same is true with regard to Irenæus and Clement, of Alexandria, both writers of the second century. In what spirit these early Christians regarded the authority of the New Testament books may be judged from the manner of their quotations. Irenæus writes: "*As the blessed Paul* says, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 30: 'For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.'" And so Clement, "*The blessed Paul*, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: 'Brethren, be not children in understanding,'" etc.

It deserves to be specially noted that, in this early age, the book of Revelation is expressly ascribed to St. John. The testimony of Irenæus to this effect is so full and strong, that it may justly be considered as putting its authenticity entirely beyond reasonable dispute.†

There is abundant evidence that, in the second century, the books of the New Testament were open to all, and well known in the world. In Tertullian's Apology, addressed to the Roman presidents, he challenges an inspection of the Scriptures. "Look into the words of God, our Scriptures which we ourselves do not conceal, and many accidents bring into the way of those who are not of our religion." In this appeal, he calls the attention of the heathen rulers to the Epistles and Gospels, as constituting, "the words of God, our Scriptures."‡

There is good reason to believe that, in the time of Tertullian, the very autographs, or original letters of the apostles, were in the possession of those churches to which they had been specially directed. "If," says this ancient

* Lardner, i. 435.

† Ib. i. 372.

‡ Ib. i. 434.

writer, "you be willing to exercise your curiosity profitably in the business of your salvation, visit the apostolical churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still preside—in which *their very authentic letters* are recited, sounding forth the voice, and representing the countenance, of each one of them. Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica."* If Tertullian did not mean that the original manuscripts, but only authentic *copies* of the Epistles to the Corinthians, Philippians, etc., were to be seen by application to those churches, why send inquiries thither? Could an *authentic copy* of the Epistles to the Philippians be seen nowhere but at Philippi? or of that to the Corinthians, nowhere but at Corinth? †

The quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the second century, are so numerous that, were the sacred volume lost, a large part of it might be collected from them alone. Passing by the testimonies of Melito, bishop of Sardis, who wrote a commentary on the book of Revelation, and of Hegesippus, converted from Judaism, and of Tatian, who composed a harmony of the gospels, all born about the time of the death of St. John, we come to Justin Martyr, born about ten years prior to that event. Before his conversion from heathenism, he studied philosophy in the schools of the Stoics, Peripatetics, Pythagoreans, and Platonics. After becoming a Christian, he occupied a high stand in learned writing and holy living. His remaining works contain numerous quotations from, as well as allusions to, the four Gospels, which he uniformly represents as containing "the genuine and authentic accounts of Jesus Christ and of his doctrine." The same is true in relation to the Acts of the Apostles, and the greater part of the Epistles. The book of Revelation is expressly said by Justin to have been written by "John, one of the apostles of Christ." Having lived before the death of that apostle, he had the best opportunity of knowing.

We finish the second century with Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, whom Irenæus speaks of as a hearer of John, and a disciple of Polycarp, a pupil of John the apostle. ‡ How he obtained his information will appear from the only fragment of his writings remaining. It is found in Eusebius. "If at any time, I met with one who had conversed with the elders, I inquired after the sayings of the elders (presbyters): what Andrew or what Peter said; or what Philip, Thomas, or James, had said; what John or Matthew, or what any other of the disciples of the Lord, were wont to say." § Thus we have a witness who lived near enough to the beginning to inquire of those who had conversed with the apostles, if not to listen to St. John himself. Too little remains of his writings to furnish many testimonies, especially as he had it not in view to confirm the authenticity of any part of Scripture; but still he gives a very valuable testimony to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and the first Epistles of Peter and John. He alludes to the Acts and the book of Revelation.

Thus we have ascended to the *apostolic age*. But we may reach still higher.

* Lardner, i. 424.

† Alexander on the Canon, p. 143.

‡ Lardner, i. 336.

§ Lardner, i. 337.

We have in our possession the well authenticated writings of five individuals and fathers in the primitive church, who, because they were contemporary with the apostles, are called *apostolical fathers*. Three of them, Barnabas, Clement, and Hermas, are mentioned by name in the New Testament; * the fourth, Polycarp, was an immediate disciple of St. John; the fifth, Ignatius, enjoyed the privilege of frequent intercourse with the apostles. There is scarcely a book of the New Testament which one or another of these writers has not either quoted or alluded to. Though what is extant of their works is very little, it contains more than two hundred and twenty quotations, or allusions to the writings of our sacred volume, in which they are uniformly treated with the reverence belonging to inspired books, calling them "*the Sacred Scriptures*;" "*the Oracles of the Lord*." Their testimony is not universal, inasmuch as it is incidental. They had no design of enumerating for posterity, or their contemporaries, the books of Scripture. There was no controversy on that subject in their age. It would have seemed a needless waste of words, had they attempted to decide a question which no one asked. It is very natural, therefore, considering the brevity of their remaining works, and the incidental character of their quotations, that some of the shorter writings of the New Testament should not be alluded to; while the fact that, by one or another, almost every book is quoted or alluded to, and that the whole number of quotations or allusions is upwards of two hundred and twenty, accompanied with every mark of reverence and submission, is a most impressive proof that the authenticity and inspired authority of the New Testament books were then notorious and unquestioned among Christians.

Thus we have ascended the line of testimony into the presence of the apostles. Our evidence has been collected from only a few out of the many witnesses that might have been cited. It has been derived from writers of different times, and of countries widely separated — from philosophers, rhetoricians, and divines, all men of acuteness and learning in their days, all concurring in their testimony that the books of the New Testament were equally known in distant regions, and received as authentic by men and churches that had no intercourse with one another. The argument is now, therefore, reduced to this. The apostles and disciples of Christ are known to have left some writings. That those writings have been lost, none can give a reason for believing. It is not pretended that any other volume than that of the New Testament contains them. The books contained in this volume were considered to be the writings of the apostles, by the whole Christian Church, as far back as those who were their contemporaries and companions, being continually quoted and alluded to as such. It was impossible that such witnesses should be deceived. Contemporaries and companions must have known whether they quoted the genuine works of the apostles, or only forgeries pretending to their names. Our evidence, therefore, is complete. What I have presented exceeds, above measure, the evidence for the authenticity of any other ancient book. Should the fiftieth

* Acts xiii. 2, 3, 46, 47; 1 Cor. ix. 4-7; Phil. iv. 3; Rom. xvi. 14.

part of it be demanded for any Roman or Grecian production, its character must be condemned as unworthy of confidence.

Before relinquishing this department of evidence, there are certain very important particulars which, though embraced in what has been already advanced, require a more special notice.

1st. It is worthy of distinct remark that, when the books of the New Testament are quoted or alluded to by those whose testimony has been adduced. *they are treated with supreme regard, as possessing an authority belonging to no other books, and as conclusive in questions of religion.* For example: Irenæus, born about A. D. 97, calls them "*divine oracles*;" "*scriptures of the Lord*." He says that the Gospel was committed to writing by the will of God, that it might be, for time to come, the foundation and pillar of our faith.* "He fled to the Gospels, which he believed no less than if Christ had been speaking to him; and to the writings of the apostles, whom he esteemed as the presbytery of the whole Christian church." Origen, born about A. D. 184, says, "Christians believe Jesus to be the Son of God, in a sense not to be explained and made known to men by any but by that Scripture alone, *which is inspired by the Holy Ghost; that is, the evangelic and apostolic Scripture*, as also that of the law and the prophets."† Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, born about the end of the second century, earnestly exhorts "all in general, but especially Christian ministers, in all doubtful matters, to have recourse to the Gospels and the Epistles of the apostles, as to the fountain where may be found the true original doctrine of Christ." "The precepts of the Gospel," he says, "are to be considered as the lessons of God to us; as the foundations of our hope, and the supports of our faith."‡

2d. *The books of the New Testament were united at a very early period in a distinct volume.* Not to mention, in evidence of this, that in all the earliest writers, the Gospels and Epistles are spoken of as constituting a notorious collection of sacred authorities, divided into those two parts; we have Tertullian, born only fifty years after the death of St. John, calling the collection of the Gospels the "*evangelical instrument*;" the whole volume, the "*New Testament*;" and the two parts, the "*Gospels and apostles*."

3d. *The books of the New Testament were, at a very early period, publicly read and expounded in the congregations of Christians.* Chrysostom, born about A. D. 347, testifies that "the Gospels, when written, were not hid in a corner, or buried in obscurity, but made known to all the world, before enemies as well as others, even as they are now." Irenæus, about two hundred years earlier, says that, in his time, "all the Scriptures, both prophecies and Gospels, are open and clear, and *may be heard of all*."§ Still earlier, we find Justin Martyr giving the emperor an account of the Christian worship, in which it is written: "The memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, according as the time allows; and when the reader has ended, the president makes a discourse, exhorting to the imitation of so excellent things."||

* Lardner, i. 372.

† Ib. i. 545.

‡ Ib. ii. 27, and 592-3.

§ Ib. i. 345.

|| Ib. i. 372.

The custom here mentioned is evidently spoken of as notorious and universal. This was about the year 140. But a practice thus general and familiar could hardly have grown up in less than forty years before the writing of this last witness. Thus we reach the life of St. John, and may, therefore, consider it as satisfactorily proved, that, at a period as early as the last years of St. John, the Scriptures of the New Testament were publicly read and expounded in the churches of Christians. Such is the natural inference, from many passages in the works of Augustine, of the fourth century. For example, "The canonical books of Scripture being read everywhere, the miracles therein recorded are well known to all people." "The Epistles of Peter and Paul are daily recited to the people." And to what people? And to how many people? Listen to the Psalm: "*Their sound hath gone out into all the earth.*" Again: "The genuineness and integrity of the same Scriptures may be relied on, which have been spread all over the world, and *which from the time of their publication were in the highest esteem, and have been carefully kept in the churches.*" *

4th. *During the primitive ages of Christianity, commentaries were written upon the books of the New Testament; harmonies of them were formed, copies diligently compared, and translations made into different languages.* In proof of these assertions it is needless, after the citations already made, to call up testimony. It may be found abundantly in Paley's Evidences; † where it is well said, that "no greater proof can be given of the esteem in which these ancient books were holden by the ancient Christians, or of the sense then entertained of their value and importance, than the industry bestowed upon them. Moreover, it shows that they were *then* considered as ancient books. Men do not write comments upon publications of their own times; therefore the testimonies cited under this head, afford an evidence which carries up the evangelic writings much beyond the age of the testimonies themselves, and to that of their reputed authors." There is but a single example of a Christian writer during the first three centuries composing comments upon any other books than those in the New Testament. Clement of Alexandria is mentioned by Eusebius as having written short notes upon an apocryphal book, called the Revelation of Peter; but that he did not consider it as having authority may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Eusebius, that in his other works it was nowhere quoted. ‡

5th. From the view we have taken of primitive testimony, it appears that *the agreement of the ancient church as to what were the authentic books of the New Testament, is complete.* Out of twelve catalogues, the earliest of which was furnished by Origen, living within a hundred years of St. John, all of which were drawn up, either by solemn council, or distinguished heads of the church residing in various and widely remote parts of the world — out of twelve, seven, including the earliest, agree exactly with our New Testament list; three others differ only in the omission of the book of Revelation, for which they had a special reason not implicating its authenticity; and in the

* Lardner, ii. 593-4.

† P. 1. c. ix. c. vi.

‡ Lardner, i. 410.

two which remain, the books omitted and spoken of as doubtful, in the estimation of some, were acknowledged and quoted as authentic by the framers of the catalogues. The fathers, in all their writings, and of all ages and countries, appeal to the same Scriptures as infallible authority. The consent of the ancient church was therefore universal. So far as the argument for the Divine revelation of the Gospel is connected with the authenticity of any of the books, it was without exception. The books omitted in some writers and catalogues, have no essential reference to the great question whether the Gospel of Christ is of Divine revelation.

6th. *The agreement among the various sects of heretics in the earliest centuries is as entire as that of the orthodox fathers.* The authenticity of the books of the New Testament was acknowledged even by those to whose sectarian interest their authority was extremely detrimental. Instead of venturing to dispute their having been written by their reputed authors, they sought refuge in arbitrary interpretations of such passages as opposed their favorite views. Some among the Gnostics, for example, unable to escape the apostolic character of the sacred books, maintained the necessity of giving an allegorical turn to their declarations. And when, in the course of time, heretics did undertake to question the authenticity of some portions of the New Testament, their accusation was not based upon any historical or testimonial objections, but confined to some trifling and pretended internal causes of exception, which only their own convenience could discover. Some of these later heretics, being opposed to the doctrine of the influences of the Holy Spirit, denied the gospel of St. John, because it contains the promise of that Divine teacher and comforter. But with regard to those of an earlier date, Irenæus, of the second century, writes, "So great is the certainty in regard to our gospels, that even the heretics themselves bear testimony in their favor; and all acknowledging them, each endeavors to establish from them his own opinions."* Origen, on account as well of his candor and acquaintance with the heresies of his times as of the early age in which he lived, should be considered a competent witness on this head. He states that the heretics endeavored to impose upon people by alleging texts of Scripture for their particular tenets, though they quoted them in a very unfair and mutilated manner; and that they appealed to them because they were the only writings whose authority was universally allowed.† Testimony more impressive than this, to the apostolic authorship of the New Testament books, cannot be demanded.

7th. *The several heads of evidence which have now been made out in proof of the authenticity of the New Testament, cannot be pretended to with regard to any of those writings which are called Apocryphal Scriptures.* To some who are aware that in the early ages of Christianity there existed a variety of apocryphal gospels and other compositions, pretending to have been written by the apostles, it may be difficult to imagine by what rule the true works of the inspired writers were separated, without embarrassment and with suf-

* Storr & Flatt's Bib. Theol., i. 67.

† Lardner iv. 521-2.



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ficient confidence, from all mere pretenders to that high original. But it greatly enhances one's sense of the prodigious weight of evidence in support of the true Scriptures, to learn how broad and unquestionable was the distinction.

Among the apocryphal writings there are two classes. One is that of *histories*, which assumed the names of the apostles, but were literally forgeries, and therefore *spurious*, as well as apocryphal. The other consists of certain writings of a Christian character, and either entirely or in part historical, which are not *spurious*, but called apocryphal because their age and authors are unknown, or their authority is of no weight.

Of the first class, it may be asserted, without any hazard, that none are quoted, within three hundred years after the birth of Christ, by any writer now extant or known; or if any are quoted, it is invariably with marks of censure and rejection.* The only possible exception is the *gospel according to the Hebrews*, "which," says Lardner, "was probably either St. Matthew's gospel in his original Hebrew, with some additions; or, as I rather think, a Hebrew translation of St. Matthew's Greek original, with the additions above mentioned." But this is quoted nowhere without marks of discredit, except in *one place* in the works of Clement of Alexandria.

Of the second class, none but a book called the *Preaching of Peter*, and another entitled the *Revelation of Peter*, are quoted, without positive condemnation, by any writer of the first three centuries. These are spoken of only by the same Clement of Alexandria. Compare with these facts the immense mass and variety of concurrent testimonies to the books of the New Testament in the writers of the first three centuries; testimonies from all countries and all classes — orthodox or heretics; remember, for example, that you may find in the extant works of Tertullian, or of Irenæus, or of Clement of Alexandria, more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than you can find in writers of all characters, for several ages, of the works of Cicero, though voluminous, and always so universally popular; and it will be evident that the apocryphal writings could have presented no difficulties in ascertaining the authentic books of the apostles. None of them were read as having apostolic authority in the churches of Christians; nor admitted into their sacred volume; nor included in their catalogues; nor noticed as authentic by the adversaries of Christianity; nor appealed to by all parties calling themselves Christians, as authority in their controversies; nor treated with sufficient respect to be made the subject of commentaries, collections, or translations, unless the brief notes of the *Revelation of Peter*, by Clement of Alexandria, should merit exception. So wide was the contrast between the true and the false; so easily were the true Scriptures distinguished from all unauthorized pretenders to that honorable name.

But this is capable of being exhibited still more impressively. We have stated several important evidences of *authenticity*, all of which are found in

* 6 Paley's Evidences.

the New Testament, and none in any of the apocryphal writings. We will now exhibit certain evidences of *spuriousness*, all of which are found in the apocryphal writings, and none in those of the New Testament. The reasons which render the authenticity of a work suspicious are thus enumerated in the learned *Introduction to the New Testament* by *Michaelis*: 1. When doubts have been entertained, from its first appearance, whether it was the work of its reputed author. 2. When his immediate friends, who were able to judge, have denied it to be his. 3. When a long series of years has elapsed after his death, in which the book was unknown, and in which it must have been mentioned or quoted, had it been in existence. 4. When the style is different from that of his other writings; or in case no others remain, different from what might be reasonably expected. 5. When events are recorded which happened later than the time of the pretended author. 6. When opinions are advanced contradictory to those which he is known to have maintained in other writings.* Now it may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that the apocryphal books exhibit all these evidences of spuriousness; none of them being exempt from nearly the whole list, and few of them deficient in any particular. While, with equal confidence, it is asserted that the books of the New Testament exhibit none of them. In no book of that holy volume are opinions professed that are contradictory to any which the reputed author is known elsewhere to have maintained; nor are facts recorded which happened later than the age in which he lived; nor is the style different from that of his other writings, or from what might reasonably have been expected from his pen. No book of the New Testament was unknown during a long series of years subsequent to the death of the individual to whom it is ascribed; none can be shown to have been denied by the near friends of the reputed author as his production; no doubts can be proved to have been entertained of the authenticity of any part of the New Testament at the time of its first publication.

That apocryphal writings existed in the first centuries is a fact which, so far from embarrassing the evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament books, and the truth of the gospel history, very materially confirms it. Had it not been notorious that the Apostles did write gospels and epistles, it is not likely that so many would have attempted to pass off spurious gospels, etc., in their names. Had it not been that the fame of Christ and his Apostles was very great in all lands, from the beginning, it is not probable that all these apocryphal authors would have thought of writing about them, or in their names; much less that they would have expected a market for their works. Had it not been notorious and universally allowed that Christ and his Apostles wrought miracles, and did many wonderful works, it is not probable that all these writers would have taken it for granted, and sought to build up their particular opinions upon the assumption. "They all suppose the dignity of our Lord's person, and a power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, as having been conveyed by him to his Apostles." †

* *Michaelis's Int.*, i. p. 25.

† *Lardner*, iii. 131.

That apocryphal books should have been published in the name of the Apostles is precisely what was to be expected from the wide circulation, great popularity, and eminent reverence, which their authentic writings had obtained. Current notes soon awaken a disposition to counterfeit them. Popular medicines soon bring into the market apocryphal inventions wearing their names. The effort to pass off the latter is the best proof of the estimation of the former.

The New Testament writers have been treated, in this respect, precisely like others. So writes Augustine: "No writings ever had a better testimony afforded them than those of the Apostles and Evangelists; nor does it weaken the credit and authority of books received by the Church from the beginning, that some other writings have been without ground, and falsely, ascribed to the Apostles; for the like has happened, for instance, to Hippocrates; but yet his genuine works have been distinguished from others, which have been published under his name."* Such, also, has been the case with many others. Several spurious orations were published under the names of Lysias and Demosthenes. Works were ascribed to Plautus, and Virgil, and Horace, which had no title to their names. But it was no difficult matter for the Greek and Roman critics to separate the genuine from the apocryphal works of those authors. Thus it was also with the early Christians. *They proved all things, and held fast that only which was good.* "We receive Peter and the other Apostles, as Christ," said Serapion, bishop of Antioch; "but as skilful men, we reject those writings which are falsely ascribed to them."

There is a lesson for the believer, in what has been exhibited, of great practical interest. It is manifest, from the testimonies adduced, that the Scriptures of the New Testament were treated, among the primitive Christians, not only as true and possessed of inspired authority, in reference to all questions of doctrine and obedience, but as very precious, "more to be desired than gold." They loved them as an inestimable treasure; they kept them, consulted them, and exalted them in their hearts, and houses, and assemblies, as a companion for every trial, a guide in every difficulty, a gift of God, for the preservation and honor of which they were ready to shed their blood. They felt them to be "profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." How does all this rebuke the lukewarmness with which the Scriptures are regarded by too many professing Christians of the present day. In primitive times, believers would read them, though they paid for the privilege with their lives. In these days, multitudes who call themselves believers can hardly be persuaded to search the Scriptures, though every facility is afforded, and the Bible is in honor. What a tremendous account must he give to God who neglects His word! Let us imitate not only the affectionate devotion with which the primitive Christians read the Bible, but also the diligent zeal with which they surmounted innumerable obstacles, in circulating copies of its books through the world. We possess facilities for such an object which they had not. The press is placed in our hands for this very purpose. It is our gift of tongues. Let us realize

* Lardner, iii. 134.

the responsibility we are under, for the improvement of so rich a talent; and speed its work, and multiply its branches of application, till the sound of the gospel has gone out into all the earth, and the words of Jesus to the ends of the world; and there is nothing hid from the light thereof.

CHAPTER II.

FROM the whole tenor of the preceding chapter it is evident that the *canon of the New Testament*—in other words, the collection of those books which were considered as the inspired and authoritative writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, to the exclusion of all others—*was not made without great care and the most deliberate, intelligent investigation.* Such is the witnessing of an eminent writer of the fourth century. “Our canonical books,” says Augustine, “which are of the highest authority among us, *have been settled with great care*: they ought to be few, lest their value should be diminished; and yet they are so many, and written by so many persons, that their agreement, throughout, is wonderful.”* The method pursued by the early Christians in determining what books had a just claim to the character of canonical Scriptures was precisely that by which we have been investigating the same subject. It was not enough, for the reception of a writing, that it came to them under the name of an apostle, and was considered by some as justly entitled to that honor. Its descent was carefully traced. How was it regarded by the preceding generation, and by the generation before that? Was it known by those who lived nearest the time and the person associated with its claims? Had it been received by the churches; referred to and quoted, as possessing canonical authority, by Christian writers since the period of its general publication? Had it been handed down by the general and concurrent tradition of the Church, written and unwritten, as the work of the writer whose name it bears? Such was the mode which, we know from the remaining works of Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Cyril, and Augustine, etc., was employed in their days, and in all times of the primitive Church. “The books of the canonical Scriptures,” says Augustine, “established in the times of the Apostles, and confirmed by the testimony of the succession of bishops and churches, in all following times, are placed in a peculiar degree of authority, to which the judgment and understanding of all pious men are subject.”

The numerous catalogues which have descended to us from the early centuries, are sufficient evidence of the care with which the canon of the New Testament was settled. In primitive times, when, from a variety of causes, spurious books abounded, and the distant and scattered churches, incapable

* Lardner, ii. 596.

of much intercourse with those near the centre of Christian light, were most liable to be deceived, these catalogues were of the greatest importance. How numerous they must have been may be, in some wise, conceived from the fact that, although a very small portion only of the works of the first four centuries are extant, there are among them not less than thirteen independent catalogues, all of them composed by authors scattered over only about one hundred and eighty, out of the first four hundred years after the birth of Christ.

The same care is seen in the pains that were taken to obtain the most exact information as to the authenticity of the books bearing apostolic names, as well as from the decisive censure and aversion with which an attempt to pass a spurious work upon the Church was visited. Pious and learned heads of the churches used to journey to Palestine, and reside there for a considerable length of time, for the express object of obtaining whatever valuable knowledge might be found there as to the New Testament writings. And of the treatment bestowed upon attempted forgeries, we have an example in the case of a certain presbyter of Asia, soon after the death of St. John, who published a book, which is still extant, under the title of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The attempt at imposition was charged upon the author, and confessed. Whereupon he was degraded from his office, and the whole matter was notified to the churches, that they might feel the need of the strictest care thereafter.*

The gradual steps by which the books of the New Testament were multiplied to their present number, afforded the best opportunity for a careful and accurate determination of their authenticity. Had they all appeared at once, claiming, in their collective form, to be received by the churches as inspired Scripture, the attention of Christians being thus divided among twenty-seven independent writings which professed to have been written by eight different authors, the diligence of their investigation would have been also divided, its accuracy would have been endangered, and the opportunity of imposition greatly increased. But such was not the case. The books of the New Testament were published singly. They came before the churches, one by one, with considerable intervals between them, thus giving time for the claims of each to be deliberately and singly examined. The Epistle to the Romans appeared at the bar of the Church in the city of Rome, and had its authority as a writing of St. Paul determined, without embarrassment from any question as to the authenticity of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The Ephesians received the epistle directed to them, and could sit in judgment upon its claims, without any necessity of deciding, at that time, upon the authenticity of the Epistle to the Romans, or Corinthians, or Philippians. Thus were there several years between the beginning and completion of the canon of the New Testament. For a little while, a portion of the Church might possess an additional book, which a distant region, on account of the difficulty of multiplying and transmitting copies, would not have

* Lardner, i. 435.

received. It may have been a period of some years before a church in the distant parts of Asia received and was enabled satisfactorily to authenticate the Epistle to the Romans. Meanwhile the canon of Scripture might be composed of more books at Rome than as the Church supposed.

How long this state of things continued, or when precisely the canon was closed, is a question rather of curiosity than of importance, the authenticity and canonical character of any particular book being independent of its determination. We know that the principal parts of the New Testament were collected before the death of St. John, or at least not long subsequent to that event. But what individual, or what assemblage of persons, collected them, *where*, and precisely *when*, the work was done, we may indulge in plausible conjecture, but cannot certainly ascertain. But what connection have such matters with the question of apostolic origin? If the Epistle to the Romans, or the gospel of Matthew was written by the disciple whose name it bears, it surely matters little when it became the companion of other authentic books in the formation of a separate volume, or who arranged its place in that volume, or when an assemblage of Christian fathers inserted its name in a catalogue, and published it to the churches as a canonical writing. It was canonical as soon as it was composed. It was a part of the New Testament from the moment of its birth. Had the books of Scripture never been collected into a volume, but kept in separation, as they were first published, to the present time, although their preservation would have been more difficult, their authority would have been the same, and the canon of the New Testament complete. Had no father of the Church, nor any ecclesiastical council ever issued a declaration of opinion as to what writings should be included in the list of canonical Scriptures, we should have wanted indeed much valuable testimony now possessed from such sources; but the essential claim of each inspired book to a place in the canon would have remained unaltered. To substantiate the title of any portion of the New Testament to so honorable a place, we need only the proof that it was written by the Apostle or Evangelist to whom it is ascribed. For this we require the testimony of primitive antiquity. So far as the opinion of ancient councils or authors is deserving of attention, as a matter of testimony, it is of value in the settlement of the canon, and in this view, such opinion is unquestionably of the highest importance; and what we have already exhibited of this kind deserves the greatest consideration. But the point to be especially noted is that the proof of *authenticity* in the subject before us, is the proof of *canonical authority* that the canon began when the first gospel or epistle was published, that it increased with every additional publication by inspired men, and was complete and closed the moment the last writing of the New Testament was issued to the churches, though at the same time but few of them may have been acquainted with it, no ecclesiastical assembly may have sanctioned it, and no union had been made with other inspired books, so as to present them to the churches as a collection of canonical writings, under the general name of the New Testament.

As to the arrangement of these books in a single volume, it must have

been a work of time, according to the relative situation and intercourse of any particular region of Christianity. "Those churches which were situated nearest to the place where any particular books were published would, of course, obtain copies much earlier than churches in remote parts of the world. For a considerable period the collection of these books in each church must have been necessarily incomplete, for it would take some time to send to the church or people with whom the autographs were deposited, and to write off fair copies. This necessary process will also account for the fact, that some of the smaller books were not received by the churches so early nor universally as the larger. The solicitude of the churches to possess immediately the more extensive books of the New Testament would doubtless induce them to make a great exertion to acquire copies; but probably the smaller would not be so much spoken of, nor would there be so strong a desire to obtain them without delay. Considering how difficult it is now, with all our improvements in the typographical art, to multiply copies of the Scriptures with sufficient rapidity, it is truly wonderful how so many churches as were founded during the first century, to say nothing of individuals, could all be supplied with copies of the New Testament, when there was no speedier method of producing them than by writing every letter with the pen. Even as early as the time when Peter wrote his second epistle, the writings of Paul were in the hands of the churches, and were classed with the other Scriptures.* And the citation from these books by the earliest Christian writers, living in different countries, demonstrates that, from the time of their publication, they were sought after with avidity, and were widely dispersed." "How intense the interest which the first Christians felt in the writings of the Apostles can scarcely be conceived by us, who have been familiar with these books from our earliest years. How solicitous would they be, for example, who had never seen Paul, but had heard of his wonderful conversion and extraordinary labors and gifts, to read his writings? And probably they who had enjoyed the high privilege of hearing this Apostle preach would not be less desirous of reading his epistles! As we know from the nature of the case, as well as from testimony, that many uncertain accounts of Christ's discourses and miracles had obtained circulation, how greatly would the primitive Christians rejoice to obtain an authentic history from the pen of an apostle, or from one who wrote precisely what was dictated by an apostle? We need no longer wonder, therefore, that every church should wish to possess a collection of the writings of the Apostles; and knowing them to be the productions of inspired men, they would want no further sanction of their authority. All that was requisite, was to be certain that the book was indeed written by the apostle whose name it bore."† Hence the care of St. Paul, as he commonly wrote by an amanuensis, to have the salutation in his own hand, or to annex his signature; as, for example, in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: "*The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle: so I write.*" Hence,

* 2 Peter iii. 14, 15.

† Alexander on the Canon, p. 138, etc.

also, the care so often manifest in the epistles to designate those by name to whom the office of carrying them, whither they were addressed, was intrusted.

From the authorities quoted in the previous lecture, it must be full in your recollection, that, while the agreement of the ancient churches may be considered to have been complete, so far as is important to the argument for the divine origin of Christianity, still there was a difference of opinion as to the authenticity and canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews; of the Epistle of James; the second of Peter; the second and third of John; the Epistle of Jude; and the book of Revelation. This diversity was not, by any means, so great or important as some suppose. Had it not been for the great care and candor of those early Christians, from whom we learn the fact, it would have seemed of too limited an extent, and too inconsiderable in its origin, to merit any more than a very transient notice in their writings. But we have no reason to regret the publicity they have given it. They have thus put into our hands a very strong proof of the discriminating care and jealous vigilance with which the primitive churches investigated the title of any book to admission into the canon of the New Testament. That some were doubted, though afterwards universally acknowledged, exhibits in a very strong light the certain authenticity of all those of which there was never a question.

The canonical authority of the six epistles above named, as well as of the Apocalypse, has no material connection with the argument of the ensuing lectures. The evidence of the Divine origin and revelation of Christianity is entirely independent of the question of their authenticity. Should we acknowledge them to be spurious, no point of Christian doctrine or duty would be removed, no gospel truth would be shaken, no evidence of Divine revelation would be diminished. To vindicate their authenticity cannot, therefore, be required of a lecturer on the evidences of Christianity. It is the appropriate office of the biblical critic, and belongs to discussions on the canon of Scripture, and to the prolegomena of a commentary, instead of the course we are now pursuing. But lest the mere statement of the fact that doubts were once entertained as to the authenticity of these writings, should leave on some minds an impression unfavorable to their character, as inspired Scriptures, it will be well to bestow a moment's attention to the amount of importance to which those doubts are justly entitled.

With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, no question was entertained as to its being the work of St. Paul, among the churches of the earlier centuries, except those of the Latin Christians. The fact that the Arians were the first in the Greek churches who are said to have denied that it was written by Paul, is an important testimony in its favor. The objections of the Latins did not pretend to any ecclesiastical tradition, or any authority of earlier churches, in opposition to its Pauline origin; but were based entirely on its internal character, and especially on the handle which the fourth and fifth verses of the sixth chapter seemed to afford the sect of the Montanists, in vindication of their prominent doctrine, that those guilty of grievous

transgressions should be irrevocably cut off from the Church. Hence it was that Jerome and Augustine, though of the Latins, could not adopt the opinions held by many of their contemporaries, being convinced of their incorrectness, by the testimony of the ancient churches to the authenticity of the epistle.

It should be remarked, that all those who questioned the canonical authority of this epistle, treated it with high respect as a Christian and very ancient writing of the apostolic age, if not by an apostle's hand. They ascribed it either to Barnabas or Clement. But for this they had no testimony to appeal to. On the contrary, the testimony of the earliest Christian writers is very decidedly for St. Paul. The fathers of the Greek church unanimously ascribed it to him. Jerome, of the fourth century, testifies that it was received as a production of that apostle, not only by the Eastern churches, but by *all the Greek ecclesiastical writers*. "I receive it," said he, "as genuine — guided by the authority of the ancient writers." Eusebius, the historian of the Church of the fourth century, quotes it as the work of St. Paul, and says it had, not without reason, been reckoned among the writings of the Apostle. Theodoret positively asserts that Eusebius received this epistle as St. Paul's, and that he manifested that almost all the *ancients* were of the same opinion. Augustine said "he followed the opinion of the churches of the East, who received it among the canonical Scriptures." Origen, born A. D. 184, expresses his opinion that "it was not without cause that the *ancients* (i. e., the immediate successors of the Apostles) regarded this as an Epistle of Paul." The internal evidence is decidedly in favor of its having been written by that apostle. The salutation from the Jewish Christians who had been driven out of Italy (Heb. xiii. 24), and the mention of Timothy as his fellow-traveller (xiii. 23), are very applicable to Paul. Not only does the general scope of this epistle tend to the same point on which so much stress is laid in his other writings, that we are justified only by faith in Christ, and that the works and institutions of the law are of no avail to our salvation; but there are also various propositions found in it which are conspicuous in his other works. The same characteristic warmth and energy of expression appear in this as in all writings ascribed in the New Testament to the pen of St. Paul. Hebraisms abound in it as in his other epistles. It contains particular expressions, phrases, and collocations of words, which are either peculiar to him, or are most frequent in his compositions.* But as this is not the place to do justice to a question of so much importance, and yet not material to the argument of these lectures, I must refer you, for further knowledge and satisfaction, to the learned and complete work of Professor Stuart, of Andover, on the Epistle to the Hebrews, or to an excellent article in the "Biblical Notes and Dissertations," recently from the pen of Joseph John Gurney, of the Society of Friends, in England.

The Epistle of James, being addressed to Jewish believers, was for some time, to a considerable extent, unknown to the Gentile Christians. While

* Schmucker's Translation of Storr and Flatt's Biblical Theology.

this was the case, its authenticity was questioned, or rather was not certified among the Gentiles. As soon as this ceased to be the case, its authenticity was undoubted. It is of great importance to the character of this epistle that, in the Syriac version, made at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, while the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Apocalypse, are omitted, the Epistle of James, written particularly to the people for whom the version was made, is included and placed on an equality with all those books about which there was never a question in the Church. In proportion as it became known among the Gentile Christians, it passed through a severe and accurate scrutiny, till, in a short time, it was universally received, and has ever since been universally honored, as an authentic and inspired portion of the oracles of God.

With regard to the remaining epistles, concerning the authenticity of which doubts were for a while entertained, it will suffice to remark in this place, that the fact of their not having been immediately recognized throughout the Church as the works of the Apostles, only shows that the persons who were in doubt had not yet received sufficient information to make up their judgment; and that the primitive Christians, so far from being so greedy after additions to the sacred canon as to be easily deceived by a plausible pretension to apostolic origin, were extremely deliberate and cautious in examining every candidate for admission into the catalogue of Scripture. Such being the case, the subsequent reception of these epistles, as soon as full time was given them to be universally circulated and known, is perfect proof that they were capable of enduring the most trying investigation of their inspired origin, and were honored with a unanimous verdict as the veritable writings of those to whom they were ascribed, and as part and parcel of the Word of God. The reader may find abundant satisfaction with regard to them in Dr. Alexander's excellent work on the canon of Scripture.

It has been stated that at one period doubts were entertained in the churches as to the authenticity of the book of Revelation. Those doubts imply no deficiency of testimony. Until the fourth century, the character of this book was undoubted, and its authority was universally acknowledged; only one writer questioning whether John the evangelist was its author, and even he admitting that it was written by inspiration of God. About the commencement of the fourth century, the Millenarian controversy having arisen and distracted the churches, and the mysterious character of the book having been extensively employed in the support of new and extravagant doctrines, its character declined; and without any reference to testimony in the case, its authenticity was by some, though by no means universally, or for a long time, brought into question. Thus Eusebius, of that century, after having given a catalogue of the books universally acknowledged, writes: "After these, if it be thought fit, may be placed the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper time." And in another place: "There are, concerning this book, different opinions." "This is the first doubt expressed by any respectable writer, con-

cerning the canonical authority of this book ; and Eusebius did not reject it, but would have placed it next after those which were received with universal consent. And we find, at this very time, the most learned and judicious of the fathers received the Revelation without scruple, and annexed it to their catalogues of the books of the New Testament."* It is of no small importance that a book so full of evidence against the heresies of the celebrated Dr. Priestley, should have received from his pen the following testimony : "This book of Revelation, I have no doubt, was written by the Apostle John. Sir Isaac Newton, with great truth, says, *he does not find any other book of the New Testament so strongly attested, or commented upon so early as this.* Indeed, I think it impossible for any intelligent and candid person to peruse it without being struck, in the most forcible manner, with the peculiar dignity and sublimity of its composition, superior to that of any other writing whatever ; so as to be convinced that, considering the age in which it appeared, none but a person divinely inspired could have written it."† It is true, and at first may seem surprising, that while a majority of the ancient catalogues contain this book, there are many in which it is omitted ; though it is known that the authors of some of these acknowledged its authenticity. The omissions are satisfactorily explained by the consideration that the object of these catalogues was the guidance of the people in reading the Scriptures ; and since the mysteriousness of this book and the use made of it, on the side of the Millenarian errors, when the catalogues were chiefly composed, seemed to render it inexpedient that it should be as generally read as the other Scriptures, its name was excluded from several lists of books for universal use, without any intention of pronouncing upon its canonical character.

Having now exhibited satisfactory evidence of the authenticity of all the books of the New Testament, he it remarked that, while every part of the sacred volume is of inspired authority, and therefore of such importance as that no man can take away from it, or add unto it without heinous offence against God ; still the argument for the divine mission of Jesus, and for the divine origin of Christianity, depends chiefly upon *the historical portions*, and would exhibit no deficiency were no attention paid to the authenticity of the others. In what remains to be said, by way of addition to the various and unequalled evidence already adduced, we shall have a view particularly to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.

The testimony of the adversaries of Christianity.

It may be said, with some appearance of a plausible objection to the testimony hitherto produced, that it is all derived, either from the devoted friends of the gospel, or else from those who professed to be its disciples. Is there no testimony from enemies ? The books of the New Testament were widely circulated ; Christian advocates, in their controversies with the heathen, freely appealed to them ; heathens, in their works of attack and defence, must have spoken of them. In what light did they regard them ? Did they ascribe them to their reputed authors, or question their authenticity ?

* Alexander on the Canon.

† Priestley's Notes on Scripture.

Now we do not grant that the testimony already produced is justly liable to the least disparagement on account of its having been derived exclusively from the friends of Christ. That certain ancients *believed* the facts contained in Cæsar's Commentaries has never been supposed to diminish the value of their testimony to the authenticity of that work. We will take occasion, by and by, to show that the very fact that an early witness to the New Testament history was not an enemy, but a friend, of the gospel, and had become a friend from having been once an enemy, is just the ingredient in his testimony that gives it peculiar conclusiveness. Still, however, we are under no temptation to undervalue the importance of an appeal to the opinions of adversaries. Let us inquire of enemies as well as friends — and first of *Julian*.

Julian, the emperor, united intelligence, learning, and power, with a persecuting zeal, in a resolute effort to root out Christianity. In the year 361, he composed a work against its claims. We may be well assured that if anything could have been said against the authenticity of its books, he would have used it. His work is not extant; but from long extracts, found in the answer by Cyril, a few years after, as well as from the statements of his opinions and arguments by this writer, it is unquestionable that Julian bore witness to the authenticity of the four gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles. He concedes, and argues from, their early date; quotes them by name as the genuine works of their reputed authors; proceeds upon the supposition, as a thing undeniable, that they were the only historical books which Christians received as canonical — the only authentic narratives of Christ and his apostles, and of the doctrine they delivered. He has also quoted, or plainly referred to, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and nowhere insinuates that the authenticity of any portion of the New Testament could reasonably be questioned.* Let us ascend a little higher.

Hierocles, president of Bithynia, and a learned man, of about the year 303, united with a cruel persecution of Christians, the publication of a book against Christianity, in which, instead of issuing even the least suspicion that the New Testament was not written by those to whom its several parts were ascribed, he confines his effort to the hunt of internal flaws and contradictions. Besides this tacit acknowledgment, his work, or the extracts of it that remain, refer to, at least, six out of the eight writers of the books of the New Testament.† Let us ascend still higher.

Porphyry, universally allowed to have been the most severe and formidable adversary in all primitive antiquity, wrote, about the year 270, a work against Christianity. It is evident that he was well acquainted with the New Testament. In the little that has been preserved of his writings, there are plain references to the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Galatians.‡ Speaking of Christians, he calls Matthew *their* evangelist. "He possessed every advantage which natural abilities or political situation could afford, to discover whether the New Tes-

* Lardner, iv. 341.

† Ib. iv. 259.

‡ Ib., iv. 234.

tament was a genuine work of the apostles and Evangelists, or whether it was imposed upon the world after the decease of its pretended authors. But no trace of this suspicion is anywhere to be found; nor did it ever occur to Porphyry to suppose that it was spurious.* How well this ingenious writer understood the value of an argument against the authenticity of a book of Scripture, and how greedily he would have enlisted it in his war against Christianity, could he have found such a weapon, is evident from his well-known effort to escape the prophetic inspiration of the book of Daniel, by denying that it was written in the times of that prophet. We may ascend still higher.

Celsus, esteemed a man of learning among the ancients, and a wonderful philosopher among modern infidels, wrote a labored argument against the Christians. He flourished in the year 176, or about *seventy-six years after the death of St. John*. None can accuse him of a want of zeal to ruin Christianity. None can complain against his testimony as deficient in antiquity. An industrious, ingenious, learned adversary of that age must have known whatever was suspicious in the authorship of the New Testament writings. His book entitled "*The True Word*," is unhappily lost, but in the answer, composed by Origen, the extracts from it are so large, that it is difficult to find of any ancient book, not extant, more extensive remains. The author quotes, from the gospels, such a variety of particulars, even in these fragments, that the enumeration would prove almost an abridgment of the gospel narrative.† Origen has noticed in them about eighty quotations from the books of the New Testament, or references to them. Among these there is abundant evidence that Celsus was acquainted with the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John. Several of Paul's epistles are alluded to. His whole argument proceeds upon the concession that the Christian Scriptures were the works of the authors to whom they were ascribed. Such a thing as a suspicion to the contrary is not breathed; and yet no man ever wrote against Christianity with greater virulence. Hence it appears, "by the testimony of one of the most malicious adversaries the Christian religion ever had, and who was also a man of considerable parts and learning, that the writings of the Evangelists were extant in his time, which was the next century to that in which the Apostles lived; and that those accounts were written by Christ's own disciples, and, consequently, in the very age in which the facts there related, were done, and when, therefore, it would have been the easiest thing in the world to have convicted them of falsehood, if they had not been true."‡ "Who can forbear," says the devout Doddridge, "adoring the depth of Divine wisdom, in laying up such a firm foundation of our faith in the gospel history, in the writings of one who was so inveterate an enemy to it, and so indefatigable in his attempts to overthrow it."§ Who, I will add, can help the acknowledgment that in Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and Julian — all of them learned controversialists, as well as devoted opponents and per-

* Marsh's *Michaelis*, i. 43.

† Doddridge, in Lardner, iv. 145, 147.

‡ Answer to "*Christianity as Old as the Creation*," by Leland, vol. ii. c. v. p. 150-154.

§ Doddridge, in Lardner, iv. 147.

secutors of Christians, extending their testimony from the seventieth year after the last of the Apostles to the year of our Lord 361 — every reasonable demand for the testimony of enemies is fully met, and a gracious Providence has perfected the external evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament?

We proceed to confirm the abounding proof already adduced by a brief reference to *the language and style of the New Testament*.

I. *The language and style are in perfect accordance with the local and other circumstances of the reputed writers.* They were Jews by birth, Jews by education, Jews by numerous and strong attachments, Jews in all their associations of thought and feeling. Jews were, in great part, the persons to whom they wrote. Jewish prejudices, objections, and peculiarities were, to a great extent, the obstacles in their way. The religious and political institutions of the Jewish nation, though perfectly exterminated in a few years after they wrote, were in full establishment till after the death of all of them except St. John. Hence it is reasonably expected that Jewish peculiarities should be found frequently and broadly stamped upon any writings truly professing to have proceeded from their pens. Such, notoriously, is the case with the writings of the New Testament. None but Jews could have composed them. None but Jews who lived before the destruction of their temple, and city, and polity, and nation, could have cast them in their present mould, or marked them with all those indescribable and inimitable touches of a Jewish hand, which their style and language everywhere exhibit. The use of words and phrases which are known to have been peculiar to Judæa in the times of the Apostles, the continual, familiar, and natural allusions to the ceremonies and temple service of the Jews, as then existing, and which soon passed away; the universal prevalence of a mode of thinking and of expression, which none but a Jew, brought up under the Old Testament, always accustomed to think of religion through the types and shadows of the law, and reared amid the usages, prejudices, associations, and errors of the Jewish people, as subsisting in the times of the Apostles, could have introduced without awkwardness and obvious forgery, all bear decided witness, not only that the writers of the New Testament were Jews originally, in every sense, but that they must have formed their habits of thinking, feeling, and writing, *before the destruction of the Jewish state; in other words before the fortieth year after the death of Christ.* From that time, so entirely was every vestige of the religion and polity of the Jews destroyed, that, except among those whose minds had been moulded under pre-existing circumstances, the writing of a book in the language and style, and abounding in the peculiarities of the New Testament, would have been, at least, next to impossible.

This conclusion will appear the more inevitable when you consider the characteristic features by which the Greek of the New Testament is distinguished. In the times of the Apostles, Greek was almost a universal language. It was spread over all Palestine. The Jewish coast, on the Mediterranean, was occupied by cities, either wholly, or half Greek. On the eastern border of the land, from the Arnon upwards, towards the north, the

cities were Greek, and towards the south, in possession of the Greeks. Several cities of Judæa and Galilee were either entirely, or, at least, half peopled by Greeks. "Being thus favored on all sides, this language was spread, by means of traffic and intercourse, through all classes, so that the people (though with many exceptions), considered generally, understood it, although they adhered more to their own language."* But the Greek, thus spoken in Palestine, was not like that of Attica, nor of the cities of Asia Minor; but having become degenerated, in consequence of its associations with people whose native tongue was Hebrew, by means of Chaldee and Syriac intermixtures, into Western Aramean, it contained a large share of the idioms and other peculiarities belonging to this heterogeneous neighbor. Such was the language in which the Apostles must have written. Now, if *the books of the New Testament be their writings*, they must contain the characteristic features of that Palestine Greek. Such is most manifestly the case. These books are in Greek, but not pure and classic, such as a native and educated Grecian would have written; but in *Hebraic* Greek, in a language mixed up with the words and idioms of that peculiar dialect of the Hebrew which constituted the vernacular tongue of the inhabitants of Judæa and Galilee in the age of the Apostles. Had it been otherwise, were the language of the New Testament pure and classic, then the writers must have been either native and educated Grecians, or else Jews, of much more Attic cultivation than the Apostles of Christ. In either case a suspicion would attach to the authenticity of our sacred books. Neither case being true, the evidence of authenticity is materially confirmed.

But we go further. The Greek of the New Testament could not have been written by men who had learned their language after the age of the Apostles. This mingling of Grecian and Aramean, as it is preserved in the New Testament, ceased to be the familiar tongue of Christians in Palestine before the death of St. John. When Jerusalem, with the whole civil and religious polity of the Jews, was, in the seventieth year of the Christian era, entirely destroyed, and the descendants of Abraham were rooted out of the land, and foreigners came in from all quarters to take their places, the language of the country underwent such a change that, except with the scattered few who had survived the desolation of their country, the Greek of the New Testament was no more a living language. When St. John died, there was probably not a man alive who could speak or write precisely that tongue. In the second century, an attempt to compose a book in the name of the Apostles, and in imitation of their Greek, would have been detected as easily as if a full-bred Frenchman, never out of France, should attempt to compose a volume in a dialect of English, and endeavor to pass it off as the work of a plain, sensible, but unpolished Yorkshireman. Hence, while doubts were entertained for a while, in some parts of the Church, as to the authenticity of some portions of the New Testament, it was never doubted whether they were written by men who had lived when the Greek of Palestine, as it had been in the apostolic age, was yet alive.

* Hug, on the Greek Languages in Palestine. — *Bib. Repository*, No. III., Andover.

II. *The language and style of the New Testament are in perfect harmony with the known characters of the reputed writers.* The Apostles and Evangelists were men of plain, sound understanding, but without any polish of education, and not likely to adorn their writings with much rhetorical dress. Paul, the only exception to this character, was well read in Jewish, and, we have reason to believe, in Grecian literature. From other sources besides the New Testament, we are informed of certain peculiarities of natural character, as having distinguished some of those to whom the books of the New Testament are ascribed. John, for example, is always represented in ecclesiastical history as having been remarkable for meekness and gentleness, and a manner and spirit full of mild affection. Paul we always read of as characterized by prompt, energetic zeal and animated boldness. If the books bearing their names were written by those Apostles, we must expect to find in them the distinctive stamp of their respective characters. So it is. In the historical books, *none of which the educated Paul composed*, there is no ornament of style, but merely the simplicity and directness of plain, sensible men, honestly relating what they familiarly knew, and disregarding style in their intentness upon truth. In the epistles of Paul, however, the case is entirely different. There we behold the style of a writer brought up in the schools, though obviously in the schools of Judæa. Accustomed to writing and to argument, he reasons precisely as we should expect of Saul of Tarsus, after having been educated at the feet of Gamaliel, and arrested by Divine power and grace on the road to Damascus, and made to "count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ." Everywhere in the epistles bearing his name are written the strong characters of the peculiar zeal and boldness, as well as education, that belonged to Paul; while throughout the writings ascribed to John there breathes the sweet spirit of gentleness and tender affection so characteristic of "that disciple whom Jesus loved." Similar statements might be made with regard to other writers of the New Testament, in proportion as their peculiarities of temperament are known and conspicuous.

From all that has now been said, it may easily be made to appear, that if the historical books of the New Testament, *the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles*, on which our subsequent argument will chiefly depend, be not authentic—in plainer terms, if they be forgeries, *nothing less than a miracle can account for their early and universal currency.* Remember that John lived to the end of the *first century*. It cannot be supposed that books, falsely pretending to have been written by those very Evangelists, with whom he had been so intimately associated, and one of them professing to have been written by himself, could have gained a reputable currency in the churches while he lived. He certainly knew what he and the other Evangelists had published; and no motive can be assigned that could have induced him to suffer a forgery to pass unexposed. We conclude, therefore, that if these books be not authentic, they must have been palmed on the churches after the death of John; that is, after the beginning of the *second century*. Suppose we descend to the *third*. Can it be imagined that the deception was introduced after this cen-

tury commenced? Impossible; since by this time, the books in question were read, every Lord's day, in all the churches; quoted by writers of all countries; universally received as the oracles of God. If a deception was introduced at all, it was brought in somewhat between the death of John and the third century—somewhere in the course of the *second*. Now, to obtain a clearer view of the difficulties which such an attempt must have had to overcome, let it be supposed that during the present year, a volume containing a digest of laws, under the title of "*Laws of the city of New York,*" should appear among us, pretending to be a code of municipal regulations, composed, about seventy years ago, by a few of the most distinguished inhabitants of that period; and to have been received by the citizens, and appealed to in their municipal courts ever since, as the book of the laws of that city; claiming, moreover, to be acknowledged and obeyed by the present generation as the very code inherited from their fathers. What would be its chance? A moral impossibility would prevent its success. Nothing but lunacy would undertake such a scheme. It would be enough for lawyers and judges and people to say: "It was never heard of before. It has never been known in our courts." But this is only a feeble illustration of the case before us. If the books in question were forged in the name of the Evangelists, you must suppose, that at some period, within a hundred years of St. John, while many were living who had either known him personally or conversed with those who did enjoy that privilege, a volume appeared among the churches, differing widely from those books which, as works of the Evangelists, they had received and read from the beginning, and yet demanding to be considered as nothing more nor less than those very works. You must suppose the abettors of the imposition to have said to the various nations of Christians: "These are the genuine gospels in which you were educated; which your fathers died for; which your persecutors endeavored to destroy, and your martyrs labored to save; which have been daily read in your families, expounded in your churches, quoted in your writings, and appealed to in all your controversies with heretics and enemies." And yet it must be supposed that Christians, notwithstanding their notorious love for the writings of the Evangelists, and their great care in preserving them, were so easily and universally imposed on, as never to perceive that these fraudulent works, instead of having been expounded, and read and quoted, and appealed to in all their churches, had never been heard of before. You have to suppose, moreover, that while Christianity was surrounded on all sides and opposed at every step by keen-sighted and determined enemies—Jews, on the one hand, with all their cunning—Greeks and Romans on the other, with all their skill and power, ever watching, accusing, and persecuting—none of them ever pretended to the discovery that these books, so fraudulently introduced, were not those which the Apostles wrote and Christians had always read; but all believed them to be the identical writings to which the churches had invariably referred as the law and the testimony.

You must go still further, and suppose that, notwithstanding the wide publicity which the genuine works of the Apostles had obtained among the

primitive churches, so immediately did these spurious productions expel them from the notice and recollection of all people, that no interval is known during which the question between the two conflicting volumes was so much as even debated. Instantly, (you must suppose,) that the spurious were treated everywhere with the reverence belonging to inspired books; that though divers sects of heresies were starting up in various parts, all recognized their authority; that the churches of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Colosse, Philippi, Galatia, and Thessalonica, all believed that these several epistles, falsely pretending to have come to them from St. Paul, were those very ones, the autographs of which were then in their possession, and copies of which they had been continually reading in public from the time the originals were received from the Apostle. Lastly, it must be supposed, that so perfect was the forgery, that although every weapon and artifice that wit, and learning, and power, could contrive, has been employed, during eighteen hundred years, for the single purpose of undermining the foundations of Christianity, no laborer in the cause has yet succeeded in picking a flaw in the authenticity of its books. He that can digest all this for the purpose of maintaining that our sacred writings are not authentic, can swallow the most abject absurdity. He supposes an endless succession of miracles wrought upon innumerable minds for the promotion of imposture. He believes the laws of nature to have been continually violated, under the government of a holy God, to countenance unrighteousness. In sustaining this belief, he must adopt a principle with regard to miracles, the boldness and novelty of which even Hume would have been jealous of. *He* was so modest as only to maintain that *no testimony can prove a miracle*. Here, however, the sceptic must maintain that the most absurd miracle can be proved, not only without any testimony, but *against all testimony*.

Enough has now been said to enable you to judge whether the learning or the honesty of the miserable Paine is most to be admired, when he says: "Those who are not much acquainted with ecclesiastical history may suppose that the book called the New Testament has existed ever since the time of Jesus Christ; but the fact is historically otherwise. *There was no such book as the New Testament till more than three hundred years after the time that Christ is said to have lived.*" Whether we ought to save this poor sceptic from the charge of a gross and deliberate falsehood, by imputing to him disgraceful ignorance, we venture not to decide.

And now, having maintained our cause, it is right to add, that in argument with unbelievers, we cannot, in justice, be required to present any of the evidence to which you have been listening. The whole burden of proof lies with the objector. Should the authenticity of *Paradise Lost* be called in question, no believer in its Miltonian origin would feel himself called upon to prove it. We should wait in calmness, till the sceptic had sustained his objection. The book has lived long enough with a fair reputation to be considered authentic, till proved to be spurious. So would common justice warrant us in saying with regard to the New Testament. Eighteen centuries of high and holy reputation are enough to sustain its authenticity, till

sceptics, besides *pronouncing*, shall *prove* it a forgery. Let the objector be kind enough to state the proof of its spuriousness; let him show the deficiencies in its evidence; let him establish objections to its legitimacy, which all the enemies that surrounded its birth were unable to venture; then will it be time for friends to stand on the defensive, and prove its apostolical parentage. But this we know not that any opposer of Christianity ever pretended to have done. *How* these books were forced upon the world; *when* Christians were so asleep as not to perceive that they were not the books which they had always been reading, and consulting, and expounding, and loving, and suffering for; *when* the enemies of Christians were so miraculously blinded and the den of lions, in which the Church for so many centuries existed, was so miraculously hushed and overruled, that such an imposture could gain admission, and dwell in universal quietness, without so much as one paw to pounce on the prey, or one vigil and foe to discover its existence—*what is the evidence* that such an event ever took place; we never heard of a human being undertaking to show. You might as well pretend to prove that the Declaration of Independence, circulated in numberless copies through the country, is not authentic; that our revolutionary fathers published no such document, or else that ours is not the declaration which they published. The adversaries of Christianity are wary. It would require learning, and time, and talents, to make even a plausible show of strength, in conflict with the testimony to the authenticity of the New Testament; but it takes no time, requires no talent, or knowledge, for such persons to *insinuate* that its books are forgeries—to put out a *wise suspicion* that they were not written by the original disciples. No argument can refute a sneer, nor any human skill prevent its mischief. They know that many a mind will catch the plague of infidelity by the touch of their insinuation, without ever finding, or caring to seek, the antidote. Anybody can soil the repute of an individual, however pure and chaste, by uttering a suspicion, which his enemies will believe, and his friends never hear of. A puff of idle wind can take up a million of the seeds of the thistle, and do a work of mischief which the husbandman must labor long and hard to undo; the floating particles being too trifling to be seen, and too light to be stopped. Such are the seeds of infidelity—so easily sown—so difficult to be gathered up, and yet so pernicious in their fruits. It is the work of God much more than of man, that they do not spread more rapidly and widely. The hand of Divine Providence interposes to arrest it, where the regular array of human reasoning would have no room to use its strength.

Here we should leave the subject were it not that one question of importance remains to be answered. How do we know that the New Testament has preserved its *integrity*? While it appears so conclusively that our present books are verily those which the Evangelists and Apostles wrote, and the primitive churches loved and read; how does it appear that they have undergone no material alteration since those times? On this head the answer is complete.

We may reason from *the perfect impossibility of any material alteration*. The

Scriptures, as soon as written, were published. Christians eagerly sought for them; copies were multiplied; carried into distant countries; esteemed a sacred treasure, for which disciples were willing to die. They were daily read in families, and expounded in churches; writers quoted them; enemies attacked them; heretics endeavored to elude their decisions; and the orthodox were vigilant, lest the former, in their efforts to escape the interpretation, should change the text. In a short time copies were scattered over the whole inhabited portion of the earth. Versions were made into different languages. Harmonies, and collations, and commentaries, and catalogues were carefully made and published. Thus universal notoriety among friends and enemies was given to every book. How in such circumstances could material alterations be made without exposure? If made in one copy, they must have been made universally, or else some unaltered copies would have descended to us, or would have been taken notice of and quoted in ecclesiastical history and the writings of ancient times. If made universally, the work must have been done either by *friends*, or by *heretics*, or by *open enemies*. Is it supposable that *open enemies*, unnoticed by Christians, could have altered *all* or a hundredth part of the copies, when they were so continually read and so affectionately protected? Could the sects of *heretics* have done such a work, when they were ever watching one another as jealously, as all their doings were continually watched by the churches? Could *true Christians* have accomplished such a task, even if any motive could have led them to desire it, while heretics on one hand, and innumerable enemies on the other, were always awake and watchful, with the Scriptures in their hands, to lay hold of the least pretext against the defenders of the faith? It was at least as unlikely that material alterations in the New Testament should pass unnoticed and become universal, in the early centuries and in all succeeding ones, as that an important change in a copy of the Constitution of the United States should creep into all the copies scattered over the country, and be handed down as part of the original document, unnoticed by the various parties and jealousies by which that instrument is so closely watched and so constantly referred to. Such was the precise assertion of a writer of the fourth century on this very subject. "The integrity," says Augustine, "of the books of any one bishop, however eminent, cannot be so completely kept as that of the canonical Scripture, translated into so many languages, and kept by the people of every age, and yet some there have been who have forged writings with the names of Apostles. In vain, indeed, because that Scripture has been so esteemed, so celebrated, so known."* Reasoning with a heretic, he says: "If any one should charge you with having interpolated some texts alleged by you, would you not immediately answer that it is impossible for you to do such a thing in books read by all Christians? And that if any such attempt had been made by you, it would have been presently discerned and defeated by comparing the ancient copies? Well then, for the same reason that the Scriptures cannot be corrupted by you, neither could they be corrupted by any other people."†

* Lardner, ii. 594.

† Ibid. ii. 228.

The agreement among the existing manuscripts of the New Testament proves that this holy volume has not been corrupted. Of no ancient classic are the extant manuscripts so numerous as those of the New Testament. Griesbach, in making his edition, collated more than three hundred and fifty. These were written in different ages and countries. Some of them are as old as the fourth or fifth century. Some contain all, others only particular books or parts of books of the New Testament. Several contain detached portions or lessons, as appointed to be read on certain occasions in the churches. In none of them have we anything differing in essential points from the text at present received. It is true, and it sounds to uninformed ears quite alarming, that in the manuscripts collated for Griesbach's edition of the New Testament, as many as *one hundred and fifty thousand various readings* are said to have been found. But all alarm will seem gratuitous when it is known that not one in a thousand of these various readings makes any perceptible, or at most any important variation of meaning; that they consist almost entirely in manifest mistakes of transcribers, such as the omission or transposition of letters, errors in pointing, in grammar, in the use of certain words instead of others of similar meaning, and in changing the position of words in a sentence. The very worst manuscript, were it our only copy of the New Testament, would not pervert one Christian doctrine or precept. By all the *omissions* and all the *additions* contained in all the manuscripts, no fact, no doctrine, no duty, presented in our authorized version, is rendered either obscure or doubtful. The diversity of readings is ample proof that our present manuscripts were made from *various* copies in ancient times; while the inconsiderable importance of this diversity of readings shows how nearly those copies conformed to the original Scriptures, and how little difference would be seen between our present New Testament and the autographs of its writers could they be now collated. No ancient book has preserved its text so uncorrupt as those of the New Testament. None is attended with so many means of detecting an inaccurate reading. A common reader, could he compare the various manuscripts, would be sensible of no more difference among them than among the several copies of his English Bible, which have been printed during the last two hundred years.

The uncorrupt preservation of the text of the New Testament is also evident from its agreement with the *numerous quotations in the works of early Christian writers, and with those ancient translations which are now extant*. In the remaining books of the fathers of the first three centuries, quotations from the New Testament are so abundant, that almost the whole of the sacred text could be gathered from those sources. Excepting some six or seven verses, the genuineness of which is not perfectly settled, there is an exact agreement, in all material respects, between those quotations and the corresponding parts of our New Testament. The same confirmation, though still more satisfactory, is derived from *ancient versions*. We possess, in various languages, versions of the New Testament, reaching as far back as the early part of the second century. The Mæso-Gothic version, discovered by Mai in

1817, and made by Ulphilas, bishop of the Mæso-Goths, in the year 370, of which only fragments were possessed before, has the same text as ours. The old Syriac version, called *Peshito*, is considered by some of the best Syriac scholars to have been made before the close of the first century. It was certainly in existence and general use before the close of the second. Though never brought into contact with our copies of the New Testament, because not known in Europe till the sixteenth century; though handed down by a line of tradition perfectly independent of, and unknown to, that by which our Greek Testament was received; yet, when the two came to be compared, the text of the one was almost an exact version of the text of the other. The difference was altogether unimportant. So clearly and impressively has Divine Providence attested the integrity of our beloved Scriptures. Let us acknowledge, in thankfulness of heart, our debt of gratitude to Him who, on a subject of such unspeakable importance, has given us such abundant reason for complete conviction. He has made the great truth, for which we have been contending, like "*the round world, so sure, that it cannot be moved.*"

A TABLE EXHIBITING THE IMPORTANT EVENTS IN PROFANE HISTORY DURING THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

Years of Christ's Life.

- 1 A plot of Antipater against his father Herod is discovered.
- 2 Antipater is convicted before Quintilius Varus, and put to death.
- 3 Herod dies. Archelaus succeeds him in the government of Judea.
- 4 This year begins the Christian era.
- 5 Caius Cæsar, grandson to Augustus, passes through Jerusalem to march against the Armenians.
- 7 Tiberius is recalled from Rhodes, and returns to Rome.
- 8 Caius Cæsar dies after his return from Armenia.
- 9 Augustus, on the death of his two grandsons, adopts Tiberius.
- 10 Archelaus is accused before Augustus for his maladministration. He is banished to Lyons in Gaul. Coponius is made procurator of Judea.
- 15 Marcus Ambivius is made procurator of Judea. Salome, the sister of Herod, dies.
- 17 Tiberius is admitted into the government with Augustus.
- 18 Annus Rufus is made procurator of Judea.

Years of Christ's Life.

- 19 Augustus Cæsar dies. Tiberius succeeds him.
- 20 Valerius Gratus is made procurator of Judea.
- 22 Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, is sent to quell disturbances in the East.
- 23 Germanicus reduces Cappadocia and Comagene into the form of Roman provinces.
- 24 Germanicus is poisoned at Antioch by Piso, president of Syria.
- 25 Piso, being accused of this murder, kills himself.
- 26 Valerius Gratus removes Annas from being high-priest, and gives the office to Ishmael son of Fabas.
- 29 Eleazar, the son of Annas, is made high-priest.
- 30 Simon, the son of Camath, is made high-priest, in place of Eleazar. Caiaphas succeeds him.
- 31 Pontius Pilate is made procurator of Judea.
- 32 Herod puts to death John the Baptist.
- 34 Pontius Pilate condemns Jesus to be crucified.

THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS, ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

PLACES.	
Conversation with Nicodemus.....	Jerusalem John iii. 1-21.
Conversation with the woman of Samaria.....	Sychar John iv. 1-42.
Discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth.....	Nazareth Luke iv. 16-31.
Sermon upon the Mount.....	Nazareth Matt. v.-vii.
Instruction to the Apostles.....	Galilee Matt. x.
Denunciations against Chorazin, etc.....	Galilee Matt. xi. 20-24.
Discourse on occasion of healing the infirm man at Bethsaida.....	Jerusalem, John v.
Discourse concerning the disciples' plucking of corn on the Sabbath.....	Judea Matt. xii. 1-8.
Refutation of his working miracles by the agency of Beelzebub.....	Capernaum Matt. xii. 22-37.
Discourse on the bread of life.....	Capernaum John vii.
Discourse about internal purity.....	Capernaum Matt. xv. 1-20.
Discourse against giving or taking offence, and concerning forgiveness of injuries.....	Capernaum Matt. xviii.
Discourse at the feast of tabernacles.....	Jerusalem John vii.
Discourse on occasion of the woman taken in adultery.....	Jerusalem..... John viii. 1-11.
Discourse concerning the sheep.....	Jerusalem..... John x.
Denunciations against the Scribes and Pharisees.....	Peræa Luke xi. 29-36.
Discourse concerning humility and prudence.....	Galilee..... Luke xiv. 7-14.
Directions how to attain heaven.....	Peræa Matt. xix. 16-30.
Discourse concerning his sufferings.....	Jerusalem Matt. xx. 17-19.
Denunciations against the Pharisees.....	Jerusalem Matt. xxiii.
Prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem.....	Jerusalem Matt. xxiv.
The consolatory discourse.....	Jerusalem John xiv.-xvii.
Discourse as he went to Gethsemane.....	Jerusalem Matt. xxvi. 31-36.
Discourse to the disciples before his ascension.....	Jerusalem Matt. xxviii. 16-23.

THE PARABLES OF JESUS, ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

PARABLE OF THE	PLACES.
Sower.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 1-23.
Tares.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 24-30, 36-43.
Seed springing up imperceptibly.....	Capernaum Mark iv. 26-29.
Grain of mustard-seed.....	Capernaum Matt. xii. 31, 32.
Leaven.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 33.
Found treasure.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 44.
Precious pearl.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 45, 46.
Net.....	Capernaum Matt. xiii. 47-50.
Two debtors.....	Capernaum Luke vii. 36-50.
Unmerciful servant.....	Capernaum Matt. xviii. 23-35.
Samaritan.....	Near Jericho..... Luke x. 25-37.
Rich fool.....	Galilee Luke xii. 16-21.
Servants who waited for their Lord.....	Galilee Luke xii. 35-48.
Barren fig-tree.....	Galilee Luke xiii. 6-9.
Lost sheep.....	Galilee Luke xv. 3-7.
Lost piece of money.....	Galilee Luke xv. 8-10.
Prodigal son.....	Galilee Luke xv. 11-32.
Dishonest steward.....	Galilee Luke xvi. 1-12.
Rich man and Lazarus.....	Galilee Luke xvi. 19-31.
Unjust judge.....	Peræa Luke xviii. 1-8.
Pharisee and publican.....	Peræa Luke xviii. 9-14.
Laborers in the vineyard.....	Peræa Matt. xx. 1-16.
Pounds.....	Jericho..... Luke xix. 12-27.
Two sons.....	Jerusalem Matt. xxi. 28-32.

PARABLE OF THE	PLACES.	
Vineyard.....	Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxi. 33-46.
Marriage-feast.....	Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxii. 1-14.
Ten virgins.....	Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxv. 1-13.
Talents.....	Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxv. 14-30.
Sheep and the goats.....	Jerusalem.....	Matt. xxv. 31-46.

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

JESUS	PLACES.	
Turns water into wine.....	Cana.....	John ii. 1-11.
Cures the nobleman's son of Capernaum.....	Cana.....	John iv. 46-64.
Causes a miraculous draught of fishes.....	Sea of Galilee.....	Luke v. 1-11.
Cures a demoniac.....	Capernaum.....	Mark i. 22-28.
Heals Peter's wife's mother of a fever.....	Capernaum.....	Mark i. 30, 31.
Heals a leper.....	Capernaum.....	Mark i. 40-45.
Heals the centurion's servant.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. viii. 5-13.
Raises the widow's son.....	Nain.....	Luke vii. 11-17.
Calms the tempest.....	Sea of Galilee.....	Matt. viii. 23-27.
Cures the demoniacs of Gadara.....	Gadara.....	Matt. viii. 28-34.
Cures a man of the palsy.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. ix. 1-8.
Restores to life the daughter of Jairus.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. ix. 18, 19, 23-26.
Cures a woman diseased with a flux of blood.....	Capernaum.....	Luke viii. 43-48.
Restores to sight two blind men.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. ix. 27-31.
Heals one possessed with a dumb spirit.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. ix. 32, 33.
Cures an infirm man at Bethesda.....	Jerusalem.....	John v. 1-9.
Cures a man with a withered hand.....	Judea.....	Matt. xii. 10-13.
Cures a demoniac.....	Capernaum.....	Matt. xii. 22, 23.
Feeds miraculously five thousand.....	Decapolis.....	Matt. xiv. 15-21.
Heals the woman of Canaan's daughter.....	Near Tyre.....	Matt. xv. 22-28.
Heals a man who was dumb and deaf.....	Decapolis.....	Mark vii. 31-37.
Feeds miraculously four thousand.....	Decapolis.....	Matt. xv. 32-39.
Gives sight to a blind man.....	Bethsaida.....	Mark xiii. 22-26.
Cures a boy possessed of a devil.....	Tabor.....	Matt. xvii. 14-21.
Restores sight to a man born blind.....	Jerusalem.....	John ix.
Heals a woman under an infirmity eighteen years.....	Galilee.....	Luke xiii. 11-17.
Cures a dropsy.....	Galilee.....	Luke xiv. 1-6.
Cleanses ten lepers.....	Samaria.....	Luke xvii. 11-19.
Raises Lazarus from the dead.....	Bethany.....	John xi.
Restores to sight two blind men.....	Jericho.....	Matt. xx. 30-34.
Blasts the fig-tree.....	Olivet.....	Matt. xxi. 18-22.
Heals the ear of Malchus.....	Gethsemane.....	Luke xxii. 50, 51.
Causes the miraculous draught of fishes.....	Sea of Galilee.....	John xxi. 1-14.



JERUSALEM, FROM THE POINT WHERE JESUS WEPT OVER THE CITY.

NEW TESTAMENT.

SECTION I.

VISION OF ZACHARIAS—ANGELIC MISSION TO MARY—BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST—OF OUR LORD—ANNOUNCED BY ANGELS TO THE SHEPHERDS; BY A STAR TO THE MAGI—MASSACRE AT BETHLEHEM—FLIGHT OF THE HOLY FAMILY INTO EGYPT—THEIR RETURN—CHRIST AMONG THE RABBINS—HIS BAPTISM—TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS—COMMENCES HIS PUBLIC CAREER—MIRACLES AT CANA, ETC.—OBJECTIONS STATED AND ANSWERED.

B. C. 1. TO A. D. 28.

WE have now arrived at a stage in our history when it becomes no longer necessary to follow the fortunes of any particular people, but to elucidate the progress of certain stupendous events, towards the accomplishment of which all that had hitherto occurred in the world was subordinate. We have seen with what patience Almighty God bore with the waywardness of his creatures, granting them from time to time revelations of his will, each more perfect than the other, and training them, as a father trains his children, for the last and greatest of his dispensations. We have beheld how he dealt with the patriarchs from age to age, till the spread of corruption became such as to render a more particular election necessary; and with what care he provided that the Mosaic covenant should be kept entire, till it had served its destined purpose. That purpose was now accomplished; for, not in Judea alone, but throughout the whole extent of the civilized world, men began to feel that they knew not God, and to long for a more intimate and spiritual communication with their Maker. To this end, indeed, the punishments of the rebellious Israelites had mainly contributed, for whithersoever they went they carried the Scriptures along with them, which, being translated as already described into Greek, were studied more generally than they could otherwise have been. Thus were mankind gradually prepared for the coming of that seed which had been promised to our first parents in Paradise, while the way was paved for the introduction into the world of *Him* "who hath brought life and immortality to light by the gospel."

It was in the year from the creation 5411, from the building of Rome 753, Augustus Cæsar swaying the sceptre of the Roman empire, and Herod the Great filling the dependent throne of Judea, that a certain priest named Zacharias, while performing the duties of his office in the temple at Jerusalem, was addressed in a very remarkable manner by a very remarkable

personage. Zacharias was in the act of burning incense within the sanctuary, the people offering up their customary prayers in the outer court, when an angel suddenly stood beside him, and informed him, in a tone of encouragement, "that his wife should bear a son," to whom his parents were commanded to give the name of John. "He shall be great," continued the heavenly messenger, "in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before *Him* in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord."

Zacharias, as may readily be imagined, was overwhelmed with awe and alarm, though his conviction that the being who addressed him was not of mortal mould sufficed not to dispel the doubts and misgivings to which a consideration of facts as they existed gave rise. His wife Elizabeth, a daughter of the house of Aaron, had never yet borne a child; she was now arrived at a time of life when in the ordinary course of nature such an occurrence was impossible; and Zacharias, more mindful of these circumstances than of the power of *Him* by whom nature's laws are given, ventured to demand some visible sign that God's precious promise would be fulfilled. The angel did not refuse to comply with this bold request. He granted to the doubting priest such a sign as served at once to allay his suspicions, and punish his want of faith, by informing him that he should continue dumb till after the birth now foretold should have taken place.

Zacharias accordingly went forth from the sanctuary deprived of the faculty of speech; he returned home in the same predicament, and so continued till the passage of time brought about the full accomplishment of the angel's prediction.

About six months after Zacharias had been thus honored, the same heavenly messenger was dispatched to Nazareth, a little city of Galilee, where dwelt a cousin of Elizabeth's, a virgin, by name Mary, who was betrothed to a man of her own tribe, Joseph, by trade a carpenter. Joseph and Mary, though possessing few of this world's goods, were both of them lineally descended from king David; the former through Solomon, his eldest, the latter through Nathan, the second son by Bath-sheba.* They thus united in their own persons every legitimate claim upon the crown of Judah, but they lived in times when right had long given place to might; and neither of them appears ever to have conceived the idea of asserting the justness of their pretensions. Their royal descent, however, though unprofitable in a

* See the genealogical tables of St. Mark and St. Luke; the former of which refers to Joseph's, while the latter describes Mary's descent. In our version, indeed, St. Luke, like St. Matthew, appears to speak of Joseph's family only; but the error here is in the translation. Verse 23 of chap. iii., which in the English version runs thus: "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli," ought to have been rendered, "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, but in reality the son (or grandson by the mother's side, for such was truly the case) of Heli."

political point of view, rendered them fit instruments in the hand of God, who determined through Mary to fulfil the promise which he had made in successive generations to Adam, to Noah, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to David.

It is scarcely necessary to state that a custom prevailed among the descendants of Jacob of betrothing a bride to her future husband long before her age or other contingencies would permit the marriage to be consummated. In this situation Mary stood towards Joseph, her faith having been voluntarily pledged, though circumstances had hitherto prevented the engagement from being fulfilled, when the celestial messenger suddenly entered her apartment, and saluted her as one "blessed among women." She was told that "she had found favor with God," that "she should conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son, whom she should call Jesus; that he should be great, and be called the Son of the Highest; that the Lord God would give unto him the throne of his father David; that he should reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and that of his kingdom there should be no end."

Mary, as was natural in one conscious of perfect innocence, received the announcement with undisguised wonder; but when the angel went on to assure her that Jehovah himself would be the immediate cause of the phenomenon, every feeling of distrust and apprehension vanished. The pious maiden expressed her perfect readiness to become an instrument in God's hand for the furtherance of his great work; and the angel left her, not less grateful than astonished at her own good fortune.

The angel was scarcely departed when Mary, to whom he had communicated the fact of her aged relative's pregnancy, determined to visit Elizabeth without delay; for which purpose she proceeded to the hill-country, where Zacharias resided. She was received by Elizabeth with a hymn or song of holy triumph, in which the latter pronounced her to be blessed above her sex; and in the spirit of prophecy assured her that not a tittle of all that had been foretold by the heavenly messenger would fall to the ground. Mary replied to this salutation in a tone not dissimilar to that which marked her cousin's manner; and the friends dwelt together for nearly three months in harmony and peace.

In the meanwhile the hour drew nigh which was to witness the completion of God's promise to Zacharias; and Elizabeth, soon after her cousin's return to Nazareth, was safely delivered of a son. The friends and relatives of the child, being assembled, would have bestowed upon him the name of his father; but Zacharias, calling for his tablets, wrote the word John, which was of course received as the future appellation of the boy. Instantly the string of his tongue was loosed, and he uttered a song of mingled thanksgiving to Jehovah, and of prophetic declaration as to the fortunes and future office of his son.

Things were in this state when Joseph, finding himself so circumstanced as to carry into effect his marriage-contract with Mary, removed her to his own house; where his feelings may be more easily imagined than described when he discovered that she was considerably advanced in pregnancy. Being

of a humane and amiable temper, and probably much attached to her, his heart revolted at the idea of exposing his frail bride to the fate which the law would have awarded; but as he could not bear up against the disgrace which he believed to have been put upon his house, he determined to give her a bill of divorcement, and privately dismiss her. On the very night, however, preceding the day when this resolution was to have been carried into force, a vision from on high was vouchsafed to him, which at once explained the true state of the case, and determined him how to act. He received Mary as she deserved to be received, and treated her ever after not merely with kindness but with the utmost deference and delicacy.

The classical scholar need not be told that periodical enrolments of the citizens of Rome took place as well under the consular as under the imperial government. This practice, which had heretofore prevailed only among the Romans properly so called, Augustus extended over the entire compass of the empire; and treating Judea rather as a province than a dependent kingdom, he had, some years prior to the occurrences recorded above, issued orders that there as well as elsewhere a census should be held. Circumstances, however, intervened to prevent the execution of the edict till the period when the Redeemer was about to appear in the flesh; but the edict itself being then renewed, persons of every family prepared to obey it. Joseph and Mary set out with the rest to be registered in the principal city of their tribe. The city in question was Bethlehem, the native place of David, the illustrious ancestor of their house, and thither the favorite pair turned their steps. They found it crowded with travellers, who occupied every place of accommodation, insomuch that they were compelled to seek shelter in that quarter of the inn or caravansary in which the cattle and horses were penned; and there, "the days being accomplished that she should be delivered," the blessed virgin brought forth her son. "She wrapped him," says St. Luke, "in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger."

Such were the circumstances of apparent obscurity under which the Son of God was ushered into the world; but the eventful hour of his birth was not therefore left without its attesting glories. To a band of shepherds who kept their flocks by night in the pastures near Bethlehem an angelic choir presented themselves, and communicated with songs of thanksgiving that a Saviour was born; while a star or meteor appeared to certain magi in Parthia, which guided them after a long and toilsome journey into his presence. The shepherds hurried to the spot whither the angels had directed them, and beheld at once the infant Saviour in his lowly couch, while the magi in the same hour began a pilgrimage which came not to a close till many months afterward.

Meanwhile, the virgin, having bestowed upon her son the name which the angel had appointed her to give, went up at the stated period, the fortieth day after his birth, to present him as the law required in the temple. The infant was received by an aged priest named Simeon, who had long anxiously looked for the redemption of Israel, and who, taking him in his arms, became immediately sensible that his desire was at length accomplished. He



THE LATIN CONVENT AT BETHLEHEM.

poured over the child a hymn of holy exultation, blessing God that his "eyes had seen his salvation;" while one Anna, an old and pious prophetess, joined him in his thanksgiving, and proclaimed to all the people of Jerusalem that the Deliverer was born.

These ceremonies being completed, Joseph and Mary, carrying the infant Saviour along with them, returned to Bethlehem; where, for some cause not assigned by any of the evangelists, they fixed their temporary abode. They were thus circumstanced, when there arrived in Jerusalem a number of persons from a distant land, who made no secret that they had traversed a wide extent of country for the purpose of doing homage to an extraordinary child, which had been born king of the Jews. The appearance of these strangers, with the account which they gave of their business in the capital, attracted in no slight degree the attention of the Jewish people, among whom a conviction now generally prevailed that the eve of their deliverance was at hand; and all classes, from king Herod downwards, were, to use the expressive language of St. Matthew, "troubled." While the people, however, were excited to hope, Herod became the slave of a well-founded apprehension that his throne was tottering to its fall; and, eager to free himself from the presence of so formidable a rival, he devised the following cruel expedient: having assured the magi that he, no less than they, was anxious to pay court to the infant monarch, he readily persuaded them to communicate to him, as soon as they should themselves discover, the abode of the heaven-appointed prince; and he at the same time held in readiness a band of assassins, to put to death the innocent object of his apprehension. The good providence of God, however, watched over its own especial instrument. The magi were, indeed, guided to the residence of Mary, by the same meteor which had drawn them from their homes; but their gifts and devotions paid, they were, by a vision, instructed to avoid Jerusalem on their return. They were not inattentive to the Divine message, while Joseph, warned by the same means of the perils which threatened the child, took Mary and her son by night, and fled into Egypt.

The return of the wise men into their own country without visiting the capital was no sooner communicated to Herod than his rage became furious in proportion to the increase of his fears; and, determined that the Messiah should not escape, he gave orders for the perpetration of one of the blackest deeds on record. A body of troops were dispatched to Bethlehem, who put to death, without distinction, every child in the towns and villages near, from two years old and downwards. But the execrable massacre, though it failed to effect the end desired, was not permitted to pass unpunished. Herod, whose health had long been declining, was immediately smitten with a loathsome disease; of which, after enduring the most excruciating sufferings, he died on the fifth day from the murder. He left behind him three sons, among whom he divided his dominions; Archelaus succeeding to Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Philip to Auranitis, Trachonitis, Panea, and Batanea; and Herod Antipas to Galilee and Petrea.

The arrangement which was pointed out in the will of Herod no sooner

received the sanction of Augustus than Joseph was again warned by an angel to return to his native country. He immediately took the way to Judea, but aware of the cruel disposition of Archelaus, he became apprehensive as he approached the frontier that the attempt made by the father might, with better success, be renewed by the son. He therefore directed his steps towards his original dwelling-place, Nazareth, in the dominions of Herod Antipas, where for several years the holy family appear to have resided, unobserved and unmolested.

In the meanwhile, a fresh revolution occurred in the government of Judea, in perfect accordance with the dying prophecy of Jacob; and the sceptre passed from the hands which had so long swayed it, never, in all human probability, to be restored. Archelaus, equally dissolute, though far less energetic than his father, drove the Jews into sedition, and a public complaint was in consequence brought against him before the Roman emperor. Augustus, already well disposed to reduce Palestine to the condition of a province, esteemed the present an exceedingly favorable opportunity for so doing. He deposed Archelaus, sent him into banishment at Vienne, in Gaul, and placing his dominions formally under the superintendence of a Roman procurator, took away from the Jews even the shadow of independence which they had heretofore been permitted to enjoy.

Such was the political condition of his country, when the Saviour, now advanced to his twelfth year, went up with Joseph and his mother to attend the great festival of the Passover, at Jerusalem. Of his proceedings there, no particular mention is made; but we learn that his parents were exceedingly alarmed when, on their return homewards, they missed him from their company, and notwithstanding a diligent search among the retinues of their friends and neighbors, failed to discover him. They hastened back to the capital in great dismay, which was converted into amazement, when they found him, not lost amid the labyrinth of buildings, but sitting in the hall of the sanhedrim, in the midst of the most learned of its members, both hearing their discourses and propounding to them problems. Being questioned by his mother as to his motive for acting thus, and gently chid for the uneasiness which his conduct had occasioned, the youth replied in these memorable words, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" an answer which, though to others it might appear mysterious and unmeaning, Mary ceased not ever after to ponder in her heart. But though he thus accounted for his temporary absence, Jesus refused not to pay obedience to his earthly parent. He followed her to Nazareth, where he dwelt in obscurity nine years longer, working, as is believed, all the while, at the trade of his reputed father.

Time passed, producing its usual effects upon men and things, both at Rome and elsewhere. Our Saviour had attained to early manhood, when Augustus, to the inexpressible grief of the whole empire, died, and was succeeded by Tiberius, the son of his wife by a former husband, a prince endowed with dispositions widely different from his own. Various changes likewise occurred with reference to the management of Judea, which had

been intrusted by Augustus, first to Coponius, afterwards to Marcus Amberrines, and finally to Rufus, but which Tiberius now placed under the charge of Gratus; whom likewise he superseded, at the end of eleven years, to make room for Pontius Pilate. But it was not in such matters only that the lapse of time brought mighty things to pass. The period drew nigh when it behoved the Messiah to show himself in his true character to the children of Israel; and, as the prophets had foretold, his appointed messenger came forth "to prepare the way before him in the spirit and person of Elias."

We have taken no notice of the proceedings of John the Baptist since the events attending his miraculous birth were described, nor are we in possession of any authentic materials from which this blank in our narrative might be filled up. By St. Luke, indeed, we are briefly informed that "the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and that he was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel;" a form of speech from which some have drawn the conclusion that he received his early education among the Essenes.* There is certainly nothing impossible in this; nay, the austere habits which he afterwards practised, together with the well-known readiness of the Essenes to receive among them such children as John, render the supposition extremely probable; but, as the point at issue in no degree affects either the truth or consistency of sacred history, it were needless to argue it at any length in a work like the present. Let it suffice, therefore, to state, that in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, dating from the epoch of his assumption as coadjutor by Augustus, in other words, in the year from the foundation of Rome 780, John made his first public appearance in the character of a preacher of repentance; choosing for the theatre of his pious labors the wild and romantic country through which the Jordan runs. The dress and mode of living of this extraordinary man were not less calculated than his doctrine to excite the astonishment and draw upon him the attention of his countrymen. His only robe was a garment of camel's hair, fastened around the loins by a leathern girdle, while his ordinary food consisted of the locusts and wild honey which abound in the districts of Palestine. His unchanging cry, moreover, was, that the people of the earth should repent, and make ready for the coming of the Messiah; and he scrupled not to baptize in the Jordan as many persons, of all classes and stations, as sought that rite at his hands in a becoming spirit.† Among these were several Pharisees and Sadducees, as well as publicans and soldiers, the former of whom John sharply rebuked for their hypocrisy, while the latter were solemnly enjoined to use neither deceit nor violence in the practice of their several callings. Yet John was particularly careful that neither the object of his baptism nor the nature of his office should be mistaken. To the questions repeatedly and authoritatively put to him, whether he were the expected Christ, he on every occasion avowed that no such char-

A. D.
26.

* For an account of this and other sects, see the notes appended to the preceding chapter.

† The rite of baptism was familiar to the Jews, being practised as well on the admission of converts from heathenism into the church of the tabernacle, as by prophets and other teachers of righteousness among their followers.

acter attached to him; but that he was merely "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

John had been thus employed several months, when Jesus, after A. D. bidding farewell to his mother, passed through Judea to Bethabara, 27. where his great precursor was established. On his part there was no need either of confession or of baptism; but partly with a view of setting an example to others, partly that the most minute ceremony that attaches to the assumption of the prophetic office might not be omitted, Jesus, not less than the publicans and Pharisees and soldiers, besought John to confer upon him the right of ablution. The Baptist would have declined the charge, alleging that he himself stood in need of baptism from the hands of the Messiah, not the Messiah from his; but being overborne by the reasonings of the Redeemer, he at length consented. It was a ceremony attended by consequences of more than common import. As they ascended up from the bed of the Jordan, "the heavens," says St. Luke, "were opened; and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased." Thus was the Redeemer consecrated, as it were, to the momentous work before him; and his first trial, with its issues, gave promise of the grand result which should ensue upon its accomplishment.

There was an ancient custom prevalent among the Jews, which required every man, previous to his public appearance as a prophet or teacher of righteousness, to devote a certain space of time to fasting and solitary contemplation. To this, as well as to the ceremony of baptism, the Saviour esteemed it no degradation to submit; and he directed his steps, in consequence, deep into the wilderness, as soon as he had parted from the Baptist. The place whither he wandered is still pointed out to the traveller in these regions, and if the tradition which assigns to it its character be trustworthy, it were difficult to conceive one better calculated for the purposes to which it was turned. "A miserable dry place it is," says Maundrell, "consisting of high rocky mountains, and torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion, in which its very bowels had been turned outward." Yet from the tops of these crags a landscape is presented which includes the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plains of Jericho; thus rendering the horrors of the defile itself doubly impressive, on account of the contrast which is presented between them and the surrounding scenery.

Our Saviour had wandered amid these gloomy passes a space of forty days, during which neither bread nor water passed his lips, when the power which had hitherto sustained him being for a space withdrawn, he began to experience the extremity of hunger. At this critical juncture there approached him an aged wayfaring man, who, like himself, appeared to have lost his way among the intricacies of the desert. The stranger was the old serpent who had beguiled the first Adam in Paradise, and who now, under a different disguise, but with equal subtlety, strove to beguile the second Adam also. Having saluted the Messiah with much apparent respect, he ventured to

suggest that for one circumstanced as he was to suffer even a moment's uneasiness in consequence of the absence of common food, was in the highest degree unreasonable, seeing that he need only command the stones that lay around to become bread, and they would obey. Jesus, however, put him to silence by quoting a sentence from the Bible, which asserts, "that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Baffled in this attack, Satan resolved next to try how far the vanity of his intended victim might be worked upon. There was a tradition current in Judea that the Messiah would come direct from the clouds of heaven, and the Devil, aware of the pretensions of Jesus, strove to lead him into the performance of an act more in agreement with the idle expectations of his countrymen than with the real character of Christ. With this view he bore him through the air, planted him on the top of the parapet which begirt the temple, and urged him by all means to disclose himself to the multitude by casting himself headlong to the ground. Jesus met the deceiver here again by quoting, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." There yet remained one other point on which to assail the firmness of his adversary. Ambition might, perhaps, have charms in the eyes of one who had shown himself proof against the cravings of bodily appetite and of vanity; and Satan, once more transporting him to the summit of a lofty mountain, caused a magnificent vision to pass before his eyes. The phantoms of a thousand empires, with their wealth and power, were conjured up, and it was added, "all these will I give to thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Hitherto the Redeemer had rejected the allurements offered firmly, but meekly; his indignation was now raised, and he replied, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." The Devil felt the full force of the rebuke: baffled and thwarted in all his designs, he fled from the presence of the Son of God, and angels from the courts of heaven "came and ministered unto him."

Having thus triumphed over the great enemy of mankind, our Redeemer proceeded to show himself in the capacity of a teacher of righteousness to his countrymen. With this view he passed through Judea, attracting wherever he went the notice of the people, and rendered doubly conspicuous in consequence of the testimony of John, who pointed him out as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." He was followed by two pious men, Andrew and the Evangelist St. John, both of whom had previously attended upon the Baptist; and the little party was soon afterward joined by Simon Peter, Philip, and Nathanael. These were the first who openly avowed themselves disciples of Jesus, and professed their belief in him as the long-expected Messiah.

Attended by these his faithful companions, our Redeemer arrived in Nazareth, the town where his early life had been spent, and where his relatives resided. Here his public teaching appears in some degree to have begun; for here first we are informed of his entering into the synagogue and expounding those portions of Scripture which had more immediate reference to himself; but the inhabitants of Nazareth disdained to receive instruction

from one whom they accounted the son of an humble carpenter. He was in consequence roughly handled by the crowd, who thrust him out of the town, and led him to the brow of the hill on which it stands, with the design of casting him down; but Jesus, having remarked that a prophet has no honor in his own country, passed through them unharmed and departed.

Not long after this, he was bidden, with his mother and his five disciples, to a wedding-feast at Cana, a city of Galilee, situated at an easy distance from Nazareth. As it formed no part of the religion which he came to inculcate to destroy the kind and social feelings of our nature, Jesus readily accepted the invitation, and there, for the first time, he gave proof of the authority with which he was endowed over the elements. It was discovered that there was a scarcity of wine, of which a considerable portion was needed in the celebration of a Jewish wedding; and his mother, not doubting that he possessed the power to make good the deficiency, made him acquainted with the circumstance. He scrupled not to perform a miracle, though its sole object was to promote the innocent festivity of his friends. The servants were commanded to fill with water six cisterns which had been placed in an inner chamber for the purposes of ablution, and the water became, they knew not how, converted into wine. But greater objects than this were to be attained by the Messiah, and to these he forthwith addressed himself.

A. D. 28. After a brief sojourn at Capernaum, our Saviour, followed by his disciples, who had now largely increased in numbers, went up to Jerusalem, with the design of being present at the Passover. He proceeded immediately towards the temple, the sanctity of which he found utterly violated, in consequence of the prevalence of a shameful custom which had gradually crept in. The reader need scarcely be reminded, that by the terms of the Levitical law, offerings of different kinds of beasts, and birds, and wine were required at stated periods, both from the people at large and from individuals. These, which it was usual at first for each devotee to bring with him from the country, were latterly supplied by merchants in the city; and now the priests, for their own gain, permitted a market to be openly held within the precincts of the temple. Here were traders seen to mix familiarly with worshippers, interrupting the devotions of such as were sincere, while the noise of brawling and disputation broke in upon the voice of prayer, and the lowing of oxen and the bleating of sheep were mingled with the sound of psalmody. The indignation of the Saviour was roused by such a spectacle. Arming himself with no other weapon than a whip of small cords, he commanded the crowd to disperse, "overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of such as sold doves," and there were in his presence so much of dignity and power, that the most impious quailed beneath it. Merchants, brokers, and traders fled before him, and "his Father's house" became once more "a house of prayer."

It would have been very remarkable had his conduct on this occasion failed to excite both the wonder and fury of the mob. His authority to act thus was rudely demanded, to which he replied by a metaphor having reference to his own death and resurrection; but he steadily refused to gratify

the impertinent curiosity of the priests by performing any miracle in their presence. Nevertheless, he failed not, even now, in making more converts, among whom was numbered Nicodemus, a chief man in the sanhedrim, who visited him by night, and avowed his belief that Jesus could be no other than a teacher sent from God. To this well-meaning, but timid, Pharisee, our Saviour explained that the period was fast approaching when a new church, or kingdom of God upon earth, would be erected, into which admission was to be obtained only by the regeneration, or second birth of water and the spirit.

In the meanwhile, John the Baptist, having removed from Bethabara to Enon, declaimed there, as he had done elsewhere, against the immorality of the age. Among the individuals whom he hesitated not to reprove, Herod Antipas, the seducer of his own sister-in-law, was one; but the ears of royalty are not accustomed to listen with patience to the language of reproof. John was arrested and cast into prison, where, after again bearing testimony to the character of Jesus, he ended his days. He was murdered by order of Herod, to gratify the malice of Herodias, and to exhibit how rigidly the king could fulfil an engagement, no matter whether its conditions were lawful or the reverse.

John was yet in confinement when our Saviour, after abiding in Jerusalem till the close of the feast, went forth "to teach and to preach throughout Judea." By the poor and the lowly he seems to have been everywhere received with respect, for to them he spoke of matters to which they were well disposed to listen; but the Pharisees and lawyers bore not with patience the exposure of their hypocrisy and the condemnation of their vices. The influence of these was, however, too great for him to withstand. Having sojourned about seven or eight months in Judea, during which period he performed many miracles, and his disciples baptized many converts, he was compelled to retire into Galilee, in order to escape the malice of his enemies, whose hour of triumph was not yet come.

He was prosecuting this journey, when, arriving near Sychar, or Shechem, the ancient capital of Samaria, he sent his followers into the city to purchase bread, and sat down himself close to Jacob's well. It chanced that a woman of loose character came out to draw water, with whom Jesus entered into conversation, during which she expressed extreme surprise that a Jew should so far forget his pride as to ask drink at the hands of a Samaritan. Having explained to her that the distinction between nation and nation would speedily be done away, our Saviour proceeded to inform her of some of the most important transactions in her own life, and summed up all by avowing that he was the Messiah. The woman, greatly astonished at his discourse, ran into the city, and so wrought upon the curiosity of her kinsmen that they besought Jesus to abide some time among them. He did not refuse a compliance with their request; but spending two days at Sychar, he succeeded by his discourses and miracles in converting to the truth not a few of its inhabitants.

From Sychar the Redeemer proceeded to Cana of Galilee, where a Roman

centurion, having heard of his extraordinary powers, besought him to save the life of an only son, who lay even then at the point of death. Jesus delayed for a moment or two to notice the wretched man's petition; but the prayer being repeated in more urgent terms than before, he made answer, "Thy son liveth." The father's faith was great; he found on returning home that it had not deceived him, and he and all his household became converts to Christianity.

It is not necessary to give in detail an account of the many miracles which from this time forth were performed by the blessed Redeemer. On one occasion, when certain of his disciples had toiled all night in vain, they drew up from the sea of Galilee at his bidding so great a quantity of fishes that their vessels scarcely sufficed to contain them. On another, a demoniac was cured in the synagogue, the devil bearing witness to the Divine nature of him who expelled him. On a third, the mother of Peter's wife, who lay dangerously ill of a fever, rose in perfect health at his bidding, and ministered unto him, while lepers were cleansed and paralytics healed by a word or by a touch. But even these acts of mercy failed to inspire the rulers of the nation with other sentiments than those of envy towards Jesus. Because he presumed to say to a miserable invalid — whose relatives, unable to make their way through the crowd into our Saviour's dwelling, let him down upon a couch through the roof — "Thy sins be forgiven thee," they accused him of blasphemy; and the miraculous recovery of the man, though it occurred before their eyes, sufficed not to make them retract the accusation. In like manner, because he condescended to eat at the table of his disciple Matthew, whither a number of publicans were invited to meet him, they avowed their conviction that he could be no teacher of righteousness, otherwise he would not have incurred the hazard of so great a pollution, while his disregard of fasts established not by Divine, but by human, authority was recorded as a heavy ground of accusation against him. Yet our Saviour was not the less zealous in "performing his Father's work." He exposed with fearlessness the hypocrisy of these "whited walls," showed that by their "traditions they made the law of God of none effect," and proved that the attempt to impose upon his early followers austerities unauthorized by nature or religion could not fail of producing the worst possible effects. Thus, with the single-minded and sincere among the people at large, he daily increased in favor, while to the rulers, the Pharisees, and the more rigid of their flatterers he became an object of unmitigated abhorrence.

We are not unaware that to the passages of Scripture from which the contents of the present chapter are derived many and grave objections have been offered. The whole history of our Lord's miraculous conception and birth has, for instance, been condemned as fabulous, while to several of the miracles performed during his public career even nominal believers sometimes object. In like manner the references made, more particularly by St. Matthew, to the writings of the prophets, have been condemned as not merely inaccurate but injudicious; while the Messiah himself is accused of acting without consistency, in refusing to permit his claims to be brought forward

by his avowed adherents, yet advancing them boldly to the people of Samaria. These, with the disagreement which is supposed to exist between the actual situation of Jesus of Nazareth and the prophetic paintings of the seers of old, are considered the most serious stumbling-blocks in the way of rational inquirers, and to have confirmed in their skepticism many who were well disposed to embrace the Christian religion. It remains for us to notice these several objections, with as much perspicuity as is consistent with the narrow limits of our present work.

The narrative of our Lord's miraculous conception, and of the events which preceded and followed his birth, is recorded with so much perspicuity and distinctness by St. Luke, that there is no other ground on which to refuse to it our assent than by denying either the authenticity or Divine origin of the tract in which it is contained. This, however, can be done only by asserting that the entire volume which we call the New Testament is a forgery. For the account given by St. Luke at length of the matter in question is in so many instances indirectly confirmed by his brother Evangelists, that the testimony of the one cannot be rejected without rejecting that of the others also. We express ourselves thus, because the theory which would receive St. Luke's Gospel denuded of the first two chapters is totally inadmissible; inasmuch as there exists not a single ancient manuscript in which these chapters are omitted; and hence the sole question at issue appears to be, whether or not the four Gospels, with the history of the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles, are worthy of evidence or the reverse?

With respect to the authenticity of these tracts, that is to say, with respect to their existence at the period when they profess to have been written, it were difficult to imagine any historical fact admitting of more satisfactory proof. They are quoted and referred to not by Christians only, but by a succession of Jewish and heathen writers, some of whom flourished in the days of the Apostles themselves; while others lived but a generation or two after their decease. Thus, among Christians, we have Polycarp, Ignatius, Hermas, Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, all of them contemporaries with St. Paul and St. John; who are succeeded by Papias, Justin Martyr, Tartian, Hegesippus, and so on down to Tertullian, Clement, Origen, and Eusebius. The whole of these fathers have left greater or lesser portions of their works behind, in which are numerous quotations from each of the four gospels, as well as from the Acts and the Epistles. In like manner, we find that neither Celsus, the avowed enemy of the faith, who flourished towards the close of the second century, nor Porphyry, who wrote in the third, nor the emperor Julian, surnamed the Apostate, who died A. D. 363, ever called in question the authenticity of the gospel histories. On the contrary, it is against the matters recorded of Christ and his Apostles, nor against the genuineness of the narratives in which these records are embodied, that the attacks of one and all are directed. Here is proof sufficient that during the first three centuries of the Christian era, the authenticity of the tracts composing the New Testament was universally admitted. But if the case was so then, a different style of reasoning, adopted at a later period, is surely not to be regarded.

If Celsus and Porphyry saw no cause to deny that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John each wrote the treatise attributed to him, it is ridiculous to be swayed by the objections of skeptics of our own age, or of an age a century or two younger than our own.

But granting that these narratives were really written by the men whose names they bear, how is it possible to admit as truths details which contradict all experience, and stand opposed to the known laws of nature? We answer, that the details deserve to be received as truths, only provided it can be shown that successfully to propagate falsehoods under the circumstances in which the Evangelists stood would have been not only difficult, but utterly impossible.

Let it be borne in mind that the gospels, like the five books of Moses, profess to be addressed to men, all of whom lived at the period when the miracles described were performed; and that the miracles themselves are uniformly represented to have been wrought openly, and in the sight of the world. The conversion of the water into wine, for example, the healing of the leper, the paralytic, and the demoniac, are each of them stated to have occurred in the presence of crowds; while it is repeatedly declared that the doctrine, not less than the actions of the individual who effected these cures, produced an extraordinary sensation throughout all Judea. Again, as we proceed onwards with the sacred narrative, we learn that the same Jesus who cleansed a leper by a touch, raised by a word a dead man from his grave, whose body had lain so long in the charnel-house as to have already undergone some degree of decomposition. Is it conceivable that any sane person would give publicity to such details as these in the country and age where they are asserted to have taken place had there been no foundation for them?

But this is not all: the objects of the devisers of these monstrous fables, if fables they are, deserve not less than their own personal history our most serious consideration. As to the personal history of the first teachers of Christianity, it presents a spectacle never witnessed before or since of a number of men voluntarily exposing themselves to ignominy, persecution, and death, for the single purpose of gaining converts to a religion, which inculcated upon its votaries the purest morality of conduct. It is no uncommon thing for ambitious persons to dare or to suffer much, provided there be a prospect before them of personal recompense or aggrandizement; but on the supposition that Christianity is a fable, what imaginable motive could actuate its early professors to seek its propagation? They not only never obtained, but they never desired wealth, or power, or dignities. Of the future life of which they spoke to the multitude, they must have been aware of the non-existence; is it credible that under such circumstances they would have ventured upon the Herculean task, knowing that their sole reward would be persecution and death? Again, when we consider the condition in life of these bold innovators—that they were all, or nearly all, men of obscure origin, of limited education, and simple habits, our astonishment at their audacity is increased tenfold; while the number of persons employed

in the diffusion of what is presumed to be a fable, renders the whole matter perfectly inconceivable. Who ever heard of five hundred or one hundred men combining for the invention of a lie, yet arranging their story so well as to hold all of them the same language, no matter how distant the one from the other, or into what circumstances thrown? Can it be credited that one or two out of so great a number would have failed to expose the rest?

Nor is the perfect success of these obscure teachers over the prejudices and customs of mankind to be kept out of view. What other power, besides that of the Most High, could have enabled the preaching of a few humble peasants to revolutionize the most polished nations of Europe and Asia, opposed as it was in every quarter by the custom of ages, and the full influence of the magistracy? He who can believe that the gospel would have spread as it did but for the direct interposition of God in its favor, must be content to be branded as a far more credulous person than the humble believer in the miraculous nativity of our Lord.

We have said that the object of the first teachers, not less than their personal history, deserves the strictest attention in prosecuting an inquiry like the present. The religion which they endeavored with so much earnestness to establish has been admitted by its bitterest enemies to contain the purest and most perfect code of morals that was ever given to the world. By Christianity alone has it been pronounced more noble to forgive than to avenge an injury; by Christianity alone are the very thoughts of the heart regulated, and the important lesson taught that the readiest means of adding to our own happiness is to increase the happiness of our neighbors. What thinking person will admit that men capable of inventing so glaring a falsehood as the history of Jesus and his followers is represented to be would think of turning their own crime to such an account as this?

On these grounds, and on many others to which our space will not permit us to advert, we are compelled to believe that the books which contain the history of Jesus Christ speak the truth; and as the fact of his miraculous conception rests upon the same authority with other wonderful events in his career, we see not how it is possible to refuse to it our assent.

But the vision of angels vouchsafed to the shepherds — and, above all, the appearance of the star in the east — how are these things to be accounted for? The vision of angels is a plain statement, advanced by an inspired historian, and is no more to be disputed than the account given by the same writer of the angelic visit to Mary; while the appearance of the star in the east, with the results arising out of it, need not produce uneasiness in any mind, however sensitive. It is a well-established fact that there prevailed at this time, not in Judea only, but in every country whither the dispersed Israelites had betaken themselves, a strong persuasion that the promised seed, so long expected, was about to arrive. The Magi mentioned by St. Luke were evidently natives of some part of the great Assyrian empire; and being in possession of the book of Daniel, the archimagus of their forefathers, they doubtless encouraged in common with their countrymen the expectation to which we have just alluded. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at if

they, when they beheld the halo which surrounded the angels, diminished by distance to the size of a small star, should immediately conclude that so remarkable a phenomenon betokened the birth of the promised Prince; while it is in no degree derogatory to the honor of Almighty God that he should permit a recurrence of the luminous body to direct them to Bethlehem. The way was thus paved for a future spread of the gospel in the regions whence they came; and whatever tended to "make straight the paths of the Lord" was well worthy to receive a portion of the care of Him with whose free grace the scheme of man's redemption originated. This, indeed, appears to be the true explanation of the story; for that a new star or planet was created, or that such, if created, could go before any travellers, and settle over any particular spot, is manifestly impossible.

We pass now to other supposed difficulties, such as are furnished by the description of the temptation in the wilderness, by the prevalence of demoniacal possessions, by the misquotations of the Evangelists, and the discrepancy which is presumed to exist between the condition of the Messiah of the prophets and that of Jesus of Nazareth. Of the first of these we have nothing further to say than that, like other wonderful narratives in the New Testament, it must be credited on the authority of those who record it. No good end seems likely to be served by asking why such a scene occurred; but if the question be put it may suffice to answer, that probably some such triumph over Satan was necessary in order to repair the breach occasioned by Satan's triumph in Paradise; while the facility with which the evil one transported our Lord from point to point, and the readiness with which the elements became subservient to his purposes, are facts to be accounted for only by referring them to the permission of the Most High. With respect again to the contradiction which is supposed to be implied in the attempt on Satan's part to overcome the virtue of a being like our Saviour, that may be said to originate wholly in the conceptions which we form to ourselves of the extent of the Devil's knowledge and his own opinion of his own powers. Perhaps he knew not that Jesus was other than a mere man, though aware that he was in a peculiar manner favored by Jehovah; and it might be with the view of ascertaining whether or not he was really the promised seed that the prince of the power of the air assailed him. But as these are mere conjectures, and as on such a subject we are quite incapable of offering more than conjectures, the wisest course doubtless is, not to pry into the matter too deeply, but to leave this, like many other truths, both in nature and religion, to be explained when "the mortal shall have put on immortality, and faith is swallowed up in vision."

It has sometimes been urged even by professed Christians, who affect to see in the reality of demoniacal possessions difficulties wholly insurmountable, that in numbering them in the list of diseases healed by Christ, the Evangelists only gave way to a common but harmless prejudice. Now in opposition to this, it is necessary to observe that a being incapable of guile neither could nor would give encouragement to a falsehood, no matter how commonly received, or how harmless in its consequences; while, if our Lord

foreknew, as he doubtless did, the abuses which afterward arose out of it, he would be still less disposed to sanction the belief in an affection which had in reality no existence. Again, demoniacism is by the sacred writers invariably put in opposition to insanity, paralysis, and other diseases; is it to be credited that they would have acted thus had no such possessions prevailed? That the worst uses were made of these cures in after-ages of the Church is indeed most true. To expel a devil became a favorite miracle with those who possessed no power miraculously to cure other maladies; but the case was not so in the days of our Lord and his Apostles, when, if there be any truth in Scripture, demoniacal possessions were extremely frequent. Why they were so we are not called upon to explain; though the confessions of the impure spirits to the authority and Divine nature of Him who expelled them render at least a feasible solution of the problem by no means difficult. Other prophets and holy men had healed the sick and raised the dead; it was reserved for the Son of God alone to command unclean spirits, and to convey a like power through the magic influence of his name to his own immediate followers.

The next objection which presents itself depends upon the references made by St. Matthew to certain expressions in the writings of the old prophets, which expressions were not, it is asserted, designed by the prophets themselves to apply to the circumstances of the Messiah. Of this nature is the memorable quotation from Jeremiah, "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not;" which, though St. Matthew interprets it as relating to the massacre at Bethlehem, referred, in point of fact, to the approaching captivity of the tribes: while Isaiah's declaration to king Ahaz, "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," appears totally without point, if it be understood as descriptive of the birth of Jesus. Now it is to be observed, that the former of these expressions suffers no violence whatever in being applied as the Evangelist has applied it. Whatever the prophet's immediate object might have been, the prediction itself seems quite as germane to the massacre at Bethlehem as to the captivity; indeed, when the situation of Bethlehem, the burial-place of Rachel, is considered, we shall not go too far if we assert that in all probability Jeremiah himself designed his words to bear a twofold interpretation. Be this, however, as it may, as the term Rachel is used in other cases as a type of the mother of Judah in general, the Evangelist has committed no mighty crime in introducing it where he has done; for the expression *thus was fulfilled*, or, that it might be *fulfilled*, signifies no more, according to the Hebrew idiom, than "thus was verified," or "this event corresponded to," the prediction about to be quoted. The case is somewhat different with respect to the striking declaration of Isaiah, which, as Archbishop Usher has ably shown, if it had not referred to the promised Christ, would have been utterly without effect in comforting Ahaz.

The prophecy itself is in these words: "Hear ye now, O house of David, is

it a small thing for you to weary man, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign (shall work a miracle); Behold a virgin (of the house of David) shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good." These words, according to the learned primate, were addressed to such of the royal family as were present, in grievous alarm of immediate destruction by the confederate kings, whom they assured that their apprehensions were groundless, because the promise of the Messiah to spring from the house of David would certainly be fulfilled, and fulfilled in the extraordinary manner which the prophet had just described. Then, pointing to his own son, *Shearjashub*, who stood beside him, the prophet went on to say, that before *that child* had arrived at the years of discretion the enemies which then threatened Jerusalem would be destroyed. The intermediate words, "Butter and honey shall he eat," the archbishop interprets as a declaration, that, though the birth of the Messiah should be miraculous, in all other respects he would be supported by the common food, and be liable to the common infirmities of children. To our minds, at least, this explanation seems perfectly satisfactory; for the word Immanuel, which the prophet assigns as the future name of the virgin's first-born, refers, like many others in Scripture, to his office; while the quibble upon the Hebrew word *Alma*, that it signifies either a virgin or a young married woman, is beneath notice. For a young married woman to bring forth a child was surely no such uncommon event as to render the announcement of it in any degree consolatory to Ahaz and his family.

We come now to the last objection stated; namely, that the actual career of Jesus of Nazareth corresponded neither with the declarations of the prophets nor with the anticipations of the Jewish people relative to their Messiah. Instead of ascending the throne of David and establishing a permanent kingdom, he spent a short public life amid insults and privations, and ended his days by the hands of the executioner.

This is doubtless true; but let the prophets be read with attention, and it will be seen, that "to that end was he born." It was foretold of him that he should act in three distinct capacities — as a prophet, a priest, and a king; but as a prophet and a priest in the first place, and as a king afterward. He acted as a prophet when he went through Judea, preaching the doctrine of repentance and turning men from "dead works unto faith;" he discharged the duties of a high-priest when he offered up the great sacrifice of himself upon the cross; and he entered into his kingdom and established it never to be overthrown, when, after his ascension, his apostles began to make converts. It is true, that in the description of his regal state, language is usually employed more suitable to the pomp and parade of an earthly potentate than to the dignity of a religious sovereignty; but the language of prophecy is always figurative, and its images are necessarily drawn from things with which the outward senses are conversant. Besides, it is an error to assert that the Messiah is more frequently or more plainly described as a triumphant monarch than as a suffering man. Of the great antiquity of Isaiah's writings

no doubt can exist; and upon his representation, were there none besides in the Old Testament, we might be content to rest our faith.*

* There are other petty objections to which the history of our Lord's early proceedings is exposed; as, for example, that his employing his supernatural power to supply with more wine those who had already partaken largely of the juice of the grape was unworthy of a Divine Being; and that his language to his mother, both on that and other occasions, was the reverse of respectful. To the first of these it is sufficient to reply, that excess at a Jewish wedding was a thing utterly unknown, the governor or ruler of the feast being appointed for the express purpose of marking, by a well-known signal, when each guest had drunk enough; and that, as the feast itself lasted many days, a large portion of wine was needed. To the second, our answer must be confined to a positive denial of the charge. Though in the English translation the expression, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" may seem harsh; in the original it implies simply that the absence of wine ought not to give uneasiness to any one besides the founder of the feast; while the word rendered "woman" signifies "lady," or any other term of profound respect and love. It was used by subjects to their princes, by slaves to their mistresses, and by children to their parents.

SECTION II.

A PARALYTIC HEALED—MIRACLE OF THE WITHERED HAND—SERMON ON THE MOUNT—WIDOW'S SON RESTORED TO LIFE AT NAIN—JOHN THE BAPTIST'S MISSION—THE FEMALE PARDONED—MIRACLE OF THE SWINE—MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES—DEATH OF THE BAPTIST—JESUS WALKS UPON THE SEA—IS PRESENT AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES—RAISES LAZARUS FROM THE DEAD—OBJECTIONS STATED AND ANSWERED.

A. D. 29.

THE second year of our Lord's public ministry had arrived, and Judea was everywhere filled with his renown; when, on the return of the season of the Passover, he again went up to keep the feast with his disciples at Jerusalem. On the north-east side of the city lay the pool of Siloam, surrounded by an hospital of five porticoes, called Bethesda, which, at certain seasons, possessed a healing virtue of no ordinary kind. It is stated by St. John that an angel went down and troubled the pool, and that whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatever disease he had; and the porches adjoining were, in consequence, continually crowded with miserable expectants of the heavenly visit. It chanced that our Saviour's attention was attracted to a poor paralytic, who for the space of three years had vainly striven to avail himself of the sanitary qualities of the fountain. He approached the invalid, and equally admiring his patience and commiserating his misfortune, commanded him to "take up his bed and walk." Unwonted vigor was immediately communicated to limbs which had long ceased to do their office; the paralytic arose from his couch, lifted it on his shoulders, and walked through the most public streets towards his home. But he was not permitted to pass thus. It was the Sabbath-day, and the Pharisees stopped him, angrily accusing him of a breach of the law of God; and when the patient replied by stating that he only obeyed the instructions of the personage by whom his malady had been removed, their indignation was transferred from him to Jesus. The Messiah, however, took no further notice of their anger than by proving that the leisure of the Sabbath can never be more worthily employed than in performing acts of mercy and charity; and claiming to himself more decidedly than he had yet done the honor of a divine descent, "My Father worketh hitherto," said he, "and I work;" in other words, the good providence of my Father is exercised equally on the Sabbath as on other days, and I, who partake of his nature, am equally entitled to "heal on the Sabbath-day." As might be expected, such a defence served but to increase the malice of his enemies, "who sought to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his father, making himself equal to God."

How long our Saviour remained at Jerusalem on this occasion we know not, further than that we find him again exposed to a charge of Sabbath-breaking, because his disciples gathered and rubbed out a few ears of grain while passing through a cornfield; but it is probable that he quitted the capital as soon after the conclusion of the feast as circumstances would allow. His course was directed to Galilee, where, in one of the synagogues, he restored to a man afflicted with a withered hand the perfect use of his limb; but the hostility both of the Pharisees and Herodians became in the end so galling that he withdrew privately, accompanied by his disciples only, towards the seaside. Retirement, however, was not now attainable by one in his circumstances. Great multitudes from almost every district of Palestine followed him, whose sicknesses he freely healed, causing the very touch of his garment to bring with it relief, till the crowds became at last so oppressive that to escape from them he took refuge in a fishing-vessel which his disciples had been previously instructed to hold in readiness. By this means he escaped to a mountain which stood considerably apart, where, after a night spent in prayer, he made that distribution of his followers into different classes which has ever since prevailed in the constitution of the Christian Church.

With the dawn of the morrow the multitude once more appeared, and he delivered to them the splendid discourse, generally known as "Christ's Sermon on the Mount." It accords not with the plan of our present work to offer any analysis of this oration; but we may be permitted to observe that, in real dignity of sentiment, in absolute purity of morals, and in simplicity and perspicuity of style, it stands without a rival in any language. It produced, moreover, a very powerful effect upon those who listened to it; for we read that "the people were astonished at his doctrine, because he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

Having descended from the mountain and healed a leper at its base, our Lord returned to Capernaum, where he exercised his miraculous powers by restoring to health the servant of a devout Roman centurion. This done, he proceeded towards Nain, a pleasant place on the Kison, situated about half-way between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, at the gate of which he was met by a funeral party, bearing the corpse of a widow's only son to the grave. Jesus was much affected by the spectacle of the mother's grief; and, commanding the procession to halt, he cried, with a voice of authority, "Young man, I say unto thee, arise." Instantly the soul of the dead youth returned; and the multitude exclaimed, with one accord, "that a mighty prophet was risen up among them, and that God had visited his people."

While our Saviour was thus employed, a circumstance befell, which, like every other attending the career of the Messiah, was not without its weight in furthering the great scheme of conversion. John the Baptist, who still lingered in his dungeon, either fearful that some new claimant of the mediatorial office had arisen, or desirous of allaying the doubts of his own disciples and of transferring them to Christ, sent two of them to demand whether Jesus "were indeed he that should come, or whether they ought to look for

another." The messengers arrived at a moment of all others the best calculated to serve the Baptist's purpose. Our Lord was in the act of realizing that vision of the prophet where the Messiah is represented "as taking men's sicknesses upon him, and bearing their infirmities," and he accordingly, instead of giving a direct answer to the message, desired John's disciples to report to their master what they saw and heard. No reply could have served its purpose better. The misgivings of the Baptist, if indeed he really entertained any, were effaced, and his disciples became from that hour firm believers and disciples of Christ.

From this time forth, the history of our Saviour's life contains little besides a continued narrative of wonderful deeds, pious and profoundly wise discourses, privations, persecutions, insults, and sufferings. Dining with one Simon, for example, in Nain, a wretched outcast from female society rushed into the apartment, fell at Jesus's feet, and bathed them with her tears, an incident from which our Lord took occasion to show that his was a religion of mercy and reconciliation: while his business, after quitting that place, was to go round other parts of Galilee instructing the people in their duty and healing their maladies. As a necessary consequence, his conduct exposed him more than ever to the hatred and envy of the Pharisees, who now accused him of casting out devils by the influence of Beelzebub, and again demanded of him some proof that he was what he professed to be; but to these accusations and querulous demands Jesus paid no other heed than by referring them to the history of Jonas, thus intimating that his claims, like those of the prophet, would be best established after he should have undergone all that was reserved for him.

Having thus rebuked the Pharisees, and instructed his mother and nearest relatives that to do the work of his Father was to him more acceptable than any other employment, Jesus, finding the crowd press rudely upon him, once more withdrew to the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Here he embarked in a fishing-vessel, from which he taught the people in parables, comparing the propagation of the gospel to the sowing of a mustard-seed, and to the effect of a piece of leaven thrust into a heap of flour; after which he desired his disciples, to whom he interpreted his several apologues, to push for the opposite coast. They obeyed him; but ere half the passage was made good, a violent storm arose, by which the frail bark and its crew were placed in imminent danger. Jesus, however, who had fallen asleep, probably overcome with his late exertions, was no sooner aroused than he rebuked the tempest, and to the inexpressible amazement of all on board there was a profound calm.

Arrived in the country of the Gadarenes, Jesus was met by two demons, who, from their exceeding ferocity, were objects of terror to all that passed that way. The wretched beings no sooner beheld him than the evil spirits by which they were possessed began to deprecate his anger, entreating him either not to cast them out, or, in the event of his refusing to comply with that request, to sanction their passing into the bodies of certain swine, which in great numbers were feeding near. Our Saviour commanded them to quit



SEA OF GALILEE.

their human victims, but offered no opposition to their prayer relative to the swine; which, becoming instantly maddened, ran violently down a steep place into the sea and perished. A great effect was produced throughout the entire district by the announcement of these occurrences. The people, stupefied with terror, came to him in a body, and besought him to depart from among them; and he, not caring to continue where his presence seemed so little desired, repassed the lake, and returned to Capernaum.

Many memorable deeds were performed by him here, among which two stand peculiarly distinguished; namely, the recovery of a woman from an obstinate disease by a touch of his garment, and the restoration to life of the daughter of Jairus, a chief ruler of the synagogue. But neither these, nor the renewal of sight to the blind, nor the casting out of devils, nor the loosing of the tongue of the dumb, produced the smallest faith in his Divine mission among the haughty Pharisees. Once more they accused him of holding communion with Beelzebub, and harassed him to so great a degree that he took refuge in Nazareth. But the prejudice which had before operated against "the carpenter's son" was not yet removed, and our Lord found but few and thankless auditors in his own country.

Driven forth from Nazareth, the Messiah made a progress through most of the towns and villages of Galilee, preaching the gospel and healing the diseases of the people; but the field of exertion was so great, that, ceaseless as his efforts were, they failed in accomplishing their full end. He accordingly deputed to his disciples in a particular manner the care of publishing the tidings of salvation to the Jews, investing them, as an evidence of their Divine commission, with absolute authority over diseases and infirmities; and they went forth in pairs to teach in all parts of Palestine, where the brethren dwelt, leaving their Lord to continue his pious labors in Galilee.

It was at this juncture that Herod Antipas, beguiled by Herodias and her daughter, caused the Baptist to be beheaded in his dungeon; an event of which the intelligence no sooner reached Jesus, than he deemed it prudent to retire from the dominions of the tyrant. With this view he directed his disciples, who had returned to him rejoicing in the success of their mission, to prepare with secrecy the means of passing the sea; but the multitude who delighted in his discourses soon traced their progress, and overtook the holy company in the deserts of Bethsaida. Here our Lord miraculously fed them all, though amounting, besides women and children, to full five thousand men, from five barley-loaves and two small fishes; a transaction which inspired them with so much zeal, that they would have forcibly proclaimed him king of Judah; but having dismissed his followers in their ship, with instructions to proceed to Capernaum, he quietly withdrew himself, and spent the early watches of the night in prayer.

The disciples had accomplished about half their voyage, when, amid the darkness of a storm which beat heavily against them, they beheld the figure of some one walking on the sea. Their astonishment was, as may be imagined, excessive, and they cried out in terror, believing that it was a spirit; but Jesus no sooner made himself known to them than their terror

was changed into joy ; and Peter, ever impetuous and rash, sprang overboard to meet his Master. Peter's faith was not, however, capable of supporting him amid the dangers by which he was surrounded ; and had not the hand of his Lord been extended to save, he would have perished ; but the Messiah, gently rebuking his distrust, led him back to the vessel, which, immediately on receiving its Divine freight, reached the port whither it was destined.

Our Lord's arrival at Capernaum no sooner became known, than he was surrounded, as heretofore, by crowds of the suffering and the poor ; and numberless persons, afflicted with every variety of disease, were healed. The multitude likewise from Bethsaida speedily overtook him, full of curiosity touching the means by which he had eluded their search ; but though in this respect he refused to gratify them, he gladly availed himself of the first opportunity to show that the food supplied in the wilderness was no more than a type of the meat which shall endure to all eternity. He spoke now of his own death, and of the consequences which were to follow, in terms so explicit that even of his disciples some were offended ; and, to use the honest and undisguised expression of the Evangelist, "went back and walked no more with him."

In this manner our Lord passed his time, healing the sick, preaching the doctrine of repentance, and gradually infusing fresh light into the minds of his faithful followers, though exposed wherever he went to the artifices of the Pharisees. It would appear, indeed, that as his hour drew nigh, it behooved him to guard with greater and greater care against the malice of his enemies ; for we find him now, towards the close of the second year of his ministry, seeking shelter in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon ; where, after some little demur, he expelled a devil from the daughter of a Syro-Phœnician woman. He now retraced his steps, however, to Decapolis and Dalmanutha, healing, as he proceeded, a deaf man, and again feeding four thousand people upon "seven loaves and a few fishes ;" after which he navigated the Lake of Gennesaret, from south to north, and landed once more at Bethsaida. Here he restored sight to a blind man, after he had led him forth from the city, the inhabitants of which were by no means disposed to treat him with respect ; and then turning his face towards the north, betook himself to the coast of Cesarea Philippi. It was at the latter place that his disciples communicated to him the strange reports which were circulated respecting his nature and office ; that his body was animated by the soul of Elijah ; that he was John the Baptist risen from the dead ; and there also Peter, speaking in the name of his brethren, confessed that Jesus was indeed the expected Messiah, the Son of the living God. Our Lord, so far from being offended with the confession, pronounced Peter blessed because he had made it, and pronounced that he should have the honor of first laying the foundation of a church, against which the powers of hell should never be able to prevail.

Perceiving from the reply of Peter that the faith of his disciples was well grounded, our Lord went on to explain to them through what means the kingdom of God upon earth behooved to be established. He stated explicitly that his own death by the hands of a public executioner was unavoid-

able; and showed that the moment was fast approaching when the mighty penalty due to men's transgressions must be paid upon the cross. The disciples were not yet sufficiently enlightened to listen with patience to a prognostication so different from that which they had been accustomed to encourage; and Peter, again taking the lead, reproved his master for thus disparaging his own greatness. But on this occasion Peter himself received the check, which he desired to impose upon the Redeemer. He was sharply rebuked for his worldly-mindedness, assured that visions such as he conjured up were unreal, and told in direct terms that persecution, much labor, and a violent death were the sole honors to which, in this life, the followers of God's Christ would be advanced; but that the hour should come, when for these temporal sufferings an eternal recompense would be given; and that even of those surrounding the Messiah at the moment, there were some who should survive to witness his entrance into glory.

There is good reason to believe that declarations such as these failed not to affect, with profound melancholy, the imaginations of men who still fondly dreamed of earthly crowns and sceptres. Partly to dispel this uneasy feeling, partly to cheer them through their future difficulties, our Lord, not many days after the preceding conversation, took with him Peter, James, and John, and ascended to the top of a mountain. Here a scene was exhibited before the admiring eyes of the disciples such as confused their very intellects by reason of its splendor; "for the form of his visage was changed, and his raiment became white as snow;" and Moses and Elias appeared visibly beside him. A cloud at the same time overshadowed the party, whence issued a voice which proclaimed that "Jesus was the Son of God;" and the disciples, falling with their faces to the earth, felt in every pore that the divinity was palpably present. But the glorious vision soon faded away. It gave them, indeed, a glimpse of the splendor of a better world—but it gave them no more; for, on again raising their heads, Moses and Elias had vanished, and they alone were with their Master on the barren hill. Our Lord, satisfied with the effect produced, charged them to keep the matter secret till after his resurrection; and they descended the mountain together, to endure once more the vexations of an evil and envious world.

A. D.
30.

The first spectacle which presented itself to our Saviour on his arrival in the plain was a crowd of persons gathered round others of his disciples, and demanding of them to perform a task, for which their want of faith incapacitated them. A father had brought his child to be delivered from the influence of a devil; but the disciples, though they strove to gratify his wish, failed in doing so. What they, however, could not accomplish, their Divine Master performed. He expelled the devil, restored the child in health to his parent, and showed his wondering followers that if they desired to possess the degree of faith requisite in such cases, they must seek it by fasting, and deep and frequent prayer.

Jesus now turned his face in the direction of Capernaum, and took advantage of the journey to instruct his followers more fully than he had yet done, as to the nature of the kingdom which he was about to establish. He

explained to them that he who would be greatest there, must be the most prompt to serve his brethren here, not in the comparatively unimportant affairs of the body, but in those of the soul; he enforced upon their minds lessons of brotherly love, of mutual forbearance, and the forgiveness of injuries; and he assured them that to the eye of the Most High no sight is so acceptable as that of a contrite sinner turning from the evil of his ways. Neither was he neglectful of the great duty of obedience to the civil governments under which men live. By performing a miracle for the purpose of procuring as much money as was needed to meet the demands of the public tax-gatherer, he distinctly showed that to every ordinance of man we are bound to be subject, "for the Lord's sake."

The feast of Tabernacles was at hand; and the family and connections of Jesus, beginning at last to entertain a hope that he was really the Messiah to whose coming their wishes pointed, would have gone up with him publicly, at the manifest hazard of a tumult, to assert his claim to the throne of David. Jesus, however, saw through their motives, and despised them. He refused to act the part which they would have had him act; and permitting them to set out under the idea that he designed not to follow at all, he took the road privately and at his own leisure towards the capital. The route which he followed led him through a town of Samaria, the inhabitants of which refused to accommodate him for the night; which so irritated his disciples, that they besought him, in imitation of Elijah of old, to call down fire from heaven and destroy the place. But the Redeemer took no further notice of the request than to reprove it, professing that he came "not to destroy men's lives, but to save them;" and he followed up this humane declaration by healing ten lepers, only one of whom possessed gratitude enough to thank his gracious Benefactor.

We have said that our Lord distributed his disciples into different classes, investing each class with a degree of power and dignity peculiarly its own. Thus he appointed twelve individuals, who, as long as the Messiah continued upon earth, filled the place of priests or presbyters in his church; while seventy were separated from the mass of the converts to attend, like the twelve, upon his person, in a somewhat subordinate capacity. His employment of the twelve to preach the gospel has already been described; and that the seventy might be made aware of the duties hereafter to be discharged by them, they likewise were on the present occasion sent out, two and two, throughout Judea.

While his followers were thus occupied, Jesus himself arrived at Jerusalem, where, during the earlier part of the feast, he kept himself concealed. Much speculation was in consequence excited, for men of all parties expected him, and a thousand rumors were afloat as to his ultimate designs; but before half the period allotted for the festival was expired, that is to say, about the fourth day from its commencement, he unexpectedly appeared in the temple, and began to teach. His doctrines on this as on other occasions produced a very powerful effect, more especially when, taking advantage of certain ceremonies which accompanied the offering of the great sacrifice on the last day, he assured the multitude of a palpable effusion of the Holy Spirit at no dis-



SAMARIA, FROM THE VALLEY.

tant date; but though the people crowded and admired, the chief priests and rulers listened with increasing animosity to his discourses. Nevertheless their malevolence, though excited to a high degree by the boldness with which he spoke, led to no positive results, for "his hour was not yet come," and the very officers of the sanhedrim refused to arrest him.

Our Lord continued at Jerusalem during the remainder of the festival, teaching always in the most public places, and performing many extraordinary works. It was on this occasion that he reproved the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, who demanded his sanction for the stoning to death of a woman taken in adultery, by desiring him who was unconscious of a similar crime to cast the first stone; and it was then, also, that he explicitly assured the multitude that "before Abraham was, I am." In like manner he showed, by the beautiful parable of the Good Samaritan, that the claims of friendship and neighborhood extend beyond kindred and country; while to his own disciples, who came back elated with their triumphs over devils, he pointed out, that to insure their own personal salvation was to them of much greater consequence than the exercise of the highest order of miraculous powers. But the festival ended, he withdrew from the noisy capital, and took up his residence for a little space at Bethany, in the house of certain of his friends, named Mary, Martha, and Lazarus.

His visit paid, and the family being fully instructed that other matters besides those of time require attention, our Saviour returned into Galilee, where he delivered to his disciples the simple yet sublime prayer which has ever since borne his name. He followed up the gift by an assurance that "God is always more ready to hear than we to pray;" and he exhorted all who call themselves by his name to be constant and earnest in their devotions. In other respects, moreover, his proceedings fully corresponded with the previous course of his life. Indifferent to worldly honors, he refused to arbitrate between man and man in cases where property was at issue, yet he freely expelled a devil from a poor demoniac, and restored to the dumb the faculty of speech. In like manner he took advantage of the reported massacre by Pontius Pilate of certain Galileans, and of the death of eighteen persons by the fall of the tower of Siloam, to impress upon the minds of his hearers the doctrine of God's perfect justice; drawing, as his great moral, that such accidents were designed as warnings to the survivors, who, equally with their less fortunate countrymen, were amenable to God's severest judgments.

Having thus spent the interval between the feasts of Tabernacles and of the Dedication, our Lord, on the arrival of the latter, went up once more to Jerusalem. Here his first occupation was to give sight to a man born blind; but the cure having been wrought on the Sabbath-day, the Pharisees, as usual, pronounced it the act, not of a prophet, but of a sorcerer. A scene of curious altercation ensued between the sanhedrim and the object of Christ's mercy, which ended in the excommunication of the latter; or, as it is expressed by the Evangelist, his expulsion from the synagogue; but the poor man meeting his benefactor soon afterwards, and being assured by him that he was really the Messiah, instantly believed and worshipped him.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the order of our Lord's proceedings

during his present visit to Jerusalem. Let it suffice to state, that, after again reproving the Pharisees as "blind leaders of the blind;" after again refusing to supply the incredulous with other proofs than were already before them of his Divine commission and authority; after warning the people generally that the election of their nation had ceased, and that to strive for an entrance at the strait gate was the wisdom of all mankind alike; after showing by his conduct towards publicans and sinners that he came to seek and to save such as were lost, and pointing out in the parables of the Lord of the Vineyard, and Lazarus and Dives, that God is no respecter of persons; after conveying these and many other important lessons, to the soundness of which repeated miracles bore testimony,—our Lord again quitted the capital and visited Perea. Wheresoever he went, the same sentiments flowed from his lips. He warned the multitudes who attended him that his disciples must be prepared to endure the scorn and hatred of the world; he repeated the observations which he had previously made, as to the necessity of self-denial, charity, and humility; he placed the law of marriage on its natural and just basis, into which the corrupt priesthood had made numerous innovations; and he demonstrated, by his reply to a wealthy youth who would have joined his company had no sacrifice been required, that converts who calculate the comparative gain or loss of their conversion are not admissible into the kingdom of Christ. Such is a summary of our Saviour's career during the space of several weeks, part of which he spent at Jerusalem, part in the district beyond Jordan.

He was thus situated when intelligence reached him that Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, was at the point of death. Our Saviour's predilection for Lazarus was so well known that his disciples naturally concluded that no time would be lost in hastening to his assistance; and their surprise was in consequence great when they found that their Master took little or no notice of the announcement. Nevertheless, our Lord acted now as he ever did, with strict attention to the interests of Christianity. He was desirous of exhibiting to the whole Jewish nation one proof more striking than had yet been afforded of his own superiority over nature, and he delayed with this view to commence his journey till the death of Lazarus had been distinctly ascertained. He was glad, however, of the opportunity which the present moment afforded of still further enlightening his disciples on the subject of life and immortality; and their own lurking ambition was not slow in leading to the desired conversation. It chanced that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, mistaking the import of his doctrine, besought him to grant to them the highest dignities about his court; and our Lord readily availed himself of their error to communicate both to them and to their companions that the kingdom of which he was appointed ruler lay beyond the grave.

Our Lord passed through Jericho, where he restored sight to the eyes of two blind beggars, and dined with a wealthy publican named Zaccheus. He proceeded next to Jerusalem, delivering as he went along a parable prophetic of his own fate and of the punishment which was destined to overtake the Jews as soon as they should have filled up the measure of their crimes; and

he arrived at Bethany four full days after Lazarus had been committed to the grave.

Great numbers both of men and women were there, which the custom of condoling with the survivors had brought together; but to the voice of consolation both Martha and Mary were deaf, and their grief seemed but to increase on beholding the Messiah. They ran to meet him, cast themselves at his feet, and in bitterness of heart exclaimed, "Lord, if thou hadst been here our brother had not died." The Redeemer was deeply affected. He was moved even to tears; but having explained to them that he was the resurrection and the life, he desired them to lead the way towards the spot where they had laid their brother.

As the company moved forward to the tomb of Lazarus, a variety of speculations passed from one to another. "Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the blind," said they, "have caused that even this man should not have died?" And their surprise that he had not done so became the greater when they beheld the agony of sorrow under which he seemed to labor. But our Lord's tears were shed, not like those of other men, who weep because their brother-man is removed, but partly through the operation of feelings purely and exquisitely disinterested, and partly in obedience to the universal law of sympathy, to which the Son of God disdained not to be subject. In this order they reached the tomb, a cave hollowed out in a rock, over which a huge fragment of stone was laid. Jesus immediately commanded the massive door to be rolled back, and standing on the brink of the cavern, exclaimed, with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth." There was a silence among the crowd so profound that the very waving of the grass might be heard. Men gazed at Jesus with mingled awe and astonishment, as if doubting whether or not his extraordinary mandate would be obeyed; but their amazement was only to be equalled by their horror, when they beheld the dead man rise from the earth, arrayed in his shroud, with legs and arms swathed in linen, and the napkin around his head which the piety of his surviving relatives had bound there. We cannot pretend to describe the effect produced upon all who witnessed that spectacle. Nothing at all resembling it had ever been seen before, and even such as still refused to believe that Jesus was the Christ, departed with a firm conviction on their minds that he was no common man. But as far as his own immediate happiness was concerned, no good resulted from the miracle. The rulers and chief priests no sooner became aware of it than their fury was roused to a higher pitch than before, and Jesus was in consequence driven to seek shelter at Ephraim, a little town in the tribe of Benjamin.

The objection to which the contents of the preceding chapter are liable resemble in so many particulars those advanced and refuted already, that we deem it unnecessary to notice more than one or two of the most prominent, among such as appear to possess some degree of novelty. Under this head we by no means include any one of the many miracles performed by our Lord. These, however extraordinary, must all be received as they are given, on the sole authority of the inspired historian; for it is no more possible to account for the very least of them upon what are called natural principles,

than it is practicable on the same principles to account for the greatest. It is true that the raising of Lazarus, the restoration to life of the widow's son of Nain, the feeding of five thousand men upon five barley loaves, and the walking on the sea, all strike our imaginations with greater force than the renewal of health to a paralytic; yet, when the means by which each of these great effects was produced comes to be considered, the one will appear just as wonderful as the other. We can no more explain how it came about that, at the bare command of Christ, a man born blind received sight, and a person afflicted with dropsy became whole, than we can account for his absolute authority over the grave and the wildest elements of nature. The case is somewhat different with respect to one or two matters which have been felt as difficulties even by the most pious; but which, in reality, involve no contradictions, as the following statements may prove.

The story of the pool of Siloam, with its healing qualities, has occasioned considerable uneasiness to such as have looked into the pages of Josephus without discovering any intimation there that the existence of these qualities was known to that writer, while the Evangelist's statement, that an angel came down visibly from heaven and troubled the water periodically, it seems a hard matter to credit. When did this custom commence, and at what moment did it terminate?

It appears to us that there is no occasion to receive the Evangelist's statement touching the angelic visit in a strictly literal sense. The Jews, as is well known, especially in the latter times, attributed every fortunate event which befell them individually or collectively to the interposing influence of a good spirit; whereas, every accident or calamity was referred to the operation of a devil or malignant demon. Now if the Evangelist wrote in the idiomatic style of his country, his expression as to "an angel coming down from heaven" will signify no more than that at certain seasons the fountain became unaccountably agitated, and that its waters then possessed the quality of removing the disease of the afflicted person who first, after their agitation, plunged into them. No doubt the miracle still remains as it was before. Siloam was not a medicinal spring, otherwise it would have been equally effective at all seasons, in particular, and only in particular cases. But there is no necessity to multiply miracles, and hence we are disposed to regard the notice of an angelic visit as a mere fashion of speech peculiar to the age and country of the inspired writer. With respect again to the period of time when the fountain first exhibited its sanitive qualities, we confess ourselves quite incompetent to give any account of it; and we are equally unable to state at what precise era it ceased to possess them. There is good ground, however, to assert that Siloam had long been permitted to act towards the Jews the part of a standing memorial of God's care over his people; and if the case was so, we see no reason to doubt that its healing qualities were coeval with the establishment of the Jewish capital in its vicinity. Thus, though Josephus, who wrote for the instruction of the heathen, and who was more regardful of their prejudices than became a Jew, makes no mention of the cures wrought by dipping in Siloam, he records of it what is no less surprising, and equally conclusive of the fact, that its waters were used by



FOUNTAIN, NEAR JERUSALEM.

Jehovah in the manner to which we have referred. In his speech delivered during the last siege of Jerusalem, in which he advocated the cause of submission to Titus, that historian says, "The springs, which when in your power were dry, now flow plentifully for Titus, for ye know that before his coming, Siloam, and all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail that water was sold by distinct measures; but they so abound to your enemies, as not only to suffice for themselves and for their cattle, but even for watering the gardens. The same wonderful sign ye also formerly experienced, when the forementioned king of Babylon [Nebuchadnezzar] made war against us, took the city, and burned the temple." Now, if the waters of Siloam were thus made the instrument in the hands of God to punish the rebellious Jews, by supplying the wants of their enemies, why might they not likewise possess the qualities ascribed to them of healing one sick person miraculously at every passover. Nor is it very difficult to surmise the exact period at which these supernatural qualities were removed. They were, doubtless, taken away when the theocracy utterly ceased, and the people, by their rejection of the Messiah, proved themselves unworthy of its continuance.

Of the message of John the Baptist, which has given umbrage even to Christians, we have already said enough, when recording the fact itself, to satisfy every impartial inquirer. The Baptist, conscious that his days were numbered, took the method described above to allay the doubts of certain of his own disciples, who, with natural but mistaken partiality, preferred the teaching of their own master to that of Christ; at least we cannot well account for his conduct, under all circumstances, on any other or more rational grounds. But should any of our readers lean to the notion that a lengthened captivity had caused the Baptist to lose sight of Jesus, or that his ideas touching the kingdom of the Messiah were, like the ideas of the Jews in general, far from being correct; as there is nothing impossible in either theory, nor at variance with the truths of revelation, there is no reason to be assigned why one or other should not be adopted. We indeed give the preference to the first theory; but the last, equally with it, accounts for the Baptist's inquiry.

We pass by the remarkable narrative of Christ's transfiguration, because we see in it nothing more startling than in the history of the same Divine Being when controlling the elements, or baffling the wiles of Satan in the desert. It is indeed abundantly striking, that the two men with whom he held converse on the Mount were, with the exception of Enoch, the only human beings of whose natural deaths no distinct record remains. One, indeed, we are assured, passed visibly from earth to the heavenly Paradise in a chariot of fire, sent down for his conveyance; while the other, as his body was never found, is believed by not a few, both of Jews and Christians, to have been in like manner translated. But be this as it may, of God's power to reanimate the body at any moment no doubt can exist; and hence these two prophets may have taken part in the memorable drama, only because they were the greatest that had flourished under the Mosaic dispensation. With respect again to the object of that glorious vision, it has already been fully stated. Our Lord took this method of cheering the

drooping spirits of his followers; and the remembrance of what they then witnessed was to them as a pole-star in many a trying and difficult scene in their after-life.

It has sometimes been asked why our Saviour should have hidden such transactions from the Jewish people generally; and why he refused, though repeatedly requested, to exhibit more irrefragable proofs of his right to the title of the Messiah: we answer, that had he complied with the unreasonable demands of the chief men, one or other of two consequences must have followed. Had they credited the sign granted, as their expectations relative to the Messiah were of the grossest and most grovelling kind, nothing could have hindered them from breaking out into rebellion against the Romans, and the very object which our Lord came to attain would have been defeated; had they persisted in attributing the miracle, be it what it might, to the power of magic, they would have stood exactly as they did before. Besides, with proofs so numerous as his daily proceedings afforded, why demand more, or why should he be expected to comply with the demand whose entire life was one continued series of great actions. We see no force whatever in such an objection as this. But whence came it about that his own disciples, the very men most favored, and constantly in attendance on him, entertained to the last notions so erroneous respecting the object of his coming and the nature of his kingdom.

There is nothing either to alarm or surprise the most tender-minded Christian in this. Let it be borne in mind that the followers of our Lord were taken, not from the great and the learned, but from the humble and unlettered. Let it be further borne in mind that the whole Jewish nation, high and low, rich and poor, priests and people, teachers and taught, were equally impressed with the conviction that the Messiah, whenever he came, would openly ascend the throne; that he would lead their armies to battle, defeat their enemies, and make them masters of the world. Now that the twelve should cling to this belief, even after they had learned to regard Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Christ, is by no means surprising; for no truth can be more firmly established, than that prejudices are usually deep-seated in proportion to the absence of culture in the minds over which they have once prevailed. It is in vain to demand why our Lord did at once deliver the minds of his followers from this delusion. The whole of God's dealings with mankind demonstrate, that he never has acted and never will act violently upon their wills or capabilities; and our Saviour's conduct towards his disciples formed no exception to this grand and immutable law. As the Father gradually prepared the world for the coming of the Son and the reception of that religion which he was sent to establish, so the Son gradually prepared his disciples to receive the full blaze of light, which was not communicated till after his ascension.

But granting all this to be correct, are there not one or two circumstances recorded of our Saviour totally at variance with the line of his general character; and is it not a fact, that the four Evangelists do not always tell the same tale, or relate it after the same fashion. The permission given to the devils to take possession of the herd of swine, for example — how is that

to be accounted for; and whence is it, that while one Evangelist speaks of two blind beggars cured at Jericho, another makes mention only of one?

It is worthy of remark, that the history of the miracle which ended in the destruction of the swine proves no more than that our Saviour did not interfere to prevent the spirits expelled from the men from entering into the bodies of the beasts. They were not sent thither by him, and hence he is no more to be blamed for the consequences of that movement than Almighty God is deserving of blame because he does not interfere to lessen the spread of a pestilence, or frustrate the effects of an earthquake or an inundation. But if this be not sufficient to vindicate the character of our Lord, other and still better reasons may be assigned for his present proceeding. The swine were either the property of the Jews, multitudes of whom dwelt in that district, or they belonged to the heathens. If owned by Jews, then was their destruction a merited punishment upon men who, in spite of the prohibition of the law, trafficked in the unclean animal; if by the heathens, as they were doubtless kept in mockery of the Israelites, and used in the most impious and impure sacrifices, there seems to be no impropriety in supposing that Christ permitted them to perish for the purpose of vindicating the honor of his Father, whose religion their proprietors daily insulted.

The last objection which we propose to notice at this stage of our history is that which depends for weight upon the trifling incongruities which here and there prevail in the narratives of the several Evangelists. To our minds the fact that such incongruities exist, so far from telling against the credibility of the inspired penmen, speaks volumes in its favor: for men combining to devise a fable would guard against such an accident with the utmost care; whereas, several biographers, writing from memory, at remote distances, and without the smallest communication with one another, could scarcely avoid committing the crime of which the Evangelists are accused. One, it is said, makes mention of only a single blind beggar cured, the other speaks of two; what then? It is evident, from the terms employed by both historians, that Bartimeus was a well-known character; it is equally evident that his companion in misery and fellow-recipient of Christ's bounty was an individual of no note. Is it wonderful that this stranger should have been passed by altogether in one account, though the other chances to notice him? Now to this, and to no more than this, will all the contradictions and discrepancies discoverable in the pages of the several Evangelists be found to amount. In the case of St. John, indeed, something more may be said. He was confessedly acquainted with the works of his brother biographers; to which, indeed, his gospel may be taken as a supplement; surely it is the reverse of surprising to find that he should have recorded one or two circumstances of his master which are recorded nowhere else. But it is needless to pursue the argument further. The slightest care in collating gospel with gospel will demonstrate that in no material or important question are they contradictory one of the other; while the mere mention of something by one writer of which the other was either ignorant or forgetful furnishes, as we have already said, the strongest testimony to the veracity of all.

SECTION III.

OUR LORD GOES UP TO JERUSALEM IN TRIUMPH—AGAIN PURGES THE TEMPLE—
PARDONS MARY MAGDALENE—CELEBRATES THE LAST SUPPER—IS BETRAYED,
CRUCIFIED, AND RISES AGAIN—HIS ASCENSION—OBJECTIONS STATED AND ANSWERED
—GENERAL VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE
CHURCH.

A. D. 31.

OUR Lord continued at Ephraim till the time of the Passover drew near, when he again made preparations to go up, as heretofore, to Jerusalem. To reach the city it was necessary to pass through Bethany, where Jesus became once more the guest of Lazarus and his sisters, and where he was treated, as he had ever been, with the utmost deference and hospitality. It was on this occasion that Mary anointed with spikenard the feet of Jesus, wiping them at the same time with the hair of her head; and that Judas, the future traitor, affected to condemn the deed as one of shameful extravagance. But our Lord vindicated Mary by explaining that the ceremony just performed was preparatory to his burial, while he refuted the hypocritical argument of Judas by stating that “the poor they would always have with them, but him they would not always have.”

After spending the night at Bethany, Jesus set forward towards Jerusalem, attended by a large concourse of people, who had been brought together partly to see Lazarus, the living dead, partly to behold the prophet at whose bidding a departed soul had returned. There was a little village on the side of Mount Olivet called Bethphage, around which numerous date- and fig-trees grew, distant about a mile or something less from the capital, and inhabited principally by the families of the priests. Near Bethphage Jesus halted, while two of his disciples were directed to go into the hamlet, and bring from thence an ass's colt, “on which man had never yet ridden.” They did so; and having cast their upper garments over the animal, mounted their master upon it, and advanced in a species of triumphal procession, the air ringing with the shouts of thousands, who hailed him as the long-expected Messiah. At every step, moreover, the number of his adherents increased. Men, women, and children rushed forth to meet him, strewing their garments and green branches of palm-trees in his way, and he entered Jerusalem amid a universal outcry, “Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.”

It was not to be expected that the Pharisees and chief priests would regard this movement with indifference. Concealing their personal hatred of Christ under the guise of apprehension for the peace of the capital, they required



MOUNT OLIVET.

our Lord to reject the plaudits of the multitude; but he answered, that, "should these cease their hallelujahs, the very stones in the walls of their houses would proclaim his praise." Then turning to his disciples, after he had gazed steadily and mournfully over the city, he exclaimed, "Would that thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come when thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and hem thee in on every side, and destroy thee, with thy children within thee; and shall not leave, of all thy gorgeous buildings, one stone upon another." How fearfully this prediction was verified at the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, every reader of Josephus must be aware.

By this time the entire city was in a state of violent commotion, men demanding, one from another, "Who is this?" while others shouted aloud, "This is Jesus the prophet, from Nazareth, of whom Moses spake." But if the tumult was great previous to his arrival in the temple, it increased four-fold when he there restored sight to the blind and strength to the lame; indeed, he was now openly saluted on all sides as "the Son of David," and blessed as the King who "came in the name of the Lord." Nor was it among native Jews alone that the admiration of Jesus rose to the highest pitch; at each of the great festivals a number of proselytes, as well as numbers of the tribes in dispersion, came up to perform their religious duties in the Temple, and these, no less than his countrymen, flocked round him in crowds. Nevertheless our Lord, though he refused not the homage thus offered, soon alienated the minds of the giddy multitude by speaking to them, not of empire or worldly grandeur, but of his own coming sufferings; and even the voice from heaven, which came to cheer him amid the gloom occasioned by such anticipations, failed to convince them of their error. They could not comprehend how the Messiah, whom they expected to reign forever, should "be lifted up and die upon a cross;" and when towards evening he disappeared from among them, all their enthusiasm in his favor had evaporated.

Our Lord returned after sunset, on the third day of the week, to Bethany; and early on the morning of the third, he again took the road to Jerusalem. Being affected with hunger, and espying a fig-tree by the wayside, he approached it with the design of gathering fruit, but the tree, though in full leaf and of extreme beauty, was barren. Jesus permitted not the opportunity to pass of exhibiting before his disciples an emblematical representation of the consequences of a life uselessly spent;* he cursed the tree, which instantly began to droop, and within the short space of twenty-four hours withered away.

This done, our Lord proceeded to the temple, which had again been polluted by the presence of traders in full business, and which he again purged, with an authority not to be resisted. It is worthy of remark, that, on the

* There was in this transaction likewise a manifest reference to the fate of the Jewish nation,—that barren fig-tree of which he formerly spake as cumbering the ground, Luke xiii. 6-9.

present occasion his language is more explicit as to his own Divine nature than he had formerly deemed it expedient to use. He no longer spoke of his *Father's* house; but affirmed in direct terms, "*My* house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."

Equally provoked at the boldness of our Lord's proceedings, and jealous of his influence with the people, the Pharisees, the Herodians, and the Sadducees all combined to entrap him, if possible, in his speech; each party was, however, baffled in its turn, till there arose, last of all, a lawyer, who hoped to confound him in the decision which he should make as to the relative merits of the several laws. But our Lord's answer was so just and so worthy of the nature to which he laid claim, that the very tempter felt its force in his inmost heart, and expressed himself in terms which called forth from Christ a declaration that he was not far removed from the kingdom of heaven.

It now became our Saviour's turn to put questions to these self-appointed catechists, and he demanded from them an explanation why David, of whom they spake as the father of the Messiah, should himself speak of the same Messiah as his Lord? They could not solve the problem; but anxious to hide their own shame, and eager at all events to get rid of Jesus, they affected a concern for his safety, and advised him to quit the city. "Herod," said they, "seeks to kill thee." "Tell that fox," replied Christ, "lo, I cast out devils, and perform other miracles, to-day and to-morrow; and the third day I shall be perfected by suffering, for it cannot be that a prophet shall perish out of Jerusalem." Then, as if overcome by the feelings excited by so melancholy a consideration, he exclaimed, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a bird gathereth her brood under her wings, and ye would not!" But though deeply compassionating the delusion under which the multitude lay, he neither justified nor failed to denounce the crimes of their rulers, whom he reprov'd with so much boldness as to stir up their fury to the highest pitch. He then withdrew to the Mount of Olives with his disciples, to whom he conversed further of his own approaching end, and of the utter ruin which should shortly come upon Jerusalem; after which he retired, as his custom was, to spend the night at Bethany.

He supped that evening with one Simon, whom he had formerly cured of a leprosy; and a scene occurred during the meal not dissimilar to that which had taken place a short time before in the house of Lazarus. A woman, whose name is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists, but whom commentators, with great show of reason, pronounce to have been Mary Magdalene, poured over his head a jar of precious ointment, the perfume of which filled the whole house. His disciples were offended at the deed; Judas, especially, again pronounced it to be an act of grievous extravagance; but our Lord rebuked his followers, vindicated the woman, and declared that wherever his gospel was preached, her fame should extend. It needed but some check as this to bring the lurking malice of Judas to a head. The slave of envy no less than of

avarice, he had long looked up to his Lord with an evil eye, and he rose from supper that he might carry into effect a project which he seems to have more than once meditated.

In the meanwhile, a meeting of the sanhedrim had been held at the house of the high-priest, where the necessity of arresting Jesus, and putting him immediately to death, was agitated. Apprehensions of a tumult, if so bold a step were taken during the feast, caused, indeed, the proposition to be received with considerable distrust; but Judas no sooner declared himself willing to betray his Master, than the hesitation of the elders vanished, and it was agreed that the life of the Messiah should be bartered away for thirty pieces of silver. That our Lord knew what was passing in the council-chamber no doubt can exist; he had given many proofs already, and he gave others but a short time afterward, that, "from him no secrets were hid;" yet he continued to act with the same calmness and deliberation as ever, "going up," as the prophet expresses it, "like a lamb to the slaughter." He passed the evening of the fourth day as has been described above, and early in the morning of the fifth, or great day of the feast, made preparations to celebrate the Passover in Jerusalem.

That all things might be done in order, he sent forward two of his disciples to prepare a convenient apartment for him and his company. There was no difficulty in effecting this, because, at that season, the doors of every house in Jerusalem were thrown open for the accommodation of strangers; and an upper chamber being procured in a department of the city adjoining to the tomb of David, Christ, with his twelve followers, immediately took possession of it.

The mode of conducting this great commemorative feast among the Jews so far differed from that originally in use, that instead of eating it with staves in their hands, standing, and in haste, they reclined upon couches arranged for their reception. A greater degree of form, likewise, seems to have been kept up than could be practicable in Egypt; and the whole entertainment was divided, to use the language of modern times, into three courses. First, the head of the family, or the individual who acted as such, having seen that those around him, masters and servants, men and women and children, without distinction of rank or age, had washed their feet, distributed to them morsels of the paschal lamb, with unleavened bread and cups of red wine. The party then washed their feet a second time, after which a second course of salad or bitter herbs, seasoned with a sauce of bruised palm-branches, berries, or raisins, mixed with vinegar, was administered; the ruler of the feast dividing the bread into two portions, one of which he laid aside, covered with a napkin, while over the other he pronounced these words, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the whole world, in the eating of unleavened bread." The third course again consisted simply of the reserved portion of bread, which, with peculiar solemnity and a particular form of benediction, he divided among his friends, and a cup of wine, called the cup of salvation, which in like manner he blessed and passed around. Such was the Passover, which on all occasions concluded with singing the 113th and

the five following psalms; of which, as the reader need scarcely be reminded, the last is peculiarly significant of the coming of Christ.

The first course had been gone through, Jesus acting as master or head of the assembly, when, to the astonishment of his disciples, he arose, and girding himself with a towel, after the manner of servants in early times, he proceeded to wash the feet of those who sat at meat with him. The first submitted without hesitation, overcome, in all probability, by surprise; but Peter, hurt at what he conceived to be the degradation of his Master, would have resisted the effort to wash him. Our Lord, however, no sooner explained to him the mystical meaning of the scene, than Peter gave himself up entirely to the will of his Divine Master, and the Redeemer went on from one to another, till he had performed the same menial office to all. He then taught them, that if he, whom they acknowledged as their superior, could thus far humble himself, it was their duty to strive one against another in offices of mutual kindness; and that humility was especially necessary among men who looked for crowns, not in this world, but in a better.

The ceremony of washing being ended, and all having again resumed their seats, our Lord hastened to inform them that one out of their number would, ere many hours expired, betray him to his enemies. As might be expected, excessive sorrow and humiliation overcame them all, and they began, one after another, to inquire in anxious tones, "Lord, is it I?" Last of all Judas put this question to his Master, who replied without disguise that he was the man; and the same announcement was made to the rest of the disciples by his giving a sop to the traitor from his own hand. Shame and a consciousness of guilt were more than Judas could bear. He rose from his seat, quitted the assembly, and went to carry into execution the plot which he had already matured.

The traitor was no sooner gone than our Saviour, after performing the routine of the second course, proceeded to institute that solemn sacrament which has ever since been celebrated in remembrance of his death. Breaking the bread, he gave it to each of his followers as his body which was about to be offered for the sins of the whole world; and he accompanied the gift by a similar benediction and donation of the cup, as his blood of the New Testament. Finally, he assured them that he should never again drink of the juice of the grape till he drank it new with them in the kingdom of heaven; and having commanded them to keep sacred the ceremony for ever, he withdrew, attended by his followers, to the Mount of Olives.

Among other topics discussed on this melancholy occasion, our Lord had assured his followers that the period was not very distant when they would all forsake him. It was only natural that they should be affected with deep sorrow on hearing such an accusation brought against them; but it remained for Peter alone to assert, in a peremptory tone, that, let come what might, he would follow his Lord's fortunes to the last. Our Lord looked at him, more with sorrow than with anger, while he replied, that ere the cock crew twice he would thrice deny him. Yet Peter repeated his protestations more vehemently than before, and the example thus set was eagerly followed by

the rest. No great while elapsed, however, ere their faith was put to the test, and a deplorable instance of the weakness of human resolution was afforded.

On the Mount of Olives our Lord repeated to them the substance of many of the lessons which he had on other occasions taught. He warned them against spiritual pride and self-sufficiency, conjured them to love one another, promised that when he was taken from them a Comforter should be sent, and cheered them with the assurance that as the Father was in him, so should he ever be with his Church. He then solemnly prayed to God for them, and for all mankind; with equal solemnity blessed them, and, feeling that his hour was come, removed with them to the garden of Gethsemane.

The spot in question was attached to a village of the same name, at the base of the Mount of Olives, and lay in a pleasant valley on the further side of the brook Kedron. The night was far advanced when the holy company entered it; but the moon being full, all things in and round the garden shone with peculiar beauty. The air too was mild and calm; yet there was a strife in progress between the principles of good and evil which soon overcast the serenity of that sky, and caused every object in earth and heaven to be shrouded in pitchy darkness. The last effort of Satan to maintain his dominion in this lower world was made here, and so terrible was the struggle that even the Son of God scarcely succeeded in maintaining it. But to describe that extraordinary scene in other words, besides those of the inspired penman were, in our judgment, an act little short of impiety. "They came to Gethsemane," says St. Mark, "and he saith to his disciples, Sit ye here, while I shall pray. And he taketh with him (apart from the rest) Peter, and James, and John, and began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy; and saith unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch. And he went forward a little and fell on the ground, and prayed, that if it were possible the hour might pass from him." We are told elsewhere, that during this tremendous interval, large drops, not of sweat, but of blood, oozed from his pores; and what the agony must have been which led to such a result the human imagination finds it difficult to conceive. But the hour could not pass; the sins of the whole world were laid on him, and it behoved him at every expense of suffering and of sorrow to effect the work of reconciliation. An angel was accordingly dispatched to strengthen and support him, and the last and deadliest effort of the enemy of mankind failed in producing the smallest effect.

During the progress of that most mysterious and awful conflict, our Lord had more than once returned to his disciples, whom he found overwhelmed with an unnatural drowsiness, and fast asleep. The third time he roused them, just as the torches and flambeaux of his enemies became visible; for Judas had hastened from the paschal feast to the house of the high-priest, and was now at the head of a guard of soldiers seeking for him whom he had stipulated to betray. The traitor knew his Master's haunts, and hence no difficulty was experienced in discovering him; but the still faithful eleven, more zealous than prudent, would have opposed force to force, had the Lord

permitted. Peter, indeed, without waiting for the sanction of Jesus, drew and stood upon his defence; and striking at Malchus, one of the high-priest's servants, cut off his right ear. But Jesus, far from commending, blamed him for his precipitancy, and immediately healed the wound which his inconsiderate follower had inflicted. Upon this the disciples, imagining that all was lost, fled; and even Peter so far followed the example of the rest, as to look, at least for a time, only to his own safety.

In the meanwhile Judas, advancing towards Jesus, gave the signal which had been agreed upon, by kissing him. The soldiers then approached to arrest him; but such was the dignity of his presence and the sanctity of his deportment, that at first their courage failed them, and they shrank back. It suited not, however, with the divine decree that Jesus should escape the indignities, to suffer which, indeed, constituted the main design of his coming into the world; and the guards, recovering their confidence, rushed upon him, and led him away bound. They conducted him first to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, who, after a short inquiry into his doctrine and manner of life, gave orders that he should be conveyed to the palace of the high-priest, in order that his trial might take place before the sanhedrim, already assembled for the purpose. Thither, therefore, he was led, and there he underwent a series of insults and contumelies, such as no man can hear recounted without a shudder.

Our Lord being ushered into the hall, false witnesses were suborned to lay to his charge a thousand things, of which they knew him to be innocent. They prevaricated and contradicted, not only one another, but themselves; yet such was the hostility of his judges, that the declarations of these miscreants were listened to with complacency, and our Lord's fate was sealed. In order, however, to give a greater color of reason to their verdict, the high-priest solemnly adjured Jesus, in the name of the Most High God, to declare whether he were the Christ; and when the latter avowed his right to that title, and spoke of the day when he should come again in the clouds of heaven, his words were pronounced to be blasphemous, and he was adjudged worthy of death. Blows, buffetings, revilings, and the grossest insults were now heaped upon him with savage ferocity, all of which he endured without repining, "as a sheep before her shearers is dumb."

While these things were going on in the judgment-hall, John and Peter, recovering from their panic, repaired to the high-priest's house, and the former being acquainted with some of that functionary's domestics, they were admitted into an outer chamber, where they watched the result. There Peter was charged three different times with being one of Christ's disciples, and three different times he denied it. He had scarcely done so, adding an oath to his last denial, when the cock crew for the second time, and Peter saw at the same moment his outraged Master gazing upon him with a sorrowful and reproofing glance. The disciple's conscience stung him to the quick; he rushed from the house, and in a passion of tears confessed his own weakness and cruel infidelity.

While our Lord passed that night amid the revilings of a brutal soldiery,

Judas, desperate from a sense of the enormity of his crime, rushed into the presence of the chief priest, avowed his guilt, and threw down the price of his soul's salvation. But his was not the remorse of one really penitent. Despairing of pardon, as well he might, he added yet one sin more to the mass of his transgressions; and seeing that the rulers only mocked at his late repentance, he committed suicide.

At early dawn on the following morning the sanhedrim again assembled, and after dedicating the thirty pieces of silver to the purchase of a burial-ground for strangers, they summoned Jesus before them. It has been stated in another part of this work, that after the deposition of Archelaus, Judea was deprived even of the semblance of independence which she had hitherto enjoyed. The administration of criminal law, for example, was from that time forth but partially intrusted to the native judges, inasmuch as the fiat of the Roman procurator was absolutely indispensable to give a sanction to the execution of the most daring malefactor. The sanhedrim, therefore, as soon as they had put a few more questions to Jesus, led him to the prætorium, or judgment-hall of Pilate, demanding that the procurator would confirm their sentence, and order him for execution. But Pilate, understanding that the culprit was a native of Galilee, sent him, after a short examination, under a guard, to Herod, whom the customs of his religion had brought up at that season to Jerusalem. This act of deference served to reconcile to each other two functionaries who had long been at enmity, and between whom just and ample cause of enmity subsisted.

Herod was greatly rejoiced when he learned that Jesus was near; for he had heard much of his extraordinary actions, and desired greatly to witness a miracle; but our Lord refusing to plead his own cause before a tribunal unauthorized to decide upon it, the tyrant's curiosity was converted into rage. He commanded Jesus to be arrayed in a public robe, in mockery of his royal pretensions, and having subjected him to other insults, sent him back to Pilate.

Great was the tumult which now arose among the insane and giddy multitude, who, instigated by their priests, demanded, with one accord, that Jesus should be put to death. They assigned, indeed, no cause for the demand, such as a Roman governor could admit to be just, and Pilate, in consequence, expressed himself absolutely averse to shed the blood of his prisoner; but the greater the degree of reluctance exhibited by the procurator, the more clamorous the crowd became that one who presumed to call himself the Son of God should die. "Why, what evil hath he done?" asked Pilate; "I find no fault in him; I will scourge him, and let him go;" and though repeatedly urged to pass the last sentence of the law, for a while he steadily refused. At last it was stated to him, that Jesus ought to die because he set himself up as a king; in other words, because he professed himself the rival of Tiberias, and an enemy to the Roman power. Yet this charge failed of proving satisfactory, because its subject, though he avowed himself a prince, denied that his kingdom was of this world; while Pilate's wife sent to entreat her husband on no account to yield to the clamors of the

Jews. Pilate accordingly gave up Jesus to the soldiers, with instructions to scourge and then dismiss him; and withdrew for a brief space from the prætorium.

The directions just given were immediately carried into force with rancorous barbarity. Not only was the back of the Son of God torn with rods, but the brutal guard, plating a crown of the *naba* tree, a plant bristling with sharp thorns or spikes, thrust it on his head, and putting a sceptre of reed in his hand, they bent the knee in mockery before him. Yet this harsh treatment sufficed not to allay the animosity of the Jews. Once more they beset the procurator with mingled shouts and threats, that if he refused to execute Jesus they would complain of him to the emperor; and Pilate, conscious that a feather would turn the scale against him with his ferocious master, no longer resisted their wishes. Having in vain requested them to accept Jesus as the prisoner whom it was customary to release at the annual feast, he called for water, and washing his hands in their presence, pronounced himself free from the guilt of Christ's murder. "His blood be upon us, and upon our children,"* cried the infuriated mob; their shouts and perseverance prevailed, and the long-promised and long-expected Messiah was condemned to suffer death upon the cross.

This terrible and most iniquitous sentence was no sooner passed than the murderers, with reckless fury, hastened to carry it into effect. It was customary among the Romans to compel a condemned criminal to be the bearer of the instrument by which he was about to suffer; and Jesus, like the rest, was loaded with the crossbeam or *furca* of his cross; but the weight being considerable, Simon the Cyrenian, one of his disciples, whom the guard met by the way, was commanded to support the further extremity of the beam. In this order, surrounded by a prodigious multitude, some shouting, others weeping and lamenting, the Son of God moved towards the place appointed for his execution; which, by one of those striking arrangements which run through the whole of sacred history, was the very spot where Isaac, his prototype, had been offered as a burnt-offering. Of the execrations and opprobrious epithets cast upon him, Jesus took no heed; but hearing the voice of lamentation, he turned round, and addressed himself to the pious women from whom it proceeded: "Daughters of Jerusalem," said he, "weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For lo, the days come in which it shall be said, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck." These were the last words of exhortation or warning which our Lord applied to his countrymen at large, for soon after he had given utterance to them, the procession reached the foot of Calvary.

At this place a stupefying draught, composed of myrrh and wormwood mixed with vinegar, was, according to established usage, offered to him;

* Never was malediction more terribly fulfilled; and it is somewhat remarkable that the very Jews themselves admit the fact. Maimonides, "De Christo," says, "He (Jesus) was the cause that Israel perished: that the remnant of them were dispersed and oppressed, the law changed, and the greater part of the world perverted."



GOLGOTHA—JERUSALEM TO THE NORTH.

but he declined it. The guard then moved to the summit of the hill, where between two common malefactors, the companions, in all probability, of the robber Barabbas, our Saviour Christ, the King of Glory and Might, was crucified.

Our Lord was affixed to the accursed tree about the third hour, that is to say, about nine o'clock in the morning, and his garments, as was the practice in such cases, were parted among the soldiers who guarded him. During three whole hours he lay in agony, praying for his murderers, and exposed to the blasphemies and insults of a people drunk with the cup of infatuation. Even of his partners in suffering, one at least joined in loading him with insults; but the other, struck with the difference between their plight and that of Jesus, reproved him for his folly, and besought the Lord that he would remember him when he came into his kingdom. The power of reading the heart, which had ever belonged to him as God, was not withdrawn from Jesus in his dying moments; and, knowing that the thief's conversion was sincere, he promised that they should meet again in Paradise.

It was now noon, and the relative positions of the heavenly bodies were such that no eclipse of the sun could by any natural means take place. Our Lord, feeling that his work was accomplished, requested of those who stood near, to give him drink; and after solemnly commending his mother — who with tearless eyes, but a breaking heart, stood at the foot of the cross — to the care of his favorite John, he cried out in an agony, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" But God had not forsaken him. One prayer more, a prayer that the Father would receive his spirit, was uttered; and then, bending the head, he gave up the ghost.

The effect produced upon every portion of inanimate nature by the completion of this tremendous tragedy was awful beyond the power of language to describe. The sun, as if ashamed to behold so bloody a deed, hid his face in utter darkness; and the day was changed into night from the sixth to the ninth hour. The rocks were split by a furious earthquake, the veil of the temple which divided the holy from the holiest apartment was rent in twain from top to bottom, graves opened of their own accord and gave up their inmates, who, to demonstrate that life and immortality were purchased, showed themselves to many. Nay, the sentiments of not a few among those who had previously been the bitterest of his enemies underwent a change scarcely less miraculous; and they retired from the spot fully satisfied that Jesus was indeed the Christ. But the malevolence of the chief priests continued as violent as before. They had objected to the inscription which Pilate placed over the head of Jesus, and vainly sought to have it erased, indignant that even in death he should be designated "The King of the Jews;" and they now determined to carry their resentment to his very grave, in the fervent expectation that with him would perish the memory of his sect.

The criminals suffered on Friday, that is, on the day preceding the Sabbath; and as it was contrary to the law of Moses that their bodies should continue exposed throughout that season of rest, the priests easily persuaded

Pilate to permit the legs of Christ and his fellow-sufferers to be broken, and themselves removed. The legs of the two thieves were accordingly crushed; but when the soldiers came to Jesus and found him already dead, they broke not so much as one of his bones; they merely pierced his side with a spear, that no doubt of his fate might remain. Thus was one prophecy relative to the great sacrifice verified to the letter, as another had been when the soldiers "parted his garments among them, and cast lots for his vesture."

In the meanwhile Joseph of Arimathea, a devout man, had solicited and obtained permission from Pilate to bury Jesus in a tomb which he had cut out for himself from a rock in a garden, of which he was the proprietor. He was assisted in executing this pious office by Nicodemus, as well as by several of the women who followed our Lord's steps; and a large stone being rolled over the aperture, the party withdrew with a design of completing the embalment after the Sabbath should have passed. But the priests, remembering the promise which Jesus had given, that on the third day he would rise from the dead, and fearful lest his body might be stolen, and a persuasion produced that he had fulfilled that promise, were not content to leave the matter thus: they sealed the rock which covered his grave with the public seal of the sanhedrim; and obtaining a guard of Roman soldiers, they commanded them to keep strict watch over the spot till the third day should have expired. All this occurred on the Sabbath, and for some hours excitement ceased to be felt.

In the meanwhile the women had not been inattentive to the charge of providing spices. These were procured and properly mixed, so as to be turned to account at early dawn on the first day of the week; and at the appointed hour the pious females hastened from their several lodgings, by different routes, towards the Lord's sepulchre. That they went thither in absolute forgetfulness of their Master's promised resurrection, the whole of the circumstances attending their visit demonstrates; for their astonishment was extreme when they found the cave empty, and a being of celestial countenance and in glorious apparel sitting at its mouth. That being was an angel. He had descended but a few minutes before in sight of the horror-smitten guard, rolled back the stone from the grave of the Messiah, and roused its inmate from slumber; and he now commanded the women to go and tell his disciples that the Lord was risen, as he had said. They ran back in amazement, communicated what had befallen, but met with no credence from the eleven; for the whole affair so far transcended the powers of imagination to conceive, that the disciples were unable to persuade themselves of its reality. Nevertheless, Peter and John, instigated by curiosity, ran to the sepulchre, which they found indeed empty, as had been described; but beholding no vision of angels they retired, if not disbelieving; at all events distrustful of the event.

The two disciples had returned from the spot full of amazement, when another party of women arrived, among whom was numbered Mary Magdalene. They likewise saw enough to satisfy them that some great event had occurred; but it was to Mary, and to her alone, that Jesus on this occasion

showed himself. She lingered behind her companions in tears, when a man, whom she mistook for the principal gardener, suddenly stood beside her, and after a brief interval laid before her ample proof that he was indeed her Lord. But even the declaration of Mary that she had seen Jesus was received with distrust; nor was it till the evening of that day that a general belief in their Master's resurrection was forced upon his followers.

It chanced that about noon two of their number were proceeding towards the village of Emmaus, in deep conversation as to the strange rumors afloat, when they were suddenly joined by a stranger, who inquired into the nature of their discourse. They told him without scruple, and he immediately demonstrated to them, that these very occurrences had been foretold by every prophet from Moses downwards. The disciples were, as might be expected, astonished at the erudition of their new acquaintance, and they urged him so warmly to abide with them that night, that he consented. By-and-by refreshments were introduced; when the stranger, breaking the bread, solemnly blessed it after a fashion not to be mistaken. Their eyes were opened, they recognized their Lord; but ere they could offer to him so much as the poor sacrifice of their worship, he had vanished out of their sight.

The two disciples, without pausing to rest, hurried back to their companions, whom they found assembled in a large upper chamber, with bolted doors, for fear of the Jews. They learned here that Peter, as well as they, had been favored with a sight of their Master; and they were explaining what they had this day seen and heard, when suddenly, to the astonishment of all present, the Lord himself stood among them. He blessed them with peculiar fervor, showed them the prints of the nails in his hands and feet, and still further to allay their apprehensions, ate and drank in their presence; and he summed up all by recalling to their recollection, that events had fallen out in exact accordance with his repeated promises. Those who witnessed the scene could no longer doubt; but there was one, by name Thomas, who beheld it not, and all the protestations of his fellow-disciples failed to convince him: "Unless I put my fingers into the prints of the nails," said he, "and my hand in his side, I will not believe."

Our Lord disappeared as soon as he saw that his followers were convinced that no delusion mocked them, and for eight full days he came not near them again. At the end of that period, however, when they were met together as before, Thomas the distrustful being present, he came, as he had formerly done, unexpectedly among them. Even Thomas's disbelief was now effaced. He fell at Jesus's feet, and acknowledged him to be his Lord and his God.

The next occasion on which our Saviour was seen occurred on the twenty-second day after his resurrection. The eleven, by his advice, had retired into Galilee, and were assembled with five hundred disciples on a certain mountain where he had appointed to meet them, when their Master stood before them, an object of amazement to all, and of immediate rapture and worship to the large majority. Some, indeed, distrusted the evidence of their own senses, fearing that his bodily presence could be no other than a delusion; but the doubts of these amounted not to infidelity, and they were speedily removed by what

followed. For our Lord again made himself visible seven days after, at the lake of Tiberias, where he both ate and drank with those who beheld him; and at the end of another week again appeared to the eleven at Jerusalem. This was perhaps the most striking of all his appearances. It was now that he gave them the great command to "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" while he promised that in this, their pious labor, he would be with the pastors of his flock till the consummation of all things.

Our Lord had by this time completed the great purpose for which he condescended to revisit the earth, for an adequate number of faithful witnesses were satisfied that he had really risen; and the power of making proselytes, which he alone had hitherto exercised, was delegated to his chosen followers. It seemed now that some irrefragable proof should be presented that he was capable of performing all his other promises; more especially that the Comforter, whose coming he had stated to depend upon himself, would not be withheld. No arrangement seemed so likely to produce this result as a visible ascent into heaven, and our Lord and Saviour, aware of the fact, determined not to withhold the spectacle from the eyes of his faithful followers. On the fourth day, therefore, after his last-mentioned interview with his disciples, Jesus again appeared to them, and led them about half a mile from the city, to one of the ridges of Mount Olivet. Here he charged them to remain at Jerusalem till the Holy Ghost should be sent, gave them his last and most solemn benediction, and, as the words fell from his lips, rose from the earth. "And it came to pass," says St. Luke, "while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." From thence he shall not return till he come in the power of the Majesty on High to judge the world.

We are well aware that to the important and deeply-interesting passages of Scripture from which the preceding details are taken objections more weighty have been urged than to almost any other portion of the sacred volume. It has been asserted, for example, that the matters recorded of our Saviour during the latter part of his sojourn on earth abound with contradictions and inconsistencies, and that the facts of his resurrection and ascension are not established upon evidence sufficiently conclusive to satisfy the unprejudiced inquirer. Whence came it, that he who had so repeatedly resisted the efforts of his countrymen to invest him with royal honors should in the end make a triumphal entry into Jerusalem? How came the pattern of all excellence to vent his spleen upon an inanimate tree, at a season too when fruit was not to be expected? From what cause did Christ's agony in the garden spring? Why was Peter the apostate so freely forgiven, yet Judas the traitor left to perish in his despair? How is it possible to account for the phenomena which are stated to have marked the moment of Christ's passion? and whence did it arise that the resurrection and ascension were not both of them as public as the crucifixion? But, above all, granting that these difficulties may be overcome, is it consistent with reason to speak of him as God who himself declared that there were events in contingency of which he knew



· MODERN " GETHSEMANE. ·

nothing? It were absurd to deny that such questions as these will force themselves upon the notice even of the most sober-minded, and it therefore remains to ascertain how far they are or are not capable of a concise but satisfactory solution.

The contradiction which is supposed to appear in our Saviour's proceedings touching the admission of his right to the title of the Messiah cannot, we apprehend, produce uneasiness in the breast of any one who entertains tolerably correct notions relative to the great end of his public ministry upon earth. That ministry extended over something less than three years, a space of time surely not too great to effect the eradication of long-established prejudices from the minds of his disciples, and to prepare them for their future tasks. Now had our Lord, aware as he was of the groundless hopes of the Jewish people, permitted his claims to be blazoned abroad at an early period, he would have brought on the great catastrophe ere his followers were ripe for it, and defeated the very end to attain which they had been separated from the rest of mankind. But he did not act thus; on the contrary, though he never refused the homage of such individuals as professed to view in him the Seed so ardently expected, he steadily declined the plaudits of the mob, till the fitting hour had arrived; and he then received these plaudits for the double purpose of satisfying his own disciples of the justice of his claim, and of leading to the issue which actually came to pass. His behavior, therefore, so far from involving a contradiction, was perfectly consistent throughout, being strictly analogous to that of all persons who, with some mighty design before them, bring the means of accomplishing it gradually and judiciously into play.

With respect again to the cursing of the barren fig-tree, enough has, we presume, been said while narrating the fact itself, to set the whole transaction in its true light. No rational person ever felt seriously angry with a piece of senseless matter—it is the child or the idiot alone who dreams of chastising it; and our Lord's general conduct was surely such as to screen him from the disgrace of being ranked as an idiot or a child. He caused the fig-tree to wither for the purpose of setting strikingly before the eyes of his disciples the hazard of leading sinful or even useless lives, while he instructed them, by that symbol, in the destiny which hung over Judea, and which, before many years expired, actually befell it. Neither is there the smallest force in the objection which turns upon the avowal of the Evangelist, that "the time of figs was not yet." This was doubtless true of the principal or summer crop; but the tree belonged to a class which bears three distinct crops, one of which is eaten as a delicious morsel in early spring. The tree in question, however, producing no fruit at this season, would produce none at any other, and it perished as a fitting emblem of a people utterly barren of good works.

There is, perhaps, no transaction recorded of the Saviour of mankind more mysterious and inexplicable than the account of his agony in the garden of Gethsemane. Numerous, indeed, are the explications which have been offered of that extraordinary scene, but among them all there is not one

which fails to leave upon the mind a strong impression of the inutility of seeking to make clear what God has veiled in darkness. It may be that at that dread hour the Deity lay, as it were, dormant, leaving the man Jesus to struggle alone and unassisted against natural terror and supernatural temptations. It may be that the sense of his country's ingratitude pressed heavily upon his soul, or that the recollection of the many sins whose burden he had undertaken to bear came over him with a force overwhelming and resistless. That it was not the mere apprehension of death, painful as that must have been, which forced blood instead of sweat through his pores, his mode of acting before his judges and at the place of execution abundantly proves; but what it was, we own ourselves totally unable to determine. Of the fact itself, however, no more doubt can exist than of any other circumstance recorded in the New Testament, seeing that they all equally depend upon the credibility of those from whose testimony we derive our knowledge of them; and hence, while we bend the head in submission to the dispensations of that Providence which enables us as yet to "see only through a glass darkly," we are not the less called upon to adore the goodness of God, who has established the general truth of Christianity upon a foundation against which hell itself shall never be able to prevail.

The same language which we have used with reference to the agony, we are again compelled to employ in treating of our Lord's exclamation on the cross; it is one of those hidden things which belong to God, not to us nor to our children. But of every other event accompanying that tremendous scene, we are happily enabled to speak in terms more explicit. Of the forgiveness of the thief upon the cross, for example, it is sufficient to observe that the repentant criminal stood in a situation absolutely unattainable by any other man besides. The probability is, that he had either never heard of Jesus before, or that, like his countrymen at large, he expected him, if he was really the Messiah, to assume the guise of a successful warrior; and in either case his worship of Jesus, when suspended like himself upon the cross, was an act of faith altogether without parallel. Besides, the attribute of reading the heart belonged to Christ, though it never has belonged and never will belong to another in the human form; and hence he was fully entitled to make a positive promise, where it would be presumption in mere man to go beyond hope. No argument, therefore, in favor of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance is to be drawn from this transaction, though it unquestionably speaks volumes in testimony of God's long-suffering and mercy; while he who uses it in exculpation of the ravings of fanaticism grievously deceives himself or wilfully deceives others.

But the preternatural darkness which indicated that "all was finished," the earthquake, the resurrection of the dead, and the rending of the veil of the temple: how are these things to be accounted for? That no natural eclipse of the sun could take place, the relative positions of the heavenly bodies demonstrate, for the moon was at the full—how then was the effect produced? We answer, that, as the whole transaction lay beyond nature, it is useless to ask from what cause it proceeded; but that it actually did take

place we have other evidence besides that of the Evangelists for asserting. "It was observed at Heliopolis, in Egypt," says Dr. Hales, "by Dionysius the Areopagite, afterward the illustrious convert of Paul at Athens, who, in a letter to the martyr Polycarp, describes his own and his companion the sophist Apollophanes's astonishment at the phenomenon, when they saw the darkness commence at the eastern limb of the sun, and proceed to the western, till the whole was eclipsed; and then retrograde backwards from the western to the eastern, till his light was fully restored; which they attributed to the miraculous passage of the moon across the sun's disk.* Apollophanes exclaimed, as if divining the cause, 'These, O good Dionysius, are the vicissitudes of Divine events!' Dionysius answered, 'Either the Deity suffers, or he sympathizes with the sufferer.' And that sufferer, according to a tradition preserved by Michael Syncellus of Jerusalem, he declared to be 'The unknowable God, for whose sufferings all nature was darkened and convulsed.'"

This is strong corroborative testimony, were such wanted, as happily it is not. The darkness, the earthquake, the rending of the veil, the splitting of the rocks, nay, the very restoration to life of persons long dead, are all equally recorded by men whose miracles sufficiently confirm the truth of their assertions; and they are equally to be received as facts or rejected at the expense of a rejection of the whole volume in which they hold a place. This, however, we have already shown to involve absurdities infinitely more palpable than an opposite mode of proceeding; and hence, on the authority of the sacred writers, we are bound to believe that such signs did accompany the passion of our blessed Redeemer.

But why, it has been demanded, were the resurrection and ascension veiled in a species of mystery; why did our Lord, if he really desired to convert his countrymen, abstain from showing himself openly in the temple? for had this been done, it seems impossible to conceive that incredulity itself could have held out longer. Our reply is short, but it is abundantly satisfactory: Such was not the will of God, because to act thus would have been wholly at variance with God's general scheme of moral government. It would, moreover, have produced no good effect, as a brief consideration of other circumstances may prove.

Our Lord summoned Lazarus from the grave openly and in the sight of all men; yet the spectacle, so far from converting the Pharisees and chief priests, served only to harden them in their infidelity. Instead of admitting the claims of the Being who had recalled a dead man to life, they sought to kill not only the worker but the subject of the miracle. What ground have we for supposing that they would have acted differently towards Christ, had he after his resurrection shown himself in the temple; and when he passed, as he doubtless would, like the air from their hands, is it probable that they

* There seems to be no necessity for adopting an hypothesis so very unphilosophical as this. The moon could not be thus carried out of her course without deranging the whole of nature; but a mere withdrawal of the luminous clouds which surround the opaque body of the sun would equally cause darkness over the whole world.

would have failed to account for the circumstance by referring it to magic? Besides, were these men entitled to so great a display of God's power and mercy? had their previous conduct been such as to merit it?

Again, no truth can be more certain than that, so far as we are concerned, the facts of Christ's resurrection and ascension rest upon authority quite as conclusive as if the whole inhabitants of Jerusalem had been eyewitnesses to both. Of that mighty mass of men there could be, comparatively speaking, few by whom our Lord's person and manner were so intimately known, as that their assertions would have added aught to the assertions of his eleven disciples; why then employ a multitude of incompetent, rather than a small though adequate number of competent witnesses? But it was not by the eleven alone that Christ was seen after his resurrection. Five hundred persons on one occasion, and upwards of one hundred on another, were equally with the eleven favored with proofs of his presence: surely the evidence of five hundred credible persons is quite as conclusive of any given truth as that of five thousand; and though it be true that the Apostles themselves never appeal to these five hundred, this tends only to prove that the testimony of the whole of Judea could not have given additional effect to the testimony of the twelve. "To establish the credit of a witness," says Bishop Horsley, "it is not sufficient that he be really competent to judge for himself of the reality of the fact which he takes it upon him to attest, but his competency in the matter must be generally known and understood. Now this was the case with the Apostles," but with none besides; for though others might have had a sufficient knowledge of Christ's person to identify it after his resurrection themselves, they could not possibly satisfy all Jerusalem that the case was so.

It appears, then, that the evidence which we actually possess of our Lord's resurrection in the testimony of the eleven witnesses is the most satisfactory which could be given; because their bearing false witness in a case of this kind, and all agreeing in that witness, would have been as great a deviation from the known laws of nature as any miracle that ever was performed. It is true that one of the Evangelists informs us of a rumor current among the Jews that the disciples of Jesus stole his body while the guard slept; but the candor which could induce him to state this may of itself satisfy every unprejudiced person that St. Matthew was quite incapable of asserting as true what he knew to be false. No man seeking to impose fiction for truth upon others would place such a fact upon record.

But granting these points of faith to be fully established, how are the respective fates of Peter and Judas to be accounted for? and whence can Jesus be spoken of as God, seeing that he confesses himself ignorant of the day and the hour of his own return to judge the world?

To the first of these questions we reply, that though both Peter and Judas sinned grievously, the crime of the one was by many degrees less heinous than that of the other. Peter fell under the influence of a sudden temptation. He was perfectly sincere when he expressed himself ready to die with his Lord, and he denied him only because personal fear proved too strong for

him; Judas, on the other hand, was a hypocrite from the beginning, and deliberately sold his Master to certain death. There is this difference, likewise, in the cases of the two men, that the one was instantly humbled and sought pardon with tears, while the tears of the other were those of despair, not of penitence. How far even Judas might have been forgiven had he sought forgiveness as became him, we are not justified in determining; but it is no proof of repentance or a change of heart from bad to good to stifle the voice of conscience by the commission of suicide. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that our Lord embraced every future opportunity to show that Peter's apostasy was blotted out of the book of his remembrance;* by appearing to that Apostle first of all his brethren, and by committing to him in an especial manner the charge to "feed his lambs." That our Lord's object in all this was to mark beforehand how displeasing to him were the severities of a later age, no thinking person can doubt.

We come now to the last point in dispute, into which we feel that we cannot enter as it deserves without extending our present work far beyond the limits designed for it. We must content ourselves, therefore, by stating that our Saviour's memorable declaration touching the coming of the day of judgment furnishes no ground whatever on which to deny his divinity. Every reader of the Bible must be aware that "not to know," and not "to speak of a thing," are terms strictly synonymous when used by an inspired person, as St. Paul, for example, declares in one of his epistles that he is determined "to know nothing" among his converts "except Christ, and him crucified." Our Lord, therefore, when he made use of the expression, "but of that day and of that hour knoweth no man; no, not even the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father," meant simply that even the Son would not reveal it so that its approach might be accurately calculated. But the signs which he immediately afterward mentions as destined to precede the great and terrible day of the Lord sufficiently attest that he was silent from no absence of power to speak out, while his whole conversation bears upon it a stamp of divinity, such as it seems impossible not to feel, as well as to notice. In like manner, though our Lord frequently alludes to himself as inferior in some respects to the Father, the expression is to be interpreted as referring to the kind of connection between them, in which respect the Church has ever allowed that the "Father is greater than the Son;" but the relative superiority and inferiority here involves no point of moral or intellectual difference; it is one of paternity and filiation alone. This is indeed rendered incontrovertible by the fact that the same Being who on one occasion avows "the Father is greater than I," affirms on another, "I and the Father are one."

Besides these palpable facts, it is not to be forgotten that Jesus of Nazareth united in his own person two natures; one perfectly Divine, the other perfectly human. In the latter he was necessarily very inferior to the Father. It may be that it is of his human nature alone that he speaks as

* This is the true explication of our Lord's seeming preference to Peter over his fellow-apostles, for that given by the Church of Rome is wholly illusory.

of something both short-sighted and feeble; and if the case really was so, then is there no difficulty to be overcome. All sects of Christians unite in the admission that Christ's humanity was subject to the like infirmities and weaknesses with our own. But we cannot pretend to condense within the space of a few pages the substance of a controversy so extensive as is involved in the question now under review. The pious and the sincere must consult the sacred oracles for themselves, where, unless we grossly deceive ourselves, they will find more than sufficient to convince them that by the Apostles and first Christians our Lord's divinity was never once denied.

Having thus described the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, it appears necessary, before going on with what remains of sacred history, to say a few words touching the designs of God in sending his only-begotten Son into the world, as well as the Son himself, while tabernacling in the flesh.

Our time has been sadly misspent if we have failed to satisfy the reader that the great object of Christ's coming was to atone for the transgression of the first man, and to restore to his posterity the immortality which by that transgression had been forfeited. To render the atonement fully valuable, however, it was necessary that men should again be made acquainted with the just relation in which they stand towards their common Maker; and to effect this was as much the object of the Redeemer's holy and pious life, as to rob the grave of its power was the design of his painful and ignominious death. Jesus of Nazareth was, therefore, in himself a character absolutely perfect, and the design of the religion which he has bequeathed to the world is to bring mankind as near to perfection as the frailty of human nature will allow. With this view, he impressed upon the minds of his followers, both by example and precept, that all men are brethren, that all are equally bound to worship and obey God, that all are equally bound to love one another, and that he who wilfully injures or neglects to assist his fellow-men in need, is amenable to the wrath of the Creator and Governor of the universe. The standard of Christian morality is, moreover, of the most exalted kind. It extends not merely to men's actions, but to their secret thoughts, since the very desire to perpetrate evil, even though it be not indulged, is condemned as positively sinful.

But the religion of Christ, though strictly and beautifully moral, comprehends more than a code of rules for the guidance of men's conduct. It instructs them in the doctrines of a future state, attainable through no merit of their own, but through the blood of the atonement alone: it reveals the fact that the day is coming when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; when the graves shall be opened, and the sea give up its dead, that all may appear before the judgment of Christ; and it arbitrarily announces what the imagination had never before conceived, that in the eternal destiny of the soul the body shall participate.

The religion of Christ, moreover, imparts just as much light on the important subject of the Divine nature as the mind of man, a finite and weak creature, seems capable of bearing. We are told explicitly that there is a

God, and but one God ; that he is himself invisible, yet everywhere present ; that he is without parts, passions, prejudices, or infirmities ; infinite in wisdom, in knowledge, and in goodness. We learn, also, by implication rather than by positive revelation, that in the Godhead there is a certain inexplicable arrangement which, in the poverty of human language, we describe as three persons ; and we worship these both severally and conjointly, as the holy and indivisible Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. To the Father we look as the creator and supporter of all things ; to the Son, as the mediator between God and man, through whom, not the primeval transgression alone, but the actual transgressions of men are, on sincere repentance, forgiven ; and to the Holy Ghost we turn our eyes as the author of every pious wish, the dispenser of that grace through which alone we walk uprightly. Such are the distinguishing tenets, if we may so express ourselves, of the Christian religion ; under which others and scarcely less important principles are included.

It has been shown how, in the infancy of the world, God elected or chose to himself a particular nation, to be the repository of the true faith, and the gradual dispenser of light to other tribes. To that nation a law and a municipal government were given, God himself condescending to take rank at the head of the latter, which was administered under him throughout many generations by judges, kings, priests, counsellors, and prophets. In process of time, the purpose for which this election had been made was attained. The world was made ready for the reception of the promised Messiah ; he came, and the election ceased ; or, to speak more accurately, it was extended so as to embrace, not one family, but all the families of men. The Church of Christ, that community in which the religion of the Redeemer was professed, became now the kingdom of God upon earth, and it remained for its Divine founder to arrange both the law and municipal government under which he designed it to subsist.

While our Lord continued in the flesh — in other words, while his death was still in futurity, he himself appeared visibly as the chief administrator of the little community of believers ; he was the bishop or pastor of his own Church ; the immediate ruler of his own kingdom. Even then, however, we learn that he chose, as assistants to himself, two distinct classes of persons, as contradistinguished from the body of the believers — the twelve who in after-years received the designation of Apostles, and the seventy disciples whom, on one memorable occasion at least, he employed to preach the gospel. There seems little reason to doubt that this constitution was formed after the model of the Jewish hierarchy, which exhibited its high-priest, its priests, and its Levites ; indeed, the facility with which it was afterward maintained by the converts from the religion of Moses proves that to them its arrangements were perfectly familiar.* But the hour of the Redeemer's departure came. He died, as has been described, rose again, and made preparations

* The resemblance between Christ's conduct in this respect and that of Moses in the wilderness, must likewise be seen by every reader of the Bible. Moses had there, as his assistants in the government of Israel, the twelve heads of tribes, and seventy elders.

to return into the bosom of that glory from which, for the most benevolent of purposes, he had for a season withdrawn himself. Now then it became necessary, in order to preserve the order and principles of the Church, that this great Bishop and Pastor of our souls should transfer to others the authority which he had hitherto exercised in his own person; and this he solemnly did at one of the last interviews with which he saw meet to honor his disciples. To the eleven, and to them alone, he said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and discipline all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end."

By virtue of this commission the eleven Apostles became from thenceforth the bishops or chief pastors of Christ's kingdom upon earth. They were authorized in every respect to act as their divine Master had done before them; in other words, to administer the two sacraments, to instruct the world in the doctrines of Christianity, and to ordain as well successors to themselves as ministers of other and inferior orders. In a word, the hierarchy was continued, in an extended form, under them, which had previously been established by their and our Master. That to them, in an especial manner, belonged the authority to ordain and consecrate others to the ministry, both their own writings and the testimony of the primitive Church attest; and hence, till the era of the Reformation, a Church destitute of a bishop nowhere existed throughout Christendom.

But our Lord, not satisfied with nominating his own successors, and empowering them to admit into their community such as to them should appear qualified, instituted two important rites, to participate in which might serve as the outward badge of an inward profession of the Christian faith. These were Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the authority to administer which was entrusted exclusively to the ministers of the Church; though the benefits arising from them equally extend to all who duly and in sincerity receive them. Of baptism, it is scarcely necessary to say that it holds in the Christian Church a place strictly analogous to circumcision in the Church of the Temple. It is the sign of that eternal covenant into which Almighty God has entered with his creatures; and because by it, and by it alone, the convert is admitted into his new society, it is in the New Testament invariably spoken of as regeneration or the second birth. This, too, it will be observed, is in strict agreement with the practice of the Jewish Church, the converts admitted into which by baptism and circumcision were said to be regenerated or born again; indeed, so complete was the transfer of the convert from one state of existence to another, that the very ties of kindred, of parent and child, of husband and wife, of brother and sister, were, in the event of his relatives continuing in idolatry, absolutely dissolved. Such was precisely the effect of baptism in the Church of Christ, only that here the regeneration referred to things spiritual alone, whereas under the law it extended also to things temporal. Again, the baptized person was said to be justified, because he was received into a state of reconciliation

with his Maker; and he was of the number of the elect, because he thus became a member of the chosen or elected kingdom of God upon earth. It is not, we trust, necessary to add, that from this state of grace all were and are liable to fall. Even in the earliest and best days of Christianity, such lapses were but too frequent, as St. Paul's exhortation to his converts, "to make their calling and election sure," too abundantly proves; but no truth seems to be more fully established than this, that the reception of baptism is a necessary act in the Christian life. When duly administered — that is to say, by persons having competent authority, and in the case of adults received with faith — it unquestionably sets the seal to God's gracious promises; it gives an assurance that we are no longer in a state of nature, but in a state of grace; it is the commencement of our Christian or spiritual life, and if the terms of the engagement then contracted be on our part adhered to, the benefits arising out of it will be inestimable. The behavior of Peter towards Cornelius, of Philip to the eunuch, and of Paul to the jailer's family, demonstrates that it was so regarded by the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity; and that it continues to be so regarded by the Church of England, her formularies and liturgy attest.*

As baptism took the place in the Christian community of the Jewish rite of circumcision, so the Lord's Supper superseded, or, to speak more accurately, completed the great Jewish festival of the Passover. It is to us, not merely a ceremony commemorative of the great sacrifice on the cross, but it is the feast in the sacrifice itself, by partaking in which we exhibit our desire to be partakers in the benefits arising out of that stupendous oblation. Our readers need scarcely be reminded, that to feast upon portions of the victims offered to their gods formed a part of the religion of every nation, heathen as well as Jewish; and the terms in which our Lord has left his command, that we should "eat and drink in remembrance of him," completely prove that he designed our proceedings to be regulated by a similar rule. It is true, that no Protestant can allow that any real change takes place in the substance of the bread and wine, nor was such an opinion held anywhere throughout the Christian world till late in the fifth century; but the analogy between the one ceremony and the other is abundantly manifest, and that our Lord designed it to be seen and felt, his solemn language to his Apostles leaves no room to doubt.

Such is the meagre outline which our limits will alone permit us to give of the doctrines, morals, principles, and constitution of the Church of Christ, considered as a community set apart from the rest of the world, in which the true faith is preserved, and from which it will, we are assured, ultimately extend over the entire compass of the globe. May that blessed consummation speedily be brought about.

* These views of baptism the compiler desires the reader to regard, not as his own, but those of the author. He is not prepared to attach so much power to baptism as is here ascribed to it.

SECTION IV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE APOSTLES AFTER THE ASCENSION—DESCENT OF THE HOLY GHOST—PETER'S DISCOURSE—ITS CONSEQUENCES—EXERTIONS OF THE DISCIPLES TO PROPAGATE THE FAITH—THEIR MIRACLES; THEIR SUFFERINGS AND TRAVELS—CONVERSION OF SAUL; HIS ZEAL—OBJECTIONS STATED AND ANSWERED.

A. D. 31.

THE ascension of their Master, as may well be supposed, affected the disciples with inexpressible awe. Falling upon their knees, they watched his progress with an intensity of interest never before experienced; when suddenly two men in white apparel stood beside them, and demanded why they gazed thus earnestly into heaven. "This same Jesus whom ye have seen thus depart," continued they, "shall so come again at the day of judgment, and it remains for you, according to his directions, to prepare the world for that great event." The angels, for such they were, then advised the disciples to return into Jerusalem, there to wait patiently till the promised Comforter should be sent; and they withdrew, ignorant indeed of the just import of the implied assurance, but prepared to obey in all things the will of their glorified Master.

No event of importance occurred for some days, except that, at Peter's suggestion, an election was made from among the personal followers of our Lord, to fill the place in the apostolical college made vacant by the apostasy of Judas. Two candidates were put in nomination—Joseph, called Barnabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and the lots being cast with solemn prayer to God, the choice fell upon Matthias. He was in every respect a fit person to hold the office to which Divine Providence had called him, having been a companion of his Lord from the commencement of John's ministry; and hence, as soon as his brethren had laid their hands upon him, "he was numbered," to use the Evangelist's words, "with the eleven Apostles."

Our Lord ascended into heaven on the fortieth day after his resurrection, and for the space of ten days all things, with the exception of the occurrence just mentioned, continued as they had been before. On the day of Pentecost, however, that is to say, on the fiftieth after the sixteenth of the month Nisan, when the disciples were assembled together, with doors locked for fear of interruption from the Jews, a sound was heard as of a rushing mighty wind, which shook the chamber where they sat, and there came, as it were, cloven tongues of fire, which lighted upon the heads of each of them. Immediately they felt by manifestations not to be misunderstood, that the promised Comforter was given. They ran out into the streets, proclaimed aloud that Jesus was the Christ, and delivered their message under circumstances so

striking, that the attention of the whole world may be said, in some measure, to have been turned to them and their proceedings.

At the seasons of the great festivals of the Passover and of Pentecost, Jerusalem was crowded, not only with the inhabitants of Palestine proper, but with all who professed the religion of Moses, no matter in what district resident. Now it is a well-attested fact, that at this particular period there was scarcely a nation blessed with the rudiments of civilization in which some at least of the adherents of Judaism were not to be found. The repeated captivities of the tribes, the wandering dispositions of the people, and the curiosity which had within the last two or three centuries been excited as to the contents of the Jewish Scriptures, had all contributed to spread a knowledge of the Mosaic religion over the earth, and numerous were the converts which the Levitical Church had made, as well among the Greeks as among the tribes called barbarian. Of these vast numbers came up with the dispersed of the ten tribes to attend the great assemblies at Jerusalem; and it would appear that at least the ordinary proportion from among all classes were met together on the present occasion.

One of the most striking as well as immediate effects of that palpable descent of the Holy Ghost was to inspire the disciples with a knowledge of numerous languages, of which they had heretofore been totally ignorant. Their preaching, theretofore, was not delivered in the Syriac or vernacular tongue of their own country; but, each employing the language which he perceived to be best adapted to the understanding of those by whom he was immediately surrounded, they addressed themselves as if by common consent to all the tribes and families then assembled. It could not fail that the inhabitants of Jerusalem itself should be confounded by a spectacle so unexpected. They knew the Apostles to be illiterate mechanics; how then was it conceivable that they should have all at once made themselves masters of so many foreign languages? The fact was absolutely overpowering; and though some through ignorance or malice exclaimed that the enthusiasts were intoxicated, no fewer than three thousand souls, convinced by so striking a miracle, embraced the religion thus offered to them.

Great indeed was the joy of the Apostles when they found so many brought at once to profess the true faith, and equally remarkable was the effect produced upon the feelings, dispositions, habits, and conduct of the believers; but the issue of the first attempt, instead of satisfying or allaying the zeal of the Apostles, only served to stimulate them to new exertions. They had wrought their first work of conversion so early as nine o'clock in the morning, and at noon Peter and John went up together to pray in the temple, where they performed the first miracle of healing which stands explicitly recorded of any of our Lord's immediate followers. As they passed the Beautiful Gate, so called because it was formed of Corinthian brass, and exquisitely carved, they saw a lame man watching them with an expression indicative of something more than the mercenary gaze of a common beggar. The Apostles stopped short, and Peter, looking him full in the face, said, "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: in the name

of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk." The effect was electric; the man's limbs recovered their strength, and he followed the Apostles into the Temple, "leaping and walking and praising God." As might have been expected, the spectacle produced a powerful sensation among the assembled crowd, by the most of whom this cripple's previous infirmity was well known; and Peter gladly availed himself of their amazement to address to them a powerful appeal in favor of Christianity. But his discourse was yet unfinished, when the priests, the captain of the Temple, and the Sadducees, all of whom were equally interested in opposing the progress of the faith, rushed in and interrupted him. They were violently excited already by the effect of the morning's lecture, and they were doubly alarmed as soon as intelligence reached them of the act of power just performed; they therefore seized Peter and John and dragged them to prison, though not before full five thousand converts more had been added to the number of believers.

At an early hour on the following morning the Sanhedrim assembled, and Peter and John were brought to trial. Beside the accused stood the man recovered from his lameness, an evidence in their favor not to be controverted; and accordingly, when the Apostles, entering upon their defence, cited the command of God for their proceeding, however unpalatable their line of argument might be, there were no means of rebutting it. The miracle was palpable; it had been witnessed and was attested by all the inhabitants of the city, and to deny its reality could serve no good purpose. The Sanhedrim, therefore, after gravely consulting together, came to the determination of dismissing the Apostles with a peremptory injunction never again to teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John boldly answered, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than God, judge ye." With these words they withdrew, not to abandon the course marked out to them, but to pursue it with increased zeal every day; and their success was proportionate to the importance of the cause which they advocated, and to the supernatural powers which were freely vouchsafed to them.

The feeling of universal benevolence was in these early days so strong in the Church, that the believers had, in a certain sense of the term, all things in common. The rich sold their lands and houses, that they might distribute to the poor, and many, devoting themselves to the service of the ministry, gave up all their worldly substance to be applied to the necessities of others. No human society, however, is, or ever can be, so that some hypocrites shall not introduce themselves into it; and even the infant Church of Christ, comparatively perfect as it doubtless was, was by no means free from that odious fraternity. There was one Ananias, a wealthy man, but ambitious of the renown of sanctity among the believers, who, with his wife Sapphira, determined to purchase a good name at a cheap rate. They, like others, sold their estate, and keeping back a certain portion of the purchase-money, laid the remainder at the Apostles' feet, with a declaration that they had dedicated all to charitable purposes. It was necessary that at this stage of the gospel some striking example should be made, as well as some proof given that the inspired heads of the Church were not to be deceived with impunity; and

Ananias and Sapphira, after being reproved by St. Peter for their hypocrisy, were one after the other struck dead. It was a solitary instance in the history of the primitive Church of a miracle wrought for the purpose of inflicting punishment; but it was not without its effect. "Great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things;" and miracles of healing and mercy being abundantly multiplied, Christianity daily and hourly enlarged her bounds.

Now then, again, the chief priests and Sadducees deemed it essential to interfere violently for the suppression of this pestilent heresy. The Apostles were arrested, and cast into a dungeon; but God sent his angel that very night to deliver them, and they were again, on the following morning, in the Temple teaching the people. So strange an occurrence could scarcely fail to strike even the obdurate and hardened Sadducees. They had delivered these men overnight into the keeping of trusty guards, yet they escaped, no one knew how, to commit again the offence for which they had been arrested; and the reverence of the multitude was so far secured, that to act towards them with precipitate violence would have been hazardous. Under these circumstances, though the Apostles were brought before the council, the members composing that body readily listened to one Gamaliel, who advised them to leave the new religion with its propagators to their fate; because if the thing came from God they could not arrest it; if otherwise, it would fall to pieces of its own accord. Once more, therefore, the Apostles were dismissed, after they had been scourged, and strictly enjoined to preach no more the gospel of salvation; and they departed, not only resolute to go on with their great undertaking, "but rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ's sake."

In this manner the great work was carried forward, till the number of converts had increased so much that the Apostles found it necessary to consecrate a distinct body of men for the purpose of attending especially to the distribution of alms. With this view seven individuals were chosen by the body of the faithful, and recommended to the Apostles or bishops, who, by the laying on of hands, ordained them to the place of deacons. The names of these men were Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas, all of them Hellenists, or Jews of the dispersion; a circumstance sufficiently accounted for by the necessity which existed of placing the two classes on a footing of absolute equality. That they were all zealous in their calling we have every reason to believe, but the exertions of Stephen seem to have been at once more fervent and more efficacious than those of any of his brethren. So dauntless, indeed, was he in preaching the gospel, that he soon drew upon himself the hostility of the leading men among the incredulous, who suborned false witnesses to appear against him in the great council before which he was arraigned. Even here, however, Stephen's devotion to his Master's service forsook him not. He proved, authoritatively from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that Jesus was the Christ, and expressed himself with so much energy, that when he looked towards heaven, the mob "saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." But the influence of his

enemies prevailed. A shout was raised that he spoke blasphemy, which the headstrong multitude soon took up, and Stephen * being dragged beyond the city walls, had the honor, first of all our Saviour's disciples, to seal the profession of his faith with his blood. He was stoned to death, praying, like his Divine Exemplar, that God would not lay this sin to the charge of an infatuated populace.

Among the number of persons present at this disgraceful outrage was one Saul, a young man, a native of Tarsus, and a pupil of that Gamaliel of whom notice has been lately taken. This man entered so keenly into the sentiments of the unbelieving part of the community, that, if he threw
 A. D. no stone with his own hand, he at least held the garments of those
 33. who stripped themselves for the murder; and his mistaken zeal, so far from being satiated by that bloody tragedy, only gathered from it additional violence. He devoted himself from that hour to the eradication of Christianity, and committed the most grievous havoc among all such, no matter of what age, or sex, or station, as he had reason to suspect of a profession of the hated faith. The consequence of this persecution was that the believers fled, with the exception of the Apostles, from the capital, and sought refuge wherever they entertained a hope of finding it, in the districts round. Among others, Philip the deacon retired to Samaria, where he succeeded in making many converts, baptizing, among others, Simon, a pretender to sorcery; and not long afterward, Peter and John were dispatched to confer those higher gifts of the Holy Spirit, which Philip, from his rank in the hierarchy, was incapacitated from bestowing. The scene which followed is very remarkable. Simon, less than half a convert, yet envying the power which the Apostles appeared to possess, offered money to Peter and John as the price of a similar authority, upon which Peter, with well-founded indignation, exclaimed, "Thy money perish with thee." The arch-heretic was grievously alarmed, if not converted to the truth; and we learn no more of his pretensions or proceedings for many years after.

The two Apostles, after confirming the Church at Samaria, and preaching with great effect in the villages round, returned to Jerusalem, while Philip proceeded towards Gaza, under the guidance of a heavenly monitor. A chariot overtook him on the road, in which sat an Ethiopian eunuch, — a man high in authority with the queen of his own land, though a proselyte to the Jewish religion. The eunuch was returning from Jerusalem, whither he had gone up to be present at the celebration of the festival, and was deeply engaged in the perusal of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah's prophecies. Philip immediately approached, and a conversation began, which ended in the conversion of the stranger to the faith. He was baptized in the first stream which crossed their path; and, according to the tradition of the Abyssinians, had the honor of laying the foundation-stone of Christianity in that land, of which he was a native.

* It is to be observed, that at this time Judea was without a procurator; for Pilate had been disgraced, and Vitellius, the governor of Syria, was extremely considerate towards the Jews. Hence their temporary resumption of the power of life and death, which they did not enjoy when the Redeemer of mankind was crucified.

In the meanwhile Saul, not content with the persecution which he had inflicted upon the believers at Jerusalem, obtained from the Sanhedrim a commission, which authorized him to pursue the fugitives from place to place, and bring them back prisoners to the capital. With this design he set out for Damascus, whither he had been given to understand that numbers were withdrawn; but ere he completed his journey an event occurred, not less striking either in its immediate or remote consequences, than any connected with the promulgation of Christianity. He had arrived within a short distance of the city, when "suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" It was the voice of the Redeemer which thus smote upon his conscience with a power not to be resisted. The feelings, dispositions, will, and sentiments of the persecutor underwent a great and immediate change, and he rose from the earth, blind indeed to the forms of visible nature, but with the full blaze of truth shining in his heart. He went on to Damascus an altered man, where, being baptized by Ananias, one of the original seventy, he became the most active and successful of all who labored for the promulgation of the religion which he once hated with so much rancor.

Saul had been struck blind by the light which streamed round him when he fell, but with the reception of baptism his sight returned; and he lost not a moment in proclaiming his own conversion in every synagogue, both in Damascus and in the country near. His success in making converts was so brilliant, that the unbelieving Jews, doubly enraged at his apostasy, entered into a conspiracy to take away his life, which he defeated only by escaping over the wall by night, through the assistance of his friends, in a basket. He then proceeded to Jerusalem, where, though at first some suspicion seems to have been entertained of him, he was in the end well received; for, being introduced to the Apostles by Barnabas, an old acquaintance and fellow-student, he was admitted to the dignity of their order. As he had done elsewhere, he immediately began to preach Christ crucified in every quarter of the city; but the hatred of his enemies again threatening his life, he was before long conducted by the brethren to Cæsarea, from whence he proceeded to Tarsus, the place of his nativity.

In spite of these repeated attacks upon individuals, the Church at large enjoyed at this time profound repose, and the work of conversion was zealously carried on by Saul throughout Cilicia and Syria; by Peter in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria. Of the rest of the Apostles, some went in one direction, some in another, James alone, as it would appear, remaining constantly in the capital; and they all employed under them multitudes of presbyters and deacons, who spread the glad tidings of salvation far and near.

It chanced that Peter in his progress arrived, among other places, at Lydda, where he cured one Eneas of a palsy which had long afflicted him; and the effect of the miracle was such, that the inhabitants, not of Lydda only, but of Saron, a neighboring town, became ready converts to the faith.

From Lydda Peter proceeded to Joppa, a place in which the gospel had already made some progress; where he restored to life a woman named Dorcas, famous for her piety and extensive charities. But the most remarkable occurrence which befell him here was the removal of a prejudice from his mind under which both he and his brethren had hitherto labored; Almighty God condescending to instruct him in the fact, that Gentiles, as well as Jews, were become fully entitled to salvation.

The houses in Eastern countries are generally built with flat roofs, and it was customary for the Jews, as often as the stated hours* of prayer came round, to ascend thither for the sake of paying their devotions. Peter was thus employed on the roof of the house where he lodged (that of Simon, a tanner, near the seashore), when, overcome with faintness and abstinence, his senses, to a certain degree, forsook him, and he fell into a trance, or waking dream. In this state "he saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet, knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth; wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter, kill and eat." The Apostle, however, mindful of the prohibitory clauses in the law, refused to pollute himself by tasting animals which were unclean; and he persisted in the refusal, notwithstanding the voice spake unto him again the second time, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." This scene was repeated three several times, and then the vision passed away.

Recovering from his trance, Peter was yet lost in speculation as to the purport of what had passed, when he heard that there were three strangers below desirous to see him. He descended immediately, the Spirit of God silently admonishing him to follow his guides whithersoever they might lead, and he was conducted to Cæsarea, to the house of one Cornelius, a Roman centurion, attached to the Italian cohort. There the design of the vision which had been vouchsafed to him in the morning was rendered at once clear. The pious Roman, pious because a pure theist, had been favored with a command from on high to send for Peter, whom God had appointed to instruct him in the words of life; and the prejudices of the Jew, which might have stood in the way of God's designs, were removed by the method already described. Peter instantly proceeded to preach, to Cornelius and his household, Jesus the Messiah; his instruction was received with avidity, and the Holy Ghost fell palpably and manifestly upon every member of his little congregation. No doubt could longer exist in the mind of the Apostle that they, equally with the descendants of Abraham, were worthy to be admitted into Christ's flock, and they were forthwith regenerated by the administration of baptism. Yet, on his return to Jerusalem, Peter found that he had incurred the hostility of the more strict among the brethren, some false representation of the matter having been made by persons not too well

* The Jewish hours of prayer occurred three times a day: at nine o'clock in the morning, at noon, and at three in the afternoon.

disposed to the cause; nor was it till all the circumstances of the case were fully explained, that they "held their peace, and glorified God, that unto the Gentiles also he had granted repentance unto life."

While Peter was thus employed in his Lord's service, others of the disciples, whom the first persecution had driven from Jerusalem, were busily and successfully occupied elsewhere. Among other places they came to Antioch, where intelligence of the conversion of Cornelius reached them; and as they saw in that fact ample evidence that the word of life was not to be restricted in its course, they addressed themselves with equal industry to Gentiles as to Jews. Great numbers were converted, whom the Apostle Barnabas, taking Saul along with him, hastened to confirm; indeed the multitude of believers in Antioch became, ere long, so considerable that there first they received the distinguishing appellation of Christians.

The gospel had now been publicly preached for nearly twelve years, not in Judea alone, but throughout a very large portion of the civilized world; yet, with the exception of the partial cruelties perpetrated on the occasion of Stephen's martyrdom, nothing worthy of the name of persecution had been anywhere attempted. This exemption from suffering was doubtless necessary to enable the good seed to take root; but to bring the fruit to perfection, rain as well as sunshine is needed; and the storm came at last with terrible violence from a quarter where it had long threatened. The Jews, after being governed by a succession of Roman procurators, were at this time in the enjoyment of at least the shadow of independence; for Herod Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, had been proclaimed king by the Emperor Claudius.* One of the first acts of this prince after his arrival at Jerusalem was to order the execution, among other Christians, of James the brother of John; and seeing that the deed gratified his subjects, he proceeded to arrest Peter also. The Apostle was accordingly thrust into prison, the tyrant intending to put him to death as soon as a convenient moment should arrive: but on the very night preceding the day which was to have witnessed his martyrdom, an angel delivered him from his bands. Great was the joy of the Church at this signal interference of Divine Providence in its favor; nor was there less cause of thankfulness when Agrippa shortly afterward, assuming to himself Divine honors, was smitten at Cæsarea with a loathsome and painful disease of which he died.

During the occurrence of these transactions at Jerusalem and Cæsarea, Barnabas and Saul were fulfilling their ministry at Antioch, and receiving from the faithful there contributions, to be applied to the relief of

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* The succession of government both at Rome and Jerusalem ran thus:

Tiberius, the emperor, died A. D. 37, and was succeeded by Caius Caligula, who after a short reign of four years gave place to Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, and a weak and avaricious prince. He it was that gave to Agrippa the kingdom of Judea, with an extent of territory equal to that governed by his grandfather, as the reward of his services in gaining over to him the troops of the senate. Agrippa's immediate predecessor was Publius Marcellus, the successor of P. Marcellus, who on the banishment of Pilate by Tiberius had been nominated procurator of Judea.

the necessities of their brethren of Judea, over whom the Holy Spirit had forewarned them that a famine hung. With these timely supplies the Apostles hastened to Jerusalem, which they reached soon after the death of Agrippa; and depositing their treasures in the hands of their brethren, they hurried back to their more immediate province, Antioch. But God had greater things in store for them than the superintendence of an established church, no matter how flourishing. They were warned by a vision to proceed to other parts, whither the word of the gospel of peace had not yet extended; and as soon as they had received the solemn benedictions of their fellow-laborers, they took with them Mark the Evangelist, and set out.

The first place which they reached was Seleucia, whence they embarked for Cyprus, and in the city of Salamis began their ministerial labors. From Salamis they crossed the island to Paphos, where the governor, Sergius Paulus, held his court; and receiving intelligence that he would willingly hear them, they hastened to introduce themselves into his presence. But their efforts to convert the governor were grievously thwarted by one Barchesus, an impious pretender to astrology, till God at Saul's word smote him suddenly with blindness in the face of a thronged assembly. The governor could no longer halt between two opinions; he embraced the truth, and Saul, in memory of this distinguished success, assumed the name of Paul, which he ever afterwards bore.

The next place which the Apostles visited was Perga in Pamphylia, where Mark, dissatisfied with their wandering mode of life, quitted them. Their sojourn here, however, was brief; for Antioch in Pisidia attracted their attention, and they proceeded thither under the persuasion that it opened a wider field for their labors. They were not deceived in their expectations; multitudes both of Jews and Gentiles attended upon their ministry, of whom some few gladly professed the faith, though of the Jews by far the greater proportion continued obstinate, and blasphemed the name of the Lord. Then Paul and Barnabas, after sharply rebuking their countrymen, addressed themselves almost exclusively to the Gentiles; which so irritated the Israelites that a violent tumult was excited, and the Apostles were in the end driven from the place, as well as from the tract of country adjacent and dependent upon it.

The Apostles fled first to Iconium, from whence, however, they were by the influence of the Jews of Antioch very speedily expelled, and afterwards to Lystra, a city in the same province. Here, Paul healing a lame man whom his preaching had previously converted, the whole city was thrown into commotion; and the idolatrous inhabitants would have worshipped Paul as Mercury, and Barnabas as Jupiter. But when they resisted this mad attempt, and went on to speak to the people of the true God, the admiration of the giddy throng was changed into hostility; and certain persons from Iconium arriving at the moment, so inflamed their feelings that the Apostles were rudely assaulted. Nevertheless, Paul, though grievously wounded, escaped with life, and retired along with Barnabas, who seems to have eluded the fury of the populace, to Derbe.

From Derbe the Apostles passed to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the several churches, and ordaining fit men to officiate in each congregation; after which they proceeded through Pisidia to Pamphylia, Perga, and Attalia. They next held their course to Antioch in Syria, whence they had set out about three years before, where they reported their great and unlooked-for success to the brethren, and remained some time stationary.

Paul and Barnabas were thus situated when there arrived from Jerusalem certain converts of the Pharisaic sect, whose attachment to the ceremonial law had undergone no diminution in consequence of their reception of Christianity. In the height of their mistaken zeal these men would have imposed upon the believers, no matter from what stock or family descended, the burden of the Levitical code; insisting that no man could be saved except he were circumcised after the manner of Moses. A bitter and somewhat perilous controversy ensued; to determine which it was at length agreed that a deputation of trustworthy persons should be sent to Jerusalem, in order to obtain the judgment of a general council of the Church; and Paul and Barnabas, being selected to discharge this important duty, set out upon their journey. It led to the happiest results; for the Apostles assembled in council came to the resolution that an observance of any portion of the Mosaic law was no longer essential; and the Christian Church was in consequence freed from a burden too grievous to be borne.

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52.

One memorable clause was indeed inserted into the body of the pastoral epistle; by which the converts were commanded "to abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things slaughtered, and from fornication." The propriety of two of these prohibitions at all seasons is sufficiently obvious; while for the other two the peculiar circumstances of the times furnished ample grounds.

How long Paul and Barnabas continued at Antioch after their return thither with the above decree we possess no means accurately to determine. That the sojourn must have been considerable, however, is rendered manifest by the fact that Peter, notwithstanding the decision of a council in which he himself assisted, gave just umbrage to Paul; by avoiding, in this very city, the society of such converts as had not undergone circumcision; and, as he could scarcely fall into so glaring an inconsistency till the memory of what passed at Jerusalem had begun to wax faint, it is probable that his brother Apostles continued their residence at Antioch for several months. Be this, however, as it may, we know that the dispute between the two Apostles ran so high that from thenceforth they carefully avoided to labor in the same division of the vineyard. Peter became the Apostle of the Jews, in the strictest sense of that term, bestowing all his care upon the children of the chosen stock; while Paul addressed himself chiefly, though not exclusively, to the Gentiles.

It was probably about the year A. D. 53, that Paul and Barnabas made ready to visit the churches which they had planted during their former excursion along the shore of the Mediterranean. A dispute now arose on the subject of Mark, who seems to have again attached himself to their for-

tunes; Barnabas wishing to make him the companion of their journey, while Paul resolutely objected to the arrangement; and the two friends parted, the former directing his course to Cyprus, while the latter, carrying Silas along with him, travelled through Syria and Cilicia.

From the date of this separation St. Luke's narrative, the only connected account which we possess of the adventures and sufferings of the first teachers of Christianity, is devoted almost exclusively to the history of St. Paul. We learn from it that the Apostle, arriving at Lystra, by way of Derbe, found one Timotheus, or Timothy, the son of a Greek father and Jewish mother, of whom he speedily made a convert, and whom, having caused him to be circumcised, in order to save appearances with the more zealous of his maternal country, he thenceforth attached to his own company. He seems previously indeed to have visited Crete, to the superintendence of the church of which he consecrated Titus; but this we gather, not from the treatise of St. Luke, but from the writings of St. Paul himself. He then passed through Phrygia and Galatia, where he was welcomed with the utmost deference, and would have proceeded from Mysia to Bithynia but for the occurrence of a Divine vision, which induced him to turn towards Macedonia. He accordingly took shipping at Troas, and touching at Samothracia, landed on the second day at Neapolis, from whence he pushed on to Philippi, a Roman colony, and the second city in point of importance in the province.

Here Paul's success in making converts was considerable; among whom Lydia, a female dealer in purple, is particularly mentioned; but his triumph was not destined to be more free from suffering at Philippi than elsewhere. It chanced that he cured of a species of demoniacism, called by St. Luke "the possession of a spirit of divination," a young woman, the servant of certain persons who made money by the exposure of her infirmity. The mercenary unbelievers, perceiving that their source of profits was removed, immediately raised a party against the disciples, asserting that they were Jews, come to Philippi with the view of teaching a religion different from that established by law; upon which Paul, with his companions, were first publicly scourged and then committed to prison by order of the magistrates. But God turned the insults thus offered to his servants to a good account. An earthquake bursting open the doors of the prison, and causing the chains to fall from the captives' hands, the keeper not doubting that they had effected their escape, would have destroyed himself in despair, had not Paul arrested the movement. Then indeed the keeper, convinced that his prisoners were under the protection of an especial Providence, fell on his knees before them, and rose up to be received, with his whole house, into the bosom of the Church. Nor was the result of this adventure less remarkable, as far as it affected the personal honor, if we may so speak, of Paul and his company. The magistrates, ascertaining that the men whom they had thus wantonly insulted were Roman citizens, and, as a necessary consequence, persons of some note, were well pleased to compound matters, by publicly apologizing to Paul for their conduct, and immediately leading him and his friends from their place of undeserved confinement.

The next city which St. Paul visited was Amphipolis, from whence he travelled through Apollonia to Thessalonica;* where, for three successive Sabbath-days, he preached to the Jews in the synagogues. A tumult, however, arising, in which his host, Jason, suffered violence, Paul retired with Silas to Berea; where the people appeared well disposed to hear his doctrine, and to weigh his assertions with impartiality; but his enemies from Thessalonica pursuing him thither, he was fain to escape to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy to comfort such converts as had been made.

The city of Athens, at that time the chief seat of literature and the sciences, presented a peculiarly attractive field of labor to a man of St. Paul's ardent zeal and refined taste. He accordingly disputed with the Jews in the synagogues till the attention both of them and of the heathens was attracted, and he gladly availed himself of the opportunity which Athenian curiosity furnished of preaching, both to the Stoics and Epicureans, Jesus and the resurrection. It does not appear, however, that his success was commensurate with the judgment displayed by him in conducting the argument. Most of the self-conceited philosophers, when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, mocked, though many said, "We will hear thee again of this matter;" but the number that "clave unto him and believed" appears to have been small, though it included Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others.

Paul had been all this while alone, but he was joined soon after the above disputation by Timothy, who gave him a distressing account of the persecutions to which the brethren of Thessalonica had since his departure been subjected. The great Apostle immediately sent Timothy back to strengthen and comfort them in their dangers; and that holy man returning not long afterward with a favorable account of their perseverance, Paul testified his satisfaction by addressing to the Thessalonians his first Epistle. He then collected his original company about him, and moving to Corinth made converts there of the Jew Aquila and his wife Priscilla, whom the emperor Claudius had banished from Rome, and who gladly bestowed upon their instructor the rites of hospitality.

Paul's sojourn in Corinth extended to the space of a full year and a half, during which his exertions were ceaseless, and his success very remarkable. Tumults were, indeed, from time to time excited, particularly by the unbelieving Jews, who in great numbers dwelt here; but by the favor or sound discretion of Gallio, the deputy of Achaia, they led to no evil results, and the ministry of the Word was not interrupted. Nor was the Apostle unmindful of the spiritual wants of other places which he found it impracticable to visit in person. He wrote here his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which he cheered the brethren under their sufferings, and endeavored to correct certain erroneous notions which they had encouraged on the subject

* From this city St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, the earliest of the productions of his pen which have been preserved, was written. Its design was to keep the converts on their guard against the sophisms of the new Pharisaic sect, which, founded by Judas of Galilee, strove to propagate the religion of Moses under the disguise of Christianity.

of the day of judgment; summing up all by a touching exhortation that they should not "become weary in well-doing."

From Corinth Paul, carrying Aquila and Priscilla along with him, proceeded to Ephesus, where, being anxious to spend the season of the approaching Passover at Jerusalem, his stay was very brief. He took shipping almost immediately for Cæsarea, in Palestine, from whence he hastened to the capital. But he remained there only till the end of the feast, when he again made a progress through Galatia and Phrygia; and confirming in the several churches scattered over these districts, once more joined his friends at Ephesus. It gave him infinite delight to find that they had not been idle during his absence; many converts were made, among whom was Apollos,* an Alexandrian Jew of great learning and upright heart, who, removing to Corinth, became exceedingly useful in "watering where Paul had planted."

The number of John's disciples, that is to say, of persons imperfectly initiated into the mysteries of the Divine nature, seems to have been at Ephesus considerable; at least, we find Paul on his return thither completing the religious education of several, who, till he spake to them on the subject, "had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." These the Apostle confirmed, God being pleased to accompany the ceremony with a palpable effusion of his Spirit; and the effect was doubtless very important in furthering the great work of conversion. Among the Jews, indeed, little progress was made; for though the cures wrought in Ephesus were both more numerous and more surprising than in any other city of Asia Minor, they obstinately refused to be convinced; nay, some of them, making light of the whole matter, presumed to try how far they might perform miracles, by pronouncing over a possessed person the cabalistic name of Jesus. But their impiety met with the reward which it deserved, the demoniac driving them from the house "wounded and naked;" while the effect of their failure was to produce an increased reverence throughout the whole of Ionia both for Christ and his ministers.

While Paul was thus employed among the Gentiles, Peter was no less diligent in preaching to the Jews of the dispersion wherever he found them. He seems, indeed, to have kept his face steadily directed for a season towards the east; for we find him addressing his catholic or general epistle from Babylon; and the best authorities are agreed that by this place is meant, not the imperial Rome, but the remains of the ancient capital of Assyria. The epistle is full of sound and practical advice, conveyed with all the fervor incident to the disposition of the writer; though of the effect produced by it upon the minds of men in general we are not enabled to speak.

For two years Paul continued at Ephesus, "disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus;" at the close of which period he determined to revisit Macedonia and Achaia, and, wintering at Corinth, to celebrate the feast of

* This man, though a convert only to the principles of John the Baptist, when Aquila and Priscilla became acquainted with him, was nevertheless exceedingly active in disputing with the Jews concerning the character and offices of the Messiah. He became, of course, still more zealous after he had heard of a truth that Jesus was the Christ.

Pentecost at Jerusalem. With this in view he sent two of his faithful attendants, Timothy and Erastus, before him; he himself remaining behind, in order to address his first Epistle to the Corinthians, a document from which we learn that great abuses already prevailed in that church, in matters not merely doctrinal but practical. This done he prepared to set out; but ere he could carry his design into execution he found himself involved in a serious and to all appearance a dangerous dispute with the idolaters. There was a man named Demetrius, who made a considerable profit by the fabrication of silver images of the goddess Diana; and who, perceiving his trade to be seriously affected by the successful preaching of Paul, strove to excite his fellow-citizens to acts of violence. A prodigious clamor arose, in the midst of which two of Paul's companions in travel, Gaius and Aristarchus, were dragged before the civil magistrate; and Paul himself escaped a similar or perhaps a worse treatment only through the exertions of the brethren, who hindered him from appearing in public. But the magistrate, though no Christian, was a man of probity and sense. He saw through the motive which directed the movements of the populace, and declaring that the privileges of the city might be endangered by the maltreatment of men guilty of no crime, "he dismissed the assembly." No more was heard of the wild beasts to whom the mob talked of casting the Christians; and Paul, having appointed Timothy bishop of Ephesus, departed by the route of Troas for Macedonia.

Paul delayed in Macedonia a sufficient time to enable him to confirm in all the region round as far as Illyricum; and he had here the satisfaction to learn from Titus that his Epistle to the Corinthians had been productive of the best effects. Nevertheless, as he was given at the same time to understand that the peace of that church was disturbed by vain babblers, who made him in particular the object of their attack, he wrote his second Epistle, partly in vindication of his own authority, partly to modify certain sentences which he had summarily pronounced in his first. He then proceeded to Achaia, where he sojourned, principally in Corinth, for three months, that he might compose his elaborate and recondite Epistle to the Roman converts.

It is worthy of remark, that large contributions had everywhere been made among the churches of Greece and Asia Minor, to alleviate the distresses of their fellow-Christians, then suffering severely, from various causes, in Judea. These were readily entrusted to Paul, who proposed to carry them up by the shortest route into Syria; but hearing that a plan had been devised by the Jews for his murder, he changed his course, and travelled through Macedonia. He took shipping at Philippi, where with his *cortège* he had passed the season of the Passover, and landing at Troas, not only spent a week there, but restored to life a young man who was killed by a fall during divine service. He then proceeded on foot to Assos, from thence by sea to Mytelene, and coasting Chios, landed at Trogyllium; from whence he proceeded to Miletus, to meet the heads of the Ephesian church, that he might solemnly charge them to relax nothing in their duty. This done, he travelled with his companion to Coos, Rhodes, and Patara, where, finding a

ship about to weigh anchor for Phœnicia, he was safely transported to Tyre. Here the holy company spent some days, with great satisfaction to themselves as well as to the resident believers; but neither persuasions, nor assurances of coming evil could deter Paul from prosecuting his journey. He set out at the end of the week for Jerusalem, and reached it without the occurrence of any incident deserving of particular notice.

St. Paul's first business in Jerusalem was to present himself to James and the brethren, by whom he was easily persuaded to yield a little to the prejudices of the place, and to enter the Temple after the fashion of a Nazarite about to present his offering at the accomplishment of a vow. All A. D. his care failed, however, in shielding him from the violence of his 60. countrymen. He was observed by certain men, who had frequently seen him in Asia, concerting with Trophimus, a Gentile convert, and a native of Ephesus, and a cry was immediately raised that he had polluted the sanctity of the Temple by carrying thither a heathen and uncircumcised person. A violent commotion ensued. His very life, indeed, was endangered, owing to the fury of the populace, and would have been sacrificed but for the prompt interference of Claudius Lysias, the Roman governor, who, with much difficulty, extricated him from his perils, and lodged him for safety in the castle. It is true that Lysias, before committing him to custody, gave permission that he should address a few words to the Jews; but his speech, as it tended to explain the circumstances under which he became a convert to Christianity, increased rather than allayed the popular indignation. The governor, seeing this, commanded him to be scourged, and it was only by his declaring that he had the honor to be a Roman citizen that he escaped so grievous an indignity.

On the following day Lysias, willing to gratify the Jews, brought Paul to plead his own cause before the Sanhedrim. It was not to be expected that even-handed justice would, by such a court, be administered to a man in his circumstances; and we accordingly find that he had scarcely entered upon his defence when he was, by order of the high-priest, rudely smitten in the face. But Paul, after sharply rebuking his assailant, contrived to throw dissension among his judges, by asserting that it was on the subject of the resurrection that he was arraigned. A mighty division instantly took place between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, of whom the assembly was composed, and Paul was, during the contest, removed by Lysias, and again lodged in the castle. Finally, a conspiracy to murder his prisoner having been detected, Lysias sent him under a strong escort to Cæsarea, where Claudius Felix, the procurator, for the time being, kept his court; and there he was lodged in a place of safety till the procurator should find leisure for inquiring into the circumstances under which his arrest took place.

Paul underwent two trials, if such they deserve to be termed, before Felix; first, when his accusers from Jerusalem appeared by their advocate against him, and a second time when the procurator, with his Jewish wife Drusilla,*

* She was the sister of Agrippa the younger, and was married to Azeus, king of the Emessenians, whom Felix prevailed upon her to abandon.

to gratify their own curiosity, summoned him before them. But though in the first instance he proved his innocence of any crime against the state; and in the second, by reasoning "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," caused Felix to tremble on his seat, he failed in attaining his liberty; and he was found a prisoner on the succeeding year by Portius Festus, who succeeded Felix in the office of procurator.

Hoping better things from their new master, and trusting in some degree to his ignorance of their customs, the Sanhedrim no sooner heard of Festus's arrival in the country than they applied, though with the design of assassinating him on his journey, to have Paul delivered over to their jurisdiction. To this the new procurator would not consent; and the deputa-
A. D. 61.
tion from the council failing to prove their charges against him, the Apostle had every right to expect that he would be restored to liberty; but he was disappointed. Festus, willing to ingratiate himself with the Jewish nation, not only kept Paul bound, but hinted to him that his voluntary submission to the authority of the Sanhedrim would be acceptable; upon which Paul, greatly to his surprise, appealed, as he was entitled to do, to the emperor. The appeal could not be refused; and Festus, piqued as well as startled by his prisoner's boldness, told him, after conferring with his council, that "to Cæsar he should go."

While Christianity was thus forcing its way into every part of the Roman empire, Rome itself, as well as Syria and Palestine, was subject to numerous changes, both of rulers and systems of government. The emperor Claudius, dying by poison, was succeeded by the son of his wife, Claudius Nero, one of the most cold-blooded and remorseless tyrants that ever disgraced the human form. Under him and his immediate predecessor, four different men, including Felix, had filled the office of procurator of Judea; and now, in the year 60, Felix was in his turn recalled to make way for Portius Festus. At this time the provinces of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Paneas, and Abilene, together with Julias in Perea, and that part of Galilee which included Tarichea and Tiberias, were united into a separate kingdom under Agrippa, the son of the prince, by whose order James suffered martyrdom, and who himself perished miserably, "because he gave not God the glory." The appointment of Festus was no sooner notified to Agrippa than he went up with his sister Berenice to Cæsarea, where they remained for some time as honored guests of the new procurator. It was on this occasion that Festus, among other topics of conversation, informed them of Paul's strange arrest, and still stranger appeal to Cæsar. Their curiosity was strongly excited; they requested and obtained permission to hear the Apostle speak in his own defence; and Paul not being disinclined to plead the cause of Christianity before them, they were amply gratified by his eloquence. But though Agrippa, struck by the force of Paul's reasoning, exclaimed, "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," no step could now be taken to effect his discharge. Towards one who asserted his right to be heard at the tribunal of the emperor, even mercy could not be extended by an inferior authority; and Paul was, in consequence, sent back to prison, with an avowal on the

part of his judges that, had he not appealed to Cæsar, he might have been set at liberty.

The removal of Paul to Rome being now fully determined on, he was, with certain other prisoners, embarked on board of ship, under the escort of a guard, commanded by the centurion Julius. For a short time the voyage seems to have been agreeable enough; for the centurion was well-disposed towards Paul, and he and his companions were permitted to land and refresh at Sidon; but the breeze gradually heading them, their progress was afterward slow, and many days elapsed ere they reached Myra in Lycia. Here they were removed into another vessel, that in which they had originally embarked proceeding no further; but the weather being squally, and the winds baffling, they were compelled, after a tedious passage, to seek shelter in "the Fair Havens," a port in Crete. It was the advice of Paul that they should not endeavor to prosecute the voyage to an end till the spring; but he was overruled by the master and owners of the ship, and a fine south wind happening to blow, they put to sea on the following morning. No great while elapsed ere both the centurion and the master found ample reason to regret their precipitancy. A storm arose, which continued without intermission for the space of fourteen days, and every effort on the part of the crew to keep the vessel in her course proved abortive. She was driven they knew not whither, and it was only the spectacle of breakers on their lee which at last warned them that land was not very distant.

When the breakers were first distinguished it was night, and to hinder the ship, if possible, from striking, several anchors were let go. This done, the mariners began to think of providing for their own safety; and had already lowered the boats for the purpose of abandoning the wreck, when Paul, who had cheered the drooping spirits of the soldiers by assurances that no lives should be lost, pointed out and severely censured their design. The boats were immediately cut adrift by the guard; and all parties being now involved in a common danger, the energies of all were equally directed to avert it.

As soon as day dawned, a creek or estuary was discovered, into which, if it were possible to steer the ship, a safe roadstead would be found. The cables were accordingly cut; but an unexpected eddy catching the vessel, threw her bows on a sandbank, in a position which exposed her already weakened stern to the full violence of the waves. The consequences were not different from what might have been expected. The people were scarcely enabled to lash themselves to spars and rafts ere the ship went to pieces, and the wreck was drifted piecemeal to the shore. No lives, however, were lost. These, indeed, had been granted to Paul's prayers by Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death; and hence, the whole company, amounting to two hundred and sixty-seven individuals, reached the land in safety.

The place on which Paul and his companions were cast was the island of Melita, now called Malta, on the coast of Sicily. It was inhabited by a race of utter barbarians, whose natural sympathy, however, urged them to pay every attention to the unfortunate strangers thus thrown among them. They lighted large fires, supplied the men freely with food, and bestowed upon

them every kindness which their limited means would allow; and Paul in particular soon became to them an object of peculiar attention. It chanced that, while he warmed himself, a viper, darting from a bundle of wood, fastened upon his hand, which he shook off without suffering the slightest inconvenience. The poor savages, when they saw no mortal consequences follow, were exceedingly astonished, and considered him to be a god, whom but a moment before they had regarded as an impious and devoted homicide.

For three months Paul and his company dwelt at Malta, being sumptuously entertained by Publius, the Roman governor, whom the Apostle cured of a grievous distemper, extending also his powers of healing to others of the inhabitants. At the end of that period, however, they again took ship; and without the intervention of any other accident or misfortune, reached Puteoli, or Pozzuoli, in Naples.

Here about a week was spent in the society of certain brethren, residents of the place, after which they set forward for Rome, where Paul was received with great joy by the whole body of believers. He was treated, moreover, with the utmost respect by the heathen authorities, who permitted him to live under surveillance in a hired house; and having effectually cleared himself to the heads of his own nation from the suspicion that he came to bring any charge against them, he gave himself up entirely to the propagation of gospel truth. Nor was it by preaching alone that he strove while at Rome to advance the interests of Christianity. Besides his Epistle to Philemon, in favor of a runaway slave named Onesimus, St. Paul dispatched from thence several pastoral letters, — one to the Church at Philippi,* another to that of Ephesus, and a third to the believers resident at Colosse; while his last and most elaborate treatise, the Epistle to the Hebrews, is believed to have been penned, if not at Rome, certainly previous to his departure from Italy.

While Paul was thus employed, both at Rome and elsewhere, James, the brother of our Lord, exerted himself no less manfully at Jerusalem; when he encouraged and instructed the converts, wherever scattered, by his plain and intelligible epistle. But he was not long permitted after the departure of Paul as a prisoner to hold his course undisturbed. The Jews, taking advantage of a period of anarchy, occasioned by the death of Festus, dragged the Apostle before Ananias, the high-priest, who commanded him on pain of death publicly to renounce Christ. With this view he was carried to the battlements of the temple, in order that all Jerusalem might be witnesses to his apostasy; and when he steadily refused to blaspheme, the infuriated populace cast him down headlong. He was grievously bruised by the fall; and his miseries were ended by a heavy blow from a club while praying on his knees that God would forgive his murderers.

* The object of the Epistle to the Philippians is mainly to counteract the designs of the Judaizing sect, and to recommend humility, brotherly love, and courage under afflictions. That to the Ephesians enters somewhat more profoundly into the discussion of the main articles of a Christian's faith, besides being full of moral and practical lessons. The Epistle to the Colossians condemns the tenets of such as hold that angels and saints ought to be addressed as mediators between God and man.

Under what circumstances Paul obtained his liberty, as no authentic record has come down, it is impossible for us decidedly to relate. The most probable conjecture is that his countrymen, conscious of their inability to bring any serious charge against him, never appeared before the imperial tribunal; and that the Apostle, like other prisoners unaccused, was, at the end of two years, discharged by proclamation. Be this, however, as it may, we collect, partly from his own writings, partly from the writings of the Fathers, that he passed from Italy into Spain; that after a sojourn there of some months, he returned to Judea; that he sailed from thence to Crete; that from Crete he proceeded to Philippi, and so on to Macedonia, from whence his first Epistle to Timothy was written.

A. D. 63. It is further stated that, from the same place, and in the same year, his letter to Titus was dispatched; that in the year following he again crossed over into Asia, visited Timothy at Ephesus, and left Trophimus sick at Miletus; and that, returning to Rome, he was cast into prison by Nero, in consequence of the conversion of that tyrant's favorite concubine. Finally, we gather, that from his dungeon, where all but Onesiphorus forsook him, his second Epistle to Timothy was written, and that he suffered martyrdom by being beheaded in the summer of the year A. D. 66.

If the preceding history of the latter days of St. Paul be both meagre and imperfect, the account which alone we are enabled to give of the fate of his brother-apostles is, we regret to say, still less satisfactory. Of Peter's wanderings, for example, after the year A. D. 52, we know nothing, except upon an authority which is not much to be trusted. That he came to Rome in the year 65, seems to be universally admitted; and that there as well as elsewhere he was active in his Master's service, his second Epistle bears ample testimony; but whether this was his first or his second visit to the capital of the world, commentators are not agreed. The date and manner of his death, however, are perfectly ascertained. He was crucified with his head to the ground, on the same day that Paul died by the sword.

Of Andrew, the brother of Peter, all that can be asserted as authentic amounts to this: that after a life spent actively in the propagation of the gospel, he received the crown of martyrdom, by order of Ægæus, the proconsul of Achaia, at Patras. Simon, again, is reported to have suffered death in Britain, Thomas in Judea, Philip at Hierapolis in Phrygia, and Bartholomew, or Daniel, in Armenia; while Matthias laid down his life for the truth in Cappadocia, Barnabas at Salamis, and Jude, the author of the epistle which bears his name, in Persia. The last-mentioned Apostle, however, survived all his brethren except John; for his letter was not written, according to the best authorities, till about the year 66 or 67.

There remains but one other of the original attendants on our Lord, concerning whose fortunes it is necessary to say a few words: we mean John, the beloved disciple, and the latest of the Evangelists. We are informed by ecclesiastical historians, that on the death of the blessed Virgin, which occurred fifteen years after Christ's ascension, John was directed by the Holy

Ghost to penetrate into Asia; where he steadily opposed himself to the numerous heresies which too soon began to disturb the peace of the Church. Of all who had listened to the Messiah's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, John alone survived to witness its fulfilment; which occurred, as the reader need scarcely be informed, under Vespasian, in the year A. D. 70. But his life, though protracted beyond the ordinary course of nature, was not more than the lives of other primitive Christians exempt from trials. During the persecution raised by Domitian, he was sent in chains to Rome, from whence he was exiled to Patmos, and condemned to work in the mines; a sentence which he endured not only with patience, but with exemplary cheerfulness. It was during this interval that his sublime Book of Revelation was written, partly in reproof of existing abuses, partly as prophetic of events to come; of which, however, as all attempts to explain its direct purport have hitherto failed, we decline to say anything.

A. D.
85.

On the death of Domitian, and the repeal of his iniquitous enactments, John regained his liberty, and returning to Ephesus, where Timothy had lately died, he assumed the pastoral charge of that metropolitan church. Here he wrote his three epistles, of which the first is catholic, and directed against the false doctrines of various heretical sects of the day; more especially against the followers of Corinthus, otherwise called Gnostics, and the Docetæ.* The remaining two are private letters, addressed, the one to a lady of rank, the other to Gaius, a generous and hospitable man, who had once at least the happiness to entertain St. Paul. John was ninety-seven years of age when he composed his beautiful Gospel, with the double view of supplying such defects as he observed in the works of his predecessors, and of establishing the great truth of our Lord's Divinity. He died peaceably at Ephesus, in the hundredth year of his age, and the third of the reign of the emperor Trajan.

A. D.
96.

A. D.
100.

The portion of sacred history of which the substance has just been given is, perhaps, of all others, the most free from objections dependent for their force upon contradictions real or imaginary in the characters and conduct of the men whose names are introduced into it. If we admit the truth of the principal details, (and when the success of the first teachers, as connected with their situation of life, is considered, we really know not how these are to be questioned,) all minor matters fall into the shade; for the differences between Paul and Barnabas, and even the weakness of Peter, are mere illustrations of the waywardness and instability of human nature. Neither Peter nor Barnabas, nor even Paul, were, as moral agents, absolutely perfect; and hence the account of their personal differences, so far from taking away, only adds to the general credibility of the whole history. In like manner St. Paul's conduct when brought before the Sanhedrim was not only innocent but perfectly justifiable;

* The Gnostics taught that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, on whom the Æon, or super-angelic being, descended at his baptism, but left him before his death; the Docetæ, that Jesus was an incorporeal phantom, in which the Æon, Christ, or Divine nature presented itself to mankind.

inasmuch as the main question for which he was called to account by his enemies was the doctrine of the resurrection through the merits of Christ. Instead, therefore, of vindicating the veracity of the historian from charges in themselves frivolous and vexatious, we shall close our labors by briefly stating what we conceive to have been the main design of the several writers of those epistles with which our canon of Scripture concludes.

The peculiarity of circumstances under which the majority of St. Paul's Epistles were written has been noticed in the progress of the foregoing narrative. With the exception of those to the Romans and to the Hebrews, they were all called forth by the occurrence of some calamity, or the prevalence of some heresy, or the spread of some moral depravity among the believers; and hence the tone of one not unfrequently differs in a very remarkable degree from the tone of another. In like manner the treatises drawn up by Peter, James, Jude, and John are all subject, in a greater or less extent, to the same observation; for though of these the larger portion are catholic, there is not one which appears not to have owed its existence to some peculiar cause affecting the morals or belief of the Church. Hence we find Peter in one of his letters alluding to the errors in faith which a misapprehension of Paul's meaning had occasioned, while John, without hesitation, avows that he wrote chiefly to oppose the growing heresies of the Gnostics, the Docetæ, and others. We have stated these facts, not for the purpose of throwing discredit upon any portion of the sacred writings, as if they referred to events and circumstances long since passed away; but to warn our readers not to be led into the notion that in any important, far less in any essential point, one Apostle ever contradicts another. It is true that while one seems to magnify faith, condemning as useless the works of the law, another speaks more fully of morals, at the hazard of appearing to hold faith at naught; but neither here nor elsewhere is there the slightest contrariety between them, as a moment's consideration may serve to show.

Whenever St. Paul represents "the works of the law" as inadequate to secure man's salvation, he alludes to one or other of two things: he either refers to the ceremonial law of the Jews, which the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross had fulfilled, or to the absence of all claim of natural right in the very best of human beings to a state of eternal happiness beyond the grave. His doctrine is, and it is the same which his Divine Master had taught before him, that when we have done our best we are unprofitable servants, and that we shall owe our acceptance at last only to the merits of Him "who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification." This doctrine is to us so perfectly intelligible and consistent, that it may surprise the less-informed to be told that among the first converts, especially from Judaism, there were many who perverted it to the worst purposes. These men placed out of view the same Apostle's exhortation, "by a patient continuance in well-doing to seek for glory, honor, and immortality;" and forgot, or affected to forget, that it is man's business "to make himself meet, with Divine aid, to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light." They accordingly converted "the liberty of the gospel into licentiousness;" led grossly immoral

lives, yet professed that because they believed Jesus to be the promised Messiah, their salvation was secure. It was to correct this mortal error that St. Paul's contemporary declared "that faith without works is dead;" thus proving, that between faith, which worketh by love, and unfruitful belief, there is the widest possible difference.

Again, a variety of expressions will be found, more especially in the writings of St. Paul, apparently — though but apparently — contradictory of one another; as, for example, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, where in one place he reproves them as guilty of incest, fornication, and drunkenness at the Lord's table; and at another addresses them as "washed, justified, and sanctified." Now it is to be observed here, that the terms "washed, justified, and sanctified," all refer to the same thing, namely, the admission of the Corinthians by baptism into Christ's Church; a state, doubtless, of grace, but not of perfection. St. Paul, therefore, so far from contradicting, adds force to his former reasoning, for his object is to show that among men thus favored by God no such vices ought to be known. The very same language might, with perfect propriety, be addressed at this day by any Christian minister to his congregation.

In like manner we find this same St. Paul at once the most earnest in his persuasions to the brethren to regulate their lives according to the precepts of the gospel, and an unqualified asserter "that whom God did foreknow, them he did predestinate; and whom he did predestinate, them he justified." Now we take it for granted that no consistent believer in the doctrine of particular election will for a moment suppose that his reasonings, or indeed any moral inducements whatever, can have the smallest weight in leading any man into the path of salvation who would not find that path, were no such inducements applied; because, to admit the utility of incentives, yet acknowledge the irresistibility of a Divine decree, is a glaring and palpable contradiction. St. Paul, however, not only advises, but adjures his converts to lead virtuous and holy lives, assuring them that their reward will be, for Christ's sake, an eternity of happiness: would he have done this had he believed that God from all eternity has chosen his own favorites and none besides? We are not going to lead our readers into the mazes of the Calvinistic controversy, to a due consideration of which, indeed, our space would not suffice; but if the above remarks be just, it is perfectly apparent that St. Paul, in spite of his strong language, could be no *Calvinist*.* The phrase in question, therefore, seems to amount to this, and to nothing more: that God, possessing the faculty of omniscience, necessarily foreknows by whom his religion will be embraced in truth, and predestinates or determines to bestow upon them the everlasting crown which he has promised; though this foreknowledge no more overrules the freedom of the human will than our foreknowledge that the sun shall rise to-morrow is the cause of that luminary's appearance. We readily allow that with beings possessed of finite understandings it is extremely difficult to separate the ideas of foreknowledge and predestination;

* We ought to apologize for the use of this term, but we are unacquainted with any other so suitable to the occasion.

but the difficulty lies to us in comprehending the idea of a mind which sees things before they actually take place, not in distinguishing between knowledge and absolute causation. In plain language, we who exist in time can form no notion of a being with whom time or the succession of ideas is a nonentity; yet such must be the case with the great Cause of all things, who dwells, where time is not, in eternity.

Besides these there are various lesser points which we deem it unnecessary to notice at length; such as St. Paul's comparisons between a state of nature and a state of grace, his definition of the carnal mind, and his exhortation to put off the old man. All these, it may be shortly affirmed, relate partly to those propensities to evil which attach by nature to the best of men, partly to the glaring and gross vices of which the first Christians, previous to their conversion, had been guilty. But the grand design both of St. Paul and of the other authors of the Epistles was the same. They endeavored to convince mankind that "there is none other name given among men by which they can be saved except the name of Jesus;" that no man by his own merits can save his own soul; yet that all are equally bound to serve God in their several stations by performing conscientiously the duties imposed upon them. Thus, while faith in Christ is the foundation upon which all equally rest, the superstructure which all equally desire to raise is universal holiness; not because either faith or holiness is the instrument of our salvation, but because without them we shall not be found worthy of the inheritance which Christ, and Christ alone, has obtained for us.

AUTHENTICITY AND INSPIRATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

REVELATION teaches the knowledge of God, his various dispensations to mankind, and the duties required of men by their Creator.

The Scriptures, or Bible, are the only authentic source from which instruction upon these important points can be derived. The word Scriptures literally signifies writings, and the word Bible, book; but these words are now, by way of eminence and distinction, exclusively applied to those sacred compositions which contain the Revealed Will of God. The words Scriptures and Scripture occur in this sense in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles;* whence it is evident that, in the time of our Saviour, they denoted the books received by the Jews as the rule of their faith. To these books have been added the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, which complete the collection of books acknowledged by Christians to be Divinely inspired. The Bible, or the Book, the Book of books, was used in its present sense by the early Christians, as we learn from Chrysostom.

The Bible is divided into two parts, called the Old and New Testament.† The Old Testament, of which alone it is intended to treat in this chapter, contains those sacred books which were composed, previous to the birth of our Saviour, by the successive prophets and inspired writers, whom it pleased God to raise up from time to time, through a period of more than a thousand years. These books are written in Hebrew, and they are the only writings now extant in that language. The Old Testament, according to our Bibles, consists of thirty-nine books; but among the Jews they formed only twenty-two, which was also the number of letters in their alphabet. They divided these twenty-two books into three classes: the first class consisted of five books, namely, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which they called the Law; the second class consisted of thirteen books, namely, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, in one book; the two books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, respectively, in single books; Ezra and Nehemiah, in one book; Esther, Job, Isaiah, the two books of Jeremiah, in one; Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets, in one book; these thirteen

* Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29; John v. 39; Acts xviii. 28; Rom. xv. 4.

† Paul, in the same chapter, 2 Cor. iii. 6, 14, calls the dispensation of Moses the Old Testament, and the dispensation of Christ the New Testament; and these distinguishing appellations were applied by the early ecclesiastical authors to the writings which contained those dispensations.

books they called The Prophets; the third class consisted of the four remaining books, namely, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, which four books the Jews called Chetubim, and the Greeks Hagiographa;* this class was also called The Psalms, from the name of the first book in it. This threefold division was naturally suggested by the books themselves; it was used merely for convenience, and did not proceed from any opinion of difference in the authority of the books of the several classes. In like manner the minor prophets were so called from the brevity of their works, and not from any supposed inferiority to the other prophets. The books are not in all instances arranged in our Bibles according to the order of time in which they were written; but the book of Genesis was the earliest composition contained in the sacred volume, except, as some think, the book of Job; and the book of Malachi was certainly the latest.

Though Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, stood as separate books in the private copies used by the Jews in the time of Josephus,† they were written by their author Moses in one continued work, and still remain in that form in the public copies read in the Jewish synagogues. These five books are now generally known by the name of the Pentateuch;‡ and they are frequently cited both in the Old and New Testaments under the name of The Law. It appears from Deuteronomy that the book of the Law, that is, the whole Pentateuch, written by the hand of Moses, was, by his command, deposited in the tabernacle not long before his death.§ It was kept there not only while the Israelites remained in the wilderness, but afterwards, when they were settled in the land of Canaan. To the same sanctuary were consigned, as they were successively produced, the other sacred books which were written before the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. And when Solomon had finished the Temple, he directed that these books should be removed into it; and also that the future compositions of inspired men should be secured in the same holy place. We may, therefore, conclude that the respective works of Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Obadiah, all of whom flourished before the Babylonian captivity, were regularly deposited in the Temple. Whether these manuscripts perished in the flames when the Temple was burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, we are not informed. But as the burning of the Scriptures is not lamented by any of the contemporary or succeeding prophets, and as the other treasures of the Temple were preserved and set apart as sacred by Nebuchadnezzar, it is probable that these autographs also were saved; and more especially, as it does not appear that Nebuchadnezzar had any particular enmity against the religion of the Jews.

* From *agios*, holy, and *graphe*, writing.

† It is not known when this division took place, but probably it was first adopted in the Septuagint version, as the titles prefixed are of Greek derivation. The beginnings of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are very abrupt, and plainly show that these books were formerly joined to Genesis.

‡ From *pente*, five, and *teukos*, volume. It is called by the Jews Chomez, a word synonymous with Pentateuch.

§ Deut. xxxi. 26.

If, however, the original books were destroyed with the Temple, it is certain that there were at that time numerous copies of them; and we cannot doubt but some of them were carried by the Jews to Babylon, and that others were left in Judea. The Holy Scriptures were too much revered, and too much dispersed, to make it creditable that all the copies were lost or destroyed; and, indeed, we find Daniel, when in captivity,* referring to the book of the Law as then existing; and soon after the captivity, Ezra not only read and explained the Law to the people,† but he restored the public worship and the sacrifices according to the Mosaic ritual; and therefore there must have been, at that time, at least a correct copy of the Law; for it is impossible to believe that he would have attempted the re-establishment of a church in which the most minute observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by Moses was not only absolutely necessary for the acceptable performance of Divine worship, but the slightest deviation from which was considered as sacrilege or abomination, unless he had been in actual possession either of the original manuscript of the Law,‡ or of a copy so well authenticated as to leave no doubt of its accuracy in the minds of the people.

There is an uncontradicted tradition in the Jewish Church, that about fifty years after the Temple was rebuilt, Ezra, in conjunction with the Great Synagogue, made a collection of the sacred writings, § which had been in-

* Dan. ix. 11, 13.

† Nehem. viii. 1, etc.

‡ The very old Egyptians used to write on linen things which they designed should last long; and those characters continue to this day, as we are assured by those who have examined the mummies with attention. So Maillet tells us that the filleting, or rather the bandage (for it was of considerable length), of a mummy, which was presented to him, and which he had opened in the house of the Capuchin monks of Cairo, was not only charged from one end to the other with hieroglyphical figures, but they also found certain unknown characters written from the right hand towards the left, and forming a kind of verses. These, he supposed, contained the eulogium of the person whose body this was, written in the language which was used in Egypt in the time in which she lived; that some part of this writing was afterwards copied by an engraver in France, and these papers sent to the virtuosi through Europe, that if possible they might decipher them; but in vain. Might not a copy of the Law of Moses, written after this manner, have lasted eight hundred and thirty years? Is it unnatural to imagine that Moses, who was learned in all the arts of Egypt, wrote after this manner, on linen? And does not this supposition perfectly well agree with the accounts we have of the form of their books, their being rolls, and of their being easily cut in pieces with a knife, and liable to be burned? It would seem the linen was first primed or painted all over before they began to write, and consequently would have been liable to crack if folded. We are told the use of the papyrus was not known till after Alexandria was built. Skins might do for records, but not for books, unless prepared like parchment, of which we are assured Eumenes was the inventor, in the second century before Christ. Ink or paint must have been used to write on linen, and pens must have been reeds or canes, like those now used in Persia, which agrees better with the Hebrew word we render "pen." Nearchus, who accompanied Alexander in his expedition into India, says that the Indians "write on linen or cotton cloth, and that their character is beautiful."

§ "What the Jews call the Great Synagogue," says Prideaux, "were a number of elders, amounting to one hundred and twenty, who, succeeding some after others, in a continued series, from the return of the Jews again into Judea, after the Babylonish captivity to the time of Simon the Just, labored in the restoring of the Jewish Church and State in that country; in order whereto, the Holy Scriptures, being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those Scriptures, and publish them

creased since the Jews were carried into captivity, by the Lamentations of Jeremiãh, and the prophecies of Ezekiel, of Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah; and as Ezra was himself inspired, we may rest assured that whatever received his sanction was authentic. To this genuine collection, which, according to former custom, was placed in the Temple, were afterwards annexed the sacred compositions of Ezra himself, as well as those of Nehemiah and Malachi, which were written after the death of Ezra. This addition, which was probably made by Simon the Just, the last of the Great Synagogue, completed the Canon of the Old Testament; for, after Malachi, no prophet arose till the time of John the Baptist, who, as it were, connected the two covenants, and of whom Malachi foretold that he should precede "the great day of the Lord,"* that is, the coming of the Messiah. It cannot now be ascertained whether Ezra's copy of the Scriptures was destroyed by Antiochus Epiphanes, when he pillaged the Temple; nor is it material, since we know that Judas Maccabæus repaired the Temple, and replaced everything requisite for the performance of Divine worship, which included a correct, if not Ezra's own, copy of the Scriptures. This copy, whether Ezra's or not, remained in the Temple till Jerusalem was taken by Titus, and it was then carried in triumph to Rome, and laid up with the purple veil in the royal palace of Vespasian.†

Thus, while the Jewish polity continued, and nearly five hundred years after the time of Ezra, a complete and faultless copy of the Hebrew Canon was kept in the Temple at Jerusalem, with which all others might be compared. And it ought to be observed, that although Christ frequently reprobated the rulers and teachers of the Jews for their erroneous and false doctrines, yet he never accused them of any corruption in their written Law, or other sacred books; and Paul reckons among the privileges of the Jews, "that unto them were committed the oracles of God,"‡ without insinuating that they had been unfaithful to their trust. After the final destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, there was no established standard of the Hebrew

accurately to the people. Ezra, and the men of the Great Synagogue that lived in his time, completed this work as far as I have said; and as to what remained farther to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time when those men of the Great Synagogue ended, that were employed therein, that is, in the time of Simon the Just, who was the last of them?" It is also generally admitted, that Ezra transcribed the Scriptures in the Chaldaic or square letters, which we now call Hebrew, and which, from the long residence of the Jews in Babylon, were then better understood than the ancient Hebrew or Phœnician characters. When the Jewish Church was re-established after the captivity, a rule was made to erect a synagogue in every place where there were ten persons of full age and free condition, always ready to attend the service of it, ten being thought necessary to make a congregation; and it is said that Ezra himself distributed three hundred copies of the Law for the use of these synagogues. The service performed in the synagogues was, prayer, reading and expounding the Scriptures, and preaching. The Pentateuch was divided into sections, that the whole might be read in the course of a year. When the reading of the Law was prohibited by Antiochus Epiphanes, they read the Prophets, instead of the Law, to evade the penalty of death; but as soon as they were freed from his tyranny, they read both the Law and the Prophets every Sabbath, and have continued to do so ever since; but the prayers now in use are different from the ancient liturgies.

* Mal. iv. 5.

† Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 7, cap. 5.

‡ Rom. iii. 2.

Scriptures; but from that time the dispersion of the Jews into all countries, and the numerous converts to Christianity, became a double security for the preservation of a volume held equally sacred by Jews and Christians, and to which both constantly referred to as the written Word of God. They differed in the interpretation of these books, but never disputed the validity of the text in any material point.

But though designed corruption was utterly impracticable, and was indeed never suspected, yet the carelessness and inadvertence of transcribers, in a long series of years, would unavoidably introduce some errors and mistakes. Great pains have been taken by learned men, and especially by the diligent and judicious Dr. Kennicott, to collate the remaining manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible; and the result has been satisfactory in the highest degree. Many various readings of a trivial kind have been discovered, but scarcely any of real consequence. These differences are indeed of so little moment that it is sometimes absurdly objected to the laborious work of Dr. Kennicott, which contains the collations of nearly seven hundred Hebrew manuscripts, that it does not enable us to correct a single important passage in the Old Testament; whereas this very circumstance implies that we have in fact derived from that excellent undertaking the greatest advantage which could have been wished for by any real friend of revealed religion, namely, the certain knowledge of the agreement of the copies of the ancient Scriptures, now extant in their original language, with each other, and with our Bibles. This point, thus clearly established, is still further confirmed by the general coincidence of the present Hebrew copies with all the early translations of the Bible, and particularly with the Septuagint version, the earliest of them all, and which was made two hundred and seventy years before Christ. There is also a perfect agreement between the Samaritan* and Hebrew Pentateuchs, except in one or two manifest interpolations, which were noticed immediately by the Jewish writers; and this is no small proof of the genuineness of both, as we may rest assured that the Jews and Samaritans, on account of their rooted enmity to each other, would never have concurred in any alteration. Nor ought it to be omitted that the Chaldee paraphrases,†

* The Samaritans, who were the descendants of the ten tribes that seceded in the reign of Rehoboam, and of the Cutheans, a colony brought from the East, and established in Samaria by Esarhaddon, professed the Hebrew religion; but the Pentateuch was the only part of the Jewish Scriptures which they acknowledged. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a copy of the original Hebrew, written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician characters. There are still some Samaritans who have their high-priest, and offer sacrifices upon Mount Gerizim. Archbishop Usher procured two or three copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which were the first that had been in Europe since the revival of learning. It is well known that the language now spoken by the Jews is different from that of the Hebrew Scriptures, which has indeed been a dead language since the return from captivity; and in like manner the language spoken by the modern Samaritans is different from that of their ancient Pentateuch. There is a translation of the Pentateuch in the modern Samaritan language, which is published in the Paris and London Polyglots; it is so literal that Morinus and Walton have given but one version for both, only marking the variations. See Gray and Prideaux, Part I., c. 5, 6.

† The Chaldee paraphrases, called Targums, or Versions, are translations of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Chaldee, made for the benefit of those who had forgotten, or

which are very ancient, and so concise that they may be called translations, entirely accord with our Hebrew Bibles.

The books of the Old Testament have been always allowed, in every age and by every sect of the Hebrew Church, to be the genuine works of those persons to whom they are usually ascribed; and they have also been, universally and exclusively, without any addition or exception, considered by the Jews as written under the immediate influence of the Divine Spirit. Those who were contemporaries with the respective writers of these books had the clearest evidence that they acted and spoke by the authority of God himself; and this testimony, transmitted to all succeeding ages, was in many cases strengthened and confirmed by the gradual fulfilment of predictions contained in their writings. "We have not," says Josephus, "myriads of books which differ from each other, but only twenty-two books, which comprehend the history of all past time, and are justly believed to be Divine. And of these, five are the works of Moses, which contain the Laws, and an account of things from the creation of man to the death of Moses. This period falls but a little short of three thousand years. And from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets after Moses wrote the transactions of their own times in thirteen books; and the four remaining books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. And from Artaxerxes to the present time there is a continuation of writings, but they are not thought deserving of the same credit, because there was not a clear succession of prophets. But what confidence we have in our own writings is manifest from hence; that after so long a lapse of time no one has dared to add to them, or to diminish from them, or to alter anything in them; for it is implanted in the nature of all Jews, immediately from their birth, to consider these books as the oracles of God, to adhere to them, and if occasion should require, cheerfully to die for their sake." The Jews of the present day, dispersed all over the world, demonstrate the sincerity of their belief in the authenticity of the Scriptures, by their inflexible adherence to the Law, and by the anxious expectation with which they wait for the accomplishment of the prophecies. "Blindness has happened to them" only "in part;"* and the constancy with which they have endured persecution, and suffered hardships, rather than renounce the commands of their lawgiver, fully proves their firm conviction that these books were divinely inspired, and that they remain uninjured by time and transcription. Handed down, untainted by suspicion, from Moses to the present generation, they are naturally objects of their unshaken confidence and attachment; but suppose the case reversed,—

were ignorant of the Hebrew, after the captivity. They were read publicly with the original Hebrew, sentence for sentence alternately. See Nehem. viii. 8. The two most ancient and authentic are that of Onkelos, on the Law, and that of Jonathan, on the Prophets, which, from the purity of the language and other circumstances, are considered as having been made soon after the captivity, or at least before the time of Christ. There are other Targums, which are of a much later date. The Targums are printed in the second edition of the Hebrew Bible, published at Basel, by Buxtorf the father, in 1610.

* Rom. xi. 25.

destroy the grounds of their faith, by admitting the possibility of the corruption of their Scriptures, and their whole history becomes utterly inexplicable. "A book of this nature," says Dr. Jenkin, speaking of the Bible, "which is so much the ancientest in the world, being constantly received as a Divine revelation, carries great evidence with it that it is authentic, for the first revelation is to be the criterion of all that follow; and God would not suffer the ancientest book of religion in the world to pass all along under the notion and title of a revelation, without causing some discovery to be made of the imposture, if there were any in it; much less would he preserve it by a particular and signal providence for so many ages. It is a great argument for the truth of the Scriptures that they have stood the test and received the approbation of so many ages, and still retain their authority, though so many ill men in all ages have made it their endeavor to disprove them; but it is a still further evidence in behalf of them that God has been pleased to show so remarkable a providence in their preservation."

But the most decisive proof of the authenticity and inspiration of the ancient Scriptures is derived from the New Testament. The Saviour of the world himself, even he who came expressly "from the Father of Truth to bear witness to the truth," in the last instructions which he gave to his Apostles just before his ascension, said, "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me."* Our Lord, by thus adopting the common division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, which comprehended all the Hebrew Scriptures, ratified the Canon of the Old Testament as it was received by the Jews; and by declaring that those books contained prophecies which must be fulfilled, he established their Divine inspiration, since God alone can enable men to foretell future events. At another time Christ told the Jews, that they made "the Word of God of none effect through their traditions."† By thus calling the written rules which the Jews had received for the conduct of their lives, "the Word of God," he declared that the Hebrew Scriptures proceeded from God himself. Upon many other occasions Christ referred to the ancient Scriptures as books of Divine authority; and both he and his Apostles constantly endeavored to prove that "Jesus was the Messiah" foretold in the writings of the Prophets. Paul bears strong testimony to the Divine authority of the Jewish Scriptures when he says to Timothy, "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus." This passage incontestably proves the importance of the ancient Scriptures, and the connection between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. And in the next verse the Apostle expressly declares the inspiration of Scripture: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." To the same effect Luke says, that "God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets." And Peter tells us, that "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men

* Luke xxiv. 44.

† Mark vii. 13.

of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." In addition to these passages, which refer to the ancient Scriptures collectively, we may observe that there is scarcely a book in the Old Testament which is not repeatedly quoted in the New as of Divine authority.

When it is said that Scripture is divinely inspired, it is not to be understood that God suggested every particular word. It appears from the different styles in which the books are written, and from the different manner in which the same events are related and predicted by different authors, that the sacred penmen were permitted to write as their several tempers, understandings, and habits of life, directed.

In different parts of Scripture we perceive that there were different sorts and degrees of inspiration: God enabled Moses to give an account of the creation of the world; he enabled Joshua to record with exactness the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan; he enabled David to mingle prophetic information with the varied effusions of gratitude, contrition, and piety; he enabled Solomon to deliver wise instructions for the regulation of human life; he enabled Isaiah to deliver predictions concerning the future Saviour of mankind, and Ezra to collect the sacred Scriptures into one authentic volume; "but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will."* In some cases inspiration only produced correctness and accuracy in relating past occurrences, or in reciting the words of others; in other cases it communicated ideas not only new and unknown before, but infinitely beyond the reach of unassisted human intellect; and sometimes inspired prophets delivered predictions for the use of future ages which they did not themselves comprehend, and which cannot be fully understood till they are accomplished. But, whatever distinctions we may make with respect to the sorts, degrees, or modes of inspiration, we may rest assured that there is one property which belongs to every inspired writing, namely, that it is free from error — we mean material error; for we cannot suppose that God would suffer any such errors as might tend to mislead our faith or pervert our practice, to be mixed with those truths which he himself has mercifully revealed to his rational creatures as the means of their eternal salvation.

That even the authors of the historical books of the Old Testament were inspired is certain, since they frequently display an acquaintance with the counsels and designs of God, and often reveal his future dispensations in the clearest predictions. But though it is evident that the sacred historians wrote under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, it does not follow that they derived from revelation the knowledge of those things which might be collected from the common sources of human intelligence. It is sufficient to believe, that by the general superintendence of the Holy Spirit, they were directed in the choice of their materials, enlightened to judge of the truth and importance of those accounts from which they borrowed their information, and prevented from registering any material error. The historical books

* 1 Cor. xii. 11.

appear, indeed, from internal evidence, to have been chiefly written by persons contemporary with the periods to which they relate; who, in their description of characters and events, many of which they witnessed, uniformly exhibit a strict sincerity of intention, and an unexampled impartiality. Some of these books, however, were compiled in subsequent times from the sacred annals mentioned in Scripture as written by prophets or seers, and from those public records, and other authentic documents, which, though written by uninspired men, were held in high estimation, and preserved with great care by persons specially appointed as keepers of the genealogies and public archives of the Jewish nation. To such well-known chronicles we find the sacred writers not unfrequently referring for a more minute detail of those circumstances which they omit as inconsistent with their design. For "these books are to be considered as the histories of revelations, as commentaries upon the prophecies, and as affording a lively sketch of the economy of God's government of his selected people. They were not designed as national annals, to record every minute particular and political event that occurred; but they are rather a compendious selection of such remarkable occurrences and operations as were best calculated to illustrate the religion of the Hebrew nation; to set before that perverse and ungrateful people an abstract of God's proceedings, of their interests and duties; as also to furnish posterity with an instructive picture of the Divine attributes, and with a model of that dispensation on which a nobler and more spiritual government was to be erected; and, moreover, to place before mankind the melancholy proofs of that corruption which had been entailed upon them, and to exhibit in the depravity of a nation highly favored, miraculously governed, and instructed by inspired teachers, the necessity of that redemption and renewal of righteousness, which was so early and so repeatedly promised by the prophets. It seems probable, therefore, that the books of Kings and Chronicles do not contain a complete compilation of the entire works of each contemporary prophet, but are rather an abridgment of their several labors, and of other authentic public writings, digested by Ezra after the Captivity, with an intention to display the sacred history under one point of view; and hence it is that they contain some expressions which evidently result from contemporary description, and others which as clearly argue them to have been composed long after the occurrences which they relate."

As it is the practice of the sceptics of the present day to endeavor to shake the foundations of Christianity by undermining the authority of the Old Testament; and as their attacks are particularly directed against the genuineness and credit of the books of Moses, upon which the other ancient Scriptures greatly depend, it may be useful to offer some further considerations to prove that the Pentateuch was really the work of Moses, and that it is our duty, as Paul thought it his, "to believe all things which are written in the law, and in the prophets."

The first argument to be adduced in favor of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is the universal concurrence of all antiquity. The rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the hostile sects of Jews and Samaritans, and every

denomination of early Christians, received the Pentateuch as unquestionably written by Moses; and we find it mentioned and referred to by many heathen authors, in a manner which plainly shows it to have been the general and undisputed opinion in the pagan world that this book was the work of the Jewish legislator. Nicolaus of Damascus,* after describing Baris, a high mountain in Armenia, upon which it was reported that many, who fled at the time of the Deluge, were saved, and that one came on shore upon the top of it from an ark, which was a great while preserved, adds, "this might be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, wrote." We are told that Alexander Polyhistor † mentioned a history of the Jews, written by Cleodemus, which was "agreeable to the history of Moses, their legislator." Diodorus Siculus ‡ mentions Moses as the legislator of the Jews in three different places of his remaining works: in the first book of his history, where he is speaking of the written laws of different nations, he says, that "among the Jews Moses pretended to have received his laws from a God called Iao."§ In a fragment of the thirty-fourth book, he mentions, "the book of the laws given by Moses to the Jews;" and in a fragment of the fortieth book, after giving some account of the conduct and laws of Moses, he says, that "Moses concludes his laws by declaring, that he has heard from God the things which he addresses to the Jews." Strabo speaks of the description which Moses gave of the Deity, and says that he condemned the religious worship of the Egyptians. His statement is by no means accurate, but it is sufficient to show that he considered the Pentateuch as written by Moses.|| The accounts which Justin ¶ and Tacitus ** have left of the Jews are also very erroneous; but it is evident that they both admitted the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses. Pliny the elder, †† mentions "a system of *magic*," as he calls it, which was derived from Moses. Juvenal ‡‡ the satirist speaks of the volume of the law written by Moses. The illustrious physician and philosopher Galen §§ compares the account given by Moses with the opinion of Epicurus concerning the origin of the world, and in that comparison he plainly refers to the book of Genesis. Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher of the second century, says, that Plato borrowed from the writings of Moses his doctrines concerning the existence of a God, and the creation of the world. Longinus, ||| in his treatise upon the sublime, says, "So likewise the Jewish legislator, no

* A peripatetic philosopher, and a poet, historian, and orator of great eminence, in the time of Augustus. Nothing remains of his works but some fragments preserved in other authors.

† He was called Polyhistor from his great knowledge of antiquity. He wrote an Universal History, mentioned by several authors, but now lost. He lived about fifty years before Christ.

‡ He lived in the time of Augustus.

§ That is, Jehovah.

|| He lived in the time of Augustus.

¶ Trogus Pompeius, whose history Justin abridged, lived in the time of Augustus.

** He lived at the end of the first century after Christ.

†† He lived in the reign of Vespasian.

‡‡ He lived in the reign of Domitian.*

§§ He lived in the middle of the second century after Christ.

||| Longinus lived towards the end of the third century after Christ.

ordinary person, having conceived a just idea of the power of God, has nobly expressed it in the beginning of his law: 'And God said'—What?—'Let there be light, and there was light. Let the earth be, and the earth was.'" Porphyry,* one of the most acute and learned enemies of Christianity, admitted the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and acknowledged that Moses was prior to the Phœnician Sanchoniathon, who lived before the Trojan war; he even contended for the truth of Sanchoniathon's account of the Jews, from its coincidence with the Mosaic history. Nor was the genuineness of the Pentateuch denied by any of the numerous writers against the gospel in the first four centuries, although the Christian fathers constantly appealed to the history and prophecies of the Old Testament, in support of the Divine origin of the doctrines which they taught. The power of historic truth compelled the emperor Julian, whose apparent favor to the Jews proceeded only from his hostility to the Christians, to acknowledge that persons instructed by the Spirit of God once lived amongst the Israelites; and to confess that the books which bore the name of Moses were genuine, and that the facts which they contained were worthy of credit. Mahomet maintained the Inspiration of Moses, and revered the sanctity of the Jewish laws; and when we consider the avowed enmity, and professed contempt of the pretended prophet of Arabia for both Jews and Christians, it cannot be imagined that anything short of his conviction of the impossibility of lessening the general esteem in which these books were held, in a country which had held up a constant intercourse with the Israelites from the earliest times, could have drawn from him that concession in favor of the foundation of their faith.

To this testimony from profane authors we may add the positive assertions of the sacred writers both of the Old and New Testament. Moses frequently † speaks of himself as directed by God to write the commands which he received from him, and to record the events which occurred during his ministry; and at the end of Deuteronomy he expressly says, "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, which bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel;" ‡ and afterwards, in the same chapter, he says still more fully, "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the Law, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee." § In many subsequent books of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch is repeatedly quoted, and referred to under the name of "The Law," and "The Book of Moses;" and in particular we are told "that Joshua read all the words of the Law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the Book of the Law. There was not a

* He lived in the third century after Christ.

† Exod. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4. Numbers xxxiii. 2.

‡ Deut. xxxi. 9.

§ Deut. xxxi. 24, etc. No person who had forged the Pentateuch, or even written it in a subsequent age from existing materials, would have inserted these passages, which must have excited inquiry, and have caused the fraud to be detected.

word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel."* From which passage it is evident, that the Book of the Law, or Pentateuch, existed in the time of Joshua, the successor of Moses. In the New Testament also the writing of the Law, or Pentateuch, is expressly ascribed to Moses. "Philip findeth Nathaniel, and saith unto him, we have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph."† In a variety of passages in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, Moses is evidently considered as the author of the Pentateuch,‡ and every one of the five books is quoted as written by him.§ And it is material to remark, as of itself a sufficient proof of the inspiration of the Pentateuch, that Christ called the words of Exodus and Deuteronomy the words of God himself: "God commanded, saying, Honor thy father and thy mother; and he that curseth father or mother, let him die the death."|| And upon another occasion, Christ confirmed the Divine authority of every part of the Pentateuch, "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil; for verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled."¶

It may be observed that we have the strongest possible negative testimony to the truth of the Mosaic history. The laborious Whiston asserts, and in support of his assertion appeals to a similar declaration of the learned Grotius, "That there do not appear in the genuine records of mankind, belonging to the ancient times, any testimonies that contradict those produced from the Old Testament; and that it may be confidently affirmed, there are no such to be found." We are not, however, confined to negative testimony; for it would be easy to bring forward nearly demonstrative evidence to prove the positive agreement of antiquity with the narrative of the sacred historian; but I can only briefly mention some of the leading facts, concerning which the most ancient histories and earliest traditions very remarkably coincide with the Pentateuch, and refer to other authors for further confirmation of this important point. The departure of a shepherd people out of Egypt, who were not originally Egyptians, but who, after being compelled to work in the quarries for some time, left it under the direction of Osarsiph or Moyses (which latter word signifies, in the Egyptian language, a person preserved out of the water,)** and were pursued over the sandy desert as far as the bounds of Syria, was particularly mentioned by Manetho, Chæremon, Lysimachus, and others. Manetho,†† who wrote his history from the ancient Egyptian records, in speaking of the Jews, said, also, "It was reported that the priest, who ordained the polity and the laws of this people, who afterwards settled in Judæa, was by birth of Heliopolis; but that those laws were made,

* Joshua viii. 34, 35.

† John i. 45.

‡ Luke xxiv. 27. John v. 46. Acts xv. 21. 2 Cor. iii. 15. Heb. vii. 14.

§ Matt. xix. 7. Mark xii. 19, 26. Luke xx. 28, 37. Rom. x. 5. Heb. viii. 5.

|| Compare Matt. xv. 4, with Ex. xx. 12 and Deut. v. 16. In the parallel passage of St. Mark vii. 10, these precepts are called the words of Moses.

¶ Matt. v. 17, 18.

** Jos. Ant. lib. 2, cap. 9, sect. 6.

†† He lived about two hundred and sixty years before Christ.

not in compliance with, but in opposition to, the customs of the Egyptians." Chæremon, who likewise wrote an Egyptian history, mentioned Moses as a scribe, and as an Egyptian priest. The account which Lysimachus gave was very extraordinary; he said, "that a people, infected with the leprosy, left Egypt by the advice of one Moyses, who charged them to have no kind regards for any man, but to overthrow all the altars and temples of the gods they should meet with, and travel till they came to a place fit for habitation; which they accordingly did; and following him across the desert, settled at last in a land which is called Judæa, where they built a city, named at first Hierosyla, from their robbing the temples, but afterwards they changed its name to Hierosolyma." Apion also acknowledged that Moses and the Jews came out of Egypt into Judæa, although he placed the Exodus much later than it really was. Procopius,* Suidas,† and Moses Choronensis,‡ mention the famous inscription of Tangier, set up by the Canaanites who were driven out of Palestine by Joshua: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by the robber Joshua, and are come to inhabit here." Moses Choronensis mentions also an Armenian family or tribe, descended from one of the Canaanitish exiles, the manners of which country they still retained. The opposition of the Egyptian magicians to the miracles of Moses was mentioned by Numenius, the Exodus by Palemon, and the tablets of stone and the Hebrew rites in the verses ascribed to Orpheus. Eupolemus said that Moses exercised the office of a prophet almost forty years, and related the history of Abraham nearly as it is recorded in Genesis. Several nations claimed Abraham as their ancestor, and his name and history were celebrated by many Eastern writers. In the decree issued by the magistrates of Pergamus, forty-four years before Christ, there is the following passage: "Our ancestors were friendly to the Jews, even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have also found it set down in our public records." Aristotle considered the Jews as derived from the Indian philosophers, which is a remarkable proof of his opinion of their high antiquity, and of the accuracy of his investigation, as the Indians have been most satisfactorily traced to Chaldæa as their parent country. Berosus,§ who collected the ancient Chaldæan monuments, and published treatises of their astronomy and philosophy, gave an account in his history of a man among the Chaldæans, in the tenth generation after the flood, "who was righteous, and great, and skilful in the celestial science;" which character agrees with that of Abraham, who is said by Josephus to have taught the Egyptians astronomy and arithmetic, of which sciences they were utterly ignorant before his time.|| The account also given by Berosus of the ten generations between the creation and the flood, the preservation of Noah or

* He lived in the sixth century after Christ.

† He is supposed to have lived in the tenth century. He has preserved many fragments of much more ancient authors in his Lexicon.

‡ He lived in the fifth century.

§ Berosus flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

|| Jos. Ant. lib. 1, cap. 8. The recent discovery of the old Chaldæan sphere seems to place this assertion beyond the possibility of doubt.

Xisuthrus in the ark, and the catalogue of his posterity, accord with the Mosaic history. Moses Choronensis, the Armenian historian before referred to, mentioned these and many other circumstances, which equally agree with the narration of Moses; and in particular he confirms the account of the Tower of Babel, from the earliest records belonging to the Armenian nation. In the time of Josephus there was a city in Armenia, which he calls *Ἀποβατήριον*, or the place of descent; it is called by Ptolemy, *Naxuana*; by Moses Choronensis, *Idsheuan*; and at the place itself it was called *Nachidsheuan*, which signifies the first place of descent. The city was a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark, upon the top of that mountain at whose foot it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. Moses Choronensis also says, that another town was related by tradition to have been called *Seron*, or the place of dispersion, on account of the dispersion of the sons of Xisuthrus from thence. Nicolaus of Damascus related, in the fourth book of his history, that Abraham reigned at Damascus;* that he had come thither as a stranger, with an army, from a country above Babylon, called the Land of the Chaldæans; that after a short time, going thence with his multitude, he fixed his habitation in a country which was then called *Canaan*, and now *Judæa*, where his numerous descendants dwelt, whose history he writes in another book. To this enumeration of authorities from the remains of early writings, in which the facts, as related by Moses, may be evidently discerned, although in general they are mixed with fable, many others might be added. And whether we consider the information to be found in the later works of learned men, as derived from the Jewish Scriptures or from other sources, the credit of the Mosaic history will perhaps be equally established, since they quoted from earlier authors. For let it be remembered, that Josephus appeals to the public records of different nations, and to a great number of books extant in his time, but now lost, as indisputable evidence, in the opinion of the heathen world, for the truth of the most remarkable events related in his history, the earlier periods of which he professes to have taken principally from the Pentateuch.

Of the many traditions according to the Mosaic history, which prevailed among the ancient nations, and which still exist in several parts of the world, the following must be considered as singularly striking. That the world was formed from rude and shapeless matter by the Spirit of God; that the seventh day was a holy day; † that man was created perfect, and had the dominion given him over all the inferior animals; that there had been a golden age, when man, in a state of innocence, had open intercourse with heaven; that when his nature became corrupt the earth itself underwent a change; that sacrifice was necessary to appease the offended gods; that there was an evil spirit continually endeavoring to injure man and thwart the designs of the good Spirit, but that he should at last be finally subdued, and universal hap-

* Haran, where Abraham first settled, after he left Ur, was a part of Syria, of which Damascus was afterwards the principal city.

† Many ancient testimonies concerning the observance of the seventh day will be found in Whiston's Josephus, and in Archbishop Usher's Letters.

piness restored, through the intercession of a Mediator; that the life of man, during the first ages of the world, was of great length; that there were ten generations previous to the general deluge; that only eight persons were saved out of the flood, in an ark, by the interposition of the Deity—these, and many other similar opinions, are related to have been prevalent in the ancient world by Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman authors; and it is no small satisfaction to the friends of revealed religion that this argument has lately received great additional strength from the discovery of an almost universal corresponding tradition, traced up among the nations whose records have been the best preserved, to times even prior to the age of Moses. The treasures of Oriental learning, which Mr. Maurice has collected with so much industry, and explained with so much judgment in his *History and Antiquities of India*, supply abundance of incontrovertible evidence for the existence of opinions in the early ages of the world, which perfectly agree with the leading articles of our faith, as well as with the principal events related in the Pentateuch. I must confine myself to a single extract from this interesting author: “Whether the reader will allow or not the inspiration of the sacred writer, his mind on the perusal must be struck with the force of one very remarkable fact, viz., that the names which are assigned by Moses to Eastern countries and cities, derived to them immediately from the patriarchs, their original founders, are for the most part the very names by which they were anciently known over all the East; many of them were afterwards translated, with little variation, by the Greeks, in their systems of geography. Moses has traced, in one short chapter,* all the inhabitants of the earth, from the Caspian and Persian seas to the extreme Gades, to their original, and recorded at once the period and occasion of their dispersion.” This fact, and the conclusions from it, which are thus incontrovertibly established by the newly acquired knowledge of the Sanscrit language, were contended for and strongly enforced by Bochart and Stillingfleet, who could only refer to Oriental opinions and traditions, as they came to them through the medium of Grecian interpretation. To the late excellent and learned President of the Asiatic Society, says an English writer, we are chiefly indebted for the light recently thrown from the East upon this important subject. Avowing himself to be attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the Mosaic history, if it were proved erroneous, as to believe it, if he found it confirmed by sound reasoning and satisfactory evidence, he engaged in those researches to which his talents and situation were equally adapted; and the result of his laborious inquiries into the chronology, history, mythology, and languages of the nations, whence infidels have long derived their most formidable objections, was a full conviction that neither accident nor ingenuity could account for the very numerous instances of similar traditions, and of near coincidence in the names of persons and places, which are to be found in the Bible, and in ancient monuments of Eastern literature. Whoever, indeed, is acquainted with the writings of Mr. Bryant and Mr. Maurice, and with the Asiatic

* Gen. x.

Researches, published at Calcutta, cannot but have observed that the accounts of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Dispersion of Mankind, recorded by the nations upon the vast continent of Asia, bear a strong resemblance to each other, and to the narrative in the sacred history, and evidently contain the fragments of one original truth, which was broken by the dispersion of the patriarchal families, and corrupted by length of time, allegory, and idolatry. From this universal concurrence on this head, one of these things is necessarily true: either that all these traditions must have been taken from the author of the book of Genesis; or, that the author of the book of Genesis made up his history from some or all such traditions as were already extant; or, lastly, that he received his knowledge of past events by revelation. Were, then, all these traditions taken from the Mosaic history? It has been shown, by Sir William Jones and Mr. Maurice, that they were received too generally and too early to make this supposition even possible; for they existed in different parts of the world in the very age when Moses lived. Was the Mosaic history composed from the traditions then existing? It is certain that the Chaldæans, the Persians, the most ancient inhabitants of India, and the Egyptians, all possessed the same story; but they had, by the time of Moses, wrapped it up in their own mysteries, and disguised it by their own fanciful conceits; and surely no rational mind can believe that if Moses had been acquainted with all the mystic fables of the East, as well as of Egypt, he could, out of ~~such~~ an endless variety of obscure allegory, by the power of human sagacity alone, have discovered their real origin; much less that, from a partial knowledge of some of them, he could have been able to discover the facts which suit and explain them all. His plain recital, however, of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Dispersion of Mankind, does unquestionably develop that origin, and bring to light those facts; and it therefore follows, not only that the account is the true one, but there being no human means of his acquiring the knowledge of it, that it was, as he asserts it to have been, revealed to him by God himself.*

We have now seen, from undoubted testimony, that the Pentateuch has been uniformly ascribed to Moses as its author; that the most ancient traditions remarkably agree with his account of the Creation of the World, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, and the Dispersion of Mankind; that about the time mentioned in the Pentateuch, a part of the inhabitants of Egypt, who came originally from the East, did migrate under a person of the name of Moyses or Moses; that a people, with such laws and institutions as he professes to have given them have existed from remote antiquity; and we our-

* We are to observe that the Mosaic history of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, and the Dispersion of Mankind, not only relates these events as facts which might have been handed down by tradition, but it describes in what manner these events happened, for what purpose they were designed, and what consequences, natural and moral, they were to produce; and that these very circumstances, purposes, and consequences, simply related, materially contribute to the explanation of all those mystic fables of the East, agree with the present state of the natural and moral world, and accord with the doctrines of Christianity. We may indeed retort the charge of credulity upon those who can believe that any man could write such a history without direct inspiration from Him "who knoweth all things."

selves are eyewitnesses that such a people, so circumstanced, exist at this hour, and in a state exactly conformable to his predictions concerning them. But it may be observed that the civil history of the Jews is seldom contested, even by those who imagine the Pentateuch to have been written in some age subsequent to that of Moses, from a collection of Annals or Diaries; it is the miraculous part of it which is disputed. To this observation, however, we may oppose the conclusive argument of a professed enemy to revealed religion,* “that the miraculous part of the Mosaic history is not, like the prodigies of Livy and other profane authors, unconnected with the facts recorded; it is so intermixed and blended with the narrative, that they must both stand or fall together.” With respect to the Annals, which are mentioned as the supposed foundation of this history, they must have been either true or false; if true, the history of the Israelites remains equally marvellous; if false, how was it possible for the history to acquire the credit and esteem in which it was so universally held? But upon what is this supposition founded? No particular person is mentioned, with any color of probability, as the author or compiler of the Pentateuch; no particular age is pointed out with any appearance of certainty, though that of Solomon is usually fixed upon as the most likely. Yet why the most enlightened period of the Jewish history should be chosen as the best adapted to forgery or interpolation — nay, to the most gross imposition that was ever practised upon mankind — it is difficult to conjecture. Was it possible, in such an age, to write the Pentateuch, in the name of the venerated lawgiver of the Jews, from a collection of annals, and produce the firm belief that it actually had been written more than four hundred years before; and this not only throughout the nation itself, but among all those whom the extended fame of Solomon had connected with it, or had induced to study the history and pretensions of this extraordinary people?

But a more particular consideration of the contents of the Pentateuch, as relating immediately to the Jews, will furnish irrefragable arguments to prove its authenticity, and the truth of its claims to inspiration. The Pentateuch contains directions for the establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews, which, it is acknowledged, existed from the time of Moses; it contains a code of laws, which every individual of the nation was required to observe with the utmost punctuality, under pain of the severest punishment, and with which, therefore, every individual must be supposed to have been acquainted; † it contains the history of the ancestors of the

* Lord Bolingbroke's letter, occasioned by one of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons.

† “Indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those, also, who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws. But for our people, if anybody do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all, than he will tell his own name; and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately, as soon as we became sensible of anything, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls.” — *Josephus against Apion.*

Jews, in regular succession, from the creation of the world; and a series of prophecies, which, in an especial manner, concerned themselves, and which must have been beyond measure interesting to a people who were alternately enjoying promised blessings, and suffering under predicted calamities; it contains not only the wonders of creation and Providence in a general view, but also repeated instances of the superintending care of the God of the whole earth over their particular nation, and the institution of feasts and ceremonies in perpetual remembrance of these Divine interpositions; and all these things are professedly addressed in the name and to the contemporaries of Moses, to those who had seen the miracles he records, who had been witnesses to the events he relates, and who had heard the awful promulgation of the Law. Let any one reflect upon these extraordinary and wonderful facts, and surely he must be convinced that they could never have obtained the universal belief of those among whose ancestors they are said to have happened, unless there had been the clearest evidence of their certainty and truth. Nor were these facts the transient occurrences of a single hour or day, and witnessed only by a small number of persons; on the contrary, some of them were continued through a space of forty years, and were known and felt by several millions of people; the pillar of the cloud was seen by day, and the pillar of fire by night, during their whole journey in the wilderness;* nor did the manna fail till they had eaten of the corn in the land of Canaan.† We see Moses, in the combined characters of leader, lawgiver, and historian, not once or twice, or as it were cautiously and surreptitiously, but avowedly and continually, appealing to the conviction of a whole people, who were witnesses of these manifestations of Divine power, for the justice of their punishments, and resting the authority of the law upon the truth of the wonderful history he records. And further, in order to preserve the accurate recollection of these events, and prevent the possibility of any alteration in this history, he expressly commanded that the whole Pentateuch‡ should be read at the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, at the feast of tabernacles, in the hearing of all Israel, that all the people, men, women, and children, and the strangers within their gates, might hear, and learn to fear the Lord their God, and observe to do all the words of the law; and especially that their children, who had not been eyewitnesses of the miracles which established its claim to their faith and obedience, might hear the marvellous history, which they were taught by their fathers, publicly declared and confirmed; and learn to fear and obey the Lord their God from the wonders of creation and Providence revealed to his servant Moses, and from the supernatural powers with which he was invested. We have the authority of tradition to say, that every tribe was furnished with a copy of the Law before the death of Moses; and indeed, in almost every page of Scripture, the necessity of distributing numerous copies is implied, by the repeated injunctions for public and private instruction. Can we require a more striking proof of the exist-

* Exod. xl. 38. Numbers ix. 22.

† Exod. xvi. 35. Joshua v. 12.

‡ Deut. xxxi. 10, etc.

ence and designed publicity of the Law, than the command to "write all the words of the Law very plainly on pillars of stone, and to set them up on the day they passed over Jordan, (the day they took possession of the promised land,) and to plaster them over to preserve them?"* How could they "teach the Law diligently to their children, and explain to them the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, and the history of their forefathers; talk of them when sitting in the house, when walking in the way, when they lay down, and when they rose up; bind the words for a sign upon their door-posts and gates, and upon their hands, and as frontlets between their eyes,"† unless the Law had at that time been written, and they could have had easy access to copies of it? Words cannot express more strongly than these do the general obligation of the people to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Law, and to pay a constant habitual attention to its precepts, whether these directions be taken in a literal or figurative sense. "Scribes of the Law" are mentioned very early, though it is uncertain whether they were established as a body of men till after the captivity; and their very name affords some testimony to a number of copies. But must not the cities of the priests, who were commanded to teach the people, and the schools of the prophets, have been supplied with copies? And surely the office of the Levite, whom every family was "to keep within their gates," must have been to teach the Law. The command that every king, upon his accession to the throne, should "write him a copy of the Law in a book, out of that which is before the priests,"‡ is a proof not only that the Law existed in writing, but that there was a copy of it under the peculiar care of the priests, that is, deposited in the tabernacle or Temple. Jacobus Capellus thought that the reading of the Law on every Sabbath and festival was as old as the time of Joshua, but that it was neglected in the reign of wicked kings; and the question of the Shunamite woman's husband, "wherefore wilt thou go up to him (the man of God) to-day? It is neither new-moon nor Sabbath"§ — is a strong confirmation of his opinion, or at least of its being the custom several hundred years before the captivity. And St. Luke informs us that "Moses in old time had in every city them that preached him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day,"|| which may refer to a still earlier period.

Is it credible that any people would have submitted to so rigorous and burdensome a law as that of Moses, unless they had been fully convinced by a series of miracles, that he was a prophet sent from God? and being thus convinced of the Divine mission of Moses, would they have suffered any writing to pass under his venerated name, of which he was not really the author? Had fraud or imposture of any kind belonged to any part of it, would not the Israelites, at the moment of rebellion, have availed themselves of that circumstance as a ground or justification of their disobedience? "The Jews were exceedingly prone to transgress the Law of Moses, and to

* Deut. xxvii. 2.

‡ 2 Kings iv. 23.

† Deut. vi.

|| Acts xv. 21.

‡ Deut. xvii. 18.

fall into idolatry; but if there had been any; the least suspicion of any falsity or imposture in the writings of Moses, the ringleaders of their revolts would have sufficiently promulged it among them, as the most plausible plea to draw them off from the worship of the true God. Can we think that a nation and religion, so maligned as the Jewish were, could have escaped discovery, if there had been any deceit in it, when so many lay in wait continually to expose them to all contumelies imaginable? Nay, among themselves, in their frequent apostasies, and occasions given for such a pretence, how comes this to be never heard of, nor in the least questioned, whether the Law was undoubtedly of Moses's writing or not? What an excellent plea would this have been for Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel, for the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, could any the least suspicion have been raised among them concerning the authenticity of the fundamental records of the Jewish commonwealth! And, which is most observable, the Jews, who were a people strangely suspicious and incredulous, while they were fed and clothed by miracles, yet could never find ground to question this; nay, and Moses himself, we plainly see, was hugely envied by many of the Israelites, even in the wilderness, as is evident in the conspiracy of Korah and his accomplices; and that, on this very ground, 'he took too much upon him;' how unlikely then is it, that amid so many enemies he should dare to venture anything into public records, which was not most undoubtedly true, or undertake to prescribe a law to oblige the people to posterity; or that after his own age anything should come out under his name, which would not be presently detected by the emulators of his glory? What, then, is the thing itself incredible? Surely not, that Moses should write the records we speak of. Were they not able to understand the truth of it? What, not those who were in the same age, and conveyed it down by a certain tradition to posterity? Or, did not the Israelites all constantly believe it? What, not they who would sooner part with their lives and fortunes than admit any variation or alteration as to their Law?"

The first submission to such a Law as that of Moses must have been while all the tremendous circumstances of its promulgation were fresh upon their minds; and, indeed, the nature and design of the institution demanded that it should be carried into immediate effect.* And could the Israelites have continued for any length of time in observance of all these numerous ordinances and regulations, religious and civil, without any written authority to refer to? Is there any instance of this sort in the history of the civilized part of mankind? of a legislator requiring obedience to laws orally delivered, without giving a *lex scripta* as a rule of conduct,† a criterion by which dis-

* Stillingfleet observes that it is not easily believed that a people, whose characteristic was stubbornness, would have been brought to submit to such a law, unless they had been habituated to it previous to their settlement in the land of Canaan; or that a nation, whose subsistence was derived from agriculture and pasturage, would have submitted to laws apparently so contrary to their interest, as those relating to the sabbatical and jubilee years, unless they had been convinced that miraculous plenty and security would be the certain consequence of obedience.

† It is said that Lycurgus did not commit his laws to writing; but whoever reads an

putes were to be decided, and offenders were to be judged? Among the many peculiarities of the Jewish nation noticed by profane authors, is any circumstance of this kind mentioned or alluded to? Had any such thing ever existed, it must have been known to the Jews, who were living when the Law was put into its present form; and remarkable as it would have been, the memory of it must have been transmitted to all succeeding ages. Moses not only required obedience to his laws, but he ordered that no alteration should be made in them: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it."* There must surely have been a written copy of the Law, which was to be thus strictly observed.

Bishop Stillingfleet considers the "national constitution and settlement of the Jews," as of itself a decisive proof of the genuineness of the Pentateuch; "Can we," says he, "have more undoubted evidence that there were such persons as Solon, Lycurgus, and Numa, and that the laws bearing their names were theirs, than the history of the several commonwealths of Athens, Sparta, and Rome, which were governed by those laws? When writings are not of general concernment, they may be more easily counterfeited; but when they concern the rights, privileges, and government of a nation, there will be enough whose interest will lead them to prevent impostures. It is no easy matter to forge a Magna Charta, and to invent laws; men's caution and prudence are never so quick-sighted as in matters which concern their estates and freeholds. The general interest of men lies contrary to such impostures, and therefore they will prevent their obtaining among them. Now, the laws of Moses are incorporated with the very republic of the Jews, and their subsistence and government depend upon them; their religion and laws are so interwoven one with the other, that one cannot be broken off from the other. Their right to their temporal possessions in the land of Canaan depended on their owning the sovereignty of God, who gave them to them, and on the truth of the history recorded by Moses concerning the promises made to the patriarchs; so that on that account it was impossible those laws should be counterfeit, on which the welfare of the nation depended, and according to which they were governed ever since they were a nation. So that I shall now take it to be sufficiently proved, that the writings under the name of Moses were undoubtedly his; for none, who acknowledge the laws to have been his, can have the face to deny his history, there being so necessary a connection between them, and the book of Genesis being nothing else but a general and very necessary introduction to that which follows." Let those, then, who are disposed to doubt the authenticity of the Pentateuch, consider its real importance to the Jewish people, and the high veneration in

account of them in Plutarch, will observe, that they were merely general political regulations, and very different from the minute and particular laws of Moses, which extended to every point, civil, moral, and religious. Besides, Lycurgus's regulations were introduced into a city, with a very small surrounding territory, which had a kingly government previously established in it.

* Deut. iv. 2.

which it was unquestionably held, and surely they must be convinced of the impossibility of ignorance or mistake concerning any fact relative to it; and in particular, it will appear scarcely credible that the Jews should err in attributing it to any person who was not its real author, or that they should not know who it was that digested it into the shape in which we now have it, from materials left by Moses, had it been compiled in that manner in some subsequent age. The silence of history and tradition upon this point is a sufficient proof that no such compilation ever took place. If we believe that Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, why should we not believe that he wrote the account of that deliverance? If we believe that God enabled Moses to work miracles, why should we not believe that he also enabled him to write the history of the Creation?

But there are some who admit that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, and yet contend that the narrative of the Creation and of the Fall of Man is not a recital of real events, but an ingenious Mythologue invented to account for the origin of human evil, and designed as an introduction to a history, a great part of which they consider as poetic fiction. If it be granted that Moses was an inspired lawgiver, it becomes impossible to suppose that he wrote a fabulous account of the Creation and the Fall of Man, and delivered it as a Divine revelation, because that would have been little, if at all, short of blasphemy; we must, therefore, believe this account to be true, or that it was declared and understood by the people, to whom it was addressed, to be allegorical. No such declaration was ever made; nor is there any mention of such an opinion being generally prevalent among the Jews in any early writing. The rabbies, indeed, of later times built a heap of absurd doctrines upon this history; but this proves, if it proves anything, that their ancestors ever understood it as a literal and true account; and, in fact, the truth of every part of the narrative contained in the book of Genesis is positively confirmed by the constant testimony of a people who preserved a certain unmixed genealogy from father to son, through a long succession of ages; and by these people we are assured that their ancestors ever did believe that this account, as far as it fell within human cognizance, had the authority of uninterrupted tradition from their first parent Adam till it was written by the inspired pen of Moses. The great length to which human life was extended in the patriarchal ages rendered it very practicable for the Jews, in the time of Moses, to trace their lineal descent as far as the Flood, nay even to Adam; for Adam conversed fifty-six years with Lamech, Noah's father, Lamech being born A. M. 874, and Adam having died A. M. 930; and Methuselah, Noah's grandfather, who was born A. M. 687, did not die till A. M. 1656, according to Archbishop Usher, so that he was two hundred and forty-three years contemporary with Adam, and six hundred with Noah. Shem, the son of Noah, was probably living in some part of Jacob's time, or Isaac's at least; and Moses was great-grandson of Levi, one of the sons of Jacob. How easily, then, and uninterruptedly, might the general tradition be continued to the time of Moses! Could the grandchildren of Jacob be ignorant of their own pedigree, and of the time when they came

into Egypt? Can we think that so many remarkable circumstances as attended the telling and advancement of Joseph could be forgotten in so short a time? Could Jacob be ignorant whence his grandfather Abraham came, especially as he lived so long in the country himself, and married into that branch of the family which was remaining there? Could Abraham be ignorant of the Flood, when he was contemporary with, and descended from Shem, one of the eight persons who escaped in the ark? Could Shem be ignorant of what passed before the Flood, when Adam, the first man, lived so near the time of Noah? And could Noah be ignorant of the Creation and Fall of Man,* when he was contemporary with those who conversed with Adam? Can we, then, setting aside inspiration for a moment, believe it possible that, while there must have been so many remaining testimonies of former times, any lawgiver in his senses would have written a false account of those times, in a book which he ordered to be read publicly and frequently, as well as privately, by those very people who had clearly the power of contradicting it, and by convicting him of falsehood, of absolutely destroying his authority? or that Moses would adopt the style of allegory in the beginning of a book professedly written for the use of a plain unlettered people,† and containing a narrative of events which had passed before their eyes, and a code of laws which were to be literally observed; that he would introduce a grave history of real occurrences, a detailed practical system of jurisprudence and of religion, by a fictitious representation of the wonders of Creation and Providence?

“The account of the Creation,” says Mr. Gray, “is not to be considered as allegorical, or merely figurative, any more than the history of the Temptation, and of the fall from innocence, since the whole description is unquestionably delivered as real, and is so considered by all the sacred writers.‡ In the explanation of Scripture, indeed, no interpretation which tends to supersede the literal sense should be admitted; and for this reason also it is, that those speculations, which are spun out with a view to render particular relations in the book of Genesis more consistent with our ideas of probability, should be received at least with great diffidence and caution. To represent the formation of the woman from Adam’s rib as a work performed in an imaginary sense, or as pictured to the mind in vision, seems to be too great a departure from the plain rules which should be observed in the construction of Scripture,§ and inconsistent with the expositions of the sacred writers. So likewise the wrestling of Jacob with an angel,|| though some-

* Although general accounts of these great events might be conveyed thus easily by tradition from Adam to Moses, yet it should be observed, that there are many circumstances relative to them recorded in Genesis, which could be known only by immediate revelation from God.

† We ought always to remember that the writings of Moses were addressed to the people in general, and not confined to the priesthood or the learned.

‡ John viii. 44; 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 13; Rev. xii. 9.

§ Gen. i. 22, 23. This is related by Moses as a real operation, though performed while Adam was in a deep sleep, and is so considered by the sacred writers. 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9.

|| Gen. xxxii. 24.

times considered as a scenical representation addressed to the fancy of the Patriarch, should rather be contemplated, like the temptation of Abraham, as a literal transaction, though perhaps of a figurative character; and like that, it was designed to convey information, by actions instead of words, of certain particulars, which it imported the Patriarch to know, and which he readily collected from a mode of revelation so customary in the early ages of the world, however it may seem incongruous to those who cannot raise their minds to the contemplation of any economy which they have not experienced, and who proudly question every event not consistent with their notions of propriety." "To consider the whole of the Mosaic narration as an allegory," says Maurice, "is not only to throw over it the veil of inexplicable confusion, and involve the whole Pentateuch in doubt and obscurity, but to shake to its very basis, Christianity, which commences in the promise, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent.' In reality, if we take the history of the fall in any other sense than the obvious literal sense, we plunge into greater perplexities than ever. Some well-meaning pious commentators have, indeed, endeavored to reconcile all difficulties, by considering some parts of the Mosaic history in an allegorical, and other parts in a literal sense; but this is to act in a manner utterly inconsistent with the tenor and spirit of that history, and with the views of a writer, the distinguishing characteristics of whose production are simplicity, purity, and truth. There is no medium nor palliation; the whole is allegorical, or the whole is literal."

The practice of allegorizing Scripture has been attended with the worst consequences. Though the Bible abounds with figurative language, and the sacred writers continually use metaphors to illustrate or enforce their meaning, yet we may venture to pronounce, that in no one book of the Old or New Testament, which professes to relate past occurrences, is there a single instance of allegory. This observation, which is meant to be confined to the historical parts of Scripture, properly so called, is perfectly consistent with the typical nature of many circumstances of the Jewish history. It is only maintained that the narratives of past events are universally to be taken in their plain and literal sense; and it is to be wished that all readers of the Scriptures, and particularly young students in divinity, would keep that principle constantly in their minds. If allegory be allowed to be applicable in all cases, there is an end of certainty in Scripture history, and a door is opened to the wildest suggestions of the most extravagant imagination. Our own ideas of probability or propriety are not to be the criterion by which we are to decide upon the reality of transactions recorded in the Bible; nor are we to question the truth of Scripture history, because we cannot always reconcile God's dealings with mankind to our notions of justice and mercy. Our partial and imperfect knowledge of the great plans of Divine Providence should teach us to judge of the counsels of the Almighty with humility and diffidence. The short-sighted reason of man is but ill-qualified to pass sentence upon the decrees of infinite Wisdom; and the consciousness of this incompetence will be the best preservative against the bad effects of that

arrogant and irreverent presumption with which the Word of God is treated in the present age.

Among the objections to the Divine authority of the Pentateuch, the command to destroy the nations of Canaan is considered as being absolutely irreconcilable with Divine justice, and therefore as impossible to have proceeded from God. It is a curious example of the inconsistency of sceptical arguments, that the destruction of the inhabitants of a small part of the earth is pronounced to be incompatible with the Divine attributes, while the destruction of the whole world by the deluge is passed by without any such comment. But the deluge is a fact authenticated by such variety of proofs, and so universally acknowledged in all ages and countries, that its consistency with the justice of God must be allowed, or his moral government must be at once denied. And yet, in reality, the general destruction of the human race by the deluge, and the partial extermination of the inhabitants of Canaan by the Israelites, are to be accounted for upon precisely the same principle. In both cases it was the enormous wickedness of the people which drew upon them such signal punishment: "The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence; and God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said to Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will destroy them from the earth."* And Moses expressly declared to the people of Israel, when they were about to take possession of Canaan, the cause which brought upon the inhabitants the punishment of destruction: "Speak not thou in thy heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, for my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land; but for the wickedness of these nations, the Lord doth drive them out from before thee: not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thy heart, dost thou go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."† When God first promised the land of Canaan to the seed of Abraham, he expressly declared that they were not to take possession of it till the fourth generation after they should remove into Egypt, "Because the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full,"‡ that is, would not till then be full. It will scarcely be disputed that God might have given the children of Abraham more immediate possession of the land of Canaan, had he seen fit. It therefore appears, that the comparative righteousness of one nation postponed the fate of several others above four hundred years; and that it was not till the measure of wickedness was completed, that they were destroyed by the outstretched arm of the Almighty, who led on his chosen people, and commanded them to execute his judgments upon these incorrigibly wicked nations, which were designed at the same time to be a warning to themselves.§ And thus this

* Gen. vi. 11, etc.

† Deut. ix. 4, 5.

‡ Gen. xv. 16.

§ "Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day. It shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them;

command, so far from being repugnant to the attributes of God, affords an example of his mercy and forbearance, and establishes rather than invalidates the truth of the Pentateuch, and its claim to Divine authority.

With respect to the marks of a posterior date, or at least of posterior interpolation, so often urged with an insidious design to weaken the authority of the Pentateuch, it will be sufficient to observe that it may safely be admitted that Joshua, Samuel, or some one of the succeeding prophets, wrote the account of the death of Moses, contained in the last chapter of Deuteronomy; and that Ezra, when he transcribed the history written by Moses, changed the names of some places, which were then become obsolete, to those by which they were called in his time, and added, for the purpose of elucidation, the few passages which are allowed to be not suitable to the age of Moses. Now, surely when it is considered that these few passages are of an explanatory nature, that they are easily distinguished from the original writings of Moses, and that Ezra was himself an inspired writer raised up by God to re-establish the Jewish Church, after the return from captivity, the cavils founded upon such circumstances can scarcely be thought deserving of any serious attention.

It is sometimes asserted that there is a sameness of language and style in the different books of the Old Testament, which is not compatible with the different ages usually assigned to them, and thence an inference is drawn unfavorable to the authenticity of these books, and particularly to that of the Pentateuch. To this objection we may answer that it is founded upon an untrue assertion, for those who are best acquainted with the original writings of the Old Testament agree that there is a marked difference in the style and language of its several authors; and one learned man in particular concludes from that difference, "that it is certain the five books, which are ascribed to Moses, were not written in the time of David, the Psalms of David in the age of Isaiah, nor the Prophecies of Isaiah in the time of Malachi." But let us consider the case of the Greek authors, whose works have come down to the present time. The age of Hesiod and Homer, the two oldest Greek writers, is not precisely known; but Blair, and most other chronologers, place them about nine hundred years before Christ; and we know that Longinus, who was perhaps the latest of the authors called classical, lived towards the end of the third century after Christ. There was, therefore, an interval of almost twelve hundred years before Homer and Longinus, which happens rather to exceed the interval between Moses and Malachi, the first and last of the Hebrew authors. If, therefore, the Greek language remained through twelve centuries without any material change, why might not the Hebrew? In fact, the Hebrew was less liable to alteration, because the Hebrews, till the captivity, had very little intercourse with other nations. But the argument from the Greek language is still stronger, even if it be confined to prose writers, whose ages are certainly known. It will readily be granted that

I testify against you this day, that ye shall surely perish. As the nations which the Lord destroyed before your face, so shall ye perish, because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the Lord your God." Deut. viii. 11, 19, 20.

Herodotus wrote his history about four hundred and fifty years before Christ, and that Eustathius wrote his commentary upon Homer nearly twelve hundred years after Christ; and therefore these two writers show that the Greek language changed but little through a period of more than sixteen hundred years. It will not be imagined that I consider the style of Homer, Herodotus, Longinus, and Eustathius as exactly, or even nearly the same; I only contend that there is the same degree of resemblance between Greek, as there is between Hebrew authors, who lived at similar intervals.

We have thought it right to notice these objections, because we have lately seen a good deal of importance attributed to them; and indeed such objections are very frequent in modern publications. Those who advance them know but too well that, by stating them in a specious and confident manner, they may shake the faith of the unwary, and by degrees draw them over to their own sceptical opinions. Hence we caution our young readers against these insidious and mischievous attempts. Let the direct and positive proofs of the Divine authority of the Scriptures, or of any other branch of our religion which may be attacked, be constantly recollected. Let it be remembered that upon every point, however clearly and undoubtedly proved, it is easy to find cavils and difficulties; and that to these cavils and difficulties there must be satisfactory answers, although they may not occur to the mind, or have not fallen within the reading, of every person. Above all, let recourse be had upon all such occasions to this general principle, — That when the truth of any proposition is established upon just and legitimate grounds, or when any doctrine is revealed in the written Word of God, no weight whatever is due to objections founded in probable reasoning, metaphysical speculation, or conjectural criticism; and we may safely pronounce that no other have ever been brought to oppose the conclusions which we have seen derived from facts, by arguments obviously resulting from those facts, and consistent with each other, in favor of the authenticity and inspiration of the ancient Scriptures.

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE NECESSITY OF CARE IN THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE.

THE importance of carefully studying the Bible with every accessible help may be gathered from the circumstances connected with the preparation of the sacred books.

They were written by different writers of every degree of cultivation, and of different orders — priests as Ezra, poets as Solomon, prophets as Isaiah, warriors as David, herdsmen as Amos, statesmen as Daniel, scholars as Moses and Paul, fishermen, “unlearned and ignorant men,” as Peter and John.

The first author, Moses, lived four hundred years before the siege of Troy, and nine hundred before the most ancient sages of Greece and Asia, Thales, Pythagoras, and Confucius; and the last, John, fifteen hundred years later than Moses.

The books were written in different places; in the centre of Asia, on the sands of Arabia, in the deserts of Judæa, in the porches of the Temple, in the schools of the prophets at Bethel and Jericho, in the palaces of Babylon, on the idolatrous banks of Chebar, and in the midst of the western civilization; the allusions, and figures, and expressions being taken from customs, scenery, and habits, very different from each other, and from those of modern Europe.

Some of these writers, as Moses, frame laws; others sketch history, as Joshua; some compose psalms, as David; or proverbs, as Solomon. Isaiah writes prophecies; the Evangelists, a biography; several of the Apostles, letters.

Whole books, and parts of books, refer to the heathen, as in Isaiah and Nahum, while parts are addressed to the Jews only; one Gospel was intended for Hebrew converts, and another for Gentiles. The Epistles to the Corinthians are addressed to men who had little respect for authority, and were unwilling to be bound, except by the fewest possible ties. The Epistle to the Galatians is addressed to those who wish to bring their converts under the bondage of the law. That to the Romans, addresses (in *part*) the pharisaically self-righteous; the Epistle of James, the nominal and careless professor.

The time, the place, the employment, and previous history, the character and aim of the various writers, and even the position of those they addressed, all need to be considered; as these circumstances must have exercised an influence, if not upon the thoughts embodied in the language of Scripture, yet upon the language itself.

The importance of a careful study of Scripture will yet more appear when we consider the difficulty of communicating to men, and in human language, any ideas of religious or spiritual truth.

Most of the language which men employ in reference to spiritual things is founded on analogy or resemblance. This is true of all language which speaks of the mind or of its acts; and especially of the language of early times. In the infancy of races, language is nearly all figure, and describes even common facts by the aid of natural symbols. The very word "spirit" means, in its derivation, "breath." The mind is said to *see* truth, because the act of the mind by which it is perceived bears some resemblance to the act of the eye. To "reflect" is literally to bend or throw back, and so to look round our thoughts. "Attention" is a mental exercise, analogous to the *stretching* of the eye in the examination of some outward object. It is the necessity of man's state that scarcely any fact connected with the mind, or with spiritual truth, can be described but in language borrowed from material things. To words exclusively spiritual or abstract, we can attach no definite conception.

And God is pleased to condescend to our necessity. He leads us to new knowledge by means of what is already known. He reveals himself in terms previously familiar. If he speaks of himself, it must be in words originally suggested by the operations of the senses. If he speaks of heaven, it is in figures taken from the scenes of the earth.

We say that God "condescends to our necessity." This is true; but it might be said, with as much truth, that God, having stamped his own image upon natural things, employs them to describe and illustrate himself. "The visible world is the dial-plate of the invisible." Spiritual thoughts were first embodied in natural symbols; and those symbols are now employed to give ideas of spiritual truth. To the devout man, especially, the seen and the unseen world are so closely blended, that he finds it difficult to separate them. The world of nature is to him an emblem, and a witness of the world of spirits. They proceed from the same hand. In his view,

Earth

Is but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
Are each to other like.

It is impossible to avoid the conviction, that many of the figures of the Bible have originated in such a habit, and are the offspring of exquisite taste and devout piety.

Nor is it only from the nature of spiritual truth, or from the marvellous connection which subsists between material and spiritual things, that the inspired writers employ the language of figure. Such language is often most appropriate, because of its impressiveness and beauty. It conveys ideas to the mind with more vividness than prosaic description. It charms the imagination, while instructing the judgment, and it impresses the memory by interesting the heart.

Sometimes, for example, common things are associated in Scripture with

what is spiritual. God dwells in "light." He sets up his "kingdom." Heaven is his "throne." The Christian's faith is described in the same order of terms. He "handles" the word of life. He "sees" him who is invisible. He "comes" to Christ, and he "leans" upon him. Sometimes the Bible, borrowing comparisons from ourselves, speaks of God as having human affections, and performing human actions.

Hands, eyes, and feet are ascribed to God; and the meaning is, that he has power to execute all such acts as those organs in us are instrumental in effecting. He is called "the Father," because he is the creator and supporter of man, and especially because he is the author of spiritual life. He "lifts up the light of his countenance" when he manifests his presence and love (Ps. iv. 6), and He "hides his face" (Ps. x. 1) when these blessings are withheld.

In Gen. vi., it is said, "It repented the Lord that he had made man," *i. e.*, He had no longer pleasure in his work, so unpleasing and unprofitable had man become by transgression.

In Gen. xviii. 21, He says, "I will go and see," to imply that he should examine the doings of men before he condemned them.

In Jer. vii. 13, He says, "I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking," to imply the interest he felt in their welfare, and the care he had taken to instruct them.

In Dan. iv. 35, it is said, "He doeth according to his will," *i. e.*, not capriciously, but independently of men, and so as justly to require our entire submission.

It may be observed generally, that though there is some analogy between the love and wisdom, the knowledge and holiness, which we ascribe to God, and those same faculties in men, there is a great difference between them. The faculties in God are infinitely more noble, though there is enough of resemblance in the expressions of each, to justify the application of the same terms.

Two remarks in reference to the employment of this analogical language are important.

The figures which are used in speaking of spiritual truth are not used, as in common description, to give an unnatural greatness or dignity to the objects they describe. The things represented have much more of reality and perfection in them than the things by which we represent them. It is so in all such language. The mind *weighs* arguments, and that action is more noble than the mechanical habit from which the expression is taken. God *sees* much more perfectly than the eye; and the light in which He dwells is very feebly represented by the material element to which that name is applied. When it is said that the Church is the bride of Christ, the earthly relation is but a lower form of the heavenly; in the same way as earthly kingdoms and earthly majesty are but figures and faint shadows of the true. The figurative language, then, which we are compelled to employ when speaking of spiritual things, is much within the truth, and never beyond it.

It is a necessary result of the employment of such language, that figurative expressions are sometimes used in different senses.

If God is said, for example, to repent, and to turn from the evil which he had threatened against sinners, and in other places, it is said that God is "not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent," (Numb. xxiii. 19;) in the first, it is meant that God changes his dealings with sinners when they change; and in the second, that there is no fickleness or untruthfulness in him.

In Psa. xviii. 11, God is said to make "darkness his secret place;" and in 1 Tim. vi. 16, he is said to dwell in light. In the first case, darkness means inscrutableness; and in the second, light means purity, intelligence, or honor. In Exod. xxxiii. 11, it is said, that God "spake unto Moses face to face," and in verse 20, he declares that no man can see his face and live. In the first passage, the expression means to have intercourse without the intervention of another; in the second, to have a full and familiar sight of the Divine glory.

The same word (it has been remarked) expresses in Hebrew, "to bless" and "to curse," and this dissimilarity of meaning has excited surprise. The word originally means "to bend the knee," and that act was equally appropriate in asking a favor for others, and in denouncing them.

It may be remarked, further, that the Bible often speaks of spiritual truth, in terms suggested by the facts of Jewish history, or by rites of Divine institution. The idea of holiness, *e. g.*, for which in its Christian sense the heathen have no word, was suggested to the Jews by means of a special institution. All animals common to Palestine were divided into clean and unclean. From the clean, one was chosen without spot or blemish: a peculiar tribe, selected from the other tribes, was appointed to present it; the offering being first washed with clean water, and the priest himself undergoing a similar ablution. Neither the priest, nor any of the people, nor the victim, however, were deemed sufficiently holy to come into the Divine presence, but the offering was made without the holy place. The idea of the infinite purity of God was thus suggested to the mind of observers, and holiness in things created came to mean, under the Law, "purification for sacred uses," and under the Gospel, freedom from sin, and the possession by spiritual intelligences of a "Divine nature."

The demerit of sin, and the doctrine of an atonement, were taught in words taken from equally significant rites. The victim was slain, and its blood (which was the *life*) was sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, and towards the holy place; and while the people prayed in the outer court, they beheld the dark volume of smoke ascending from the sacrifice, which was burning in their stead. How plainly did this suggest that God's justice was a consuming fire, and that the souls of the people escaped only through a vicarious atonement! The ideas thus suggested were intended to continue through all time, and we find them often expressed in terms borrowed from these ancient institutions.

Under the Law, again, the priests were clothed in white linen, and dressed in splendid apparel. Expressions taken from these customs are hence employed to indicate the purity and dignity of the redeemed.

The whole of Jewish history is in the same way suggestive of spiritual truth, and of analogous expressions.

Men are the "slaves" of sin. Their road is through the "desert." They cross the "Jordan" of death. They enter the "rest" that remains for the people of God. They have their "forerunner;" their prophet; their priest, who is also called in prophecy, after the days of Saul, their king.

It may be remarked, again, that many of the expressions of the New Testament are employed in senses entirely unknown to the common writers of the Greek tongue. The New Testament term for *humility* meant, in classic Greek, mean-spiritedness, and though Plato has used the word once or twice, to indicate an humble spirit, this is confessedly an unusual meaning. (De leg. iv.) The Greeks had no virtue under that name, and even Cicero remarks, that meekness is merely a blemish. (De off. iii. 32.) *Grace* in the sense of Divine unmerited favor; *Justification* as an evangelical blessing; *God* as a holy, self-existent, merciful Being; *Faith* as an instrument of holiness, and essential to pardon: all these terms are used in Greek, and in all versions of the New Testament, with peculiar meaning. To us all they are old words in a *new* sense. All language exhibits similar changes: "calamity" meant originally, in the language from which it is taken, the loss of standing corn (*calamus*); "sycophant" meant fig-informer, and "sincerity," without wax, alluding to the practice of the potter in concealing the flaws of his vessels; but in Scripture, such changes are unusually numerous. Happily, however, there need be no misapprehension concerning the terms which are thus employed, as Scripture itself has defined the ideas they convey, sometimes by a reference to the old dispensation, sometimes by a formal or indirect explanation of the terms themselves.

It may aid the reader in interpreting Scripture to know how the various figures which our condition compels us to use in speaking of spiritual truth, are classed and named by grammarians. A knowledge of the *names* is not essential, but a knowledge of the differences on which the classification is founded may often prove so. When a word, which usage has appropriated to one thing, is transferred to another, there is a *TROPE*, or figure; and the expression is tropical or figurative. If, however, the first signification of a word is no longer used, the tropical sense becomes the proper one. The Hebrew word "to bless," for example, meant originally "to bend the knee;" but it is not used in Scripture with that sense, and therefore "to bless" is said to be the *proper*, and not a figurative meaning. When there is some *resemblance* between the two things to which a word is applied, the figure is called a *METAPHOR*; as, "Judah is a lion's whelp," Gen. xlix. 9. "I am the true vine," John xv. 1. When there is no resemblance, but only a *connection* between them, the figure is called *SYNECDOCHE*: as when a cup is used for what it contains, 1 Cor. xi. 27; or as when a part is put for the whole, "my flesh" for "my body," in Psa. xvi. 9. When the connection is not visible, or is formed in the mind, as when the cause is put for the effects, or the sign for the thing signified, the figure is called *METONYMY*, as in John xiii. 8. "If I *wash* thee not, thou hast no part with me," whereby wash is

meant to purify or cleanse. Sometimes the figure is explained in Scripture itself, as in 1 Pet. iii. 21, where baptism is explained as there meaning "the answer of a good conscience toward God."

All the foregoing figures refer to *single* words. The following refer to several words, as they make a continued representation or narrative.

Any statement of supposed facts, which admits of a literal interpretation, and requires or justly admits a moral or figurative one, is called an ALLEGORY. It is to narrative or story what trope is to single words, adding to the literal meaning of the terms employed, a moral or spiritual one. Sometimes the allegory is *pure*, that is, contains no direct reference to the application of it, as in the history of the prodigal son. Sometimes it is *mixed*, as in Psa. lxxx., where it is plainly intimated (v. 17) that the Jews are the people whom the vine is intended to represent. When the allegory is written in the style of history, and is confined to occurrences that may have taken place, it is called a PARABLE. When the allegory contains statements of occurrences which, from their very nature could not have happened, it is called a FABLE. Judges ix. 6-21; 2 Kings xiv. 9; 2 Chron. xxv. 18. When the resemblances on which an allegory is founded are remote and abstruse, it is called a RIDDLE. Nothing, however, need be said of Scripture riddles, as their hidden meaning is always explained. Judges xiv. 14; Prov. xxx. 15-21. When the resemblance between two persons or things is represented, not in *words*, but in some action or object, the object or action, which has (so to speak) the double meaning, a literal and a spiritual one, is called a TYPE. It is a double representation in action, as an allegory is a double representation in words. When the act or thing which is represented is present, or past, or near at hand, the act which represents it is called a SYMBOL, and is said to be symbolical. Baptism is thus an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace; and the bread we eat in the holy supper, and the wine we drink, are symbolically the body and the blood of Christ. See also 1 Kings xi. 30; 2 Kings xiii. 14-19; Jer. xxvii. 2-8, xiii. 1-7, xviii. 2-10. Some things, as the Passover, are both symbols and types. They commemorate one event, and they prefigure another. Language drawn from types and symbols is subject to the same rules as ordinary figures of speech.

Tropical, or *figurative*, then, is a general term, applied to words or single expressions, and includes metaphor, synecdoche, and metonymy; *allegorical*, again, is a general term, applied to continuous narrative, and is used whenever the narrative (whether it be riddle, or fable, or parable, or common history) has, or receives a double meaning. *Typical* refers to an action with a double meaning, and generally relates to something future; *symbolical* refers to actions with a double meaning, and relates generally to something past or at hand.

These figures of speech, it may be noticed, are not peculiar to the language of the Bible. They are found in all languages; but as they are most common in those which are most ancient, and are necessary to enable us to speak impressively, or intelligibly even, of spiritual truth, they are very frequent in Scripture. To comprehend parts of Scripture, therefore, and to

avoid error in interpreting it, it is especially important that we should understand them.

Let, then, these various facts be combined. Scripture was written by different persons, at remote periods, in distant countries, amid manners and customs altogether unlike our own, on subjects of the greatest extent and variety, — civil, ecclesiastical, historical, prophetic; the latter, especially, requiring terms both precise and ambiguous, and the whole expressed in dead languages, and in terms to a great degree analogical and figurative. Be it remembered, also, as we have seen, that the grand theme of Scripture extends through all time, involving truths and precepts (the former both physical and moral), with which our reason and experience are but little conversant; that it is not confined to time, but includes in its connections both worlds; that all its disclosures are comprehended in a narrow space, and treated with much brevity; and it will be at once clear how much learning is needed to make these things plain. There is, in fact, in Locke's definition of theology a literal truth: It is the direction of *all knowledge* to its true end, the glory of the eternal God, and the everlasting welfare of the human race.

THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE BIBLE SHOULD BE STUDIED.

The first place is due, when we speak of the study of the Bible, to the exercise of an humble and devout mind. It becomes us, first of all, to cherish the habit of earnest and reverential attention to all it reveals, and to seek that inward teaching of the Holy Spirit which God has promised to them that ask him. This is, perhaps, not strictly a rule of interpretation, but it is essential to the application of all rules. An analogical truth is admitted in relation to every other subject of inquiry. To appreciate true poetry, there must be a poetic taste. The study of philosophy requires a philosophic spirit. An inquirer into the processes of nature needs, above all, to be imbued with the temper of the inductive system which Bacon taught; nor should this truth be questioned when it is applied to the study of the Bible.

Men *need* Divine teaching, not because of the peculiar difficulty of Scripture language, nor because of the incomprehensibility of Scripture doctrine, — for the things most misunderstood are the things which are revealed most clearly, — but because, without that teaching, men will not learn, nor can they *know* those truths which are revealed only to those who feel them. When Christ appeared, the light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. Unholy affection had surrounded the mental eye with the very opposite of clear "dry light," and had impaired the organ itself. Blindness of *heart* produced ignorance; and alienation "from the life of God" was at once the cause and the aggravated effect of an "understanding darkened," Eph. iv. 18. The *source* of this teaching is clearly revealed: Christians are "all taught of the Lord;" and he who gave to the Ephesian church "the spirit of wisdom and revelation," was "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory," Eph. i. 17. The means of *securing* this teaching is equally revealed. "The meek will he guide in judgment, the

meek will he teach his way." He that is willing to do His will "shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God," John vii. 17. "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God . . . and it shall be given him." A childlike docility, an obedient heart, a dependent and prayerful frame, are evidently essential to the successful study of Divine truth. "*Bene orasse est bene studuisse*" is, therefore, an aphorism, subordinately, indeed, of Luther's, but really of God's.

It is necessary, however, in order to complete this truth, to add that the Spirit of God does not communicate to the mind of even a teachable, obedient, and devout Christian, any doctrine or meaning of Scripture which is not contained already in Scripture itself. He makes men wise *up to* what is written, but not beyond it. When Christ opened the understanding of his Apostles, it was "that they might understand the Scriptures," Luke xxiv. 45. When he opened Lydia's heart, she attended to the things that were spoken by *Paul*. David prayed that God would be pleased to open his eyes, that he might behold wondrous things *out of the Divine law*, Psa. cxix. 18. "The Bible, and through the Bible," indicates, therefore, at once, the subject and the method of Divine wisdom. Whatever is taught contrary to it, or in addition, or without its aid, is to be ascribed to the spirit of darkness, or to ourselves.

This first principle of Bible interpretation is taken from the Bible itself. It occupies the same place, too, in the teaching of our Lord, who, in his first recorded discourse, assured Nicodemus that, "except a man be born again, he cannot see" — can neither understand the nature nor share the blessedness of — "the kingdom of God," John iii. 3.

Compare, also, 1 Cor. ii. 14, xii. 8, i. 21; 1 John ii. 20, 27; 2 Cor. iv. 1-6; 1 Pet. ii. 1; James i. 21; Psa. xxv. 4, 5, cxix. 12, 18; 2 Tim. iii. 13, etc.

RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

Whether words are used literally or tropically, the first rule of interpretation is to ascertain the sense in which general usage employs them. As all the writers of the sacred Scriptures wrote or spoke to be understood, we must interpret their language as we interpret the language of common life. They tell us, for example, that "there is none that doeth good;"* figuratively, that "all flesh has corrupted its way;"† affirming the same truth in two different forms. They state that repentance is necessary to forgiveness,‡ and that both repentance and forgiveness are the gifts of Christ.§ All the great doctrines of the Gospel are stated in language equally simple and decisive: the existence and perfections of God; the unity of Jehovah, of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; the fall of man, the corruption of human nature; our moral responsibility; redemption through the atonement of Christ; the renewal of the heart by the influence of the Holy Spirit; the freeness and sovereignty of Divine grace; the progressive holiness of Christians, and their final and eternal blessedness. If language has meaning, these doctrines are taught in innumerable passages of the Bible, and in terms incapable of mistake.

* Rom. iii. 12.

† Gen. vi. 12.

‡ Isa. lv. 7.

§ Acts v. 31.

Simple, however, as this rule is, it is often broken in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Origen, for example, reading that Abraham married Keturah in his old age, and learning that *Keturah* meant, in Hebrew, "sweet odor," and that "sweet odor" is specially applicable to such as have the fragrance of righteousness in their character, thought that one most important meaning must be, that in his old age Abraham became eminently holy. A more modern commentator, Cocceius, examining the 8th Psalm, thinks that when it is said that "all sheep and oxen" are put under his feet, "the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea," it is meant that all Christians are subject to Christ; and that even the ungodly (represented by the birds and the fish) are really, though unwillingly, under his rule.

A kindred error changes the plainest history into fable, and teaches us to regard the whole of the miracles of Christ as common occurrences, obscurely described. On this principle, Scripture history means nothing that is definite, or it means anything which a vivid fancy can imagine it to mean. In either case, the meaning is not in the Bible, but in the mind of the inquirer.

But while, as a general rule, we are to understand the words of Scripture in their common sense, there are some peculiarities which need not be noticed. Being translated from the Hebrew with great literalness, the English version often employs the idioms and expressions of that tongue, and those are to be understood not according to the English, but according to the Hebrew idiom. The Jews, for example, frequently expressed a qualifying thought by the use, not of an adjective, but of a second noun: a practice which may be traced in the Hebrew-Greek of the New Testament. "Your work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope," means, "your believing work, and loving labor, and hopeful patience," 1 Thess. i. 3. So, in Eph. i. 13, the "Spirit of promise" means the "promised Spirit."

It was the common idiom of the Hebrew to call a person having a peculiar quality, or subject to a peculiar evil, the child or son of that quality. In 1 Sam. ii. 12, Eli's sons are called "sons of Belial," that is, of wickedness. In Luke x. 6, a "son of peace" means a person of gentle and attentive mind, disposed to give the gospel a willing reception. In Eph. v. 6-8, "children of disobedience," and "children of light," mean, respectively, disobedient and enlightened persons.

So Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14; Rom. vii. 24; 1 John iii. 10; Jas. ii. 4; Heb. i. 3; Rev. iii. 10. In some of these passages, however, the idiom is, perhaps, emphatic.

Comparison, again, is very peculiarly expressed in Hebrew. To love and to hate, for example, is a Hebrew expression for preferring one thing to another. Thus it is said in Luke xiv. 26, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father," for which we find, as in Matt. x. 37, "He that loveth father more than me." The same expression is used in John xii. 25; in Rom. ix. 13; in Gen. xxix. 18, 30, 31; and in Deut. xxi. 15. Comparison is sometimes intimated by the use of adverbs of negation. Thus in Gen. xlv. 8, "Not you sent me hither, but God," it was God rather than you. So Ex. xvi. 8; 1 Sam. viii. 7; Prov. viii. 10; Hos. vi. 6; Jer. vii. 22, 23. So in

Mark ix. 37, "Whosoever shall receive me receiveth not me, but him that sent me;" not so much, or, not only me, but him. So in Matt. v. 39; Luke xiv. 12; John v. 22, 30, 45, vi. 27; Acts v. 4; 1 Cor. i. 17; Eph. vi. 12; 1 Thess. iv. 8.

Plural nouns are sometimes used in Hebrew to imply that there are more than one, though it may be to one only that reference is made. Gen. viii. 4, xix. 29; Judges xii. 7; Neh. iii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 1, where "his disciples" means, one of them; Mark xiii. 1; Matt. xxvi. 8, and John xii. 4; Matt. xxvii. 44; Mark xv. 32, and Luke xxiii. 39; Luke xxiii. 36, and Matt. xxvii. 48. In some of these instances, however, all or several shared in the sentiment, John xiii. 4. "Garments," *i. e.*, one of them, the upper, see Mark v. 27, 30 (original).

The names of parents or ancestors are often used in Scripture for their posterity. Thus in Gen. ix. 25, it is said, "Cursed be Canaan," *i. e.*, his posterity. This curse, it will be remembered, did not affect those of his posterity who were righteous; for both Melchizedec and Abimelech were Canaanites, as was the woman who came to Christ, and whose daughter was healed. Gen. xiv. 18-20, xx. 6; Matt. xv. 22-28. In the same way, Jacob and Israel are often put for the Israelites, as in Ex. ii. 24; Psa. xiv. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18.

The word "son" is sometimes used, by a Hebraism (common, indeed, to nearly all languages), for a remote descendant. The priests are called the sons of Levi. Mephibosheth is called the son of Saul, though he was the son of Jonathan, 2 Sam. xix. 24; so Gen. xlvi. 22. Zechariah, the grandson of Iddo (Zech. i. 1), is called his son, Ezra v. 1. "Son" is thus used for any descendant, as "father" is used for any ancestor, 1 Chron. i. 17. "Brother" is used in the same way for any collateral relation. It is thus applied by Abraham to Lot, who was his nephew.* In one instance, too, the descendants of a man who married a daughter of Barzillai are called, from the name of their maternal ancestor's father, the children of Barzillai.† In the same way, Jair is called the son of Manasseh, because his grandfather had married the daughter of one of the heads of Manasseh. Mary is also thought to have descended from David in this way; so that our Lord was David's son, not only through his reputed father, but by direct descent through his mother.

A knowledge of these last rules of speech will often correct apparent contradictions. Athaliah, for example, is called, in 2 Kings viii. 26, the daughter of Omri, and in ver. 18 she is called the daughter of Ahab. She was really Ahab's daughter, and Omri's granddaughter. See also 1 Kings xv. 10, and 2 Chron. xiii. 2, and 1 Chron. iii. 15, compared with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10. There are other peculiarities, semi-Hebraisms, which need to be named. Some numbers in Hebrew are used for an indefinite number. "Ten," for example, means "several," as well as that precise number, Gen. xxxi. 7; Dan. i. 20. "Forty" means "many." Persepolis is called in Eastern language, "the city of forty towers," though the number was much

* Gen. xiv. 16, xxix. 12, 15. So the word is probably used in John vii. 3; Gal. i. 19.

† Ezra ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63.

larger. This is probably the meaning in 2 Kings viii. 9, where Hazael is said to have brought as a present to Elisha forty camels' burden of the good things of Damascus. This is probably the meaning, too, in Ezek. xxix. 11, 13. "Seven" and "seventy" are used to express a large and complete, though an uncertain number. Prov. xxvi. 16, 25; Psa. cxix. 164; Lev. xxvi. 24, etc. We are commanded, for example, to forgive till seventy times seven, to indicate that, if our brother repent of his sin, there must be no end of our forgiveness. The seven demons cast out of Mary of Magdala indicate her extreme suffering, and, perhaps, her great wickedness. The Scriptures sometimes use a round number when not perfectly accurate. From Num. xxv. 9, and 1 Cor. x. 8, we learn that between 23,000 and 24,000 were slain by the plague. The first passage mentions 24,000, the second 23,000. In Judges xi. 26, 300 years is put for 293. See Josh. iv. 19; Num. xxxiii. 3; and compare xiv. 33; Judges xx. 46, 35, ix. 5, 18, 56.

Occasionally, in Scripture, verbs denoting simple being or action are used, when only a declaration is intended, or even a mere supposition that the act is or will be done, or regarded as done. In Lev. xiii. 3, 13, for example, where the priest is said to cleanse the leper; *i. e.*, he declares him to be clean. The letter killeth; that is, declares death as a consequence of sin. Rom. v. 20; Phil. iii. 7. See also Rom. iv. 15, vii. 9; 2 Cor. iii. 6. So in prophecy the speaker is said to do what he only foretells. Jer. i. 10; Ezek. xliii. 3; Isa. vi. 10.

In interpreting the words of Scripture, it needs to be noticed that the proper names are used very peculiarly.

Different persons often have the same name.—*Pharaoh* (or ruler, from *Phre*, the sun) was the general name of the kings of Egypt from the time of Abraham till the invasion of Egypt by the Persians, as Ptolemy was the common name of their kings after the death of Alexander. Abimelech (meaning, my father the king) seems to have been the common name of the kings of the Philistines; Agag was the name of the kings of the Amalekites; as was Benhadad (the son of the sun) of the kings of Damascus. Among the Romans, Augustus Cæsar was the common title of their emperors. The Augustus mentioned in Luke ii. 1, was the second of that name. The Cæsar who reigned when Christ was crucified was Tiberius. The emperor to whom Paul appealed, and who is called both Augustus and Cæsar, was Nero. Acts xxv. 21. The Egyptian and the Philistine kings seem to have had, like the Romans, a proper as well as a common name. We read, for example, of Pharaoh Necho and of Pharaoh Hophra; and the Abimelech mentioned in Ps. xxxiv., is called Achish in 1 Sam. xxi. 11.

In the New Testament, several very different persons are known under the common name of Herod. Herod the Great, as he is called in profane history, was he who slew in his old age the young children at Bethlehem. It was he who rebuilt and decorated the Temple, and enlarged Cæsarea. He was notorious for his jealousy and cruelty. On his death, the half of his kingdom (including Judæa and Samaria) was given to his son Archelaus;

most of Galilee was given to his son Herod the Tetrarch, or king, Luke iii. 1; Matt. xiv. 9; and some other parts of Syria and Galilee to his third son, Philip Herod. It was Herod the Tetrarch who beheaded John, and mocked our Lord in his last sufferings. His conduct towards Herodias, his niece and sister-in-law, ended in his being banished to Gaul. The dominions of both Herod and Philip were ultimately given to his nephew, the brother of Herodias; Herod Agrippa, who is called in Scripture Herod only. In the end, he possessed all the territory in Palestine which had belonged to his grandfather, Herod the Great. He was the murderer of the apostle James, and died miserably and suddenly at Cæsarea. His son was Herod Agrippa, called in the New Testament Agrippa only. It was before him that Paul was brought by Festus. The character of this man was very different from that of his father, and a knowledge of the fact that they were not the same man is essential to a clear understanding of the history.

Different places have often the same name.—Cæsarea is the name of two cities: one called Cæsarea Philippi, in Galilee; the other on the shore of the Mediterranean. The one mentioned throughout the Acts of the Apostles was the port whence travellers generally left Judæa for Rome.

Antioch, in Syria, again, is the place where Paul and Barnabas commenced their labors, and where the followers of Christ were first called Christians. The Antioch of Acts xiii. 14, and of 2 Tim. iii. 11, is in Phrygia.

There is a Mizpeh ("watch-tower") in Mount Gilead, where Jephtha resided, where Jacob and Laban made their covenant, Gen. xxxi. 49; Judges xi. 34; a Mizpeh of Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3, perhaps the same as the previous; a Mizpeh of Gibeah, where Samuel resided, and where Saul was chosen king, 1 Sam. vii. 11; and there is also a Mizpeh in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 38.

Sometimes the same name is applied to a person and to a place.—Magog, for example, is the name of a son of Japheth, and it is also the name of the country occupied by a people called Gog, probably the Scythians, or, as they are now called, the Tartars. Ezek. xxxviii. Rev. xx. 8. The Turks have sprung from the same stock.

The same persons and places have sometimes different names.—The father-in-law of Moses, for example, is called Hobab and Jethro. Judges iv. 11; Ex. iii. 1. Reuel was perhaps his wife's grandfather, though called her father. Ex. ii. 18. Levi is the same as Matthew. Thomas and Didymus are the same person; the words meaning a twin. Thaddeus, Lebbæus, and Judas, are all names of the apostle Jude. Sylvanus, Lucas, Timotheus, are Latin forms of Silas, Luke, and Timothy; the last three belong to our translation, not to the original. Horeb and Sinai are names now and anciently applied to different peaks of the same range of mountains; and both names are sometimes applied to the whole range. Cæsarea (of Galilee) was called Laish, and then Dan. 1 Kings xii. 29; Judges xviii. 29. The Lake of Gennesaret was anciently called the Sea of Cinnereth, afterwards the Sea of Galilee, or the Sea of Tiberias. Matt. iv. 18; John xxi. 1. The modern

Abyssinia is called Ethiopia, and sometimes Cush; the latter name, however, being applied generally to Arabia or to India; hence, probably, Chusistan. Greece is called Javan and Greece. Isa. lxvi. 19; Zech. ix. 13. Egypt is called Ham and Rahab. Psa. lxxviii. 51; Isa. li. 9. The Dead Sea is called the Sea of the Plain, from its occupying, or adjoining, the plain on which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah once stood; the East Sea, from its position in relation to Jerusalem; and sometimes the Salt Sea. 2 Kings xiv. 25; Gen. xiv. 3. The Nile is called in Scripture Sihor, Josh. xiii. 3, but more commonly the River; both names, however, being applied also to other streams. The Mediterranean Sea is sometimes called the Sea of the Philistines, who resided on its coasts; or the Utmost Sea; or, more commonly, the Great Sea. Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24; Num. xxxiv. 6, 7. The Holy Land is called Canaan; the Land of Israel, of Judæa; Palestine, or the Land of the Shepherds; and the Land of Promise. Ex. xv. 14; 1 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. xiv. 29; Heb. xi. 9. The careful recognition of the different application of proper names is of great moment, especially in reconciling apparent contradictions in sacred Scripture. Ahaziah, for example, the son of Jehoram, is called Azariah and Jehoahaz. 2 Kings viii. 29; 2 Chron. xxii. 6, xxi. 17. Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, is called Johanan and Shallum. 2 Kings xxiii. 30; 1 Chron. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 11. Jehoiada, the priest, is called Johanan; and, probably, Barachias. 2 Chron. xxiv. 20; 1 Chron. vi. 9; Matt. xxiii. 35. The meaning of all these names is similar. Uziah is called Azariah; Nathaniel, Bartholomew. In such instances, the different names have often the same meaning.

It is obvious, however, that a word has often various senses, each of which is sanctioned by general usage. We need, therefore, a second rule of interpretation; to fix the meaning of a word, it is necessary to mark the meaning of the other words with which it is connected in the sentence; *i. e.*, we must ascertain the sense in which general usage employs it in its particular connection.

FAITH, for example, sometimes means the gospel (of which faith in Christ is the great doctrine), as in Gal. i. 23, "he now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed." And so in 1 Tim. iii. 9, 4, 1; Acts xxiv. 24. It means, again, truth or faithfulness, as in Rom. iii. 3, "shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?" And so in Titus ii. 10 (orig.), and probably in Gal. v. 22. It means, further, in one passage, proof or evidence; Acts xvii. 31, (Gr.). It means a conscientious conviction of duty, as in Rom. xiv. 23; or, most comprehensively, that exercise of the mind and heart which receives spiritual and Divine truth (Heb. xi.); or, more specifically, the repose of the mind and heart in the work of Christ as the ground of our pardon and means of our holiness (Rom. iii. 28).

FLESH means sometimes what is tender and teachable, as in Ezek. xi. 19, "I will give you a heart of flesh;" where it is opposed to a heart of stone. It means, also, human nature, without any reference to its sinfulness, John i. 14; Rom. i. 3, ix. 3; or, more commonly, human nature as corrupt and sinful, Rom. viii. 5; Eph. ii. 3. Another meaning is, all that is outward

and ceremonial in religion, as distinguished from what is inward and spiritual, as in Gal. vi. 12, iii. 3; where it refers more especially to the ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual. Compare Phil. iii. 3.

SALVATION means in some places outward safety and deliverance, as in Ex. xiv. 13; Acts vii. 25 (orig.); or healing, as in James v. 15, where, in the case of a sick Christian, the prayer of faith is said to save, *i. e.* heal, the sick. Its more common meaning, however, is in reference to spiritual blessing; when it sometimes includes justification for as much of our salvation as is completed on earth; as in Eph. ii. viii.; Luke i. 77; or, more frequently, the whole of the blessing which Christ has secured for believers, beginning with forgiveness, and ending in eternal glory, Rom. xiii. 11. Sometimes it means simply the gospel, as in Heb. ii. 3, where it is said to be "spoken by the Lord, and confirmed unto us by them that heard him."

In the same way, BLOOD is used in Scripture with several meanings: God "hath made of one blood all nations of men," Acts xvii. 26; *i. e.*, they have a common origin or nature. To give the wicked blood to drink, is to place in their hands the cup of death. In Matt. xxvii. 25, "His blood be on us, and on our children," means, the guilt of having put him to death: "his death" (that is, the guilt of it) be upon us. In Rom. v. 9, the Christian is said to be justified by the blood of Christ; and in Heb. ix. 14, the blood of Christ is said to "purge our consciences from dead works." The robes of the redeemed are made white in the blood of the Lamb. In these passages, the blood of Christ means his "obedience unto death," "the offering of himself" on the cross, the ground of our justification, the instrument and motive of our holiness.

The general meaning of the word GRACE is "favor." As applied to God, it means the unmerited favor exercised by him toward men; as in 2 Tim. i. 9, "According to his own purpose and grace." It means, moreover, all the different gifts of that grace: justification, as in Rom. v. 15; strength and holiness, as in 2 Cor. xii. 9, "My grace is sufficient for thee;" and eternal glory, 1 Pet. i. 13. The "word of his grace" is the gospel, in Acts xiv. 3. So in Heb. xiii. 9, it means doctrines of the gospel, and not meats or rites.

In nearly all these passages, the meaning of the words is fixed by the position in which they stand. The general ideas which the words suggest are defined by their particular connection.

The rule which thus helps us to select, out of the many meanings of a word, the single meaning which is appropriate to the place, helps us also to determine whether the word is used literally or figuratively. If, on reading the sentence, it is found that the words, in their proper sense, involve a contradiction or an impossibility, it becomes plain that there is a figure of speech.

In 1 Pet. ii. 5, for example, Christians are called "living stones." In Rom. xiii. 12, they are exhorted to "put on the armor of light." In 1 Pet. i. 13, they are said "to gird up the loins of their mind." In all these passages, the connection of each word shows it to be figurative. Taken alone, it may be figurative, or it may be literal; but in its present connection, the

literal interpretation would be incongruous. Thus, again, the washing which the Apostle states Christians to have received, 1 Cor. vi. 11, is clearly figurative; for it is "by the Spirit of our God." The command of our Lord, "Let the dead bury their dead," Matt. viii. 22, must be understood figuratively, and means, let the worldly-minded attend to worldly concerns. The words of Christ, "This is my blood," are figurative; the literal interpretation of them being repugnant to reason and Scripture.

In the use of figurative language, the inspired writers seem to have selected their expressions on the principle of resemblance. What is grand in nature is used to express what is dignified and important among men; the heavenly bodies, mountains, stately trees, designating kingdoms, or those in authority; the lower ground, the branches, and the earth generally, designating the mass of the people. Political changes are represented by earthquakes, tempests, eclipses, the turning of rivers and seas into blood, Jer. iv. 23-28; Isa. xiii. 10, 13; Matt. xxiv. 29; Acts ii. 19. Things which have a fertilizing influence, as dew, showers, streams, are used to represent spiritual blessings, Isa. xxv. 6; John iv. 13, 14. The qualities of animals are referred to in figurative expressions; beasts and birds of prey being emblems of oppressors. A horn signifies power, Dan. viii. A rod, the exercise of power in chastening. Light and darkness express joy and sorrow, knowledge and ignorance, prosperity and adversity, holiness and sin.* Marriage often denotes a covenant with God; adultery, the violation of that covenant by idolatry. A vineyard often denotes a church; if it bear wild grapes, it is unfruitful; if its enclosures are broken down, it is afflicted, or corrupt, Isa. v. 1-7. This rule will not determine, in all cases, whether words are to be understood literally or figuratively; but it will go far to decide in most. Other rules will be found noticed below.

But, while the words employed, or their connection in the sentence, will often suggest the meaning, it is sometimes necessary to look beyond the words and even the sentence, to the context; and there we find—

1. Words and passages explained in the language of the inspired writers themselves, sometimes by definitions, and sometimes by examples; sometimes by expressions which limit the meaning.

In Heb. xi., for instance, FAITH is first described, and then illustrated. It is said to be a confident expectation of things hoped for; a perfect persuasion of things not seen; and then examples are given of both parts of the definition. In Noah, it was perfect persuasion of the truth of God in regard to the Deluge. In Abraham, it was confident expectation of the fulfilment of the promise made to himself and to his seed. If the Divine word speak of mercies, faith hopes for them; if of things purely spiritual and future, faith believes in them.

Perhaps no passage illustrates better than this the difficulty of making a good translation; and the wisdom of God in giving us a Bible of examples, rather than of definitions. The word "substance," is a literal translation of

* Esther viii. 16; Isa. v. 20; Psa. xcvi. 11; Eph. v. 14.

the original; and means, whatever stands under and sustains all that is attached to it, whether subjects or qualities. No one word could have expressed more completely the idea of the original; and yet it is not clear. In Heb. i. 3, the same word is translated "person"; and in 2 Cor. xi. 17, confidence (of boasting): and both translations are correct. The full idea is that of well-founded or confident expectation. Faith is therefore, as to things hoped for, a thing on which real or substantial confidence may rest. It is, moreover, the evidence of things not seen. The full idea here, again, is, such evidence of things not seen, as silences doubt and refutes opposition; or rather, it is the conviction which such evidence produces. All this extent of meaning is found in the original words; but no one word can express it. If the Bible were made up of definitions, a translation without a paraphrase would be impossible. We may well feel thankful, therefore, that it is a book of examples chiefly, and that it illustrates its principles rather in the lives of believers than in logical and abstruse terms.

PERFECTION, again, is defined in several parts of the Bible.

In Psa. xxxvii. 37, it is used as synonymous with uprightness or sincerity, a real unfeigned goodness; and this is its general meaning in the Old Testament, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38. In the New Testament, it means either the possession of clear and accurate knowledge of Divine truth, or the possession of ALL the graces of the Christian character, in a higher or lower degree. The first is the meaning in Heb. v. 14: where strong meat is said to belong "to them that are of full age, (marg. *perfect*:) even to those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." So in 1 Cor. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 15. The second is the meaning in James i. 4, where "perfect" is defined as "entire, wanting nothing." In 2 Pet. i. 5-7, the graces which make up the perfect Christian are enumerated. In Eph. iii. 4, 5, MYSTERY is defined by example, as the truth that the Gentiles should be partakers of the promise in Christ by the gospel. *The course of this world*, means man's natural state and life, as opposed to the kingdom of Christ: it is the outgoing of the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience. In Gal. iv. 3, the expression, the *elements of this world* is used, and is explained in ver. ix. 10, of the same chapter. See also Heb. ii. 5, vi. 5; 1 Cor. x. 11.

Not unfrequently, the meaning is limited or explained by the context, even in simple narrative. Compare Gen. vi. 19, 20, vii. 2, 3: where "pairs" and the number of pairs are spoken of respectively; so from Gen. xlviii. 8, 10, we gather that Jacob's blindness was partial. From Exod. vi. 3, and Gen. xiii. 4 (Heb. *Jehovah*), it may be concluded that the faithfulness of Jehovah in giving effect to his promises, was not revealed to the Israelites till the *Exode*. From Exod. ix. 6, 20, it is clear that "all" means *all*, with specified exceptions. The Levites spent five years on probation before fully entering upon their office; hence Num. iv. 3, viii. 24. Modify in the same way, Num. xiv. 30, by Josh. xiv. 1; and Josh. xi. 19, by xv. 63.

2. Sometimes, where there is no formal definition, the meaning is made clear by the use of some analogous or similar expression; or by the use of

opposite ones. In Gal. iii. 17, the "covenant with Abraham" is explained as the promise which God made to him. In Rom. vi. 23, the meaning of the word *death* (the wages of sin) is gathered from the opposite: "the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." In Col. ii. 7, the expression, "rooted and built up in Christ," is explained as meaning "established in the faith." In Rom. iv. 5, it is said, that "to him that worketh not, faith is counted for righteousness," the expression "worketh" being explained in several places in the same chapter. In ver. 2 the phrase is, "justified by works." From the same verse we learn that it means the contrary of "believing in Him that justifieth the ungodly." So in James ii. 14, the faith that cannot save is the faith that spends itself in words, and not in deeds. It is a faith that is without obedience; it is a faith such as devils feel (ver. 19), and it is not such as Abraham felt (ver. 23). To be "justified by works," therefore, expressly includes in Paul, the rejection of Christ as the Saviour of the guilty, and an adherence to the whole covenant; while the "works" of which James speaks imply faith in Christ. The same truth is taught by our Lord in John iii. 36; where it is said, "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life;" where the word "believeth not" is, in the original, "is not obedient to;" showing, as Doddridge well observes, that the faith to which the promise of eternal life is annexed, is a principle of unreserved obedience. In 1 John iii. 9, it is said, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." But, on comparing this expression with other parts of the Epistle, we find that to commit sin means "to walk in darkness," i. 6; "to keep not the commandments," ii. 4; "to hate his brother," ii. 9; "to love the world," ii. 15; expressions that bespeak settled habit, a habit alien to the spirit of a Christian.

To this class of expressions belong the parallelisms or metres of the original Scriptures; in which one part of a sentence answers more or less accurately to another. Sometimes the parallelism is *synonymous* or *gradational*; giving precisely the same thought, or the same thought with some addition.

The first Psalm is a beautiful instance of this gradual extension of thought:

Blessed is the man
That walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

The gradations are obvious:

Walketh — has casual intercourse.	Counsel — has public resort.	Ungodly — negatively wicked.
Standeth — has close intimacy.	Way — chosen path.	Sinners — positively wicked.
Sitteth — has permanent connection.	Seat — habitual resting-place.	Scornful — profanely wicked.

Similar instances may be found in Psalm xxiv. 3, 4; Isa. lv. 6, 7.

Prov. xvi. 32, is an instance of the synonymous parallel. He that is slow to anger is commended, not because he is listless or indifferent, but because he "ruleth his own spirit;" the one expression defining the meaning of the

other. Occasionally these parallelisms extend over whole chapters, or over books of Scripture. In this case the similarity of thought needs to be traced with some care. Thus in Psalm cxxxii.,

Verses 1-6	are answered by verse 12.
Verse 7	is answered by verse 13.
Verse 8	“ by verse 14.
Verse 9	“ by verses 15, 16.
Verse 10	“ by verses 17, 18.

In Psalm cxxxv. 15-18, there is a similar instance.

An attention to these parallelisms is often necessary to bring out the meaning of Scripture. In Luke xii. 47, 48, for example, the comparison of the expression, “he who prepared not, neither did according to his will,” with the expression, “he that did commit things worthy of stripes,” suggests the reason that acts of omission in spite of knowledge are to be punished with many stripes, while sins of commission without knowledge are to be punished with few.

Sometimes the parallelisms are *antithetic*; containing opposite terms, and sometimes opposite sentiments.

In Prov. x. 7, for example, it is said that “the memory of the just is blessed;” where the meaning of the word “memory” is fixed by the following line, “but the name of the wicked shall rot.” “Name” and “memory” are synonymous. In Prov. xi. 24, the scattering which tends to increase is not the scattering in which extravagance may indulge, but the exercise of a wise generosity; for the following clause opposes it to the withholding of more than is meet, which tends to poverty. In Hosea xiv. 9, it is said, “The ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressors shall fall therein;” where the just are obviously the obedient.

Other kinds of metrical parallelism are also frequent in Scripture; but as they are parallelisms of construction only, (called therefore, *synthetic* or *constructive*,) and refer only to the *form* of the sentence, it is not necessary here to notice them. Psalm xix. 7-11; Psalm cxlviii. 7-13; Isa. xiv. 4-9, are instances.

3. Very often the meaning is decided by the general reasoning, or allusions of the context. Sometimes the meaning is defined by the allusions of the context, and the words are to be taken in a limited sense. In Psalm vii. 7, for example, David prays, “Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness;” *i. e.*, according to his innocency, in reference to the charge of Cush the Benjamite. He often uses the same expression with similar limitations. The word “righteous,” or “more righteous,” is even applied to wicked men; as in 1 Kings ii. 32, and in 2 Sam. iv. 11. In the second instance, Ishbosheth is said to be righteous, (though he had opposed what he knew to be God’s promise in reference to David,) merely to imply that he had done no injury to his murderers. The same phrase is applied to Sodom and Gomorrah, because they were less guilty than Jerusalem, Ezek. xvi. 52. The counsel of Ahithophel is called *good*, and the conduct of the unjust steward *wise*, not because they were absolutely so, but because they were likely means of accomplishing the ends of each. In John

ix. 3, it is said, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents." The meaning is simply, that his blindness was not the punishment of any particular sin. In James v. 14, the elders of the Church are commanded to anoint the sick, and to pray over him; "and the prayer of faith shall save him." The Church of Rome founds on this one passage the doctrine of extreme unction; which they say is to save the soul of the dying. But from ver. 15, 16, it is plain that by "save" is meant "heal." So that, whatever this practice implied, it was to be observed, not with the view of saving the soul, but, in the case of one already a Christian, with the view of restoring his health.

The context, or general arrangement of a passage, may even prove that words are to be understood in the very opposite of their usual sense. In 1 Kings xxii. 15, "Go, and prosper," was spoken ironically, and meant the reverse. In Num. xxii. 20, "Rise up, and go" appears from ver. 12, 32, to imply, "If, after all I have told you, your heart is set on violating my command, do it at your own risk." The use of this form of speech may be seen in 1 Kings xviii. 27; Judg. x. 14; Mark vii. 9; 1 Cor. iv. 8.

The general reasoning of the various passages of Scripture is, commonly, sufficiently plain to indicate the meaning of the words employed. Great attention, however, needs to be paid to the use of parentheses and of particles; the particles connecting different branches of a sentence, or argument, together, and the parentheses withdrawing from the direct line of argument the words which are included in them. The latter interrupt the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the former perfect, or complete it. When the parenthesis is short, it creates no difficulty, and can scarcely be said to interrupt the reasoning, as in Phil. iii. 18, 19; Acts i. 15. When it is long, it seems to embarrass the argument, and often ends in the repetition of the words of the preceding clause. Eph. iii. 2 to iv. 1 (first clause) is all in parenthesis; so in Phil. i. 27 to ii. 16, and, perhaps, iii. 2 to 14. In the first and last of these cases, "therefore" is an evidence of the end of the parenthesis. The parenthesis is often indicated in the argumentative parts of Scripture, by the use of the word "for"; as in Rom. ii. 11-16, or 13-16; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Eph. ii. 14-18.

Attention to particles is often important. THEN, for example, is often emphatic; sometimes as an adverb of time, as in Mal. iii. 4, and 16. And again in 1 Thess. iv. 16, "The dead in Christ shall rise first. Then, we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds." It is not said here that the dead in Christ rise before the rest of the dead, but that the dead rise before the living are changed. But it is much oftener used as an equivalent for *therefore*. THEREFORE, itself generally expresses an inference or conclusion from what precedes; but it sometimes indicates that the sentence has been interrupted by a parenthesis, or is repeated; and means, "As I before said," or "to resume." Matt. vii. 24 (see ver. 21); 1 Cor. viii. 4 (see ver. 1); Mark iii. 31 (see ver. 21); John vi. 24 (see ver. 22); Gal. iii. 5 (see ver. 2). THROUGH means sometimes "by means of"; as in John xv. 3. "Through the word I have spoken unto you;" and sometimes "for the sake of," Rom. v. 1; or "in the midst of,"

as in Gal. iv. 13. *Now* is sometimes an adverb of time: sometimes it means, "as the case is," contrasting an actual with a supposable one, John xviii. 36, where "then" means, "in that case," and asserts the consequence; Luke xix. 42; Heb. viii. 6 (ver. 4). *RATHER* means "on the contrary," Rom. xi. 11, xii. 19; Eph. v. 11. The comparison implied in the modern use of the word is expressed in Scripture by "and not."

The connection is sometimes obscured through the use of a covert dialogue; objections, responses, and replies not being distinctly marked. See Rom. iii. 4, etc., where we have a dialogue between the Apostle and an objector. Isa. lii. 13, liii. 54, a dialogue between God, the prophet, and the Jews. Psa. xx. 15, xxiv. 104, are responsive.

The abruptness of transition in historical narrative, and especially in prophecy, creates difficulty. Different, and often distant events are joined in what seems to be the same paragraph. Frequently a difficulty arises from the fact that the conclusion of an argument is omitted, or a premise is suppressed, or an objection is answered, without our being told what the objection is. The Epistle to the Romans furnishes examples of all these difficulties. Rom. iii. 22-24, viii. 17, 18, ix. 6, chapters iii. and iv.

Attention to the context is of great moment in ascertaining the meaning of the figurative language of Scripture, and in determining whether the language is figurative or literal. That the expressions are figurative is sometimes stated or implied, and then the meaning is appended. Sometimes it is necessary to look to the general argument or allusions of the passage. In 1 Pet. iii. 21, the *baptism* which saves us is defined. It is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God." "To bear one's sin" is a figurative expression, meaning to suffer the punishment of it. Hence, the synonymous expressions to be *cut off*, and to *die*, are connected with it, Exod. xxviii. 43; Lev. xix. 8. In Hosea iv. 12, and elsewhere (especially in Ezekiel), a spirit of lasciviousness is said to have drawn the Israelites astray; but then it is immediately added, "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills;" to show that it is spiritual unfaithfulness of which the prophet is speaking. When Christ said, "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me," John vi. 57, the Jews misunderstood his meaning, but he had himself already explained it; for in the same discourse he had repeated the truth in literal terms: "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." This text is understood literally by most Roman Catholic writers, though our Lord expressly gave it this figurative interpretation; and the ordinance of the Supper, to which they suppose it to refer, had not then been instituted, and was entirely unknown to His hearers. In Matt. xxvi. 28, Christ calls the wine his blood; and again, in verse 29, he calls the same cup the fruit of the vine; implying, that his first expression was figurative. The expression in 1 Cor. iii. 15, "He himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire," is the passage in Scripture generally quoted in favor of the Popish doctrine of purgatory. Attention to the context will show that the whole is figurative. The wood, hay, stubble, which man may build on the foundation, are expressions confessedly figurative. The

foundation itself is figurative, and means Christ; and the expression, "so as by fire," must be understood in a sense consistent with the general argument of the passage. Similarly figurative expressions may be seen in 1 Cor. v. 8; Matt. xvi. 6, 12. See also, Isa. li. 1; Eph. v. 32, where the union of Christ and his Church (and not marriage) is spoken of as the mystery.

When the words, the connection of the sentence, and the context fail in removing all ambiguity, or in giving the full meaning of the writer, it is then necessary that we look at the scope or design of the book itself, or of some large section, in which the words and expressions occur. The last preceding rule touches this; and, indeed, all the rules of interpretation glide by degrees into one another. Sometimes the scope of a section, or of the book itself, is mentioned. In Rom. iii. 28, for example, St. Paul tells us the conclusion to which his reasonings up to that point had brought him, namely, that man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law. The principal conclusions of the Epistle to the Ephesians are stated, the first doctrinal, in ii. 11, 12, that the Gentiles were no longer aliens; the second practical, in iv. 1-3, exhorting Jews and Gentiles to exercise the spirit and temper which become their new relation. Subordinate conclusions are expressed in iii. 13, iv. 17, 25, v. 1, 7, vi. 13, 14; where the words "therefore," or "wherefore," generally indicate the result of each successive argument. The design of the *Proverbs* is told us in i. 1-4, 6; of the Gospels, in John xx. 31; of the BIBLE itself, in Rom. xv. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. The design of some parts of the Bible can be gathered only from the occasions on which they were written.

The ninetyeth Psalm was probably written by Moses, at the time when God sent back the children of Israel to wander in the wilderness. The scope of Psalms xviii., xxxiv., iii., and li. is illustrated by their inscriptions. The Psalms which are headed "Songs of Degrees," cxx.-cxxxiv., were written for the Jews, to be sung during their annual journeys to Jerusalem. Many of the verses will be seen to have additional meaning from the knowledge of this fact. The Epistles to the *Colossians*, the *Ephesians*, and the *Galatians*, were all written to illustrate the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and to answer the misrepresentations of the Judaizing teachers of the Church. Many expressions will be explained by a reference to the Acts of the Apostles, and especially to the fifteenth chapter, where we have the history of the whole question, which these epistles discuss. The great means, however, of obtaining a knowledge of the scope of the various books of the Bible, or of particular passages, is the repeated and continuous study of the books themselves. When once this knowledge is gained, it will throw great light on particular expressions, and illustrate other parts of the Bible in a way both instructive and surprising. To understand the precept of our Lord, Matt. xix. 17, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," we look to the scope. An inquirer, proud of his own righteousness, asks what he must *do* to obtain eternal life; and our Lord refers him to the law, to rebuke and humble him. The subjects of the predictions, Isa. i.-xxxix., are generally indicated. The subjects of subsequent chapters are less marked, and the connection can be traced only by repeated perusal. When traced, it throws

light upon the meaning. Chapters li.-lv., for example, form one prophecy; li. 1-8, containing an earnest thrice-repeated appeal to the people to *hear*; verses 1, 4, 7, li. 9 to lii. 12, contain an earnest appeal to God and to Zion; verses 9, 17, lii. 1, lii. 13 to liii. 12, are a glorious description of the work of the Messiah, and form the centre of the prophecy; liv. describes the results of his work on the destiny of the Church; and lv., on the destiny of the world.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether the immediate scope of the passage, or the general scope of the book, is to be regarded. In Luke xv., for example, there are several parables addressed to the Pharisees, who complained that our Lord received sinners; and among those parables is that of the prodigal son. It is certain that the scope of the gospel of Luke is to exhibit and recommend the gospel to the Gentiles; and the question arises, who is meant by the elder son, and who by the younger? Some say the Pharisee and the sinner; others say the Jew and the Gentile. The first interpretation is sanctioned by the scope of the context; and the second, by the general scope of the Gospel. It will be seen that both interpretations are consistent and probable. A due regard to the scope of the parables is of great importance. It has been doubted whether the "rest," (or the keeping of a rest or Sabbath, as it may be translated,) spoken of in Heb. iv., refers to the literal Sabbath, to heaven, or to the peace which the Gospel brings, ending, however, in eternal life: a question that can be decided only by the argument. Compare ver. 3, 9, 10. In the same Epistle, the description of Melchisedec as without descent, has created some difficulty. It will be noticed, however, that the Apostle is comparing his priesthood with that of Christ; and it is said that both are alike in this, that they are equally without succession, and so differ from that of Aaron. The limited, and not the universal meaning of the words, is therefore the only one required by the argument. In the same way, if we need further light on the apparent contradiction between St. Paul and St. James, we look at the scope of their Epistles. That to the Romans is designed to prove, that by the performance of the duties of the Law no man is justified, because his obedience is imperfect. The object of the Epistle of James is to prove, that no man can be justified by a faith which does not tend to holiness. If these designs be kept in view, it will be found that the apparent contradictions cease. The object of the first Epistle of John is defined in chapter ii. 1, as similar to the object of the Epistle of James.

The scope of the Romans, as compared with the scope of the Galatians, explains an apparent contradiction between these Epistles. In the one, the observance of days is allowed, Rom. xiv. 5. In the other, it is forbidden, Gal. iv. 10, 11. The permission is given to *Jewish* converts, who had a tender conscientious scruple about setting aside the precepts of the Law in which they had been trained. The prohibition is addressed to *Gentile* converts, who supposed that the cross could not save them but through circumcision. Their observance of days was owing to that feeling, and therefore condemned.

The most comprehensive rule of interpretation yet remains. Compare

Scripture with Scripture; "things spiritual with spiritual," 1 Cor. ii. 13. It is by the observance of this rule alone that we become sure of the true meaning of particular passages; and, above all, it is by this rule alone that we ascertain the doctrines of Scripture on questions of faith and practice. A Scripture truth is really the consistent explanation of all that Scripture teaches in reference to the question examined; and a Scripture duty is the consistent explanation of all the precepts of Scripture on the duty examined. It is in studying the Scripture as in studying the works of God. We first examine each fact or phenomenon, and ascertain its meaning; and then classify it with other similar facts, and attempt to explain the whole. Such explanation is called a general law. The importance of studying Scripture in this way is strikingly manifest from the mistakes of the Jews. "We have heard out of the law," said they, "that Christ abideth forever," Isa. ix. 7; Dan. vii. 14, "and how sayest thou, The Son of Man must be lifted up?" The everlasting duration of his kingdom was often foretold; but that he should be lifted up and cut off, though not for himself, had been foretold too, Isa. liii.; Dan. ix. 26. A comparison of these passages would have removed the ground of their objections.

Sometimes we compare the words of Scripture with one another, with the view of ascertaining their meaning. David, for example, is called, in 1 Sam. xiii. 14, and in Acts xiii. 22, "a man after God's own heart;" and the question has been asked, whether this expression is meant to exhibit David as a model of perfection. On referring to 1 Sam. ii. 35, however, it will be found that the phrase is again used, "I will raise me up a faithful priest, who shall do according to that which is in mine heart;" and this suggests the primary meaning, namely, that David, especially in his public official conduct, should fulfil the Divine will, and maintain inviolate the laws which God had enjoined.

From the Psalms and history, we gather that David was also an eminently devout man, but it was in reference to his kingly office, primarily, that this description was given, however applicable it may also be to the general spirit of piety which David evinced, and to the unfeigned penitence which he manifested after having been betrayed into sin. In reading Gal. iii. 27, we find the expression, "As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;" and we turn to Rom. xiii. 14, and there find, that to put on Christ, is opposed to making provision for the flesh; and then again to Col. iii. 10, where the same phrase of "putting on" the new man implies renewal in knowledge after the image of the Redeemer (ver. 12), kindness, humbleness, meekness, and, above all, charity, the bond of perfectness. In Gal. vi. 17, the Apostle says, "From henceforth let no man trouble me," (by such calumnies, as if I were a friend of the ceremonial law;) "for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." We turn to 2 Cor. iv. 10, where we find a similar phrase, "bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus;" and, turning again to 2 Cor. xi. 23-27, we gather that these marks of the Lord Jesus were simply the scars of his sufferings for Christ; not (as some interpreting the passage literally have supposed) the marks or stigmata of the cross.

The comparison of the words of Scripture is often essential to the right understanding of Scripture truth, especially in reference to proper names. In Ps. cvi., for example, it is said, "They make a calf in HOREB;" *i. e.*, as appears from Ex. xxxii., in the very place where God had taken them into covenant, and immediately after they had pledged themselves to renounce all idolatry. In Num. xxii. 24, we have an account of the character of BALAAM; and his position as a prophet makes us question at first whether he was not a good man, though grievously mistaken. On turning to the New Testament, however, we find the question decided. The apostle Peter tells us that covetousness was his snare. The apostle Jude classes him with Cain and Corah; and in Rev. ii. 14, we are told that it was at his suggestion that Balak threw a temptation in the way of the children of Israel, which caused the destruction of 23,000 of them in one day.

A close attention to Scripture will show that there are at least three kinds of verbal parallels. *First*, where the same thing is said in the same words, as Ex. xx. 2-17; Deut. v. 6-18; Ps. xiv. 53; Isa. ii. 2-4; and Micah iv. 1-3. Here one passage may be used to prove the accuracy of the other; or the occasion or application of the passage may throw light on the passage itself. Isa. vi. 9, 10, is referred to, for example, six times in the New Testament, and a comparison of all the passages will illustrate the text. *Secondly*, where the same facts are narrated in similar and some identical words, as in Ex., Lev., and Deut.; Sam., Kings, and Chron.; and in the Gospels. In this case plain expressions illustrate difficult ones. One passage explains or modifies the other, as in Matt. ii. 1, and Luke ii. 1-4. *Thirdly*, where the words or idioms are used in different connections; "sound doctrine," for example, is an expression used in 1 Tim. i. 10, vi. 3; 2 Tim. i. 13, iv. 3; Tit. i. 9, ii. 1, 2, 8; and from a comparison, it will be seen that the phrase means the grand simple doctrines of the Gospel, as opposed to subtlety, and as sanctifying in their influence. In reference to such cases, the signification of words, in a passage where it is fixed by the connection, should be applied to interpret passages where there is nothing that can fix it. In Rom. vii. 18, the word "flesh" means a natural unholy state, as is ascertained from chap. viii. 8, etc. Sometimes the phrases employed, though in themselves alike, are used in altogether different senses, as in the following passages: John i. 21; Matt. xi. 14; John v. 31, viii. 14; Acts ix. 7, xxii. 9; Luke i. 33; 1 Cor. xv. 24. Apparently different expressions are thus harmonized. God's offer, for example, of seven years' famine, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, includes the three preceding years during which that calamity had continued. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. In 1 Chron. xxi. 11, 12, there is no reference to the preceding famine, and the offer is therefore of three years only. So 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

In considering verbal parallelisms, two general rules are important. Ascertain, *first*, the sense which the words to be examined bear in other parts of the same author, and then in other writings of the same date, and then throughout the Bible. The meaning of words often changes; and all writers do not use the same word in the same sense. And, *secondly*, no

meaning can be admitted from an apparently parallel passage, if that meaning is inconsistent with the context, or with the reasoning of the author. In the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, for example, "works," when used alone, means the opposite of faith, namely, the performance of legal duties as the ground of salvation. In James, the expression always means the obedience and holiness which flow from faith. In the one case, works are inconsistent with salvation; in the other, they are essential to it. But it is impossible to explain the one by the other. So in John i. 1, the term "word" cannot be explained by 2 Tim. iv. 2, where the same term is employed, but in a different sense. The "word" means the gospel in Timothy, but that meaning cannot be applied to the passages in John, so as to give any consistent sense to the context.

Sometimes we compare the facts or doctrines of Scripture in order to gain a complete view of Scripture truth. This is the parallelism of IDEAS, and not of words only. If, for example, we wish to know whether, in the Lord's supper, the cup is to be received by all the faithful, or only by the priest, we turn to Matt. xxvi. 27, and we find the command, "Drink ye all of it." And, if it be asked whether "all" means the Apostles only, or all in its most comprehensive sense, we turn to 1 Cor. xi. 28, where the same topic is treated of. There we find that in each case (six in all) the eating of the bread, and the drinking of the cup, are mentioned together, and enjoined on all Christians indifferently. The charge given to all is, "Let a man examine himself; and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." If we are investigating the meaning of Matt. xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," and desire to know its meaning, we turn to 1 Cor. iii. 11, and find that the only foundation of the Church is Christ. In the sense, therefore, of being the foundation on which the salvation of the Church is to rest, the passage in one sense of it is at variance with other parts of Scripture. We turn, again, to Acts ii. 41, and to Acts x., xv. 7, and find that Peter's preaching was the means of the first conversions, both among Jews and Gentiles. His labors, therefore, commenced the building, and in this sense he might be the foundation of the Church. Or, the statement may refer to Peter's confession, as Augustine and Luther held, and then the parallel passages are Gal. i. 16; John vi. 51; 1 John iii. 23, iv. 2, 3.

The most important rule in reference to this order of parallelism is, that a passage in which an idea is expressed briefly or obscurely is explained by those in which it is fully or clearly revealed; and that difficult and figurative expressions are explained by such as are proper and obvious. The doctrine of justification by faith, for example, is explained briefly in Phil. iii. 9, and fully in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. "A new creature" is a figurative expression, used in Gal. vi. 15, and is explained in chapter v. 6, and in 1 Cor. vii. 19. The charity spoken of in 1 Pet. iv. 8, is "brotherly love," and it is said to cover "a multitude of sins;" not because it extinguishes them, and so justifies the sinner, but (as shown in Prov. x. 12) because it quenches contention and strife.

When any passage is explained by a reference, not to any one or more

texts, but by a reference to the general tenor of Scripture, it is then said to be interpreted according to the ANALOGY, OR RULE OF FAITH. We have examples of this kind of reference in Gal. v. 14, and again in 1 Cor. xv. 3-11, where the Apostle states the facts and doctrines connected with the death and resurrection of Christ, and then proceeds to prove other facts and doctrines from them. This analogy of faith is called in the Bible, "the Scriptures," 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4; "all the law," as in Gal. v. 14; and "the mouth of all the prophets," Acts iii. 18. "The analogy of faith" is the expression used by the apostle Paul, in Rom. xii. 6, where he exhorts those who expound the Scriptures (or prophesy) to do it according to the proportion or analogy, the measure or rule of faith. The expression therefore is identical with "the whole tenor of Scripture;" and the doctrine which is founded upon it is taken from all the texts relating to one subject, when impartially compared; the expressions of each being restricted by those of the rest, and the whole explained in mutual consistency. God is set forth in Scripture, for example, as a Spirit, omniscient, and holy, and supreme. All passages, therefore, which seem to represent Him as material, local, limited in knowledge, in power, or in righteousness, are to be interpreted agreeably to these revealed truths. If, again, any expositor were to explain the passages of Scripture which speak of justification by faith as if it freed us from obligations to holiness, such an interpretation must be rejected, because it counteracts the main design and spirit of the Gospel. In Prov. xvi. 4, it is said, "The Lord has made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." The idea that the wicked were created that they might be condemned, which some have founded upon this passage, is inconsistent with innumerable parts of Scripture (Ps. cxlv. 9; Ezek. xviii. 23; 2 Pet. iii. 9). The meaning therefore is, as determined by the analogy of faith, that all evil shall contribute to the glory of God, and promote the accomplishment of his adorable designs.

It is thus that philosophy interprets natural appearances. When once a general law is established, particular facts are placed under it, and any appearance that seems contradictory is especially examined; and of two explanations of the apparent anomaly, that one is selected which harmonizes best with the general law.

The use of the parallel passages of Scripture in determining whether language is figurative or literal is of great moment. God, for example, often represents himself as giving men to drink of a cup which he holds in his hand; they take it, and fall prostrate on the ground in fearful intoxication. The figure is used with much brevity, and without explanation, in some of the prophets.* In Isa. li. 17-23, it is fully explained, and the meaning of the image becomes clear. The intoxication is desolation and helplessness, more than can be borne; and the cup is the fury (or righteous indignation) of Jehovah.

In reading Acts ii. 21, we find it said, that "whosoever shall call on the

* Nahum iii. 11; Hab. ii. 16; Ps. lxxv. 8, etc.

name of the Lord shall be saved;" and the question may be asked, What is meant by calling upon the name of the Lord? Matthew tells us that "not every one that saith Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven;" so that the passage is not to be understood in its literal and restricted sense. On referring to Rom. x. 11-14, and 1 Cor. i. 2, we find that this language, which is quoted from the prophet Joel, implied an admission of the Messiahship of Christ, and reliance on the doctrines which he revealed.

It is obvious that, while the figurative meaning of a word has generally some reference to its literal meaning, it must not be supposed to include in the figurative use all that is included in the literal; similitude in some one respect, or more, being sufficient to justify the metaphor.

Christ calls his disciples his sheep, and the points of comparison are, clearly, his affection for them, his care over them, and their confidence and attachment to him. Common sense discovers and limits the application of the terms. Christ himself is called, with smaller limits, the Lamb, with special relation to his character and sacrifice. So sin is called in Scripture a debt; atonement, the payment of a debt; pardon, the forgiveness of a debt. But we must not hold these terms so rigidly as to maintain that, because Christ died for man's sin, therefore all will be finally saved; or that, because he has obeyed the law, therefore sinners are free to live in sin. Men are dead in sin, but not so dead as to be free from the duty of repentance; nor are they guiltless if they disregard the Divine call. These principles are sufficiently obvious when applied to passages which contain figures founded upon material objects. They are even more important, though less easy, when applied to passages which contain figures taken from human nature or common life. More errors, probably, have arisen from pushing analogical expressions to an extreme than from any other single cause; and against this tendency the sober, earnest student of the Bible needs to be especially upon his guard.

To ascertain, therefore, the meaning of any passage of Scripture, whether the words be employed figuratively or literally, we must ask the following questions: What is the meaning of the terms? If they have but one meaning, that is the sense. If they have several, we then ask, Which of those meanings is required by other parts of the sentence? If two or more meanings remain, then, What is the meaning required by the context, so as to make a consistent sense of the whole? If, still, more than one meaning remains, What then is required by the general scope? And if this question fail to elicit but one reply, What then is required by other passages of Scripture? If, in answer to all these questions, it is found that more than one meaning may be still given to the passage, then both interpretations are true; and we must fix on the one which best fulfils most of the conditions, or must look elsewhere for some further guide.

It is important to observe that, whether the language we examine be figurative or literal, and whether it be used in history or in prophecy, in allegory or in plain discourse, these rules are equally applicable. There is not one rule for tropes, and another for words in their proper sense; nor is there one

rule for interpreting the words of the parables of Scripture, and another for interpreting the words of its historical statements. It is true that in history or narrative we expect to find words used in their literal sense, while in poetry or allegory the figurative may be expected to predominate. We apply, however, the same rules, needing some, indeed, more in one case than in the other; but still taking the sense which the words express, as that sense is defined and limited (if it be so) by the whole of the sentence, by the context, by the scope of the writer, and by other parts of the Bible.

Nor is it less important to observe that these rules are required not only in interpreting Scripture, but in interpreting all language that is used in the intercourse of life.

THE UTILITY AND APPLICATION OF RULES IN INTERPRETATION.

It must have occurred to the reader that, underneath the rules of interpretation which we have given, there are some general principles common to all language, which regulate the application of them. Those principles it is important to state, as they both justify the rules we have given and aid us in applying them. To perceive the meaning of most parts of the Bible which teach the fundamental truths of the gospel, it is only necessary to know the subject and the language employed. If the Bible be in our own tongue, and we understand what the topic is of which it treats, the meaning will generally be plain. No instance can be given in Scripture of an obscure passage, concerning which a man may rationally suppose that there is any doctrinal truth contained in it, which is not elsewhere explained. The great advantage of rules of interpretation is not to discover the meaning of plain passages of Scripture, but to ascertain the meaning of such as are ambiguous or obscure. Yet, as on many points of importance we need to compare Scripture, in order to ascertain and *prove* its meaning, and as such comparison is itself part of our discipline, promotes our holiness, and is adapted to unfold the treasures of Divine truth, it is of great moment that the humblest Christian should understand these rules, and apply them. Revelation is to be the study of our lives, and it is plainly the will of God that all the resources of learning, industry, and prayer should be employed in the search.

So dependent is man for his knowledge of the Divine will upon the motive and temper of his inquiries, and the teaching of the Spirit of God, that a prayerful and humble Christian, with few advantages, will often gain a more accurate and extensive acquaintance with Scripture than one of higher mental attainments, but of feeble piety. The exercise of a teachable and prayerful spirit, therefore, is among the most important principles of Biblical interpretation. The true meaning of any passage of Scripture is not every sense which the words will bear, nor is it every sense which is true in itself, but that which is intended by the inspired writers, or in some cases by the Holy Spirit, though imperfectly understood by the writers themselves. The sense of Scripture is to be determined by the words; a *true* knowledge of the words is the knowledge of the sense. The meaning of words is fixed

by the usage of language. Usage must be ascertained, whenever possible, from Scripture itself. The words of Scripture must be taken in their common meaning, unless such meaning is shown to be inconsistent with other words in the sentence, with the argument or context, or with other parts of Scripture. Of two meanings, that one is generally to be preferred which was most obvious to the comprehension of the hearers or original readers of the inspired passage, allowing for those figurative expressions which were so familiar as to be no exception to this general rule.

The meaning attached to the words of Scripture must always agree with the context. When the common meaning is inconsistent with the context, it must be abandoned, and such other meaning adopted as fulfils the requirements and conditions of the passage, and can be proved to be sanctioned by usage, either in common writers, or in the Bible. The scope of a passage, or the reasoning of the writer, can be employed to determine which of two senses is to be adopted only, as the scope or reasoning is clear; nor will the scope *fix* the meaning, unless a particular meaning is required by the scope. The parallel passage that fixes the meaning of words must either contain the same words used in a somewhat similar sense, or it must evidently speak of the same thing, or of something so similar as to afford occasion for comparison. No doctrine founded upon a single text belongs to the analogy of faith. The analogy of faith is chiefly of use in teaching us to reject an interpretation which is not Scriptural. If both the supposed meanings of a passage are consistent with this analogy, the rule cannot be applied so as to decide the meaning. In controversial reasoning, this rule is only applicable on the supposition that the doctrine to be applied for the purpose of interpretation is *admitted* to be Scriptural. If it is not admitted, we cannot apply it in the interpretation of a disputed text. Theology is the whole meaning of Scripture, or it is the sense taught in the whole of Scripture, as that sense is modified, limited, and explained by Scripture itself. Scriptural theology is not one thing, and the meaning of Scripture another. It is a consistently interpreted representation of the statements of the Bible, on the various facts, doctrines, and precepts, which the book of God reveals.



DOME OF THE "ROCK," JERUSALEM.

HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS.

AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, A. D. 70,
AND ONWARDS.

JOHN.

THE epoch of the destruction of Jerusalem, at which the Son of Man visited as a judge, the city that had rejected its king, and inaugurated that spiritual kingdom upon earth which had now been established in churches gathered from every nation of the civilized world,—that epoch does not close the New Testament History. One Apostle, of those whose names are prominent in the foundation of the Church, not only remained upon the earth to fulfil his work, but the more special part of that work—according to the views generally held of the date of his writings—may be said to have been but just beginning. It was not till the foundation of Christianity was historically complete that the Apostle John was Divinely commissioned to utter prophecies of its future course, and to develop in his Epistles and Gospel those doctrinal aspects of our Lord's teaching which were needed to correct the heresies now rapidly taking their rise. As John the Baptist proclaimed the advent of Christ by the preaching of repentance to a degenerate people, so did John the Apostle recall churches that had already forsaken their first love and declined into heresy and vice, to prepare for His second coming.

The prominent place filled by St. John in the Gospel history, as one of the four disciples who formed the innermost circle of our Lord's friends—the *ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι*—and the high distinction of being "the disciple whom Jesus loved," might raise our surprise at reading so little of him in the *Acts*, did we not reflect that his special work is to be sought for in his writings. The portion of his life which stands out in the broad daylight of the Gospels is preceded and followed by periods over which there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former, we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether the distinctness and vividness are not misleading—whether half traditional, half mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

In most passages of the Gospels, John is named in connection with his brother James; and from the prevailing order it is inferred that he was the

younger.* Their father was Zebedee, their mother Salome, whom tradition makes the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently the half-sister of our Lord.† They were brought up at Bethsaida, on the lake of Galilee, the town of that other pair of brothers—the sons of Jonas—who were to share with them the Lord's closest intimacy, and with whom we find them partners in their occupation as fishermen.‡ The mention of the "hired servants," of Salome's "substance," of John's "own house," implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty.§ The fact that John was known to the high-priest Caiaphas—as that acquaintance was hardly likely to be formed with a disciple of Christ—suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two families. Of Zebedee we know nothing beyond his interposing no refusal when his sons were called to leave him;|| and his disappearance from the Gospel narrative leads to the inference that his death set Salome free to join her children in ministering to the Lord. Her character presents to us the same great features that were conspicuous in her son. From her—who followed Jesus and ministered to him of her substance,¶ who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on his right hand, the other on his left, in His kingdom**—he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom.

The early years of the Apostle were passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life, liable to the reproach of having no recognized position as a teacher, no Rabbinical education,†† he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the Prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him, too, as bound by the Law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple, with the sacrifice, the incense, the altar, and the priestly robes. May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterwards wore off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognize them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse—in that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the predictions of the older prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would, in some degree, make themselves felt even in the village-town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard,

* Matt. iv. 21, x. 3, xvii. 1, etc.; but in Luke ix. 28, the order is inverted.

† Epiphanius. iii. *Hæres*, 78. By some recent critics she has been identified with the sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus, in John xix. 25.

‡ Luke v. 10.

§ Matt. iv. 21.

** Matt. xx. 20.

‡ Mark i. 20; Luke viii. 3; John xix. 27.

¶ Luke viii. 3.

†† Acts iv. 13.



BETHSAIDA OF GALILEE.

possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great asserter of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers. Like other Jews, he would grow up with strong and bitter feeling against the neighboring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-Jonah, of which we afterwards find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

John was probably one of the two disciples of John the Baptist, (the other being Andrew,) who were the first to obey their Master's direction to the "Lamb of God," and we have traced the chief incidents in his course as the disciple of Jesus Christ. Of the four who enjoyed their Lord's especial intimacy, while Peter appears as the leader of the apostolic band, to John belongs the higher distinction of being "the disciple whom Jesus loved;" and this love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If Peter is the *φιλόχριστος*, John is the *φιλησούς*.* Some striking facts indicate why this was so,—what was the character thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, which is fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, effeminate. The name *Boanerges* implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who bore it the might of *Sons of Thunder*.† That spirit broke out once and again,—when they joined their mother in asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were able to drink of the cup that He drank, and to be baptized with the baptism that He was baptized with,‡—when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's name, because he was not of their company,§—when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans.||

This energy added to the love of him who reclined at the Last Supper with his head upon his Master's breast, the courage to follow Him into the council-chamber of Caiaphas, and even the prætorium of Pilate,¶ and to stand by His cross,—with Christ's mother and his own, and Mary Magdalene,—when all the rest forsook him and fled. There he received the sacred trust, which must have influenced all his subsequent home life, giving him a second mother in the blessed Virgin. He gave a home also to the penitent Peter; and when they, first of the Apostles, learned from Mary Magdalene the resurrection of the Lord, it throws a light upon their respective characters that John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; Peter, the less restrained by awe, is the first to enter in and look.** So, too, when Jesus appeared to them by the Lake of Galilee, John is the first to recognize, in the dim form seen in the morning twilight, the presence of his risen Lord; Peter the first to plunge into the water and swim towards

* Grotius, *Proleg. in Joann.*

† Mark iii. 17.

‡ Matt. xx. 20-24; Mark x. 35-41.

§ Luke ix. 49.

|| Luke xix. 54.

¶ John xviii. 16, 19, 28.

** John xx. 4-6.

the shore, where He stood calling to them.* The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question,—“Lord, and what shall this man do?” The reply of Jesus, which was perverted into the legends that gather about the close of St. John’s life, surely means something more than a rebuke of Peter’s curiosity. The words—“If I will that he tarry *till I come*”—are doubtless a prophecy, as well as an hypothesis; and they seem to intimate that, alone of all the Apostles, John should survive that catastrophe of the Old Dispensation in the destruction of Jerusalem, which made way for Christ’s coming in His kingdom.†

The association of Peter and John appears still in the opening scenes of the *Acts*,—their attendance together to worship in the Temple, the miracle of healing the blind man, the confessorship before the Sanhedrim,‡ the gift of the Holy Ghost to those very Samaritans on whom John once wished to call down fire from heaven.§ This is his last appearance in the *Acts*; and he is not mentioned either in connection with Paul’s first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion,|| nor as engaged in labors like those of Peter at Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea, nor in the persecution in which the sword of Herod divided him from his brother James. Neither does St. John appear as taking an active part in the so-called “Council of Jerusalem;” ¶ but he was present at the private conference of the Apostles with Paul and Barnabas; and Paul names John, with James and Cephas, as a “pillar” of the Church, and as one of those whose mission it was to “go to the circumcision.”**

This one passage proves that the scene of John’s labors thus far was Jerusalem and Judæa. To the work of teaching, organizing, and exhorting the Hebrew churches, may have been added special calls, like that which had drawn him with Peter to Samaria. The fulfilment of the solemn charge entrusted to John may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. The tradition which ascribes to him a life of celibacy †† receives some confirmation from the absence of his name in 1 Cor. ix. 5. It harmonizes with all we know of his character, to think of his heart as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

After a long interval, the Apostle reappears in that close connection with the churches of Asia Minor, which is attested alike by the Apocalypse and by the uniform tradition of the Church. It is a natural conjecture that he

* John xxi. 7.

† John xxi. 20–23.

‡ Acts iii., iv.

§ Acts viii. 14.

|| Acts xix. 26, 27. Gal. i. 19 adds a proof that Paul did not see John on this occasion; but it does not follow that the latter was not at Jerusalem. It is rather implied that Paul purposely abstained from seeing any of the Apostles save Peter and James.

¶ Acts xv.

** Gal. ii. 9.

†† Tertullian, *de Monog.* c. xiii.

remained in Judæa till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust. Tradition carries him from Judæa to Ephesus; but it gives us no clear light as to the motives of his removal. The time is so variously fixed, under Claudius, Nero, or even Domitian, as to prove that nothing certain was known; and our only safe conclusion is to reject the two extremes.*

The pastoral epistles of St. Paul absolutely exclude the idea of any connection of St. John with Ephesus down to their date, that is, to A. D. 66 at the earliest. On the other hand, it seems almost a necessary inference, from St. John's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, that the Apostle who writes to them with such high authority and such familiar knowledge of their condition, had already labored some time among them. This is in accordance with the analogy of St. Paul's letters to churches which he had recently visited, — for example, the Thessalonians and Galatians; but these cases may also warn us not to exaggerate the time of the previous ministration. It is the plain meaning of John's own words, in the opening of the Apocalypse, that he had been banished as a Christian confessor to the island of Patmos at a *time of general persecution*; † and the *place* seems to suggest that he had been arrested in the province of Asia. ‡ Though his banishment *may* have resulted from some more local and temporary cause, the question has been generally narrowed to the issue between the two great persecutions under Nero and Domitian. The consent of Christian antiquity is in favor of the latter view. The former is a modern theory, based on the internal evidence of the Book, and connected with a particular scheme of interpretation. Some of those who hold the later date regard the Apocalypse as the latest book of the New Testament; but others place the Gospel and the Epistles after it.§

* Lampe fixes A. D. 66, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman forces under Cestius, as the most probable date.

† Rev. i. 9. "Your companion in tribulation."

‡ The rocky islet of PATMOS is one of the group called *Sporades* (the scattered isles) in the Icarian Sea (the south-east part of the *Ægean*), at about equal distances south of Samos and west of Cape Posidium, on the Carian coast. It must have been conspicuous on the right, when St. Paul was sailing from Samos to Cos. Its circuit was reckoned about thirty Roman miles (twenty-eight English). It has been fully described by the recent German and French travellers, Ross and Guérin. The aspect of the island is peculiarly rugged and bare.

Such a scene of banishment for St. John is quite in harmony with what we read of the custom of the period. It was the common practice to send exiles to the most rocky and desolate islands ("in *asperissimas insularum*"). See Suet. *Tit.* 8; Juv. *Sat.* i. 73. Such a scene, too, was suitable (if we may presume to say so) to the sublime and awful revelation which the Apostle received there. It is possible, indeed, that there was more greenness in Patmos formerly than now. Its name in the Middle Ages was *Palmosa*. But this has now almost entirely given place to the old classical name; and there is just one palm-tree in the island, in a valley which is called "the Saint's Garden" (ὁ κήπος τοῦ Ὁσίου). Here and there are a few poor olives, about a score of cypresses, and other trees in the same scanty proportion.

Patmos is divided into two nearly equal parts, a northern and a southern, by a very narrow isthmus, where, on the east side, are the harbor and the town. On the hill to the south, crowning a commanding height, is the celebrated monastery, which bears the name of "John the Divine." Half-way up the ascent is the cave or grotto where tradition says that St. John received the Revelation, and which is still called τὸ σπήλαιον τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως.

§ See the Appendix on the Books of the New Testament.

The tradition of the Church uniformly represents the Apostle as spending his last days at Ephesus, and the general outline of his work there may be gathered from the Revelation and the Epistles. The facts which these writings assert or imply are: that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos; * that the seven churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude; † that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested; ‡ and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority. § If to this we add that he must have outlived all, or nearly all, of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years — that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality || — that, as if remembering the actual words which had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, “Even so, come, Lord Jesus,” ¶ — that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him,** — we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth.

The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus, and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his disciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius. In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him. He is then sent to labor in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile. The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting. The elders of the Church are gathered together, and St. John, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, “In the beginning was the Word.” Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public bath of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush them. †† Through his agency the great temple of Artemis (Diana) is at length reft of its magnificence, and even levelled with the ground! He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating Easter. At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, he bore on his brow the plate of gold

* Rev. i. 9.

† Rev. i. 11.

‡ 1 John iv. 1; 2 John 7.

§ 3 John 9, 10.

|| John xxi. 23.

¶ Rev. xxii.

** John xxi. 24.

†† Eusebius and Irenæus make Cerinthus a heretic. In Epiphanius, Ebion is the hero of the story. To modern feelings the anecdote may seem at variance with the character of the Apostle of Love, but it is hardly more than the development in act of the principle of 2 John 10. To the mind of Epiphanius there was a difficulty of another kind. Nothing less than a special inspiration could account for such a departure from an ascetic life as going to a bath at all.

(πίταλον) with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff. In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells us how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favorite bird, and how he defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unbent.

More true to the New Testament character of the Apostle is the story, told by Clement of Alexandria, of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw chief whom, in days gone by, he had baptized, and winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life.

Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone — when there is no strength even to stand — the spirit still retains the power to love, and the lips are still open to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will — "Little children, love one another."

The very time of the Apostle's death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A. D. 89 to A. D. 120.

In relation to Christian doctrine, St. John is, as in the title of the Apocalypse, "John the Holy *Divine*" — the THEOLOGUS — not in the sense of a *theologian*, but from his witness that "the WORD was GOD." * This also was the fruit of his intimate converse with his Lord, and of a spirit fitted for such fellowship. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal WORD, "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father," so unclouded; nowhere are there such personal reminiscences of the Christ in his most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical or logical or docetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne — departing in this instance from the earlier traditions — to see in him the *Eagle* that soars into the highest heaven, and looks upon the unclouded sun. † Descending from the regions of fancy to those facts on which the truth of the Gospel rests, it is this testimony to Christ that is so emphatically asserted alike in the open-

* It is in accordance with the old Hebrew system of significant surnames, that the proposition θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος was condensed into the epithet of θεολόγος. This at least is the explanation generally received; but the epithet of a "discourser of divine things," which had already been conferred upon Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, may have been applied in a higher sense to the seer of the Apocalypse.

The title has been perpetuated in the name of the modern village on the site of Ephesus, *Ayasaluk* = "ἄγιος θεολόγος. Just in the same way, Bethany, the city of Lazarus, is called *el-Azurijeh*, or *Lazarieh*, and Hebron, the chief abode of Abraham, *El-Halil*, the Friend (*i. e.*, of God).

† Rev. iv. 7. The older interpretation makes Mark answer to the eagle, and John to the lion.

ing of his General Epistle and in what we may call the *attestation clause* of his Gospel — whether that clause was penned by an inspired self-consciousness, or added as the testimony of those among whom he lived and wrote: “*This is the disciple which testified of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true.*”*

When John the Baptist directed his disciples to the Lamb of God, “one of the two that heard John and followed Jesus, was ANDREW, Simon Peter’s brother;” and, in seeking out his own brother Simon, he set the first example of brotherhood in Christ, and was the first to proclaim, “We have found the Messiah.”† The apparent discrepancy in Matt. iv. 18 ff., and Mark 16 ff., where the two appear to have been called together, is no real one, St. John relating the first introduction of the brothers to Jesus, the other Evangelists their formal call to follow Him in His ministry. In the catalogue of the Apostles, Andrew appears, in Matt. x. 2; Luke vi. 14, second, next after his brother Peter; but in Mark iii. 16, Acts i. 14, fourth, next after the three, Peter, James, and John, and in company with Philip. And this appears to have been his real place of dignity among the Apostles; for in Mark xiii. 3, we find Peter, James, John, and Andrew, inquiring privately of our Lord about His coming; and in John xii. 22, when certain Greeks wished for an interview with Jesus, they applied through Andrew, who consulted Philip, and in company with him made the request known to our Lord. This last circumstance, combined with the Greek character of both their names, may perhaps point to some slight shade of Hellenistic connection on the part of the two Apostles; though it is extremely improbable that any of the twelve were Hellenists in the proper sense. On the occasion of the five thousand in the wilderness wanting nourishment, it is Andrew who points out the little lad with the five barley loaves and the two fishes. Scripture relates nothing of him beyond these scattered notices. Whether he was Peter’s elder or younger brother is uncertain. Except in the catalogue (i. 14), his name does not occur once in the *Acts*. The traditions about him are various. Eusebius‡ makes him preach in Scythia; Jerome§ and Theodoret|| in Achaia (Greece); Nicephorus¶ in Asia Minor and Thrace. He is said to have been crucified, at Patræ in Achaia, on a *crux decussata* (×); but this is doubted by many. Eusebius** speaks of an apocryphal *Acts of Andrew*.

JAMES.

JAMES, THE SON OF ZEBEDEE,†† and brother of John, another of the four who formed, so to speak, the *inner circle* of the Apostolic band, is the only

* John xxi. 24. ‘The truer, as well as simpler view, seems to be that these words are the writer’s own, as is evidently the case with the parallel passage in xix. 35: “And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.”’

† John i. 40, 41. The name Andreas occurs in Greek writers; it is found in Dion Cassius lxxviii. 32, as the name of a Cyrenian Jew, in the reign of Trajan.

‡ *H. E.* iii. 1.

§ *Ep.* 148, *ad Marc.*

|| *Ad Psalm* cxvi.

¶ *H. E.* ii. 39.

** *H. E.* iii. 25.

†† The name is the Greek form of JACOB, and it is somewhat remarkable that it now reappears for the first time since the patriarch himself. In the unchangeable East, St. James is

one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. There is no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James's early life we know nothing. We first hear of him in A. D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view in A. D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. He does not appear in the Gospel narrative till the second call of the disciples at the lake of Galilee.* For a full year we lose sight of him. He is then, in the spring of A. D. 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren.† In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the book of *Acts*, his name occurs next to that of Simon Peter; in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke it comes third. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of Peter, Andrew, James, and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that Peter, James, and John, alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter.‡ The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration.§ The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony.|| And it is Peter, James, John, and Andrew who ask our Lord for an explanation of his dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and his second coming.¶ It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception,** the name of James is put before that of John, and that John is twice described as "the brother of James."†† This would appear to imply that at this time James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned we find this position reversed. That the prominence of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as out of every twelve persons there must be two or three to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them, can scarcely be doubted.

still St. Jacob — *Mar Yakoob*; but no sooner had the name left the shores of Palestine than it underwent a series of curious and interesting changes probably unparalleled in any other case. To the Greeks it became *Ἰάκωβος*, with the accent on the first syllable; to the Latins, *Jacobus*, doubtless similarly accented, since in Italian it is *Iacomo* or *Giacomo*. In Spain it assumed two forms, apparently of different origins: — *Iago* — in modern Spanish *Diego*, Portuguese, *Tiago* — and *Xayme* or *Jayme*, pronounced *Hayme*, with a strong initial guttural. In France it became *Jacques*, but another form was *Jame*, which appears in the metrical Life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier (A. D. 1170-74), quoted in Robinson's *Becket*, p. 139, *note*. From this last the transition to our James is easy.

* Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20; Luke v. 1-11. An ecclesiastical tradition, of uncertain date, places the residences of Zebedee and the birth of St. James at Japhia, now *Yafa*, near Nazareth. Hence that village is commonly known to the members of the Latin Church in that district as *San Giacomo*.

† Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; Acts i. 13.

‡ Mark v. 37; Luke viii. 51.

|| Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33.

** Luke ix. 28.

§ Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28.

¶ Mark xiii. 3.

†† Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1.

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the twelve Apostles that the name of *Boanerges* was given to the sons of Zebedee. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before. This name plainly was not bestowed upon them because they heard the voice like thunder from the cloud (Jerome), nor because of any peculiar majesty in their persons or impressiveness in their preaching; but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rockman" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a Divine strength, predicted by the same title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form,* and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first Apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love. The occasions on which this natural character manifested itself have been noticed in speaking of St. John.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A. D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A. D. 44, we know nothing of St. James, except that after the Ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles and the women and the Lord's brethren.† In the year 44, Herod Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which at the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Peræa in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. This sovereign was at once a supple statesman and a stern Jew; ‡ a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride — the type of a lay Pharisee. "He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations;" and "he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice."§ Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch "to lay hands" (*not* "stretch forth his hands," A. V. Acts xii. 1) "on certain of the Church;" and accordingly, when the Passover of the year 44 had brought St. James and St. Peter to Jerusalem, he seized them both, considering doubtless that if he cut off the "Son of Thunder" and the "Rockman" the new sect would be more tractable or more weak under the presidency of James the Just, for whose character he probably had a lingering and sincere respect. James was apprehended first — his natural impetuosity of temper would seem to have urged him on even beyond Peter. And "Herod the king," the historian simply tells us, "killed James the brother of John with the sword."|| This is all that we know for certain of his death.¶ We may notice two things respect-

* Luke ix. 54; Mark x. 37.

† Acts i. 13.

‡ Josephus *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 7, xix. 5-8.

§ Josephus *Ant.* xix. 7, § 3.

|| Acts xii. 2.

¶ The great Armenian convent at Jerusalem on the so-called Mount Zion is dedicated to "St. James the son of Zebedee." The church of the convent, or rather a small chapel on its north-east side, occupies the traditional site of his martyrdom. This, however, can hardly

ing it: *first*, that James is now described as the brother of John, whereas previously John had been described as the brother of James, showing that the reputation of John had increased, and that of James diminished, by the time that St. Luke wrote; and *secondly*, that he perished not by stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish Law laid down that if seducers to strange worship were few, they should be stoned — if many, they should be beheaded. Either therefore Herod intended that James's death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference.*

JAMES THE LESS.

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society, which was filled partly by St. JAMES, the brother of our Lord, commonly called JAMES THE LESS, or the LITTLE,† who now steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and who shortly afterwards set out on his first apostolic journey. The position into which the former now comes forward leads us to depart from the order of the Gospel lists. We have already stated the reasons for identifying him with James, the son of Alphæus.‡ Of the father of James, whose Hebrew name is rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphæus*,§ and by St. John *Clopas*,|| we know nothing, except that he married Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary, and had by her four sons and three or more daughters. He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and her sister, a widow, like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth,¶ but sometimes also at Capernaum** and Jerusalem.†† It is probable that these cousins, or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters, of the Lord were older than himself; as on one occasion we find them, with his mother, indignantly declaring that he was beside himself, and going out to "lay hold of him"

be the actual site (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 558). Its most interesting possession is the chair of the Apostle, a venerable relic, the age of which is perhaps traceable as far back as the fourth century (Williams, 560). But as it would seem that it is believed to have belonged to "the first Bishop of Jerusalem," it is doubtful to which of the two Jameses the tradition would attach it.

* See Lightfoot, *in loc.* Clement of Alexandria relates, concerning St. James's martyrdom, that the prosecutor was so moved by witnessing his bold confession that he declared himself a Christian on the spot; accused and accuser were therefore hurried off together, and on the road the latter begged St. James to grant him forgiveness; after a moment's hesitation, the Apostle kissed him, saying, "Peace be to thee!" and they were beheaded together. For legends respecting his death and his connection with Spain, see Roman Breviary (*in Fest. S. Jac. Ap.*), in which the healing of a paralytic and the conversion of Hermogenes are attributed to him, and where it is asserted that he preached the gospel in Spain, and that his remains were translated to Compostella. These legends are rejected with contempt even by Catholic writers. Epiphanius, without giving or probably having any authority for or against his statement, reports that St. James died unmarried, and that, like his namesake, he lived the life of a Nazarite.

† Mark xiii. 40, Ἰάκωβος ὁ μικρός.

‡ Ἀλφάϊος.

** John ii. 12.

‡ Chap. ix., *Notes and Illustrations* (A).

|| Κλωπᾶς.

†† Acts i. 14.

¶ Matt. xiii. 55.

and compel him to moderate his zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread."* This looks like the conduct of elders towards one younger than themselves.

Of James individually we know nothing till the Spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles James holds the same place, heading the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon, and Iscariot; as Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James, and John.† The fact of Jude being described by reference to James, ‡ shows the name and reputation which James had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles, or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters, and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" JESUS in the Autumn of the same year; § and it is likely, though not certain, that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did his brethren believe on him," || in the Autumn of A. D. 29.

We hear no more of James till after the crucifixion and the resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the resurrection and the ascension, the Lord appeared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul; ¶ and there never has been any doubt that it was to this James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,"** which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed himself to James. We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the ascension, after which we find James, Jude and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, Simon, and Joses, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of James for ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. Zarnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the hand, and introduced him to Peter and James, †† and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find James on a level with Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul

* Mark iii. 20, 21, 31.

‡ Mark iii. 21.

** Acts i. 3.

† Alford, *in Matt.* x. 2.

|| John xii. 5.

†† Acts ix. 27; Gal. i. 18, 19.

‡ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

¶ 1 Cor. xv. 7.

into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, — Peter, John, and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in the most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to “James, and to the brethren.”* In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the assembly, with the expression, “Wherefore my sentence is.”† In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognizes James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John,‡ and places his name before them both. Shortly afterwards it is “certain who came from James,” that is, from the mother Church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its bishop, who lead Peter into tergiversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 Paul pays a formal visit to James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner.§

Entirely accordant with these notices of Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by James in the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord himself, as reported by Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Proclus of Constantinople, and Photius, is not likely. Eusebius follows this account in a passage of his history, but says elsewhere that he was appointed by the Apostles. Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his Episcopate, and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, Peter, James, and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John, and to Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles, and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which James was held. But the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of James is Hegesippus (*i. e.*, Joseph), a Christian of Jewish origin, who lived in the middle of the second century. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem, that it is best to let him relate it in his own words:

Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus. — “With the Apostles, James, the brother of the Lord, succeeds to the charge of the Church — that James, who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there were many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother’s womb, he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food; a razor came not upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil;

* Acts xii. 17.

† Gal. ii. 9.

‡ $\Delta\iota\delta\ \xi\gamma\omega\ \kappa\rho\iota\tau\omega$, Acts xv. 13, 19. See St. Chrys. *in loc.*

§ Acts xxi. 18.

he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the Temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated *hard*], like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just,' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the Prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned inquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now, the aforementioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of one who shall recompense every man according to his works; but all who became believers believed through James. When many therefore of the rulers believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though he were the Christ. We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus; for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus, for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the Temple, that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes, and even the Gentiles, are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the aforementioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the Temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus, who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered, with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced, and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying, 'Hosannah to the Son of David.' Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up, therefore, and threw down the just one, and said one to another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And while they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites, to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The just one is praying for you!' Then one of them,

who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the Temple, and the column still remains by the Temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege.*

For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, † and to Dean Stanley's *Apostolical Age*. ‡ It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps, § but in all other respects a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarite rule, like Anna the prophetess, || serving the Lord in the Temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe, (unless, indeed, we argue from this that Clopas did belong to the tribe of Levi, and draw thence another argument for the identity of James, the son of Clopas, and James, the Lord's brother,) and as the very type of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews as a nation to Christianity, it would have been James.

Josephus, as already more than once referred to, says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrim, and "brought before it James, the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrim without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood. ¶ The words "brother of him who is called Christ," are judged by many to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does, in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it, for the most part, from him. He adds a few particulars, which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own.** He considers James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, and calculates that he must have been ninety-six years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the *πίραλον* on his forehead, in which he probably confounds him with St. John. †† Gregory, of Tours, reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives, ‡‡ in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon.

* Euseb. ii. 23, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* p. 208, Oxf. 1846. The last words, which are usually considered as at variance with Josephus, need not, however, be taken as giving a precise indication of the time of St. James's martyrdom, but rather as connecting the crime with the retribution that soon followed it.

† Vol. i. p. 228.

‡ P. 319, Oxf. 1847.

§ 1 Cor. ix. 5.

|| Luke ii. 37.

¶ Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9.

** *Hæres.* xxix. 4, and lxxviii. 13.

†† Polyer. apud Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24.

‡‡ The monument — part excavation, part edifice — which is now commonly known as the

We have seen that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7, which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that Epistle. His apprehension by Ananus was probably about the year 62 or 63. There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom, as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between seventy and eighty years old.*

JUDE.

Still following the connection of name with name, rather than the order of the lists of the Apostles, we come to the second person of the third group, JUDE or JUDAS (that is Judah), "the brother of James," as he is called by our translators,† and as he distinctly calls himself, if he be the author of the *Epistle of Jude*.‡ It cannot be doubted that the same Apostle is meant in the passage of St. John's Gospel, where he is called simply Judas, but distinguished from Judas Iscariot.§ The one question which he addresses to the Lord—"How is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?"—a question which shows him as sharing the low temporal views of his Master's kingdom—and the mention of him as abiding with the other Apostles at Jerusalem, in prayer and supplication, after the Ascension, are the only special notices of him.

But, on comparing the lists of the Apostles given by the three Evangelists, we find the place occupied by the name of *Jude*, in Luke, filled by that of *Lebbæus* in Matthew, and that of *Thaddæus* in Mark.|| All the discussion

"Tomb of St. James," is on the east side of the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore at a considerable distance from the spot on which the Apostle was killed, which the narrative of Hegesippus would seem to fix as somewhere under the south-east corner of the wall of the *Haram*, or perhaps further down the slope nearer the "Fountain of the Virgin." It cannot, at any rate, be said to stand "by the Temple." The tradition about the monument in question is, that St. James took refuge there after the capture of Christ, and remained eating and drinking nothing, until our Lord appeared to him on the day of His resurrection. By the old travellers it is often called the "Church of St. James."

* It is almost unnecessary to say that the Jacobite churches of the East—consisting of the Armenians, the Copts, and other Monophysite or Eutychian bodies—do not derive their title from St. James, but from a later person of the same name, Jacob Baradæus, who died bishop of Edessa in 588.

† Luke vi. 17; Acts i. 13. Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. The question whether the ellipsis should be supplied by "brother" or "son," has been discussed above.

‡ Jude 1. ἀδελφός δὲ Ἰακώβου. Concerning the Epistle, see the Appendix.

§ John xiv. 22. Ἰούδας, οὐχ ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης.

|| Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18. Jude occupies the *eleventh* place in Luke's list, while Lebbæus and Thaddæus stand *tenth* in those of Matthew and Mark; there being a similar transposition in that of Simon the Zealot, which is common to all three. In Matthew the A. V. has "Lebbæus, whose surname was Thaddæus;" but the words *ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος* are wanting from the best MSS. In both places there is considerable variety of reading; some MSS. having both in St. Matthew and St. Mark *Λεββᾶιος* or *Θαδδαῖος* alone; others introducing the name Ἰούδας or *Judas Zelotes* in St. Matthew, where the Vulgate reads *Thaddæus* alone, which is adopted by Lachmann in his Berlin edition of 1832. This confusion is still further increased by the tradition preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13), that the true name of Thomas (the twin) was Judas (Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμαῖος), and that Thaddæus was one of the "Seventy," identified by Jerome in Matt. x., with "Judas Jacobi;" as well as by the theories of modern

which the variety has provoked does but lead back to the plain inference, generally accepted, that *Jude*, *Lebbæus*, and *Thaddæus*, were three names for one and the same Apostle, who is therefore said by Jerome to have been *trionymus*.

Nothing is certainly known of the later history of the Apostle. There may be some truth in the tradition which connects him with the foundation of the church at Edessa; though here again there is much confusion, and doubt is thrown over the account by its connection with the worthless fiction of "Abgarus, king of Edessa."* Nicephorus† makes Jude die a natural death in that city after preaching in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Syrian tradition speaks of his abode at Edessa, but adds that he went thence to Assyria, and was martyred in Phœnicia on his return; while that of the west makes Persia the field of his labors and the scene of his martyrdom.‡

SIMON THE CANAANITE.

The name of SIMON THE CANAANITE, or ZELOTES, completes (with the exception of Judas Iscariot) the third group of the Apostles, occupying the eleventh place in Matthew and Mark, and the tenth in Luke.§ The two epithets attached to his name have the same signification, the latter being the Greek translation of the former, which is Chaldee. Both point him out as belonging to the faction of the *Zealots*, who were distinguished for their fierce advocacy of the Mosaic ritual, and who played so conspicuous a part in the last defence of Jerusalem. We have here a proof of the varied characters gathered together in the Apostolic band.

Simon is not mentioned in the New Testament, except in the lists of the Apostles. He is reported, on very doubtful authority, to have preached in Egypt, Cyrene, and Mauritania, and to have been crucified in Judæa under Domitian.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Nothing is certainly known of his birthplace or parentage. It is supposed by some that the word Iscariot signifies of *Carioth*, a small town on the east of Jordan. He is called *the son of Simon*, John vi. 71; whence some have supposed he was the son of Simon the Canaanite, another of the Twelve. He

scholars, who regard the "Levi" (Λεβίς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου) of Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27, who is called "Lebes" (Λεβίης) by Origen (*contra Cels.* l. i. § 62), as the same with Lebbæus. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the names *Lebbæus* or *Thaddæus*.

* Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13; Jerome, *Comment.* in Matt. x.

† *H. E.* ii. 40.

‡ The resemblance of the state of things described in the Epistle of Jude to that in the Second Epistle of Peter confirms the view that both ministered and wrote to the Jews of the Asiatic Dispersion.

§ Matt. x. 4, Σίμων ὁ καναναῖος (κανανίτης in Text. Recept.), and so Mark iii. 18. The epithet represents the Chaldee word for *zealot*, and has nothing to do with the land of Canaan or the village of Cana. The Greek equivalent is used only by St. Luke, Σίμων ὁ καλούμενος ζηλωτής, Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13. The term *κανανίτης* seems to have survived the Greek form in the traditions of the Church. His identification with Simon, the brother of Jesus, has already been discussed (chap. ix., *Notes and Illustrations.* A.).

is almost uniformly mentioned with the infamous distinction of the man who betrayed Christ. The principal fact related of him by the Evangelists, previously to the commission of the dreadful crime into which he fell, was a marked displeasure at Mary for expending upon our Lord so much precious ointment, which might have been sold for much and given to the poor. The truth, however, was, that he cared not for the poor, but that he held the purse of the company; and if this money had been deposited with him for the poor, he would have had it in his power to apply it to his own use. The reproof which he received from his Master on this occasion was probably the immediate cause of his determination to betray him. The sacred history represents him as going immediately, and agreeing with the chief priests and elders to deliver him into their hands. After this, however, he had the impudence to return again, and was present at the last interview between Christ and the other disciples. Here our Lord announced in the hearing of all, that one of his disciples would betray him, and pointed out Judas as the person; on which he seems to have left the table in displeasure, and abruptly; perhaps before the Lord's Supper was instituted. Being now fully under the power of the devil, he became the leader of a band of soldiers, sent to apprehend Jesus. The impious man knew where his Master would be that evening; and he had the effrontery to intrude upon him in his hours of devotion; and had agreed to make known the proper person to the soldiers by the usual sign of friendship and love: therefore when he led the band into the sequestered garden of Gethsemane, he went up to Jesus and kissed him, saying, *Hail, Master*; and received from the meek Saviour no other reproof than, *Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?* His service was now done, and he had the stipulated price of his iniquity in his possession. It is probable, therefore, that he did not accompany the soldiers back to the chief priests and elders. But as soon as his mind had opportunity for reflection, remorse seized upon him; and covetous as he was, he could no longer bear about with him the price of innocent blood. Having learned that his Master was condemned, he returned to the Temple, and finding the persons from whom he had received the money, he cast it down, and, unable to bear the burden of misery, he went and hanged himself.

We are told in Acts i. 18, *that, falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.* The passages are not irreconcilable with each other; for it is evident that a man might be hung, and that he might fall, and that the parts of his body might be torn asunder in the fall; but how the effect was produced which is described in the above-cited passage can be only matter of conjecture. It may have been that he hung himself over a precipice, or from some very elevated position, and that his body was mutilated in that manner by the fall; or his body might possibly have remained undiscovered until, being partially decayed, it had, by its own weight, fallen, and presented this horrible spectacle. To support the first of these positions, it may be enough to say, that the spot which tradition designates as the potters' field was visited by two American missionaries in 1823; and they tell us that in the vicinity of the field are trees near the brink of

huge cliffs, on which, if he hung himself and fell, he must have been dashed in pieces.

The fact that Judas was with our Saviour in public and private, and had the confidence of the band of disciples, connected with his strong testimony to his innocence under such extraordinary circumstances, is altogether inexplicable upon any other supposition than that the Messiah was what he claimed to be — the Son of God and the only Saviour of sinners.

PHILIP.

The middle group in the list of the Apostles consists of four names, each of which has some peculiar interest, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas.* These four, though not sharing the same intimate converse with their Master as Peter and Andrew, James and John, are much more prominent in the Gospel narrative than the last four. Two of them were among our Saviour's first disciples; Matthew was one of his early converts; and Thomas, whose name stands in close connection with Matthew, probably became a disciple before any of the third group.

At the head of this second group stands PHILIP. He is mentioned as being of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter,† and apparently was among the Galilean peasants of that district who flocked to hear the preaching of the Baptist. The manner in which St. John speaks of him, the repetition by him of the selfsame words with which Andrew had brought to Peter the good news that the Christ had at last appeared, all indicate a previous friendship with the sons of Jonah and of Zebedee, and a consequent participation in their Messianic hopes. The close union of the two in John vi. and xii. suggests that he may have owed to Andrew the first tidings that the hope had been fulfilled. The statement that Jesus *found* him ‡ implies a previous seeking. To him first in the whole circle of the disciples were spoken the words so full of meaning, "Follow me." As soon as he has learned to know his Master, he is eager to communicate his discovery to another who had also shared the same expectations. He speaks to Nathanael, probably on his arrival in Cana,§ as though they had not seldom communed together of the intimations of a better time, of a Divine kingdom, which they found in their sacred books. We may well believe that he, like his friend, was an "Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile." In the lists of the twelve Apostles in the synoptic Gospels, his name is as uniformly at the head of the second group of four, as the name of Peter is at that of the first;|| and the facts recorded by St. John give the reason of this priority. In those lists again we find his name uniformly coupled with that of Bartholomew, and this has led to the hypothesis that the latter is identical with the Nathanael of John

* This is the order of Mark iii. 18, and Luke vi. 14, 15; while Matthew, evidently in the spirit of humility, not only places his own name after that of Thomas, but adds the description, "the publican," (x. 3.)

† John i. 44.

‡ John i. 43.

§ Comp. John xxi. 2.

|| Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14.

i. 45, the one being the personal name, the other, like Barjonah or Bartimæus, a patronymic.

Philip apparently was among the first company of disciples who were with the Lord at the commencement of His ministry, at the marriage of Cana, and on His first appearance as a prophet in Jerusalem.* When John was cast into prison, and the work of declaring the glad tidings of the kingdom required a new company of preachers, we may believe that he, like his companions and friends, received a new call to a more constant discipleship.† When the Twelve were specially set apart for their office, he was numbered among them. The first three Gospels tell us nothing more of him individually. St. John, with his characteristic fulness of personal reminiscences, records a few significant utterances. When the Galilean crowds had halted on their way to Jérusalem to hear the preaching of Jesus,‡ and were faint with hunger, it was to Philip that the question was put, "Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?" "And this he said," St. John adds, "to prove him, for He himself knew what He would do." The answer, "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them that every one may take a little," shows how little he was prepared for the work of Divine power that followed. It is noticeable that here, as in John i., he appears in close connection with Andrew.

Another incident is brought before us in John xii. 20-22. Among the pilgrims who had come to keep the Passover at Jerusalem were some Gentile proselytes (Hellenes) who had heard of Jesus, and desired to see Him. The Greek name of Philip may have attracted them. The zealous love which he had shown in the case of Nathanael may have made him prompt to offer himself as their guide. But it is characteristic of him that he does not take them at once to the presence of his Master. "Philip cometh and telleth Andrew, and again Andrew and Philip tell Jesus." The friend and fellow-townsmen to whom probably he owed his own introduction to Jesus of Nazareth is to introduce these strangers also.

There is a connection not difficult to be traced between this fact and that which follows on the last recurrence of Philip's name in the history of the Gospels. The desire to see Jesus gave occasion to the utterance of words in which the Lord spoke more distinctly than ever of the presence of his Father with him, and to the voice from heaven which manifested the Father's will.§ The words appear to have sunk into the heart of at least one of the disciples, and he brooded over them. The strong cravings of a passionate but unenlightened faith led him to feel that one thing was yet wanting. They heard their Lord speak of His Father and of their Father. He was going to His Father's house. They were to follow Him there. But why should they not have even now a vision of the Divine glory? It was part of the child-like simplicity of Philip's nature that no reserve should hinder the expression of the craving, "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us."|| And the

* John ii.

‡ John xii. 28.

† Matt. iv. 18-22.

|| John xiv. 8.

‡ John vi. 5-9.

answer to that desire belonged also specially to him. He had all along been eager to lead others to see Jesus. He had been with Him, looking on Him from the very commencement of his ministry, and yet he had not known Him. He had thought of the glory of the Father as consisting in something else than the truth, righteousness, love that he had witnessed in the Son. "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. How sayest thou, show us the Father?" No other fact connected with the name of Philip is recorded in the Gospels. The close relation in which we have seen him standing to the sons of Zebedee and Nathanael might lead us to think of him as one of the two unnamed disciples in the list of fishermen on the Sea of Tiberias who meet us in John xxi. He is among the company of disciples at Jerusalem after the Ascension, and on the day of Pentecost.*

After this, all is uncertain and apocryphal. He is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as having had a wife and children, and as having sanctioned the marriage of his daughters instead of binding them to vows of chastity,† and is included in the list of those who had borne witness of Christ in their lives, but had not died what was commonly looked on as a martyr's death.‡ Polycrates, § bishop of Ephesus, speaks of him as having fallen asleep in the Phrygian Hierapolis, as having had two daughters who had grown old unmarried, and a third, with special gifts of inspiration, who had died at Ephesus. There seems, however, in this mention of the daughters of Philip, to be some confusion between the Apostle and the Evangelist. The apocryphal "Acta Philippi" are utterly wild and fantastic, and if there is any grain of truth in them, it is probably the bare fact that the Apostle or the Evangelist labored in Phrygia, and died at Hierapolis.

BARTHOLOMEW.

BARTHOLOMEW is a patronymic, the son of *Talmai*.|| His own name nowhere appears in the first three Gospels. It has been not improbably conjectured that he is identical with Nathanael.¶ Nathanael there appears to have been first brought to Jesus by Philip; and in the first three catalogues of the Apostles (cited above) Bartholomew and Philip appear together. It is difficult also to imagine, from the place assigned to Nathanael in John xxi. 2, that he can have been other than an Apostle. If this may be assumed, he was born at Cana of Galilee, and he is said to have preached the Gospel in India,** meaning thereby, probably, Arabia Felix, which was sometimes called India by the ancients.†† Some allot Armenia to him as his mission-field, and report him to have been there flayed alive and then crucified with his head downwards.‡‡

* Acts i. 13.

† *Strom.* iii. 52. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 30.

‡ *Strom.* iv. 73.

§ Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31.

|| Compare the LXX. *Θολμαί*, *Θολμαῖ*, Josh. xv. 14, 2 K. xiii. 37, and *Θολομαῖος*, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 1, § 1.

¶ John i. 45 ff.

** Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10. Jerome, *Vir. Illust.* 36.

†† Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante Constant. M. Commentarii*, p. 206.

‡‡ Asseman, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 2, 20.

MATTHEW.

MATTHEW, the Apostle and Evangelist, is the same as Levi,* the son of a certain Alphæus. † His call to be an Apostle is related by all three Evangelists in the same words, except that Matthew gives the former, and Mark and Luke the latter name. ‡ If there were two publicans, both called solemnly in the same form at the same place, Capernaum, then one of them became an Apostle, and the other was heard of no more; for Levi is not mentioned again after the feast which he made in our Lord's honor. § This is most unlikely. Euthymius and many other commentators of note identify Alphæus the father of Matthew with Alphæus the father of James the Less. Against this is to be set the fact that in the lists of Apostles, Matthew and James the Less are never named together, like other pairs of brothers in the apostolic body. It may be, as in other cases, that the name Levi was replaced by the name Matthew at the time of the call. The names Matthæus and Matthias are probably both contractions of Mattathias, || a common Jewish name after the exile; but the true derivation is not certain. He belonged to the sordid class of *portitores*, the collectors under the *publicani*, who, as a rule, were worthy of the hatred with which the Jews regarded them. ¶ The readiness, however, with which Matthew obeyed the call of Jesus seems to show that his heart was still open to religious impressions. His conversion was attended by a great awakening of the outcast classes of the Jews. ** Matthew, in his Gospel, does not omit the title of infamy which had belonged to him, but neither of the other Evangelists speaks of "Matthew the *publican*." Of the exact share which fell to him in preaching the Gospel nothing whatever is told us in the New Testament, and other sources of information we cannot trust.

Eusebius †† mentions that after our Lord's ascension Matthew preached in Judæa (some add for fifteen years), and then went to foreign nations. To the lot of Matthew it fell to visit Ethiopia, says Socrates Scholasticus. ††† Ambrose says that God opened to him the country of the Persians; §§ Isidore, the Macedonians; ||| and others, the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians of the Euphrates; but nothing whatever is really known. Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus (cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) describes him as dying a natural death, which Clement, Origen, and Tertullian seem to accept. The tradition that he died a martyr came in afterwards.

THOMAS.

All that we know of THOMAS ¶¶ is derived from the Gospel of St. John; and this amounts to three traits, which, however, so exactly agree together

* Luke v. 27-29.

† Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27.

‡ *I. e.* "gift of Jehovah" = Θεοδωρος, Θεόδωρος.

¶ See chap. vii., *Notes and Illustrations* (A.)

†† *H. E.* iii. 24.

§§ *In Ps.* 45.

¶¶ According to Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13) his real name was Judas. This may have been a

† Mark ii. 14.

‡ Luke v. 29.

** Matt. ix. 9, 10.

†† *H. E.* i. 19. *Ruff. H. E.* x. 9.

||| Isidore *Hisp. de Sanct.* 77.

that, slight as they are, they place his character before us with a precision which belongs to no other of the twelve Apostles, except Peter, John, and Judas Iscariot. This character is that of a man slow to believe, seeing all the difficulties of a case, subject to despondency, viewing things on the darker side, and yet full of ardent love for his Master.

The first trait is his speech when our Lord determined to face the dangers that awaited Him in Judæa on his journey to Bethany. Thomas said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us also go that we may die with Him." * He entertained no hope of his escape — he looked on the journey as leading to total ruin; but he determined to share the peril. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

The second was his speech during the Last Supper: "Thomas saith unto Him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?" † It was the prosaic, incredulous doubt as to moving a step in the unseen future, and yet an eager inquiry to know how this step was to be taken.

The third was after the Resurrection. He was absent — possibly by accident, perhaps characteristically — from the first assembly when Jesus appeared. The others told him what they had seen. He broke forth into an exclamation, the terms of which convey to us at once the vehemence of his doubt, and at the same time the vivid picture that his mind retained of his Master's form as he had last seen Him lifeless on the cross. "Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not, I cannot, believe." ‡

On the eighth day he was with them at their gathering, perhaps in expectation of a recurrence of the visit of the previous week; and Jesus stood among them. He uttered the same salutation, "Peace be unto you;" and then turning to Thomas, as if this had been the special object of His appearance, uttered the words which convey as strongly the sense of condemnation and tender reproof, as those of Thomas had shown the sense of hesitation and doubt. "Bring thy finger hither [ἴδε — as if himself pointing to His wounds] and see my hands; and bring thy hand and thrust it in my side; and do not become (μὴ γίνου) unbelieving (ἄπιστος), but believing (πιστός)."

The effect § on Thomas is immediate. The conviction produced by the removal of his doubt became deeper and stronger than that of any of the other Apostles. The words in which he expressed his belief contain a far higher assertion of his Master's Divine nature than can be traced in any other expression used by Apostolic lips, "My Lord, and my God." And the

mere confusion with Thaddeus, who is mentioned in the extract. But it may also be that Thomas was a surname. The word *Thoma* means "a twin;" and so it is translated in John xi. 16, xxi. 2, ὁ δίδυμος. Out of this name has grown the tradition that he had a twin-sister, Lydia, (*Patres Apost.* p. 272), or that he was a twin-brother of our Lord (Thilo, *Acta Thomæ*, v. 94); which last, again, would confirm his identification with Judas (comp. Matt. xiii. 55). He is said to have been born at Antioch (*Patres Apost.* pp. 272, 512).

* John xi. 16.

† John xiv. 5.

‡ John xx. 25.

§ It is useless to speculate whether he obeyed our Lord's invitation to examine the wounds. The impression is that he did not.

word "my" gives it a personal application to himself. The answer of our Lord sums up the moral of the whole narrative: "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and yet have believed."* By this incident, therefore, Thomas, "the Doubting Apostle," is raised at once to the Theologian in the original sense of the word. It is this feature of his character which has been caught in later ages, when for the first time its peculiar lesson became apparent. In the famous statue of him by Thorwaldsen in the Church at Copenhagen, he stands, the thoughtful, meditative sceptic, with the rule in his hand for the due measuring of evidence and argument. In the New Testament we hear of Thomas only twice again, once on the Sea of Galilee with the seven disciples, where he is ranked next after Peter,† and again in the assemblage of the Apostles after the Ascension.‡

The earlier traditions, as believed in the fourth century,§ represent him as preaching in Parthia or Persia, and as finally buried at Edessa.|| Chrysostom mentions his grave at Edessa, as being one of the four genuine tombs of Apostles; the other three being those of Peter, Paul, and John.¶ With his burial at Edessa agrees the story of his sending Thaddæus to Abgarus with our Lord's letter.**

The later traditions carry him farther East, and ascribe to him the foundation of the Christian Church in Malabar, which still goes by the name of "the Christians of St. Thomas;" and his tomb is shown in the neighborhood. This, however, is now usually regarded as arising from a confusion with a later Thomas, a missionary from the Nestorians. His martyrdom (whether in Persia or India) is said to have been effected by a lance.††

BARNABAS.

To these twelve Apostles two more were added specially for the mission to the Gentiles, for we have seen that BARNABAS, as well as Paul, is expressly designated by that title. The word *Barnabas* is an appellative—signifying the "son of prophecy," or "exhortation," rather than of "consolation"—given by the Apostles to JOSEPH, a Levite of the island of Cyprus.‡‡ We have already seen his Christian devotedness, as contrasted with the self-seeking of Ananias; how he justified his title by his ministry at Antioch; how he introduced Paul to the Apostles after his conversion; how he sought him out at Tarsus, labored with him at Antioch, went up with him twice to Jerusalem, and shared his first missionary journey; and how, on the proposal of the second, the fellow-laborers were severed by their dispute about John Mark.

* John xx. 29.

† John xxi. 2.

‡ Acts i. 13.

§ Eus. *H. E.* i. 13, iii. 1; Soerat. *H. E.* i. 19.

|| Soerat. *H. E.* iv. 18.

¶ *Hom. in Heb.* 26.

** Eus. *H. E.* i. 13.

‡‡ An apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas" (chiefly relating to the Infancy of Christ) is published in Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*; the Apocryphal "Acts of Thomas," by Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus*).

†† Acts iv. 36.

If we may judge from the hint furnished by the fact that Paul was commended by the brethren to the grace of God, it would seem that Barnabas was in the wrong. He took Mark, and sailed to Cyprus, his native island. And here the Scripture notices of him cease; those found in Gal. ii. 1, 9, 13, belong to an earlier period. From 1 Cor. ix. 6 we infer that Barnabas was a married man; and from Gal. (*l. c.*), and the circumstances of the dispute with Paul, his character seems not to have possessed that thoroughness of purpose and determination which was found in the great Apostle. As to his further labors and death, traditions differ. Some say that he went to Milan, and became first bishop of the Church there; the Clementine Homilies make him to have been a disciple of our Lord himself, and to have preached in Rome and Alexandria, and converted Clement of Rome; the Clementine Recognitions say that he preached in Rome even during the lifetime of our Lord. There is extant an apocryphal work, probably of the fifth century, *Acta et Passio Barnabæ in Cypro*, which relates his second missionary journey to Cyprus, and his death by martyrdom there; and a still later encomium of Barnabas, by a Cyprian monk, Alexander, which makes him to have been brought up with St. Paul under Gamaliel, and gives an account of the pretended finding of his body in the time of the emperor Zeno (474-490). We have an Epistle in twenty-one chapters called by the name of Barnabas. Of this, the first four chapters and a half are extant only in a barbarous Latin version; the rest in the original Greek. Its authenticity has been defended by some great names; but it is very generally given up now, and the Epistle is believed to have been written early in the second century.

In their office of laying the foundations of the Church, some of the Apostles used the pen as well as the tongue; and two of them, MATTHEW and JOHN, undertook the special function of placing on permanent record those facts concerning the life and death and resurrection of Christ, of which they were his own chosen witnesses. This would seem to be a distinctive part of the apostolic office; nor is this view at variance with the fact that it was undertaken also by two others, who were not Apostles. For it may now be received as an established fact that the Gospels of MARK and LUKE were written under the supervision of Peter and Paul. These two writers, therefore, may well claim a place next to the Apostles. But, in speaking of them as *Evangelists*, we must distinguish this use of the word from its proper New Testament signification, as describing a class of teachers next in rank to apostles and prophets,—the *Evangelizers* of the world.* It was at a later age that the *writer of a Gospel* (εὐαγγέλιον) was called an *Evangelist* (εὐαγγελιστής), not only a matter of etymology, but the natural process of thought which is thus stated by Eusebius, “Men do the work of Evangelists, leaving their homes to proclaim Christ, and deliver the written Gospels to those who were ignorant of the faith.”† If the Gospel was a written book, and the office of the Evangelists was to read or distribute it, then the

* Eph. iv. 11.

† Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 37.

writers of such books were *κατ' ἐξοχήν* THE EVANGELISTS. It is thus, accordingly, that Eusebius speaks of them; and this meaning soon overshadowed the old one. Of the Gospels we shall speak presently;* and frequent occasions have occurred to notice points in that personal history of Mark and Luke, which we have now to collect into one view.

MARK.

MARK the Evangelist is probably the same as "JOHN whose surname was MARK." † John was the Jewish name, and Mark, a name of frequent use among the Romans, was adopted afterwards, and gradually superseded the other. The places in the New Testament enable us to trace the process. The John Mark of Acts xii. 12, 25, and the John of Acts xiii. 5, 13, becomes Mark only in Acts xv. 39, Col. iv. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24. The change of John to Mark is analogous to that of Saul to Paul; and we cannot doubt that the disuse of the Jewish name in favor of the other is intentional, and has reference to the putting away of his former life, and his entrance upon a new ministry. No inconsistency arises from the accounts of his ministering to two Apostles. Of his desertion of Paul we have already spoken. ‡

John Mark was the son of a certain Mary, who dwelt at Jerusalem; and he was therefore probably born in that city. § He was the cousin of Barnabas. || It was to Mary's house, as to a familiar haunt, that Peter came after his deliverance from prison, ¶ and there found "many gathered together praying;" and John Mark was probably converted by Peter from meeting him in his mother's house, for he speaks of "Marcus my son." ** This natural link of connection between the two passages is broken by the supposition of two Marks, which is on all accounts improbable. The theory that he was one of the seventy disciples is without any warrant. Another theory, that an event of the night of our Lord's betrayal, related by Mark alone, is one that befell himself, must not be so promptly dismissed. "There followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him, and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." †† The detail of facts is remarkably minute, the name only is wanting. The most probable view is that St. Mark suppressed his own name, whilst telling a story which he had the best means of knowing. Awakened out of sleep, or just preparing for it, in some house in the valley of Kedron, he comes out to see the seizure of the betrayed Teacher, known to him and in some degree beloved already. He is so deeply interested in his fate that he follows him even in his thin linen robe. His demeanor is such that some of the crowd are about to arrest him; then, "fear overcoming shame" (Bengel), he leaves his garment in their hands and flees. We can only say that if the name of Mark is supplied, the narrative receives its most

* See Appendix, p. 594, seq.

† Acts xiii. 13. Chap. xv. § 10.

|| Col. iv. 10, *ἀνεψιός*, properly "first-cousin" (not "sister's son," as in A. V.), and thence extended to any collateral blood-relations.

¶ Acts xii. 12.

** 1 Pet. v. 13.

† Acts xii. 12, 25.

‡ Acts xii. 12.

†† Mark xiv. 51, 52.

probable explanation. John * introduces himself in this obtrusive way, and perhaps Luke likewise.† Mary, the mother of Mark, seems to have been a person of some means and influence, and her house a rallying-point for Christians in those dangerous days. Her son, already an inquirer, would soon become more. Anxious to work for Christ, he went with Paul and Barnabas as their "minister" on their return from Jerusalem, and on their first journey; but at Perga, as we have seen above, he turned back.‡ On the second journey Paul would not accept him again as a companion, but Barnabas his kinsman was more indulgent; and thus he became the cause of the memorable "sharp contention" between them.§ Whatever was the cause of Mark's vacillation, it did not separate him for ever from Paul, for we find him by the side of that Apostle in his first imprisonment at Rome.|| In the former place a journey of Mark to Asia is contemplated. Somewhat later he is with Peter at Babylon.¶ Some consider Babylon to be a name here given to Rome in a mystical sense; surely without reason, since the date of a letter is not the place to look for a figure of speech. Of the causes of this visit to Babylon there is no evidence. It may be conjectured that he made the journey to Asia Minor, and thence went on to join Peter at Babylon.** Returning to proconsular Asia, he seems to have been with Timothy at Ephesus when Paul wrote to him during his second imprisonment, and Paul was anxious for his company and ministry at Rome.††

When we pass beyond Scripture, we find the facts doubtful and even inconsistent. If Papias is to be trusted,‡‡ Mark never was a disciple of our Lord; which he probably infers from 1 Pet. v. 13. Epiphanius, on the other hand, willing to do honor to the Evangelists, adopts the tradition that he was one of the seventy-two disciples, who turned back from our Lord at the hard saying in John vi. §§ The same had been said of St. Luke. Nothing can be decided on this point. The relation of Mark to Peter is of great importance for our view of his Gospel. Ancient writers with one consent make the Evangelist the interpreter (ἐρμηνευτής) of the Apostle Peter. |||| Some explain this word to mean that the office of Mark was to translate into the Greek tongue the Aramaic discourses of the Apostle; whilst others adopt the more probable view, that Mark wrote a Gospel which conformed more exactly than the others to Peter's preaching, and thus "interpreted" it to the Church at large. The report that Mark was the companion of Peter at Rome is no doubt of great antiquity. Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius as giving it for "a tradition which he had received of the elders from the first." ¶¶ But the force of this is invalidated by the suspicion that it rests on a misunderstanding of 1 Pet. v. 13, Babylon being wrongly taken for a typical

* John i. 40, xix. 26.

† Luke xxiv. 18.

‡ Acts xii. 25, xiii. 13.

§ Acts xv. 36-40.

|| Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24.

¶ 1 Pet. v. 13.

** Comp. chap. xix. § 1.

†† 2 Tim. iv. 11.

‡‡ Quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39.

§§ *Contra, Hæc.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf's recent edition.

||| Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; Irenæus, *Hæc.* iii. 1, 6, 10; Tertullian, *c. Marc.* iv.

5; Hieronymus, *ad Hedib.* ix., etc.

¶¶ Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14; Clem. Alex. *Hyp.* 6.

name of Rome.* Another tradition is, that Mark, sent on a mission to Egypt by Peter,† founded the church of Alexandria,‡ and having preached in various places§ then returned to Alexandria, of which church he was bishop, and there suffered a martyr's death.|| But none of these later details rest on sound authority.

LUKE.

The name Luke (Λουκᾶς) is an abbreviated form of *Lucanus* or of *Lucilius*. It is not to be confounded with Lucius,¶ which belongs to a different person. The name of Luke occurs three times in the New Testament,** and doubtless in all three the third Evangelist is the person spoken of. To the Colossians he is described as "the beloved physician," probably because he had been known to them in that profession. Timothy needs no additional mark for identification; to him the words are, "only Luke is with me." To Philemon, Luke sends his salutation in common with other "fellow-laborers" of St. Paul. As there is every reason to believe that the Luke of these passages is the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, it is natural to seek in the former book for some traces of that connection with St. Paul which these passages assume to exist; and although the name of St. Luke does not occur in the *Acts*, we have seen ample reason to believe that under the pronoun "we," several references to the Evangelist are to be added to the three places just quoted.

Combining the traditional element with the Scriptural, the uncertain with the certain, we are able to trace the following dim outline of the Evangelist's life. He was born at Antioch, in Syria; †† in what condition of life, is uncertain. That he was taught the science of medicine does not prove that he was of higher birth than the rest of the disciples; medicine in its earlier and ruder state was sometimes practised even by a slave. The well-known tradition that Luke was also a painter, and of no mean skill, rests on the authority of Nicephorus ††† and of other late writers; but none of them are of historical authority, and the Acts and Epistles are wholly silent upon a point so likely to be mentioned. He was not born a Jew, for he is not reckoned among them "of the circumcision" by St. Paul.§§ If this be not thought conclusive, nothing can be argued from the Greek idioms in his style, for he might be an Hellenist Jew; nor from the Gentile tendency of his gospel, for this it would share with the inspired writings of St. Paul, a Pharisee brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. The date of his conversion is uncertain. He was not, indeed, "an eye-witness and minister of the word from the beginning," |||| or he would have rested his claim as an Evangelist upon that ground. Still, he may have been converted by the Lord himself some time

* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15; Hieron. *De Vir.* III. 8.

† Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16.

‡ Hieron. *De Vir.* III. 8.

§ Niceph. *ibid.*, and Hieron. *De Vir.* III. 8.

** Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24.

†† *H. E.* ii. 43.

††† Luke i. 2.

‡ Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 43.

¶ Acts xiii. 1; Rom. xvi. 21.

†† Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 4.

‡‡ Comp. Col. iv. 11 with ver. 14.

before His departure; and the statement of Epiphanius,* and others, that he was one of the seventy disciples, has nothing very improbable in it; while that which Theophylact adopts (on Luke xxiv.) that he was one of the two who journeyed to Emmaus with the risen Redeemer, has found modern defenders. Tertullian assumes that the conversion of Luke is to be ascribed to Paul; † and the balance of probability is on this side.

The first ray of historical light falls on the Evangelist when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and shares his journey into Macedonia. The sudden transition to the first person plural, in Acts xvi. 9, is most naturally explained, after all the objections that have been urged, by supposing that Luke, the writer of the Acts, formed one of St. Paul's company from this point. His conversion had taken place before, since he silently assumes his place among the great Apostle's followers, without any hint that this was his first admission to the knowledge and ministry of Christ. He may have found his way to Troas to preach the gospel, sent possibly by St. Paul himself. As far as Philippi the Evangelist journeyed with the Apostle. The resumption of the third person on Paul's departure from that place, ‡ would show that Luke was now left behind. During the rest of St. Paul's second missionary journey, we hear of Luke no more. But on the third journey, the same indication reminds us that Luke is again of the company, § having joined it apparently at Philippi, where he had been left. With the Apostle he passed through Miletus, Tyre, and Cæsarea, to Jerusalem. || Between the two visits of Paul to Philippi seven years had elapsed, (A. D. 51 to A. D. 58,) which the Evangelist may have spent in Philippi and its neighborhood, preaching the gospel.

There remains one passage which, if it refers to St. Luke, must belong to this period. "We have sent with him" (*i. e.* Titus) "the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches." ¶ The subscription of the Epistle sets out that it was "written from Philippi, a city of Macedonia, by Titus and Lucas," and it is an old opinion that Luke was the companion of Titus, although he is not named in the body of the Epistle. If this be so, we are to suppose that during the "three months" of Paul's sojourn at Philippi,** Luke was sent from that place to Corinth on this errand; and the words, "whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches," enable us to form an estimate of his activity during the interval in which he has not been otherwise mentioned. It is needless to add that the praise lay in the activity with which he preached the gospel, and not, as Jerome understands the passage, in his being the author of a written gospel. †† The narrative warrants the inference that Luke was with Paul during his two years'

* *Cont. Hær.* li. 11.

† "Lucas non apostolus, sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus, utique magistro minor, certe tanto posterior quanto posterioris Apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio." (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2.)

‡ Acts xvii. 1.

§ Acts xx. 5.

|| Acts xx. 5, xxi. 18.

¶ 2 Cor. viii. 18.

** Acts xx. 3.

†† "Lucas . . . scripsit Evangelium de quo idem Paulus 'Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes ecclesias.'" (*De Viris Ill.* ch. 7.)

imprisonment at Cæsarea; and this is the most probable time for the composition of his gospel.

He again appears in the company of Paul in the memorable voyage to Rome.* He remained at his side during his first imprisonment;† and, assuming that the second Epistle to Timothy was written during the second imprisonment, the testimony of that Epistle (iv. 11) shows that he continued faithful to the Apostle to the end of his afflictions.

After the death of St. Paul, the acts of his faithful companion are hopelessly obscure to us.‡ It is as perhaps the Evangelist wished it to be; we only know him while he stands by the side of his beloved Paul; when the master departs, the history of the follower becomes confusion and fable. As to the age and death of the Evangelist, there is the utmost uncertainty. It seems probable that he died in advanced life; but whether he suffered martyrdom, or died a natural death, whether Bithynia or Achaia, or some other country, witnessed his end, it is impossible to determine amid contradictory voices. That he died a martyr, between A. D. 75 and A. D. 100, would seem to have the balance of suffrages in its favor. It is enough for us, so far as regards the Gospel of St. Luke, to know that the writer was the tried and constant friend of the Apostle Paul, who shared his labors, and was not driven from his side by danger.

DEACONS.

Next in order to the Apostles, in the sacred history, stand those *Seven Men of Good Report* who are commonly called DEACONS; and this class derives special celebrity from the martyrdom of STEPHEN, and the evangelizing labors of PHILIP. After what has been said of these two in the Apostolic history, it only remains to add some further notices of the latter. He was, like the rest of his colleagues, in all probability an Hellenist. His place in the confidence of the Church is shown by his standing in the list of the seven next to Stephen; and we should expect the man who was thus worthy of being Stephen's companion and fellow-worker to go on with the work which he left unfinished, and to break through the barriers of national Judaism. Accordingly, foremost among those whom the persecution that ensued on the death of the first Deacon drove from Jerusalem, we find the second carrying the Gospel to the outcasts of Samaria, and the proselyte of Ethiopia; and thus Philip became the precursor of St. Paul in his work, as Stephen had been in his teaching. It falls to his lot, rather than to that of an Apostle, to take the first step in the victory over Jewish prejudice, and in the expansion of the Church, according to its Lord's command. For this we may perhaps find a deeper reason than the mere fact that the Apostles

* Acts xxvii. 1. See chap. xviii. § 3.

† Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24.

‡ In a well-known passage of Epiphanius, (*Hær.* li. 11, vol. ii. 464, in Dindorf's edition,) we find that "receiving the commission to preach the gospel, [Luke] preaches first in Dalmatia and Gallia, in Italy and Macedonia, but first in Gallia, as Paul himself says of some of his companions, in his epistles, '*Crescens in Gallia*;' for we are not to read '*in Galatia*,' as some mistakenly think, but '*in Gallia*.'" But there seems to be as little authority for this account of St. Luke's ministry as there is for the reading *Gallia* in 2 Tim. iv. 10.

had not yet left Jerusalem. As the Samaritans had already shown themselves, on our Lord's first visit, more alive to spiritual views of the Messiah than the Jews, so would an Hellenist probably be better prepared than a Jew to satisfy their hopes. From Azotus, where he reappeared after his miraculous separation from the Ethiopian eunuch, he made his way to Cæsarea, preaching in all the cities he passed through;* and we may be permitted to conjecture that his ministry at Cæsarea was one of the causes that awakened the holy curiosity of Cornelius.

Whether the seven to whom Philip belonged are rightly or not identified with the order of *Deacons*, these labors of his go far beyond what are described as their special functions, and entitle him, before any other who was not an Apostle, to the designation under which he reappears in the Acts, as PHILIP THE EVANGELIST, though still described as "one of the seven."† He is still residing at Cæsarea, which he had doubtless made the centre of his labors as an Evangelist in preaching the Gospel; and his four virgin daughters possess the gift of prophecy. He receives Paul and his company on their way to Jerusalem; and he is visited by prophets and elders from that city. At such a place as Cæsarea, the work of such a man must have helped to bridge over the ever widening gap which threatened to separate the Jewish and Gentile churches. One who had preached Christ to the hated Samaritan, the swarthy African, the despised Philistine, the men of all nations who passed through the seaport of Palestine, was a fit host to welcome the arrival of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The house in which he and his daughters had lived was pointed out to travellers in the time of Jerome. He is said to have died bishop of Tralles, in Lydia. In other traditions he is more or less confounded with Philip the Apostle.

The remaining Deacons are not again mentioned in the New Testament. PROCHORUS is said by tradition to have been consecrated by St. Peter, bishop of Nicomedia, in Bithynia; NICANOR is placed among the seventy or seventy-two disciples (a mere congeries of New Testament names), by the pseudo-Hippolytus, who adds that he died at the time of the martyrdom of Stephen; TIMON is also made one of the seventy-two, and bishop of Bostra, where he suffered martyrdom by fire; and PARMENAS is said to have been martyred at Philippi in the reign of Trajan.

The last of the seven, NICOLAS, a proselyte of Antioch, has obtained a greater, but more questionable celebrity; but there is no reason, except the similarity of name, for identifying Nicolas with the sect of Nicolaitans mentioned in Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15. It would seem from these passages that the Nicolaitans held that it was lawful "to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication," in opposition to the decree of the Church, recorded in Acts xv. 20-29. The Nicolaitans themselves, at least as early as the time of Irenæus, claimed the Deacon as their founder. Epiphanius, an inaccurate writer, relates some details of the life of Nicolas the Deacon, and describes him as gradually sinking into the grossest impurity, and becoming the

* Acts viii.

† Acts xxi. 8, 9.

originator of the Nicolaitans, and other immoral sects. The same account is believed, at least to some extent, by Jerome and other writers in the fourth century; but it is irreconcilable with the character of Nicolas, given by Clement of Alexandria, an earlier and more discriminating writer than Epiphanius. He states that Nicolas led a chaste life, and brought up his children in purity; that on a certain occasion, having been sharply reproved by the Apostles as a jealous husband, he repelled the charge by offering to allow his wife to become the wife of any other person; and that he was in the habit of repeating a saying which is ascribed to the Apostle Matthias also, — that it is our duty to fight against the flesh, and to abuse it. His words were perversely interpreted by the Nicolaitans as authority for their immoral practices. Theodoret, in his account of the sect, repeats the foregoing statement of Clement; and charges the Nicolaitans with false dealing in borrowing the name of the deacon.

Of the other fellow-workers of the Apostles, the prominence of Timothy and Titus among the companions of St. Paul, as well as the peculiar nature of the work committed to them, seems to call for a summary notice of their lives.

TITUS.

TITUS claims the precedence in the order of the narrative, as also no doubt in age. He is not mentioned in the *Acts*,* and our materials for his biography must be drawn entirely from the notices of him in the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, the *Epistle to the Galatians*, and the *Epistle to Titus* himself, combined with the *Second Epistle to Timothy*. Taking the passages in the Epistles in the chronological order of the events referred to, we turn first to Gal. ii. 1, 3. We conceive the journey mentioned here to be identical with that recorded in Acts xv., in which Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch to Jerusalem to the conference which was to decide the question of the necessity of circumcision to the Gentiles. Here we see Titus in close association with Paul and Barnabas at Antioch.† He goes with them to Jerusalem. He is in fact one of the *τινες ἄλλοι* of Acts xv. 2, who were deputed to accompany them from Antioch. His circumcision was either not insisted on at Jerusalem, or, if demanded, was firmly resisted. He is very emphatically spoken of as a Gentile, by which is most probably meant that both his parents were Gentiles. Here is a double contrast with Timothy, who was circumcised by St. Paul's own directions, and one of whose parents was Jewish.‡ Titus would seem, on the occasion of the council, to have been specially a representative of the church of the uncircumcision.

It is to our purpose to remark that, in the passage cited above, Titus is so

* The reading *Τίτου Ἰουδαίου*, in Acts xviii. 7, is too doubtful to support any inference, and is only raised to importance by Wieseler in connection with a theory that needs artificial help. The recent hypothesis of Mr. King, (*Who was St. Titus?* Dublin, 1853,) identifying him with Timothy, is certainly ingenious, but quite untenable.

† His birthplace may have been here; but this is quite uncertain. The name, which is Roman, proves nothing.

‡ Acts xvi. 1, 3; 2 Tim. i. 5, iii. 15.

mentioned as apparently to imply that he had become personally known to the Galatian Christians. This, again, we combine with two other circumstances, namely, that the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians were probably written within a few months of each other, and both during the same journey. From the latter of these two Epistles we obtain fuller notices of Titus in connection with St. Paul.

After leaving Galatia,* and spending a long time at Ephesus, † the Apostle proceeded to Macedonia by way of Troas. Here he expected to meet Titus, ‡ who had been sent on a mission to Corinth. In this hope he was disappointed; but in Macedonia Titus joined him. § Here we begin to see not only the above-mentioned fact of the mission of this disciple to Corinth, and the strong personal affection which subsisted between him and St. Paul, but also some part of the purport of the mission itself, which has been fully explained in the history. || But if we proceed further, we discern another part of the mission with which he was entrusted. This had reference to the collection, at that time in progress, for the poor Christians of Judæa. Thus we are prepared for what the Apostle now proceeds to do after his encouraging conversations with Titus regarding the Corinthian Church. He sends him back from Macedonia to Corinth, in company with two other trustworthy Christians, Trophimus and Tychicus, (or, as some think, Luke,) bearing the Second Epistle, and with an earnest request that he would see to the completion of the collection, which he had zealously promoted on his late visit. ¶

All that has preceded is drawn from direct statements in the Epistles; but by indirect, though fair inference, we can arrive at something further, which gives coherence to the rest, with additional elucidations of the close connection of Titus with St. Paul and the Corinthian Church. It has generally been considered doubtful who the brethren were** that took the First Epistle to Corinth; but there can be little doubt that the messengers who took that first letter were Titus and his companion, whoever that might be, who is mentioned with him in the second letter.

A considerable interval now elapses before we come upon the next notices of this disciple. St. Paul's first imprisonment is concluded, and his last trial is impending. In the interval between the two, he and Titus were together in Crete. †† We see Titus remaining in the island when St. Paul left it, and receiving there a letter written to him by the Apostle. From this letter we gather the following biographical details:— In the first place, we learn that he was originally converted through St. Paul's instrumentality. †† Next we learn the various particulars of the responsible duties which he had to discharge in Crete. He is to complete what St. Paul had been obliged to leave unfinished, and he is to organize the Church throughout the island by appointing presbyters in every city. Instructions are given as to the suitable character of such presbyters, and we learn further that we have here

* Acts xviii. 23.
 ‡ 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7, 13-15.
 ** 1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12.

† Acts xix. 1, xx. 1.
 || Chap. xviii. §§ 11, 12.
 †† Tit. i. 5.

‡ 2 Cor. ii. 13.
 ¶ 2 Cor. viii. 6, 17.
 †† Tit. i. 4.

the repetition of instructions previously furnished by word of mouth. Next he is to control and bridle the restless and mischievous Judaizers, and he is to be peremptory in so doing. Injunctions in the same spirit are reiterated.* He is to urge the duties of a decorous and Christian life upon the women,† some of whom possibly had something of an official character. He is to be watchful over his own conduct; he is to impress upon the slaves the peculiar duties of their position; he is to check all social and political turbulence, and also all wild theological speculations, and to exercise discipline on the heretical.‡ When we consider all these particulars of his duties, we see not only the confidence reposed in him by the Apostle, but the need there was of determination and strength of purpose, and therefore the probability that this was his character; and all this is enhanced, if we bear in mind his isolated and unsupported position in Crete, and the lawless and immoral character of the Cretans themselves, as testified by their own writers.§

The notices which remain are more strictly personal. Titus is to look for the arrival in Crete of Artemas and Tychicus,|| and then he is to hasten to join St. Paul at Nicopolis, where the Apostle is proposing to pass the winter. Zenas and Apollos are in Crete, or expected there; for Titus is to send them on their journey and supply them with whatever they need for it.¶ It is observable that Titus and Apollos are brought into juxtaposition here, as they were before in the discussion of the mission from Ephesus to Corinth.

We may observe here that there would be great difficulty in inserting the visits to Crete and Nicopolis in any of the journeys recorded in the Acts, to say nothing of the other objections to giving the Epistle any date anterior to the voyage to Rome. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in arranging these circumstances, if we suppose St. Paul to have travelled and written after being liberated from Rome, while thus we gain the further advantage of an explanation of what Paley has well called the affinity of this Epistle and the first to Timothy. Whether Titus did join the Apostle at Nicopolis we cannot tell. But we naturally connect the mention of this place with what St. Paul wrote at no great interval of time afterwards, in the last of the Pastoral Epistles; ** for Dalmatia lay to the north of Nicopolis, at no great distance from it. From the form of the whole sentence, it seems probable that this disciple had been with St. Paul in Rome during his final imprisonment; but this cannot be asserted confidently. The touching words of the Apostle in this passage might seem to imply some reproach, and we might draw from them the conclusion that Titus became a second Demas; but on the whole this seems a harsh and unnecessary judgment.

Whatever else remains is legendary, though it may contain elements of truth. Titus is connected by tradition with Dalmatia, and he is said to have been an object of much reverence in that region. This, however, may simply be a result of the passage quoted immediately above; and it is observable that of all the churches in modern Dalmatia not one is dedicated to him.

* Tit. ii. 1, 15, iii. 8.

‡ Tit. i. 12, 13.

** Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίας, 2 Tim. iv. 10.

† Tit. ii. 3, 5.

|| Tit. iii. 12.

‡ Tit. iii. 1, 9, 10.

¶ Tit. iii. 13.

The traditional connection of Titus with Crete is much more specific and constant, though here again we cannot be certain of the facts. He is said to have been permanent bishop in the island, and to have died there at an advanced age. The modern capital, *Candia*, appears to claim the honor of being his burial-place. In the apocryphal fragment, *De Vita et Actis Titi*, by the lawyer Zenas, Titus is called Bishop of Gortyna; and on the old site of Gortyna is a ruined church, of ancient and solid masonry, which bears the name of St. Titus, and where service is occasionally celebrated by priests from the neighboring hamlet of *Metropolis*. The cathedral of *Megalo-Castron*, in the north of the island, is also dedicated to this saint. Lastly, the name of Titus was the watchword of the Cretans when they were invaded by the Venetians; and the Venetians themselves, after their conquest of the island, adopted him to some of the honors of a patron saint.

TIMOTHY.

Of TIMOTHEUS,* or, as his name is expressed in the familiar English abbreviation, TIMOTHY, we have had occasion to speak much more fully in narrating the life of the Apostle Paul. He was born at Lystra, in Lycaonia, the son of one of those mixed marriages between a Gentile father and a Jewish mother, which, though condemned by stricter Jewish opinion, and placing their offspring on all but the lowest step in the Jewish scale of precedence, were yet not uncommon in the later periods of Jewish history. The children of such marriages were known as *Mamzerim* (bastards) and stood just above the *Nethinim*. But the reverence of the Jews for their religion came in to redeem the disgrace; a bastard who was a wise student of the law was, in theory, above an ignorant high-priest; and so the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Timothy owed to the care of his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice, may have helped to overcome the natural prejudice of his bigoted Jewish neighbors. Of the fruit of that pious education; how it prepared Timothy to receive, while still a boy, the Gospel brought by Paul to his native city; and how, after gaining honor among the brethren at Lystra, Iconium, and even Antioch, he was chosen by Paul, on his second visit to Lycaonia, to share that fellowship of labor and of love, which only ceased with the Apostle's death; of his circumcision and ordination; and of his part in Paul's work, till he was called to comfort his last hours, and to witness his martyrdom at Rome; — we have spoken in former chapters. Their companionship begins with the second missionary journey, when Timothy may be regarded as supplying the void caused by the difference with Barnabas. If Barnabas had been to Paul as the brother and friend of early days, he had now found one whom he could claim as his own true son by a spiritual parentage.† That Timothy had now (A. D. 49 or 53) only just reached man-

* *Τιμωθεος*, i. e. *honoring God*, or *honored of God*, a Greek translation of a Hebrew name, common in the Maccabæan period. It is also a pure Greek name, well known in classical history and literature. Our translators have retained the full Greek form in every case except 2 Cor. i. 1, Pilem. 1, Heb. xiii. 23, and the two Epistles to Timothy.

† 1 Cor. iv. 17; 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2.

hood, is evident from St. Paul's addressing him, in the first Epistle, as still young. Following Paul through Asia Minor into Europe, he came to Philippi; and, though his tender youth was spared the sufferings of Paul and Silas, the Apostle calls the Philippians to witness how zealously he shared their work: — "Ye know the proof of him, that as a son with his father, he hath served with me in the Gospel."* His name does not appear in the account of St. Paul's work at Thessalonica, and it is possible that he remained some time at Philippi, and then acted as the messenger by whom the members of that Church sent what they were able to give for the Apostle's wants. † He appears, however, at Berea, and remains there when Paul and Silas are obliged to leave, ‡ going on afterwards to join his master at Athens. § From Athens he is sent back to Thessalonica, as having special gifts for comforting and teaching. He returns from Thessalonica, not to Athens, but to Corinth, and his name appears united with St. Paul's in the opening words of both the letters written from that city to the Thessalonians. || Here also he was apparently active as an Evangelist, ¶ and on him, probably, with some exceptions, devolved the duty of baptizing the new converts.**

Of the next five years of his life we have no record, and we can infer nothing beyond a continuance of his active service as St. Paul's companion. When we next meet with him, it is on being sent on in advance, when the Apostle was contemplating the long journey which was to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome. †† He was sent to "bring the churches into remembrance of the ways" of the Apostle. ††† We trace in the words of the "father" an anxious desire to guard the son from the perils which, to his eager but sensitive temperament, would be most trying. §§ His route would take him through the churches which he had been instrumental in founding, and this would give him scope for exercising the gifts which were afterwards to be displayed in a still more responsible office. It is probable, from the passages already referred to, that, after accomplishing the special work assigned to him, he returned by the same route, and met St. Paul, according to a previous arrangement, |||| and was thus with him when the second Epistle was written to the Church of Corinth. ¶¶ He returns with the Apostle to that city, and joins in messages of greeting to the disciples whom he had known personally at Corinth, and who had since found their way to Rome.*** He forms one of the company of friends who go with St. Paul to Philippi, and then sail by themselves, waiting for his arrival by a different ship. †††† Whether he continued his journey to Jerusalem, and what became of him during St. Paul's two years' imprisonment and voyage, are points on which we must remain uncertain. He must have joined Paul, however, apparently soon after his arrival in Rome, and was with him when the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon, were written. ††††

* Phil. ii. 22.

‡ 1 Thess. iii. 2.

** 1 Cor. i. 14.

‡‡ 1 Cor. xvi. 10.

*** Rom. xvi. 21.

††† Phil. i. 1, ii. 19; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1.

† Phil. iv. 15.

|| 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1.

†† Acts xix. 22.

||| 1 Cor. xvi. 11.

††† Acts xx. 3-6.

‡ Acts xvii. 14.

¶ 2 Cor. i. 19.

†† 1 Cor. iv. 17.

¶¶ 2 Cor. i. 1.

From the two Epistles addressed to him, we are able to put together a few notices as to his later life. It follows from 1 Tim. i. 3, that he and his master, after the release of the latter from his imprisonment, revisited the proconsular Asia, that the Apostle then continued his journey to Macedonia, while the disciple remained at Ephesus. We have already had occasion to describe his work there as portrayed in St. Paul's first Epistle to him. In the second Epistle, the Apostle's deep personal feeling utters itself yet more fully. The friendship of fifteen years was drawing to a close; and all memories connected with it throng upon the mind of the old man, now ready to be offered, the blameless youth,* the holy household, the solemn ordination, the tears at parting.† The last recorded words of the Apostle express the earnest hope, repeated yet more earnestly, that he might see him once again.‡ Timotheus is to come before winter, to bring with him the cloak for which in that winter there would be need.§ Of the spirit in which this urgent invitation was sent we have already spoken. We may hazard the conjecture that Timothy reached Paul in time, and that the last hours of the teacher were soothed by the presence of the disciple whom he loved so truly. He continues, according to the old traditions, to act as bishop of Ephesus, || and dies a martyr's death under Domitian or Nerva.¶ The great festival of Artemis led him to protest against the license and frenzy which accompanied it. The mob were roused to fury, and put him to death with clubs.

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

† 2 Tim. i. 4-6.

|| Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 14.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 9-12.

¶ Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 11.

ANECDOTES OF THE BIBLE.

THE VENERABLE BEDE.

IN the eighth century, a translation of the Gospel of St. John was completed in the Anglo-Saxon language, by the venerable Bede, who was the ornament of the age and country in which he lived. Referring to the time of his education, he says, "From that period I have applied myself wholly to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and in the intervals of the observance of regular discipline, always found it sweet to be either learning, teaching, or writing."

The circumstances of his death, as described by one of his pupils, are interesting:—"Many nights he passed without sleep, yet rejoicing and giving thanks, unless when a little slumber intervened. When he awoke, he resumed his accustomed devotions, and, with expanded hands, never ceased returning thanks to God. By turns," observes his pupil, "we read, and by turns we wept; indeed, we always read in tears. In such solemn joy we passed fifty days; but during these days, besides the daily lectures which he gave, he endeavoured to compose two works; one of which was a translation of St. John's Gospel into English. It had been observed of him, that he never knew what it was to do nothing; and, after his breathing became still shorter, he dictated cheerfully, and sometimes said, 'Make haste; I know not how long I shall hold out; my Maker may take me away very soon.' On one occasion, a pupil said to him, 'Most dear master, there is yet one chapter wanting; do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'It is no trouble; take your pen, and write fast.' He continued to converse cheerfully, and whilst his friends wept, as he told them they would see him no more, they rejoiced to hear him say, 'It is now time for me to return to Him who made me. The time of my dissolution draws near. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. Yes, my soul desires to see Christ, my King, in his beauty.' The pupil before mentioned said to him, 'Dear master, one sentence is still wanting.' He replied, 'Write quickly.' The young man soon added, 'It is finished!' He answered, 'Thou hast well said; all is now finished! Hold my head with thy hands; I shall delight to sit at the opposite side of the room, on the holy spot at which I have been accustomed to pray, and where, whilst sitting, I can invoke my Father.' Being placed on the floor of his little room, he sang 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' and expired as he uttered the last words."

A copy of some of St. Paul's Epistles, said to be in the handwriting of this venerable man, is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

THE BIBLE PROHIBITED.

In the reign of Henry V., a law was passed against the perusal of the Bible in English. It was enacted, "That whosoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue, they should forfeit lande, catel, lif, and godes, from theyre heyers for ever; and so be condemned for here-tykes to God, enemies to the crowne, and most arrant traitors to the lande."

HIGH PRICES OF BIBLES.

Of W. de Howton, abbot of Croxton, it is stated, that he bequeathed to the abbey at his death, in 1274, "a Bible, in nine tomes, faire written, and excellently well glossed by Solomon, archdeacon of Leicester, and paid for it fifty marks sterling," or £33 6s. 8d. And in a valuation of books, bequeathed to Merton College, at Oxford, before the year 1300, a Psalter, with glosses or marginal annotations, is valued at ten shillings; and St. Austin, on Genesis, and a Concordantia, or Harmony, are each valued at the same price. Let it be remembered, that these sums should be multiplied by fifteen, to bring them to the present value of money; and, in some instances, the comparative value would be still too low, as in the instance of the laboring man, whose pay, in 1272, was only three halfpence per day, and who must therefore have devoted the earnings of fourteen or fifteen years to the purchase of a Bible. Whitaker, in his "History of Craven," affords the additional information, "that towards the close of the thirteenth, and at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the average wages of a man-servant, with meat and clothing, were only from three to five shillings per annum; that reapers were paid twopence a day; and a sheep sold for a shilling; and thirty quarters of fossil coal for seventeen shillings and six pence." Madox, in his "History of the Exchequer," says, that in 1240, "the building of two arches of London Bridge cost only twenty-five pounds;" eight pounds less than the Bible bequeathed to the Abbey of Croxton, by Abbot W. de Howton.

LOAN OF A BIBLE.

In 1299, the bishop of Winchester borrowed a Bible, in two volumes folio, from a convent in that city, giving a bond, drawn up in a most formal and solemn manner, for its due return. This Bible had been given to the convent by a former bishop, and in consideration of this gift, and one hundred marks, the monk founded a daily Mass for the soul of the donor.

THE DEVIL AND DR. FAUSTUS.

Faust, (or Faustus,) having printed off a considerable number of copies of the Bible, to imitate those which were commonly sold in manuscript, undertook the sale of them at Paris, where the art of printing was then unknown.

As he sold his printed copies for sixty crowns, while the scribes demanded five hundred, this created universal astonishment; but when he produced copies as fast as they were wanted, and also lowered his price to thirty crowns, all Paris was agitated. The uniformity of the copies increased the wonder. Informations were given to the magistrates against him as a magician; his lodgings were searched, and a great number of copies being found, they were seized. The red ink, with which they were embellished, was said to be his blood. It was seriously adjudged that he was in league with the devil; but on discovering his art the parliament of Paris passed an act to discharge him from all persecution, in consideration of his useful invention.

IGNORANCE OF PRIESTS.

It is very affecting to contemplate the ignorance which existed in Europe before printing was introduced. Stephanus relates an anecdote of a certain doctor of the Sorbonne, who, speaking of the Reformers, expressed his surprise at their mode of reasoning, by exclaiming, "I wonder why these youths are constantly quoting the New Testament! I was more than fifty years old before I knew anything of a New Testament." And Albert, archbishop and elector of Mentz, in the year 1530, accidentally meeting with a Bible, opened it, and having read some pages, observed, "Indeed I do not know what this book is, but this I see, that everything in it is against us." Even Carolastadius, who was afterwards one of the Reformers, acknowledged that he never began to read the Bible till eight years after he had taken his highest degree in divinity. Many other equally striking facts might be introduced, illustrative of the ignorance of the Scriptures which prevailed at that time.

LUTHER'S DISCOVERY.

In the year 1507, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, Luther entered into orders, and celebrated his first Mass. In the same year he found, in the library of his monastery, a Latin copy of the Bible, which he eagerly read, and soon became aware that many parts of it had been kept from the people. This was the commencement of his usefulness. What a contrast do those days present to ours! If any are now without a Bible, it must be their own fault; but then it was impossible to obtain one, or to ascertain the nature and tendency of its blessed truths.

PRIESTLY TERROR.

The ignorance which prevailed in reference to the Scriptures when Luther was raised up of God to reform the Church, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was indeed surprising. Conrad, of Heresbach, a grave author of that age, relates a fact of a monk saying to his companions, "They have invented a new language, which they call Greek: you must be carefully on your guard against it; it is the matter of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons a book written in that language, and which

they call the New Testament: it is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my brethren, it is certain, that whoever learns it becomes immediately a Jew."

INCREASE OF BIBLES.

Tyndal, to whom we are indebted for the first translation of the New Testament into English, printed it abroad; and on its making its appearance in England, the Popish bishops and clergy obtained, in the year 1527, a royal proclamation, prohibiting the purchase or reading of it. This proclamation only excited the public curiosity, and led to an increased inquiry after the forbidden book. One step which was taken to prevent the circulation of this edition of the Scriptures, at once shows the hand of God in extending his truth, and furnishes an amusing proof of the folly of man in opposing the truth of God. The Bishop of London employed a person to purchase the whole impression of Tyndal's version of the New Testament, that he might burn them at St. Paul's Cross. By this means the Reformer was enabled to publish a large and more correct edition, "so that they came over," says Fox, "thick and threefold into England, to the great mortification of the Bishop and his Popish friends."

Of this purchase, the following fact is related:—Sir Thomas More, being lord chancellor, and having several persons accused of heresy and ready for execution, offered to compound with one of them, named George Constantine, for his life, upon the easy terms of discovering to him who they were in London that maintained Tyndal beyond the sea. After the poor man had obtained as good a security for his life as the honor and truth of the chancellor could give, he told him it was the Bishop of London who maintained him by purchasing the first impressions of his Testaments. The chancellor smiled, and said he believed that he spoke the truth.

CRANMER'S BIBLE.

When Archbishop Cranmer's edition of the Bible was printed, in 1538, and fixed to a desk in all parochial churches, the ardor with which men flocked to read it was incredible. They who could, procured it; and they who could not, crowded to read it, or to hear it read in churches, where it was common to see little assemblies of mechanics meeting together for that purpose after the labor of the day. Many even learned to read in their old age, that they might have the pleasure of instructing themselves from the Scriptures. Mr. Fox mentions two apprentices who joined each his little stock, and bought a Bible, which at every interval of leisure they read; but being afraid of their master, who was a zealous Papist, they kept it under the straw of their bed.

PARLIAMENTARY ENACTMENTS.

At the request of the Romish clergy, severe proclamations were issued by King Henry VIII. against all who read, or kept by them, Tyndal's translation

of the New Testament; so that a copy of this book found in the possession of any person was sufficient to convict him of heresy, and subject him to the flames. "But the fervent zeal of those christian days," says the good old martyrologist, Fox, "seemed much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading or hearing; also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English, of whom some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English."

In 1543, an Act of Parliament was obtained by the adversaries of translations, condemning Tyndal's Bible, and the prefaces and notes of all other editions.

WILLIAMS AND THE WELSH BIBLE.

Long before the establishment of Bible Societies, the Rev. Peter Williams, a pious distinguished clergyman of Wales, seeing that his countrymen were almost entirely destitute of the Bible, and knowing that the work of the Lord could not prosper without it, undertook with holy confidence, though destitute of the means, to translate and publish a Welsh Bible for his countrymen. Having expended all his living, and being deeply involved in debt, with the work unfinished, he expected every hour to be arrested and imprisoned, without the means or hope of release. One morning he had taken an affectionate leave of his family for the purpose of pursuing his pious labors, with an expectation that he should not be permitted to return, when, just as he was mounting his horse, a stranger rode up and presented him a letter. He stopped and opened it, and found to his astonishment that it contained information that a lady had bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds sterling. "Now," says he, "my dear wife, I can finish my Bible, pay my debts, and live in peace at home."

THE CZAR AND THE PSALM.

When Alexander, emperor of Russia, came to the throne, few Bibles were found in his empire, and great carelessness in reference to religion almost universally prevailed. A high place in the church soon became vacant, and the emperor appointed his favorite prince Galitzin to fill it. He at first declined the appointment, on the plea of his entire ignorance of religion, but the emperor overruled the objection as of no weight. The prince, on his first interview with the venerable Archbishop Platoff, requested him to point out some book which would give him a concise view of the Christian religion. The archbishop, rather surprised at the prince's professed ignorance of religion, recommended the Bible. The prince said he could not think of reading that book. "Well," replied the archbishop, "that is the only book there is, or ever will be, that can give you a correct view of the Christian religion." "Then I must remain ignorant of it: reading the Bible is out of the question," was his reply. The words, however, of the venerable Platoff remained upon his mind, and he shortly afterwards privately bought and

read the Bible. The effects were soon visible. He was not known to be "a Bible reader," and his manners were tinged with contempt. Nearly every one was now agitated by the threatened invasion of the French. Galitzin was not so. His companions were astonished. Was he become a traitor to his prince? It was impossible; his loyalty was undoubted. At this important crisis, he thought it his duty to acquaint the emperor with the rock on which he rested unmoved at the threatened danger. He requested an interview: it was granted. The invasion was naturally the first subject of conversation; and next, as closely connected with it, the prince's conduct. The emperor demanded upon what principle he remained calm and unmoved, in the midst of universal alarm. The prince drew from his pocket a small Bible, and held it toward the emperor; as he put out his hand to receive it, it fell, and opened at the ninety-first Psalm: "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty." "Oh, that your Majesty would seek this retreat," said the prince, as he read the words of the Psalm. They separated. A day was appointed for public prayer. The minister who preached took for his subject the ninety-first Psalm. The emperor, surprised, inquired of the prince if he had mentioned the circumstance that occurred at the interview. He assured him that he had not named it. A short time after, the emperor having a few minutes to spare, and perhaps feeling the necessity of Christian support, sent for his chaplain to read the Bible to him in his tent. He came, and began the ninety-first Psalm. "Hold," said the emperor; "who told you to read that?" "God," replied the chaplain. "How?" exclaimed Alexander. "Surprised at your sending for me," continued the chaplain, "I fell upon my knees before God, and besought him to teach my weak lips what to speak. I felt that part of the holy word which I have begun to read clearly pointed out to me. Why your Majesty interrupted me I know not." The result was a great alteration in the emperor's conduct, and the manifestation of great zeal in the circulation of the Scriptures.

VIEWS OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDERS.

The Rev. John Williams, the "Martyr of Erromanga," relates, that at one of the annual missionary meetings in the South-Sea Islands, several native speakers addressed the meeting with peculiar effect; but some of the officers and crew of a British man-of-war, who were present, were disposed to regard the natives as mere parrots, saying just what the missionaries had taught them. To satisfy them, Mr. Williams collected some fifteen of the natives together in the afternoon, to have the officers and crew examine them. "I did not," says Mr. W., "give them to understand the purpose for which they were assembled; I only said, 'These gentlemen have some questions to ask you.' The questions were then asked: — 'Do you believe the Bible to be the word of God?' They were startled: they had never entertained a single doubt on the subject; but, after a moment's pause, one answered, 'Most certainly we do.' It was asked, 'Why do you believe it? Can you give any reason for believing the Bible to be the word of God?' He replied, 'Why, look at

the power with which it has been attended, in the utter overthrow of all that we have been addicted to from time immemorial. What else could have demolished that system of idolatry which had so long prevailed amongst us? No human arguments could have induced us to abandon that false system.' The same question being put to another, he replied, 'I believe the Bible to be the word of God, on account of the pure system of religion which it contains. We had a system of religion before; but look how dark and black a system that was, compared with the bright system of salvation revealed in the word of God! Here we learn that we are sinners; and that God gave Jesus Christ to die for us; and by that goodness salvation is given to us. Now, what but the wisdom of God could have produced such a system as this presented to us in the word of God? And this doctrine leads to purity.' There was a third reply to this question, and it was a rather singular one; but it was a native idea: 'When I look at myself, I find I have got hinges all over my body. I have hinges to my legs, hinges to my jaws, hinges to my feet. If I want to take hold of any thing, there are hinges to my hands to do it with. If my heart thinks, and I want to speak, I have got hinges to my jaws. If I want to walk, I have hinges to my feet. Now here,' continued he, 'is wisdom, in adapting my body to the various functions it has to discharge. And I find that the wisdom which made the Bible, exactly fits with this wisdom which has made my body; consequently, I believe the Bible to be the word of God.' Another replied, 'I believe it to be the word of God on account of the prophecies which it contains, and the fulfilment of them.'"

WORDS OF DR. YOUNG.

Dr. Cotton was intimate with Dr. Young, and paid him a visit about a fortnight before he was seized with his last illness. Dr. Young was then in his usual health; his venerable appearance, the gravity of his utterance, and the earnestness with which he discoursed about religion, gave him, in Dr. Cotton's view, the appearance of a prophet. They had been delivering their sentiments on Newton's "Dissertation on the Prophecies," when Dr. Young closed the conference thus:—"My friend, there are two considerations upon which my faith in Christ is built as upon a rock. The fall of man, the redemption of man, and the resurrection of man: these three cardinal articles of our religion are such as human ingenuity could never have invented; therefore they must be divine. The other argument is this: If the prophecies have been fulfilled, of which there is no doubt, then the Bible must be the word of God; and if the Scriptures are the word of God, Christianity must be true."

AN ARTLESS ARGUMENT.

Naimbanna, a black prince, arrived in England, from the neighborhood of Sierra Leone, in 1791. The gentleman to whose care he was intrusted took great pains to convince him that the Bible was the word of God, and he

received it as such, with great reverence and simplicity. Do we ask what it was that satisfied him on this subject? Let us listen to his artless words. "When I found," says he, "all good men minding the Bible, and calling it the word of God, and all bad men disregarding it, I then was sure that the Bible must be what good men called it, the word of God."

THE OLD NEGRO'S ARGUMENT.

When the celebrated Tennent was travelling in Virginia, he lodged one night at the house of a planter, who informed him that one of his slaves, a man upwards of seventy, who could neither read nor write, was yet eminently distinguished for his piety, and for his knowledge of the Scriptures. Having some curiosity to learn what evidence such a man could have of their divine origin, he went out in the morning, alone, and without making himself known as a clergyman, entered into conversation with him on the subject. After stating some of the common objections of infidels against the authenticity of the Scriptures, in a way calculated to confound an ignorant man, he said to him, When you cannot even *read* the Bible, nor examine the evidence for or against its truth, how can you *know* that it is the word of God? After reflecting a moment, the negro replied, "You ask me, sir, how I *know* that the Bible is the word of God: — *I know it, by its effect upon my own heart.*"

MAMGENA'S REASONING.

A poor female Matchappee, named Mamgena, called, says Mr. Campbell, and told me, that when she first heard of the Bible she did not think it was true; but when she found it to describe her heart so exactly, she could not but believe what it said. She was determined, she added, always to live near some place where the word of God was preached — where she might hear about a crucified Saviour, though she should starve.

CONVERSION OF ANUNDO.

Anundo was admitted a pupil in the General Assembly's school, on its opening in August, 1830. In accordance with the system of tuition pursued in the school, he, together with his class-fellows, soon commenced the study of the New Testament. It was not long before his mind became arrested by the Sermon on the Mount. The ideas, the prospects, the images, the illustrations, all were so peculiar, seemed so apposite and so true, that glimpses of light flashed through his soul, and he was often heard to exclaim, "How beautiful, how tender, how kind, how full of love and goodness! Oh, how unlike the spirit and maxims of Hindooism! *Surely this is the truth!*" Never was there a more striking exemplification of what Owen calls "the self-evidencing power of the Bible."

CONDÉ'S ARGUMENT.

Pains had been early taken by some of the Prince of Condé's supposed friends to shake his belief of Christianity; he always replied, "You give

yourselves a great deal of unnecessary trouble; the dispersion of the Jews will always be an undeniable proof to me of the truth of our holy religion."

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Sir William Jones, whose interesting writings on Oriental subjects elucidated many obscure points in Scripture history, was a general scholar, and embellished and adorned every subject that passed under his elegant pen. On the blank leaf of his Bible, the following finely conceived description was found written:—"I have regularly and attentively perused these Holy Scriptures, and am of opinion that this volume, independently of its Divine origin, contains more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they may have been written. The unstrained application of them to events which took place long after the publication, is a solid ground for belief that they are genuine productions, and consequently inspired."

DR. AMES.

Fisher Ames, a distinguished American statesman and orator, who died in 1808, was ardently attached to the Bible. He lamented its prevailing disuse in schools, and thought that children should be well acquainted with it, both on account of the all-important truths it contains, and because they would thus learn the English language in its purity. He was accustomed to say, "I will hazard the assertion, that no man ever did, or ever will, become truly eloquent, without being a constant reader of the Bible, and an admirer of the purity and sublimity of its language."

PATRICK HENRY.

This distinguished man was a native of Virginia, of which State he became governor. He was eminent through life as a statesman and an orator. A little before his death, he remarked to a friend, who found him reading his Bible, "Here is a book worth more than all the other books which ever were printed; yet it is my misfortune never to have, till lately, found time to read it with proper attention and feeling."

DR. JOHNSON.

Dr. Samuel Johnson is distinguished as a writer on morals; his compositions have seldom been excelled in energy of thought and beauty of expression. To a young gentleman, who visited him on his death-bed, he said, "Young man, attend to the voice of one who has possessed a certain degree of fame in the world, and who will shortly appear before his Maker: read the Bible every day of your life."

DR. FRANKLIN.

At the time when the celebrated Dr. Franklin lay upon his death-bed, he was visited by a young man who had a great respect for his judgment in

all things ; and having entertained doubts as to the truth of the Scriptures, he thought that this awful period afforded a suitable opportunity of consulting the doctor on this important subject. Accordingly, he introduced it in a solemn and weighty manner, inquiring of Franklin what were his sentiments as to the truth of the Scriptures. On the question being put, although he was in a very weak state, and near his decease, he replied, "Young man, my advice to you is, that you cultivate an acquaintance with, and a firm belief in, the Holy Scriptures : this is your certain interest."

WILLIAM COLLINS.

Collins is well known as a celebrated English poet. In the latter part of his life, he withdrew from his general studies, and travelled with no other book than an English New Testament, such as children carry to school. A friend was anxious to know what companion a man of letters had chosen ; the poet said, "I have only one book, but that book is the best."

MONSIEUR BAUTAIN.

M. L. Bautain, a professor of philosophy at Strasburg, has furnished an account of the power of the Scriptures on his heart :— "A single book has saved me ; but that book is not of human origin. Long had I despised it ; long had I deemed it a class-book for the credulous and ignorant ; until, having investigated the gospel of Christ, with an ardent desire to ascertain its truth or falsity, its pages proffered to my inquiries the sublimest knowledge of man and nature, and the simplest, and at the same time the most exalted system of moral ethics. Faith, hope, and charity were enkindled in my bosom ; and every advancing step strengthened me in the conviction, that the morals of this book are superior to human morals, as its oracles are superior to human opinions."

COUNT OXENSTIERN.

It is stated, by the celebrated William Penn, that Count Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, being visited, in his retreat from public business, by commissioner Whitlock, ambassador from England to Queen Christiana, in the conclusion of their discourse, he said to the ambassador, "I have seen much and enjoyed much of this world, but I never knew how to live till now. I thank my good God, who has given me time to know him and likewise myself. All the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and which is more than the whole world can give, is the knowledge of God's love in my heart, and the reading in this blessed book," laying his hand on the Bible. "You are now," he continued, "in the prime of your age and vigor, and in great favor and business ; but this will all leave you, and you will one day better understand and relish what I say to you ; then you will find that there is more wisdom, truth, comfort, and pleasure, in retiring and turning your heart from the world, in the good Spirit of God, and in reading his sacred word, than in all the courts and favors of princes."

JOHN LOCKE.

Locke spent the last fourteen years of his life in the study of the Bible; and he wrote "The Commonplace Book of the Scriptures," which is an invaluable fruit of his Scripture studies. These facts of themselves give the strongest proof of the high estimation in which this profound thinker, and acute metaphysician, held the Christian writings. He admired the wisdom and goodness of God in the method of salvation they reveal; and, it is said, that when he thought upon it, he could not forbear crying out, "O the depths of the riches of the goodness and the knowledge of God!"

He was persuaded that men would be convinced of this by reading the Scriptures without prejudice; and he frequently exhorted those with whom he conversed to a serious study of these sacred writings.

A relative inquired of him, what was the shortest and surest way for a young gentleman to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion. "Let him study," said the philosopher, "*the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament. Therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its author, Salvation for its end, and Truth without any mixture of error for its matter.*"

DIDEROT'S CONFESSION.

It is related, that one day Mr. Beauzet, a member of the French Academy, went to see Diderot, one of the champions of infidelity; he found him explaining a chapter of the gospel to his daughter, as seriously, and with the concern of a most Christian parent. Mr. Beauzet expressed his surprise. "I understand you," said Diderot, "but in truth what better lesson could I give her?"

THE TWOFOLD RESCUE.

The late Rev. Leigh Richmond was once speaking at a meeting in Edinburgh, for the advancement of religion among sailors, when he related the following facts:

"When I reflect on the character and circumstances of seamen, I cannot, without peculiar interest, recollect the time when a young man went to sea, whose feelings were ill suited to all the contingencies of a sea-faring life. I remember that the time came when it was said the vessel in which he had sailed had been wrecked, and that the young man was dead, and no intimation had reached the ears of his affectionate parents of any change in his views as to the things of God. And I remember the time when that young man was so far restored again to his family, that although they saw him not, they heard that he had been saved from the shipwreck. That young man, too, was found by the blessed God while on the ocean, with the Bible only, which his father, at parting, had put into his hand. It was blessed to him in the midst of the carnal companions by whom he was surrounded. This means of grace, without any human instruction, was made effectual to the salvation of his soul. The time came when that young man, who had been

a foe to religion, lifted up, in the Bay of Gibraltar, at his masthead a Bethel flag, and summoned his sailors to prayer, and prayed with them, and bade the missionary exhort them. And when I tell you that that young man is *my own son*, you will see that I may well say, God bless the Sailors' Friend!"

ROCHESTER AND ISAIAH LIII.

It is well known that this extraordinary man was, for many years of his life, an avowed infidel, and that a large portion of his time was spent in ridiculing the Bible. One of his biographers has described him as "a great wit, a great sinner, and a great penitent." Even this man was converted by the Holy Spirit in the use of his word. Reading the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, he was convinced of the truth and inspiration of the Scriptures, the Deity of the Messiah, and the value of his atonement as a rock on which sinners may build their hopes of salvation. On that atonement he rested, and died in the humble expectation of pardoning mercy and heavenly happiness.

CAUGHT WITH GUILF.

Mr. Robert Aitkin, a bookseller of Philadelphia, was the first person who printed a Bible in that city. While he kept a bookstore, a person called on him and inquired if he had Paine's "Age of Reason" for sale. He told him he had not; but having entered into conversation with him, and found that he was an infidel, he told him he had a better book than Paine's "Age of Reason," which he usually sold for a dollar, but would lend it to him, if he would promise to read it; and after he had actually read it, if he did not think it worth a dollar, he would take it again. The man consented; and Mr. Aitkin put a Bible into his hands. He smiled when he found what book he had engaged to read; but said he would perform his engagement. He did so; and when he had finished the perusal, he came back, and expressed the deepest gratitude for Mr. Aitkin's recommendation of the book, saying it had made him what he was not before—a happy man; for he had found in it the way of salvation through Christ. Mr. Aitkin rejoiced in the event, and had the satisfaction of knowing that this reader of the Bible from that day to the end of his life supported the character of a consistent Christian, and died with a hope full of immortality.

OPPOSING PROTESTANTISM.

In the short reign of Edward VI., Peter Martyr, under the Prince's patronage, read Divinity lectures at Oxford, and opposed the doctrines of the real presence and other Popish dogmas. The Papists were alarmed, and began to look eagerly for some polemic champion to oppose him. After much solicitation they prevailed on Rev. Bernard Gilpin, then resident at Oxford, and a Roman Catholic, to enter the lists with Martyr. This engagement led him to study the subject more deeply; he searched the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and conferred with a goodly number of divines then living, and the result was a renunciation of Popery as indefensible.

CONVERSION OF A DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.

A doctor of divinity in Silesia, to whom the Rev. Mr. Reichardt, a missionary to the Jews, was introduced, was one of the greatest enemies to the gospel; but while he was endeavoring to write against it, and to settle himself more steadfastly in his own principles, it struck him that he had never read his Bible, though he had preached from texts in it. He began to read it; but had not long been reading the first pages, when it struck him that if this book was indeed the truth, then all the edifice he had built for himself must be broken down. This conviction increased, till it pleased the Lord to impress him with the spirit of that book; and he became a truly pious Christian, and the means of turning many from darkness to light.

WILBERFORCE'S CONVERSION.

From a speech delivered by Joseph John Gurney, Esq., at the meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1834, we learn that Mr. Wilberforce was in the twenty-fourth year of his age when he was elected member of Parliament for Hull. He afterwards attended the county election, and such was the charm of his eloquence on that occasion, in the large castle area at York, that the people all cried, "We will have that little man for our member." He was then one of the gayest of the gay; not an openly vicious man, but peculiar for his wit, and his distinction in the fashionable circles. His wit became innocuous under Christian principles. He was said to be the "joy and crown of Doncaster races." He went to pay a visit to a relation at Nice, and was accompanied by the Rev. Isaac Milner, afterwards Dean of Carlisle. Mention was made of a certain individual who moved in the same rank, an ecclesiastical gentleman, a man devoted to his duty. Mr. W. said, regarding him, "that he thought he carried things too far;" to which Mr. Milner said, he was inclined to think that Mr. W. would form a different estimate on the subject were he carefully to peruse the whole of the New Testament. Mr. Wilberforce replied that he would take him at his word, and read it through with pleasure. They were both Greek scholars, and in their journey they perused the New Testament together. That single perusal was so blessed to Mr. Wilberforce, that he was revolutionized; he became a new man; and the witty songster, the joy and crown of Doncaster races, proved the Christian senator, and at length became the able advocate for abolishing the slave-trade.

CUTTING UP AN IDOL FOR FUEL.

Some years ago, Mr. Ward, a Christian missionary, in going through a village near Calcutta, left at a native shop a Bengalee New Testament, that it might be read by any of the villagers. About a year afterwards, three or four of the most intelligent of the inhabitants came to inquire further respecting the contents of the book left in their village. This ended in six or eight of them making a public profession of Christianity. Among these, one

deserves peculiar notice. An old man, named Juggernaut, who had long been a devotee to the idol of that name in Orissa, had made many pilgrimages thither, and had acquired such a name for sanctity, that a rich man in Orissa was said to have offered him a pension for life, on condition of his remaining with him. On his becoming acquainted with the New Testament, he first hung his image of Khrishnoo, or Juggernaut, which he had hitherto worshipped, on a tree in his garden, and at length cut it up to boil his rice. He remained steadfast in his profession of Christianity till his death. Two others, being men of superior natural endowments, employed themselves in publishing the doctrines of Christianity to their countrymen in the most fearless manner, while their conduct was such as to secure them universal esteem.

THE HINDOO AND THE BITS OF PAPER.

The late Rev. Dr. Corrie, bishop of Madras, was formerly the chaplain of Allahabad. At that time there was no Hindostanee version of the Scriptures; and it was his custom to translate, on small bits of paper, striking passages of Scripture into that language, and every morning distribute these papers at his door. Twenty years afterwards, he received a communication from a missionary at Allahabad, who informed him that a person in ill health had arrived there, and that he had been to visit him. He had come to see his friends, and die among them, after an absence of more than twenty years. The missionary had visited him there several times, and was so astonished at his knowledge of the Scripture, and his impressions of its great realities, that he put the question, "How is it, my friend, that you are so well informed in the sacred Scriptures? You have told me you have never seen a missionary in your life, nor any one to teach you the way of life and salvation!" And what was his answer? He put his hand behind his pillow, and drew out a bundle of well worn and tattered bits of paper, and said, "From these bits of paper, which a Sahib distributed at his door, whom I have never seen since, have I learned all. These papers, which I received twenty years ago, and have read every day, till they are thus tumbled and spoiled, are passages of Scripture in the Hindostanee language; from them I have derived all the information on eternal realities which I now possess. This is the source of my information; thus I have derived my knowledge."

CONVERSION OF AUGUSTINE.

In the spring of the year 372, a young man in the thirty-first year of his age, in evident distress of mind, entered into his garden near Milan. The sins of his youth—a youth spent in sensuality and impiety—weighed heavily on his soul. Lying under a fig-tree, moaning and pouring out abundant tears, he heard from a neighboring house a young voice saying, and repeating in rapid succession, "*Tolle lege, Tolle lege!*" take and read, take and read. Receiving this as a Divine admonition, he returned to the place where he left his friend Alypius to procure the roll of St. Paul's Epistles, which he had a short time before left with him. "I seized the roll," says he, in

describing this scene, "I opened it, and read in silence the chapter on which my eyes first alighted." It was the thirteenth of Romans. "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." All was decided by a word. "I did not want to read any more," said he; "nor was there any need; every doubt was banished." The morning star had risen in his heart. In the language of Gaussen—"Jesus had conquered; and the grand career of Augustine, the holiest of the fathers, then commenced. A passage of God's word had kindled that glorious luminary which was to enlighten the Church for ten centuries, and whose beams gladden her even to this present day. After thirty-one years of revolt, of combats, of falls, of misery—faith, life, eternal peace, came to this erring soul—a new day, an eternal day came upon it."

DAVID SAUNDERS.

"I have led but a lonely life," said David Saunders, ("the Shepherd of Salisbury plain,") "and often have had but little to eat; but my Bible has been meat, drink, and company to me; and when want and trouble have come upon me, I don't know what I should have done indeed, if I had not had the promises of this book for my stay and support."

THE DYING SOLDIER.

In the memorable conflict at Waterloo, a soldier, mortally wounded, was conveyed to the rear by a comrade, and at a distance from the battle was laid down under a tree. The dying man requested to have his knapsack opened, that he might obtain from it his pocket Bible. He then requested his comrade to read to him, if but a small portion of it, before he should breathe his last. He was asked what passage he would have read to him, and he fixed upon John xiv. 27, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." "Now," said the dying soldier, "I die happy. I desired to have peace with God, and I possess the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

A little while after, one of the officers passed near, and seeing him in such an exhausted state, asked him how he felt. He replied, "I die happy, for I enjoy the peace of God which passeth all understanding;" and then expired.

BEST PLACE TO LEARN.

Mr. Cecil, during a severe illness, said to a person who spoke of it, "It is all Christ. I keep death in view. If God does not please to raise me up, he intends me better. I find everything but religion only vanity. To recollect a promise of the Bible: *this* is substance! Nothing will do but the Bible. If I read authors, and hear different opinions, I cannot say *this* is truth! I

cannot grasp it as substance; but the Bible gives me something to *hold*. I have learned more within these curtains than from all the books I ever read."

ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

We learn, from Chrysostom, that in the primitive Church, women and children had frequently the Gospels, or parts of the New Testament, hung round their neck, and carried them constantly about with them. The rich had splendid copies of the sacred writings on vellum in their libraries and book-cases; but as the art of printing was not known till many ages after, complete copies of the Scripture were, of course, exceedingly scarce. Children were particularly encouraged in the efforts which they made to commit to memory the invaluable truths of the Divine volume. Though in those times the Bible was to be multiplied by no other means than the pen, and every letter was to be traced out with the finger, so repeatedly were the Scriptures copied, that many of the early Christians had them in their possession; and they were so copied into their writings, that a celebrated scholar engaged, that if the New Testament, by any accidental circumstances, should be lost, he would undertake to restore it, with the exception of a few verses of one of the Epistles; and he pledged himself to find these in a short time.

FELIX THE MARTYR.

The most excruciating tortures were frequently inflicted on many of the ancient Christians, who refused to deliver up their copies of the Scriptures to the heathen; but all kinds of suffering, and even death itself, were nobly braved by many Christian worthies, to whom the book of God was more precious than life. Felix, an African, being apprehended as a Christian, was commanded, by the civil magistrate of the city, to deliver up all books and writings belonging to his Church, that they might be burned. The martyr replied that it was better he himself should be burned. The magistrate, therefore, sent him to the proconsul at Carthage, by whom he was delivered over to the prefect of the Prætorium, who was then in Africa. This supreme officer, offended at his bold and candid confession, commanded him to be loaded with heavier bolts and irons; and after being kept in a close and miserable dungeon nine days, ordered him to be put on board a vessel, saying, he should stand his trial before the emperor. In this voyage he lay for four days under the hatches of the ship, between the horses' feet, without eating or drinking. He was landed at Agrigentum, in Sicily; and when brought by the prefect as far as Venosa, in Apulia, his irons were knocked off, and he was again asked whether he had the Scriptures, and would deliver them up. "I have them," said he, "but will not part with them." On making this assertion, he was instantly condemned to be beheaded. "I thank thee, O Lord," exclaimed this faithful and heroic martyr, "that I have lived fifty-six years, have preserved the gospel, and have preached the faith and truth. O my Lord Jesus Christ, the God of heaven and earth, I bow my head to be sacrificed to thee, who livest to all eternity."

AN ALPHABETICAL
TABLE OF THE PROPER NAMES

IN
THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS;

WITH

Their Pronunciation, and the Chief Meaning or Leading Signification of Each Word in its Original Language.

In those words the pronunciation of which cannot be mistaken by any one, such as **ABNER**, **ADDON**, **ASSOS**, etc., only the accentuation is marked.

In the explanation of the different names, attention has been given to the leading meaning, whether simple or metaphorical; and the reader is here presented with the converse of each signification, such as, "ABIAH, the Lord is my father, or the father of the Lord;" "ELIAM, the people of God, or the God of the people;" because in the Hebrew, as in most of the Oriental languages, the choice of these meanings is determinable principally by the juxtaposition of the words as they stand in different sentences, and by other circumstances of a similar kind.

AAR

AARON, *Ay'-ron*, lofty, mountainous.
Abad'don, the destroyer.
Abagtha, *Ab-ag'-tha*, father of the wine-press.
Abana, *Ab-ay'-nah*, stony.
Abarim, *Ab'-a-rim*, passages.
Ab'aron, strength.
Ab'ba, father.
Ab'da, a servant.
Ab'di, my servant.
Abdiel, *Ab'-de-el*, a servant of God.
Ab'don, a servant.
Abed-nego, *A-bed'-ne-go*, a servant of light.
A'bel, vanity, vapor, mourning.
Abel-beth-maachah, *Ay'-bel-beth-ma-ay'-kah*, mourning of the house of Maachah.
A'bel-ma'im, the mourning of the waters.
Abel-meholah, *Ay'-bel-me-ho'-lah*, mourning of weakness, of sickness.
Abel-mizraim, *Ay'-bel-miz-ra'-im*, the mourning of the Egyptians.
A'bel-shit'tim, mourning of the thorns.
A'bez, an egg, muddy.
Abi, *A'-be*, my father.
Abiah, *Ab-i'-ah*, the Lord is my father.
Abi'ahil, the father of light or praise.
Abi-albon, *Ab-e-al'-bon*, intelligent father.
Ab'iam, the father of the sea.

ABI

Abi-as'aph, a gathering or consuming father.
Abiathar, *Ab-i'-a-thar*, excellent father.
A'bib, green fruits, ears of corn.
Abi'dah, father of knowledge.
Abi'dan, father of judgment.
Abiel, *Ab'-e-el*, God my father.
Abiezer, *Ab-e-e'-zer*, father of help.
Abi-ezrite, *Ab-e-ez'-rite*.
Abigail, *Ab'-e-gal*, the joy of the father.
Abi'-gibeon, the father of the cup, father of Gibeon.
Abihail, *Ab-e-hay'-il*, the father of strength.
Abi'hu, he is my father, or his father.
Abi'hud, the father of praise or confession.
Abijah, *Ab-i'-jah*, the will of the Lord.
Abi'jam, father of the sea.
Abilene, *Ab-e-le'-ne*, the father of the apartment, or of mourning.
Abimael, *Ab-be-may'-el*, a father sent from God, my father comes from God.
Abimelech, *Ab-im'-me-lek*, father of the king.
Abinadab, *Ab-in'-na-dab*, father of willingness, my father is a prince.
Abinoam, *Ab-in'-no-am*, father of beauty or comeliness, my father is beautiful.

- Abiram**, *Ab-i'-ram*, a high father, father of fraud.
- Abishag**, *Ab'-be-shag*, ignorance of the father.
- Abishai**, *Ab-bish'-a-i*, the present of my father, the father of the sacrifice.
- Abishalom**, *Ab-bish'-a-lom*, the father of peace, the recompense of the father.
- Abishua**, *Ab-bish'-u-a*, father of salvation or of magnificence.
- Abishur**, *Ab'-be-shur*, the father of the wall or of uprightness.
- Abital**, *Ab'-be-tal*, the father of the dew.
- Abitub**, *Ab'-be-tub*, father of goodness.
- Abiud**, *Ab'-be-ud*, father of praise.
- Ab'ner**, father of light, the son of the father.
- A'braham**, the father of a great multitude.
- A'bram**, a high father, the father of elevation.
- Ab'salom**, father of peace.
- Accad**, *Ak'-ad*, a pitcher, a sparkle.
- Accho**, *Ak'-ko*, close, pressed together.
- Acelanda**, *A-ke'l'-da-mah*, the field of blood.
- Achaia**, *A-kay'-yah*, grief, trouble.
- Achaicus**, *A-kay'-e-kus*, a native of Achaia.
- Achan**, **Achar**, *A'-kan*, *A'-kar*, he that troubles and bruises.
- Achbor**, *Ak'-bor*, a rat, bruising.
- Achim**, *A'-kim*, preparing, confirming, revenging.
- Achir**, *A'-ker*, the brother's light.
- Achish**, *A'-kish*, thus it is, how is this?
- Achmetha**, *Ak'-me-thah*.
- Achor**, *A'-kor*, trouble.
- Achsah**, *Ak'-sah*, adorned, bursting of the veil.
- Achshaph**, *Ak'-shaph*, poison, tricks, one that breaks, the brim of anything.
- Achzib**, *Ak'-zib*, liar, one that runs.
- Adadah**, *Ad'-a-dah*, the testimony of the assembly.
- Adah**, *Ay'-dah*, an assembly.
- Adaiah**, *Ad-a'-yah*, the witness of the Lord.
- Adaliah**, *Ad-a-ly'-ah*, one that draws water, poverty, cloud, death.
- Ad'am**, earthy, taken out of red earth.
- Adamah**, *Ad'-da-mah*, red earth.
- Adami**, *Ad'-da-my*, my man, red, earthy.
- A'dar**, high, eminent.
- Adbeel**, *Ad'-be-el*, a vapor, a cloud of God, a vexer of God.
- Ad'di**, my witness, adorned, passage, prey.
- Ad'don**, basis, foundation, the Lord.
- Adiel**, *Ad'-i-el*, the witness of the Lord.
- Adin**, *Ad'-din*, adorned, dainty.
- Adithaim**, *Ad-e-thay'-im*, assemblies, testimonies.
- Adlai**, *Ad-lay'-i*, my witness, my ornament.
- Ad'mah**, earthy, red earth.
- Admatha**, *Ad'-ma-thah*, a cloud of death, a mortal vapor.
- Ad'nah**, rest, testimony, eternal.
- Adoni-bezek**, *Ad'-o-ne-bee'-zek*, the lighting of the Lord, the Lord of Bezek.
- Adona'i**, my lord.
- Adonijah**, *Ad-o-ny'-jah*, the Lord is my master.
- Adonikam**, *Ad-o-ny'-kam*, the Lord is raised, my Lord hath raised me.
- Adoniram**, *Ad-o-ny'-ram*, my Lord is most high, the Lord of might and elevation.
- Adoni-zedek**, *Ad'-o-ne-zee'-dek*, justice of the Lord.
- Adoraim**, *Ad-oray'-im*, strength or power of the sea.
- Adoram**, *Ad'-o-ram*, their beauty, their power, their praise.
- Adrammelech**, *Ad-ram'-me-lek*, the cloak or glory of the king.
- Adramyttium**, *Ad-ram-til'-te-um*, the court of death.
- Adria**, *Ay'-dre-ah*, the name of a city, which gives name to the Adriatic Sea, now the Gulf of Venice.
- Ad'riel**, the flock of God.
- Adullam**, *Ad-ull'-lam*, their testimony, their prey, their ornament.
- Adum'mim**, earthly or bloody things.
- Æneas**, praised.
- Agabus**, *Ag'-ga-bus*, a locust, the feast of the father.
- Agag**, *Ay'-gag*, roof, floor.
- A'gagite**, of the race of Agag.
- Agapæ**, love feasts.
- Agar**. See Hagar.
- Ag'e**, a valley, deepness.
- Agrippa**, *A-grip'-pah*, one who at his birth causes great pain.
- A'gur**, a stranger, gathering.
- A'hab**, the brother of the father.
- Aha'rah**, a sweet brother, an odoriferous meadow.
- Ahar'hel**, another host, another sorrow, the sleep of the brother.
- Ahasba'i**, trusting in me, brother compassing. In Syriac, a brother of age.
- Ahasuerus**, *A-has-u-e'-rus*, prince, chief.
- Ahava**, *A-hay'-vah*, essence, generation.
- A'haz**, one that takes and possesses.
- Ahaziah**, *A-ha-zy'-ah*, possession, vision of the Lord.
- Ahi**, my brother, my brethren.
- Ahiah**, *A-hy'-ah*, brother of the Lord.
- Ahiam**, *A-hy'-am*, brother of the mother, brother of the nation.
- Ahian**, *A-hy'-an*, brother of wine.
- Ahie'zer**, brother of assistance.
- Ahi'hud**, brother of vanity, a brother of praise.
- Ahijah**. *The same as Ahiah.*
- Ahikam**, *A-hy'-kam*, a brother that raises up.
- Ahi'lud**, a brother born.
- Ahim'aaz**, brother of the council.
- Ahi'man**, a brother prepared.
- Ahimelech**, *A-him'-me-lek*, my brother is a king.
- Ahimoth**, *A'-he-moth*, brother of death.

Ahin'adab, a willing brother, a brother of a vow, brother of the prince.
Ahinoam, *A-hin'-no-am*, the beauty and comeliness of the brother.
Ahi'o, his brother, his brethren.
Ahior. See Achior.
Ahira, *A-hy'-rah*, brother of iniquity or of the shepherd.
Ahiram, *A-hy'-ram*, brother of craft, protection.
Ahisamach, *A-his'-sa-mak*, brother of strength or of support.
Ahishabar, *A-his'-sa-bar*, brother of the morning or dew, brother of blackness.
Ahi'shar, brother of a prince.
Ahithophel, *A-hit'-to-fel*, brother of ruin or folly.
Ahi'tub, brother of goodness.
Ah'lab, which is of milk, is fat.
Ah'lai, beseeching, sorrowing, beginning, brother to me.
Aho'ah, a thistle, a thorn, a fish-hook, brotherhood.
Aho'hi, a living brother, my thistle or thorn.
Aho'lah, his tabernacle, his tent.
Aholiab, *A-ho'-le-ab*, the tent or tabernacle of the father.
Aholibah, *A-ho'-le-bah*, my tent and my tabernacle in her.
Aholibamah, *A-ho'-le-bay'-mah*, my tabernacle is exalted.
Ahran. See Charan.
Ahu'mar, a meadow of waters, brother of waters.
Ahu'zam, their taking possession, vision.
Ahuz'zah, possession, apprehension, vision.
Ai, or **Hai**, *Ay'-i*, mass, heap.
Ai'ah, a raven, a vulture; alas, where is it?
Ai'ath, an hour.
Ai'n, an eye, a fountain.
Aioth. *The same as Ai.*
Ajalon, *Ad'-ja-lon*, a chain, strength, a stag.
Ak'kub, the print of the foot where any creature hath gone, supplantation.
Alammelech, *Al-am'-me-lek*, God is king.
Al'cimus, strong, of strength.
Al'emeth, ■ hiding, youth, worlds, upon the dead.
Al'emis, strength.
Alexan'der, one that assists men, one that turns away evil.
Alexandria, *Al-ex-an'-dre-a*, the city of Alexander.
Alleluia, *Al-le-lu'-yah*, praise the Lord.
A'lian, high.
Al'lon, an oak.
Allon-bachuth, *Al'-lon-bah'-kuth*, the oak of weeping.
Almo'dad, measure of God.
Al'mon, hidden.
Al'mon-dib'lathaim, a hiding, a heap of fig-trees.
Alpha, *Al'-fah*, the first letter of the Greek alphabet, marked A.

Alpheus, *Al-fe'-us*, a thousand, chief.
A'mad, a people of witness, people everlasting.
Am'alek, a people that licks up or uses ill.
Amal'ekites, people descended from Amalek.
A'mam, mother, fear of them, people.
Amana, *Am-ay'-nah*, integrity and truth.
Amariah, *Am-a-ry'-ah*, the Lord says, the excellency of the Lord.
Amasa, *Am-ay'-sah*, a forgiving people, the burden of the people.
Amaziah, *Am-a-zy'-ah*, the strength of the Lord.
A'mi. See Amam.
Am'mah, my people.
Ammi. *The same as Ammah.*
Ammihud, *Am'-me-hud*, people of praise.
Amminadab, *Am-min'-na-dab*, prince of the people, a people that vows.
Ammishaddai, *Am'-me-shad'-day-i*, the people of the Almighty.
Am'mon, the son of my people.
Am'monites, a people descended from Benammi, son of Lot.
Am'non, faithful and true, foster-father.
Amon, *Ay'-mon*, faithful, true.
Am'orite, bitter, a rebel, a babbler.
Amos, *Ay'-mos*, loading, weighty.
Amoz, *Ay'-moz*, strong, robust.
Amphipolis, *Am-fip'-po-lis*, a city encompassed by the sea.
Amplias, *Am'-ple-as*, large, extensive.
Am'ram, an exalted people, handfuls of corn.
Amraphel, *Am'-ra-fel*, one that speaks of hidden things, or of ruin.
Am'zi, strong, mighty.
A'nab, a grape, a knot.
Anah, *Ay'-nah*, one who answers or sings, poor, afflicted.
Anak, *Ay'-nak*, a collar, an ornament.
Anakims, *An'-ak-ims*. See Anak.
Anammelech, *An-am'-me-lek*, answer, song of the king.
A'nan, a cloud, a prophecy.
Ananias, *An-a-ny'-as*, the cloud of the Lord.
Anathoth, *An'-a-thoth*, answer, affliction.
Andrew, *An'-dru-e*, a stout and strong man.
Andronicus, *An-dron'-ne-kus*, a man excelling others.
Aner, *Ay'-ner*, answer, song, affliction.
An'na, gracious, merciful.
An'nas, one that answers, that afflicts.
An'tichrist, an adversary to Christ.
Antioch, *An'-te-ok*, instead of a chariot.
An'tipas, against all.
Antipatris, *An-te-pay'-tris*, against his own father.
Apelles, *A-pel'-lees*, to exclude, to separate.
Aphek, *Ay'-fek*, a stream, vigor.
Apollonia, *Ap-po-lo'-ne-ah*, perdition.
Apol'los, one that destroys and lays waste.

- Apollyon**, *A-pol'-le-on*, one that exterminates or destroys.
- Apphia**, *Af'-e-ah*, that is fruitful.
- Appii-forum**, *Ap'-pe-i-fo'-rum*, a town so called from Appius Claudius, whose statue was erected there.
- Aquila**, *Ak'-we-lah*, an eagle.
- Ar**, awaking, uncovering.
- Ar**, Arabia, evening, a place wild and desert; mixtures, because this country was inhabited by different kinds of people.
- Arabian**, an inhabitant of Arabia.
- A'rad**, a wild ass, a dragon.
- A'ram**, magnificence, one that deceives.
- Ararat**, *Ar'-ra-rat*, the curse of trembling.
- Araunah**, *A-raw'-nah*, ark, song, curse.
- Ar'ba**, the city of the four.
- Archelaus**, *Ar-ke'-lay-us*, the prince of the people.
- Archippus**, *Ar-kip'-pus*, governor of horses.
- Arcturus**, *Ark-tew'-rus*, a gathering together.
- Ard**, one that commands.
- Arel**, *Ar-e'-lie*, the light or vision of God.
- Areopagite**, *A-re-op'-a-gyte*, belonging to the council called *Areopagus*.
- Areopagus**, *A-re-op'-a-gus*, the hill of Mars; a place where the magistrates of Athens held their supreme council; from *ἀρειος*, "of Mars," and *πάγος*, "a hill."
- Aretas**, *A-re'-tus*, one that is agreeable or virtuous.
- Ar'gab**, a turf of earth, curse of the well.
- Ariel**, *Ay'-re-el*, the altar, light, lion of God.
- Armathea**, *Ar-re-ma-the'-ah*, a lion dead to the Lord. Ramath, or Ramah, a city where Samuel dwelt.
- Arioch**, *Ar'-e-ok*, long, your drunkenness, your lion.
- Aristarchus**, *A-ris-tar'-kus*, the best prince.
- Aristobulus**, *A-ris-tob'-bu-lus*, a good counsellor.
- Armageddon**, *Ar-ma-ged'-don*, the mountain of Megiddo, of the gospel, of fruits.
- Armenia**, *Ar-me'-ne-ah*, a province which is supposed to take its name from Aram.
- Ar'non**, rejoicing, their ark.
- Ar'oer**, heath, tamarisk, the nakedness of the skin, or of the enemy.
- Ar'pad**, the light of redemption, that lies down.
- Arphaxad**, *Ar-fak'-s-ad*, one that heals, or releases.
- Artaxerxes**, *Ar-taks-erk'-s-es*, in Hebrew, *Artachsasta*, the silence of light.
- Artemas**, *Ar'-te-mas*, whole, sound.
- Asa**, *Ay'-sah*, physician, cure.
- Asahel**, *As'-a-el*, the work or creature of God.
- Asaiah**, *As'-a-i-ah*, the Lord hath wrought.
- Asaph**, *Ay'-saf*, one that assembles together.
- Asenath**, *As'-e-nath*, peril, misfortune.
- A'shan**, vapor, smoke.
- Ash'dod**, inclination, a wild open place.
- Ash'er**, blessedness.
- As'hiei**, the work of God.
- Ashima**, *Ash'-e-mah*, crime, position, fire of the sea.
- Ashkenas**, *Ash'-ke-naz*, a fire that distils or spreads.
- Ashtaroth**, *Ash'-ta-roth*, flocks, riches.
- Ash'ur**, one that is happy.
- Ash'vath**, making vestments.
- Asia**, *Ay'-she-a*, muddy, boggy.
- As'kelon**, weight, balance, fire of infamy.
- Asnap'per**, unhappiness, fruitless.
- Assir**, prisoner, fettered.
- As'sos**, approaching.
- Assyria**, *As-sir'-re-a*.
- Assyrian**, *As-sir'-re-an*.
- Asyncritus**, *A-sin'-kre-tus*, incomparable.
- A'tad**, a thorn.
- Ata'roth**, crowns, counsel of making full.
- Athaliah**, *Ath-a-ly'-ah*, the time of the Lord.
- Athenians**, *Ath-ee'-ne-ans*, inhabitants of Athens.
- Ath'ens**, so called from Athene, Minerva.
- Attalia**, *At-ta-ly'-ah*, that increases or sends.
- Augus'tus**, increased, majestic.
- A'ven**, iniquity, force, riches.
- Azariah**, *Az-a-ry'-ah*, assistance, he that hears the Lord.
- Azekah**, *Az-ee'-kah*, strength of walls.
- Az'gad**, a strong army, a gang of robbers.
- Aznoth-tabor**, *Az'-noth-tay'-bor*, the ears of Tabor, of choice, purity, contrition.
- Azo'tus**, the same as Ashdod.
- A'zur**, he that assists, that is assisted.
- Baal**, *Bay'-al*, he that rules and subdues.
- Baalah**, *Bay'-al-ah*, her idol, a spouse; the name of a city.
- Baal-berith**, *Bay'-al-be'-rith*, idol of the covenant.
- Baal-gad**, *Bay'-al-gad'*, the idol of the troop, the Lord is master of the troop.
- Baal-hamon**, *Bay'-al-hay'-mon*, one that rules a multitude, a populous place.
- Baal-hazer**, *Bay'-al-hay'-zer*, lord of court, possessor of grace.
- Ba'al-Her'mon**, the possessor of destruction, of a thing devoted to God.
- Ba'ali**, my idol, or master.
- Ba'alim**, idols, masters.
- Ba'al**, a rejoicing, proud lord.
- Baal-meon**, *Bay'-al-me'-on*, the idol, the master of the house.
- Baal-peor**, *Bay'-al-pe'-or*, master of the opening.
- Baal-perazim**, *Bay'-al-per'-a-zim*, master, or god of divisions.
- Baal-shalisha**, *Bay'-al-shal'-e-shah*, the third idol, the third husband.

- Baal-tamar**, *Bay'-al-tay'-mar*, master of the palm-tree.
- Baal-zebul**, *Bay'-al-ze'-bul*, the master of flies.
- Baal-zephon**, *Bay'-al-ze'-fon*, the idol of the north, secret.
- Baanah**, *Bay'-a-nah*, in the answer, in affliction.
- Baa'rah**, a flame, purging.
- Baashah**, *Ba-ay'-shah*, in the work, he that demands, who lays waste.
- Ba'bel**, confusion, mixture.
- Babylon**, *Bab'-be-lon*. See **Babel**.
- Babylonians**, *Bab-be-lo'-ne-ans*.
- Babylonish**, *Bab-be-lo'-nish*.
- Baca**, *Bay'-kah*, mulberry-tree.
- Bahurim**, *Ba-hew'-rim*, choice, warlike.
- Ba'jith**, a house.
- Balaam**, *Bay'-lam*, the old age or ancient of the people, without the people.
- Bala'dan**, one without rule or judgment, ancient in judgment.
- Ba'lak**, who lays waste, who laps.
- Ba'mah**, an eminence.
- Barabbas**, *Bar-ab'-bas*, son of the father, or of confusion.
- Rachel**, *Bar'-a-kef*, who blesses God.
- Barachias**, *Bar'-a-ky-as*. The same as **Rachel**.
- Ba'rak**, thunder, in vain.
- Bar-je'sus**, son of Jesus.
- Bar-jo'na**, son of Jona, or of a dove.
- Bar'nabas**, the son of the prophet, or of consolation.
- Bar'sabas**, son of return, of rest, of swearing.
- Barthol'omew**, a son that suspends the waters.
- Bartimeus**, *Bar-te-me'-us*, the son of Timeus, or of the honorable.
- Baruch**, *Bay'-ruk*, who is blessed, who bends the knee.
- Barzillai**, *Bar-zil'-la-i*, made of iron, son of contempt.
- Ba'shan**, in the tooth, in the change, or sleep.
- Bashemath**, *Bash'-e-math*, perfumed, in desolation.
- Bath-sheba**, *Bath-she'-bah*, or *Bath'-she-bah*, the seventh daughter, the daughter of an oath.
- Bathshu'a**, the daughter of salvation.
- Be'dad**, alone, in friendship.
- Be'dan**, only, in the judgment.
- Beel-zebul**, *Be-el'-ze-bub*. See **Baal-zebul**.
- Beer**, *Be'-er*, a well, the name of a city.
- Beer-lahai-roi**, *Be'-er-la-hay'-e-roy*, the well of him that liveth and seeth me.
- Beer-sheba**, *Be'-er-she'-bah*, the well of an oath, of satiety, the seventh well.
- Be'kah**, half a shekel.
- Bel**, ancient, nothing, subject to change.
- Belial**, *Bee'-le-al*, wicked, the devil.
- Belshaz'zar**, master of the treasure.
- Beltshaz'zar**, who lays up treasures in secret, secretly endures pain and pressure.
- Benaiah**, *Ben-ay'-yah*, son of the Lord, the Lord's building.
- Ben-am'mi**, the son of my people.
- Benha'dad**, the son of Hadad, of noise.
- Ben'jamin**, the son of the right hand.
- Ben'jamite**, a descendant of Benjamin.
- Benoni**, *Ben-o'-ny*, son of my grief.
- Be'or**, burning, mad, beast.
- Berachah**, *Ber'-a-kah*, blessing.
- Beræa**, *Be-ree'-ah*, heavy, from βάρος.
- Be'rith**, covenant.
- Bernice**, *Ber-ny'-se*, one that brings victory.
- Be'sor**, glad news, incarnation.
- Be'tah**, confidence.
- Bethabara**, *Beth-ab'-ba-rah*, the house of passage, of anger.
- Beth'any**, the house of song, of affliction, of obedience, the grace of the Lord.
- Beth'a'ven**, the house of vanity, of strength.
- Beth-birei**, *Beth-bir'-re-i*, the house of my Creator.
- Beth'-car**, the house of the lamb of knowledge.
- Beth-da'gon**, the house of corn, of the fish, of the god Dagon.
- Beth-diblathaim**, *Beth-dib-la-thay'-im*, the house of dry figs.
- Beth'el**, the house of God.
- Bethelite**, *Beth'-el-ite*, an inhabitant of Bethel.
- Be'ther**, division, in the turtle, in the trial.
- Bethes'da**, the house of effusion, of pity.
- Beth-e'zel**, a neighbor's house.
- Beth-gamul**, *Beth-gay'-mul*, the house of recompense, of the weaned, of the camel.
- Beth-haccerem**, *Beth-hak'-ke-rem*, the house of the vineyard.
- Beth-ho'ron**, the house of wrath, of the hole, of liberty.
- Bethjesh'imoth**, the house of desolation.
- Beth'lehem**, the house of bread, of war.
- Bethlehem-Ephratah**, *Beth'-le-hem-eff-ray'tah*, or *eff'-ra-tah*.
- Beth'lehem-Ju'dah**.
- Beth'lehemite**, an inhabitant of Beth-lehem.
- Beth-pe'or**, the house of gaping.
- Bethphage**, *Beth'-fa-je*, the house of the mouth, of early figs.
- Bethsaida**, *Beth-say'-dah*, the house of fruits, of hunters.
- Beth'-shan**, the house of the tooth, of change, of sleep.
- Beth-she'mesh**, the house of the sun.
- Bethuel**, *Beth-ew'-el*, filiation of God.
- Beulah**, *Bew'-lah*, married.
- Bezaleel**, *Bez-a-lee'-el*, in the shadow of God.

- Be'zek**, lightning, in chains.
Bichri, *Bick'-ry*, first-born, in the ram.
Bid'kar, in compunction, in sharp pain.
Big'than, giving meat.
Bil'dad, old friendship.
Bil'hah, who is old, troubled, confused.
Bir'sha, in evil, son that beholds.
Bithiah, *Be-thy'-ah*, daughter of the Lord.
Bith'ron, division, in his examination, daughter of the song, of anger, of liberty.
Bithynia, *Be-thin'-e-ah*, violent precipitation.
Blas'tus, one that sprouts and brings forth.
Boanerges, *Bo-a-ner'-jes*, the sons of thunder; James and John, the sons of Zeb-edee.
Bo'az, or **Bo'oz**, in strength, in the goat.
Bochim, *Bo'-kin*, the place of weeping, of mulberry trees.
Bo'zez, mud, in the flower.
Boz'rah, in tribulation or distress.
Bul, changeable, perishing.
Buz, despised, plundered.
Buzi, *Bew'-zye*, my contempt.
Buzite, a descendant from Buz.
- Cabul**, *Kay'-bul*, displeasing, dirt.
Cæsar, *See'-sar*, one cut out.
Cæsarea, *Ses-a-ree'-a*, a bush of hair.
Caiaphas, *Kay'-a-fas*, a searcher.
Cain, *Kay'n*, possession.
Cainan, *Kay'-nan*, possessor, one that laments.
Ca'lah, good opportunity, as the verdure.
Ca'leb, a dog, a crow, a basket.
Ca'leb ephratah, *Kay'-leb-ef-ray'-tah* or *ef'-ra-tah*, a place so called by a conjunction of the names of Caleb and his wife Ephratah.
Calneh, *Kal'-nay*, our consummation, all we, as murmuring.
Cal'no, our consummation, quite himself.
Cal'vary, the place of a skull.
Ca'mon, his resurrection.
Ca'na, zeal, possession, nest, cane.
Canaan, *Kay'-nan*, a merchant, a trader. The son of Ham, who gave name to the land of Canaan.
Canaanite, *Kay'-nan-ite*, an inhabitant of Canaan.
Candace, *Kan-day'se*, who possesses contrition.
Capernaum, *Ka-per'-na-um*, the field of repentance, city of comfort.
Caph'tor, *Kaf'-tor*, a sphere, a buckle, a hand, doves, those that seek and inquire.
Cappadocia, *Kap-pa-do'-she-a*, in Hebrew, Caphtor.
Carcas, *Kar'-kas*, the covering of a lamb.
Carchemish, *Kar'-ke-mish*, a lamb, as taken away.
Carmel, a circumcised lamb, harvest, vineyard of God.
- Carmelite**, *Kar'-me-lyte*, an inhabitant of Mount Carmel.
Car'mi, my vineyard, the knowledge or the lamb of the waters.
Car'pus, fruit, fruitful.
Casiphia, *Ka-se-fy'-a*, money, covetousness.
Cas'tor, a beaver.
Cedron, *See'-dron*, or *Kee'-dron*, black, sad.
Cenchrea, *Senk'-re-a*, millet, small pulse.
Cephas, *See'-fas*, or *Kee'-fas*, a rock or stone.
Ce'sar. See Cæsar.
Cesarea, *Ses-a-ree'-a*. See Cæsarea.
Chalcol, *Kal'-kol*, who nourishes, sustains the whole.
Chaldea, *Kal-dee'-a*, as demons, as robbers.
Chaldean, *Kal-dee'-an*, an inhabitant of Chaldea.
Chaldees, *Kal-deez'*, the same as Chal-deans.
Charran, *Kar'-ran*, a singing, the heat of wrath.
Chebar, *Ke'-bar*, strength or power.
Chedorlaomer, *Ke'-dor-la-o'-mer*, as a generation of servitude.
Chemarims, *Kem'-a-rims*, the name of Baal's priests.
Chemoth, *Ke'-mosh*, as handling, as taking away.
Chenania, *Ke-na-ny'-ah*, preparation, rec-titude of the Lord.
Cherethims, *Ker'-eth-ims*, who cuts, tears away.
Cherethites, *Ker'-eth-ites*. See Chereth-ims.
Cherith, *Ke'-rith*, cutting, piercing, slaying.
Chesed, *Ke'-sed*, as a devil, a destroyer.
Chileab, *Kil'-le-ab*, totality or perfection of the father.
Chilion, *Kil'-le-on*, finished, complete.
Chilmað, *Kil'-mad*, as teaching or learning.
Chimham, *Kim'-ham*, as they, like to them.
Chios, *Ky'-os*, open, opening.
Chisleu, *Kis'-lu*, rashness, confidence.
Chittim, *Chit'-tim*, those that bruise, gold, staining.
Chiun, *Ky'-un*, an Egyptian god, whom some think to be Saturn.
Chloe, *Klo'e*, green herb.
Chorazin, *Ko-ray'-zin*, the secret, here is a mystery.
Chushan-rishathaim, *Kew'-shan-rish-a-thay'-im*, Ethiopian, blackness of iniquities.
Chuza, *Kew'-zah*, the prophet, Ethiopian.
Cilicia, *Sil-ish'-e-a*, which rolls or over-turns.
Clauda, *Klaw'-dah*, a broken voice, a lamentable voice.
Claudia, *Klaw'-de-ah*, lame.

- Cle'ment**, mild, good, merciful.
Cleophas, *Klee'-o-fas*, the whole glory.
Colosse, *Ko-los'-see*, punishment, correction.
Coniah, *Ko-ny'-ah*, the strength or stability of the Lord.
Co'rinth, which is satisfied, beauty.
Corin'thians, inhabitants of Corinth.
Corne'lius, a horn.
Coz'bi, a liar, as sliding away.
Crescens, *Kres'-sens*, growing, increasing.
Crete, *Kree't*, carnal, fleshly.
Cretes, *Kree'ts*, inhabitants of Crete.
Cretians, *Kree'-she-ans*, the same as Cretes.
Crispus, *Kris'-pus*, curled.
Cush, Ethiopian, black.
Cush'an, Ethiopia, blackness, heat.
Cush'i, the same as Cushan.
Cyprus, *Sy'-prus*, fair, fairness.
Cyrene, *Sy-re'-ne*, a wall, coldness, meeting, a floor.
Cyreneans, *Sy-re'-ne-ans*, people of Cyrene.
Cyrenius, *Sy-re'-ne-us*, who governs.
Cyrus, *Sy'-rus*, as miserable, as heir, the belly.

Dabbasheth, *Dab'-ba-sheth*, flowing with honey, causing infamy.
Daberath, *Dab'-be-rah*, word, thing, bee, submissive.
Da'gon, corn, a fish.
Dalmanutha, *Dal-ma-new'-thah*, a bucket, leanness, branch.
Dalmatia, *Dal-may'-she-a*, deceitful lamps, vain brightness.
Damaris, *Dam'-a-ris*, a little woman.
Damas'cus, a sack full of blood, similitude of burning.
Dan, judgment, he that judges.
Dan'iel, judgment of God.
Da'ra, generation, house of the shepherd, companion, race of wickedness.
Darius, *Da-ry'-us*, he that inquires and informs himself.
Da'than, laws, rites.
Da'vid, beloved, dear.
Deb'orah, a word, a bee.
Decapolis, *De-kap'-po-lis*, a Greek word compounded of *δέκα*, *ten*, and *πόλις*, *a city*, because this country contained ten cities.
De'dan, their breasts, friendship, uncle.
Dedanim, *Ded'-an-im*, descendants of Dedan.
Del'ilah, poor, head of hair, bucket.
De'mas, popular.
Demetrius, *De-me'-tre-us*, belonging to Ceres, to corn.
Der'be, a sting.
Deuel, *De-ew'-el*, the knowledge of God.
Diana, *Dy-ay'-nah*, luminous, perfect.
Di'bon, understanding, abundance of building
Di'bon-gad, abundance of sons, happy and powerful.
Didymus, *Did-e'-mus*, a twin.
Di'mon, where it is red.
Di'nah, judgment, who judges.
Din'habah, she gives judgment.
Dionysius, *Dy-o-nish'-e-us*, divinely touched; from *δῖος*, *divine*, and *νεῖω*, *I move*.
Diotrephes, *Di-ot'-re-feez*, nourished by Jupiter; from *δῖος*, *of Jupiter*, and *τρέφω*, *a foster-child*.
Do'eg, who acts with uneasiness, a fisherman.
Dor, generation, habitation.
Dor'cas, the female of a roe-buck.
Do'than, the law, custom.
Drusilla, *Drew-sil'-lah*, watered by the dew; from *ῥόσος*, *the dew*.
Dumah, *Dew'-mah*, silence, resemblance.
Dura, *Dew'-rah*, generation, habitation.

Easter, *Ee's-ter*, the passover, a feast of the Jews.
E'bal, a heap, collection of old age.
E'bed, a servant or laborer.
Ebed-melech, *Ee'-bed-me'-leh*, the king's servant.
Eben-ezer, *Eb-en-ee'-zer*, the stone of help.
E'ber, one that passes, anger, wrath.
Ebiasaph, *E-by'-a-saf*, a father that gathers together.
Ed, witness.
E'den, pleasure, delight.
E'dom, red, earthy, red earth.
E'domite, a descendant of Esau, of Edom.
Edrei, *Ed'-re-i*, a very great mass, cloud, death of the wicked.
Eg'lah, heifer, chariot, round.
Eglaim, *Eg-lay'-im*, drops of the sea.
Eg'lon, the same as Eglah.
E'gypt, in Hebrew, Mizraim; that binds or straitens, that troubles or oppresses.
Egypt'ian, an inhabitant of Egypt.
E'hud, he that praises.
Ek'ron, barrenness, torn away.
Ek'ronites, inhabitants of Ekron.
E'lah, an oak, oath, imprecation.
E'lam, a young man, a virgin, secret, an age.
E'lamites, descendants of Elam.
E'lath, a hind, strength, an oak.
El-beth'el, the God of Bethel.
El'dad, loved or favored of God.
Elealeh, *El-e-ay'-leh*, ascension or burnt-offering of God.
Eleazar, *El-e-ay'-zar*, the help or court of God.
El-elohe israel, *El-el-ho'-he-is'-ra-el*, God, the God of Israel.
Elha'nan, grace, gift, or mercy of God.
E'li, E'li, my God, my God.
E'li, the offering or lifting up.
Eli'ab, God my father.

- Eliada**, *E-ly'-a-da*, or *E-le-ay'-da*, the knowledge of God.
- Eliakim**, *E-ly'-a-kim*, the resurrection of God, God the avenger.
- Eli'am**, the people of God.
- Eli'as**. See Elijah.
- Eliashib**, *E-ly'-a-shib*, the God of conversion.
- Eliathah**, *E-ly'-a-thah*, thou art my God, my God comes.
- Eliezer**, *E-le-ee'-zer*, help or court of my God.
- Elihoreph**, *E-le-ho'-ref*, the God of winter, of youth.
- Eli'hu**, he is my God himself.
- Eli'jah**, God the Lord, the strong Lord.
- Eli'ka**, pelican of God.
- E'lim**, the rams, the strong, the stags, the valleys.
- Elimelech**, *E-lim'-me-lek*, my God is king.
- Elioenai**, *E-le-o'-en-a-i*, toward him are my eyes, my fountains, toward him is my poverty or misery.
- Eliphalet**, *E-lif'-ja-let*, the God of deliverance.
- Eliphaz**, *E-ly'-faz*, the endeavor of God.
- Elisabeth**, *E-liz'-a-beth*, God hath sworn, the fulness of God.
- Eli'sha**, salvation of God.
- Eli'shah**, son of Javan; it is God, God that gives help.
- Elishamah**, *E-lish'-a-mah*, God hearing.
- Elisheba**, *E-lish'-e-ba*. See Elisabeth.
- Elishua**, *E-l-e-shew'-ah*, God is my salvation.
- Eliud**, *E-ly'-ud*, God is my praise.
- Eli'zud**, God is my strength, my rock.
- Elka'nah**, God the jealous, the reed of God.
- Elmodam**, the God of measure, of the garment.
- Elna'than**, God has given.
- E'lon**, oak, grove, strong.
- E'tul**, cry, outcry.
- Eluzai**, *E-lu'-za-i*, God is my strength.
- Elymas**, *El'-e-mas*, in Arabic, a magician.
- E'mims**, fears of terrors, people.
- Emmaus**, *Em-may'-us* or *Em'-ma-us*, people despised.
- Em'mor**, an ass.
- E'nam**, a fountain or well, the eyes of them.
- En'dor**, fountain or eye of generation.
- Ene'as**, laudable; from *ἀνέω*, "I praise."
- En-eglain**, *En-eg-lay'-im*, the eye of the calves, of the chariots, of roundness.
- En-gedi**, *En-ge'-dy*, fountain of the goat, of happiness.
- En-mish'pat**, fountain of judgment.
- Enoch**, *Ee'-nok*, dedicated, disciplined, well regulated.
- Enon**, *Ee'-non*, cloud, his fountain.
- Enos**, *Ee'-nos*, fallen man, subject to all kind of evil.
- En-rogel**, *En-ro'-gel*, the fullers' fountain.
- En-shemesh**, *En-she'-mesh*, fountain of the sun.
- Epaphras**, *Ep'-pa-fras*, covered with foam.
- Epaphroditus**, *E-paf'-ro-dy'-tus*, agreeable, handsome.
- Epenetus**, *E-pe-nee'-tus*, laudable, worthy of praise.
- Ephah**, *Ee'-fah*, weary, to fly as a bird.
- Ephes-dammim**, *E'-fez-dam'-mim*, the effusion or drop of blood.
- Ephesians**, *E-fee'-se-ans*, the people of Ephesus.
- Ephesus**, *Ef'-fe-sus*, desirable; chief city of Asia Minor.
- Ephphatha**, *Ef'-fa-tha*, be opened.
- Ephraim**, *Ee'-fra-im*, that brings forth fruit or grows.
- E'phraimite**, a descendant of Ephraim.
- Ephratah**, *Ef'-ray-tah*, abundance, bearing fruit.
- Ephrath**, *Ef'-rath*. See Ephratah.
- Ephrathite**, *Ef'-rath-ite*, an inhabitant of Ephratah, or a descendant from Ephraim.
- Ephron**, *Ef'-ron*, dust.
- Epicureans**, *Ep-e-kew-re'-ans*, who gives assistance; from the Greek *ἑπικουρέα*, I help.
- Er**, watch, enemy.
- Eras'tus**, lovely, amiable.
- E'rech**, length, health.
- Esaias**, *E-zay'-e-as*. See Isaiah.
- Esar-haddon**, *E'-sar-had'-don*, that binds, joy, or closes the point.
- E'sau**, he that does or finishes.
- E'sek**, contention.
- Esh-ba'al**, the fire of the idol.
- Esh'col**, a bunch of grapes.
- Eshtaol**, *Esh'-ta-ol*, stout, strong woman.
- Eshtemoa**, *Esh-te-mo'-a*, which is heard, the bosom of a woman.
- Es'li**, near me, he that separates.
- Es'rom**, the dart of joy, division of the song.
- Esther**, *Ess'-ter*, secret, hidden.
- E'tam**, their bird or covering.
- E'tham**, their strength or sign.
- E'than**, strong, the gift of the island.
- Ethanim**, *Eth'-an-im*, strong, valiant.
- Ethbaal**, *Eth-bay'-al*, toward the idol, he that rules.
- Ethiopia**, *Ee-the-o'-pe-a*, in Hebrew, Cush, blackness; in Greek it signifies heat, from *ἄθος*, I burn, and *ὄψις*, face.
- Ethiopians**, *Ee-the-o'-pe-ans*, Africans.
- Eubulus**, *Yew'-bu-bus*, a prudent counsellor.
- Eunice**, *Yew-ny'-se*, good victory.
- Euodias**, *Yew-o'-de-as*, sweet scent.
- Euphrates**, *Yew-fray'-tes*, that makes fruitful.
- Euroc'lydon**, the north-east wind.
- Eutyclus**, *Yew'-te-kus*, happy, fortunate.
- Eve**, living, enlivening.
- Evil-merodach**, *Ee'-vil-me-ro'-dak*, or *mer'-o-dak*, the fool of Merodach, despising the bitterness of the fool.
- Ezekiel**, *E-zee'-ke-el*, the strength of God.
- Ezion-Geber**, *E'-ze-on-ge'-ber*, the wood of the man, counsel of the man, of the strong.

E'zel, going abroad, distillation.
Ezra, a helper.

Fe'lix, happy, prosperous.
Fes'tus, festival, joyful.
Fortuna'tus, happy, prosperous.

Gaal, *Gay'-al*, contempt, abomination.
Gaash, *Gay'-ash*, tempest, overthrow.
Gabbatha, *Gab'-ba-itha*, high, elevated.
 In Greek, *lithostrotos*, paved with stones.

Ga'briel, God is my strength.
Gad, a band, happy, armed and prepared.
Gadarenes, *Gad-a-ree'ns*, surrounded, walled.

Gad'di, my happiness, my troop, a kid.
Gad'diel, *Gad'-de-el*, goat of God, the Lord is my army.

Gadites, *Gad'-dites*, descendants of Gad.
Gaius, *Gay'-e-us*, lord, an earthly man.
Galatia, *Gal-ay'-she-a*, white, of the color of milk.

Galatians, *Gal-ay'-she-ans*, born in Galatia.
Gal'banum, a sum, sweet spice.
Galeed, *Gal'-e-ed*, the heap of witness.
Galilee, *Gal'-le-lee*, wheel, revolution, heap.
Galileans, *Gal-le-lee'-ans*, inhabitants of Galilee.

Gallim, who heap up, cover, roll.
Gal'lio, he that sucks or lives upon milk.
Gama'liel, recompense, camel, weaned of God.

Gam'madims, soldiers placed in the towers of Tyrus; men who came from Gammade, a town of Phœnicia.

Ga'tam, their lowing, their touch.
Gath, a press.

Gath-rim'mon, the press of the granite, exalted press.

Ga'za, strong, a goat.

Ge'ba, a hill, a cup.

Ge'bal, bound, limit.

Ge'bim, grasshoppers, height.

Gedaliah, *Ged-a-ly'-ah*, God is my greatness, fringe of the Lord.

Gehazi, *Ge-hay'-zye*, valley of sight, of the breast.

Gemari'ah, accomplishment of the Lord.

Gennesaret, *Gen-ness'-a-ret*, or *Jen-ness'-a-ret*, the garden or protection of the prince.

Genubath, *Gen'-u-bath*, theft, garden or protection of the daughter.

Ge'ra, pilgrimage, dispute.

Ge'rah, the twentieth part of a shekel.

Ge'rar. See Gera.

Gergesenes, *Ger'-ge-seens*, those who come from pilgrimage or from fight.

Gerizim, *Ger'-re-zim*, cutters.

Ger'shom, a stranger there, a traveller of reputation.

Ger'shon, his banishment, the change of pilgrimage.

Ge'shur, the site of the valley, the vale of the ox or the wall.

Geshurites, *Gesh'-u-rytes*, inhabitants of Geshur.

Ge'ther, the vale of trial, of searching, the press of inquiry.

Gethsemane, *Geth-sem'-a-ne*, a very fat valley.

Giah, *Gy'-ah*, to guide, draw out, a sigh.

Gibeah, *Gib'-e-ah*, a hill.

Gib'eon, hill, a cup, that which is without.

Gib'eonites, people of Gibeon.

Gid'eon, he that bruises, cutting off iniquity.

Gihon, *Gy'-hon*, valley of grace, impetuous.

Gilboah, *Gil'-bo-ah*, revolution of inquiry.

Gilead, *Gil'-le-ad*, the mass of testimony.

Gileadites, *Gil'-le-ad-ites*, the inhabitants of Gilead.

Gil'gal, wheel, revolution, heap.

Giloh, *Gy'-loh*, he that rejoices, overturns, or discovers.

Gilonite, *Gy'-lo-nite*.

Girgashite, *Gir'-ga-shite*, who arrives from pilgrimage.

Gittite, *Gil'-tite*, a wine-press.

Gob, cistern, grasshopper, eminence.

Gog, roof, covering.

Go'lan, passage, revolution.

Gol'gotha, a heap of skulls.

Goli'ath, revolution, discovery, heap.

Go'mer, to finish, accomplish, a consumer.

Gomor'rah, a rebellious people.

Go'shen, approaching, drawing near.

Go'zan, fleece, pasture, nourishing the body.

Grecia, *Gree'-she-a*, Greece, the country of the Greeks.

Grecians, *Gree'-she-ans*, Greeks, the inhabitants of Greece.

Gur, the young of a beast, dwelling, fear.

Gurba'al, the whelp of the governor.

Habakkuk, *Hab'-a-kuk*, he that embraces, a wrestler.

Hachaliah, *Hak-a-ly'-ah*, who waits for the Lord.

Hachilah, *Hak'-e-lah*, my trust is in her.

Ha'dad, joy, noise.

Hadadezer, *Hay'-dad-ee'-zer*, the beauty of assistance.

Hadad-rimmon, *Hay'-dad-rim'-mon*, the voice of height, the invocation of Rimmon, a god of the Syrians.

Hadas'sah, a myrtle, joy.

Hado'ram, their beauty, power, praise.

Hadrach, *Hay'-drach*, point, joy of tenderness, your chamber.

Ha'gar, a stranger, that fears.

Hagarenes, *Hay'-gar-eens*, of the family of Hagar.

Hagarites, *Hay'-gar-ites*. See Hagarenes.

Haggal, *Hag'-ga-i*, feast, solemnity.

Hag'gith, rejoicing.

Hak'katan, little.

Halleluiah, *Hal-le-lu'-yah*, praise the Lord.

Ham, hot, brown.

- Ha'man**, noise, tumult, he that prepares.
Ha'math, anger, heat, a wall.
Hammedatha, *Ham-med'-a-thah*, or *Ham-me-day'-thah*, he that troubles the law.
Ha'mon-gog, the multitude of Gog.
Ha'mor, an ass, clay, wine.
Ha'mul, godly, merciful.
Hamu'tal, the shadow of his heat, the heat of the dew.
Hanameel, *Han-am'-e-el*, or *Han-am-ee'-el*, grace or pity from God.
Hananeel, *Han-an-ee'-el*, mercy of God.
Hanani, *Han-ay'-ny*, my grace or mercy.
Hanani'ah, grace or mercy of the Lord.
Han'nah, gracious, merciful, taking rest.
Ha'noch, dedicated.
Ha'nun, gracious, merciful, he that rests.
Ha'ran, mountainous country, which is enclosed.
Harbo'nah, his destruction or dryness.
Har'rod, astonishment, fear.
Harosheth, *Har'-o-sheth*, agriculture, silence, vessel of earth, forest.
Hashmo'nah, diligence, enumeration, embassy, present.
Ha'tach, he that strikes.
Havilah, *Hav'-e-lah*, that suffers pain, brings forth, declares to her.
Havoth-jair, *Hav'-voth-jay'-ir*, villages that enlighten.
Hazael, *Haz'-a-el*, that sees God.
Hazarmaveth, *Hav'-zar-mav'-veth*, court or dwelling of death.
Hazeleponi, *Hav'-zel-el-po'-ny*, shade, sorrow of the face.
Hazeroth, *Haz'-e-roth*, villages, court.
Ha'zor, court, hay.
He'ber, one that passes, anger.
He'brews, descended from Heber.
He'bron, society, friendship, enchantment.
Hegai, or **Hege**, *Heg'-a-i*, meditation, word, separation.
He'lam, their army, trouble, or expectation.
Hel'bon, milk, fatness.
Heldai, *Hel'-da-i*, or *Hel-day'-i*, the world.
He'li, ascending, climbing up.
Hel'kath-haz'urim, the field of strong men, of rocks.
He'man, their trouble, their tumult, much.
Hen, grace, quiet.
Hepher, *He'-fer*, a digger or delver.
Hephzi-bah, *He'-ze-bah*, my pleasure.
Her'mes, Mercury, gain, refuge.
Hermogenes, *Her-moj'-e-nes*, begotten of Mercury, of lucre.
Her'mon, anathema, destruction.
Her'monites, the inhabitants of Hermon.
Herod, *Her'-rod*, the glory of the skin.
Herodians, *He-ro'-de-ans*.
Her'o'dias, the wife of Herod.
Herodion, *He-ro'-de-on*, song of Juno.
Hesh'bon, invention, industry, thought, he that hastens to understand.
Heth, trembling, fear.
- Heth'lon**, fearful dwelling, his covering.
Hezeki'ah, strong in the Lord.
Hez'ron, the dart of joy, division of the song.
Hiddai, *Hid'-da-i*, praise, cry.
Hiddekel, *Hid'-de-ke-l*, a sharp voice.
Hi'el, the life of God.
Hierapolis, *Hy-er-ap'-po-lis*, holy city.
Higgaion, *Hig-gay'-e-on*, meditation.
Hilki'ah, God is my portion, the Lord's gentleness.
Hil'lél, praising folly, Lucifer.
Hin'nom, there they are, their riches.
Hi'ram, exaltation of life, their whiteness, he that destroys.
Hit'tites, who are broken or fear.
Hi'vites, wicked, bad, wickedness.
Ho'bab, favored and beloved.
Ho'bah, love, friendship, secrecy.
Hog'lah, his festival, his dance.
Hophni, *Hoff'-ni*, he that covers, my fist.
Hor, who conceives, shows.
Ho'reb, desert, destruction, dryness.
Hor-hagidgad, *Hor-ha-gidd'-gad*, hill of felicity.
Hor'mah, devoted to God, destruction.
Horonaim, *Hor-o-nay'-im*, anger, raging.
Horonite, *Hor'-o-nyte*, anger, fury, liberty.
Hosea, and **Hoshea**, *Ho-zee'-a*, and *Ho-shee'-a*, Saviour.
Hosai, infirmity, bringing forth children.
Hul'dah, the world, a prophetess.
Hur, liberty, whiteness, cavern.
Hushai, *Hew'-sha-i*, their hate, sensuality, or silence.
Huz'zab, molten.
Hymeneus, *Hy-men-ee'-us*, nuptial, marriage.
- Ib'har**, election, he that is chosen.
Ichabod, *Ik'-a-bod*, where is the glory?
Iconium, *I-ko'-ne-um*, from *ikw*, "I come."
Id'do, his hand, power, praise, witness.
Idumea, *Id-cw-mee'-a*, red, earthy.
Igdali'a, the greatness of the Lord.
I'jon, look, eye, fountain.
Illyricum, *Il-lir'-re-kum*, joy, rejoicing.
Im'lah, plenitude, repletion, circumcision.
Imman'uel, a name given to our Lord Jesus Christ, signifying, God with us.
Im'rah, a rebel, changing.
India, *In'-de-a*, praise, law.
Iphedeah, *If-fe-dy'-ah*, or *If-fe-dee'-ah*, the redemption of the Lord.
I'ra, city, watch, spoil, heap of vision.
I'rad, wild ass, heap of descents, of empire.
Irijah, *I-ry'-jah*, the fear, vision, or protection of the Lord.
Isaac, *I'-zak*, laughter.
Isaiah, *I-zay'-e-ah*, or *I-zay'-yah*, the salvation of the Lord.
Is'cah, *Is'-bah*, he that anoints, or covers.
Is'cariot, *Is-kar'-re-ot*, is thought to signify a native of the town of Iscariot.

Ish'bak, empty, forsaken, abandoned.
Ishbi-benob, *Ish'-by-bee'-nob*, he that sits in the prophecy, conversion.
Ish-bosheth, *Ish'-bo-sheth*, a man of shame.
Ishmael, *Ish'-ma-el*, God who hears.
Ishmaelites, *Ish'-ma-el-ites*, the posterity of Ishmael.
Israel, *Is'-ra-el*, a prince with God, pre-
 vailing with God, that wrestleth with
 God.
Israelites, *Is'-ra-el-ites*, the posterity of
 Israel or Jacob.
Issachar, *Is'-sa-kar*, price, reward.
Italian, *I-tal'-e-an*, belonging to Italy.
Italy, *I'-ta-le*, a Latin word that has its
 original from *vitulus*, or *vitula*, "a calf," or
 from a king called *Italus*.
Ith'amar, island of the palm-tree, woe to
 the palm or change.
Ithiel, *Ith'-e-el*, God with me, sign.
Ithream, *Ith'-re-am*, excellence of the peo-
 ple.
Iturea, *It-u-ree'-a*, which is guarded, a
 country of mountains.
I'vah, iniquity.
Jaalam, *Ja-ay'-lam*, hidden, young man,
 kids.
Jaazania, *Ja-az-a-ny'-ah*, whom the Lord
 will hear, the balances, the arms.
Ja'bal, which glides away, produces.
Jab'bok, evacuation, dissipation.
Ja'bish, dryness, confusion, shame.
Jabesh-Gilead, *Jay'-bish-gil'-e-ad*.
Ja'bez, sorrow, trouble.
Ja'bin, he that understands, he that builds.
Jabneel, *Jab'-ne-el*, building, or under-
 standing of God.
Jachin, *Jay'-kin*, that strengthens.
Ja'cob, he that supplants, the heel.
Ja'el, he that ascends, a kid.
Jah, the everlasting God.
Ja'haz, dispute, going out of the Lord.
Jahaza, *Ja-hay'-za*, the same as Jahaz.
Jair, *Jay'-er*, my light, who diffuses light.
Jairus, *Jay'-e-rus*, or *Ja-i'-rus*, is en-
 lightened.
Jam'bres, the sea with poverty.
James. The same as Jacob.
Jan'na, who speaks, who answers, affliction.
Jannes, *Jan'-nez*. The same as Janna.
Japheth, *Jay'-feth*, persuades, handsome.
Japhia, *Ja-fy'-ah*, which enlightens, groans.
Ja'reb, a revenger.
Ja'red, he that descends or commands.
Ja'sher, righteous.
Ja'son, he that cures, that gives medicines.
Ja'van, that deceives, clay.
Ja'zer, assistance, he that helps.
Je'bus, treads under foot, contemns.
Jeb'usites, inhabitants of Jebus.
Jeconiah, preparation or steadfastness of
 the Lord.
Jeddi'el, the knowledge or joy of God.

Jedidah, *Jed-dy'-dah*, well-beloved,
 amiable.
Jedidiah, *Jed-e-dy'-ah*, beloved of the Lord.
Jeduthun, *Jed-ew'-thun*, or *Jed'-ew-thun*,
 his law, who gives praise.
Jegar-sahadutha, *Je'-gar-say'ha-dew'-tha*,
 the heap of witnessing.
Jehoahaz, *Je-ho-ay'-haz*, the prize or pos-
 session of the Lord.
Jeho'ash, the fire or victim of the Lord.
Jehoiachin, *Je-hoy'-a-kin*, preparation or
 strength of the Lord.
Jehoiada, *Je-hoy'-a-dah*, knowledge of the
 Lord.
Jehoiakim, *Je-hoy'-a-kin*, the resurrection
 of the Lord.
Jehon'adab. See Jonadab.
Jeho'ram, exaltation, rejected of the Lord.
Jehosh'aphat, God judges.
Jeho'vah, the incommunicable name of
 God, self-existing.
Jehovah-jireh, *Je-ho'-vah-jy'-reh*, the Lord
 will see or provide, will be manifested.
Jeho'vah-nis'si, the Lord my banner.
Jehovah-shalom, *Je-ho'-vah-shay'-lom*, or
shal'-lom, the Lord send peace.
Jeho'vah-sham'mah, the Lord is there.
Jeho'vah-tsid'kenu, the Lord our right-
 eousness.
Jehu, *Je'-hew*, he that is or exists.
Jehudijah, *Je-hew-di'-jah*, praise of the
 Lord.
Jemi'ma, handsome as the day.
Jephthah, *Jef'-thah*, he that opens.
Jephunneh, *Je-fun'-neh*, he that beholds.
Je'rah, the moon, to scent or smell.
Jerahmeel, *Je-ram'-me-el*, mercy or love of
 God.
Jeremi'ah, grandeur of the Lord.
Jericho, *Jer-re'-ko*, his moon, sweet smell.
Jer'imoth, eminences, he that fears or re-
 jects death.
Jerobo'am, fighting against, increasing the
 people.
Jerubbaal, *Jer-ub-bay'-al*, he that revenges
 the idol, let Baal defend his cause.
Jerubbesheth, *Je-rub'-be-sheth*, let the idol
 of confusion defend itself.
Jeru'salem, the vision or possession of
 peace.
Jeru'sha, he that possesses the inheritance,
 exiled.
Jeshimon, *Jesh'-e-mon*, solitude, desolation.
Jeshua, *Jesh'-u-a*, a savior.
Jeshurun, *Jesh-ew'-run*, upright.
Jes'se, to be, my present.
Jesui, *Jes'-u-i*, who is equal, flat country.
Jesuites, *Jes'-u-ites*, the posterity of Jesui.
Je'sus, the holy name Jesus, Saviour, who
 saveth his people from their sins.
Je'ther, he that excels, remains, searches.
Jeth'ro, his excellence or posterity.
Je'tur, he that keeps, succession, mountain-
 ous.

Je'ush, devoured, gnawed by the moth.
Jew, Jews, so called from Judah.
Jew'ess, Jew'ish, Jew'ry.
Jez'ebel, island of the habitation, woe to the habitation, isle of the dunghill.
Jezrahiah, Jez-ra-hy'-ah, the Lord is the east, the Lord arises.
Jezeel, Jez'-re-el, or Jez-ree'-el, seed of God, dropping of the friendship of God.
Jezeelite, Jez'-re-el-ite, or Jez-ree'-el-ite, an inhabitant of Jezeel.
Jidlah, Jid'-laf, he that distills, hands joined.
Jo'ab, paternity, having a father, voluntary.
Jo'ah, who has a brother, brother of the Lord.
Joan'na, the grace or mercy of the Lord.
Jo'ash, who despairs, burns, is on fire.
Job, he that weeps, cries, or speaks out of a hollow place.
Jochebed, Jok'-ke-bed, glorious, honorable, a person of merit, the glory of the Lord.
Jo'el, that wills, commands, or swears.
Joezer, Jo-ee'-zer, he that aids.
Jo'ha, who enlivens and gives life.
Joha'nan, who is liberal and grants favor.
John, the gift or mercy of the Lord.
Jok'shan, hard, difficult, scandalous.
Jok'tan, small, disgust, weariness, dispute.
Jon'adab, who acts in good earnest.
Jo'nah, or Jonas, a dove, he that oppresses.
Jon'athan, given of God.
Jop'pa, beauty, comeliness.
Jo'ram, to cast, elevated.
Jor'dan, the river of judgment, that rejects judgment, descent.
Jo'rim, he that exalts the Lord.
Jo'se, raised, who exists, or pardons, savior.
Joseph, Jo'-sef, increase, addition.
Joses, Jo'-sez. See Jose.
Josh'ua, the Lord, the Saviour.
Josi'ah, the fire of the Lord.
Jo'tham, perfection of the Lord.
Jubal, Jew'-bal, he that runs, he that produces, a trumpet.
Jubilee, Jew'-be-lee, a feast of the Jews, every fiftieth year; in Hebrew, *Jobel*, a ram's horn, or a trumpet by which the jubilee year was proclaimed.
Ju'dah, the praise of the Lord.
Ju'das. The same as Judah.
Judea, Jew'-dee'-a, a country.
Ju'lia, downy; from *λυδος*, "down."
Ju'liaus. The same as Julia.
Ju'nia, from *Juno*, or from *juventus*, youth.
Jupiter, Jew'-pe-ter, as if it were *juvans pater*, the father that helpeth.
Jus'tus, just, upright.
Kabzeel, Kab'-ze-el the congregation of God.
Ka'desh, holiness.

Kadesh-barnea, Kay'-desh-bar'-ne-a, or bar-nee'-ah, holiness of an inconstant son, of the corn, of purity.
Kad'miel, God of rising.
Ke'dar, blackness, sorrow.
Kedemah, Ked'-de-mah, oriental.
Kedemoth, Ked'-de-moth, old age, orientals.
Keilah, Ky'-lah, she that divides or cuts.
Kemuel, Ken'-u-el, God is risen.
Ke'naz, this nest, lamentation, possession.
Ke'nites, possession, lamentation, nest.
Keren-happuch, Kee'-ren-hap'-puk, the horn or child of beauty.
Kerioth, Ker'-e-oth, the cities, the callings.
Keturah, Ke-tew'-rah, he that burns or makes the incense to fume, odoriferous.
Keziah, Ke-zy'-ah, superfluous, angle, cassia.
Ke'ziz, end, extremity.
Kibroth-hattaavah, Kib'-roth-hat-tay'-a-vah, the graves of lust.
Kid'ron, obscurity, obscure.
Kir, a city, a wall, a meeting.
Kir-haraseth, Kir-har'-ra-seth, the city of the sun.
Kiriathaim, Kir'-e-eth-ay'-im, the two cities, the callings.
Kir'jath, city, vocation, lesson, meeting.
Kir'jath-ar'ba, the city of four.
Kir'jath-a'rim, city of cities, the city of those that watch.
Kir'jath-ba'al, the city of Baal, of those that command, of those that possess.
Kirjath yearim, Kir'-jath-je'-a-rim, the city of woods.
Kir'jath-san'nah, the city of the bush, of enmity.
Kirjath-sepher, Kir'-jath-see'-fer, the city of letters, of the book.
Kish, hard, difficult, straw.
Kis'ron, making sweet, perfuming.
Kit'tim, they that bruise, gold, coloring.
Ko'hath, congregation, obedience, to make blunt.
Kohathites, Ko'-hath-ites, the posterity of Kohath.
Ko'rah, bald, frozen.
La'ban, white, shining, gentle.
Lachish, Lay'-kish, she walks, who exists of himself.
La'el, to God, to the Almighty.
Lah'mi, my bread, my war.
La'ish, a lion.
La'mech, poor, made low, who is struck.
Laodicea, Lay'-o-de-see'-a, just people.
Laodiceans, Lay'-o-de-see'-ans, inhabitants of Laodicea.
Lapidoth, Lap'-pe-doth, enlightened, lamps.
Lazarus, Laz'-za-rus, the help of God.
Le'ah, weary, tired.
Leb'anon, white, incense.
Lebbeus, Leb-bee'-us, a man of heart.

Lehabim, *Le'-ha-bim*, or *Le-hay'-bim*, flames, the points of a sword.
Le'hi, jaw bone.
Lem'uel, God with them.
Le'vi, who is held and associated.
Le'vites, the posterity of Levi.
Lib'nah, **Lib'ni**, white, whiteness.
Libya, *Lib'-e-a* in Hebrew, *Lubim*, the heart of the sea.
Libyans, *Lib'-e-ans*, the people of Libya.
Li'nus, nets.
Lo-am'mi, not my people.
Lo'is, better.
Lo-ruhamah, *Lo-ru-hay'-mah*, not having obtained mercy, not pitied.
Lot, wrapt up, myrrh, rosin.
Lu'cas, luminous.
Lucifer, *Lu'-se-fer*, bringing light.
Lucius, *Lu'-she-us*. See *Lucas*.
Lud, maturity, generation.
Luke. See *Lucas*.
Luz, separation, departure.
Lycæonia, *Ly-ka-o'-ne-a*, she-wolf.
Ly'da, the name of a city.
Lysa'nias, that drives away sorrow.
Lys'tra, that dissolves or disperses.

Maachah, *May'-a-kah*, to squeeze.
Maaseiah, *Ma-a-sy'-ah*, the work of the Lord.
Macedonia, *Mas-se-do'-ne-a*, adoration, prostration.
Machir, *May'-kir*, he that sells or knows.
Machpelah, *Mak-pee'-lah*, double.
Magdala, *Mag'-da-lah*, tower, greatness.
Magdalene, *Mag'-da-le'-ne*, tower, grand, elevated.
Ma'gog, roof, that dissolves.
Magor-missabib, *May'-gor-mis'-sa-bib*, fear, round about.
Mahalaleel, *Ma-ha-la-lee'-el*, he that praises God.
Mahalath, *Ma-hay'-lath*, melodious song, infirmity.
Mahanaim, *Ma-ha-nay'-im*, the two fields or armies.
Maher-shalal-hash-baz, *May'-er-shal'-al-hash'-baz*, making speed to the spoil.
Mah'lah. The same as *Mahalath*.
Mah'lon, song, infirmity.
Makkedah, *Mak'-ke-dah*, adoration, prostration.
Malcham, *Mal'-kam*, their king.
Malchi-shua, *Mal'-ke-shew'-ah*, my king is a savior.
Malchus, *Mal'-kus*, king or kingdom.
Mam'mon, riches.
Mam're, rebellious, bitter, that changes.
Manaen, *Man'-a-en*, or *Ma-nay'-en*, a comforter, he that conducts them.
Manas'seh, forgetfulness, he that is forgotten.
Maneh, *May'-neh*, a species of money.
Manoah, *Ma-no'-ah*, rest, a present.

Ma'on, house, crime.
Ma'ra, bitterness.
Ma'rah. The same as *Mara*.
Mar'cus, polite, shining.
Mark. The same as *Marcus*.
Mars-hill', the place where the judges of Athens held their supreme council.
Mar'tha, who becomes bitter.
Ma'ry, exalted, bitterness of the sea, mistress of the sea.
Masrekah, *Mas'-re-kah*, whistling, hissing.
Mas'sah, temptation.
Ma'tri, rain, prison.
Mat'tan, the reins, the death of them.
Mattathias, *Mat-ta-thy'-as*, the gift of the Lord.
Mat'that, gift, he that gives.
Matth'ew, given, a reward.
Matthias, *Ma-thy'-as*. See *Mattathias*.
Maz'zaroath, the twelve signs.
Me'dad, he that measures, the water of love.
Me'dan, judgment, process, measure, covering.
Medes, *Mee'ds*, people of Media.
Media, *Mee'-de-a*, measure, covering, abundance.
Megiddo, *Me-gid'-do*, that declares, his precious fruit.
Megiddon, *Me-gid'-don*. The same as *Megiddo*.
Mehetabel, *Me-het'-ta-ble*, how good is God!
Mehujael, *Me-hu-ja'-el*, who proclaims God, God that blots out.
Melchi, *Mel'-ky*, my king, my counsel.
Melchizedek, *Mel-kiz'-ze-dek*, king of righteousness.
Melita, *Me-ly'-ta*, or *Me-lee'-ta*, affording honey.
Memphis, *Mem'-fis*, by the mouth.
Memucan, *Me-mew'-kan*, impoverished, to prepare, certain, true.
Menahem, *Men'-na-hem*, comforter, who conducts them.
Mene, *Mee'-ne*, who reckons, who is counted.
Mephibosheth, *Me-fib'-bo-sheth*, out of my mouth proceeds reproach.
Me'rab, he that fights, he that multiplies.
Merari, *Me-ray'-ry*, bitter, to provoke.
Mercu'rius, a false god; from the Latin word *mercari*, "to buy or sell," because he presided over merchandise; in Greek, *hermes*, "orator" or "interpreter."
Merib-baal, *Mer-ib'-ba-al*, or *Mer'-ib-bay'-al*, rebellion, he that resists Baal, and strives against the idol.
Meribah, *Mer'-re-bah*, dispute, quarrel.
Merodach, *Mer'-ro-dak*, bitter, contrition; in Syria, the little lord.
Merodach-baladan, *Mer'-ro-dak-bal'-la-dan*, or *ba-lay'-dan*, who creates contrition, the son of death, of thy vapor.

Me'rom, eminences, elevations.
Me'roz, secret, leanness.
Meshach, *Mee'-shak*, that draws with force, that surrounds the waters.
Meshech, *Mee'-shek*, who is drawn by force, shut up, surrounded.
Meshelemiah, *Mesh-el-e-my'-ah*, peace, perfection, retribution of the Lord.
Mesopotamia, *Mes-o-po-tay'-me-a*, in Hebrew, *Aramnaharaim*, that is, "Syria of the two rivers." In Greek it also signifies "between two rivers;" from *μέσος*, "middle," and *πόταμος*, "river."
Messiah, *Mes-sy'-ah*, anointed.
Me'theg-am'mah, the bride of bondage.
Methusael, *Me-thew'-sa-el*, who demands his death.
Methuselah, *Me-thew'-se-lah*, he has sent his death.
Mi'cah, poor, humble, who strikes, is there.
Micaiah, *My-kay'-e-ah*, who is like to God? the lowliness of God.
Michaiah, *My-kay'-e-ah*, **Michael**. *My'-ka-el*. The same as Micaiah.
Michal, *My'-kal*, who is it that has all? who is perfect?
Michmash, *Mik'-mash*, he that strikes, the poor taken away.
Midian, *Mid'-de-an*, judgment, measure, covering.
Midianites, *Mid'-de-an-ites*, people of Midian.
Mig'dol, a tower, greatness.
Mig'ron, fear, a barn, from the throat.
Mil'cab, queen.
Mil'com, their king.
Miletum, *My-lee'-tum*, red, scarlet.
Mil'lo, fulness, repletion.
Min'ni, disposed, reckoned.
Min'nith, counted, prepared.
Miriam, *Mir'-re-am*, exalted, bitterness of the sea, mistress of the sea.
Mis'gab, the high fort or rock.
Mishael, *Mish'-a-el*, asked for, lent, God takes away.
Misrephoth-maim, *Mis'-re-foth-may'-im*, the burnings of the waters, furnaces where metals are melted.
Mitylene, *Mit-e-lee'-ne*, purity, press.
Mi'zar, little.
Miz'pah, a sentinel, speculation, that waits for.
Miz'peh. The same as Mizpah.
Mizraim, *Miz-ray'-im*, tribulations, in straits.
Mnason, *Nay'-son*, a diligent seeker, betrothing, an exhorter.
Mo'ab, of the father.
Mo'abites, *Mo'-ab-ites*, the descendants of Moab.
Moladah, *Mol'-a-dah*, or *Mo-lay'-dah*, birth, generation.
Molech, *Mo'-lek*, king.

Moloch, *Mo'-lok*. The same as Molech.
Mordecai, *Mor'-de-kay*, contrition, bitter bruising; in Syriac, pure myrrh.
Mori'ah, bitterness or fear of the Lord.
Mosera, *Mo-see'-ra*, **Moseroth**, *Mo-see'-roth*, erudition, discipline, bond.
Mo'ses, taken out of the water.
Mu'shi, he that touches, withdraws himself.
My'ra, from *μύρω*, *I flow, pour out, weep*.
Mysia, *Mish'-e-a*, criminal, abominable.
Naaman, *Na-ay'-man*, beautiful, agreeable, that prepares himself to motion.
Naamathite, *Na-ay'-ma-thite*, of Naamath.
Naashon, *Na-ash'-on*, that foretells, serpent.
Na'bal, a fool, senseless.
Na'both, words, prophecies, fruits.
Na'dab, free and voluntary gift, prince.
Nagge, *Nag'-gee*, brightness.
Naharai, *Na-har'-ra-i*, or *Na-ha-ray'-i*, my nostrils, hoarse, hot.
Nahash, *Nay'-hash*, snake, one that foretells, brass.
Na'hor, hoarse, hot, angry.
Nahshon, *Nay'-shon*. See Naashon.
Na'hum, comforter, penitent, their guide.
Na'in, beauty, pleasantness.
Naioth, *Nay'-e-oth*, beauties, habitations.
Naomi, *Na'-o-my*, beautiful, agreeable.
Naphish, *Nay'-fish*, the soul, he that refreshes himself, that respire; in Syriac, that multiplies.
Naphtali, *Nay'-ta-ly*, comparison, likeness, that fights.
Narcissus, *Nar-sis'-sus*, astonishment.
Na'than, who gives, or is given.
Nathanael, *Na-than'-yel*, the gift of God.
Nathan-melech, *Nay'-than-me'-lek*, gift of the king.
Na'um. See Nahum.
Nazarene, *Naz-a-ree'-n*, kept, flower.
Nazareth, *Naz'-a-reth*, separated, sanctified.
Neapolis, *Ne-ap'-po-lis*, new city.
Nebaioth, *Ne-bay'-yoth*, prophecies, fruits.
Ne'bat, that beholds.
Ne'bo, that speaks, prophecies, or fructifies.
Nebuchadnezzar, *Neb-ew-kad-nez'-zar*, tears and groans of judgment.
Nebuzar-adan, *Neb-ew-zar'-ra-dan*, fruits or prophecies of judgment, winnowed, spread.
Necho, *Ne'-ko*, lame, who was beaten.
Nehelamite, *Ne-hel'-a-myte*, dreamer, vale, brook.
Nehemiah, *Ne-he-my'-ah*, consolation, repentance, or rest of the Lord.
Nehiloth, *Ne-hee'-loth*, flute, hautboy, cornet.
Nehushta, *Ne-hush'-tah*, snake, soothsayer.
Nehushtan, which is of brass or copper, a trifle of brass.

- Ner**, lamp, brightness, land new tilled.
Nereus, *Nee'-re-us*. See **Ner**.
Neri, *Nee'-ry*, my light.
Neri'ah, light and lamp of the Lord.
Nethaneel, *Ne-than'-ne-el*. See **Nathanael**.
Nethania, *Neth-a-ny'-ah*, the gift of the Lord.
Nethinims, *Neth'-e-nims*, given, offered.
Nib'haz, that fructifies, to prophesy, to speak.
Nicanor, *Ny-kay'-nor*, a conqueror, victorious.
Nicodemus, *Nik-o-dee'-mus*, innocent blood; in Greek, the victory of the people.
Nicolaitans, *Nik-o-lay'-e-tanz*, the followers of **Nicolas**.
Nicolas, *Nik'-o-las*, victor of the people; from νικᾶω, I overcome, and λαός, the people.
Nicopolis, *Ny-kop'-po-lis*, the city of victory.
Niger, *Ny'-jer*, black.
Nim'rim, leopard, rebellion, change.
Nim'rod, rebellious, sleep of descent.
Nim'shi, rescued from danger, that touches.
Nineveh, *Nin'-ne-veh*, agreeable dwelling.
Ninevites, *Nin'-ne-vites*, people of **Nineveh**.
Ni'san, banner; in Syriac, a miracle.
Nis'roch, flight, standard, proof.
No, a stirring up, a forbidding.
Noadi'ah, witness of the Lord.
No'ah, repose, rest, consolation.
Nob, discourse, prophecy.
No'bah, that barks or yelps.
Nod, vagabond.
Noph, *Noff*, honeycomb, a sieve, that drops.
Nun, son, posterity, durable.
Nymphas, *Nim'-fus*, spouse, bridegroom.
Obadi'ah, servant of the Lord.
O'bal, inconvenience of old age, of the flux.
O'bed, a servant.
O'bed-e'dom, the servant of **Edom**, the Idumean, laborer of the man.
O'bil, that weeps, deserves to be bewailed, ancient.
Oc'ran, disturber.
O'ded, to sustain, to lift up.
Og, a cake, bread baked in the ashes.
O'hel, tent, tabernacle, brightness.
Olympas, *O-lim'-pas*, heavenly.
O'mar, he that speaks, bitter.
Omega, *O-mee'-ga*, the last letter of the Greek alphabet.
Om'ri, a sheaf of corn, rebellion, bitter.
On, pain, force, iniquity.
O'nan, pain, strength, iniquity.
Onesimus, *O-nes'-se-mus*, profitable, useful.
Onesiphorus, *On-ne-sif'-fo-rus*, who brings profit.
Ophel, *O'-fel*, tower, obscurity.
Ophir, *O'-fir*, ashes.
Ophrah, *Off'-rah*, dust, fawn, lead.
O'reb, a raven, caution, evening.
Orion, *O-ry'-on*, the name of a constellation.
Or'nan, that rejoices, their bow or ark.
Or'pah, the neck, skull, nakedness of the mouth.
Oth'ni, my time, my hour.
Othniel, *Oth'-ne-el*, the hour of God.
O'zem, that fasts, their eagerness.
Ozias, *O-zy'-as*, strength from the Lord.
Paarai, *Pay'-a-ray*, or *Pay-a'-ry*, opening.
Padan-aram, *Pay'-dan-ay'-ram*, *Padan*, of the field, and *Aram*, Syria.
Pagiel, *Pay'-je-el*, prevention or prayer of God.
Palestina, *Pal-es-ty'-na*, which is covered.
Pal'ti, deliverance, flight.
Pamphylia, *Pam-fil'-le-a*, a nation made up of every tribe; from πᾶς, all, and φυλή, a tribe.
Paphos, *Pay'-fos*, which boils, is very hot.
Pa'ran, beauty, glory, ornament.
Par'bar, a gate or building belonging to the temple.
Par'menas, that abides and is permanent.
Parosh, *Pay'-rosh*, a flea, fruit of the moth.
Parshandatha, *Par-shan'-da-tha*, revelation of corporeal impurities, of his trouble.
Parthians, *Par'-the-ans*, horsemen.
Paruah, *Pa-rew'-ah*, flourishing, that flies away.
Parva'im, supposed to be Peru or Ceylon.
Pash'ur, that extends the hole, whiteness.
Patara, *Pa-tay'-rah*, which is trodden under foot; from πατώ, I tread under foot.
Pathros, *Path'-ros*, or *Pay'-thros*, mouthful of dew.
Pat'mos, mortal.
Patrobas, *Pat'-ro-bas*, paternal, that pursues the steps of his father.
Pau, *Pay'-ew*, that cries aloud, appears.
Paul, **Paul'us**, a worker. His former name was **Saul**, a sepulchre, a destroyer.
Pedahzur, *Ped-ah'-zur*, savior, strong and powerful, stone of redemption.
Pedaiah, *Ped-ay'-e-ah*, redemption of the Lord.
Pe'kah, he that opens, or is at liberty.
Pekahiah, *Pek-a-hy'-ah*, it is the Lord that opens.
Pe'kod, noble, rulers.
Pelati'ah, let the Lord deliver.
Pe'leg, division.
Pelethites, *Pel'-eth-ites*, judges, destroyers.
Peniel, *Pe-ny'-el*, face or vision of God.
Penin'nah, precious stone, his face.
Penu'el. See **Peniel**.
Peor, *Pee'-or*, hold, opening.
Per'ga, very earthy.
Per'gamos, height, elevation.
Perizzites, *Per'-iz-zytes*, the name of a people who dwell in villages.
Per'sia, **Per'sis**, that cuts, nail, horseman.
Pe'ter, a rock, a stone.

- Pethu'el**, mouth or persuasion of God.
Phalec, *Fay'-lek*. See Peleg.
Phallu, *Fal'-lu*, admirable, hidden.
Phalti, *Fal'-ty*, deliverance, flight.
Phanuel, *Fa-new'-el*, face or vision of God.
Pharaoh, *Fay'-ro*, that disperses, that discovers; according to the Syriac, the revenger, the king, the crocodile.
Pharez, *Fay'-rez*, division, rupture.
Pharpar, *Far'-par*, that produces fruits, fall of the bull.
Phebe, *Fee'-be*, shining, pure.
Phenice, *Fee-my'-se*, red, purple.
Phichol, *Fy'-kol*, the mouth of all, perfection.
Philadelphia, *Fil-a-del'-fe-a*, the love of a brother; from *φιλία*, love, and *ἀδελφος*, a brother.
Philemon, *Fil-ee'-mon*, or *Fy-lee'-mon*, that is affectionate.
Philetus, *Fil-ee'-tus*, or *Fy-lee'-tus*, amiable, beloved.
Phil'ip, warlike, a lover of horses.
Philippi, *Fil-lip'-py*. The same as Philip.
Philistia, *Fil-lis'-te-a*, or *Fy-lis'-te-a*, the country of the Philistines.
Philistines, *Fil-lis'-tines*; or *Fil-lis'-tins*, those that dwell in villages.
Philologus, *Fil-lol'-lo-gus*, lover of learning.
Phinehas, *Fin'-ne-has*, a bold countenance.
Phlegon, *Fle'-gon*, zealous, burning.
Phrygia, *Frij'-e-a*, dry, barren.
Phurah, *Few'-rah*, that bears fruit, that grows.
Phygelus, *Fy-jel'-lus*, fugitive.
Pi-be'seth, the mouth of despite.
Pi-hahiroth, *Pi-ha-hy'-roth*, the mouth, the pass of Hiroth, the opening of liberty.
Pi'late, who is armed with a dart.
Pi'non, gem, that beholds.
Pirathon, *Pir'-a-thon*, his dissipation, deprivation; in Syriac, his vengeance.
Pis'gah, hill, eminence, fortress.
Pisidia, *Py-sid'-e-a*, pitch, pitchy.
Pi'son, changing, doubling, extended.
Pi'thom, their mouthful, bit, consummation.
Pi'thon, his mouth, his persuasion.
Pol'lux, a boxer.
Pontius, *Pon'-she-us*, marine, belonging to the sea.
Pon'tus, the sea; from *πόντος*.
Poratha, *Por'-a-tha*, fruitful.
Porcius, *Por'-she-us*.
Potiphar, *Pot'-te-far*, bull of Africa, fat bull.
Poti'pherah, *Pot-i'-fe-rah*, or *Pot-e-fee'-rah*, that scatters or demolishes the fat.
Prisca, *Pris'-kah*, ancient.
Priscilla, *Pris-sil'-lah*. The same as Prisca.
Prochorus, *Prok'-o-rus*, he that presides over the choirs.
Publius, *Pub'-le-us*, common.
- Pudens**, *Pew'-dens*, shamefaced.
Pul, bean, destruction.
Pu'non, precious stone, that beholds.
Pur, lot.
Puteoli, *Pew-tee'-o-ly*, a city in Campania.
Putiel, *Pew'-te-el*, God is my fatness.
- Quar'tus**, the fourth.
- Raamah**, *Ray'-a-mah*, or *Ra-ay'-mah*, greatness, thunder, evil, bruising.
Raamses, *Ra-am'-ses*. See Rameses.
Rab'bah, powerful, contentious.
Rab'-mag, who overthrows a multitude, chief of the magicians.
Rab'-saris, grand-master of the eunuchs.
Rab'-shakeh, cup-bearer of the prince, chamberlain.
Rachab, *Ray'-kab*, proud, strong, enlarged.
Rachal, *Ray'-kal*, injurious, perfumer.
Rachel, *Ray'-tshel*, a sheep.
Ragau, *Ray'-gaw*, a friend, a neighbor.
Raguel, *Rag'-ew-el*, shepherd or friend of God.
Ra'hab, proud, strong, quarrelsome.
Ra'hab, large, extended, public place.
Rak'kath, empty, spittle.
Rak'kon, vain, mountain of lamentations.
Ram, elevated, who rejects.
Ramah, *Ray'-mah*, the same as Ram.
Ramath, *Ray'-math*, raised, lofty.
Ramathaim-zophim, *Ra-math-ay'im-zo'-fim*. The same as Ramah.
Ra'math-le'hi, elevation of the jaw-bone.
Rameses, *Ram'-e-ses*, thunder, he that destroys evil.
Ramiah, *Ram-i'ah*, exaltation of the Lord.
Ra'moth, high places.
Rapha, *Ray'-fa*, relaxation, physic.
Raphael, *Ray-fay'-el*. See Rephael.
Raphu, *Ray'-few*, cured, comforted.
Re'ba, the fourth, a square, that stoops.
Rebek'ah, fat, quarrel appeased.
Rechab, *Re'-kab*, square, chariot, rider.
Rechabites, *Re'-kab-ites*, the posterity of Rechab.
Regem, *Re'-jem*, that stones, purple.
Regem-melech, *Re-jem'-mc-lek*, he that stones the king, the purple of the king.
Rehabi'ah, breadth, place of the Lord.
Re'hob, breadth, extent.
Rehobo'am, who sets the people at liberty, space of the people.
Reho'both, spaces, places.
Re'hum, compassionate, friendly.
Re'i, my shepherd, companion, my evil.
Remali'ah, the exaltation of the Lord.
Rem'mon, greatness, a pomegranate tree.
Remphan, *Rem'-fan*, the name of an idol, which some think to be Saturn.
Rephael, *Re'-fa-el*, the medicine of God.
Rephaim, *Rephaims*, *Re-fay'-im*, giant, physician, relaxed.
Rephidim, *Ref'-e-dim*, beds, places of rest.

Resin, *Ree'-sen*, a bridle or bit.
Reu, *Ree'-ew*, his friend, his shepherd.
Reuben, *Rew'-ben*, who sees the son, vision of the son.
Reu'benites, the posterity of Reuben.
Reuel, *Re-yew'-el*, shepherd or friend of God.
Reumah, *Re-yew'-mah*, lofty, sublime.
Rezeph, *Ree'-zef*, a pavement, burning coal.
Re'zin, voluntary, runner.
Re'zon, lean, secret, prince.
Rhegium, *Ree'-je-un*, rupture, fracture.
Rhesa, *Ree'-sah*, will, course.
Rhoda, *Ro'-dah*, a rose.
Rhodes, *Ro'des*. The same as Rhoda.
Rib'lah, quarrel that increases or spreads.
Rim'mon, exalted, pomegranate.
Riphath, *Ry'-fath*, remedy, release.
Ris'sah, watering, distillation, dew.
Riz'pah, bed, extension, coal.
Rogel, *Ro'-jel*, a foot; in Syriac, custom.
Romanti-ezer, *Ro-mam-te-ee'-zer*, exultation of help.
Ro'man, strong, powerful.
Rome, strength, power; from *ῥωμη*.
Rosh, the head, the beginning.
Ru'fus, red.
Ruhamah, *Ru-hay'-mah*, having obtained mercy.
Ru'mah, exalted, rejected.
Ruth, filled, satisfied.

Sabe'ans, captivity, conversion, old age.
Sabtecha, *Sab'-te-kah*, that surrounds.
Sa'doc, just, justified.
Sa'lah, mission, dart; according to the Syriac, that spoils.
Salamis, *Sal'-la-mis*, shaken, tossed, beaten.
Salathiel, *Sal-ay'-the-el*, I have asked of God.
Sa'lem, complete, peace.
Sa'lim. See Shalim.
Sal'mon, peaceable, perfect, that rewards.
Salmon, *Sal-mo'-ne*, peaceable.
Salome, *Sa-lo'-me*. See Salmon.
Samaria, *Sa-may'-re-a*, his guard, prison, or diamond; in Hebrew, *Shomeron*.
Samar'itans, people of Samaria.
Sam'lah, raiment, his left hand, his name.
Sa'mos, full of gravel.
Samothracia, *Sam-o-thray'-she-a*, an island so called because it was peopled by Samians and Thracians.
Sam'son, his sun; according to the Syriac, his service, here the second time.
Sam'uel, heard or asked of God.
Sanbal'lat, bush or enemy in secret.
Saph, *Saff*, rushes, end, threshold.
Saphir, *Saf'-fir* or *Say'-fir*, a city.
Sapphira, *Saf-fy'-rah*, that tells, that writes books.
Sa'rah, lady princess of the multitude.
Sarai, *Say'-ray*, my lady, my princess.

Sar'dis, prince or song of joy, what remains; in Syriac, a pot or kettle.
Serep'ta, a goldsmith's shop, where metals used to be melted and tried.
Sar'gon, who takes away protection, who takes away the garden; according to the Syriac, net, snares.
Sa'ron. See Sharon.
Sarsechim, *Sar-see'-kim*, master of the wardrobe, of the perfumes.
Saruch, *Say'-ruk*, branch, layer, twining.
Sa'tan, contrary, adversary, an accuser.
Saul, demanded, sepulchre, destroyer.
Seva, *See'-vah*, disposed, prepared.
Scythian, *Sith'-e-an*, tanner, leather-dresser.
Se'ba, drunkard, that surrounds; according to the Syriac, old man.
Se'bat, twig, sceptre, tribe.
Se'cundus, the second.
Se'gub, fortified, raised.
Seir, *See'-er*, hairy, demon, tempest, barley.
Se'lah, a rock.
Seleucia, *Se-lew'-she-a*, beaten by waves, runs as a river.
Semei, *Sem'-me-i*, or *Se-mee'-i*, hearing, obeying.
Se'neh, bush.
Se'nir, a sleeping candle, a changing.
Sennacherib, *Sen-nak'-ke-rib*, bush of the destruction of the sword, of drought.
Sephar, *See'-far*, a book, scribe; in Syriac, a haven.
Sepharad, *See-fay'-rad*, a book, descending, ruling.
Sepharvaim, *Sef-ar-vay'-im*, two books, two scribes.
Se'rah, lady of scent, song, the morning.
Seraiah, *Se-ra-i'-ah*, or *Se-ray'-yah*, prince of the Lord.
Sergius, *Ser'-je-us*, a net.
Se'rug. See Saruch.
Seth, put, who puts.
Shaalbim, *Shay-alb'-im*, that beholds the heart.
Shaaraim, *Shay-a-ray'-im*, gates, valuation, hairs, barley, tempests, demons.
Shaashgaz, *Shay-ash'-gaz*, he that presses the fleece.
Shadrach, *Shay'-drak*, tender nipple, tender field.
Sha'lim, fox, fist, path.
Shalisha, *Shal'-e-shah*, three, the third, prince.
Shal'lecheth, a casting out.
Shal'lum, perfect, peaceable.
Shal'man, peaceable, perfect, that rewards.
Shalmanezer, *Shal-ma-nee'-zer*, peace tied, perfection and retribution.
Sham'gar, named a stranger, he is here a stranger, surprise of the stranger.
Sham'huth, desolation, astonishment.
Sham'ir, prison, bush, less.
Sham'mah, loss, desolation, astonishment.

- Shammuah**, *Sham'-mew-ah*, that is heard or obeyed.
- Shaphan**, *Shay'-fan*, a rabbit, wild rat, their lip.
- Shaphat**, *Shay'-fat*, a judge.
- Sharai**, *Shar'-a-i*, or *Sha-ray'-i*, my lord, my song.
- Sharezer**, *Shar-ee'-zer*, overseer of the treasury.
- Sha'ron**, his plain, field, song.
- Sha'shak**, a bag of linen, the sixth bag.
- Sha'veh**, the plain, that makes equality.
- Shealtiel**, *She-al'-te-el*, I have asked of God.
- Sheariah**, *She-a-ry'-ah*, gate or tempest of the Lord.
- She'ar-ja'shub**, the remnant shall return.
- She'ba**, captivity, compassing about, repose, old age.
- Shebaniah**, *Sheb-a-ny'-ah*, the Lord that converts, that recalls from captivity, that understands.
- Sheb'na**, who rests himself, who is now captive.
- Shechem**, *Shee'-kem*, portion, the back, shoulders.
- Shedeur**, *Shee'-de-ur*, or *Shed'-e-ur*, field, destroyer of fire.
- She'lah**, that breaks, that undresses.
- Shelemiah**, *Shel-le-my'-ah*, God is my perfection, my happiness.
- Sheleph**, *Shee'-lef*, who draws out.
- Shel'omith**, my happiness, my recompense.
- Shelumiel**, *Shel-ew-my'-el*, happiness, retribution of God.
- Shem**, name, renown, he that places.
- Shemaiah**, *She-ma-i'-ah*, or *Shem-ay'-yah*, that obeys the Lord.
- Shemariah**, *Shem-a-ry'-ah*, God is my guard, diamond.
- Shemeber**, *Shem'-me-ber*, name of force, fame of the strong.
- Shemer**, *Shee'-mer*, guardian, thorn.
- Shemida**, *She-my'-dah*, name of knowledge, that puts knowledge, the science of the heavens.
- Sheminith**, *Shem'-me-nith*, the eighth.
- Shemiramoth**, *She-mir'-ra-moth*, the height of the heavens, the elevation of the name.
- Shen**, tooth, change, he that sleeps.
- Shenir**, *Shee'-nir*, lantern, light that sleeps, he that shows.
- Shephatiah**, *Shef-a-ty'-ah*, the Lord that judges.
- Sheshach**, *Shee'-shak*, bag of flax, the sixth bag.
- Sheshbazzar**, *Shesh-baz'-zar*, joy in tribulation, or of vintage.
- Sheth**. See Seth.
- Shether-boznai**, *Shee'-ther-boz'-na-i*, that makes to rot and corrupt.
- She'va**, vanity, elevation, fame, tumult.
- Shibboleth**, *Shib'-bo-leth*, burden, ear of corn.
- Shicron**, *Shy'-kron*, drunkenness, his wages.
- Shiggaion**, *Shig-gay'-yon*, a song of trouble.
- Shigionoth**, *Shig-gy'-on-oth*, mournful music.
- Shiloah**, *Shy-lo'-ah*. See Siloah.
- Shi'loh**, sent, the Apostle.
- Shi'loh**, peace, abundance.
- Shilonite**, *Shy'-lo-nyte*, of the city of Shiloh.
- Shimeah**, *Shim'-me-ah*, that hears, that obeys.
- Shimei**, *Shim'-me-i*, that hears, name of the heap, my reputation.
- Shimshai**, *Shim'-shay*, my sun.
- Shinar**, *Shy'-nar*, the watching of him that sleeps, change of the city.
- Shiphrah**, *Shif'-rah*, handsome, trumpet, that does good.
- Shi'shak**, present of the bag, of the pot, of the thigh.
- Shit'tim**, that turn away, scourges, rods.
- Sho'a**, tyrants.
- Sho'bab**, returned, turned back.
- Sho'bach**, your bonds, your nets, his captivity; according to the Syriac, a dove house.
- Shochoh**, *Sho'-koh*, defence, a bough.
- Shoshan'nim**, lilies of the testimony.
- Shu'ah**, pit, humiliation, meditation.
- Shu'al**, fox, hand, fist, traces, way.
- Shu'hite**, a descendant of Shuah.
- Shu'lamite**, peaceable, perfect, that recompenses.
- Shu'namite**, a native of Shunem.
- Shu'nem**, their change, their sleep.
- Shur**, wall, ox.
- Shu'shan**, lily, rose, joy.
- Shu'thelah**, plant, verdure, moist pot.
- Sib'mah**, conversion, captivity, old age, rest.
- Sicchem**, *Sy'-kem*. See Shechem.
- Si'don**, hunting, fishing, venison.
- Sigionoth**, *Sig-gy'-o-noth*, according to variable tunes.
- Si'hon**, rooting out, conclusion.
- Si'hor**, black, trouble, early in the morn.
- Si'las**, three, the third.
- Siloas**, *Sil'-o-as*, or *Sy-lo'-as*, **Siloam**, *Sil'-o-am*, or *Sy-lo'-am*, sent, dart, branch.
- Siloe**, *Sil'-o-e*, or *Sy-lo'-e*. The same as Siloas.
- Silva'nus**, one who loves the woods.
- Sim'eon**, that hears or obeys.
- Si'mon**, that hears or obeys.
- Sin**, bush.
- Sinai**, *Sy'-nay*, or *Sy'-nay-i*, bush; according to the Syriac, emnity.
- Si'nim**, the south country.
- Si'on**, noise, tumult.
- Si'rah**, turning aside, rebellion.
- Sirion**, *Sir'-re-on*, a breastplate, deliverance.
- Sisera**, *Sis'-se-rah*, that sees a horse or swallow.
- Si'van**, bush, thorn.
- Smyr'na**, myrrh.
- So**, a measure for grain or dry matters.

So'coh, tents, tabernacles.
 So'di, my secret.
 Sodom, *Sod'-dom*, their secret, their lime, their cement.
 Sodomites, *Sod'-dom-ites*, inhabitants of Sodom.
 Sol'omon, peaceable, perfect, one who recompenses.
 Sopater, *So-pay'-ter*, who defends or saves his father.
 So'rek, hissing, a color inclining to yellow.
 Sospater, *So-se-pay'-ter*. See Sopater.
 Sosthenes, *Sos'-the-nes*, a strong and powerful savior.
 Spain, rare, precious.
 Stachys, *Stay'-kis*, spike; from *στάχυς*.
 Stephanas, *Stef'-fa-nas*, a crown, crowned.
 Ste'phen. The same as Stephanas.
 Suc'coth, tents, tabernacles.
 Suc'coth-be'noth, the tabernacles of young women.
 Suk'kiims, covered, shadowed.
 Sur, that withdraws or departs.
 Susan'na, a lily, a rose, joy.
 Susi, *Su'-sy*, horse, swallow, moth.
 Sychar, *Sy'-kar*, the name of a city.
 Syene, *Sy-ee'-ne*, bush; according to the Syriac, enmity.
 Syntyche, *Sin'-te-ke*, that speaks or discourses.
 Syracuse, *Sir'-ra-keuse*, that draws violently.
 Syria, *Sir'-re-a*, in Hebrew, *Aram*, sublime, deceiving.
 Syriac, Syrian, *Sir'-re-ak*, *Sir'-re-an*, of Syria.
 Syrians, *Sir'-re-ans*, inhabitants of Syria.
 Syro-phenician, *Sy'-ro-fe-nish'-e-an*, purple, drawn to; from *σύρα*, *I draw*, and *φοίνιξ*, *red palm tree*.
 Taanach, *Tay'-a-nak*, or *Ta-ay'-nak*, who humbles or answers thee.
 Tab'bath, good, goodness.
 Tabeal, *Tay'-be-al*, or *Tab-ee'-al*, good God.
 Tabeel, *Tay'-be-el*, or *Tab-ee'-el*. The same as Tabeal.
 Taberah, *Tab'-e-rah*, or *Tab-ee'-rah*, burning.
 Tabitha, *Tab'-e-tha*, in Syriac, clear sighted; she is also called Dorcas, wild goat.
 Ta'bor, choice; in Syriac, contrition.
 Tabrimon, *Tab'-re-mon*, good pomegranate.
 Tad'mor, palm-tree, change.
 Tahapanes, *Ta-hap'-pa-nes*, secret temptation.
 Tahpenes, *Tah'-pe-nes*, standard, flight.
 Talitha-cumi, *Tal'-le-tha-keu'-my*, young woman, arise.
 Talmal, *Tal'-may*, my furrow, heap of waters.
 Tam'mar, a palm, palm-tree.
 Tam'muz, abstruse, concealed.
 Tanhumeth, *Tan-hew'-meth*, or *Tan'-hu-meth*, consolation, repentance.

Taphath, *Tay'-fath*, little girl.
 Tar'pelites, ravishers, wearied.
 Tar'shish, contemplation of the marble.
 Tar'sus, winged, feathered.
 Tar'tak, chained, bound, shut up.
 Tar'tan, that searches the gift of the turtle.
 Tatnai, *Tat'-nay*, that gives.
 Te'bah, murder, a cook.
 Te'beth, the Babylonish name of the tenth month of the Hebrews.
 Te'kel, weight.
 Tekoa, *Te-ko'-ah*, sound of the trumpet.
 Tel'abid, a heap of new grain.
 Tel-harsa, *Tel-har'-sah*, heap, suspension of the plough or of the head.
 Te'lieth, goodness.
 Tel-melah, *Tel'-me-lah*, or *Tel-mee'-lah*, heap of salt or of mariners.
 Te'ma, admiration, perfection.
 Te'man, the south, Africa.
 Te'manite, an inhabitant of Teman.
 Te'rah, to breathe, to scent, to blow.
 Teraphim, *Ter'-a-fim*, an image, an idol.
 Tertius, *Ter'-she-us*, the third.
 Tertul'us, a liar, an impostor.
 Tetrarch, *Tet'-rark*, or *Tee'-trarek*, governor of a fourth part of a kingdom.
 Thaddeus, *Thad-dee'-us*, that praises.
 Tha'hash, that makes haste, or keeps silence.
 Tha'mah, that blots out or suppresses.
 Tha'mar. See Tamar.
 Tham'muz. See Tammuz.
 The'bez, muddy, silk.
 Thelasar, *The-lass'-ar*, that unbinds and grants the suspension or heap.
 Theophilus, *The-oh'-fe-lus*, a friend of God.
 Thessalonica, *Thes-sa-lo-ny'-kah*, victory against the Thessalians.
 Theudas, *Thew'-das*, a false teacher.
 Thomas, *Tom'-mas*, a twin.
 Thum'mim, truth, perfection.
 Thyatira, *Thy-a-ty'-rah*, a sweet savor of labor, or sacrifice of contrition.
 Tiberias, *Ti-bee'-re-as*, good vision.
 Tiberius, *Ti-bee'-re-us*, son of Tiber.
 Tib'ni, straw, understanding.
 Ti'dal, that breaks the yoke.
 Tiglath-pileser, *Tig'-lath-pi-lee'-zer*, that takes away captivity, miraculous.
 Tik'vah, hope, a congregation.
 Timeus, *Ti-mee'-us*, in Greek, perfect, honorable; in Hebrew, admirable.
 Tim'nath, image, enumeration.
 Timnath-heres, *Tim'-nath-hee'-res*, image of the dumb.
 Ti'mon, honorable.
 Timo'theus, honor of God, valued of God.
 Tiph'sah, *Tif'-sah*, passage, passover.
 Tirhakah, *Tir-hay'-kah*, or *Tir'-ha-kah*, inquirer, law made dull.
 Tirshatha, *Tir-shay'-tha*, that overturns the foundation; in Syriac, that beholds the time.

Tirzah, benevolent, pleasant.
Tish'bite, that makes captives, that dwells.
Titus, honorable; from *titus*, *I honor*.
To'ah, a weapon.
Tob, good, goodness.
Tob-adoonjah, *Tob'-ad-o-ny'-jah*, my good God.
Tobi'ah, the Lord is good.
Togar'mah, which is all bone, strong.
To'hu, that lives or declares.
Toi, *To'-i*, who wanders.
To'la, worm, scarlet.
To'lad, nativity.
Tophel, *To'-fel*, ruin, folly, insipid.
Tophet, *To'-fet*, a drum, betraying.
Tro'as, penetrated.
Trogyllium, *Tro-jil'-le-um*, a city in the isle of Samos.
Trophimus, *Trof'-fe-mus*, well educated.
Tryphena, *Try-fee'-nah*, delicate.
Trypho'sa, thrice shining.
Tu'bal, the earth, confusion.
Tu'bal-ca'in, worldly possession, jealous of confusion.
Tychicus, *Tik'-e-cus*, casual, happening.
Tyran'nus, a prince, one that reigns.
Tyre, **Ty'rus**, in Hebrew, *Sor*, or *Tzur*, -strength.

Ucal, *Yew'-kal*, power, prevalency.
Ulai, *Yew'-la-i*, or *Yew-lay'*, strength.
Ulam, *Yew'-lam*, the porch, their strength.
Ul'la, elevation, holocaust, leaf.
Un'ni, poor, afflicted.
Uphaz, *Yew'-faz*, gold of Phasis or Pison.
Ur, fire, light.
Urba'nus, civil, courteous.
Uri, *Yew'-ry*, my light or fire.
Uriah, **Urijah**, *Yew-ry'-ah*, *Yew-ry'-jah*, the Lord is my light or fire.
Uri'el, God is my light or fire.
Urim and Thummim, *Yew'-rim* and *Thum'-mim*, lights and perfection.
Uz, counsel; in Syriac, to fix.
Uz'zah, strength, a goat.
Uzzen-sherah, *Uz'-zen-shee'-rah*, ear of the flesh or of the parent.
Uz'zi, my strength, my kid.
Uzzi'ah, the strength of the Lord.
Uzzi'el, the strength of God.
Uzzielites, *Uz-zy'-el-ites*, the posterity of Uzziel.

Vash'ni, the second.
Vash'ti, that drinks, thread.
Vophsi, *Vof'-sy*, fragment, diminution.

Zaana'nim, movings.
Za'bad, a dowry.
Zab'di, portion, dowry.
Zaccheus, *Zak-kee'-us*, pure, justified.
Zachari'ah, memory of the Lord.
Za'dok, just, justified.
Za'ham, crime, impurity.

Zair, *Zay'-ir*, little, afflicted.
Zal'mon, his shade, obscurity.
Zalmo'nah, the shade, your image.
Zalmon'na, shadow, image.
Zamzum'mims, thinking, wickedness.
Zano'ah, forgetfulness, this rest.
Zaphnath-paaneah, *Zaf'-nath-pay-a-nee'-ah*, one that discovers hidden things; in the Egyptian tongue, a savior of the world.
Za'rah, east, brightness.
Zarephath, *Zar'-re-jah*, ambush of the mouth.
Zare'tan, tribulation, perplexity.
Za'za, belonging to all; in Syriac, going back.
Zebadi'ah, portion of the Lord.
Ze'bah, victim, immolation.
Zeb'edee, abundant portion.
Zebo'im, deer, goats.
Ze'bul, a habitation.
Zeb'ulun, dwelling, habitation.
Zechari'ah. See **Zachariah**.
Ze'dad, his side, his hunting.
Zedeki'ah, the Lord is my justice.
Zeeb, *Zee'-eb*, wolf.
Ze'lek, the noise of him that licks or laps.
Zelophehad, *Ze-lo'-fe-ad*, the shade or tingling of fear.
Zelotes, *Ze-lo'-tes*, jealous, full of zeal.
Zel'zah, noontide.
Ze'nas, living.
Zephani'ah, the Lord is my secret, the mouth of the Lord.
Zephath, *Zee'-fath*, which beholds, attends.
Ze'pho, that sees and observes.
Zer, perplexity, tribulation, a rock.
Ze'rah. See **Zarah**.
Zeredah, *Zer'-e-dah*, or *Ze-ree'-dah*, ar-bush.
Ze'resh, misery, stranger.
Ze'ror, root, that straitens, a stone.
Zeru'ah, leprous, hornet.
Zerubbabel, *Ze-rub'-ba-bel*, banished, a stranger at Babylon, dispersion of confusion.
Zeruiah, *Zer-ew-i'-ah*, pain, tribulation.
Ze'than, their olive.
Ze'thar, he that examines or beholds.
Zi'ba, army, fight, strength, stag.
Zib'eon, iniquity that dwells, the seventh.
Zib'iah, deer, goat, honorable and fine.
Zichri, *Zic'-ry*, that remembers, a male.
Zid'dim, huntings; in Syriac, destructions.
Zi'don, hunting, fishing, venison.
Zido'nians, inhabitants of Zidon.
Zif, this, that; according to the Syriac, brightness.
Zik'lag, measure pressed down.
Zil'lah, shadow, which is roasted, the tingling of the ear.
Zil'pah, distillation, contempt of the mouth.
Zim'ran, song, singer, vine.
Zim'ri, my field, my vine, my branch.
Zin, buckler, coldness.

Zi'on, a monument, sepulchre, turret.
Zior, ship of him that watches, ship of the enemy.
Ziph, *Ziff*, this mouth, mouthful.
Zip'por, bird, crown; according to the Syriac, early in the morning, goat.
Zip'porah, beauty, trumpet.
Zith'ri, to hide, overturned.
Ziz, flower, a lock of hair; according to the Syriac, wing, feather.
Zi'za. See *Zaza*.
Zo'an, motion.
Zo'ar, little, small.
Zo'bah, an army, a swelling.
Zo'har, white, shining, dryness.

Zohe'leth, that creeps or draws.
Zophar, *Zo'-far*, rising early, crown; in Syriac, sparrow, goat.
Zo'rah, leprosy, scab.
Zorobabel, *Zo-rob'-ba-bel*. See Zerubbabel.
Zuar, *Zew'-an*, small.
Zuph, that observes, roof.
Zur, stone, plan, form.
Zuri'el, the rock or strength of God.
Zurishaddai, *Zew'-ry-shad'-da-i*, the Almighty is my rock, splendor, beauty.
Zu'zims, the posts of a door, splendor; in Syriac, departing, money; in Chaldee, strong.

THE END.

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