ORIGINES HEBRAEÆ:
THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
HEBREW REPUBLICK.

In Four Books.

I. The Idolatry of the Hebrews.
II. The Ceremonial and Judicial Laws.
III. The Arts and Sciences, professed by the Hebrews.
IV. The Canon and Writers of the Old Testament, and the Apochryphal Books; with an Account of the Translation of the Septuagint, the Version of Aquila the Jew, and the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrases.

By Tho. Lewis, M.A.

VOL. III.

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PREACHING

In the precept of the Word of God, the Church of England has always maintained a high standard of orthodoxy and piety. The role of the preacher is to expound the Scriptures in a manner that is both intelligible and inspiring, drawing on the wisdom and experience of the Christian community to provide guidance and inspiration for the faithful. The preacher must be patient, skillful, and above all, a man of prayer, seeking to be a living example of the truths he proclaims. The Church's preachers must be diligent in their study, seeking to understand the deeper meanings of the Scriptures and the historical context in which they were written. They must also be mindful of the needs and concerns of their congregation, tailoring their sermons to meet the spiritual and intellectual needs of the people they serve.
THE PREFACE.

Have nothing to offer in Defence of the two Volumes that follow, but that my first Inquiries into the Antiquities of the Hebrews were received with that Favour, which gave me sufficient Encouragement to pursue the Work; and I have (I thank God) finished it with this Satisfaction to myself, that I have done my utmost, to do Justice to a Subject so divine and useful, and have endeavour'd to recommend the Study of the Holy Scriptures, which without Exception, must be acceptable to all Persons, who have a due Esteem, either for true Learning, or Piety. Those who value the former, and are well acquainted with it, will readily give their Suffrage here, and proclaim to the World,
PREFACE.

World, that Scripture Learning exceeds all others; that the Original of most Arts and Sciences is to be derived hence, and that a Library without the Bible, is an imperfect Thing. And such as have a Sense of the latter, will be as forward to assert the Pre-eminence of these Writings; for here is the Source of all Religion, and no Man can be Devout and Pious, who is a Stranger to them. How meanly ever I have performed this Task, I believe verily, that some who turn over these Pages, will from them be inspired with a proper Regard and Reverence, with an entire Love and Veneration of the holy Writ, and be persuaded to converse more intimately with it themselves, and encourage others to follow their Example. This would, in a short Time, make a great Change in the World, and the Bible it self, would be read in the Lives and Behaviour of Mankind. The understanding of the Scriptures would be esteemed the highest Accomplishment; and though many Refinements have been attempted in Philosophy and Religion, it would appear evidently, that the Sacred Volume was alone sufficient for us, if all the Books and Libraries in the World were destroyed.

What
What is now Published, is divided into four Books: The First contains the History of the false Worships, or Idolatry of the Jews, a Subject very Curious, and that comprehends great Variety of Matter; wherein many learned Men have been employed among Foreigners, as well as in our own Nation. The great Mr. Selden has written an excellent Tract upon the Syrian Gods, and Gerard Vossius has a large Work upon Idolatry, which I conceive would have been a much better Piece, had the Author thought fit to intermix less of Philosophy with the rest. My Business has been to avoid the Errors of others, but especially to go in search after Truth; and the nearest resemblance to Truth, with all possible Precaution. I greatly reverence the Labours of learned Men, and consider them as Fathers and Teachers, from whom I have freely borrowed whatever served my Designs; notwithstanding which, I judge it possible to extend our Discoveries further; for in Matters of this Nature, the most Learned are not always the most Successful, and in Conjectures, a certain Quickness and Penetration, are, at least, as necessary as Learning. As therefore I have always been forward to receive Instructions from others, so I have been some-

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times obliged in particular Passages, to make use of my own Conjectures, where I conceived the antient Opinions could not take Place.

The Second Book principally treats of the Ceremonial and Judicial Laws. It may seem, perhaps, that this Part might have been finished with much more Ease than the former, because of the Assistance that might have been expected from the Books of Moses, not to speak of the Observations of modern Authors; and the Commentaries and Glosses of the Talmudists, who have made this Point, the chief Foundation of their Religion and Learning. But I certainly found as much Trouble in this, as in any other Part of the Work; for to separate and digest those Laws under their proper Heads; to examine the Sentiments of Expositors, among Jews and Christians, and to discover the Appearance of Truth among such Variety of Opinions, was really difficult and laborious.

The Arts and Sciences, practised and studied by the Hebrews, are chiefly included in the Third Book. This indeed was an unbeaten Road, never that I know of, attempted wholly by one Writer, though for what I have collected, I am obliged to many eminent Authors, who have professedly treated of
the Antiquities of the Jewish Nation. Perhaps, this Part of the Work may not afford equal Delight with the other Books; but I was resolved, as far as I was able, to exhaust the Subject, and am satisfied, that my Endeavours in this Place, will be of Use to younger Students in sacred Learning, and Candidates in Theology; though I can promise no great Advantage to Proficients, who are of a higher Character.

I have inquired in the Fourth Book, into the Canon of the holy Scriptures, which contain the whole System of the Jewish Religion; and have offered to evince the Truth and Certainty of those Writings, to the unbelieving Part of Mankind. I have laid down the several Divisions and Orders, wherein the Books of the Old Testament were ranged by the Jewish Church, have given an Account of the Authors that compiled them, and of the Language wherein they were written. The Design of the Atheism and Infidelity which now reigns, is to strike at the Genuineness and Authority of these Scriptures; for as long as the Bible is looked upon as the Word of God, and of divine Inspiration, it will be a lasting Testimony against the Principles of these Apostates; who, if they demand a present Miracle, to confirm their Faith, may
only behold the People of the Jews for more than sixteen hundred Years, wandring and dispersed into all Corners of the Earth, despifed, hated, and per- fecuted by all Nations; and tho' min- gled and confounded with them, ftill distinguished in their Laws, Customs, and Religion, remaining a standing E- vidence of divine Vengeance, upon Un- belief, and an indelible Monument of the Truth of Christianity.
THE

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THE
The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick.

Vol. III.

Book V.

Chap. I.
The Rise and Ceremonies of Idolatry among the Hebrews.

Before the Destruction of the first Temple by the Babylonians, the Hebrew Nation was often over-run by Idolatry, but it was scarce so much as heard of after their Return from the Captivity, though it was succeeded by a more pernicious Practice, which was a violent and superstitious Zeal for their corrupt
Traditions. Before the Captivity they had no Synagogues for publick Worship, no Places to resort to for Instruction, unless the Tabernacle, the Proseucha's, the Temple, the Cities of the Levites, or the Schools of the Prophets, and therefore through Ignorance they were easily seduced into the Idolatrous Usages of the neighbouring Nations; but when they were recalled from Babylon they had Synagogues erected in every City, where the Law was constantly read, and from the Time of the Persecution by Antiochus, they had the Writings of the Prophets delivered and explained to them, by which means they were secured from mistaking the proper Object of their Worship, and continued in a commendable Obedience to the Institutions of Moses.

So various are the Thoughts of Commentators concerning the Beginning of Idolatry, that it is difficult to fix the Time when it first appeared. Maimonides gives this Account, (which is likewise followed by many learned Christians) That in the Days of Moses, Men began to consider that God created the Stars, and the Host of Heaven to govern the World, therefore they built Temples and offered Sacrifices to them; and Enos himself was concerned in this Delusion. And this Opinion is defended by a Passage in Scripture, where it is said, To Seth there was born a Son, and they called his Name Enos, then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord: Which Remark of Moses is expounded by Mr. Selden, to signify, then was there Profanation by invoking the Name of the Lord; for the Word which we translate Began, in another Place of Scripture signifies Profaned, so that by this Construction the Meaning is, that the most holy Name which belongeth to the Creator, and Possessor of Heaven and Earth, was now impiously given unto Creatures; but this Interpretation is opposed with much Judgment by Expositors of Note, who either content themselves with the marginal Translation in our Bibles,
then Men began to call themselves by the Name of Chap. 1.

the Lord, in Distinction from the Posterity of Cain, or else imagined that God was now first called upon by the Name of Jehovah, or that some Improvements were made in the Offices of Religion; for the Arabian Christians represent this Enos as an excellent Governor, who, while he lived, preserved his Family in good order, and when he died called them all together, and gave them a Charge to keep God's Commands, and not to have any Correspondence with the Children of Cain, who had vilely corrupted themselves upon the Earth.

It is certain that Terah, the Father of Abraham, was an Idolater, and as Suidas afferts, was a Statuary, and a Maker of Images, which he declared to be Gods; and Abraham himself, as most imagine, was educated in the same Idolatry; and, according to Maimonides, was converted to the Worship of the Creator in the forty eighth Year of his Age. In Egypt the Israelites were corrupted in their Religion, and in the Wildernefs they prostituted themselves to the Worship of Images; under the Government of Jofhua they privately served strange Gods, and under the Judges, by their Familiarity and Inter-marriages with the People of Canaan, they publickly adored the Gods of Syria and Palestine, and the neighbouring Countries, whom they never wholly abandoned till their City and Temple were destroyed by the Chaldeans.

Many and different were the Ceremonies made use of in the Exercise of Idolatry: There was bowing the Knee, and Prostration; and Kissing the Idol was likewise an Act of Worship. This Rite was performed several Ways, either by applying their Mouth immediately to the Image (as Cicero against Verres relates of the Image of Hercules) or kissing their Hand before the Image, and then stretching it out, as it were, throwing the Kiss to it, or by kissing the right Hand, and
sometimes the Feet of the Image it self. Incense was burnt, and Sacrifices offered to these false Gods; and the Worshippers would partake of those sacrificial Feasts in Token of their Communion with the Deity to whom the Victim was offered, and these Festivities were usually attended with Drunkenness and horrid Debaucheries; for nothing inticed Men to Idolatry more than those filthy Pleasures that were a Part of that Worship: These federal Entertainments were always attended with Musick and Dancing, and other Expressions of Joy; and sometimes a Table was furnished with choicest Provision, and set before the Idol it self.

Ezek. viii. 17. There is an idolatrous Rite mentioned by Ezekiel, called, The putting the Branch to the Nose; which has given great Trouble to learned Men, but the most reasonable Exposition is, that the Worshipper, with a Wand in his Hand, would touch the Idol, and then apply the Stick to his Nose and Mouth, in Token of Worship and Adoration.

It was an antient Custom for Women to prostitute their Bodies in Honour of Venus and Priapus, and such filthy Deities; and they were solemnly consecrated to such impure Services. And this Idolatry was practised in the Days of Moses, as appears from the History of those who committed Fornication with the Daughters of Moab, who exposed themselves in Veneration to Baal Peor. Those consecrated Whores were famous in old Times among the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and other Nations: And Strabo relates, that at Corinth there was a Temple so richly endowed that it maintained above a thousand of these religious Prostitutes, who were dedicated to the Goddess for the Use of Sea-faring Men, who arrived in great Numbers at this Port, and easily parted with their Money.

The Law of Moses has provided, that no Man should prostitute his Daughter to cause her to be a Whore,
Whore, which Injunction without Doubt forbids the exposing their Daughters as a Piece of Religion to the Service of such filthy Deities, as were worshipped in these Days by Acts of Uncleanliness in their Temples; for it is scarce to be supposed, that any Man would prostitute his Daughter to be a common Strumpet, though he might possibly overlook the Lewdness to which she had given up her self. What the Rabbins make of these Words, that a Man prostitutes his Daughter, who did not provide her an Husband when she was marriageable, or married her to an old Man, is a fanciful Interpretation, and not to be admitted. If such a Harlot should presume to offer to God, what she had gotten by this Kind of Prostitution, it was not to be received, but refused as abominable; for this was a Custom among the Idolatrous Nations, as appears by a great many of their Writers, who record, that they were used to dedicate some Part of what they received, for the Use of their Bodies, at the Temple of their pretended Deities; particularly Herodotus mentions it, as practised among the antient Babylonians.

There is another Prohibition following this, which forbids the Price of a Dog to be brought into the House of the Lord: It is difficult to find out, why the Price of a Whore and of a Dog are associated in the same Law, unless it be in Opposition to some profane Rites among the Egyptians, who, as they had Harlots sacred to Isis, so a Dog was the Symbol of one of their principal Deities, under the Name of Anubis. If this Idolatry was so old as the Days of Moses, which it is certain prevail’d afterward, this may be a probable Reason, why God would not accept so much as the Price for which a Dog was sold or exchanged: For Example (says Maimonides,) If a Man gave a Lamb for a fine Dog, God would by no means admit of that Lamb to be offered as a Victim upon his Altar. It was likewise the Business of these vile Women, to weave Hangings for the Grove: Kings.
The Antiquities of the

Book V. of the Goddess Astarte; they were a Kind of Curtains that encompassed the Image, and made a Tabernacle or Habitation for it; into those Tents the Worshippers went, and committed all Manner of Lewdness; for it seems they had not arrived at such a Degree of Impudence, as not to seek for Privacy in their Filthiness.

But the most execrable Rite of Idolatry was the Consecration of Men to Impurity and unnatural Prostitution, who exposed their Bodies to be abused in Honour of the Deities they worshipped; These Sodomites had a House erected joining to the Temple at Jerusalem, that was sacred, and set apart for such flagitious Mixtures. This Impiety, by the Law of Moses, was Capital; and tho' the Kind of Death is not mentioned, yet it is probable it was by Burning, because the impure Sodomites were consumed by Fire.

The Groves and high Places devoted to Idolatry, had Priests fixed in Attendance upon them: they were clothed in black Vestments, which was the Habit worn by all who sacrificed to the infernal Gods, and was contrary to the Garments of the Hebrew Priesthood, which were white, and worn by all who had no Defect, and whose Genealogies were clear and undisputed. Among the Egyptians, Osiris, or the Sun, was represented by a black Ox covered with a black Silk Garment, which was the Reason the Priests of the Idol were clothed with a Vestment of that Colour.

Another Ceremony of Idolatry, was to dance about the Altar after the Manner of the ancient Salij, and the Priests would run about as Men in an Extacy, with a prophetical Fury, which put them into strange and disorderly Motions; and when they were posseffed with this Impulse, they were used to slash themselves with Knives and other Instruments till the Blood gushed out.

Mr. Mode has a peculiar Notion, that Baalam being the deify'd Souls of dead Men, therefore the Prophets of Baal cut themselves in his Wor-
ship, because this was a funeral Rite, and for that
Reason retained in the Service of such Gods, in
token that they were no more than Men canonized
after Death. 'Tis certain, that the Law of Mofes
forbids any cutting in the Flesh for the Dead,
in Imitation of the Heathen, who observed this
favage Rite to pacify the infernal Spirits, and make
them propitious to departed Souls; Huetius con-
ceives, that the Law of Solon's, which was trans-
crib'd by the Romans into the twelve Tables, that
Women in Mourning should not scratch their
Cheeks, had its Original from this Prohibition in
the Law of Mofes.

The Idolaters, who worshipped the Stars and
Planets, particularly the Arabians, in Imitation
of Bacchus, used to cut their Hair equal behind
and before, to make their Head in the Form of an
Hemisphere; they likewise shaved the Hair of their
Beards. In Opposition to which Practices, the
Law enjoined, that the Hebrews should suffer
the Hair of their Head to grow, and not presume
to mar the Corners of their Beards.

Nor were they to print any Mark on them; Levi, Precept.
which was a Custom among the Heathens, that
they might be known to belong to such a partic-
cular God. They used, says a Rabbi, to devote
themselves to their Gods by Notes or Signs, sig-
nifying they were their Servants redeemed with
their Price, and stamp'd with their Mark; these Im-
pressions were made with a hot Iron, in their
Hands, Foreheads, or Necks, or they were prickt
with a Needle dipp'd in Glafium, which made blue
Spots in their Skin, as the Manner was among the
Arabians; and they expressed either the Name of
the God to whose Service they were consecrated, or
else by a proper Character denoted whom they
honoured; as a Thunder-bolt signified they were
devoted to Jupiter, a Spear or Helmet to Mars,
a Trident to Neptune; and these were Signs (or
Sacraments as we may call them) whereby they
were solemnly addicted to the Worship of these
Deities.
Deities. The Priests of the Syrian Goddess, according to Lucian, were all marked, some in their Writs, others in their Necks, from whence all the Assyrians carry such Brands or Marks in their Flesh; and so are the Jews, that were initiated in the Egyptian Rites, said by the Author of the third Book of Maccabees, to be stigmatized with the Leaves of Ivy, which were the Insignia of Bacchus. From this antient Practice it is probable, that Christians have derived the unjustifiable Custom of Printing the Jerusalem Cross upon the Arms of those who go to visit our Saviour's Sepulchre. I shall add no more, but that the Jews were so inclined to receive such a Badge as this, that they made no Scruple to print the Name of their own God in their Flesh, as appears by that Canon mentioned by the learned Schickard; If any Man write the Name of God upon his Flesh, let him neither wash nor anoint in that Place.

CHAP. II.

The Punishments appointed for Idolatry and Blasphemy, by the Levitical Law.

Many and severe are the Injunctions of the Mosaic Law against the Worship of Idols, and the Service of strange Gods; the Lord Jehovah alone was to be the Object of their Belief and Adoration, who had a peculiar Right to their Homage and Obedience, by conducting them out of the Land of Egypt, and delivering them from the Servitude under which they groaned; and this (as the Hebrews speak) was the great Foundation of the Law, for whoever confessed any other God, denied the whole Law. No other God was to be worshipped with him, who was jealous of his Honour, and would not suffer
suffer any Corrival or Confort, in that which was proper to himself. They were to make no Image to represent him, nor set up a Statue of what Materials, in any Place of divine Worship; they were not so much as to look upon an Idol, much less to enquire after what Manner the Gentiles worshipped their Gods, and what religious Rites they used towards them; they were not allowed to make molten Deities for others, and by Consequence not for themselves, from whence came that Observation among them: He that makes to himself an Idol violates a double Precept. First, in making it, and then, in making it to himself. They were forbidden so much as simply to name the Gods of other Nations, especially to call them by such Appellations as attribute to them any Divinity, and this Precept obliged Men and Women in all Places and at all times; and Beating was the Punishment inflicted for its Violation.

All Society with Idolaters was forbidden, lest they should infect the Hebrews with their Infidelity, of which there was the greater Danger, because they were too prone to follow the Pagan Customs; none of the seven Nations of Canaan were allowed to exercise their heathenish Worship among them, nor was any Gentile admitted to dwell with them, unless he renounced his Idolatry; they were not to sell him a Spot of Land, nor suffer him to hire a House, only, as some of the Rabbins expound it, he might come and traffic in the Country; though others of a more rigid Opinion, will not suffer him to pass through the Land when they had Power to hinder it.

Among the Jews, there was a constant Succession of Prophets to instruct them in the Law, and preserve them in the true Worship; if one of these pretended to a Revelation from God by Vision or by Dream, with a Design to seduce them into Idolatry, and offer'd to demonstrate the Legality of
of such a Practice, by foretelling something, and the Event confirms the Prediction, so that he seems to be a true Prophet; yet he was to be abhor'd as a Lyar, (because God could not contradict himself, by persuading Men to give his Worship to another) he was to be brought before the great Sanhedrim, who alone had the Judgment of a lying Prophet, to be sentenced, upon good Proof of the Fact, and to be put to Death by Strangling. This was the Punishment of an open Seducer; but the secret Advocates for Idolatry, whether a Wife, a Brother, a Son, or Daughter, or the dearest Friend, were executed by Stoning; they were summoned before the Court of Twenty-three, and upon their Tryal the Evidence was to dissemble nothing that made against them, no one was to intercede for them, to say any thing in their Favour, nor to assist them to defend themselves, but they were prosecuted to Death without Mercy, as Traytors against the Majesty of God: The Criminal was immediately executed after the Sentence was pronounced, the Accuser was to throw the first Stone at him, together with the Witnesses, and then the People were to assist at the Execution. But the Difficulty in this Case seems to be, how to prove a Man Guilty, who enticed another secretly (as the Law speaks) and not before Evidence? To this the Jews say, that he who was enticed was to dispose some Persons secretly, near to the Place of their next Meeting, who might hear the whole Conversation, and give full Testimony of it in the Court before the Judges: Yet, if upon Admonition the Man desisted from his Enticement, and resolved himself not to worship other Gods, upon his Repentance, the Evidence was not obliged to inform against him. A private Person that apostatized from his Religion, and fell into Idolatry, was tried in one of the lower Courts, upon the Testimony of two Witnesses at least, and upon Conviction, was to die by Stoning;
ning; and the more to confirm the Truth of their Testimony, the Witnesses were appointed to be the first Executioners of the Sentence.

The End of this Severity, was to preserve the Body of the People from the Contagion of Idolatry: But if the Infection was spread into a City, or a considerable Part of it, there was still the more Danger, and more exemplary Punishments were to be used, in order to secure the Country about from being drawn away from their Allegiance. Upon Information that some profligate Persons had withdrawn themselves from the Service of God at the Tabernacle, and seduced the Inhabitants into strange Worship, the great Sanhedrim, who only could take Cognizance of this Crime, were immediately to send some, on whose Fidelity they could rely, to examine the Truth of the Report concerning the Deception; these were to use their utmost Care and Diligence in this Inquisition, for it was a Matter of great Importance, that neither the Innocent should suffer, nor the Apostates go unpunished. But the Punishment being so dreadful there was the more Exactness used to be certain of the Crime; and there were a great many Temperaments (as Mr. Selden calls them) found by the Jewish Lawyers (partly from the nicest Interpretation of every Syllable in the Precept, and partly from the pretended Tradition of their Elders,) whereby they mitigated the Sharpness of this Law; for they would not proceed upon it to destroy a City, though they found them Idolaters, unless the Seducers were two or more, and those also Men, not Women, because the Law here speaks of certain Men in the plural Number, as if their forsaking God was not a Crime, whether they were persuaded to it or not, by others. They say also, it was not to be a mere Town or Village, but a City, because the Words here are, In one of thy Cities; in which there were more than a hundred Houses; if there were fewer, it was no City in their Account, and so escaped. They who
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who seduced a City, also were to be of the same City, because it is said, these Men of Belial are gone out from among you; all which are Subtleties and Evasions, that carry no Conviction along with them: But there are other Temperaments of this Law, which have a better Foundation in Reason. As First, That a City was not to be destroyed, unless the major Part of the Inhabitants were fallen off to serve other Gods. And Secondly, that the Law speaks only of lesser Cities, not of those that were so large, that the greatest Part of the Tribe lived in it; for God never permitted, that a whole Tribe should be cut off by the Senate. Thirdly, they might not destroy any of the six Cities of Refuge, because they had no Right in them, and the Words of the Law are, In one of the Cities, which the Lord hath given thee to dwell in, whereas these were given for a further Purpose. And Fourthly, some add, not a frontier Town, because it is said, in the midst of thee (so the Words are in the Hebrew, which we translate among you) to which they subjoin a better Reason, that by the Destruction of such a City, the Country would have been exposed to the Incursions of the Gentiles. And Lastly, they except Jerusalem from this Law, because God there kept his Residence, and (as Maimonides will have it) it was not distributed to any particular Tribe. But if that City was exempted from the Judgment of Men, the Sentence was executed upon it by the divine Vengeance; for the Temple and all the Houses of the City, were for their Idolatry consumed with Fire by the Babylonians.

If the Inquisitors commissioned by the Sanhedrim found, upon due Examination, that there was an evident Proof of their Guilt, they were to make their Report to the Court, who upon full Satisfaction that the whole City, or the greatest Part of them, were fallen to Idolatry, sent two Men of extraordinary Wisdom, (who were Candidates for the Senatorial Dignity) to admonish them, and
and by Arguments endeavour to reduce them to the true Worship. If they prevailed, they were pardoned, and all farther Proceedings ceased: But if they continued obstinate, the Sanhedrim commanded the People to raise an Army and besiege the Place; and if they were opposed, to enter it by Force. When the City was taken, several Courts were appointed to try the Guilty, and whoever had been admonished, and was afterwards proved guilty, by two Witnesses, was set aside: If they proved to be the lesser Part of the City, they were stoned, (according to the Law against single Apostates ) the rest being freed from Punishment: But if they were the Majority, they were sent to the great Sanhedrim who adjudged them to be cut off by the Sword, with their Wives, their Children, and their Cattle. Thus the whole City was punished if there was an universal Defection. Such as belong’d to the City, and abhor’d the Idolatry of the rest, it is supposed, withdrew themselves and their Effects before Sentence was pronounced against so wicked a Place; but the Goods of the Idolaters, wherever they were found, were to be burnt; they were brought together into the Market-place, if there was one, or into some spacious Place, where all the Spoil and the Household stuff (not the smallest Part being reserved to their own use) was set on fire, as a cursed Thing, and consumed. The City it self was to be reduced to Ashes, the Ground was for ever to lye waste; and whosoever offered to erect any Building there, was to be beaten for his Presumption. Thus was God appeased, who was highly incensed by such a Wick-edness. The Punishment indeed was very terrible, but very necessary, because the Crime was of so high a Nature, that it struck at the very Foundation of their Religion and Government.
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Exod. xxiv. 14.  
The Sin of Blasphemy was punished by Stoning: The Criminal was convicted by the Judicial Process of the Sanhedrim, and thence was he led to execution without the Camp, the Witnesses were first to lay their Hands upon his Head, which was a particular Ceremony in this Case; for Hands were laid upon the Head of no Offender condemned by the great Court, but upon a Blasphemer only. By the Use of this Rite they declared that they had given a true Testimony against him, and thought him worthy of the Death he was condemned to suffer, and withal they used this Form, Let thy Blood be upon thy own Head, which thou hast brought upon thy self by thy own Guilt; then they took off their Hands, and he was stoned to Death by all the Congregation. The Rabbins are not agreed in the Definition of this Sin; yet it is generally conceived to mean a speaking contemptuously of God and his Attributes, and a bold Attempt to subvert the established Principles and Foundations of their Religion.

Exod. xxiii. 19.  
There is a Precept in the Mosaic Law, forbidding the seething a Kid, or a Lamb, in its Mother's Milk. This was an idolatrous Rite in use among the Gentiles, especially when they gathered the Fruits of the Earth, to implore the Gods to be the more propitious to them. All the Trees and Fields (says our most learned Dr. Cudworth from a Karaite Writer) and Gardens were sprinkled with the Broth of such a Kid after a magical Manner to make them more fruitful in the following Year. Nothing could be more contrary to Nature, (and therefore more agreeable to the Institutions of the Devil) than to boil a young Creature in the Milk of its Mother; some Remains of which Custom we find even among the Romans themselves, who propitiated Sylvanus, by offering him Milk, and Faunus with a Kid, and every one knows that both these were used in the Solemnities of Bacchus.
CHAP. III.

The various Kinds of Idolatry, the Worshipping of Angels, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Adoration of Dæmons.

The Writers of the Jews, who have treated upon the Subject of Idolatry, commonly explain it into three Kinds, according to the different Objects of Adoration, and make it consist in the worshipping of Angels, of the Host of Heaven Sun Moon and Stars, and of Devils.

It is difficult to determine, whether the old Hebrews offered divine Homage to Angels, and there is but one Passage in Scripture, that I know of, which seems to charge them with such a Practice. In the Form of Benediction, which Jacob used upon the Sons of Joseph, he invokes an Angel. The Angel which redeemed me from all Evil, bless the Lads. The Rabbins in glossing upon this Text observe, that the Prayers of their Ancestors were not directly addressed to Angels, but it was really God they invoked when they prayed to them; they only go to them as to the King, by his Ministers, and as one that presents his Petition to the first Officer of the Crown, yet still looks to the King as the Source and Spring of his Happiness and Favours that he has received. But this Explication is refuted by others, who remark, that Jacob, after he had directly applied himself to God, and begged of him both temporal and eternal Blessings or his two Grandsons, then addressed himself to the Angel, to obtain of him, that he would keep them from all Evil; from whence they conclude, that Jacob
cob addressed his Prayers directly to the Angel, to whom he ascribed the Power of preserving from Evil, whilst he left to God the Privilege of bestowing all that was good; and if the Prayer of the Patriarch was implicitly addressed to God as the Fountain of Goodness, yet he certainly prayed explicitly to the Angel. But notwithstanding this Dispute, the best Expositors among Christians, deny that this Invocation of Jacob implies any thing like a Prayer to the Angel. Some indeed conceive, that the Angel in this Place is the second Person in the Trinity; an Opinion refuted by others, who more justly say, that Jacob intended no more than a Desire that his Children might enjoy the angelical Protection by the special Favour of God to them; for it is such an Expression as that of David to a contrary Purpose, Let the Angel of the Lord persecute them, where no one will say he prays to an Angel, though his Words are exactly like those of Jacob.

St. Jerome in explaining the Reproach that our Saviour cast upon the Jews, for their swearing by the Creatures, concludes, that he charges them with swearing by the Angels, and paying divine Honours to them. The Authority of that Father has seduced even Protestants, who have not observed, that the Text has no Regard to Angels, but speaks of the City of the great King, and of the Gift upon the Altar. The Worshipping of Angels would be very antient, if our Saviour had so early condemn'd it; but St. Jerome is grossly deceive'd in a Matter so plain and evident; so that his Testimony ought no more to be alleged, because it is absolutely false.

The Jewish Rabbins of a modern Date, have openly protested, that they offer no Worship to Angels, nor do they serve them as Mediators and Intercessors. In their Catechism, there is an Anathema pronounced against all that shall petition for any thing to an Angel or any other celestial Power. Maimonides reckons as the sixth Article of
of Faith, that God alone is to be adored, magnified, celebrated, and praised. We are not to invoke the Angels or their Chiefs, such as Gabriel and Michael, says the famous Kimchi; Abraham our Father is long since dead. The Father knows not his Son, but whilst he is alive: God alone is that Father that lives for ever, and redeems us from all Misery, and Calamity.

The most antient Idolatry of all other, seems to have been the Worship of the Sun and Moon, and the rest of the celestial Bodies, called the Host of Heaven. The Splendor of these great Luminaries prevailed upon Mankind to believe, that they were the Tabernacles or Habitations of Intelligences, which animated those Orbs in the same Manner, as the Soul of Man animates his Body, and were the Causes of all their Motions, and that these Intelligences were of a middle Nature between God and them, and therefore they were thought the properest Beings to undertake the Office of Mediators between God and Mankind. They are called Demons in the Pagan Theology, and are said by Plato to be Reporters and Carriers in Supplications and Prayers of the one, and of the Injunctions and Demands of Devotion, from the other. To make this Idolatry the more reasonable, some of the Philosophers have asserted, that the Sun particularly, is indued with Understanding, and therefore is called by Proclus, the King of intellectual Fire, to distinguish it from other Fires, which are without Intelligence: And from thence, in one of the Coyms of Caracalla, there is over the Sun, surrounded with Rays, the Word Providentia. The Hebrews, from the Beginning of their Republick, had accustomed themselves to this Worship, and after the Appearance of Christianity, it was difficult to extirpate the Practice of it; for the Essenes (the best Sect among the Jews) seem to be inclined to this Superstition: Some indeed excuse them, as if they only
only admired the Sun, as the most excellent Work of God, which they expressed by some Kind of Adoration; but Josephus expressly afferts, that in the Morning, they directed to him certain Prayers, as if they beseeched him to rise; and this was so deeply impressed upon some who professed Christianity, that the Followers of Basilides and the Manichees, called the Sun and Moon by the Name of Gods, and sometimes prophanely applied the Name of Christ to the Sun. No wonder therefore, that Julian the Apostate should say, that God produced out of himself, the Sun the greatest God, in all Things like unto himself, for which he quotes Plato in his famous Oration in Praise of the Sun, where he says, the same Sun has filled the Heaven with innumerable other Gods; the whole Heaven is full of Gods from the Sun.

The Planets being nearest the Earth of all the heavenly Bodies, were generally looked upon to have the greatest Influence upon this World, and therefore they were made choice of by the Heathens to mediate for them to the supreme God, and, accordingly, they paid divine Worship to them. They were first adored by their Tabernacles, and after by Images: These sacred Tabernacles were the Orbs themselves, in which they supposed the Intelligences made their Abodes; and when they paid their Devotions to any one of them, they directed their Worship towards the Planet, in which they suppos'd he dwelt. These idolatrous Rites were strictly forbidden to the Hebrews, and the Law gives this Reason, because all Nations of the World enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, Moon and Stars, as well as they; and therefore God alone was to be adored, who appointed those Luminarys for the Service of his Creatures. It is an Opinion that prevails generally with the Jews, that God has distributed the Nations of the Universe under the Government of several Stars, which Stars are under the immediate Direction of Angels, but the Jews under the Direction of God alone.
alone, and not subject to any Planet. But this Construction has no Foundation at all, much less can we suppose, that God ordained, that the Nations of the World should worship the heavenly Host, lest they should be Atheists, as Justin Martyr conceived, unless he means, that God for their Sins delivered them up to this Impiety, which perhaps is no improbable Conjecture.

It is difficult to come at Satisfaction, concerning the Demonology of the antient Hebrews, and therefore it will be hard to explain, what is meant by the Worshipping of Devils, which is the last Species of Idolatry, according to the Division of the Rabbins. The latter Jews have fallen into infinite Superstition about the Origine, the Nature, the Fall, and Punishment of wicked Spirits, but the more sensible of them believe, that the Angels created in a State of Innocence, fell from it through a Kind of Jealousy for Man, and their Revolt from God, which comes nearest to the Account of Moses: It is certain, that the Ifra-Deut. xxxii, elites among other Acts of Worship, offered Sacrifice to Devils. The Word in the Hebrew, signifies Destroyers (as the Devil is called in the Book of Revelation,) as Spirits delighting in Mischief, Rev. ix. 11, and leading those that worship them into Perdition. They are called Daemons by the Seventy, because they lead Men into the Impiety of worshipping other Gods, either themselves, or some other Beings, which they persuade their Votaries, had some Dignity in them.

Besides these Daemons of an angelick Nature, that were never joined to a mortal Body, there were others who are called Dii animales, Soul-Gods, or the deified Souls of Men after Death. This Way of Canonization is of great Antiquity, and was practised by the Heathens in the Beginning of the Hebrew Government, and gave occasion to a Kind of Idolatry, which the People fell into in Imitation of the Nations about them. Hesiod takes notice of this Superstition,
and affirms, that when those happy Men of the first and golden Age of the World, were departed this Life, great Jupiter promoted them to be Demons, that is, Keepers and Protectors, or Patrons of earthly Mortals, and Overseers of their good and evil Works. And Plato, in his Republick, would have all those who die valiantly in the Field, to be made Demons, and the Oracle to be consulted how they should be buried and honoured; and accordingly, ever afterwards, their Sepulchres to be served and adored as the Sepulchres of Demons. In like Manner should be done to all, who in their Life-time excelled in Virtue, whether they died through Age, or otherwise.

The first that was ever deified or reputed a God after Death was Baal (or, in the Chaldee Dialect, Bel) the first King of Babel after Nimrod, from whence, in after Times, all other Demons were called Baalim, in the Manner that all the Roman Emperors, after the first, were called Caesars, because the first was called by that Name. Plutarch observes, that Demons are sometimes called by the Names of those celestial Gods, whose Ministers and Proctors they are, and from whom they receive their Power and Divinity, as Apollo’s Demon Apollo, Jupiter’s Demon Jupiter: And the same Author affirms, that the Souls of Men took Degrees after Death; first they commenced Heroes, who were as Probationers to a Daemonship; then after a sufficient Time they were advanced to Demons, and after that, if they deserved well, they were raised to a more sublime Degree; however it be, it is certain, that Demons and Heroes differ but in more and less Antiquity, the more antient Heroes being called Demons, and the younger Demons were known by the Name of Heroes.

There was yet another Species of Demons, as learned Men have imagined, to which the Israelites offered Sacrifice, and these were a Sort of evil
evil Spirits that appeared especially in desert Places, in the Form of Goats, who in Scripture are called Seirim, which properly signifies Goats. From whence arose the Opinion that the Hebrews really sacrificed to these Creatures, as some of the Egyptians did, who held Goats to be sacred Animals: But it is doubted, whether the Egyptians were really guilty of such Idolatry in the Days of Moses. It seems more reasonable to believe, the old Hebrews worshipped the Demons adored by the antient Zabii, who appeared in the Shape of Goats; and this Practice was universally spread in the Time of Moses, which occasioned, that this Kind of Idolatry was so strictly forbidden in his Injunctions.

C H A P. IV.


It is certain, that the antient Heathens thought it unlawful to erect Temples to their Gods, because they conceived no Temple could be spacious enough for the Sun, which was their principal Deity. From hence came that Saying among them, The whole World is a Temple for the Sun; and when After-times had introduced the building of Temples, they judged it improper to confine the supposed Infinities of their Deities within Walls; and therefore the God Terminus, and many others, were worshipped in Temples open roofed, for which Reason they made choice of Hills and Mountains, as the most convenient Places for Idolatry; for here they conceived their Sacrifices were more acceptable than in Valleys, because, says Lucian, Men were then nearer
nearer to the Gods, and so the more readily obtained Audience.

As the Number of their Gods increased, so these consecrated Hills were multiplied, from which their Gods and Goddesses took their Names, as *Mercurius Cyllemius, Venus Erycina, Jupiter Capitolinus.* At length to beautify these holy Hills, the Places of their idolatrous Worship, they surrounded them with Trees, that their impure Rites might be celebrated with greater Solemnity, and hence came the Consecration of Woods and Groves, from which their Idols had their Denomination. At last some select Trees began to be consecrated to this or that Deity, and, to attract Devotion, the Heathens trimmed them up with Ribbons, adorned them with Lights, and made Vows to them, and hung upon them the Spoils of their Enemies; so that Travellers were used to stop when they were to pass by them, as if they had been the Tabernacle and Habitation of some particular God. These were the Temples of the Gods, faith Pliny, and even now the simple People, after the antient Rites, dedicate to a Deity such Trees as excel the rest; nor do we more adore the Images glittering with Gold and Ivory, than we do the Groves, and the solemn Silence therein. And then he reckons what Trees were peculiarly sacred to *Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva,* and other Gods, concluding that several of them, such as the *Sylvani, Fauni,* and some of their Nymphs had their Names from the Woods. This was a Thing so notorious, that in their most sacred Solemnities they were used to present the Gods whom they worshipped with a Crown, or a Garland, made of Boughs, and Leaves of such Trees, in which they were thought to delight, as to *Jupiter* a Crown of *Oak,* to *Apollo* of *Laurel,* to *Minerva* of *Olive,* to *Venus* of *Myrtle.*

This Superstition infected the Hebrews in common with other Nations, notwithstanding they were commanded by the Law of Moses, not only
to avoid, but to extirpate this Kind of Idolatry wherever they found it, by cutting down their consecrated Woods and Groves, that no Monument of those impure Places might be left in the Country, nor no Shades afford a Covering to Images and Altars erected to false Gods: And this Prohibition was not restrained to the Land of Canaan, which was taken from the old Inhabitants, upon the Account of their Idolatry, but extended to all the Countries they should conquer, lest by Imitation they should be infected with the Impiety of the People they had subdued, and be seduced from their Obedience to those Laws by which God designed they should be governed.

The Hebrews had not only their Idols upon Hills and Mountains, but they worshipped a Sort of Penates which they placed sometimes behind the Doors of their private Houses, and adored as Domestick Deities. And the Prophet Hosea charges the Israelites with going a whoring after the Gods they had set up in their Corn Floors, and in their Wine-presses; in short, there was scarce a private Room, or a High-Way, or a Corner of a Street where there was not some Idolatrous Image, which in the wicked Times of their Government was set up by profane Princes and Persons, in order to destroy the established Religion, and corrupt the Devotion of the People. The Effigies likewise of some God was engraven and worn in Rings, in the Nature of Amulets, in which they vainly fancied there was some Power to preserve them from Mischief and Misfortune. Maimonides mentions such idolatrous Rings as were utterly unlawful to be used, and Vessels marked with the Image of the Sun, the Moon, or Dagon, which were accounted Symbols of Divinity among the Heathens.

The most antient Monuments of Idolatry among the Gentiles, were consecrated Pillars, or Columns, which the Hebrews were forbidden to erect.
ereft, as Objects of divine Homage and Adoration. These were rude Stones without the Representation of Men or any other Creatures, and may signify any other Work; an Altar, for Instance, set up for sacred Purposes, and the Exercise of religious Rites. The sovereign celestial Gods were worshipped in the Sun, Moon, and Stars, wherein they were thought to dwell, but the petty Deities, the Demons, were at first adored in plain simple Columns, in which, after a solemn Dedication, they were supposed to keep their Residence. This Practice is conceived to arise from an Imitation of Jacob, who took a Stone and set it up for a Pillar, as a Monument of the divine Mercy to him, and to preserve the Memory of the Vision which he had seen. This Stone was held in great Veneration in future Times, and by the Jews removed to Jerusalem; after the Destruction of which, by Titus, they were indulged (upon that Day when it was taken, which was the only Day they were permitted to come thither) with great Lamentation and Expressions of Sorrow, to go anoint this Stone. From the Word Bethel, the Place where the Pillar was erected, came the Word Baetylia among the Heathen, which signified rude Stones, which they worshipped, either as Symbols of Divinity, or as true Gods animated by some heavenly Power. The learned Bochart afferts, that the Phenicians, at least as the Jews think, first worshipped this very Stone which Jacob anointed, and afterward consecrated others, which they called Baetylia or Baetyl, in Memory of this Stone anointed at Bethel. It is certain, that this idolatrous Custom, came very early into the World, which gave Occasion to Moses, not only to forbid the erecting of such Pillars, but to command them to be broken down and destroyed, wherever they were found, because in his Time, they were converted to profane Uses.

The
The Worshipping of Images had the same Foundation with the Adoring of Pillars; for Images, as Mr. Mede observes, were the Bodies for Daemons to animate and dwell in. The making of these Idols is strictly prohibited, and it is supposed, they included not only protuberant Statues made of Wood or Stone, and other Materials; but also the Pictures of the Stars, or Birds, or Men, or Beasts, or Fishes, left they should prove the Instruments of Idolatry. The second Commandment in the Decalogue, is thus understood by Origen, who affirms, that there was not so much as a Picture-Drawer, or a Maker of Statues, in their Common-wealth. This Opinion he derived, in all likelyhood, from the Jews, who from the Time of the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem, thought they were forbidden by this Law, to make an Image or Figure of any living Creature, especially of a Man. Josephus relates, that all the Roman Governors before Pilate, were used to carry Ensigns in Jerusalem without the Image of Caesar in them, because their Law forbade the making of Images; and when Vitellius was to lead the Roman Army through Judea against the Arabians, with Images in their Ensigns, the People ran to meet him, beseeching him to forbear it, for it was not consonant to the Laws of their Country, to see Images brought into it. But whether this was the antient Exploitation of the Law is much to be questioned. The Talmudists think it was unlawful to make any Figures of celestial Bodies, either prominent or plain, tho' it were only upon the Account of Ornament, but as for Animals, they might make prominent Statues of them, except only of Men, the Images of whom, they might draw upon a Plain. These Distinctions are look'd upon, as not sufficiently supported; and the common Opinion is, that Moses did not intend to forbid the very making of an Image, but that they should not
be made for the Uses of Religion, or set up in any Place of divine Worship.

It is not to be doubted, but that the first Images were made of very mean Materials, and it is probable, that the first Statues were made of Potter's Clay, well burnt, like our earthen Vessels; and what confirms this Opinion is, that these Statues had their Beginning at Babylon, the Place where the working of Clay or Earth, was first practised, as well as the Burning of it, as is evident from the Tower of Babel made of Brickwork. That these earthen Gods might appear the more beautiful to the Eye, they were sometimes painted with Vermilion; next to this, they chose Wood, which is the easiest for Carving, for the Materials of their Gods. This is manifest from the several Passages in the Prophets, where they upbraid the Jews with their wooden Gods; He heweth him down Cedars, and taketh the Cypress and the Oak: Part thereof he will take to burn and warm himself, with Part thereof he eateth Flesh, and the Residue thereof he maketh a God, and fulleth down unto it. But the Eastern Nations did not continue long in this Simplicity, for they affected a singular Magnificence and Respect in the precious Materials of their Idols. Thus we find the Hebrews made their Calf of the best of Metals, and the Scripture frequently Reproaches the Pagans with the Idols of Gold and Silver, which indeed were more frequent in the Eastern, than in any other Parts of the World.

The Prohibition in the Law of Moses, concerning the Worship of Images, is very particular; for as it was forbidden to represent God in a human Shape, which was common among the Heathens, so they were not to make the Figure of any Beast, or Bird, or Insect; for in the Shape of such Creatures, the Gentiles represented their Gods, or some of their Qualities, for not only Oxen were sacred to Aphis, and Rams to Jupiter Ammon, but Hawks and Eagles, and even Beetles, were consecrated
crated to other Deities. No Image of a Serpent was allowed, because they had been often used as Symbols of Divinity, nor of a Fitch, which was one of the Deities of the Syrians. If they saw any Images (as they must needs do in other Countries) the Hebrews were obliged to use no Gesture before them, that signified any Degree of Reverence or Honour, either by Prostration, by bowing their Bodies, or kissing their Hands, much less to offer Sacrifice, to make Vows, to burn Incense, to consecrate Temples to them, to swear by them, or to light Candles before them.

The Punishment attending upon this Sin, was the Destruction and Ruin of themselves and Families. Idolatry was understood to be a Kind of high Treason against the Sovereign of Heaven and Earth, and therefore God threatens to pursue the Guilty with his Vengeance in their Posterity. It is an Observation of Maimonides, that visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, is denounced only against the Sin of Idolatry, and to the fourth Generation is only mentioned, because the most a Man can live to see of his Seed is the fourth Generation; accordingly God orders, says he, that if any City prove Idolaters, the Inhabitants should be destroyed utterly, and all that was therein; Fathers, Children, Grand-children, great Grand-children, and the new-born Infants were all killed for the Sin of their Parents. The same Rabbi judiciously remarks, that in the whole Law of Moses, and in the Books of the Prophets, we shall never find these Words, Fury, Anger, Indignation, Jealousy, attributed to God, but when they relate to Idolatry; nor any Man called an Enemy to God, an Adversary, an Hater of him, but only Idolaters, from whence it appears, that the Worshippers of Images were always included under that Denomination; not that they thought these Images to be Gods (for no Man in the World ever thought a Statue to be the Creator of Heaven and Earth, or the Go-
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vernour of the World) but esteemed them only as Messengers and Mediators between God and Men. This was a Law so well known to the antient Heathens, that the best Men among them would suffer no Images to be set up in their Temples; in particular, Numa forbad this to the Romans, which he learn'd, as Clemens Alexandrinus conceives, from the Institutions of Moses; infomuch, that for the Space of a hundred and seventy Years, though the Romans built Temples, yet they made no Image, neither Statue, nor so much as a Picture, and the Reason is thus given by Plutarch in the Life of that Prince, because they thought it a great Crime to represent the most excellent Being by such mean Things, and that God was to be apprehended only by the Mind.

Deut. vii. 5.

The Hebrews by the Law of Moses were obliged to destroy all the Images they found; such as were molten were to be broken down, and such as were graven were to be consumed with Fire, that no Incentive to Idolatry might remain, nor any Monument of profane Worship be left in the Countries they had subdued. To see this done was properly the Business of the supreme Governor, as the learned Grotius observes; for tho' out of private Places, it belonged to the Lord of the Place, or, if he were negligent, to the King, to remove Idols, yet none but the supreme Power might remove them out of publick Places, or such Persons who were delegated thereby to that Office. After the Idols were defaced, the Jews were forbidden to employ any of the Gold or Silver to their own Use, lest they should be seduced into a Conceit that there was something sacred in it, and so tempted to worship it; nor were they to bring it into their Houses, to be applied to any private Purpose for Advantage, it being one of their affirmative Precepts, that no Man should seek the least Profit or Benefit from any Thing belonging to an Idol; but they were to look upon it, not only as useless and unprofitable,
but as hateful and execrable; and therefore (under the Penalty of Stoning) it was to be entirely consumed and destroyed. These Injunctions tended highly to the Security of the true Religion, which taught them to have every Thing contrary to it, in the utmost Abhorrence, insomuch (as Maimonides interprets this Precept) that if a Man broke such Images, or melted them down, and then fold the Silver and Gold, he committed an Abomination, and the Price of this being mingled with their other Riches, proved the Ruft of them all. Of this the Jews were so sensible, after they had severely smarted for their Idolatry, that they thought it unlawful to use any Vefsel that had been employed in sacrificing to a false God; nay, to warm themselves with the Wood of a Grove, after it was cut down, or to fit under the Shadow of it, for Coolness fake, while it was standing, or so much as to use the Ashes of the Wood that was left after the Grove was burnt.

CHAP. V.

The Worshipping of the Brass Serpent.

Notwithstanding the Severity of the Law against the making of Images, yet, as Justin Martyr observes in his Book against Trypho, it must be somewhat mysterious, that God, in the Case of the Brass Serpent, should command an Image to be made, for which, he says, one of the Jews confessed, he never could hear a Reason from any of their Doctors; nor is it possible, says the same Father, to be understood, till they believe in Christ, and him crucified, whose Victory over the Devils, by his Cross and Passion, was in this Type most lively represented. This was an Image of polished Brass, in the Form of one of those flaming
flaming Serpents who bit the People, which, though not followed with immediate Death, yet made an Inflammation, and such Ulcers, as some conceive, were incurable. This Figure was set upon a Pole, so high that every one in the Camp might see it; and whoever was bitten, when he look’d up to it, and (as the Jews speak) directed his Heart to God, was cured of the Wound. They had so much Understanding generally, as to say, that the mere Beholding of it had no Effect, for the Author of the Book of Wisdom observes, he that turned himself towards it, was not healed by the Thing which he saw, but by thee that art the Saviour of all; and therefore it was a Superstitious Conceit to fancy that this Serpent was a Sort of Talisman, made to receive I know not what Influence from the Stars.

To be cured and restored to perfect Health, by looking upon this Image, according to the Jews, advanced the Dignity of the Miracle, because naturally it would have made the Inflammation the greater; for they observe that those, who are bit by venomous Beasts, and follow the Prescriptions of Physicians, must not behold the Image of the Beast by whom they were bitten: But this was commanded by God, that the Israelites might know that their Disease and their Medicine came from him, who made that, whose Aspect was pernicious, become a Remedy, and a Means of their Preservation. The Lifting-up of the Brass Serpent was a Thing so well known to all the neighbouring Nations, that as Tavernier relates in his Travels, the Fame of it, in all Probability, was carried into India, where they still set up an Idol in the Form of a wreathed Serpent upon a Perch six or seven Foot high, which they devoutly worship, and solemnly carrying it along with them in their Travels, prepare it every Morning for the Company to pay their Adorations to it.
This Brass Serpent was preserved as a Monument of the divine Mercy, but in Process of Time became an Instrument of Idolatry. When this Superstition began, is difficult to determine; but the best Account is given by David Kimchi in the following Manner. From the Time that the Kings of Israel did Evil, and the Children of Israel followed Idolatry, till the Reign of Hezekiah, they offered Incense to it; for it being written in the Law of Moses, whoever looks upon it shall live, they fancied, they might obtain Blessings by its Mediation, and therefore thought it worthy to be worshipped. It had been kept from the Days of Moses, in memory of a Miracle, just as the Pot of Manna also was: And Asa and Jehoshaphat did not extirpate it, when they rooted out Idolatry, because in their Reign they did not observe that the People worshipped this Serpent, or burnt Incense to it; and therefore they left it as a Memorial. But Hezekiah thought fit to take it quite away, when he abolished other Idolatry, because in the Time of his Father they adored it as an Idol; and though pious People among them accounted it only as a Memorial of a wonderful Work, yet he judged it better to abolish it, though the Memory of the Miracle should happen to be lost, than suffer it to remain, and leave the Israelites in Danger to commit Idolatry hereafter with it. Our learned Dr. Jackson observes, that the pious Hezekiah was moved with the greater Indignation against the Worship of this Image, because in Truth it never was a Type of our Saviour, but a Figure of his grand Enemy, and therefore he expressed such Detestation of it, as not only to break it in Pieces, to grind it to Powder, and scatter it in the Air, that no superstitious Relick might remain of it, but to fix upon it the Name of Nebuchistan, the Signification of which Word though not to be found in our Lexicons, yet in our English Language is conceived to import no less than Satan, the foul Fiend, or the old Dragon.
There is a Fable among the Jews, that some Fragments of the Brazen Serpent remained till the Time of Josiah; and at this Day, as Siganus relates in his History of Italy, they pretend to shew this Serpent intire at the Church of St. Ambrose in Milan: But the wiser Romanists are ashamed of this Imposture, and confess it is not the Figure made by Moses, (which was broken and never restored) but another devised in Imitation of it.

CHAP. VI.

The Idolatry of the Golden Calf.

The Molten Calf was another Object of idolatrous Worship among the Hebrews. They had hitherto been conducted through the Wilderness by a Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that went before them, but that Cloud now covering the Mount where Moses was, and not removing at all from thence, they imagined that it would no longer be their Guide, and therefore they applied to Aaron as supreme Governor of their Affairs, to make for them a Sacred Sign, or Symbol, as other Nations had, that might represent God in a visible Manner. They said to Aaron, say the Jews, We find that the Egyptians extol their Gods, they sing and chant before them, for they behold them with their Eyes; make us such Gods as theirs are, that we may see them before us. They desired, saith a Rabbi, a sensible Object of divine Worship, not with any Intention to deny God who brought them out of Egypt, but that something in the Place of God might stand before them when they declared his wonderful Works. Aaron, after great Debate and Importunity, complied with their Demand; for it is not credible, he would immediately con-
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fent to so impious a Fact as this is without the Chap. 6. least Argument against it. This is so improbable, that the Jews have invented this Story, that Hur having rebuked the People for this Attempt, they fell upon him and killed him, which frightened Aaron into a speedy Compliance.

The Materials of this Idol were golden Ear-Rings of the People, worn in those Eastern Countries, by Men as well as Women, and probably they were some of the Jewels which they borrowed of the Egyptians. These they presented as an Offering to Aaron, who put them in a Bag, and then, having a Mould, cast them into it, and made a Golden Calf.

This Image was no bigger than a Calf, though it had an Head like an Ox; and some imagine that Aaron with a graving Tool, made the same Marks upon it as were upon the Egyptian Apis, which was a Cow that had a Spot upon her right Side like a Crescent, (as some Writers observe) and a square white Spot in her Forehead. But others think it more reasonable, that the Calf coming rough out of the Mould, he only polished it with a proper Tool; for though Apis was in great Honour among the Egyptians, yet it was a living Cow, and not the Image of one which they had in such Veneration. Therefore Mr. Selden De Dis Syris, takes it to be more probable, that this golden Calf, or Ox, or Bullock, (for so the Psalmist differently calls it) was made in Imitation of that golden Ox that represented Osiris; for the Egyptians had a mighty Veneration for the River Nile, called in Hebrew Sichor (from whence came Siris, and for the Dog-Star (called Siris likewise) at whose Rising the River began to swell, and for the Sun (which was principally intended by this Name) to whom, both the Bull at Heliopolis, and the Ox at Memphis were solemnly consecrated.

It is difficult to discover the Reason, that induced Aaron to represent God in this Figure; many are of Opinion, that he imitated the Egyptian;
gyptians among whom he had long lived, which to me appears unlikely, since he had seen the Judgments executed by God against all their Deities. Nor is it probable that he would make such a Representation of the Divinity as was in Use among a Nation, from whose Slavery they had lately been deliver'd; and further, what Reason is there to imagine, that the Israelites themselves could be inclined to believe, that their God was like any thing which that People worshipped, who abhorred the Sacrifices which the God of Israel required. Their Conjecture seems to be more reasonable, who say, that Aaron in making this Calf, took his Pattern from some Part of the Shechinah, which appeared to him and the Elders of Israel, (when they eat before God) attended with the Angels; some of which called Cherubims, they think appeared with the Faces of Oxen. But as there is no Mention in that Place of Cherubims, nor of Angels appearing in any Shape whatsoever, and Moses expressly says, the Israelites saw no Manner of Similitude on the Day when the Lord spake to them in Horeb, (and therefore in all probability, Aaron and the Elders saw none afterwards) so it is supposed, there is no Evidence, that the heavenly Ministers at any Time appeared in this Shape, till the Shechinah departed from the Temple in the Days of Ezekiel. It is therefore imagined, that Aaron made Choice of an Ox to be the Symbol of the divine Presence, in hope, that the People would never be so stupid as to worship it, but only to put them in Mind of the divine Power represented by it; for the Head of an Ox was antiently an Emblem of Strength, and Horns were a common Sign of kingly Power, which made the Christian Fathers perhaps, when they spake of this Calf, or Ox of Aaron, mention only its Head; because Moses, (says Lactantius) went up to the Mount and saith there forty Days, they made themselves the Figure of a Bullock's Head.
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Head, called *Apis* in Egypt, to be carried before them; not because he imagined that *Aaron* made only the Head, but because this was the principal Part whereby God was represented.

When the Idol of the Calf was formed, the People cried out, that it was a proper Image or Symbol of the divine Majesty, which had deliver'd them from the Bondage of Egypt, and *Aaron*, at their Request, set it apart by a solemn Rite of Consecration; he built an Altar, offered Sacrifices, and kept a solemn Feast in Honour of it, and as at this Time, *Moses* had not prescribed any Rules for their Sacrifices, 'tis probable, that they sacrificed after the Manner of the Nations, and likely, after the Custom of the *Egyptians*. This mock Dedication was solemnized with Musick, Dancing, and Songs, and some imagine, that after they had eaten and drunk liberally, they committed Fornication, and all Manner of Lasciviousness, after the Manner of the Heathen Worshippers.

*Moses* upon his Return from the Mount, was an Eye-Witness of these abominable Festivities in the Camp, and being seized with a divine Impulse, he threw the Idol into the Fire, and melted it down, so that though the Matter remained, yet the outward Form and Shape of it was destroyed; he then filed it down to Powder, and grated it into Dust as small as Flour, and straw'd it upon the Water of the Brook that descended out of the Mount. So that the People having no other Water, were obliged, when they were thirsty, to drink it with this Mixture. The Jews fancy, that the Dust of the Calf was thrown into the Brook, in order to discover those that were guilty of Idolatry, for upon such it had the same Effect with the Water of Jealousie, it made their Bellies swell, and their Beards, as some have fabled, turn yellow, but this Conjecture has no Support. The Design was to convince them, how vile a thing this Idol was, which was gone into their Draught, and mixed with their Excrements.
The Excuse made by Aaron, when he was questioned about his Behaviour in this Matter, has given some Trouble to Expositors, for he seems to urge in his Defence, that he threw the Gold into the Fire without any ill Intention, and without meddling any further with it, but it came in the Form of a Calf, which made our Dr. Jackson think it more than probable, that there was some magical or daemoniacal Skill practised in the sudden molting of this Idol, which very much increased the Peoples Superstition to it; for what else, says he, would Aaron mean by these Words, *I cast it into the Fire, and there came out this Calf*, than, that there was some secret invisible Operation whereby is was moulded into this Form in an Instant, which raised the Peoples Devotion to it. This learned Man falls into the Opinion of some Jews who go a great deal further, and imagine, that the Devil enter’d into the Idol, and made it roar like a Bull, to carry a greater Awe and Terror with it. But these seem to be Conceits invented for the Excuse of Aaron, who in the History is said plainly to have made this molten Calf, which he could not have done without designing it, and running the Gold into a Mould of this Figure. The Jews to this Day are very solicitous to palliate this Idolatry of their Ancestors, but with little Success, as appears from a Proverb for many Ages received among them. That *all the Miseries that have befallen them, are Morsels of the golden Calf.*
The Golden Calves erected by Jeroboam at Dan and Bethel.

The Calves set up by Jeroboam have to near a Relation to that of the Wilderness, that this seems to be a proper Place to give an Account of them; for the Idolatry was altogether the same both in its Form and Matter, tho' the Cause be somewhat different. The History of this Transaction is thus related in Scripture. God to punish Solomon, for having turned his Heart to the Idols of his foreign Women, suffered that flourishing State which he had governed as King, to be torn to pieces at the Beginning of the Reign of Rehoboam his Son; Jeroboam one of his Ministers, having found Means to make ten of the Tribes revolt against him, which remained thus divided from the rest till the Destruction of the whole Country by the Kings of Assyria and Chaldea. This revolted Prince, when he was fixed upon the Throne, easily foresaw, that he would soon lose both his Crown and Subjects, if he suffered the People, who were particularly bound to go up to Jerusalem, at the great Festivals, to perform their Worship in that Place. The Splendor and Magnificence of the Temple, the Majesty of Religion, the Address of the Priests concerned to bring back the Schismatics, and the Threatnings and Power of the King, he was afraid, would ruin his Designs. And therefore to prevent these Inconveniences, he made two Calves of Gold, and set them up, the one in Dan and the other in Bethel, the first being on the North Side, and the second to the South of the Frontiers of Judaea; where he commanded his Subjects to offer their Sacrifices and
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Devotions. Bethel was, in the general Opinion, esteem'd as a sacred Place, having been consecrated by Jacob, when God appeared to him there more than once, and Dan had been famous for the Teraphim of Micah unto which there was a publick Resort of the People: For these Reasons it is supposed, he waved his royal City which was Shechem, and chose these two Places for the Residence of the divine Majesty, for so he pretended, that these Calves represented the true God who brought their Fathers out of Egypt, whom he did not forsake, but worship in these Symbols of his Presence.

It is observed, by the learned Bochart, that one Egg is not more like to another, than these Calves were to that which was made by Aaron in the Wilderness, only, as the Jews say, till the Time of Jeroboam the Jews sucked but one Calf, but from that Time they sucked two: And this Idolatry, it is probable, came likewise from Egypt, where Jeroboam had lived a considerable Time with the King of Tophakm, whilst he was banished the Court of Solomon and his Country. These Calves are spoken of by the Prophet Hosea in the feminine Gender, who calls them Heifers, or young Cows; The Septuagint say, Jeroboam made two golden Heifers, and so does Josephus, he made two Heifers of Gold, and consecrated to them two Temples. But most of the antient Interpreters conceive, that the Historians made use of this Expression signifying a Female, only to render the Worship of the Idols the more contemptible; and say, that these Calves were made in Imitation of the Egyptians, who had a Couple of Oxen which they worshipped; Apis at Memphis, the Metropolis of the upper Egypt, and Maces at Hierapolis, which was the chief City of the lower.

The Leader of the Rebels, as well as the Idolaters in the Wilderness, proclaimed before the Idols upon the Feast of their Consecration; These are thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee
out of the Land of Egypt, as if he had said; God is everywhere in his Essence, and cannot be included in any Place; he dwells among you here as well as at Jerusalem, and if you enquire any Symbols of his Presence, behold here they are in these Calves which I have set up; for they could not be so stupid as to believe, that the Idols taken just before out of the Furnace, had been their Deliverers so many Ages before. It is evident, that the Worship of these Calves was not looked upon by the sacred Writers, and by the Prophets, as an absolute Pagan Idolatry, but only as a Schism, which was indeed very criminal in itself, but did not come up to the Degree of a total Apostasy; for the History of the Revolt of the ten Tribes introduces Jeroboam speaking not like a Person whose Intention was to make the People change their Religion, but as representing to them, that the true God being everywhere, was not confined to any certain Place, and therefore they might pay their Devotions to him, as well in Dan and Bethel, as at Jerusalem.

The Worship offered before these Images, it is supposed, was in Imitation of the Ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, or had it been otherwise, God would have reproached them with it by his Prophets, which, that he did, does no where appear: It is only to be observed, that Jeroboam alter'd the Day of the Feast of the seventh Month (being the Feast of Tabernacles) which instead of its being celebrated upon the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month, he transferred to the fifteenth Day of the following Month. So says the Text, he offered upon the Altar that he had made in Bethel, the fifteenth Day of the eighth Month, in the Month which he had devised of his own Heart, and ordained a Feast, and offered upon the Altar, and burnt Incense. Had he introduced any other Alterations, they would questionless have been mentioned in the History.

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The sacred Writ says, "in the Month he had devised, but does not say, he devised the Feast, or Ceremonies of the Feast, which is generally believed he appointed to be celebrated every Year at Bethel, in the same Manner as the Feast of Tabernacles was at Jerusalem; but the most forcible Argument to prove, that he made no Alteration in the Worship, is thus stated: Shalmaneser the King of Assyria having carried into Captivity the ten Tribes, sent into their Country a Colony of Assyrians and Chaldeans, who carry'd along with them their Idols, and worshipped them; but the King being informed they were devoured by Lions, because they did not worship the God of the Country, he commanded one of the Priests whom they brought from Samaria to be carried thither, and he dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. This Expedient succeeded so well, that the Inhabitants were no more a Prey to the wild Beasts, which is thought a convincing Argument, that the Samaritans worshipped the true God, who had put them in Possession of that Country, and that it was by the same Manner of Worship they had received from Moses, otherwise this Worship could not have been prevailing with God to withdraw the Lions from among them.

The Priests of the Family of Aaron, and the Levites, who had their Cities and Abodes among the ten revolted Tribes, to avoid joining in the Schism, retired most of them into the Dominions of the King of Judah, which proving a great additional Strength to the House of David, gave Jeroboam an Opportunity of seizing their Cities and Estates, whereby he eased the People of paying their Tythes, there being none to demand them, so he gratified them by making Priests out of every Tribe and Family, even in the extreme Part of the Country. Thus as he transferred the Kingdom from the House of David, so he removed..."
removed the Priesthood from the Family of Aaron, and let it loose, that any body might be admitted to that honourable Employment. This raised his Popularity, and, no doubt, ingratiated him with the Israelites; and it is supposed, as he had Priests, so he had Levites also of the same Stamp; that is, some to serve under the Priests as they did, but in Opposition to the established Rule, these lower Officers always minister'd in black Vestsments. The Pontificate and Supremacy over this schismatical Priesthood, he re-served in his own Hands; for the Temple he erected to inclose his Calves, and the Altars he built for Sacrifices, he consecrated himself, and presumed to perform the highest Part of the Priest's Office, which was to burn Incense. These Idols were at length destroyed by the Kings of Assyria; the Calf in Bethel was carried to Babylon, with other Spoils, by Shalmaneser, and the other in Dan was seized by Tiglab-Pileser, about ten Years before, in the Invasion which he made upon Galilee, in which Province the City stood.

C H A P. VIII.

Gideon's Ephod.

The Ephod made by Gideon with the Spoil Judges viii. of the Midianites, became after his Death an Object of Idolatry. It is supposed to have been a long Vest, much like the Ephod of the High-priest, made of Purple, Gold, Crimson and fine Linen, and splendidly adorned with precious Stones; but the Use of this Ephod is not so easy to discover. St. Austin believed it was made in Imitation of the Quest. L. 7. Ephod of the High-priest, and by it must be understood all the Vessels of the Holy-place, as if Gideon had made the Ephod, and all belonging to
to it, that is, a Tabernacle, and all the holy Vessels; so that himself and Family, and all the Israelites sacrificed in Ophrah, near the Tabernacle which he had built. Thus they did not worship the Idols, but worshipped God in another Place and another Tabernacle, and served him with other Vessels than the holy Vessels he had appointed, which was a plain Rebellion: But this Father is singular in this Opinion; and I find that of the Jews carries much more probability in it, that Gideon made this Ephod for a Monument of his Victory over the Midianites. It was, says a Rabbi, to be a Monument of the great Deliverance of Israel, and to shew how great was the Strength of their vanquished Enemies, that great Masts of Gold which was in the Ephod being made only with the Ear-Rings of the Prisoners. This is much more probable, and it is possible that Gideon might have a pious and devout Intention in setting up this Trophy, in memory of his miraculous Destruction of two hundred thousand of his Enemies, by three hundred Men only armed with empty Pitchers and Lamps in them.

But this Conjecture is found not to be well supported in every Part of it, for the Rabbi above pretends that Gideon put into this Ephod all the Gold that was taken from the Midianites, to shew how great was the Multitude of the subdued Enemies, when of their Ear-Rings alone, so great a Piece of Work was made. The Weight of those Rings was a thousand seven hundred Shekels. The Hebrew Shekel weighed about four Drachms, or half an Ounce; if you reduce seventeen hundred half Ounces into Pounds, the whole will amount to forty two, or forty three Pounds of Gold. Now it is hard to conceive how much Gold could come into one Garment, the Ground of which was certainly Scarlet, Purple, and fine Linen. Besides, there were other Rings, Boxes of Perfumes, Collars, and many
many more Particulars of greater Weight, perhaps than the Ear-Rings, which all seem to have been put into the Ephod. And St. Austin supposes it to be of maffy Gold, because the Text faith, Gideon set it up; as if it were meant by it, that this Garment flood up of it self, because it was not Cloth or Stuff, but a melted Matter into the Form of a Garment, or Cloak: But the most easy Interpretation is this, That Gideon took part of the Spoils, and made of them the Ephod to preserve the Memory of his Victory, and reserved the rest for the Use of his House, which from that Time was a rich and considerable Family in Israel; for the Reader may observe, that it is said, He made an Ephod thereof; that is, out of this Offering, not that it was all spent upon it.

If it be inquired, why Gideon should choose a kind of Raiment for a Monument, and not have erected a Pillar, or caused some huge Heap of Stones, to be rais’d, which, being the Practice of those times, might have preserved the Memory of his Victory? It is supposed by some, that instead of setting up a Pillar, and hanging up Trophies, he chose to make an Ephod as a Reason that he ascribed his Success only to God, and triumphed in nothing but only the Restoration of the true Religion, which he accomplishe’d by his Victories: Besides, this Ephod, or Gown of Gideon’s, is thought to be the Signal of Battle, and military Ensign to the Armies, under which the Soldiers met: If it be so, ’tis not to be wonder’d if Gideon, to preserve the Memory of the Defeat of the Midianites made choice of that which was the Signal and Standard under which the Soldiers had fought.

But how this Ephod of Gideon became an Idol, and perverted to the purposes of false Worship, is not so easy to determine; the most favourable Opinion is, that the People, after his Death, returned to Idolatry, and had this Fancy among others,
others, that God would answer them where this Ephod was, as well as at the Tabernacle in Shiloh; but others suppose that Gideon having consecrated to God this Ephod, as a standing Monument of his Victory, his Religion required that this Piece so consecrated should be laid up in the Tabernacle, as the general Custom was among all Nations, that the Gifts made to the Gods were usually brought into their Temples, to hang there. The Sword of Goliath was accordingly placed in the Tabernacle, and David found it there. This Ephod therefore should have been in Shiloh where the Service of God was then settled, but from a Principle of Vanity he set up this consecrated Ephod in his own Town; however, both he and all the People looked upon it as a precious Remain dedicated to that God who had so wonderfully delivered them from the Hand of Midian, and probably he celebrated, in the very Place where he set this Ephod, some solemn Feast of Thanksgiving, for so great a Victory, of which this Ephod was a Monument, and built a Tabernacle, or a Temple for it: For the Scripture does not say, he put it in his House, but in his City, which may signify that he raised a Building to put it in, and built an Altar for it, where he offered Sacrifice and celebrated such Feasts as he appointed; and probably he looked upon it as a Symbol of the Divine Presence, much like to the Ark of God, or the Ephod of the High-priest: And the People met there, not only upon the festival Days, but also at other Times, to perform their Devotion to the Honour of God; for it cannot be supposed that Gideon should be guilty either of committing himself, or suffering others to commit such an Instance of Idolatry, as to worship that Cloth of Scarlet and Gold, which he had caused to be woven. This Worship proved unacceptable, and occasioned the Ruin of himself and Family; for though it was not strictly idolatrous, yet it was schismatical, God
God having appointed the Tabernacle for the Place of his Worship, and therefore the Sacrifices made, and the Feasts celebrated anywhere else, could not be acceptable, though possibly, for some Time, they might be indulged by him.

**CHAP. IX.**

**Micah's Images, and Teraphim.**

It is commonly said by the Jews, that Idolatry was introduced into Israel by a Woman; Judges xviii. 7, &c.

This Person was a rich Widow, the Mother of one Micah an Ephraimite; she had, it seems, devoted, or consecrated to a holy Use, a Sum of Money amounting to eleven hundred Shekels of Silver; but before it was applied to the Purpose she designed, she was robbed of it by her own Son, who after some time ingenuously confessed the Theft, and restored the Money. She immediately forgave the Fraud, and delivered the Money to him again, who by her Direction and for the Convenience of himself and Family, contrived a Place for divine Worship, at his own Home, in Imitation of the House of God at Shiloh, and provided Furniture that he thought proper for the Uses of Devotion. Accordingly two hundred Shekels he applied for the making a Graven Image, and a Molten Image, that he might make some Resemblance of God whereby to worship him at his own House, without the Trouble, upon all Occasions, of going up to the Tabernacle; for he did not intend to forsake the God of Israel, but only to pay Adoration to him by an Image. It is not certain whether this Silver was melted by the Founder, and then the Images were made of it, or that for this Sum of Money the Images were sold, made perhaps of Brass, and silvered
vered over; and this is more probable, because they would have been very small, if they had been made only of two hundred Shekels. Some have imagined, that these Figures were a Representation of the two Cherubimms which covered the Ark; but this seems to be a wild Conjecture; for these Images were of different Kinds, the one graven and the other molten, but it is certain the Cherubimms were both alike.

That the divine Service in his House might, in some Measure, resemble the holy Offices of the Tabernacle, he makes with the rest of the Money an Ephod, as a sacerdotal Garment for the Priest to wear whom he designed to appoint; and set up an Oracle or Teraphim, by which the Priest in his Ephod and other Habiliments, should enquire of God; for they were a Sort of Images whereby the Eastern People consulted the Deity, and hoped to receive Answers from him. His eldest Son he ordained for his Priest, and then having met with a young Levite, that was begging about the Country, he took him into his House, promised him a yearly Salary of ten Shekels, and a Winter and Summer Suit of Clothes, and with great Presumption consecrated him a Priest, who by the Law was absolutely incapable of the priestly Office; but this Chapel was robbed by a Party of the Tribe of Dan, who violently carried away the Furniture of it, and inticed the Priest along with them; the Images, the Ephod, and the Teraphim, they set up in the City of Dan, where afterwards, Jeroboam, fixed one of his Calves, and there they continued till the Ark of God was taken by the Philistines.

It is to be observed here, that this false Worship continued in this Place, notwithstanding the Zeal of many Judges who were good Men and great Reformers, but could not extend their Authority to the very Skirts of the Country, where Idolatry still lurked in this Corner of the
the Land. But God made Use of the Philistines as Instruments to put an End to it, for when they destroyed Shiloh, where the true House of God was, they subverted this House of Gods, as it is called, which they esteemed as a Resemblance of it. And perhaps, as the Ark was brought into the Field against the Philistines, so the Danites brought these Images with the Ephod and Teraphim, and the Priest who was slain with Hopnii and Phinebas, or, as Huetius conceives, carried Captive into the Land of the Philistines, with a great many other Israelites. But this Place remained still so famous, for the Resort of People thither to worship, that when Jeroboam set up his golden Calves, he erected one of them here in Dan, as another in Bethel; where there having been a real Appearance of God in ancient Time to Jacob, the People were easily made to believe there had been the like in Dan, in the Time here mentioned.

C H A P. X.

The Samaritan Temple upon Mount Gerizim.

The Defection or Schism of the ten Tribes, is sufficiently related in the sacred Writings, and may properly be divided into three Periods; The First, From the Time of Jeroboam to the Transportation of the ten Tribes by Shalmaneser; the Second, From the Time of their Transportation, to their return from their Captivity; and the Third, From their Return to the Appearance of Christ. Jeroboam chose Shechem for the Place of his Residence, which from thence, was transferred by his Successors to Samaria, and has given the Origin to the Name of the Samaritans. The Places appointed for
for their Worship were Dan, and Bethel, where they set up their golden Calves, and established a Kind of Devotion in Resemblance of the divine Service perform'd at the Temple at Jerusalem. But as this Samaritan Worship was not the same with that of Jerusalem, but different in Ceremonials, and intermixed besides with some Pagan Ceremonies, it is doubted, whether this was a simple Schism in the first Period, or an actual Heresy and Idolatry.

The second Period takes its Beginning with the Time of the carrying away of the ten Tribes into Captivity. After which the Kings of Assyria, in order to re-people the Country, sent thither Colonies of Men of divers Nations and different Idolatries; and so the Country fell into a Medley of Religion, in some Things resembling the Jewish, and in others the Worship of the Heathen. For their Idolatries the Vengeance of God sent Lyons among them, who having devoured some of them, because they worshipped not the God of that Country, they addressed themselves to the King of Assyria, who sent them a Priest to instruct them in the Service of the true God, which they embraced, yet not so as to abandon altogether their ancient Idolatry, which Mixture of God's Service and the Worship of Idols, continued thus till the Return of the Jews out of their Captivity.

The Governours of Samaria did all, what in them lay, to obstruct the Re-edifying of the Temple at Jerusalem, which prov'd the Occasion of that mortal Hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, which continues to this Day. Nevertheless, the Jews intermarrying with the Samaritan Women, and by Degrees contracting a more intimate Correspondence with them, by the mutual Intermixture of these two People, the divine Worship was, in process of Time, in some measure, purged from their former Errors, and the Samaritans banished Idolatry from among them. Among those who had mar-
ried a Samaritan, was one Manassæh, who espoused the Daughter of Sanballat. The Story is fully related by Josephus to this Purpose.

Manassæs the Brother of Jaddua the High-priest had married Nicasso the Daughter of Sanballat, which thing the Elders of the Jews resenting as a Violation of their Laws; and as an Introduction to strange Marriages, they urged that either he should put away his Wife, or be degraded from the Priesthood; and accordingly Jaddua his Brother drove him away from the Altar, that he should not sacrifice. Upon this Manassæs addressing himself to his Father-in-Law Sanballat, tells him, that it was true indeed that he loved his Daughter Nicasso most dearly, but he would not lose his Function for her Sake, it being hereditary to him by Descent, and honourable among his Nation. To this Sanballat replied, that he could devise such a Course, as that he should not only continue to enjoy his Priesthood, but also obtain a High-priesthood, and be made a Primate and Metropolitan of a whole Country, upon Condition that he would keep his Daughter, and not put her away; for he would build a Temple upon Mount Gerizim over Sichem, like the Temple at Jerusalem, and this by the Consent of Darius, who was now Monarch of the Persian Empire. Manassæs embraced such Hopes and Promises, and remained with his Father-in-Law, thinking to obtain a High-priesthood from the King: And whereas many of the Priests and People at Jerusalem were intricaded in the like Marriages, they fell away to Manassæs, and Sanballat provided them Lands, Houses and Subsistence: But Darius the King being overthrown by Alexander the Great, Sanballat revolted to the Conqueror, did him Homage, and submitted himself and his Dominions to him; and having now a proper Opportunity he made his Petition, and obtained it, of building this his Temple. That which forwarded his Request was, that Jaddua the High-priest at Jerusalem had
The Antiquities of the

Book V. had incurred Alexander's Displeasure for denying him Help and Assistance at the Siege of Tyre. Sanballat pleaded, that he had a Son-in-Law, named Manasses, Brother to Jaddua, to whom very many of the Jews were well affected, and had recourse; and might he but have Liberty to build a Temple in Mount Gerizim, it would be a great Weakening to Jaddua, for by that means the People would have a fair Invitation to revolt from him. Alexander easily condescended to his Request, and so he set about the Building with all possible Expedition. When it was finished it made a great Apostacy at Jerusalem, for many that were accused and indicted for eating forbidden Meats, for violating the Sabbath, or for other Crimes, fled away from Jerusalem to Sichem and to Mount Gerizim, and that became a common Sanctuary for Offenders. Thus far the Historian. This Temple was five Years a building, after the Model of that at Jerusalem, and remained standing about two hundred Years, when it was laid desolate by Hircanus, King of the Jews, about an hundred and thirty Years before the Nativity of Christ. It is difficult to determine, whether this Temple was afterwards rebuilt.

CHAP. XI.

The Principles of the Samaritans.

The religious Principles of the old Samaritans have been mentioned in general, in the Beginning of these Antiquities, but in this Place they ought more particularly to be explained. It must be observed therefore that the Samaritans received no other Scripture but the Pentateuch, rejecting the Prophets and all other Books that are in the Jewish Canon. The five Books of Moses they have still among them, written in the old
old Hebrew and Phœnician Character, which was in Use before the Babylonish Captivity, from whence they boast, that theirs is the true authentic Copy, and that the Copy made by Ezra was a Transcript from theirs. This Samaritan Pentateuch has occasioned great Disputes among learned Men, some placing its Antiquity long before the Captivity of Babylon, and others insisting that it was introduced among the Samaritans, by Manasses, and the apostate Jews that followed him; and because the old Phœnician Character was that only which the Samaritans were used to, they caused this Law for their Sakes to be written out in that Character, and in this they have retained it ever since. That great Critick, Father Simon Critical Hist. of the Old Test. P. I. c. 10. seems to have cleared this Difficulty, and delivers his Sentiments in this Manner.

There happened, under Rehoboam the Son of Solomon, a Schism among the Israelites, which divided them into two Kingdoms; one of these Kingdoms was called Judah, and contained those who remained at Jerusalem, fasten to Rehoboam, and the Family of David; the others preserved the ancient Name of Israelites, and left Jerusalem under the Conduct of Jeroboam. The Capital of their Kingdom was Samaria, whence they have been called Samaritans. This Schism having weaken’d the Republick of the Hebrews; Salmanassar King of Assyria conquered Samaria, and sent all the People captive into remote Countries, and at the same time planted in their Places Colonies of Babylonians, Cuθbeans and other Idolaters; but these finding themselves devoured by Lyons and other Beasts, demanded an Israelitic Priest to teach them the Law and Customs of the Country they came to inhabit, which was granted them; and this Priest taught them the Law of Moses, and it is probable that he brought them a Copy of the Law he was to teach them.

As the ten Tribes who followed Jeroboam’s Side did not make an entire Apostacy from the E R Religion
Religion of the Hebrews, they had without doubt preserved the Law of Moses; and it is this Law which the Priest, sent by Salmanazar, taught the Inhabitants of this new Colony, who were no more troubled with the Beastis, which before devoured them. 'Tis true, the People retained something of their old Idolatry; but that hindered not but that they also observed the Law of Moses, and offered Sacrifices according to the Ceremonies of this Law, though they offered others according to their antient Superstition. However it was with these Samaritans, it is certain, that they who are now so called have the five Books of Moses writ in the Hebrew Tongue, and in the antient Hebrew Characters, which are now called Samaritan; they have preserved nothing of their Idolatry, on the contrary, they observe the Law of Moses, more after the Letter than the Jews, and the Explanation of the Glosses contained in the Talmud, and which the Jews exactly follow, are altogether unknown to them. They have no other canonical Books but the Pentateuch, because all the other sacred Books which are in the Jewish Canon were certainly not published in the Time when they made their Schism, and that is the Reason that they acknowledge nothing for divine and authentick, but the Law of Moses.

We cannot certainly be assured that the Cuthleans and other People, who came to inhabit Samaria, had Copies of the Law, because the Priest, who was sent to them, might have taught them it with the Ceremonies of Moses, without giving them Copies of a Law which they could not have understood, it being written in a Language which was altogether strange to them, and in Characters of which they had no Knowledge; but when they had quitted their antient Idolatry, and had built a Temple on the Mountain Garazim, where they offered Sacrifices as the Jews did at Jerusalem, it was necessary, they should have
have the five Books of Moses, and the Agreement that is between their antient Copy and that of the Jews, makes me think that at that time they did but copy that of the Jews, and that the Differences which are at present, proceed from Transcribers, excepting some Words which have been changed on Purpose to maintain their own Opinions and Prejudices.

As for the antient Hebrew Characters which are pretended to be kept by the Samaritans, one cannot from thence certainly conclude that they have preserved the antient Hebrew Copy of the Law: As soon as they had a Temple and the Books of Moses, they writ them in their ordinary Characters, as they yet write the Arabick in these antient Samaritan Letters: This Custom has likewise spread it itself over other Nations of the Levant; and we see that the Syrians, whether Jacobites, or Maronites, or Nestorians, write the Arabian Language in Syrian Characters: The Jews of Constantinople likewise write the Persian, the Arabick, the Vulgar Greek, and the Spanish, in Hebrew Characters, as appears from two Tetraple Pentateuchs which they have printed in all those Languages at Constantinople. The German Jews likewise often write the High Dutch in Hebrew Characters, wherefore the Characters alone are not a sufficient Proof to shew, that the Samaritans having preserved the antient Manner of writing which was used before the Captivity, have likewise preserved the antient Books without any Change. Upon the whole, we may conclude that the Samaritans not having faithfully translated the Hebrew Text in some Places, we ought to have recourse to the Jewish Copy, which nevertheless hinders us not from correcting sometimes the Hebrew Text of the Jews by the Samaritan. They are two Copies from the same Original, each of which having its Failures and Perfections, the one may properly serve to assist the other. So much is judiciously observed by the French Critick.
Besides the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew, the Samaritans have also another in the Language that was vulgarly spoken among them; for as the Jews, after the Babylonish Captivity, degenerated in their Language, from the Hebrew to the Babylonish Dialect, so the Samaritans did the same: Whether this happened by their bringing this Dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the Speech of those Phœnician and Syrian Nations, who lived next them, or else had it from the Mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manna, is difficult to determine; and therefore as the Jews, for the sake of the Vulgar among them, who underlood nothing but the vulgar Language, were forc'd to make Chaldee Versions of the Scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases, so the Samaritans were forced for the same Reason, to do the same Thing, and to make a Version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan Version. This Translalion is not made like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of Paraphrase, but generally by an exact rendering of the Text Word for Word. Not but there are some Variations and Additions, which either happened by the Errors of the Transcribers, or were designedly inserted by the Samaritans, the better to support their Cause against the Jews.

Another Difference in Religion, between the Samaritans and the Jews, relates to the Receiving of Traditions, which are strenuously embraced by the Jews, but rejected by the Samaritans, who abide firmly by the written Word; but what engaged them in the most violent Contests, was the Dispute concerning the Place where they ought to worship, the one contending for the Temple at Jerusalem, and the other for that upon Mount Gerizim: Here, the Samaritans urge, were Altars erected, and Sacrifices offered by Abraham.
Abraham and Jacob, and therefore this Hill was appointed by God himself, to be the Place of Blessing, when the Israelites came out of Egypt, and accordingly Joshua, when he enter'd the Land of Canaan, caused the divine Blessing to be declared upon it; here likewise, he built an Altar upon it of twelve Stones, when he had passed the River Jordan, in Obedience to what God had commanded by Moses: And this, they contend, is the very Altar upon which they still sacrifice on that Mountain to this Day. But to defend this last Part of the Argument, and thereby reconcile the greater Veneration to Mount Gerizim, they have been guilty of great Prevarication in corrupting the Text; for whereas the Command is, that they should set up the Altar upon Mount Ebal, they have made a sacrilegious Change in the Text, and instead of Mount Ebal, have inserted Mount Gerizim, the better to support their Cause by it. These Mountains are in the Tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria, and in the Valley between them lyeth Sichem; but St. Jerom afferts positively, that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of the holy Scriptures; for these, he contends, were too small Hills lying near Jericho; but this Opinion receives no Countenance from learned Men.

The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two Instances of Idolatry committed in this Place; the first, that they worshipped the Image of a Dove, and the other, that they paid divine Adoration to certain Teraphims or Idol Gods, that were hid under that Mountain. The first Accusation (says the Samaritan Chronicle) is founded upon this, that in the Time of Adrian, a Figure of a Pigeon was set upon this Mountain, which made it self heard, when any Samaritan came there to worship: But it is more probable, that this Charge was first occasion'd by the Idolatry of the Assyrians; for that People having adored Semiramis under the Image of a Dove, the Jews
reproach'd the Samaritans, as Worshippers of the same Image, because they descended from them, and possibly they were so while they worshipped there other Gods with the God of Israel, but never afterwards. As to the second Charge it is true, that Jacob buried the Teraphim, or Idol Gods, that Rachel had stolen, under the Oak in Shechem, which they suppose to have been at the Foot of Mount Gerizim, and from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped in that Place, the Jews suggest, that the Samaritans worshipped there upon the Account of these Idols, and paid Adoration to them: But both these Charges are malicious Calumnies; for after the Law of Moses had been brought among them by Manasseh, the Samaritans zealously worshipped the true God, and as sincerely abhorred Idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews, and so continue to this Day.

C H A P. XII.

The Samaritan Creed.

To omit nothing that concerns the Religion of the Samaritans, I have two Things to subjoin before I conclude this Subject, which, tho' not strictly relating to the old Professors among that Sect, will yet be of Use to a more exact Discovery of their Principles. The First, is a Confession of Faith, sent by Eleazar the High-priest, in the Name of the Synagogue of Sichem, to the great Scaliger, who applied to him for that Purpose; the other is a Letter sent from the Samaritans at Shechem, to their Brethren in England, by the Hands of Dr. Huntington, sometime Chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, and afterwards Bishop of Rapho in Ireland, who,
Hebrew Republic.

It seems, had informed them, that there were some of the Sect of the Samaritans then abiding in London.

The Samaritan Creed.

1. The Samaritans observe the Sabbath with all the Exactness required in Exodus; for none of them goes out of the Place where he is on the Sabbath Day, but only go to the Synagogue, where they read the Law, and sing God's Praises. They do not lie that Night with their Wives, and neither kindle not order Fire to be kindled; whereas the Jews transgress the Sabbath in all these Points: For they go out of Town, have Fire made, lie with their Wives, and even do not wash themselves after it.

2. They hold the Passover to be their first Festival; they begin at Sun-set, by the Sacrifice enjoyn'd for that Purpose in Exodus; but they sacrifice not where but on Mount Gerizim, where they read the Law, and offer Prayers to God, after which the Priest dismisses the whole Congregation with a Blessing.

3. They celebrate for seven Days together the Feast of the Harvest, but they do not agree with the Jews, concerning the Day that it ought to begin; for these reckon the next Day after the Solemnity of the Passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty Days, beginning the next Day after the Sabbath, which happens in the Week of the unleavened Bread, and the next Day after the seventh Sabbath following, the Feast of the Harvest begins.

4. They observe the Feast of Expiation the Tenth of the seventh Month; they employ the four and twenty Hours of the Day in Prayers to God, and singing his Praises, and Fasting. For all except sucking Children fast, whereas the Jews except Children under seven Years of Age.

5. The
5. The fifteenth of the same Month, they celebrate the Feast of the Tabernacles upon the same Mount Gerizim.

6. They never defer Circumcision farther than the eighth Day, as it is commanded in Genesis, whereas the Jews defer it sometimes longer.

7. They are oblig’d to wash themselves in the Morning, when they have lain with their Wives, or have been fullied in the Night by some Uncleanliness, and all Vessels that may become unclean become so, when they touch them before they have washed.

8. They take away the Fat from Sacrifices, and give the Priests the Shoulder, the Jaws, and the Belly.

9. They never marry their Neices as the Jews do, and have but one Wife, whereas the Jews may have many.

10. They believe in God, in Moses, and in Mount Gerizim. Whereas, say they, the Jews put their trust in others, we do nothing but what is expressly commanded in the Law by the Lord, who made use of the Ministry of Moses; but the Jews swerve from what the Lord hath commanded in the Law, to observe what their Fathers and Doctors have invented.

Eleazar added to this, that they reckoned a hundred twenty two High-priests from Aaron to their Time; they have a Catalogue and Succession of them. They believe themselves to be of the Posterity of Joseph by Ephraim, and that all their High-priests descend from Phinehas; whereas the Jews have not one of that Family. They boast that they have preserved the Hebrew Characters, which God made use of to promulgate his Law; whereas the Jews have a Way of Writing from Ezra, which is cursed for ever. And indeed, instead of looking upon Ezra as the Restorer of the Law, they curse him as an Impostor, who hath laid aside their old Characters to use new ones in their room; and
and authorized several Books that were written to support the Posterity of David.

Several Attempts have been made to convert these Samaritans; but they have been oppressed instead of being made Christians, and they are reduced to a small Number rather by Misery, than by the Multitude of those that have been converted. Nay, they seem more stubbornly wedded to their Sect than the Jews, tho' these adhere very stily to the Law of Moses. At least Nicon, who lived after the twelfth Century, setting down the Formalities used at the Reception of Heretics, observes, that if a Jew had a Mind to be converted, to avoid the Punishment or Payment of what he ow'd, he was to purifie himself, and satisfy his Creditors before he was admitted. But as for the Samaritans, they were not received before they had been instructed two Years, and they were required to fast ten or fifteen Days before they professed the Christian Religion, and to be Morning and Evening at Prayers, and to learn some Psalms: Others were not used with so much Rigor. The Term of two Years that were enjoyned to the Samaritan Proselytes, is an Argument that they were suspected, and the Reason why they were so, was, that they had often deceived the Christians by their pretended Conversion.

CHAP. XIII.

A Letter of the Samaritans at Sichem, to their Brethren in England.

In the Name of the Almighty adorable God, in the Name of the great Lord, who is by himself, our God, the God of our Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has said in his Law, I am the God of Bethel, the supreme God, Lord
Lord of Heaven and Earth, God Almighty, who has sent Môses the Son of Amram commissioned with his Laws, and by his Means has revealed the Holiness of Mount Gerizim, and of the House of God.

We salute you, O Synagogue of Israel, the People of our Lord and Master, who has chosen this People above all Nations of the Earth, for you are a People holy to the Lord. We call our selves Samaritans, and we assure you, our Brethren in Israel, that we are extremely devoted to Môses the Prophet, and to the holy Law. We observe the Sabbath, as God has commanded. For on that Day, no body moves out of his Place, except it be to pay his Devotions at the House of the Lord. As all those who sought God went to the Tabernacle of Witness, we do nothing there but read the Law, praise God, and pay him our Thanksgivings; and whereas the Jews ride on Horse-back, go out of the City, light Fires on that Day, and lye with their Wives, we separate our selves the Night of the Sabbath, and light no Fire. The Jews don't wash for every kind of Pollution, but we do, and purifie our selves thereby. We pray to God Evening and Morning, according to the Command he has given us, You shall offer me a Lamb in the Morning, and another Lamb between the two Evenings. We lie upon the Ground when we worship God, before Mount Gerizim, the House of God.

We have seven solemn Feasts wherein we assemble; The First, is the Feast of the Passover, at the Time that our Fathers came out of Egypt. We sacrifice the Lamb the fourteenth Day of the first Month, at Evening, a little before Sun-setting, and eat it roast'd with unleavened Bread and bitter Herbs. We make this Sacrifice only upon Mount Gerizim, and we prepare it on the first Day of the Month Nizan, according to the Greeks. We reckon seven Days for the Feast of
of unleavened Bread, on six whereof, we eat Chap. 13.
Bread without Leaven: On the seventh we go early at break of Day to Mount Gerizim, to celebrate the Feast and read the Law. When Prayers are ended the Priest gives the Blessing to the People from the Top of the eternal Mountain. We do not begin to reckon the fifty Days of the Feast of Harvest like the Jews, from the Morrow of the Feast of the Passover, but we reckon them from the Day following the Sabbath that happens in the Feast of unleavened Bread, till the Morrow of the seventh Sabbath, on which we celebrate the Feast of the Harvest upon Gerizim: We celebrate also the seventh Month, which begins with the Feast of Trumpets. Ten Days after is that of Propitiations, in which we sing Hymns, and say Prayers, from one Day to the other Night and Day. The Women and Children fast as well as the Men, and we dispense with none but those that suck, whereas the Jews dispense with all under seven Years old. We observe the Feast of Tabernacles upon Mount Gerizim the fifteenth of the seventh Month. We set up Tabernacles according to the Order given us by God, Ye Lev. xxiii. 40. shall take the Boughs of goodly Trees, Branches of Palm-Trees, and the Boughs of thick Trees, and Willows of the Brook. We spend seven Days in Joy under these Tents, and on the Eighth we end the Feast of the Lord with an Hymn.

We very circumspectly observe, whether the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon happens in the Night, or in the Day before Noon. If it happens before Noon, that Day is the first of the Month; but if it happens at twelve a-Clock or a little after, we delay the Beginning of the Month till the Morrow. If the Conjunction be Lunary, the Month continues twenty nine Days, but thirty, if it be Solar. If the new Moon falls on the Eleventh of the Month Adar of
of the Greeks, we intercalate a Month, and we reckon thirteen that Year; and the Month that immediately follows is the first Month of that Year. But if the Month begins on the Twelfth of Adar, or some Days after, then that is the first Month of the Year, and we reckon but twelve; for the Week of unleavened Bread must be in the Month Nisan. The Jews reckon otherwise than we. We begin the Sabatick Year and the Jubilee from the first Day of the seventh Month.

We sprinkle the Water of Separation the third and fourth Day upon all that are defiled by the Contact of Women; and we sprinkle it seven Days upon the Woman that has an Issue upon her. The Woman who is delivered of a Boy separates only forty one Days, and eighty if it be a Girl. The Circumcision is exactly made the eighth Day after the Birth, without deferring it one single Day, as do the Jews. We purify our selves from the Defilements contracted in Sleep; and we touch none of the unclean Things specified in the Law, without washing in clean Water. We offer to God the Fat of the Victim, and give the Priest the Shoulder, the Jaws, and the Ventricle.

It is not lawful for us to marry a Niece or Cousin, as is done by the Jews. We believe in Moses and in Mount Gerizim. We have Priests of the Race of Levi, descended in a right Line from Aaron and Phineas. We are all of the Tribe of Joseph by Ephraim, Manasses; and of the Tribe of Levi. Our Habitation is in the holy City of Sichem and at Gaza. We have a Copy of the Law written in the Time of Grace, in which we read these Words. I Abishai the Son of Phineas, the Son of Eleazar, the Son of Aaron, have written this Copy at the Door of the Tabernacle, in the thirteenth Year of the People of Israel's Entrance into the Land of Canaan upon its Frontiers. We read this Law in Hebrew, which is
is the holy Tongue, and do nothing but according to the Commands of God, given us by Moses, the Son of Amram, our Prophet, upon whom is Peace for ever and ever.

We give you notice, that are our Brethren Children of Israel, that R. Huntington, an Uncircumcised, is arrived here from Europe, and has acquainted us, that you are a great People, composed of Men pure and holy, like our selves, and that you have sent him to desire of us a Copy of the Law, to whom we would not give Credit till he had written before us some Characters of the holy Language, in order to assure you that we have the same Mosaick Religion that you profess. If we had not been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a Copy of the Law by the Hands of the Uncircumcised, for that is a Shame to us: Nevertheless we have committed it to him with two other little Books, that we might not absolutely deny your Request. We also conjure you in the Name of the living God not to deny ours, and to tell us what Religion you are of; tell us what is the Language you speak, the City you live in, the King that governs you, and what Religion he professes? Have ye any Priests of the Race of Phineas? Have ye only one Priest? In the Name of God tell us the Truth, without any Shadow of Dissimulation, and send us a Copy of the Law, as we have sent you ours. Send us also some learned Men, some Prophets, some Persons of Repute, and especially some Descendant of Phineas; for know that God has chosen us Children of Israel to be his People, and to live at Gerizim, according to what he has said, You shall seek their Habitation, and shall go there. He has said also, You shall keep three Feasts every Year, the Males shall rejoice three times a Year before the Lord. Know also, that all the Prophets are buried in the Territories at Sechem, our Father Joseph, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phineas, Josua, Caleb, the seventy Elders, Eldad and Medad.
If you are willing to oblige us, acquaint us whether you are devoted to Moses and his Law, to Gerizim and the House of God; and send us some Persons without being concerned about the Length of the Journey. Do not intrust a Jew, for they hate us; if you send us any Deputy, give us notice by some Friend. If ye have the Book of Joshua, and any Liturgy, send up that also. Tell us what your Law is; as for us we call the Law what begins with the first Word of Genesis and ends with the last of Deuteronomy. Cause all this to be copied for us in the holy Tongue, and tell by what Name you go. We adjure you by the Name of the Living God, not to suffer a Year to run over your Heads without giving us an Answer. In the mean time we bless God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and we implore his Mercy and his Justice to instruct you in all that can please him, and to guide you in the good Way, Amen: May he preserve you, and deliver you from the Hands of your Enemies, and gather you together from your Discursions, into the Land of your Fathers, through the Merits of Moses.

We add, that this is our Faith. We believe in God, in Moses his Servant, in the holy Law, in Mount Gerizim the House of God, and in the Day of Vengeance and Peace. Blessed for ever be our God, and let his Peace rest upon Moses the Son of Amram, the righteous, perfect, pure and faithful Prophet.

We have written this Letter at Shechem, near Gerizim, the fifteenth Day of the sixth Month, which is the twenty seventh of the Lunary Month, in the six hundred and eleventh Year of the Creation of the World, according to the Greeks, the second from the Year of Rest. This Year the seventh Month will begin the fourth of Elul, according to the Greeks; and the next Year is the three thousand four hundred and eleventh from
from the Entrance into the Land of Canaan, God be blessed.

May this Letter, by the Help of God, arrive into the City of England, to the Synagogue of the Samaritan Children of Israel, whom God preserve.

It is written by the Synagogue of Israel dwelling at Sichem. Mechab the Son of Jacob, a Descendant of Ephraim, the Son of Joseph, was the Secretary.

**CHAP. XIV.**

A Schismatical Temple built by Onias in Egypt.

About a hundred and sixty Years before the Birth of Christ, there was another Schismatical Temple built in Egypt by Onias, a fugitive Priest, who being disappointed of the Pontificate at Jerusalem, to which he had a Right by Succession, was protected by Ptolomy Philometor and his Queen, and had the principal Management of the Government during the latter End of that Prince's Reign. His Power and Interest with the King he made use of to obtain Leave for the Building of a Temple in Egypt, after the Model of that at Jerusalem, with a Grant for himself and his Descendants to officiate always as High-priest in it. For this Pur- pose he wrote a Letter to Ptolomy and Cleopatra his Queen, which is related by Josephus in this Manner.

During the time that I was employed in your Antiq. Lib. 13. Wars, and by Gods favourable Assistance have done c. 6. you many Services, I have visited CœloSyria and Phœnicia; I have been in the City of Leontopolis in the Territories of Heliopolis; I have also seen many other Places wherein the Jews have

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Temple against all manner of Right, which is the reason that they agree not among themselves; which is what has happened among the Egyptians through the Multitude of Temples, and the great Diversity of Religions; and having found out a very convenient Place near a Caftle called Bubastis, in the Plain, where there is sufficient of all Sorts of Materials for Building, and of Beasts fit for Sacrifice, I beseech you that it may be lawful for me to purify the Temple that is levelled in that Place with the Ground, and dedicated to no sacred Power; and that in the Room of it, it may be lawful for me to raise a Temple in Honour of the highest God, according to the Pattern, and the same Dimensions of that Temple which is in Jerusalem, for the Preservation and Prosperity both of you, your Queen and Children; and to the Intent that those Jews, who dwell in Egypt, may assemble and serve God in it; for the more they are united among themselves, the more readily they will be disposed to your Service. For to this Effect is the Prophecy of Isaiah which faith thus, There shall be a Temple of our Lord God in Egypt. And many other things has the Prophet foretold concerning this Place.

The Answer to this Letter is thus recorded by the same Historian.

King Ptolomy and Queen Cleopatra, to Onias the High-priest, Health. We have perused your Letter, by which you request of us to give you Leave to cleanse the Temple that is defaced at Leontopolis under the Prefecture of Heliopolis, in the Place called Bubastis, in the Plain. We are much surprized that a Temple built in a Place so unclean, and full of excrable Beasts, should be agreeable to a God; but since you inform us that the Prophet Isaiah did long ago foretel the same, we give you Leave, if it may be done according to the Law, and with this Condition, that we commit no Sin against the Deity.
The learned Cuneus has curiously remarked upon this Occasion, that Onias sent a Letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, wherein he accuses his Countrymen because they had built Sanctuaries in the Phoenician Cities, and other Places, contrary to the Law; being himself guilty of no less a Crime, having built a Temple at Heliopolis, pretending the Authority of the Prophet Isaiah to countenance his ambitious Enterprise.

This, says he, could not be done without Violation of the Ceremonies; for it is thus decreed among the Constitutions of the antient Jews, which Rabbi Moses, the Egyptian delivers thus.

It must be observed, that the Prediction in Isaiah, was introduced by Onias, not only to influence the King in his Favour; but to reconcile the Jews to this new Scheme, whose fixed Principle it was, that Jerusalem was the only Place appointed for divine Worship, and that it was criminal to offer Sacrifice but at the Temple. The Prophecy runs thus: In that Day shall five Cities in the Land of Egypt speak the Language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts, and shall be called the City of Destruction. In that Day there shall be an Altar unto the Lord in the midst of the Land of Egypt, and a Pillar at the Border thereof unto the Lord. This Prophecy (which had Regard only to the future State of the Gospel in that Country) was perverted by Onias, as if it respected the Times he lived in, and he prevailed with all the Jews that were in Egypt, to receive it in that Acceptation; and indeed this Temple in Egypt was al-
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ways more favourably thought of by the Jews in Palestine, than that of the Samaritans upon Mount Gerizim.

His Design being approved by the King and the Jews in Egypt, he immediately set about the Building, in the Place before-mentioned; which was about twenty four Miles from Memphis, where had formerly stood an old Temple of Bubas, which is another Name for Isis, the great Goddess of the Egyptians. This Fabrick was wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore Onias, having removed the Ruins, raised his new Temple upon the same Spot. He made it exactly after the Pattern of that at Jerusalem; tho' not altogether so high and magnificent; and there he placed an Altar for burnt Offerings, an Altar of Incense, a Shew-bread Table, and all other Utensils necessary for the Jewish Service; only instead of the golden Candlestick of seven Branches, there was a Lamp which hung before the Altar by a golden Chain, from the Roof of the House. The Area of the Temple was surrounded with a high Wall of Brick, and the Gates were of Stone: He placed Priests and Levites, who had as much Zeal and Devotion as himself, to officiate in the Service, who were plentifully maintained by a large Revenue settled by the King; and from that Time the divine Worship was carried on in the same Manner and Order as in the Temple at Jerusalem; till at last this Temple was, at first, shut up, and afterwards wholly destroyed by the Command of Vespasian, the Roman Emperor, after it had stood about two hundred twenty four, but according to Josephus, three hundred thirty and three Years.

CHAP.
CHAPTER XV.

The Gods of the Canaanites or Syrians; Baal-Peor, Chemosh.

Mr. Selden, in his learned Treatise of the Syrian Gods, takes Notice of a Goddes whom he calls Good Fortune, as the first Idol mentioned in Scripture, and worshipped by the Hebrews: This Opinion is founded upon what Zilpah said when she was delivered of Gad one of the Sons of Jacob, Behold a Troop cometh, which the Hebrew Writers generally expound by Good Fortune; for so it seems, that Gad may signify in the Original; but the Exposition which renders it, I am come in a lucky Hour, or as St. Chrysostom, I have obtained my Desire, is esteemed a more just Interpretation, and meets with better Reception from the best Expositors.

With this supposed Deity, there is another joyed by the Prophet Isaiah called Meni, you prepare a Table for Gad, and furnish the drink Offerings unto Meni; but many of the learned Hebrews will not allow this Text to speak of a Deity, but think that the Prophet does here only upbraid the Israelites with their Licentiousness. By Gad they mean a Troop, and by Meni they understand a Number; and thus Abarbinel interprets it in his Commentary upon this Place. Ye forget, says he, my holy Mountain, because this Mountain was desolate and none mourned for it. All your Care is to feast together, to kill Beasts and eat their Flesh, and to make rich compound Liquors; because you prepare a Table for your Society, to give them wherewithall to eat till they are full, and you fill your mix’d Liquors for Meni, that is, you offer many Cups of this
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this delicious Wine, according to your Number of Guests.

The Hebrews were soon perverted to Idolatry, by the Imitation of the Canaanites, or Syrians among whom they dwelt, and fell into the Worship of a filthy Deity called Baal Peor, or Baal Phegor, a God of the Moabites and Midianites. They were seduced into this Corruption by the Women of those People, who inticed them by their Charms, but refused to comply with their Desires, unless they would eat of their Sacrifices, worship their Idols, and profess themselves Votaries of their Religion. This God of the Moabites is, by some, supposed to be the great Baal of the Eastern Nations, and the Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans, and that he was called Phegor, from the Mountain in which he was worshipped, as Jupiter took the Name of Olympius, from Mount Olympus, and Dodoneas, from the Forest Dodona. It is certain there was in the Country of the Moabites a high Hill called Pehor, as appears by the History of Balak and Balaam: But it is most probable, that the Hill took its Name from the God, and not the God from the Hill; who is often called Pehor simply, which is an Argument that it was his proper Name, by which he was distinguished from the other Baals; I mean the other Gods of the neighbouring Nations.

It was the Opinion of Mr. Selden, that Baal Phegor is the same with Pluto, which he grounded upon these Words: They joined themselves unto Baal Pheor, and ate the Sacrifices of the Dead. By which Sacrifices, he means such as were offered to the infernal Gods. But that is no sure Foundation for this Conjecture; for by the Dead we ought to understand, the Gods that were taken from among Men; for it was confessed by the Heathens themselves, that most
of their Deities had been Mortals who lived upon the Earth.

The constant Tradition among the antient and modern Hebrews, was, that this Idol was an obscene Deity, whole Figure, and the Manner of Worshipping it, was filthy and abominable. This Opinion is supposed to be founded upon the Words of the Prophet Hosea; which required his Worshippers to be uncovered before him. From whence they concluded, that this God was served by an obscene Act, which required his Worshippers to be uncovered. The Law therefore commanded the Priests to wear Drawers when they ascended by Steps to the Altar, lest their Nakedness should happen to be uncovered. Solomon likewise goes further, and says, that Baal-Phigur was so called, because his Worshippers were wont to uncover before him. The Adoration, says Maimonides, made to this Idol, was the same as the Name Father observes, was principally worshipped by Women, who were very profane, and the Make of the same Father observes, was principally worshipped by Women, who were very profane.

St. Jerome received it by Tradition from his Father, that this Baal-Phigur was the Priapus of the Greeks and Romans, and commenting upon Hosea, he has the Words, &c., that Baal-Phigur was so called, because his Worshippers were wont to uncover before him. From whence they concluded, that this God was served by an obscene Act, which required his Worshippers to be uncovered. The Law therefore commanded the Priests to wear Drawers when they ascended by Steps to the Altar, lest their Nakedness should happen to be uncovered. Solomon likewise goes further, and says, that Baal-Phigur was so called, because his Worshippers were wont to uncover before him. The Adoration, says Maimonides, made to this Idol, was the same as the Name Father observes, was principally worshipped by Women, who were very profane.

This Idol, as the Name Father observes, was principally worshipped by Women, who were very profane.
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Action made by the good King Asa is thus rendered by the vulgar Latin: Asa removed his Mother Maacah, that she might be no longer High-priestess in the Sacrifices of Priapus, and in the Grove which she had consecrated to him, he destroyed his Cave, and burnt that obscene Idol at the Brook Cedron. The Word we translate Idol in this Place, is Mipheletseth, which imports something of Horror, either because it was a Figure of a frightful Aspect, or brought dreadful Judgments upon its Worshippers. The modern Jews are of Opinion it is a general Name for all Idols, because it brings a Terror upon those that serve them; but it is more probable, that it was the Name of a particular Idol, it being only given to that of Maacah. The Talmudists own it to be an obscene Figure, *imago virilis membri cui quotidiem inequitabat.* It may be added upon this Subject, that this God of the Moabites having given Name to one of their Mountains called Pehor, is an Argument, that he was worshipped on that Mountain, and therefore that he was a Rural God; and such was Priapus, called Agricola by Tibullus and Ovid.

Lib. I. Eleg. I. *Priapus; called Agricola by Tibullus and Ovid.*

It is evident further, that Fornication was in a Manner consecrated to this filthy Deity; the Israelites joining themselves into Baal Peor, and at the same time committing Whoredom with the Daughters of Moab; which may be said likewise of Priapus, who was made *membrosior aquo,* only to signify his Lasciviousness; and therefore in those infamous Epigrams called *Priapeia or Lusus in Priapum,* he is called *Deus salax.*

*Huc huc quisquis es in Dei salacis
Diverti grave ne puta facellum.*

And
And the Poet does, even there, encourage one Chap. 15. to defile himself before he goes into the Temple; Witness these Words he adds:

Et si nocte fuit puella tecum, 
Hac re, quod metuas adire non est.

This obscene Idol is suppos’d to go under another Name, and was called Chemosb, a Word which in the Hebrew Language signifies contrectatus, or handled, and that agrees well with Pristus pater contrectationum nocturnarum, and was represented, contrectans membrum virile obscenum lave tenens. Others are of Opinion, that the God Saturn was worshipped under this Appellation. This Image, according to St. Jerom, was placed in a Temple upon Mount Nebo, which signifies Prophecy, from whence it is collected, that this was the Place where the God of the Moabites pronounced his Oracles. This Mountain was over against the Hill Peor, therefore the Temple upon it could not be the same with that upon the Mountain of Baal-Peor, but they were two Temples devoted to the same abominable Deity. To this Idol Solomon erected an Altar upon the Mount of Olives.

1 Kings, xi. 7.
C H A P. XVI.

The Gods of the Ammonites, Milcom, Adrammelech, Hanammelech, Chiun.

The Ammonites were Brothers of the Moabites Lot's Children, and the Offspring of his incestuous Conversation with his Daughters. Moab was the Son of the Elder, as Ammon of the younger Sister. Therefore having spoken of the Gods of the Moabites, those of the Ammonites come next of course; the Israelites as well as other Nations, having abandoned themselves to the Worship of those false Deities. The principal Idol of the Ammonites was Moloch, whose Image and Worship has been explained in a preceding Part of these Antiquities: But here it must be observed, that this Deity was sometimes called Milcom, and, if we believe the Greek Translation, had a Temple in Rabbah, the Capital City of the Children of Ammon; his Image had a Crown upon its Head that weigh'd a Talent of Gold, which was taken by David, says St. Jerome, when he sacked that City.

This Idol had likewise the Appellation of Adrammelech and Hanammelech, the Gods of the Sepharvites, who burnt their Children to them in the Fire. The Jews indeed after their vain Fancies make one of them to have been in the Form of a Peacock, and the other of a Pheasant; but the Name and Worship plainly prove it to be the same Deity with Moloch; for Meloc, Molech, and Milcom signify King in the oriental Languages; and the Addition of Adar and Hanam are but Surnames to Melech expressing some Attributes of the Deity. Adrammelech signifies a magnificent and mighty King; and Hanammelech implies...
plies to bear, importing a hearing God, that is, a God that will hear the Prayers of his Votaries. A learned Writer of our own, Dr. Hyde, has a quite different Apprehension of these Words; for he will have Adramelech to signify the King of the Flocks, Adre being as much as Greges; and Anamelech he conceives to be near of the same signification, Ana being the Word for Pecus, in the Persian Language, always signifying collectively in the plural Number the lesser Cattle, Sheep and Goats, of which he imagines these Gods had the Care; and were therefore worshipped. They were also celestial Constellations, as he there observes, which they imagined promoted the Breeding of Cattle, and had a kindly Influence upon their Growth and Increase.

The Prophet Amos to make us apprehend who Moloch is explains it by Chiun, a Word that has for a long Time perplexed the Learned. The Passage according to the Hebrews runs thus. You have born the Tabernacle of your King and the Images of Chiun, which is rather darkened than explained by the Version of the Septuagint, You have born the Tabernacle of Moloch, and the Star of your God Rempham. Who was that God Rempham, no Body knew, nor is it worth while to quote the various Opinions of the Learned in it: But we are obliged to Monsieur de Saumaise, who first informed us that Rephan or Rempham in the Egyptian Language signifies the Planet of Saturn, which he proves by an Alphabet of the Egyptian Tongue sent him from Rome, wherein are found the Names of the seven Planets. Upon this Knowledge we have no Caufe to wonder that the Septuagint rendered Chiun by the Word, Rhephan, because they wrote in Egypt, and they must call that Idol by a Name known to those among whom they wrote; they lived in an Age and in a Place where they could not be ignorant, how Saturn was called in the Cananean Tongue; so that it seems beyond Dispute,
that Mo\(\text{loch}\) is Saturn, called Repham by the Egyptians, and Chiu\(\text{u}\) by the Phœnicians, and his Image was carried under Canopies in Procession, which is called the Bearing of his Tabernacle.

C H A P. XVII.

Baal, Baalzephon, Baalberith, Baalzebub.

THERE is no false Deity more famous in the holy Writ than Baal, and the most proper Place to consider it is next to Mo\(\text{loch}\), those two, in all probability, being Father and Son. The Word signifies Lord, Master, and Husband; a Name, which doubtless was given to their supreme Deity, to him whom they look’d upon as the Master of Men and Gods, and of the whole Nature. This Name had its Original from Phœnia, Baal being a God of the Phœnicians, and Jezabel, Daughter of Ethbaal King of the Zidonians, brought this Deity from the City of Zidon; for he was the God of Tyre and Sidon, and was certainly the Zeus of the Greeks, and the Jupiter of the Latins. This God was known under the same Name all over Asia; it is the same as the Bel of the Babylonians; and the same Name and the same God went to the Carthaginians, who were a Colony of the Phœnicians, witness the Name of Hannibal, Asdrubal, Adherbal, all consisting of Bel or Baal, being the Name of the Deity of that Country, which was according to the Custom of the East, where the Kings and great Men of the Realm added to their own Names those of their Gods. In short, it seems to be a Name common to all Idols, to whatever Country they belonged; and when it is mentioned in
the Holy Writings without any explanatory Circumstance annexed, it is usually understood to be the principal Deity of that Nation or Place, that the Text was speaking of.

This false Deity is frequently mentioned in Scripture, in the plural Number, which may either signify, that the Name of Baal was given to many different Gods, or imply a Plurality of Statues consecrated to that Idol, and bearing several Appellations, according to the Difference of Places; as the Heathens of old gave many Surnames to Jupiter, as Olympian, Dodonaeus and others, according to the Names of the Places where he was worshipped. The Septuagint interpret the Word Baal, in many Places, with a feminine Article, and make it to represent a Goddess as well as a God; it is difficult to discover, in the Hebrew Text, any Reason for this Notion of the judaized Greeks, for (if I mistake not) Baal in the Hebrew is always Masculine; but doubtless they had learnt by the Phenician Tradition, that there was a Goddess as well as a God of that Name. What Moses says in his History of the Creation of the World, is remarkable, that God made two great Lights, the Sun to rule the Day and the Moon the Night; from whence these two Stars, doubtless, come to be called Baalim or Rulers; and the Moon having always been looked upon by most Heathens as a feminine Deity, because of its Moistness, Coldness and Weakness of its Rays: It is no Wonder, if the judaized Greeks made two Baals the Male signifying the Sun, and the Female the Moon. Arnobius observes, that Baal was of an uncertain Sex, and his Votaries, when they called upon him, invoked him thus: Hear us, whether thou art a God or a Goddess; and the Reason, why the Heathens made their Gods Hermaphrodites, of both Sexes, the learned in their Mysteries suppose, was to express the generative and prolific Virtue of the Deity.
The false Gods of Palestine and the neighbouring Nations were called Baal in general; but there were other Baals whose Name was compounded of some additional Word, such as Baalpeor, Baalzephon, Baalberith; and Baalzebub. The first of these is already explained, but the second has given some Trouble to Commentators; some conceiving it to be the Name of a Town, or City, and called Zephon, to distinguish it from some other Baal that was near, either because it lay North, or had an eminent Watch Tower in it; and others asserting it to be a magical Figure of Baal, set up by the Magicians of Egypt, near the Arabian Gulf, to hinder the Israelites in their Passage; for Baalzephon they suppose to have been a great Plain, into which the Hebrews were to enter by the Chops of Pibabiroth, and here was an Idol worshipped, which looking from the Red-sea towards the North, was called the Lord of the North, as the Word Baalzephon imports. This Statue, they say, had a Power of Fascination, to detain the Israelites; but this Conjecture seems to be ill supported, there being no such Images made under certain Constellations in those Times; Apollonius Tyanaeus being supposed to be the first Inventor of them.

Baalberith was the Idol of the Shechemites; and the Temple of this Deity was the Arsenal and publick Treasury of that People. The Hebrew Word Berith signifies a Covenant or Contract, and this God is supposed to have his Appellation from his Office, which was to preside over Contracts and Covenants, and was much the same with Jupiter P Jelly, or Fidius among the Romans. But there are Men of Learning who conceive this Deity to be a Goddess called Beroe by the Greeks; frequently mentioned by Nonnus the Poet, who says, that Bacchus would have married her, but being denied, she was afterwards married to Neptune. He makes her to be the Daughter of Venus and Adonis, and says she was the Goddess

Hebrew Republick.

Hebrew of the Town of Beritus, in Phenicia, to which she had given her Name. Others conjecture this Idol represented the Cybele of the Greeks and Romans, and is the same with the Syrian Goddess, of which Lucian has left us a Book, but gives her no Name, the being called a Goddess by way of Eminence, being the Mother of the other Deities. He relates that there was nothing more magnificent than her Temple, and besides the rich Workmanship, and vast Offerings in it, there were some Marks of a present Deity; for the Statues were seen there to sweat, to move, and to pronounce Oracles, and a Noise was often heard there when the Doors were shut.

Some very learned Writers, according to the Groundless Tradition of the Rabbins, tell us, that no Flies ever approached the Sacrifices of the true God, whereas it was otherwise with the Pagan Victims; from whence they conclude, that the Israelites called the God of Ekron by the Name of Baalzebub, or (as the Greeks speak) Beelzebub, the Lord of Flies, in Contempt and Derision, because his Sacrifices were pester'd with Flies. Others have imagined, that this Baalzebub received his Name from a Power which he had of dispelling Flies that were exceedingly troublesome in those hot Countries, lying in a moist and hot Soil, near to the Ocean; but there is no more Foundation for this than for the other Opinion, though very great Men have appeared on both Sides.

This Baalzebub therefore is supposed to be represented by a Statue that had the Figure of a Fly, that is, he had upon a Man's Body, a Head which had something of a Fly, according to the Custom of the Syrians, whose Idols were generally of human Shape, with that of some other Animal. This Image was the God of the Ekronites, and they applied the Name of Baal, that is, Lord, to it, which is as much as to say, The Lord Fly. This was the Numen to whom King Ahaziah...
ziab fent, when he was mortally hurt with a Fall, to know whether he should recover. He not only neglected the true God, but the Idols of Israel, and must needs consult this buzzing Deity of the Philistines. Pliny had got some Tradition of this Deity from those Authors that he had met with, for he seems to speak of this very God of Ekron, or Accaron (for so the Greek and Latin Versions render it) whom he corruptly calls Achorem Deum, and tells us that some Inhabitants of Cyrene (for he and all Writers of that Way miserably mistake as to the Names of Places) used to call upon him when great Swarms of Flies visited them, and brought the Pestilence with them; but they were presently destroyed upon invoking and sacrificing to this God.

With Allusion to this vile but busie and vexatious Creature, the chief of the infernal Daemons was stil’d Baalzebub by the Jews. A Fly is an Emblem of Impudence; and therefore when the Egyptians would signify this Vice, they paint this Insect, because that it is a Creature, that though often beat away, yet boldly comes again. The Jews therefore, who were near Neighbours to the Egyptians, and borrowed many things from them, applied this Title very fitly to the Prince of Devils, whose impudent and restless Assaults give him a just Claim to this Name of Baalzebub, the Lord Fly, or the Domineering Fly.
CHAP. XVIII.
Of the God Dagon,

Dagon was one of the Baals or great Gods of the Phoenicians, and there is no question but the Israelites defiled themselves with the Idolarious Worship of this Idol, as they did with the rest, who are charged in general with having worshipped the Baalim. This Deity was the God of Ashdod, by the Greeks called Azotus, a Place well known in the sacred History. The Name of this Idol is derived from Dagon, which signifies a Fish in the Phoenician Tongue, and his Image had the same Shape which the Poets give to the Tritons. Dagon, says a Rabbi, from the Navel downward, had the Shape of a Fish, and from thence upward he had a human Form. But Abarbinel is of another Opinion, which is not so generally allowed, that this Statue had from the Navel upward and downward the Shape of a Fish, only his Feet and Hands were like a Man's. The Conjecture of Mr. Selden, upon this Subject, is very probable, that the God Oannes, worshipped by the Babylonians, was the same as the Dagon of the Phoenicians; for 'tis unquestionable that the Chaldeans worshipped the same Gods, and often by the same Names. Be- \begin{equation}
\text{De dis Syr. in Dagon.}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\text{In Chronico,}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\text{Eusebius, quoted by Eusebius, says, that this Oannes had the Body of a Fish, and below the Head placed upon the Body another human Head, which came out from under the Head of the Fish. He had likewise a Man's Feet coming from under the Tail of the Fish, and had an human Voice. This Monster came every Morning out of the Sea, went to Babylon and taught Men Arts and Sciences, and every Evening returned again. Selden quotes also Apollodorus, who says, Vol. III.}
\end{equation}
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says, from the same Berosus, that in the Time of Αἰδοραχος King of the Chaldees, which was long before the Deluge, there came out of the Sea a Monster half Man and half Fish, whose Name was Odacon, which was the Form in which Dagon was represented, the very Name also being the same with very little Alteration.

It has been observed before, that the Pagan Deities were of different Sexes, and this Idol it is supposed was a Male God at Ashodod but was a Female at Ascalon, where she had a magnificent Temple, and was called Derceto or Dirce, and was the same with Atargata the Syrian Goddess. The Origin and the Worship of this Goddess is given by Diadoris Siculus in this Manner; (it is in the History of the Birth of Semiramis) There is in Syria a City called Ascalon, near unto which is a Deep Lake, replenished with Fishes: Not far from this Lake stands the Temple of that famous Goddes, called by the Syrians Derceto, who has the Face of a Woman, and the rest of her Body like a Fish, for which this Reason is given by the most sensible Men of that Country. They say, that Venus bearing a Spleen against the Goddess caused her to fall in love with a young Man of Syria, pretty handsome, one of those who sacrificed. That Derceto having lain with this young Man, she conceived a Daughter, but being ashamed of the Crime she had committed, she flew the young Man, exposèd the Child, when brought into the World, in a desert Place, and plunged herself into the Lake where she was transformed into a Fish; therefore the Syrians eat no Fish, to this Day; but worship Fishes as Gods. Ovid calls her Dione, and makes the Story otherwise; he says, that she being pursued by Typhon fled into Palestine, and found her self near the Banks of Euphrates, holding Cupid in her Arms; that hearing a Noife she threw her self into the River, and was received by two Fishes, which were afterwards placed in the Heavens.

C H A P.
CHAP. XIX.

The Idols worshipped in Samaria, during the Captivity.

The Deities already explained are the principal Idols of Palestine; but there are other false Gods that were worshipped in the holy Land, and were brought into Samaria, after Salmaneser had carried away the ten Tribes, by the Colony of Foreigners he sent to inhabit in their Places. These Men brought their Idols with them; those of Babel their Succoth-benoth, the Men of Cutha their Nergal, the Assyrians their Nibchas and Tartak those of Anah their Asima and the Men of Sepharvaim burnt their Children to Adrammelech and Anamelech. As for Succoth-benoth, that Idol will be considered when we come to speak of the Goddesses of Syria: The rest are unknown, except Adrammelech and Anamelech, who are supposed to be the same with the God Molech. These Deities have been more or less disguised by the Greeks, calling the Goddess of Babel, Succoth-benoth, that of Cutha, Ergal, that of Hamath, Asimoth, that of Ava, Eblozer, very remote from Nibchas; but they kept the Names of Tartak, Adrammelech, and Anamelech, placing before them the feminine Article; it would be hard to guess why they did it, for (except Succoth-benoth) it is very probable they were all Gods.

Nergal the Jewish Rabbins would have to signify a Cock, but this is a malicious Calumny, suggested by their Hatred against the Samaritans. Their Conjecture is better received, who suppose that it signified Fire; for the Men of Cuth are those that were afterwards called Persians, among whom the Fire was worshipped as the principal God.
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God. The famous Bochart ingenuously confesses, that he does not know what Nergal was, but remarks, that there is a Sort of Palm-tree called Nergil by the Persians, Arabians and Indians, of which they report strange Things; from whence perhaps the Persians gave the Name of Nergal to this Idol, as in Syria their God was called Rimmon from the Pomegranate.

Ashima is the Name of the Idol worshipped by the People of Hamath, and laid by the Jews to have the Shape of a Goat; the Heathens it is certain had their rural Gods, to which they gave this Shape; such were Pan, the Satyrs and Deities of the Woods represented with deep and sharp pointed Ears, and Goats Feet; but there is no Foundation to conceive this to be a Deity in that shape. Our great Selden modestly confesses that he is wholly ignorant who this God was. Some conceive him to be the same with Mars, because among the Ancients A S signified the same as "Aegus among the Greeks, and Schemah, they say, is as much as Hearing and Obedient, and conclude this A S to be the God whom the Romans called Hesus as Lucan mentions in his Pharsalia.

Horrentque feris altaribus Hesus.

But the most probable Conjecture is, that Ashima is the Name of God whom the Hebrews call Hasbem, the Name, from whence Ashima is derived. Accordingly Ebenezer in his Preface to the Book of Esther says, that he saw in a Samaritan Pentateuch, Bara Ashima, instead of Bare Elohim, which Bochart cenfures as a Falsity because no such Word is to be found in the whole Pentateuch of the Samaritans; yet this does not hinder but that it might be at that time in some Paraphrase made upon it.

The Avites, it is said, introduced Nibchas and Tartak, for their Deities; the first was a barking Dog,
Dog, according to Abarbanel, who derives it from Nabach, to bark. It is certain, that in Egypt there was a God called Anubis, that was worshipped in the hieroglyphical Form of a Dog, but it is doubted whether this superstition ever passed from the South to the East, especially since all other Nations abominated this monstrous Idolatry of the Egyptians. Selden thinks these two Gods of the Avites were the same Idol called by different Names, but was not able to give an Account of them.

Tartak, according to the Hebrews signifies the Afs, a Creature often mentioned in the Fable and Theology of the Heathens; we read of the Afs of Silenus, and the two Afses that helped Bacchus to pass a River in his Indian Expedition, which got them a Place among the Stars in the Sign of Cancer, in which Astronomers have observed two darkish Stars called by the Antients Afelli, or the Afs-Colts. In the fabulous Divinity of the Egyptians, there was also great Notice taken of the Afs which was the Symbol of Typhon, but far from worshipping it, it was to them an Abomination. They throw red Afses form Precipices, says De Iisd. c. 14. Plutarch, because Typhon was red hair'd and of the Hue of an Afs; and the Cities of Busiris and Lycopolis scruple to hear the Sound of a Trumpet, as being like the braying of an Afs. In short, they look upon an Afs as a defiled Creature. There is no Account to be found in the Records of any Nation that divine Homage was ever paid to this Beast, so that it is a malicious Fiction of the Jews to charge the Samaritans with this Idolatry.

Little Information is to be had concerning the forementioned Deities, but those that are spoken of in the History of King Amaziah are much more unknown to us. It is said of this Prince, that when he came from the Slaughter of the Edomites, he brought the Gods of the Children of Scir, and set them up to be his Gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burnt Incense unto them.
Book V. We know nothing of these Gods of Seir. The Edomites were the Posterity of Esau, who probably had deified Abraham and Isaac, their Ancestors, according to the Custom of the Eastern People; but by what Names we are ignorant of. It cannot be supposed, that these Gods of the Edomites were the same with those of the Phcenicians: If so, Scripture would not tell us, that Amaziah brought them to Jerusalem and worshipped them; for the Worship of the Baalim of Palestine could be neither new nor unknown in Judea where it had been often settled in the foregoing Reigns; and History makes it plain, that the Kings of Judah did often join with the ten Tribes in their Idolatry, which Tribes not only worshipped the Calves, but paid Adoration to the Baalim, or the Syrian Deities.

Some Authors pretend to have found out an Idol called Aretsa in this Passage of Scripture; And his Servant Ziuri, Captain of half his Chariots, conspired against him as he was in Tirzah, drinking himself drunk in the House of Arzah. The Chaldean Paraphrast has these Words upon it; When he drank himself drunk in the Temple of Arzah, an Idol, which stood near the Palace in Tirzah. If this were a Deity, it must be the Earth called Cybele by the Gentiles; but the Opinion of the Jews is the most probable, that Arzah in this Place is the Name of a Man who was Steward to the King of Israel in Tirzah, in whose House he was carousing when he was surprized by the Conspirator and slain.

There are two other Deities who have given great Trouble to Expositors, but with little Satisfaction. Rimmon a God of the Syrians that was worshipped at Damascus and Nisroch, a God of Nineveh, in whose Temple Sennacherib was killed by his rebellious Children. The first is mentioned in the History of Naaman and Elisa, but once spoken of in the sacred History, nor is he to be met with at all elsewhere; and so he is...
to be abandoned to Conjectures. Some conceive this Deity to be Venus, because Rimmon in the Hebrew signifies a Pomegranate, which Fruit is consecrated to that Goddess. Others understand this Idol to be Jupiter, the Thunderer. Our Selden thinks it is derived from Ram, which signifies High; so that this God is the same with that called Elion by the Phœnicians, that is, the most high God.

We are almost as much in the Dark as to Nisroch the God of Nineveh. The Seventy call this Deity Nesforach, and in Isaiah, where this Story is related, Assarach; but what any of these Names signify Mr. Selden acknowledges he cannot discover, having in all his reading never met with anything that might explain it. The Jews have a strange Vision concerning this God, and fancy it to be a Plank of Noah's Ark, the Reliques of which Josephus tells us some reported were in his Time, in the neighbouring Mountains of Armenia. Some think that the Word signifies as much as the Bird of Noah, that is, a Dove, which was worshipped by the Syrians; or as others conjecture, (for they can do no more) this Word is derived from Nes, which in Chaldee signifies a Province, and Rac, which signifies a King, that is, Jupiter the King and Conservator of that Province. It is certain that Nisroch, or rather Nisrach, signifies an Eagle, which has given occasion to an Opinion, that Jupiter Belus, from whom the Assyrian Kings pretend to be descended, was worshipped under the Figure of an Eagle, and by the Name of Nisroch. The Scripture itself takes notice of the Eagle as the Symbol of the Kings of Chaldee, this Belus his Successors. Ezekiel, who was one of those Captives that were transported into Babylon, prophecying the Ruin of Jerusalem declares, that a great Eagle with great Wings, long winged, full of Feathers, which had divers Colours, came into Babylon, and took the highest Branch of the Cedar; which
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Book V. explaining afterwards in less figurative Terms, says he, Say now to the rebellious House, Know ye not what these Things meant? Tell them, Behold the King of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and has taken the King and Princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon.

I know but of one male Deity more mentioned in Scripture, of whom nothing has been said as yet, and that is Thammuz spoken of by Ezekiel. The same is supposed to be Adonis, the Darling of Venus, and so I look upon him as inseparable from this Goddess; and therefore I shall reserve him to be explained in the Chapter that treats of the Syrian Venus.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Idol Cybele, or Baal-berith.

It has been observed, that the Mother of the Gods known among the Latins, by the Name of Cybele, is mentioned in Scripture, under the Appellation of Baal-berith, which being commonly understood as a God among Authors, I therefore left her among the masculine Deities. The most famous of her Daughters was Astartaroth, the Goddess of the Sidonians, known among the Greeks and Latins, by the Name of Astarta, or Astarte, by whom she is owned to be one of the Goddesses of the Phænicians; she was likewise called Asbera and Asseroth, which signifies wooden Images, and is generally mentioned with Baal, because the Worship of both these Deities was introduced at the same Time by Jezebel Daughter to the King of Zidon.
This Goddess is explained thus by Abarbinel Chap. 20. in his Commentaries upon Jeremiah, I have already, says he, told you my Opinion, that the Chap. 44. Baal whom they worshipped is the Sun, whom they also called Moloch, that is to say King, because he was the King over all the Children of Pride, and Asberah, whom they served likewise, was the Moon called the Queen of Heaven; as the Scripture calls the Sun King Moloch, so it calls the Moon Queen of Heaven; and as the Sun, in respect to the Moon, is called Baal, because it is in Relation to the Moon, as it were, a Lord and Husband, who communicates his Glory and Splendor to his Wife, so the Moon is called Asbera, a Name of the feminine Gender, as if she was a Wife to the Sun, and much loved and desired by him.

The learned Vossius remarks of this Goddess, that she was represented by a Figure, half Fish, and half Woman, and therefore confounds her with Atergatis or Derceto; but there is no sufficient Ground for this Conjecture; for Derceto was the Goddess of the Men of Ascalon, who were one of the five Governments of the Philistines, whereas Astarte was worshipped among the Zidonians, as the History of Solomon observes, which was confirmed by Lucian above a thousand Years after. There is, says he, a great Temple in Phoenicia, among the Zidonians, dedicated to Astarte, which I take to be the Moon, though a Priest of the Temple told me, it was Europa Sister of Cadmus, and Daughter of Agenor: Besides, the Image of Astarte was a quite different Figure; for either she was a Woman altogether, or she had the Head of an Ox upon a human Body, or at least an Ox's Horns upon her Head: For Philo Biblins observes, that Astarte placed upon her own Head, the Head of an Ox, as an Ensign or Mark of Empire.

Venus
Venus was another Goddess of the Syrians; this Deity, I think, is no where mentioned in Scripture, which yet speaks of Adonis, under the Name of Tammus. This Adonis is inseparable from Venus, for they had both but one Temple, the Mysteries and the Devotion were the same. The Prophet Ezekiel speaks thus concerning Tammus: Then he brought me to the Door of the Gate of the Lord’s House, which was toward the North, and behold there fat Women weeping for Tammus. It is impossible to make any Discovery of this Deity from the Monuments of the Rabbi’s, who having no Tincture of the Heathen Learning, could have but an imperfect Knowledge of their Gods; what they say of them is altogether fabulous: Kimchi, for Example, asserts, that this was an Image, into the hollow Part of whose Eyes Lead was poured, and the Image wept, when Fire was put to it. Maimonides says, that Tammus was a false Prophet, who endeavouring to persuade a certain Prince to worship the seven Planets and the twelve Signs, this Prince had ordered him to be put to a cruel Death. The very Night of his Execution, all the Idols met together from all Parts of the Earth, in the Temple of Babylon, about the great golden Image, being the Image of the Sun hanging between Heaven and Earth. This Idol threw itself down upon the Stones of the Temple, and all the other Idols died about it, while Tammus gave an Account of his Adventures; which made all the Idols weep and bemoan him all Night long, and the next Morning they all flew away, and returned every one to its proper Temple; from whence, says he, came the Custom of weeping for Tammus. But this is a Fable equally false and ridiculous.

There is nothing more probable upon this Subject, than what St. Jerom remarks in his Commentaries upon Ezekiel, where he explains the Place
Place concerning Tammus, but the Text being too long to be inserted, I shall only give the Substance of it; he says, that according to the Fable, Adonis was the darling of Venus, a very handsome Youth, who was killed in June by a wild Boar, and was raised again from the Dead, and that the Month of June had taken its Name from it; that in this Month Women were used to celebrate a solemn Feast to him, in which they first wept for him as dead; this done, they sung unto him and praised him, as returned to Life again: He adds, that the wife Men among the Heathens, applied this Fable of Adonis dying and returning to Life, to the sowing of Seed in the Earth where it first corrupts and then springs up again; so that it was Adonis the Darling of Venus for whom the Women of Jerusalem wept.

The Author, under the Name of Lucian, gives a particular Account of this Ceremony; I saw, says he, at Biblis, the great Temple of Venus, in which are yearly celebrated the Mysteries of Adonis in which I am initiated; for it is said, that he was killed in the Country by a wild Boar, and in perpetual Remembrance of this Event, a publick Mourning is yearly celebrated with doleful Lamentations; then follows a Funeral, as of a dead Body, and next Day is celebrated his Resurrection, for it is said, he flew up into Heaven; one of the Ceremonies is for Women to have their Heads shaven, as the Egyptians at the Death of Apis. Those who refuse to be shaven are obliged to prostitute themselves a whole Day to Strangers, and the Money which is got that way is consecrated to the Goddess. But some of the Biblians say, that all those Ceremonies are observed for Osiris, and that he is buried in their Country not in Egypt. In order to which there comes yearly a Head made of Papyrus, brought by Sea, from Egypt to Biblis, and I myself have seen it. Procopius upon I-
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Saiah more particularly explains this Rite, and observes, that the Inhabitants of Alexandria prepare yearly a Pot in which they put a Letter directed to the Women of Biblis, by which they are informed Adonis is found again. This Pot being filled up, they commit it to the Sea, after some Ceremonies over it, and bid it be gone away, this Pot goes along immediately, steaming its Course to Biblis, where it puts an End to the Women’s Mourning.

This Syrian Venus had a Temple upon the Top of this Mountain, which was built out of the Way in a by-Place, in the midst of a Wood; it was demolished by the Emperor Constantine, who put an End to all the filthy Ceremonies performed in it; for it was, says the Historian, in a Manner, a School of Uncleanliness to all People given up to Lust, or who had weakened and enervated themselves by a debauched Course of Life. There some lascivious and effeminate Men, who deserve not to be called Men, defiling themselves in a most infamous Prostitution, appeased the Devil and served him. There also they defiled themselves abominably with Women, and under a false Pretence of Marriage lay privately with them; in short, the lewdest Crimes were committed in that Temple, as a most filthy Place, and there was no body to punish it or take Notice of them, because honest virtuous People durst not come near unto it. The Image of this Goddess, according to Macrobius, represented a Woman in Mourning covered with a Veil, having a dejected Countenance, and Tears seeming to run down her Face.
CHAP. XXI.

Of Venus under the Name of Succoth-Benoth.

Among the Deities of Palestine, we meet with Venus again under the Name of Succoth-Benoth, which in the Judgment of the learned Selden and other eminent Authors, was the Babylonian Venus, worshipped under her Images and usual Emblems. That this is a Babylonian Deity, is unquestionable; for it was the Men of Babel who made it and introduced it into Samaria; and that it is a female Deity, is evident by the Signification of the Name, the Word implying the Tabernacles of Daughters or of young Maidens; so that properly it is not the Name of the Deity but of her Temple; why it was distinguished by this Title, will appear from what Herodotus relates upon this Occasion. There is, says he, a filthy Custom among the Babylonians, which is, that all their Women are obliged once in their Life-time, to expose themselves in the Temple of Venus, and become Prostitutes to Strangers; such as are rich and will not submit to this Ceremony keep before the Temple of the Gods in their Chariots, under Arches, with their Domesticks behind them, but the greatest Part do this: They sit in the Temple of Venus, their Temple’s crowned with Nose-gays and Garlands, some going out, others coming in. There are Alleys separated with Lines, and leading to all Places where Strangers walk to view the Women, and choose those they like best. When a Woman has once taken a Place in the Temple, she does not return home without a piece
piece of Money thrown into her Lap by some Stranger, and without being brought by him out of the Temple to lie with her; and when the Stranger gives this earnest Money, he must say I call for thee upon the Goddes Mylitta, Venus being called Mylitta by the Assyrians; and how small soever the Sum be, it is unlawful to refuse it, because it is appointed for sacred Uses. Nor is it lawful for a Woman to refuse a Stranger, but without chastising, she must follow the first that offers her Money: In short, when a Woman has lain with a Stranger, she is looked upon as having done her Duty to make the Goddes favourable unto her, and then she returns home: This done, she keeps her self chaste, and such a Favour is not to be obtained from her for all the World. Women that are beautiful do not stay long in the Temple; but ill favoured Women are obliged to continue there very long before they can fulfil the Law; nay, there are some of those poor Creatures who wait there for three or four Years. In the Isle of Cyprus there is a Law much of this Nature.

This Place of the Hiflorian is of Use to explain a Passsage in the Book of Baruch, where describing the Idolatry of the Chaldeans and Babylonians, he says, that the Women with Cords about them, sitting in the Way, burn Bran for Perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passteth by, lie with him, she reproaches her Fellow that she was not thought as worthy as her self, nor her Cord broken. This, without doubt, is the same Custom mentioned by Herodotus; the seeming Difference lies in this, that the Heathen Writer says, that the Women sat in the Temple, and Baruch, that they sate in the Way, which must be understood of the Paths and Alleys made by the Lines which divided the Set of Women; Baruch observes that the Line was broken to come to one of those.
those Women; which has given Occasion for some Interpreters to believe, that by this Line ought to be understood a Girdle or Scarf, which alone covered the waste, leaving the rest open to inflame the Lust of Passengers. But it is more probable, that they were got out of the Line behind which they sat in Order. There is one Ceremony mentioned, upon which Herodotus is silent, that these Women burnt Bran for a Perfume. This Bran, no doubt, was somewhat like what the Latins called Molasasa, Flour that was thrown into the Fire when they offered Sacrifices. Herodotus gives some Light to explain this Custom, where he says, that as often as a Babylonian lay with his Wife, he threw a Perfume into the Fire, and his Wife did the same on her Part; the next Morning both wash themselves and touch nothing before they washed. So that those Women who were ranked behind the Line waiting for a Stranger to carry them off, made their Perfume of Preparation, that nothing might hinder the Consummation of their Vow.

Here follows a Deity, if it be one, of which Jeremi., xxv. 15. the Scripture makes but little mention, yet remembered more than once by the Prophet Jeremia, which is, Sheshach a supposed Goddes of the Babylonians and Persians. There is scarce any thing to be met with in antient Authors concerning this Idol; we find only, that there was a Feast held by those People called Sakea which lasted five Days, during which the Masters waited upon their Slaves, so that it was a Kind of Saturnals; this probably is the Festival taken Notice of by St. Chrysostom, where he says: Do not you remember the Feast of the Saques celebrated by the Persians, when they take one of those that are condemned to Death, and set him upon the King’s Throne and clothe him with royal Robes? While the Feast lasts, they give him his fill of all Sorts of
of Delights, he is even free to lie with the King's Concubines, and no Man hinders him to do what he pleases; but when the Feast is over, he is stripp'd, whipped and hanged. Strabo likewise gives an Account of this Festival, which would be worth inserting, if any Thing but Conjecture could be raised from it.

Daniel xi. 38. Another Deity which has much perplexed the Interpreters, is the God Mahuzzim spoken of by Daniel, and translated by us the God of Forces. The learned Selden is silent in this Case, as a Matter utterly unknown. All that I have found probable concerning it is, that the Prediction may be understood of Antiochus Epiphanes a proud Prince, who exalted himself above his Neighbours, and should be reduced to pay Tribute to the Roman Eagles that were a Sort of Deities, and not improperly called the God of Forces, and by Gifts and other civil Homage, continue in the Favour of that victorious Nation.

And that nothing that passed for the Name of a Deity should go unobserved, something must be said also of Margemah, render'd without any Affinity by the Latin Interpreters, Acervus.

Prov. xxvi. 8. Mercury's Heap, but render'd in our English, as he that bindeth a Stone in a Sling, so is he that giveth Honour to a Fool, which is likewise the Sense of the Greeks and Chaldee; so that the Signification is, he that puts a Stone in a Sling and gives Honour to a Fool, does the same thing, which is to say, that both the one and the other are presently over, the Honour given to a Fool soon passing away as a Stone thrown out of a Sling. As for the Custom to which the Latin Interpreter alludes, the same is very well known. Mercury was looked upon as the God of Highways, and where they crossed, his Statue was usually erected. Great Heaps of Stones were raised in his Honour, into which the Passengers thought it a piece of Devotion to throw each a Stone. The Commentator
mentator upon Homer, derives this Custom from the Fable which says, that Mercury being charged by Juno for the Murder of Argus, was there fore try'd by the Gods, and upon Jupiter's Solicitation acquitted; however, to let Juno see that they detested the Crime of Mercury, each of them threw a Stone at his Feet; thence came the Custom for Men to make Heaps of Stones along the Highways, in Honour of Mercury who presided over them, in Imitation of the Gods who acquitted him, and those Heaps they called the Butts of Mercury.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Vindication of the Jews, from Worshipping the Afs, the Hog, the Heavens, and the God Bacchus.

HAVING finished what I had to observe concerning the Idolatries of which the Jews were really guilty I cannot make an End without saying something in their Justification of those they were unjustly accused of, as of worshipping the Afs, the Hog, the Heaven, and the God of Bacchus. The Greeks and Romans, who were their Enemies and Accusers, had no Knowledge of their Religion till after the Captivity of this People in Babylon. From which Time it is certain, that they had the utmost Aversion against Idolatry, much less could they be guilty of that vile Abomination of worshipping a Hog.

This Accusation is to be found in Plutarch's Table-discourses, where he brings in one Callist Sympolias. L. 4: C. 5. tratus saying, that the Jews did not eat the Flesh of a Hog, out of the great Respect they bore to that Creature, because by turning the Ground with
with his Muzzle, he had taught Men Husbandry: His Conjecture, that the Jews did not abhor Flesh by Abomination, he grounds upon this; that if they abhorred Hogs, they would destroy them as the Magicians do Mice, whereas they are forbidden to kill as well as to eat Hogs; but these Accusers knew not that according to the Religion of the Jews, a Man was as much defiled by touching as by eating of an unclean Beast; therefore they durst not kill this Creature for fear of being defiled by touching it. This Abstinence from Hogs Flesh commanded to the Jews, is certainly the Ground of this Accusation, which made Petronius Arbiter say:

In Fragmentis.

Indeus licet & porcinum numen adoret,
Et celi summas advocet auriculas,
Nis tamen & ferro succiderit inguinis oram, &c.

In the same Place the Jews are accused of worshipping the Ass. They forbear, says he, a Hare, and hate it as an unclean Beast, because it resembles an Ass, which they revere mystically. The Fable of Tacitus is known to all the Learned, that the Jews worshipped the Ass, because at their coming out of Egypt they were ready to die with Thirst in the Desert, when they happened to meet a great Company of wild Asses which brought them to a Fountain: This made them so grateful to the Creature, that they consecrated its Figure in the holy Place. This he took from Appion, a Grammarian, who lived in the Time of Tiberius, Cains, and Claudius, and Josephus has plainly confuted it. It is Appion who says, that the holy Place having been open'd by Antiochus the Great, there was found a golden Head, having the Resemblance of the Head of an Ass. Whence came the Reproach thrown upon the Christians, that they also worshipped the Ass. Tertullian says, that one of these Slanderers caused the God of the Christians to be drawn with the Ears

Joseph, I. 2.
Appion cap. 16.
Apologet.
Ears of an Ass, having a long Robe on, holding a Book in his Hand, and the Foot with a Hoof as Horses and Asses, with this Inscription, *Deus Christianorum Onomachites*. It is to be observed, that in those Times they made no Distinction of the Jews and Christians, because they worshipped the same God, Creator of the World, and were both equally Enemies to the false Deities of the Heathens.

As to the third Charge brought in against the Jews, both by Juvenal and Petronius.

*Nil prater nubes & cali numen adorant.*

*Et cali summas advocet auriculas.*

It is easy to guess why the Jews professed no Worship but of the God of Heaven; they had no Images nor Statues; they called God to witness of their Innocence, by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and towards the Clouds; and indeed the Jews adored only what they called Cali Numen, the God of Heaven, but did not worship Calum Numen, the Heaven as a God, whatever Juvenal may insinuate to the contrary.

I come now to the last Charge, which is, that the Jews worshipped Bacchus. It is what Plutarch insists most upon, and which he pretends to convince them of by abundance of Proofs, a Review whereof (notwithstanding what I have before observed to this Purpose) may neither be useless nor unacceptable. He pretends to prove this Accusation by their grand Feast, which was kept in Autumn. They call it, says he, the Feast, and keep it in Vintage time; they set Tables in the middle of the Streets loaded with all manner of Fruit, and sit under Arbours made chiefly of Vine and Ivy. They call it the Day before the Feast of Tabernacles. A few Days after that they kept another Feast, in which the Mysteries of Bacchus plainly appear; with Boughs and Thyries.
Thyrses in one Hand they go into their Temple, and there do what we know not; but it is likely they keep there their Bacchanals by the Sound of Trumpets, &c. in their Hymns they sing to their God.

In the Month Tisri the Hebrews had three solemn Days; the first was the first Day of the Month Tisri, called the Feast of Trumpets; the second upon the tenth Day of the same Month was the Feast of Expiation; the third, being the fifteenth of the same Month, began the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted till the two and twentieth, in which the Jews did actually eat under Trees, or green Arbours: Most of the Circumstances hinted by Plutarch were really practised in those Feasts. But had he been instructed in the Mysteries of their Religion, he would have understood, that the first Day was a solemn Day, being the first of the Year; that the second was a Fast, a Day of Humiliation, and not a Festival of Bacchus; and that the third indeed was a Feast and Day of rejoicing, appointed to the Honour of the God of Heaven, and not to any Pagan Deity; and that these green Tabernacles, under which they lodged, were to represent their Pilgrimage in the Wilderness.

The same Author brings another Proof from the Name of Levites. The Levites, says he, are these who play upon Instruments, such as Lutes and Harps. It was indeed one of the Offices of the Levites. This Name he derives from Evins, one of the Names of Bacchus, because of the Word 'Evos', which the ranting Bacchanal Women did constantly repeat in the Festivals of that Deity. This is so insipid that it does not deserve to be confuted. He adds, that the Word Sabbath, which signifies the common Feast of the Jews, may be derived from αβαζίος, a Word which the Bacchanal Women joined to that of 'Evos; and that Bacchus was from thence called Sabazius. This Fancy is well enough; but had he
He made Inquiry he might have learn'd of the Jews that Sabbath signifies Rest, and that they called this the seventh Day of the Week, because they did no manner of Work upon that Day. He says moreover, that on that Day, the Jews made themselves drunk and feasted one another; which I suppose is grounded upon this, that the Sabbath among them no more than among the primitive Christians, was never a Day of Fasting. But this is a mere Calumny, the Jews not daring so much as to dress meat upon their Sabbath, and every one of them keeping at Home upon that Day.

This Writer conceives he has an invincible Proof in the Bells that hang upon the Robe of the High-priest of the Jews, which made a great Noise when he moved, because that Noise was like that which was heard in the nocturnal Sacrifices of Bacchus, called Nyctelia. It is certain, there were Bells at the Heim of the Robe of the High-priest, but not in Imitation of the Sacrifices and Feasts of Bacchus, their Design being to give notice to the People to fall to their Prayers, while the High-priest was offering Incense. Plutarch also makes this Observation, that there were upon the Walls of the Temple Figures of Drums and Thyrfses. He had doubtless read in the Description of the Temple of Solomon, that the Walls were covered with a guilt Ceiling, upon which were Branches of Palm-Trees interwoven together. Perhaps he means by these Thyrfses the Vines with the Grapes of Gold in Relevivo, which were upon the Wall of the Porch of the Temple, which Vine was so prodigious big, that the Bunches of Grapes were of a Man's Height. As for the Drums it is difficult to conceive from whence he had them, unless he took open Flowers for the Figures of Drums; but this Writer never saw the Temple of Solomon, nor that of Herod. These Drums are supposed to be the Product of his own Fancy, that he might
might find more easily the Worship of Bacchus in the Service of the Jews. Lastly, he proves, that Bacchus was the God of the Jews, because, says he, among several Punishments used among them, the most shameful is that which debars them from the use of Wine so long as the Sentence bears. I believe he has taken that from the Law of the Nazarites by which he that made a Vow to be a Nazarite confined himself to drink no Wine; because the Nazarite went to cut his Hair in the Temple and perform these Ceremonies of the Vow in the Presence of the Priests, Plutarch fancied that it was the Priest that imposed that Necessity of forbearing Wine; or else it came from what he might have heard concerning those who were excommunicated; he that was under the Sentence being deprived of all Commerce with his Brethren, and not allowed to sit at Table with them all the Time of his Excommunication, which might induce this Author to believe that such a Person being excluded from all common tables was likewise forbidden the use of Wine. Upon the whole, as full of Errors as are these Accusations of Plutarch, it appears, notwithstanding that he had a greater Insight into the Ceremonies of the Jews than other Heathens who have attempted to write upon this Subject.
BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.
A short Survey of the City of Jerusalem.

It is an Opinion generally received, Gen. xiv. 18. that Jerusalem is the same City which is called Salem in the Book of Genesis, and of which Melchisedek is said to be King: But the learned Bochart thinks this to be an Error, and observes, I. ii. Phaleg. that Salem was in the Way which led from the Valley of Damascus unto Sodom; and St. Hieron remarks, that he learn'd from the Jews, in his Time, that it was seated on this Side of Jordan; and it retained its Name in our Saviour's Days, as appears by the Story of John's baptizing in Salem: But the common Voice of Interpreters is against this Criticism; not that Salem, or the City of Melchisedek, is supposed to have been of equal Extent with Jerusalem in After-times, but Jerusalem was no other than the City of Salem enlarged and beautified by the Kings of
all Israel, David and Solomon, and by some of the succeeding Kings of Judah after the Division of the twelve Tribes into the two distinct Kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

The Word Salem in the Hebrew Language signifies Peace; and as the City of Melchisedek, called Salem, is probably thought to be the same with Jerusalem, so it is certain that Jerusalem was otherwise called Jebus. Now as Jerusalem preserves the Name of Salem in the last Part of it, so it is thought to preserve the Name of Jebus in the former, and (for better Sound sake by the Change of one Letter, and the Omission of another) softened into Jerusalem instead of Jebusalem, or Jebusalem. It is true indeed, that the Word, which in the Seventy Interpreters, and in others, and so in our English Translation from them, is rendered Jerusalem; in the Original or Hebrew Text is most frequently, if not always, writ Jerusalem, as if it were a dual; from whence, perhaps, it may be inferred, that the City consisted principally of two Parts, one of which was the old City, that was in the Time of Melchisedek; and of the Jebusites, and the other Part was the Addition, or New Buildings, added to the old City by King David and his Son Solomon, and their Successors; and which for it Largeness might be esteemed as a new City, or new Jerusalem; and so these two Parts together, the old City, or the old Jerusalem, and the new City, or new Jerusalem, might give occasion to denote the whole City by the dual Name of Jerusalem.

It is further observable, that the Hebrew Word Jerusalem is (I think) always rendered in the Septuagint Translation of the Old Testament Jerusalem, or Jerusalem. But in the Writings of the New we find it mentioned not always by the pre-mentioned Name, but frequently by the Name Hierusalem. As for the latter Part of the said Name, we find it given (omitting the former Part) not only to this City we are speaking of but
but also to another in Pisidia, or Lycia. Nay, we are told, that there was in Lycia, or more particularly in Pisidia, not only a City called Solyma, but also that all the Pisidians in general were formerly called Solymi. Whether the Pisidian City Solyma (from which likely the People took the Name of Solymi) was originally called Salem, as well as the City of Judea we are speaking of; or whether the Greeks, as they turned the former Part of the Name Jerusalem, viz. Jeru, into a Word of their own Language somewhat like it, viz. Hiero, that is sacred, so turned also the latter Part Salem into the Greek Name Solyma, as somewhat resembling it, is uncertain: But certain it is, that Hierosolyma (into which the Greeks, according to their usual Fashion, moulded Jerusalem, or Jerusalem) does import so much, as sacred Solyma, and perhaps the Greeks were induced to use the pre-mentioned Word Hierosolyma, not as a singular, but as a plural, in Allusion to the Hebrew Jerusalem, which seems not to be a singular but a dual, and to denote, as is above observed, the two principal Parts of which Jerusalem did consist in the Times of the Kings, David and Solomon, and their Successors, that is, the old City built before it was taken by David, and the new City added by David and the succeeding Kings.

The City of Jerusalem was first taken from the Jebusites by Joshua, who subdued the King of it, Jofh. 10. 5. 23. together with four other Kings of the Amorites, who joined in Battle with him. There can be no doubt, I think, that the Jebusites were of the Seed of Canaan, being constantly numbered among Kamech in the seven Nations devoted to Destruction; yet some of the Jews have a conceit that the People here mentioned were derived from Abimelech King of the Philistines, with whom their Forefather Isaac made a League; and therefore the Children of Judah did not expel them; but this, it is evident, is a foolish Imagination; for why
Book VI. did they expel them at the last as they did, if they were to be kind to them upon this Account? The Fort of Zion held out against the Armies of Joshua, and the Israelites not being able immediately to people the Cities they had taken, the Jebusites recovered the City of Jerusalem, and got Possession of it again; from whence the Children of Judah expelled them after the Death of Joshua; but the Fort continued in their Hands till the Time of David, which so commanded the lower Town, that they forced the Children of Judah and Benjamin to let them dwell with them there, and they soon grew so powerful as to become the ruling Party in the Place.

The first warlike Enterprise of David, after he was King, was to remove these imperious Neighbours, and to reduce the Fort, which he attack’d vigourously with the Flower of his Army; but the Besieged imagined their Fortrefs so impregnable, that by way of Contempt and Scorn, they bragged, that the blind and the Lame were able to defend it against him, and all his Forces. The Words in the Text are, Except thou take away the Blind and the Lame, thou shalt not come in hither; that is, says the learned Bocbaret, thou shalt not come hither, but the Blind and the Lame, the most Feeble and Cowardly amongst us will drive thee away, which he thinks is so plain a Sense, that he wonders Men of great Learning should seek for any other. But so it is, a great many by the Blind and the Lame understand the Images of their Gods, (particularly our learned Gregory has a whole Dissertation about it;) as if they had said, Our Gods whom ye call blind and lame, they shall defend us, and you must overcome them before you overcome us. Luther himself thus explains the Sense. These Blind and Lame, says he, were the Idols of the Jebusites, which to irritate David they set upon their Walls as their Patrons and Defenders; and
and they did as good as say thou dost not fight with us, but with our Gods, who will easily repel thee. The conceit of a Rabbin is idle and groundless, which is, that when Abraham bought the burying Place in Machpelah, of the Children of Heth, he sealed a Covenant with them, that when his Seed should possess the Land of Canaan, (as they believed they would) they should not possess the City of Jebus, which Covenant they now engraved upon brazen Statutes, and set them upon their Walls, saying, Thou canst not enter here except thou break the Oath of Abraham.

David soon made himself Master of the Fort; and now the whole City was in the Hands of the Hebrews, and received no remarkable Change, except in the Magnificence of its Structures, and Ornaments, till it fell into the Hands of the King of Egypt; it was besieged and taken by the Chaldeans in the eleventh Year of King Zedekiah, after a Siege of twelve Months. Nebuzaradan Captain of the Guard to the King of Babylon seized upon all the Vessels of the Temple, and all the Riches that could be found, and then by the Command of his Master set both the Temple and City on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrewing all the Walls, Fortresses and Towers, and raising and levelling to the Ground all the Houses, that nothing could be seen but a Scene of the utmost Ruin and Destruction. Under this Desolation it continued for fifty two Years, till by the Favour of Cyrus, the Jews being released from their Captivity, and restored again to their own Land, repaired those Ruins, and built again their holy City. Jerusalem was again besieged and taken by Antiochus Epi-phanes King of Syria, who slew of the Inhabitants in three Days time forty thousand Perfons, and having taken as many more Captives, sold them for Slaves to the neighbouring Nations. Not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the Temple, and entered into the inner and more
more sacred Recesses of it, polluting the holy Place, and the Holy of Holies; and to offer the greatest Indignity to their Religion, he sacrificed a great Sow upon the Altar of Burnt-Offerings; and Broth being made, by his Command, of Part of the Flesh boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the Temple to derive upon it the utmost Pollution. After this he sacrilegiously plundered it by taking away the Altar of Incense, the Shew-Bread Table, the Candlestick of seven Branches, that stood in the holy Place, which were all of Gold, and several other golden Vessels, Utensils, and Donatives of former Kings, to the Value of eighteen hundred Talents of Gold, and made the same Plunder of the Inhabitants. The City afterwards submitted to the Roman Arms, under the Command of Pompey the Great; but the Temple being fortified against him, he laid close Siege to it, and took it after a Siege of three Months. He ordered the most sacred Parts of the Temple to be opened to him and his Officers, and enter'd not only into the Holy Place, but into the Holy of Holies: But though he found in the Treasuries two thousand Talents in Money, besides Utensils, he touched nothing of it but left it entire to the sacred Uses to which it was devoted. Upon the Conclusion of this War the Walls of Jerusalem were demolished by the Command of the Roman General. It was soon fortified again, and besieged and taken by the joint Forces of Herod and Sofius, the Governor of Syria, after a Siege of twelve Months. The Romans entered with great Fury, and filled all Quarters with Blood and Slaughter. Herod used his utmost Power to prevent these Miseries but without Success, for Sofius encouraged the Soldiers in what they did; upon which Herod applied to him with heavy Complaints about it, alleging, that if the City was thus destroyed and plundered, the Romans would only make him King of a Desart, and therefore desired that a Stop
Stop might be put to this Ravage and Cruelty; but receiving for Answer, that the Spoils were due to the Soldiers for the Reward of their Labour and Valour, he was forced by a Sum of Money to redeem the City from all further Devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed: At length it fell a Pray to the Roman Eagles under the Command of Titus, who so entirely subverted it, that it could scarce be believed it had ever been inhabited; yet he left some of the principal Towers and a Part of the Wall as a Monument of the Roman Valour, to shew Posterity what Manner of City his Arms had conquered and subdued.

The City of Jerusalem was fifty Furlong in Compass, which reduced to our English Account amounts to six Miles and a Quarter; it was surrounded with a treble Wall, except where it was guarded with unpassable Valleys, there one Wall was sufficient. This Wall was fenced with a Ditch cut out of a Rock, says Josephus, and according to Strabo sixty Foot deep, and two hundred and fifty Foot broad. The Gates of the City were these:

The Sheep-Gate, on the East, is supposed to have been near the Temple; through it were led the Sheep which were to be sacrific’d, being first wash’d at the Pool of Bethesda near the Gate.

The Fish-Gate, conceived by some to have been on the waste Side of the City, because the Mediterranean Sea lay that way, but since it is certain, that the Sea of Galilee afforded also Fish, the Western Situation of the Mediterranean Sea is but a very weak Argument for the Western Situation of this Gate. Hence others place this Gate on the North Side of old Jerusalem next after the Gate of Ephraim, and the old Gate proceeding from West to East, and this Supposition seems to be founded on Nehemiah, where we find the like Order observed.

And
And it is not to be doubted, but the Gate of Ephraim was on the North Side of the City, because on that Side lay the Tribe of Ephraim, to which the chief Road probably lay through this Gate, whence it came to have the Name of the Gate of Ephraim; there being several Instances to be found of the like Nature among us, of Gates or Streets taking their Names from some remarkable Country or City to which they lead. Whether this Gate be the same as is now called the Gate of Damascus, as leading to Damascus, is not certain, but seems probable; otherwise the Gate of Damascus was probably, either the Fifth-Gate already spoken of, or else the old Gate, with much Probability, supposed to be so called, as remaining from the Times of the Jebusites.

As for the Horse-Gate, its Situation is altogether uncertain; some are of Opinion, that this Gate, and the Sheep-Gate, and Fish-Gate were so called, because they were in the Manner of three several Market-places, and at one Gate Sheep, at another Fish, and at the third Horses were sold.

The Gate of the Valley, doubtless, took its Name from leading into some Valley, and 'tis thought that the Valley into which it led was the Valley of Jehoshaphat. And this it must be, if the Opinion mentioned by the ingenious Gentleman and our Country-Man Mr. Sandys be well grounded; according to which the Gate, formerly called the Gate of the Valley, Valley-Gate, is supposed to be the same with that which is at present called St. Stephen's-Gate, which is not far from the Golden-Gate or Great-Gate that leads into that which was formerly the Court of the Temple that is at the North-East Corner of the Wall that surrounds the said Court. Mr. Sandys likewise supposes, that this Gate of St. Stephen's was not only formerly called the Valley-Gate, but also the Gate of his Flock (whereby I suppose
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He means what is called by others the Sheep-Gate) and consequently according to his Opinion the Valley-Gate and the Sheep-Gate were only two different Names for the same Gate. Perhaps he might be induced to embrace this Opinion from the nearness of the Pool Bethesda to St. Stephens-Gate, wherein the Sacrifices (as he observes) were washed before they were deliver’d to the Priests. But since the Valley-Gate and Sheep-Gate are distinctly mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah, it seems more probable, that they were two distinct Gates.

The Dung-Gate mentioned in the old Testament probably stood in the same Place where that stands, which is now a-Days called by the same Name, and consequently a little above the South-West Corner of the Temple-Court Wall. It is supposed to take this Name from its Use, the Dung or Filth of the Beasts that were sacrificed being carried from the Temple through this Gate.

The Gate of the Fountain is thought to have been so named from its nearness to the Fountain, either of Siloam or of Gibon. The Fountain of Siloam is placed by Mr. Sandys in his Draught of Jerusalem somewhat South of the Dung-Port or Dung-Gate; and not far from it he places a Fountain, called at present, the Fountain of the blessed Virgin; and from comparing what is said in Nehemiah, it appears not improbable that the Gate of the Fountain might be somewhere hereabout. If it be rather supposed that this Gate stood near the Fountain of Gibon, then it must be in a different Quarter, namely on the West Side, at least near the South-West Corner of the City.

The Water-Gate (as well as several of the former) did doubtless take its Name from its Use, it being the Gate through which probably was brought the Water that served the City, or at least the Temple, which latter Opinion seems
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. seems to be somewhat favoured by *Nehemiah*, who says, that the *Nethinims* who drew Water for divine Service, dwelt in *Ophel* unto the Place over against the *Water-Gate* toward the East.

The *High-Gate* is supposed by some Commentators to have been the principal Gate of the royal Palace, but from what is said in *Jeremiah* of the *High-Gate*, it appears to have been by the *House of the Lord*; it is in this latter Text filed the *High-Gate of Benjamin*; and that as is thought from its Situation towards the Land or Tribe of *Benjamin*, which Opinion is much favoured by the Prophet, who, as he was going out of *Jerusalem* into the Land of *Benjamin*, when he was in the Gate of *Benjamin*, a Captain of the *Ward* was there who seized him.

The Gate of *Gensoth*, or the Gate of King *Herod*’s Garden, was not far from the second Wall of the City, by which Water was brought up into the Tower *Hippic*. By this Gate the Seditious frequently sallied and did Execution upon the *Romans*.

The Gate of *Womens-Towers*, at the North End of the City. Besides these Gates (and some others perhaps not recorded in Scripture) *Jerusalem* was adorned and fortified with many Towers which contributed to the Strength and Ornament of the City. Such was the *Tower of Meah* or the hundredth Tower, so called, either because it was so many Cubits high, or so many distance from some other Tower, or because an exact Century of Towers might possibly be begun or finished at it.

The *Tower of Furnaces* standing in the *West, North* of the *Valley-Gate*, so called (says *Adrichomius*) from the Fire kept there as a Signal to Mariners at Sea. But the City was forty Miles from Sea, and many Mountains lay between, so that it might serve for some Beacon or Landmark, or (as Mr. *Fuller* thinks) might take
take its Name from some Fire in the Corpse Du-Gard constantly preserved in it.

The Tower of Hananeel in the Eastern Part, so called, no doubt, from the first Builder of it.

The Tower of the King's high House. There are so many Turnings of the Wall mentioned (says Bishop Patrick in his Commentaries) in Nehemiah, that none can give an Account of them, nor of the Kings high House, which some take to have been a House built for the sake of Nehem. iii. 27. the Prospect.

The great Tower that lyeth out, it was in the Nehem. iii. 19. Eastern Part of the City.

The Tower of David furnished with an Ar- mory at the South-West Turning of the Wall.

The Tower of Siloe on the West Side of the City, which killed eighteen Persons with the Fall of it.


The High-Tower, built by King Uzziah upon the Valley-Gate, and that it might be seen beyond Mount Olivet, he made it a hundred and fifty Cubits high. This Prince built Towers, says the Text, at the corner Gate, and at the Valley-Gate, and at the Turning of the Wall, and fortified them.

The City of Jerusalem, for its royal Structures and Magnificence one of the Wonders of the World, was built upon a rocky Mountain, every Way to be ascended with steep and difficult Ascents (except towards the North) surrounded also on all other Sides with some neighbouring Hills, as if it stood in the midst of an Amphitheatre. It consisted, in the Time of its greatest Prosperity, of four Parts separated by their several Walls, as if they had been several distinct Cities, which may be called the City of Herod, the old City, the lower City, and the new City;
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all of them, but the lower City, seated upon their several Hills.

The City of Herod on the Western Side, was wholly taken up with the Palace of Herod, (a wicked but magnificent Prince) for Cost excessive, and for Strength invincible, containing Gardens, Groves, Fish-Ponds, and Places devised for Pleasure besides those for Exercise; fortified with three Towers at the Corners of it, that on the South-East of the Wall, fifty Cubits high of excellent Workmanship, called Mariamne’s Tower in Memory of his beloved, but insolent Wife, rashly murder’d by him. Opposite to which, on the South-West Corner, stood the Tower of Phaselus, so called from the Name of his Brother, seventy Cubits high, and in Form resembling the Egyptian Pharos. And on the North Wall, upon a high Hill, stood the Tower of Hippick, exceeding both the others in Height, by fourteen Cubits, and having on the Top two Spires in Memory of the two Hippici his very dear Friends that were slain fighting in his Service.

On the South Side stood that Part call’d the old City, possessed, if not built, by the Jebusites, and here was the Mountain and the Fort of Zion. It was afterwards called the City of David because taken by him, who built upon it a strong and magnificent Castle, the royal Court and Mansion of succeeding Kings. In the West Part stood the Tower of David, and a double Palace erected by Herod, one Part of which he called Agrippa, and the other Caesar, rais’d of Marble, and every where interlaid with Gold, and not far off lay the House of Annas and Caiaphas, to which the Conspirators led our Saviour to receive his Trial.

The lower City stood more in the Valley, and was called the Daughter of Zion, because built after it, and did in Majesty and Greatness exceed the Mother. Here upon Mount Moriah,
Moriah, was the Temple of Solomon, and between it and Mount Sion upon another Hill, the Place which he built for his Wife the Daughter of the King of Egypt, and that which he made for himself, from which, by a high Bridge, he had a Way to the Temple. West of this, upon a lofty Rock overlooking the City, stood the royal Palace of the Maccabean Princes, re-edified and dwelt in by King Agrippa; and not far off was the Theatre of Herod, adorned with admirable Pictures, expressing the many Victories and Triumphs of Augustus Caesar. In this Part also stood Mount Acre, and on that once a Citadel built by Antiochus King of Syria, but raised by Simon one of the Maccabean Brothers because it overlook'd the Temple. Helena Queen of Adiabene, converted from Paganism to the Jewish Religion, dwelt and died in this Part of the City. And here Herod made an Amphitheatre capacious enough to contain eighty thousand Persons, whom he entertained with such Shews and Spectacles that were in Use among the Romans. In this Part also, upon a high and craggy Rock, stood the Tower of Baris, upon which Herod built a strong and impregnable Citadel in Honour of Marc Anthony, whose Creature he first was, and called it Antonia. It had a fair and large Tower at every Corner, two of them fifty Cubits high, and the others seventy, afterwards garrison'd by the Romans, left the Jews presuming on the Strength of the Temple, should take Occasion to rebel.

The new City lay North to the City of Herod, and was once no more than a Suburb to the rest, inhabited by none but mechanical Persons and the meanest Tradesmen, but afterwards surrounded by Agrippa, with a Wall of twenty five Cubits high, and fortified with many Turrits; the whole City, as was said before, was defended with a wonderful Circumvallation on all Sides, having a Ditch cut out of the main Rock
CHAP. II.

A Description of Jerusalem, by Josephus.

Josephus the Jewish Historian, has from his own Observation given a more particular Description of this City, which in Justice to the Subject, may properly be inserted in this Place.

The City of Jerusalem was surrounded with a triple Wall on every Side, except on that Part where it was inclosed with Valleys inaccessible; for it had only one Wall on that Side. It was built upon two little Hills, the one of them opposite to the other, and separated from each other by a Valley which was covered over with Houses; one of these Hills, upon which stood the upper Town, is far higher and steeper than the other, insomuch, that upon the Account of the Strength of it, King David the Father of Solomon that erected the Temple, gave it the Name formerly, of the Fortresses or Castle, and this is it which we call at this Day the upper Market.

The lower Town is seated upon another Hill, that bears the Name of Acra, with a steep Declivity round about it. There was formerly another Hill also over against this, somewhat lower than the Acra, and divided from that by a large Valley: but in the Time of the Asa-moneans their Princes filled up this Bottom; and cutting off from the Hill Acra, they joined the Town to the Temple, by which means it over-looked and commanded all the rest.

The Name of the Valley aforesaid, that separates the upper Town from the lower is Tyropoön, and it stretches as far as to the Fountain of
of Siloë, that affords an excellent Water to drink and great Plenty of it: There are likewise without the Town two other Mountains next to inaccessible, by the Crags and Precipices every where round about them.

The oldest of the three Walls was extremely strong, by Reason of the Depth of the Valley below and the over-hanging of the Rock from above whereupon it was erected. And beside the natural Advantage of the Situation, it had all the Helps that David and Solomon and several other Princes could contribute to the further Strengthening of it by Art, Industry, and Expence. It begun on that Side at the Tower Hippicos, and so to another Tower called the Galleries, running along by the Town-House to the West Porch of the Temple. It passed on the other Side, reckoning from the same Place by Bethso down to the Essene-Gate, and so Southward by the Fountain of Siloë; where it strikes off to the Eastward, toward the Pool of Solomon, and thence by Opahas to the East Porch of the Temple.

The second Wall begins at Genath, and the Gate belonging to the former Wall, and so runs on upon the North Side of the City to the Fort Antonia.

The third Wall begun at the Tower Hippicos, and so ran northward, to that of Psephinos, over against St. Helena's Sepulchre, the Queen of Adiabena and Daughter of King Izates, keeping along by the royal Caves, from the Tower at the Corner towards that which they call the Fuller's Monument, whence it came up to the old Wall in the Vale of Cedron; and this was the Compass of it. This Wall was the Work of Agrippa, for the Security of that Part of the Town that he had built, which was otherwise naked and defenceless. The City was by this Time grown so populous that the Place was too narrow for the Inhabitants, so that by little and little they crept out into a kind of Suburbs; and on the North Side of the Temple,
There was a fourth Mountain that fronted Antonia, with Ditches cut out of a prodigious Depth betwixt them, insomuch that there was no coming at the Foundation of Antonia to undermine it; beside that the sinking of the Trench added so much to the Height of the Tower. They gave the fourth Mountain the Name of Bezeth, or the New Town, being an Enlargement only of the former. When this Place came to be inhabited the People earnestly desired to have it fortified; and Agrippa, the Father of this King of the same Name, modelled his Design, and ran up this Wall about it, as you have heard: But upon a Fancy coming into his Head, that Claudius Caesar might perhaps take some Offence and Jealousy at the Oftentation of so magnificent a Work, Agrippa went no farther than the laying of the Foundation, and so dropt the Project; but if he had gone on, Jerusalem could never have been taken.

The Stones of this Wall were twenty Cubits in Length, and ten over, and so hard and firm withal, that they were Proof either against Mining or Battery. The Wall was also ten Cubits thick, and they would have been answerably high in proportion, if the Fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a Stop to Agrippa’s Design. The Jews, ’tis true, carried up the Wall afterwards to twenty Cubits, with Battlements of two Cubits at the Top, and Parapets of three, which in all make five and twenty Cubits. The Wall was fortified with Towers of twenty Cubits Square, every Jot as substantial as the very Wall, and not inferior for Strength and Beauty to the Stones and Workmanship of the Temple it self. These Towers were raised twenty Cubits above the Wall, with winding Stair-Cases leading us to them, Lodgings and eating Rooms on the Top, and Cisterns for Rain-Water. Upon the third Wall there were ninety Towers, all
of a Make, and at the equal Distance of two hundred Cubits, one from another. The middle Wall had only fourteen Towers, the old Wall sixty and thirty three Furlongs was the Compass of the whole City.

The third Wall was all over a wonderful Piece of Workmanship from the one End to the other, but yet not comparable to the Tower called Psephinos; it stands upon an Angle of the Wall, North West of the City, upon that Quarter where Titus had encamped. The Heighth of it was seventy Cubits, and so advantageous a Prospect, that in a clear Day one might see Arabia from it, the Sea, and the utmost Confines of the Hebrews. The Figure of it was with eight Angles. Just against this was the Tower Hippicos, and there was near at Hand two other Towers of Herod's erecting, upon the old Wall, which for Size, Curiosity and Strength, were looked upon as the most famous Masterpieces in the World; for the King over and above the natural Greatnes of his Mind gratified the Impulse of his Inclination also, in doing all he could for the Good and Glory of the City. He dedicated his three Towers to the Honour and Memory of the three Persons he had the greatest Esteem for in the World, his Brother, his Friend, and his Wife; the two former having signaliz'd themselves by dying gloriously upon the Field of Battle, the other being but to Death in a Freak of Jealousy.

The Tower of Hippicos, (the Name of one of his Friends) had four Angles, five and twenty Cubits over, and thirty in Height, and the whole Body of it solid. Above this was a Platform of Stone accurately joined, and a Receptacle for Rain-Water of twenty Cubits deep. Over this Terras were yet two Stories of five and twenty Cubits each, and divided into several Chambers or Quarters; and over this Building were Battlements of two Cubits high, and Para-
The Antiquities of the

Book VI.

pets of three Cubits all a-round, amounting in the whole to the Height of eighty five Cubits.

Herod called the second Tower Phasael, by the Name of his Brother. It was forty Cubits square, and in Height, after the manner of a Pillar, all massive within from Top to Bottom. And about this was a Porch of ten Cubits high, supported with Arches, and set out with other Curiosities. Over the Middle of this Porch was another with rich Baths and Apartments to it, suitable to the Magnificence of the Royal Founder. On the Top of it were Battlements and Fortifications, the whole Height of the Tower falling little short of ninety Cubits. It had at a distance some Resemblance of the Watch Tower of Pharos, the famous Sea-Mark to those that failed towards Alexandria, only much the larger of the two, and at this Time the Residence of Simon that tyrannical Oppressor.

Herod gave the third Tower the Name of Queen Mariamne his Wife. It was twenty Cubits square, Length and Breadth, and five and fifty Cubits high. It must be allowed, that the Structure, the Rooms, and the Furniture of the two other Towers were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the Curiosity, the Beauty and the Ornaments, of this as this fell short of the Strength and Dignity of the other two; the King rightly distinguishing between the masculine Virtues of the two Heroes, Hippicos and Phasael, and the soft Tenderness of a fair Lady in the Person of Mariamne.

Now as to these three Towers, the Height was prodigious, and yet the Place they were raised upon made it seem much more than it was; for the old Wall they stood upon was it self erected upon a very high Piece of Ground, and the Turrets again were advanced upon the Top of a Mountain that was yet thirty Cubits higher than the antient Wall. Neither were they less admirable for the Materials they were made of than
than for the Structure. The Stones were neither common, nor of a Weight to be removed with Hands, but of white Marble cut out into Planks of twenty Cubits long, ten in Breadth, and five Cubits deep, and so artificially put together, that there were no Joints to be seen, but every distinct Tower looked like one entire Piece.

This was on the North Side of the City, and just within it there stood a royal Palace so rich and curious, that it is not for the Tongue of Man to express it. Besides that it was all enclosed with a Wall of thirty Cubits in height, and Towers of the best Work and Masters, planted at equal Distance one from another, round about it; with splendid Lodgings and treating Rooms, to receive an hundred Persons. There was an incredible Collection of the choicest Marbles, for Variety and Beauty, that could be gotten for Money. The Beams and Timbers that supported the Roofs, were for Length and Thickness beyond Imagination; and so were the ornamental Additions toward the finishing of the Work. There were a world of Chambers with commodious Passages and Contrivances innumerable, for Sight as well as for Conveniences; the whole being magnificently set out and furnished with all the Advantages of Gold and Silver, and whatever else was precious. There were also Porches and Galleries in abundance leading in a kind of Circle from one to another, and in each of them a Row of Pillars. Now for the Distances betwixt those Pillars that lay to the open Air, nothing could be more agreeable than the Prospect of so many Groves and Nurseries of so many several Plants, long and pleasant Walks beset with Cisterns and Fountains, Pipes and brazen Figures to spout out Water, with Volaries of tame Pigeons, gathering about it for Refreshment. But it is impossible for any Man to do this Palace right, in the Description of it; besides, that my very Heart bleeds at the very thought of the
The Antiquities of the Book VI. Story, to consider what a Devastation hath been made by an impious Crew of Incendiaries and Traitors; for this Conflagration was not the Work of the Romans but of a Band of wicked Miscreants, as we have already observed upon the Beginning of this Section, who burnt all from the Fort Antonia, and then carrying it on to the Palace set fire to the Roots of the three Towers.

The Temple was built upon a very hard Rock, which was so steep on all Hands, that at first there was scarce Ground sufficient on the Top of it for the Temple, and the Enclosure that was to be about it. But when King Solomon erected this Fabrick he ordered the running up of a Wall to the Eastward of it to keep up the Earth, and having so secured it, he built a Porch upon the Rampart. There was not, as yet, any other Fortification, but the People carrying up Earth from Time to Time afterwards to supply the Defect, the Hill came by Degrees to be enlarged. They brake down, some Time after this, the North Wall, and took in as much Ground thereto, as served in time to come for the Foundation of the whole Temple.

The Design succeeding so much beyond Expectation, they encompassed the Hill with three Walls, but with a prodigious Expence of Time and Treasure; for it was not only a Work of many Ages, but the whole Mass of religious Oblations from all Parts of the World to the Honour and Service of God, and his Worship, was spent upon this Undertaking, occasioning the Charge as well of the upper as of the lower Temple; which latter was erected upon a Foundation of three hundred Cubits deep, and in some Places more; but the Depth did not appear, in regard that the Valley was now filled up to the very Level of the Streets in the City. The Stones provided for this mighty Undertaking were of forty Cubits in Length, which gave them to understand that there was nothing impossible where there was Money
Money and good Will; and that Constancy, Time and Patience could work Miracles.

As the Foundations were wonderful, so the Dignity of the Superstructure was not inferior to that of the Groundwork. The Galleries about were all double, upheld by Pillars of white Marble, all of a Piece, and five and twenty Cubits in Height, and was wainscoted with Cedar, which for the Curiosity of the Work and the Smoothness of the Grain, was a delightful Entertainment to the Spectator, without any additional Ornaments, either of Painting or Carving. They were all thirty Cubits over, and six Stadia the whole Compass of them, including the Tower Antonia. In the open Air where there was no Covering over head, the Ground was paved and chequered with all Sorts of Stones; but the Way to the second Temple was lined on each Hand with Stone-Balusters delicately wrought and polished, of three Cubits high. In this Passage there were also several Pillars orderly disposed, with Inscriptions and Precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the Subject of Continence and Chastity, and forbidding Strangers to enter into that holy Place; for the second Temple was called Holy, and it was fourteen Steps above the first. The Figure of it was four square, with a Wall of its own, which, though forty Cubits without, was yet but five and twenty within, the Place being covered with the Steps that led to mount it. Now this Wall being built upon an advance Ground, with Stairs to it, Part of the Inside was so blinded with the Mountain that it could not be discerned.

At the Top of these fourteen Steps there was a plain Level of three hundred Cubits up to the Wall, and from thence five Steps more to the Gates of the Temple. There were also four from the North, as many from the South, and two from the East.
The Women had an Oratory, or a worshipping Place, by themselves, with a Partition Wall to it, and two Gates, one to the South, the other North, which were the only two Passages of Entrance to the Women; neither were they permitted to pass their own; for that Place was free indifferently to Women, Inhabitants as well as Strangers, that came thither upon Devotion. The West Side of it was a dead Wall without any Door at all. Betwixt the aforesaid Gates, and over against the Wall within, near the Treasury there were Galleries with stately Pillars to support them, plain and simple, and not much inferior to those below.

Some of the Gates were plated over with Gold and Silver, Posts, Front and all; but there was one without the Temple of Corinthian Brass, which is much the richer Mettle of the three. There were double Doors to every Gate, each thirty Cubits high and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing Rooms on each Hand of thirty Cubits square, after the manner of Turrits, and upward of twenty Cubits high; and each of them born up with Pillars of twenty Cubits in Thickness; the other Gates being of the same Dimension in Proportion. As for the Corinthian Portal, on the East Side of the Temple, where the Women came in, it was undoubtedly the largest and most magnificent of them all; for it was fifty Cubits high, the Gates forty, and the Gold and Silver Plates upon it more substantial than those that Alexander, the Father of Tiberius, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen Steps from the Wall that parted the Men and the Women, to the great Gate, which was five short of those that led to the other Gates.

The Temple itself, that is to say, the holy Temple, or Sanctuary, was placed in the middle with twelve Stairs to it. The Height of it was an hundred Cubits, and the Breadth as many in the
the Front, but backward it wanted forty of the Number; for upon the Entrance there were two Additions raised (like two Shoulders) of twenty Cubits each. The Height of the first Gate was seventy Cubits, and five and twenty over, but it had no Doors to it, being a Figure of Heaven open and visible to the whole World. The front and Outsides of it were all over guilt, and nothing to be seen in the Inside of the Temple neither which had not likewise a dazzling Lustre.

The inner Part of it was divided into two Partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the Top, which was ninety Cubits in Height, forty in Length, twenty over. The Inside of the Gate was, as I said, plated all over with Gold, and the Wall guilt every where about it. There were also Leaves and Branches of Vines over Head, and huge Clusters of Grapes that hung dangling down betwixt five and six Foot deep, all of Gold too. The other Partition of the Temple being cieled above appeared the lower of the two. The Doors to it were of Gold; five and fifty Cubits in Height, and sixteen broad, with a Piece of Babylonian Tapisstry hanging between them of the same Dimention, and interwoven with Blue, Purple, and Scarlet, most artificially put together, and wrought to Admiration. And the Mixture was not a bare Curiosity neither, but a mystical Allusion to the four Elements, either by the Colours, or by the Matter they were made of; the Scarlet representing the Fire, the Silk the Earth that produced it, the Azure the Air, and the Purple the Sea from whence it comes: So that this Veil or Hanging was, in little, an Emblem of the Universe, only excepting the celestial Signs.

This Entrance leads you into the lower Part of the Temple: The Height and Length of it sixty Cubits, and the Breadth of it twenty. The Length of sixty Cubits was then subdivided into
two unequal Parts, one of forty Cubits and the other of twenty. The former Part of forty Cubits had in it the three wonderful Rarities that had been celebrated over the whole World, the Candlestick, the Table, and the Altar of Incense. The Candlestick had seven Branches (all out of the same Stem) with seven Lights representing the seven Planets. The twelve Loaves of Shew-Bread upon the Table pointed at the twelve Signs in the Zodiac, and the Course of the Year. By the thirteen Sorts of Perfumes in the Center upon the Altar of Incense (divers of these Odours being extracted out of the Deep of the Inhosptitable Sea) we are given to understand that God is Master of the Universe, and that all Things are made for his Honour and Service.

The inner Part of the Temple being only twenty Cubits in Height was divided by a Veil all from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any Man permitted to enter or so much as to look into it, and it was called the Sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. Upon the Sides of this lower Temple there were several Lodgings, leading from one to another, with three Stories over Head, and passages into them out of the great Portal. Now the upper part being more narrow than the other could not have the Conveniences of the same order of Chambers, but it was forty Cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. The Height, in fine, upon the whole was an hundred Cubits, and the plan only sixty.

The Beauty and Curiosity of the Temple on the Outside was agreeable and charming beyond Imagination, it being fac'd every where with substantial golden Plates that sparkled like the Morning Sun, and every Jot as dazzling to the Eye, to gaze upon them. Where there was no Building, the Structure was all so delicately white, that it looked at a Distance, to Travellers, like a Marble Mountain, or a Pillar of Snow.
The Roof of the Temple was covered and armed all over with pointed Spears of Gold, to keep off the Birds from nesting upon it, and fouling it. There were a great many Stones in this Building of forty five Cubits long, five in height, and six Cubits broad.

The Fortress of Antonia was built in an Angle betwixt the two Galleries of the first Temple, looking West and North. It was raised upon a Rock of fifty Cubits in height; inaccessibly steep on all Hands, and in fine, Herod's Masterpiece both for Magnificence and Contrivance. The Rock was faced and crufhed with thin Scales of Marble, from the bottom to the Top, both for Ornament and Security Sake; for it was so slippery that there was no going up or down. This Tower was inclosed with a Wall, only of three Cubits high, and within that Compass stood the Castle of Antonia of forty Cubits, with the State, Splendor, and Conveniences of a Court, Lodgings and Offices for all Purposes, spacious Halls, and Places of Parade for the Use and Service of a Camp. So that for Matter of Neceffaries, it was rather a City than a Fort; and for the Magnificence it looked like a Palace. It was upon the whole the Resemblance of a Tower, and encompassed with four other Towers, at equal Distances one from another, and one from every Corner. Three of them of fifty Cubits in height, and the fourth that looked to the South and Eastward, of seventy Cubits; and from thence they had the View of the whole Temple. From the Place where the Galleries joined, there were upon the right and left two pair of Stairs, which served for a Passage to the Soldiers into the Temple; for when the Romans were Masters of Jerusalem, there were Guards posted still upon that Quarter, to prevent Seditions upon their publick Festivals and Meetings. The Temple commanded the City, as Antonia commanded the Temple. The Place had a Guard upon it, and Herod's Palace was
was as good as a Fort to the upper Town. The Mountain Bezeth (the top Mountain of them all) was cut off, as I said before, from Antonia, and joined to Part of the Town; Besides that it was the only Blind upon the North Side of the Temple.

Jerusalem (says the same Historian in another Place) was taken and utterly destroyed in the second Year of Vespasian, and on the eighth Day of the Month, Gorgiæus, having been five times taken before, that is, by Azochæus King of Egypt, Antiochus Epiphanes King of Syria, Pompey and Herod, with Socinus, who did all preserve the City after it was taken; but Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon laid it waste, thirteen hundred sixty Years, eight Months, and six Days after the Building of it.

The first Founder of it was a Canaanitish Prince called Melchisedec, which in the Hebrew Language signifies a just King; for such he was in an eminent manner. He first dedicated this City to God, erected a Temple in it, and officiated in the Quality of a Priest, giving it the Name of Jerusalem, which before was called Solyma.

When David, the King of the Jews, came afterwards to drive out the Canaanites he planted his own People there, and in four hundred seventy seven Years, and three Months after this, it was laid waste by the Babylonians.

From the Reign of David there, to the Destruction of the City by Titus, it was eleven hundred and seventy nine Years, and two thousand one hundred seventy seven from the Foundation of it. But neither Antiquity, Wealth, Fame, nor the Honour of the Religion itself, was any Security against the Appointments of Fate.

This was, in fine, the Issue of the Siege; and when the Soldiers had neither Rapine nor Bloodshed for their Spleen to work upon (as they would not have been idle, had they had Matter) Titus ordered them to lay the City and Temple level
level with the Ground, and to leave nothing standing but the three famous Turrits, Phasael, Hippicos, and Mariamne, that topped all the rest, and a Piece of Wall to the Westward of the Town, which he designed a Garrison: The Towers to remain as so many Monuments to Posterity of the Roman Power and Conduet in the taking of them. This Order was punctually executed, and all the rest laid so flat, that the Place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the End of the Jerusalem Faction, a mad and a seditious People; and this was also the End of the most glorious City of the Universe.

CHAP. III.

The Privileges belonging to the City of Jerusalem, according to the Jewish Rabbins.

MANY are the Traditions of the Jewish Doctors concerning the Dignity and the Privileges that belonged to the City of Jerusalem, which, I think, will serve to illustrate the Subject I am upon. Jerusalem, say they, was not divided among the Tribes, yet it was divided between the Tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and the distinguishing Line went through the very Court of the Temple. The Mountain of the Temple, the Chambers of them that kept it, and the Courts were in the Lot of Judah. The Porch of the Temple, and the Temple, and the Holy of Holies, was in the Lot of Benjamin; and a Line went out of the Lot of Judah, and passed on in the Lot of Benjamin, and in it was the Altar built; and in so exact Distinction were these Lots observed, that the
Book VI. *South-East* Corner of the Altar had no Foundation, because that small Part was in the Portion of Judah, when the whole Altar ought to have been within the Portion of Benjamin.

Jerusalem (they go on) was holy above all other Cities, girt with Walls, because in it they eat the lighter holy Things, and the second Tithe. They do not suffer a dead Body to remain a Night in this City; they do not carry the Bones of a dead Body through it; they do not let out Houses in it, to such as come to the Feast, but give them their Lodging gratis; they do not let out a Place to a Proselyte Inhabitant. In it they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the House of David, and that of Huldah the Prophetess; nor in it do they suffer a Dunghill for fear of Pollution by creeping things; nor do they set up Scaffolds in the Streets against the Walls, by Reason of Defilement; nor in it do they make Chimneys, by reason of the Smoke; nor do they breed up Cocks, lest they should scratch up the Bones of creeping things, from whence holy things, which were to be eaten, might be polluted; nor do the Priests nourish Cocks through the whole Land of Israel, for the Sake of Purity; nor is there in it a House for shutting up the Suspected of the Leprosy; nor is it polluted with Leprosy; nor is it become any way a City to be cursed for Idolatry. Never did Serpent or Scorpion harm any one within Jerusalem; nor has a Fire or Desolation happened there; nor do they make Paradises or plant Gardens, except Gardens of Roses, which were there from the Days of the former Prophets, because of the Stink arising from the Weeds that are thrown out, and rot upon the Ground.

Nor is the Temple, if you believe the Talmudists without its Wonders. Many Miracles, they tell you, were done for their Fathers in the Sanctuary. No Woman ever miscarried by the Smell
Smell of the holy Flesh, nor did the holy Flesh ever stink or breed Worms; nor was there ever seen a Fly in the House, or Place for Slaughter; nor did ever the Gonorrhœa happen to the Priest upon the Day of Expiation; nor did Rains put out the Fire of the Altar, nor the Wind prevail over the Pillar of Smoke; nor was any profane thing found in the Sheaf of the first Fruits, or the two Loaves of the High-priest, or in the Shew-Bread.

But the Rights and Honours that belonged to this holy City are related with great Judgment and Exactness by Cuneus; with which I shall conclude this Chapter. Among all the Cities most eminent was the Sanctity of Jerusalem, and (as the Talmud delivers) it remained perpetual, ever since the Dedication by the most glorious King Solomon. That Ezra should consecrate it again was unnecessary; for it was not capable to be profaned like other Cities by the Hands of the Sacrilegious; whence it came to pass (as the Tradition is) that it was lawful to sacrifice at Jerusalem, and to feast upon the Sacrifices even in the Dust and Ashes of the destroyed City. But how great was the Religion of the Place, appeared by those Jews whom Adrian the Emperor permitted once a Year to visit the deformed Reliques of the holy City, and there to lament and deplore the Misery of their Nation. This City was not assigned by Lot unto any one Tribe, but was common to them all; wherefore the Talmudists free it from that Law, which commands the Blood privately shed in the Borders of the Tribes to be expiated by slaying of a Heifer. This which follows is not from Superstition, but from the antient and approved Custom of the Nation. Maimonides relates, that if any had an upper Room so high that it gave them a Prospect to the Holy of Holies, they might indeed go up once a Week to see all safe, but oftener, or for other Reasons they might not; and

there-
therefore King Agrippa gave great Offence to his People, when from a lofty Room, in his Palace, he took a frequent View of the Temple, and saw from above what was done within it. The Jews thinking this to be an unsufferable thing, raised a high Wall to cut off the King's Prospect, and immediately sent ten Embassadors to Rome, with Ismael the High-priest, and Eleazar the Treasurer, to petition Nero for a Confirmation of that which Religion had compelled the People to do.

What Hecataeus of Abdera says in Flavins Josephus, that Jerusalem was of fifty Furlongs Compass, inhabited by an hundred and twenty thousand Persons, were not so material for us to know; but that there is something of singular note concerning the Enlargement of their Pomeria, which Maimonides has declared out of the Talmudical Books, and this it is. In the Enlargement of the City, the great Senate of the Sanhedrim, and the King, and one Prophet, consulted the Oracle called the Urim and Thummim. After they had agreed among themselves about the Interpretation of the divine Answer, the Senators of the Sanhedrim recited two Verses of Thanksgiving; and having taken two Loaves of leavened Bread, and departing presently with Instruments of Musick, made a Stand at the Turning of every Street, and at all Monuments erected in the City, and pronounced these Words. I will extol thee O Lord, because thou hast lifted me up. At last, when they were come to the Place design'd for Consecration, because it was to be the Bound of their Pomeria, they all stopped, and there of the two Loaves taken with them, after the Verses sung, they eat one, the other they burnt in the Flames. These things received from their Ancestors, the Talmudical Writers have thus left upon Record; nor are they improbable, since the like, and almost the same, are extant in the twelfth Chapter of Nebemiah's
Yet in aftertimes the Liberty of the Jews being oppressed by the Romans, this Prolation of their Pomaria depended not upon the Pleasure of their great Council, but of the Roman People. Cornelius Tacitus likewise relates, that the Jews with a great Sum of Money purchased Leave to fortify; from whence it appears, that the Queen of Cities, Jerusalem, was in the same Condition with all Towns under the Roman Power, whose Walls could not be repaired without the Authority of the Prince or Governor, nor any thing joined to them, or set upon them. And truly Claudius Caesar, when he had received Intelligence that they were enclosing Jerusalem with a mighty Wall, admonished Agrippa of that new Attempt; and thereupon the King, in Obedience to the Emperor, left off the Work he had undertaken.

Jerusalem was the Capital City, the Seat of Religion, and holy Rites; therefore that being overthrown, there fell with it the Form of the Jewish Republic, both civil and sacred. What Flavius says of a Voice heard out of the Temple before the Destruction of the City, Let us go hence, seems to me to signify nothing less, than that the Commonwealth was to be dissolved, and the Sceptre to be taken away, which of old was given to the holy Nation; for within a short time the Orders, and Functions, and Rites, and almost all their Laws ceased, and there followed great Confusion, Desolation and Distraction. The most sacred College of the Hasideans, that drew its Original from the Prophets, was now no more; because their Custom was to go every Day to the Temple, and to bestow voluntary Charges upon Sacrifices, and upon the Porches and Walls of the Sanctuary. And whereas Moses imposed upon Strangers, that should become Proselytes, the Oblation of some certain Gift, this upon the Dissolution began to be deferred altogether till another Time, when the third Sanctuary, which they yet
yet expect, shall be built. Nor do they any more marry their Brothers Widows who have no Children. And the Solemnity of the Passover never since that Time, has been rightly celebrated; for the Law commanded it should be kept in that Place wherein God had chosen to fix the Seat of his House. Of so much Consequence was the Fall of one City; it has changed and perverted all things, and brought to Ruin the Republick of the greatest People in the World.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Patriarchs of the Jews, or Heads of Captivity in the West.

The Ruin of Jerusalem was the Cause that the Jews were very much dispers'd; whilst those who had escap'd the Sword of the Romans, and the Flames, which reduced Jerusalem and its Temple to Ashes, or who, after the Desolation of this great City, were not fold in the Market, as Slaves, and Horses, fought out Places of Sanctuary and Retreat: One they found in the East, and at Babylon, where there was still a great Number of those that had been carried away captive in the antient Wars; it being natural for them to go and implore the Charity of their Brethren, who had raised themselves there to considerable Fortunes. Others took Refuge in Egypt, where there had been likewise for a long time Jews potent and rich enough to receive these miserable People: But they carried with them their Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, which occasion'd a fresh Maffeacre of them. The Rabbins affirm, that the considerable Families were, even at this time, transported into Spain, which they called Sepharad; in which Country are still the Remains of the Tribes of Benjamin and Juda, and
and the Descendants of the House of David: Whereupon the Spanish Jews have always look'd upon those of other Nations with Contempt, as if the Blood-Royal, and the Distinction of the Tribes were better preserv'd among them. We will examine in the Sequel, whether they are well grounded. At present let us observe that there was a fourth Class of Jews, who with juster Pretensions might boast of their Origin. These remain'd in their Country, either in the Ruins of Jerusalem, or the neighbouring Places, where they distinguish'd themselves by gathering up a little Body of their Nation, and by the Employ they exercis'd. The Rabbins also affirm, that Titus removed the Sanhedrim to Japhne, or Jamnia, and that two Academies were erected, one at Tiberias, and the other at Lydda. Lastly, They maintain, that there was also at that Time a Patriarch, who having first labour'd to re-establish Religion, and his forelorn Church, extended his Authority over all the Synagogues of the West; and 'tis of these Western Patriarchs of the Jews I will first treat, before I give the History of the Babylonish Captivity.

Every Body knows, that the Eastern Jews sent their Offerings annually to Jerusalem, all the time the Temple stood. They came themselves thither in Multitudes to worship; and these Multitudes of Strangers were sometimes so great, that they startled the Roman Governor of Judea, and made him acquaint the Emperor with it; as fearing some potent Succours might come from thence, to relieve their oppressed Brethren, and defend their Religion, annex'd to the Temple of Jerusalem.

But when the Temple and Altars were demolish'd, and the Custom of sacrificing abolish'd, the Eastern Jews ceas'd coming to worship at Jerusalem, and began to despise that Part of their Nation which was in the West, or was miserable in Judea: Insensibly they became divided into
two different Parties, one of which, that inhabited Egypt, Judea, Italy, and the other Parts of the Roman Empire, were called Western Jews, in Opposition to those who were settled at Babylon, in Chaldea, Assyria and Persia, which were call’d Eastern Jews. In process of Time they had different Doctors and Heads. The Heads of the West, who lived in Judea, stiled themselves Patriarchs, and the Heads of the East, Princes of the Captivity.

The Jews make a great Difference betwixt the Patriarchs of Judea, and the Princes of the Babylonish Captivity, calling the latter Rabbana, and the others simply Rabban: They maintain that the Princes descened from David in a direct Male-Line, whereas the Patriarchs proceeded only from the Females: They say that the House of David has its whole Vigour, because there are still illustrious Persons of this Family at Bagdad, out of which are choen the Chiefs of the Nation, as has been ever done time out of Mind.

Jerusalem being destroy’d, and the People dispers’d in divers Places, there remain’d only a small Number of the Priests and Laity, who endeavou’rd to settile themselves in Judea: The Remainder of the Priests and Levites labour’d to gather up the shatter’d Reliques of their Nation; for which Tiberias and Japhne seem’d the properest Places. The Authority was then entire in the Hands of the Priests, who were best instructed in the Law they were willing to preserve, and the fitteßt to teach it to the People. The House of David was almost extinct: His Descendants reduc’d to get their Bread by the Tillage of a few Acres of Land, had for a long Time laid aside the Thoughts of re-establishing the Throne of their Ancestors. The People were still less mindful of restoring them, or even of giving them any Shadow of Authority, because this would have stirr’d up the Jealousie of the Romans, and re-awaken’d their Cruelty. Agrippa, the
the last of the Herodian Family, was gone to Rome, where he lived as a private Person, far from any Design of assuming the Empire of the Nation. So that if there was any Shadow of Superiority among the Jews that remain'd at Tiberias, it fell into the Hands of the Priests, of the Race of Levi and Aaron, whom their Science and Understanding of the Law rais'd above the Vulgar. 'Tis easy to conclude, that this could be no great Authority in so astonishing a Defolation as was that of the Jews. They were only a parcel of poor Fugitives, whose Misery had made them flighted and despis'd of the Romans: But inestimably their Authority increas'd proportionably as the People grew numerous and potent; and as the chief of every Class of Priests was call'd Rosch Abbot, the Chief or Head of the Fathers, they took the Title of Patriarch, which signifies the same in Greek, a Language better known than Hebrew in the Roman Empire. And thus the Heads of the Captivity in Judea were not of the House of David, but of the Tribe of Levi.

This Patriarch was the Head of the Nation in all the West, (the Prince of the Captivity was in the East) Egypt, and the neighbouring Places where there were any Jews depending on him. He decided Cases of Conscience, and the important Affairs of the Nation: He presided over the Synagogues; he levied Tributes to defray the the Expences of his Visits; he had Officers under him which circuited the Provinces to execute his Orders. In a Word, he obtained by Degrees a very great Authority over all the dispersed Jews, who were proud to acknowledge him for their Chief, and to depend on him, whereby to maintain some Shadow of Union. Besides the Patriarch, the Jews placed Doctors over their Academies, to whom they commonly gave the Title of Heads and Princes; either to raise the Dignity of the Office, or to testify the Veneration
Disciples have, and ought to have for their Masters. These Heads of the Academies were commonly Rivals of the Patriarchs, and there were sometimes violent Contests betwixt them. The same Person also sometimes exercised both these Offices, which causes a great deal of Confusion; However they must be distinguished.

If we credit the Jews, the Institution of the Patriarchs preceded the Ruin of the Temple an hundred Years; for they tell you, that thirty Years before the Birth of Christ, Hillel, surnamed the Babylonian, (because he came from that Country) arrived at Jerusalem, and was consulted about the Celebration of the Passover, which fell that Year upon a Saturday. His Answer was so satisfactory, that they made him Patriarch of the Nation, and his Posterity succeeded him down to the fifth Century of the Christian Church, in which the Patriarchs of Judea were abolished.

They made a second Mojes of this first Patriarch, because he lived an hundred and twenty Years as that Legislator; forty Years of them he spent in Obscurity; at fourscore he was chosen Head of the People, and forty Years after he died.

They also compare him to Efas, because like that sacred Writer, he came from Babylon to Jerusalem. Besides that, he had his gentle Temper, and other good Qualities. They ascribe a thousand Disciples to him, though some bring down this Number to fourscore. In fine, his Death was bitterly lamented with this Out-cry, Where is the Saint? Where is the Disciple of Efas?

Hillel is commonly made to be succeeded by Simeon, his Son, in his patriarchal Dignity and Presidenship of the Sanhedrim; and the Christians seeing this Man to bear a considerable Figure among the Jews, have fancied that he was that old Simeon mentioned in the Gospel, who waited for the Kingdom of God, and received Jesus Christ into his Arms.
Jochanan succeeded Simeon, whose Reign was short. He was not of the Family of Hillel; but his Merit rais'd him to this Dignity, and superseded the Laws of Succession. This Man is one of those whom the modern Rabbins immoderately extol. He attained the Age of Moses; he spent forty Years in Commerce, and pleading before the Sanhedrim, and composed such Multitudes of Precepts and Lessons, that if the Heavens were Paper, and all the Trees of the Forest so many Pens, and all Men so many Secretaries, they would not suffice to write his Lessons. He became Prince of the Nation and reigned but two Years, though some allow him five. It was he that seeing the Gates of the Temple open of themselves, cry'd out; O Temple! Temple! why dost thou trouble thyself? We know that thou must be destroyed; for Zachariah has prophesied it, saying, Mount Libanon open thy Gates, and let the Flame consume thy Cedars. He left Jerusalem besieged, and came to Vespasian in his Camp, whom he called King: Vespasian surpriz'd with a Title which it was dangerous to receive under the Empire of Nero, imposed him Silence: But he answered the General, that though he was not as yet King, he should be so, since the Temple was to be demolished by a King, according to Isaiah's Prediction. The Jews should at least know that Vespasian never besieged Jerusalem, for he was proclaimed Emperor the Year before the Siege, and had Business enough to defend himself against Vitellius, who was supported with a great many Legions. It was Titus that formed this Siege, and it was then too late to predict an Empire to Vespasian, which he had already. Some more exact Doctors avoid the Fault, by saying only, that Jochanan waiting on this Prince discovered a profound Knowledge, which rendered him so agreeable to the Emperor Titus, as to obtain his Leave to remove the Sanhedrim to Japhne. That City, which is also called Jamnia, was situated near
near the Mediterranean Sea in the Tribe of Dan. Here it is said a famous Academy was erected, which subsisted till Akiba's Death, in which were reckoned three hundred Classes of Scholars: And this Academy was at the same time the Mansion of the Patriarch. Thus the Jews relate this.

Jochanan died full of a profound Humility. He is made to weep and lament because his Sins were to follow him before the Throne of God: And whereas the Kings of the Earth inflict only transient Punishment, which determines with Life, God being more severe, difficultly pardons; and the Fire into which he plunges the guilty eternally burns.

Gamaliel of Japhne, or of Dibanan, filled his Place. The Design was to put him to death with his Father, when Jerusalem was taken, but Titus gave him Life at Jochanan's Request. He escaped a second Time when Turnus Rufus caused the Plough to be drawn over the Temple: He was so haughty and severe, that they were obliged to set Bounds to his Authority. Some even maintain, that he was deposed; but the Rabbins affirm at the same Time, "That his Authority was so great, that not only the Jews through- out the Universe obeyed his Laws, but reign Kings permitted the Execution of them, and not one of them opposed them." Samuel the little, lived at that time, who was the Composer of the Prayer against Hereticks, which has ever been solemnly repeated, begging of God, That there may be no Hope for Apo/iates: That all Hereticks may perish by a sudden Death: That the Reign of Pride may be broken and annihilated in our Days: Blessed be thou, O Lord God, who destroyest the Wicked, and humblest the Proud.

Simeon II. His Son was Prince and Martyr, for he was kill'd during the Siege of Jerusalem. It is affirmed, that he was so far from Extortion, and enriching himself in the Temple, that he considerably abated the Price of the Birds, which the
the Women were obliged to buy for their Purification; and his Death was so regretted, that the Jews added three Cups of Wine to those they used to drink at the Funerals of their Saints and great Men: They were obliged to drink ten, and they resolved to drink thirteen in Memory of the first Martyr that was made by the Roman Emperors. They grew drunk so often, by this Addition of Cups, that the Sanhedrim was obliged to retrench them. Judicious People will wonder to find such Things produced as glorious to those they were instituted for; but the Rabbins have no Delicacy or good Taste in their Elogies: They have preferred Johanan's Answer to the Question, What he did to live so long? I never made Water within four Cubits of a House of Prayer; I have never disguised my Name; I have celebrated the Feast Days, for which Purpose my Mother sold even the Ornaments of my Head to purchase Wine, of which she left me three hundred Casks when she died. That of Baba the Son of Baba is more ridiculous: He was accused of being one of the most famous Cuckolds of his Nation: Pith, says he, what signifies it, *Semen non uritur igne, ut albumen ovi coagulatur calore.*

These are the Patriarchs that must have preceded the Ruin of Jerusalem, or according to others, immediately followed it; but to me they seem all imaginary: And indeed the Scripture never mentions these Princes of the Nation. The Asmoneans who at once made themselves Kings and High-priests, would have been far from suffering an Head of a People of the Race of David, whose bare Presence would have reproached their Usurpation: They were themselves supreme in Church and State; how then would they have suffered the Patriarchs? and would these Princes that are made to succeed one another, from Esdras, have tolerated Usurpers that dethroned them? On the other Hand, Herod would never have placed a Prince of the People near him,
who might so closely straighten his Authority, we still find in the Gospels the High-priest at the Head of the Council: Caiaphas presides when it is deliberated about the Death of Christ, and pronounces that it is expedient that one Man should die for the People. Jesus Christ should have been carried before the Prince of the Nation rather than before the High-priest; for Ecclesia nescit sanguinem; and yet he was led still before Caiaphas and Annas. It is the High-priest that imposes Silence on the Apostles, who had been haled and accused before the Sanhedrin; from him it was that Saul, going to Damascus to persecute the Saints, received credential Letters to the Heads of the Synagogues. St. Paul, when converted, appeared before Ananias, another High-priest, who, as Judge and Head of the Sanhedrin, commanded to give him a Blow on the Face. Is it possible the Gospel should speak so often of the High-priest in all Processes, and never mention the Prince of the Nation, who was the ordinary Judge?

Besides, these Princes or Patriarchs are as unknown to Josephus, as to the sacred Writers. He could not be ignorant of their Names, Succession and Privileges, if they had been established before Jerusalem was destroyed; and yet he has not said a Word of these Patriarchs. On the contrary, he places the High-priest at the Head of the Council, and gives Ananias the Direction of the War, which must of Right have belonged to the Prince of the Nation, preferable to a Priest; an evident Proof that there were then none of these Princes.

These Princes must often have suffered from the Persecution of the Herods, and the Inconstancy of the People: How is it possible that they alone should be the only undisturbed Possessors of so important a Post at Jerusalem, whilst the High-priest was so often deposed; and yet we see no Revolution in the Family of these Patriarchs,
where the Son constantly succeeded the Father; we find them neither at the Head of the People, nor at the Head of the Church; neither in the Temple, nor the City; neither among the Rebels, nor those that preferred Peace to the troubles of War: Where could they hide themselves, and of what Use were these clandestine Men, on whom, at present, such mighty Elogies are bestowed?

I am persuaded therefore, That we must leave to the High-priests the Authority of Governing the Church while the Temple stood, and that there was then neither Prince nor Head of the Nation, nor Patriarch that presided over the Sanhedrim, in a middle Order betwixt the High-priest and the King. After the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Levites, and the Priests that remained in Judea, took on them the Government of the People; but their Authority was proportioned to the Misery of the Nation, that is very weak and obscure. But when they began to reassume Vigour, the Heads of the People appeared under the Title of Patriarch, and their true Origin was under Adrian's Empire, as we shall see in the following Chapter.
THE Emperor Adrian being in Egypt was informed, That a Patriarch sometimes came there, and that some importuned him to worship Serapis, and others would have him worship Jesus Christ. In vain should we seek for this Patriarch in Egypt among the Heathens, where there never was any; and as vainly should we search for him among the Christians, as if St. Mark and St. Peter had established them at Alexandria in the Infancy of the Church; for that Dignity was not founded among the Christians till long after the Empire of Adrian, and the second Age of the Church. He that the Emperor speaks of did not reside at Alexandria; but came there from time to time to visit the Synagogue, and his Nation. He was not an Heathen, since they would have forced him to worship Serapis; nor was he a Christian, since he refused to adore Jesus Christ: And of what Religion could he be, since he equally rejected Heathenism and Christianity? He was a Jew, and the Patriarch of that Nation which we are in Search of: And here we discover the Origin of that Office which is absurdly made more antient.

Titus who dispersed the Nation of the Jews, and sold the Inhabitants in the Market, like Horaces, was far from granting them a Council with a Supremacy Head. Domitian, his Brother,
who succeeded him, treated the Jews with great Cruelty. It was only then under the Empire of Nerva, which was much more gentle, that they began to take Breath again; and the Priests who remained in Judea, took advantage of so favourable a Circumstance to restore some Form of Government. The first of these Priests, who was the Rojch Abbot, the Patriarch, began to distinguish himself from the rest. There was scarce any mention of him under the Reign of Trajan, because this Prince punished them severely; but he made himself known under Adrian, by the Visits he made from Time to Time into Egypt, to take Cognizance of the State of the Synagogues of that Country, and to collect some Money for the Relief of his own and the Peoples Necessities.

Consequent to this Origin, it must be owned, that Simeon III. Son of Gamaliel, is the first Patriarch that is known to us; for he lived under the Empire of Adrian. He descended in a right Line from Hillel the Old, and this Dignity remained in his Family till the Year 429 of the Christian Era, when it was abolished.

This Patriarch's Residence was neither at Lydda nor Jamnia, as is commonly supposed, but at Tiberias, a City situate upon the Banks of the Lake that bears its Name, and is frequently mentioned in the Gospels. Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee, who built it, named it Tiberias, and its advantageous Situation quickly rendered it a considerable City, and it became the Metropolis of Galilee. Agrippa being obliged to leave Rome, retired thither with his Uncle. Claudius gave it him afterwards, which is the Reason of its bearing the Name of Claudia Tiberias in Medals. Josephus seized on it during the War, and sustained a Siege; but Vespasian at last made himself Master of it. It abounded with Fishermen; and that Multitude of Seamen which battered down Herod's Temple, because the Figures of some Birds and Beasts were painted in it, came
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. from Tiberias. For the same Reason we see a Bark in many Medals struck by this City. In another that was struck under Trajan, we find Health surrounded with a Serpent, and seated upon a Mountain, from whence issued a great deal of Waters, because Tiberias was famous for its Waters and hot Baths, which were very salutary to the Sick. In a Town so convenient as this and less suspected than Jerusalem to the Romans, some Jews gathered together, and some of their Priests. Here they laid the Foundations of an Academy, which became famous by the Composition of the Mishah, and the Reputation of the Doctors that taught in it: And here also was the Residence of the Patriarch of the whole Nation.

The Patriarch had under him considerable Officers, some of which had the common Title, with others, of Ruch Abbot, Patriarchs, or Heads of the Fathers, and the others were Apostles.

The Patriarchs often mentioned in the Imperial Laws, were subaltern Officers to the Grand Patriarch. Their Jurisdiction was confined to certain Places. They depended on his Orders, and were obliged to see them executed: They were even inferior to the Heads of the Synagogues; for they are constantly placed after them in the Emperor’s Edicts: There the Grand Patriarch is titled Illustrius, Ilu striis & Clarissimus, and the Christians who were often transported with a fierce Zeal, were forbidden to affront them; whereas much less regard was had to the Patriarch of the second Order, to whom the Emperors never granted so honourable Titles.

There were also some Apostles. We must not look for any great Mysteries in this Title, as if he that applied it to the Ministers of the Jewish Patriarch, had a Design to imitate or insult the Christians, to whom that Office was venerable; or as if Jesus Christ, the true Head of all the Church.
Church, and of the Fathers, had borrowed this
Expression from the Jews, as being in use among
them; for the Jews first Acquaintance with
these Officers, and using this Term, was not till
after the Ruin of Jerusalem; when being totally
subject to the Romans, they borrowed several
Expressions from the Greeks; besides, the ob-
serving its Signification is sufficient to inform us,
that there is nothing mysterious in it. For the
Apostles of the Jewish Patriarchs were Envoys, or
Legates, who circuited the Provinces by their Ma-
ter's Order, to regulate, in his Name, the Dif-
fences that arose betwixt private Persons, or in
the Synagogues. They had also a Commission to
levy the Impost that was paid annually to the
Patriarch, and at their Return they informed
him in what Condition they found the Churches.
They served him as Counsellors, and bore a di-
istinguishing Character in the Nation.

The Patriarch's greatest Revenue was the Tri-
bute, or Impost which he levied upon all the
Synagogues under his Jurisdiction. It was an an-
tient Custom in the Nation, to bring or send
every Year a Didrachm to the Treasure of the
Temple. Moses commanded it, and they that
limit this Tribute to the Time of the Legislature,
have not read Josephus, who affirms, that it was
paid still in his Time. Most Interpreters also
believe that it was this Tribute which was de-
manded of our Lord in Galilee, because the Cap-
pitation imposed by the Romans, was much grea-
ter, and proportioned to the Substance of the
Persons that paid it. Besides, the Collectors of
the Empire would not have been so civil to Jesus
Christ, as to ask his Disciple whether he would
pay it, but would have exacted it with more Ri-
gour. The Didrachm was the half of a Sicle, which
was worth about our Fifteen pence. It is said,
there was upon this Coin, an Harp on one Side,
and a Vine on the other. But since, it is certain,
that the Rod of Aaron, and the Urn of Manna
were
were engraven upon the _Sicles_: I see no Reason why they should change this Signature, to put another upon the _Semi-Sicles_. It is true, the remote Synagogues changed their Silver into Gold, for the Conveniency of Carriage, but those of _Judea_ made use of the common Money.

The _Talmudists_ affirm, that Proclamation was made every Year in the Synagogues, with the Sound of Trumpets, to mind them of the Payment of their Tax, and that the last Day of _May_ was the utmost Term for the Payment: It is much more certain, that the Synagogues had need of the Emperor's Warrant, and a particular Order to levy this Money, after _Judea_, and a part of _Syria_ were conquered. At least _Josephus_ has related _Agrippa's_ Letters, and _Augustus's_ Order, permitting the Synagogues of _Asia_ and _Egypt_, to send their Money to _Jerusalem_; and if it be true, that it was the ecclesiastical Tribute which our Lord pay'd at _Capernaum_, we must not seek for the Civility of the Executors in the Corruptions of those Times, as the learned _Grotius_ does. It proceeded rather from this, that the Farmers who had not perhaps as yet received the Emperor's Permission, or who durst not ask it of _Tiberius_, for fear of being refused, could not constrain any Body, and obliged none to pay, but who did it voluntarily, and out of Devotion. For this Reason the Receiver at _Capernaum_ asked _St. Peter_, whether his Master would pay the _Didrachm_.

The Emperor seized this Tribute, after the Ruin of _Jerusalem_. _Domitian_ exacted it with a Severity answerable to his insatiable Avarice. _Nerva_ relaxed a part of it, which the _Patriarch_ of the _Jews_, who then began first to appear, appropriated to himself.

The _Patriarch_ exacted this Tribute of all the Synagogues of the _West_. He especially drew great Sums out of _Egypt_, where the _Jews_ had been long established, and were rich; and to do it
it the easier, he went thither in Person. There it was that the Emperor Adrian heard of this Head of the Nation. There Origen knew another of these Patriarchs, unless we had rather say he had seen him in Judea, when he retired there to avoid the Insults and Persecutions of the Bishop of Alexandria. St. Epiphanius says, that the Apostles went to make their Levies as far as the Provinces of Cilicia; and we see by the imperial Laws, that they came into all the Provinces of the Empire, where there were any Jews.

This Power was often abused; for covetous or necessitous Patriarchs rendered themselves odious to the Nation by their vexatious Ways of gathering of Money. They exacted the Tribute, with such Severity, that the People complained of it, and published their Complaints, presenting a Petition to Julian the Apostate, to be freed from it. The Emperor not only received them favourably, but abolished the Impost, and forbade the Payment, that the People, said he, being discharged from all Taxes, and enjoying an happy Liberty, may pray more ardently for the Prosperity of the Empire. This artful Prince was in the right, for the People never pray so earnestly to God for the Sovereign, as when he lessens the Taxes, though they appear necessary for the Preservation of the Church, and the Subsistence of its prime Ministers.

Besides the Tribute which the Synagogues paid the Patriarch, he had also a great Authority over them: First he nominated their Heads, who often bought this Dignity of him. Palladius, a zealous Defender of St. Chrysofom, actually charged the Patriarch of his Time with his selling Ecclesiastical Dignities; and that the easier to enrich himself, he deposed those he had set over the Synagogues, that he might draw a new Sum of Money from other Candidates. Thus the Greek Patriarchs at Constantinople, often depose,
the Metropolitans and Bishops of their own Creation, that they may more frequently feel the Priesthood; and the Grand Vizier, in imitation of them, makes the Patriarch experience the same Fate. He had moreover the Power of erecting new Synagogues, but this Privilege was often limited, and cancelled by the Imperial Laws, which prohibited the Jews from making any new Structures, and commanded them to be content with those they were in Possession of. They judged the Differences that arose betwixt the Synagogues; they decided the Controversies and Difficulties relating to the Law. Lastly, Origen says, that the Patriarchs sentenced the Guilty to Death. And yet he wrote to one of his Friends, that this Nation had lost the Right of condemning Adulterers and Murderers, and punishing them as the Law commanded. If he spoke only of Adulterers, we might easily reconcile the Contradiction, because he might have been able to show the Cessation of the Miracle, which the Waters of Jealousy wrought upon the Women that violated their conjugal Faith. But since he adds Murderers, how can it be said that the Patriarchs sentenced them to Death, and that he had lost the Right of punishing them? Whoever reads the Imperial Laws, would easily discover that the Patriarchs were far from having a Power of Life and Death over the Jews; nor can we find in all their History one Example of such an Execution, made publicly in due Form. Origen therefore is mistaken in giving the Patriarch this Authority; or rather he meant to say, that they had the Privilege of punishing Criminals with great Severity in the Synagogues, where they whipt them till Blood was drawn, and even to Death, particularly when they were Persons that designed to embrace Christianity, or had already done it. The Christian Emperors permitted the Jews the Exercise of their Discipline and Censures. Sometimes this Permission was
was abused by the Extravagance of the Punishment; and the Judges either tolerated, or being corrupted by the Head of the Synagogue, connived at this Encroachment upon the Sovereign Authority. But this was not a Privilege annexed to the patriarchal Dignity, and it is still true that the Jews had lost the Power of inflicting capital Punishments.

The Emperor Theodosius, under whom the Jewish Patriarchs flourished, was obliged to set Bounds to their Power. This Prince's Edict is obscure in several Places; but by unravelling its true Meaning, we may come to a perfect Knowledge of the Extent of the patriarchal Jurisdiction.

First, He forbids Gamaliel, who was then Patriarch, to build new Synagogues, and commands Aurelian to demolish those that were little frequented, if it could be done without occasioning Commotions in the Cities. Gamaliel had abused his Power at Court; and fancying himself at Liberty to build new Temples, because he was protected, he built some. In the mean Time there was a general Law in the Empire, That no Body could erect new Churches without the Emperor's Concession.

Theodosius also forbid Gamaliel to judge of Differences that arose betwixt Christians and Jews; and when the Parties were of two Religions, he referred the Cause to the ordinary Magistrate. This shews that the Patriarch had Right only to determine the Differences of his Nation, which were commonly concerning the Observation of the Law. Gamaliel imagined it was sufficient for one of the Parties to be of his Religion, to bring the other to his Tribunal, and give him Power to judge of the Case; but Theodosius put a Stop to that second Usurpation, with which he only charges Gamaliel, who then governed.

The same Law forbids the Patriarch to dishonour any Man, slave or free, with the Mark of Judaism. This Mark was Circumcision, which the
the Patriarch thought he had right of conferring on all those that quitted Heathenism, or the Christian Religion, to become Jews. This happened particularly to the Slaves which the Jews bought, and more easily instructed in the Principles of their Religion; but this part of Liberty of Conscience was taken from them. Antoninus had given a like Law before, which made it capital for a Jew to circumcise a Man who was not of his Nation; but in order to cure this mischief still more effectually, Theodosius forbade the Jews to keep Christian Slaves; because, as we have observed, they were the Slaves that were kept in Jewish Houses that most commonly embraced their Masters Religion. This Nation therefore had Liberty of Conscience left to themselves, but they were not allowed to make Conquests and Proselytes.

Here follows what is most obscure, and most important in the Law of Theodosius. This Prince orders Aurelian to withdraw out of the Hands of the Patriarch Gamaliel, the Letters of command he had received, and to leave him only the Honour he had before, since he thought he might transgress with impunity, whilst he saw himself raised to a greater Dignity. It is a Punishment the Emperor imposes on this Patriarch, because puffed up with his new Exaltation he had sinned against the Laws. But what was that Dignity that had rendred Gamaliel so haughtily; and what must we understand by the Letters of Command which the Emperor orders to be taken from him? It is certain Gamaliel had great Credit at Court, since Theodosius caused Dus Hesychius to be condemned to Death at his Prayer and Entreaty, because he had carried away his Papers. And the Decree was executed, tho' Hesychius was of consular Dignity, and a considerable Person in the Empire. And yet it cannot be imagined that this Jewish Patriarch had any Command. Interpreters think hereby is meant Patents.
Patents of Doctor of Physick, because Gamaliel, tho' a Patriarch, was notwithstanding a Physician, and exercised his Profession, and gave Medicines, which have been commended by Sextus Empiricus: But the Quality of Physician neither distinguished Gamaliel in the Empire, nor among the Jews, who have always exercised that Profession to get a Livelihood. Nor can it be said that these Letters of Command were those he obtained of the Emperor to become Patriarch: For besides that this Office was hereditary, Theodosius infinuates, that it was some particular Favour he had granted Gamaliel, which he deprived him of, because he had abused it. These Letters of Command were rather the Patent of an honorary Prefecture, which was sometimes granted to Persons in the Empire distinguished by their Birth, Merit, or Services, or whom the Emperor pleased to honour. These Patents gave no real Jurisdiction, but a Man bore in Publick the Ensigns of his prefetural Dignity. He might even ascend the Tribunal, and take his Seat among the Judges, tho' he had no decisive Voice, nor sat there otherwise than as a Post of Honour. The Emperor alone had the Power of granting these Patents. Gamaliel had procured to him this Mark of Distinction, but lost it by his Pride; and Aurelian was charged to take out of his Hands that Patent of Command, or honorary Prefecture.

This is the Sense of the Law of Theodosius the younger, by which we see before the Patriarchs could have Power to erect new Synagogues, they were first to obtain the Prince's Permission: That the Authority of judging respected only the Differences that arose betwixt the Jews, and that if a Christian was one of the contending Parties, he brought the Cause before the ordinary Tribunal. If they had Liberty of Conscience, it did not extend to the making Proselytes. However, that was the happiest Time for that Nation,
tion, since Gamaliel was, perhaps, the only Person of it that ever enjoyed an honorary Patent. This Dignity was abolished in the Year four hundred twenty nine, after having lasted three hundred and fifty Years.

There remains but one Thing to be examined concerning the Authority of the Patriarchs, which respects their Deposition. As they were the Heads of the Religion and Church, it seems that no Tribunal in the Nation could pretend to judge, try and depose them when they had violated the Law. These judicial Assemblies had been formed with great Difficulty in the Empire, where the Nation was most commonly oppressed: And yet the Rabbins maintain, that a Society cannot be deprived of a Right of deposing an Head, that is not vigilant to preserve the Body, or that endeavours its Destruction. They allude the Example of Meir, who had a Design to expel Simeon III, and formed a Conspiracy to deprive him of his Office. Meir was Vice-President of the Council. Simeon perceiving the same Honours paid to him, as to himself, when they entered into the Assembly, resolved to make some Distinction in them. Meir provoked, resolved to lay a Snare for the Patriarch; to interrogate him upon an important Question, it was that of Lice; and as they thought; he could not be ready upon the Subject, they were resolved to depose him. But having notice of their Design, he prepared himself and answered their Difficulties. However Meir's Design proves a Right of deposing the Patriarch, when he was found ignorant. It is said that Gamaliel was actually deposed for some Time. Lastly, They maintain that this Dignity was so little hereditary, that Juda the Saint, preferred Chanina before one of his Children, because he thought him abler and fitter to fill the patriarchal Chair. The last of these Facts is evidently false: For Judah the Saint conferred the Office of Prince, or Patriarch, on his Son Gamaliel.
Gamaliel, and Chanina was only made Head of Chap. 5. the Academy. St. Epiphanius likewise informs us, that the Patriarchat was so much hereditary, that tho' Hillel left but one Son who was a Minor, yet he was created Patriarch; and he had learnt this from Joseph a Jew, and Tutor to this Child, who ought to have understood the Laws of his Nation.

The Fathers of the Christian Church seem to have had no great Notion of all these Patriarchs. Cyril of Jerusalem insulted their Extraction, and maintained that it would be a Shame to search into the Baseness of their Race. St. Chrysostom would not allow them to be descended from the Race of Aaron: And Cyril denied their Descent from that of David. And some accused them of a great Corruption of Manners, and an insatiable Avarice.

The Primates succeeded the Patriarchs, but their Authority was different. It has been pretended, that these Jewish Primates resembled those of the Christians; Heads of a Province, and Presidents of the Council assembled in it. But I question the Truth of it; at least I observe that there were many Jewish Primates in that one City of Alexandria, when Cyril the Bishop of it terrified them. It was the People that elected their Primates by the Plurality of Voices. Whereas the Patriarchship was hereditary in the Family of Hillel. Cunaeus has allotted them the same Authority as the Patriarchs, but he bottoms upon a Law of Theodosius, which that ingenious and bold Critick had not well read. He makes this Prince say in his Law, That the Primates rule in the Council or Sanhedrim; but he should have read, that they are nominated, or elected by the Council of the two Provinces. Palestine was then divided into three Provinces; and yet the Law speaks but of two; but there is no Necessity of changing the Text, because perhaps there was neither Sanhedrim nor Jewish Prime, in the
the third part of that Province, which was called the Salutary. Each Province maintained its Primate, and to that End, the antient Tribute was continued for some Years, which the Patriarchs exacted. But Theodosius the younger had it brought into his Treasury, and levied by his Officers.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Princes of the Captivity at Babylon.

The Origin of the Heads of the Captivity is not known; it only appears, that there was nothing of them before the End of the second Century. Indeed whilst the Temple of Jerusalem stood, the Eastern Refugees sent their Presents to Jerusalem, and came thither from Time to Time, to pay their Devotions. The Spirit of Schism expired in these strange Countries, and they acknowledged the High-priest for Supream in the Nation: If any continued addicted to the Schism of Samaria and Gerizim, they sent also their Oblations thither: There was no Thought therefore of setting up an Head of the Captivity, whilst there was any Form of Government in Judæa.

We must not look for a Prince of the Nation, either in the West or East, before the Ruin of Jerusalem. There was none in the East, for no Historian has mentioned any; and the first of these Chiefs that appears upon the Stage was Huna, who lived not till the End of the second Century of the Church. Nor were there any other Princes at Jerusalem, besides those that were appointed by the Romans. It will be asked, no doubt, whether no Change was made in the East after the Downfall of Jerusalem. Some
Criticks maintain, that the Nation was divided into three different Portions, which made themselves as many Heads. They that remained in the holy Land, continued to have for their Head the President of the Sanhedrim. The Egyptians elected a Patriarch, of whom the Emperor Adrian speaks, and the Orientals set up in Babylon a Prince of the Captivity. Sometimes it is pretended, that the Patriarch of Judea ruled over the whole Nation; and the Argument is, that the Emperor Adrian speaks only of one Patriarch who extended his Authority into Egypt, and from thence into the East. Origin and St. Jerome have spoken after the same Manner; and it is in vain to turn over the Imperial Laws, among which there are so many which regulate the Government of the Jews; we there only find the sole Dignity of Patriarch elevated above the rest.

If a Man may have Leave to produce his Conjectures, on a Subject barren and destitute of Proofs, it appears to me much more probable, that the Eastern Jews imitated those of the holy Land, who had made themselves an Head. Having no longer that Bond of Unity which was formed by the Temple of Jerusalem and the High-priest; these two parts of the Nation, vastly remote from one another, made themselves Chiefs. According to all Appearances, the Orientals durst not take this Liberty, till the Parthians, who tyrannized in the East, were beaten under the Empire of Alexander Severus, and the last of their Kings ended his Life in a tragical Manner. As they then enjoy'd some Rest by the Overthrow of their Tyrants, they might take that Advantage to give some Form to their Government. This Conjecture agrees with the Time in which Huna lived, the first that is known of all the Princes of the Babylonish Captivity: For Huna was cotemporary with Juda the Saint, and was elected Prince of the Nation.
tion in the Year 220, or 222. It is true, a-

Jewish Chronologer sends Huna to the End of

the third Century, the Year 4060, or 300 of our

Saviour. But all the other Writers of the Nation

acknowledge, that he was cotemporary with Ju-
da the Saint; and was elected Prince during his

Life, or a little after his Death. Lastly, it is
easy to remove all the Difficulties urged by the

Criticks, about the Unity of the Patriarch, or

the Plurality of Heads assigned to the Jewish Nation, which is what I shall attempt in the

following Article.

First, it is true that the Patriarch of Tiberias
was alone for some Time, because the Jews of

Babylon had not the Liberty after the Ruin of

Jerusalem to make to themselves a particular

Head; yet it cannot be said that this Patriarch
extended his Authority over the Jews of Babylon;
for we find no Track or Proof of it. It must
not be wondered at, if in Procesis of Time only
one Patriarch was mentioned: Adrian had Rea-
sion for this, since the Princes of the Babylonish
Captivity were not yet known; and this Empe-
ror took notice only of what passed in Egypt.
Christian Authors, and the Imperial Laws only
respected the Roman Empire, on which Judea
depended; and it was not known what was
done in the East under the Persian Empire. This
Remark ruins the Sub-division that is made of the
Nation into three Portions; for the Egyptian
Jews depending on the Roman Empire, were sub-
ject to the Patriarch of Judea; and therefore
Adrian affirms, that he came into this Country
from Time to Time. His Seat was not there,
nor did he reside in Egypt, but he came from
Tiberias to visit his Nation, and raise the Tribute
in Egypt. Origen, St. Jerom, and Theodorus,
could not have been ignorant that there were two
Heads of the Jews, one in Egypt, and the other
in Judea; and since they own but one, it is ab-
surd to multiply them. But in Tract of Time the
the Patriarchs of Tiberias being abolished, the Refugees of Egypt, who were not accustomed to depend upon that of Babylon, thought they had Right to set up a particular Chief of their own; and therefore Benjamin de Tudela does not put Egypt into the Diocess of the Babylonish Chief, whereof he has given a large Description: But moreover, sets over the Jews in Egypt, a Prince of Princes, who was of the Nation, and presided over the Synagogues of this Country. Lastly, After the Institution of two Heads of the Nation, one for the Roman Empire, and the other for the Persian, they have ever been independent of one another. The Babylonish Jews would not submit to the Patriarch of Tiberias after the Ruin of Jerusalem; and it was, doubtless, to be quit of the Obeisance and Homages that the Jewish Patriarch required of them, that they set up an Head of their own.

It is pretended that the Head of the Captivity was superior to the Patriarch, because all that were of David's Race, left Judea and retired into Babylon. They maintain, that there it was that the Scepter was found mentioned by Jacob, because the Heads of the Captivity enjoyed a great Authority, while the Lawgiver was in Judea, where the Descendants of Hillel, and some other very able Rabbins have taught the Law. Lastly, They cite a Confession of Judah the Saint, who owns, that if Huna, who was Head of the Captivity of Babylon, came into Judea, he should be obliged to give him Place, and to rise before him; because Huna was of the Tribe of Judah, and of the Race of David by King Jehoiakim, and he was only of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of the Race Royal by the Women.

These Princes of the Captivity were installed with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony. The Truth is, the Heads of the neighbouring Academies, the Senators and the People came in Throngs into the City of Babylon: The Assembly
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. bly being formed, and the Prince supposed to be of the Race of David, seated upon a kind of Throne, the Head of the Academy of Syria exorted him not to abuse his Power, representing that he was called rather to a Slavery than an Empire, by Reason of the sad Condition of the People. Thursday following the Governours of the Academies laid their Hands on him in the Synagogue, with the Noise of Trumpets and Acclamations. The People having conducted him home, in Pomp, sent him great Presents. Saturday Morning all the considerable Persons came to his House; he put himself at the Head of them, and left his House, having his Face covered with a Piece of Silk: In this Equipage he went, the Multitude following him, to the Synagogue, where the Heads of the Academies, and the Chanters, sung Canticles of Benediction about his Chair. There they brought him the Book of the Law, which he read the first Line of; afterwards he spoke to the People, with his Eyes shut, out of respect; and if he fail'd, the Head of the Academy of Syria made the Sermon: He enlarged particularly upon the Charity that ought to be had to the Students, and gave himself an Example, by large Alms, and that Example was followed. The Ceremony ended with Acclamations to the Prince, and Prayers to God that he would deliver the Nation under his Reign. He blessed the People, and prayed in particular for each Province, that God would defend it from Plague, or War. He ended with a Petition in a low Voice, for fear any one should hear him, and go and acquaint other Princes that he wished their Ruin; because indeed, the Empire of the Jews could not be erected, but upon the Wreck of other Monarchies. Upon leaving the Synagogue, the Prince was conducted pompously to his Palace, where he made a sumptuous Entertainment for the principal Persons of the Nation. This was his last Exit; for after that, he
was not permitted to leave his House, except to go to the Academy, and then every Body rose and stood, till he desired them to take their Seats. He went to pay a Visit to the King of Babylon, which was done with a great deal of Pomp after his Installation. The King having notice of his Design, sent his Chariot for him: The Head of the Captivity durst not accept this Offer, but ordered it to go before him, to testify his Respect and Dependance. He was then vested with a magnificent Cloth of Gold; fifty Guards marched before him; all that met him upon the Road, made it a Piece of Devotion to follow him to the King’s Palace. The Eunuchs met him, and conducted him to a Throne, while one of his Officers that marched before him distributed Gold and Silver. Upon approaching the King, he prostrated himself to the Earth, to signify that he was his Vassal and his Subject: The Eunuchs raised him, and placed him on a Seat on the left Hand: After the first Compliments, the Prince opened the Complaints and Affairs of his Nation, which the King decided.

These Heads of the Captivity have sometimes had their Residence at Mahazia, but it was translated to Babylon, or Bagded: There he had ten Courts of Justice, over which he presided. There was also twenty eight Synagogues, amongst which was that of the Prince, supported with Pillars of Marble of all Colours. Before the Chest, which contained the Law, was a Tribunal raised with ten Steps, on which was placed the Seat of the Prince of the Captivity and his Family. His Sovereignty extended over all the dispersed Jews in Asia and Chaldea, and all the Kingdoms of the Parthians: Esdras commonly calls them Orientals, in Opposition to those who lived in Judea and Egypt, which are often called Occidentals. He conferred Ordination on all the Heads of the Synagogues
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agogues of the East; thence also he received the necessary Contributions to support his Dignity, and pay his Tributes exacted by the Kings of Persia.

This Prince was to be of the House of David, but it would not have been extremely difficult to have observed this Order in a Place where there were but few Jews of the Tribe of Judah, and Little Benjamin, and where on the contrary the Posterity of the other Tribes were infinitely the uppermost. This was perhaps only imagined, that they might not in any Thing be inferior to those who continued in Judea, whose Patriarchs descending from Hillel, traced their Pedigree up to David; or to rais the Glory of the Nation.

This Principality subsisted in the eleventh Century, when it received a deadly Blow. The famous Academies were shut up; the People and Disciples fled to the West, and particularly to France, where they taught for some Years with great Reputation. The Heads of the Captivity lost their Power by the Desertions of the People, and the Oppression of the Infidels: Their Name remained till the twelfth Century, since Benjamin de Tudela, who travelled into these Parts, found one still there; but we find no Footsteps of them from that Time.
Judicial Laws among the Hebrews: Of Murder.

To commit no Murder was one of the Precepts given to the Sons of Noah, with this solemn Sanction, *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*; for notwithstanding the Fall of our first Parents, there still remained in Man so much of the divine Image as intituled him to God's immediate Protection. The Murderer was to be delivered to the Magistrates and Judges to be punished; for till now God had reserved the Punishment of Murder in his own Hand, as appears from the History of Cain whom he had banished, but suffered no Body to kill him. This was afterwards one of the Commandments delivered by God from Mount Sinai, and established by Moses into the Body of the Levitical Laws under the most severe Penalties.

Wilful Murder was punished with Death by strangling; nor was the Case altered, whether the Act was designed and deliberate, or done in Anger and Passion; for if a Man in the Height of his Rage resolved to kill another, and laid wait for him, to execute his Designs; it was justly to be judged wilful Murder, and accordingly punished: This Law was understood by the Hebrew Doctors to include only an Israelite, or a Proselyte of Justice; as for others, if an Israelite, or such a Proselyte killed one of them, he was not, say they, to be put to Death: But this Constructions defeats the Intent of the Law, which no doubt had regard to the Preservation of all that lived amongst the Hebrews.

That
that they might dwell with Safety and Security of their Lives. If the Murderer fled to the Altar for Refuge, he was to be taken from thence by the Elders of the City and brought to Justice. This, it seems, was an Asylum as well as the Cities of Refuge, but under many nice Limitations, both with respect to the part of the Altar, to the Persons that fled thither, and to the Crime they had committed. Though he was the High-priest, and in the Act of Sacrifice, he was to be taken from thence; for as Maimonides observes, the Mercy which is shown to wicked Men is no better than Tyranny and Cruelty to the rest of God's Creatures; and therefore, though such Persons fought to God for his Patronage, by betaking themselves to that which was dedicated to his Name; he would not afford them any Protection, but commanded them to be delivered up to Justice.

The Judges appointed to try the Fact, were the Court that sat in the City where the Fact was committed; they had Power to examine into the Matter, and enquire into the Evidence of two Persons, at least, that were allowed to be competent Witnesses. There were ten Sorts of Persons, according to the Hebrew Doctors, that were incapable to give Evidence, Women, Servants, Minors, Fools, the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, the Impious, the Audacious, near Relations, and those who had been convicted of Perjury; and they endeavour, after their Manner, to find Reasons against all these in the Law itself. If there was but one Witness, the Criminal could not be put to death; yet say the Jews, he was thrown into a very strait Prison, and there fed with Bread and Water of Affliction, till his Bowels were sorely pinched with Want of Sustenance. If the Accused was found guilty by the Evidence of two Witnesses, he was put to Death, say some Jews, by the Sword. Nothing could prevent the Execution
ution of the Sentence. If a Murderer would give all his Estate to save his Life; or if the Avenger of Blood (who was always the next Relation) would accept of a Compensation, or freely let him go, (when they had found him guilty) the Judge could not restore him to the City of Refuge, but he was to suffer Death; for the Life of him that was slain (as Maimonides speaks, quoted by Selden) was not part of the Goods of the Avenger of Blood, but belonged to the Almighty God, who set such a Value on a Man's Life that he would not suffer any Price to be taken for it. The next of Kin was bound to prosecute the Murderer unto Death, for the Good of his Country, which otherwise would have had a Guilt upon it, and that very grievous. It is, says the Author above mentioned, a Piece of universal Justice, to make a Man suffer what he has made another endure. If he has hurt his Body, he must suffer for it in his own Body; if in his Money, his own Purse must pay for it; if he has taken away his Life, he must die for it himself, and the Punishment can neither be mitigated nor Compensation accepted for it. If he that was murdered should lie a few Days or Hours after his deadly Wound, and being found Understanding, should desire that he that killed him might not die for it, declaring that he freely forgave him; his Desire was not to be granted, but Blood was to be punished with Blood, whether he that was slain was a great or a mean Man, a Freeman or a Slave, a wife Man or a Fool, because there is no greater Sin committed among Men, than that of Murder.

Upon Tryal the Judges proceeded by these Rules; If a Man had no Intention to kill another, but it was purely involuntary, he was to be acquitted: If there appeared any Design upon his Life, or such Hatred and Enmity, as might move them to conclude, he had an Intention to kill.
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Book VI. kill him, he was to be put to Death; but here the Hebrew Doctors (as Mr. Selden observes) distinguish the killing of a Man into three Kinds: The first was when, though it was from pure Ignorance and Error, yet there was some Negligence in it which a prudent Man might have avoided. The second, when a Man kills another ignorantly, and cannot be blamed for any Negligence, because such a Thing seldom happens. An Example of the first they make to be, when a Man coming down a Ladder falls upon another and kills him. An Example of the second, when going up a Ladder a Man happens to do the same; the former is more frequent, and therefore they say has some Kind of Blame in it; the other seldom, and therefore has none. A third Kind when any Man kills another out of Ignorance and Error also, but it approaches nearer to voluntary Murder; as when a Man intending to kill one Man, happens to kill another with a Stone, or otherwise. In none of these Cases, they say, the Court of Judgment could put any Man to Death. The Court were obliged likewise to enquire with what Weapon, or Instrument, the Person was slain. If he was killed with an Instrument of Iron, or with a great Stone, or with a Battoon, or wooden Club, or with any Thing that was likely to kill him, he was esteemed a Murderer, and the guilty Person must suffer for it.

Upon this Subject Maimonides has this Gloss: Any one that kills his Neighbour with his Hand, as if he strike him with a Sword, or with a Stone that kills him, or strangles him till he die, or burns him in the Fire, or kills him any how in his own Person, such a one must be put to Death by the Sanhedrim: But he that hires another to kill his Neighbour, or that sends his Servants and they kill him, or that violently thrusts him before a Lion, or the like, and the Beast kills him; any one of these is a Shedder of Blood, and the Guilt
Guilt of shedding Blood is upon him, and he is liable to Death by the Hand of Heaven; but he is not to be put to Death by the Sanhedrim. And where is the Proof that it must be thus? Because it is said, He that sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed. This is he that slays a Man himself, and not by the Hand of another. Your Blood of your Lives will I require. This is he that slays himself. At the Hand of every Beast will I require it. This he that delivers up his Neighbour before a Beast to be rent to Pieces. At the hand of Man, even at the Hand of every Man's Brother will I require the Life of Man. This he that hires others to kill his Neighbour. In this Interpretation requiring is spoken of all the three; behold their Judgment is delivered over to Heaven, or God. And all these Man-slayers, and the like, who are not liable to Death by the Sanhedrim, if the King of Israel will slay them by the Judgment of the Kingdom and the Law of Nations, he may.

If there chanced to be a Fray, and a Woman with Child interposed between the contending Parties, or came perhaps to assist her Husband, and received a Hurt, so as to make her miscarry, the Husband might justly require Compensation, both for the Loss of his Child, and the Grief and Anguish suffered by his Wife. The Matter was to be brought before the publick Judges, who considered in their Decree what Damage was done, which was estimated by the Hurt the Wife received in her Body, and by the lessening of her Price, if she were a Slave and might be sold. But if the Mother died, the Law insists, Life shall be given for Life; concerning the Sense of which Expression, says Jarchi, our Masters differ; for some by Life understand that which is properly so called, or the Person himself; so that it should signify being put to Death. But others understand by it a pecuniary Mullet, that so much Money should be paid to the Heirs, as

Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. cap. 1.
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Book. VI. the Person killed might have been fold for. The Seventy carry it to quite another Construction, which is, that if a Woman miscarry, and the Child was not yet formed and fashioned, the Man who occasioned the Miscarriage was to pay a Fine; but if it were formed, then Life was to be given for Life. So that the whole of this Law is to be understood of an Abortion, and according to the Condition of the Abative, (not the Life or Death of the Mother) so the Punishment was to be inflicted.

The Blood of Man was to be required at the Hand of every Beast, and for this Purpose the Law of Moses made Provision, by instancing an Ox, that if he gored a Man or a Woman that they died, the Ox was to be stoned, and his Flesh was not to be eaten, that the Owner might lose all Benefit by him, and be admonished to take better Care of his Cattle. The Hebrew Doctors say, that if a Man eat so much as an Olive of this Flesh, he was to be scourged. The Reason why the Flesh was not to be eaten, is given by some, because being stoned, it was a Carcase whose Blood was in it. But Maimonides answers to this in his Treatise of Forbidden Meats, that the Scope of the Law is, that as soon as the Sentence for its being stoned was pronounced, it became unclean; nay, if a Man, to prevent this Sentence, killed it after a legal manner, no Man might taste of it; and when it was stoned, the flesh was neither fold nor given to the Gentiles, nor to the Dogs. If the Ox did not kill the Man, but only wounded him, in that Case, the Owner was obliged to make him full Compensation as the Judges thought equal, and to take Care to prevent the same Misfortune for the future: But if the Ox has formerly been known to be so unruly, and he had been told of it, and yet omitted to secure him from doing further Mischiefs, then he as well as the Ox, were to be put to Death. The Jewish Doctors
Hebrew Republick.

ors indeed, have softened this Law by divers Exceptions. As first, They say, it was to be proved that the Ox had pushed upon three several Days; for though it appeared he pushed a great many Times in one Day, it would not make the Man liable. And secondly, It was to be testified not only to the Owner but before the Magistrate, that he had pushed so often. And lastly, They interpret the Words of the Law, The Owner also shall be put to Death, of Punishment by the Hand of Heaven, that is, they leave him to God. Indeed the Law itself allows of a Man saving his Life by a pecuniary Monument, though the Ox had been used to push, and the Master had been told of it. The Circumstances that attend this Law, are difficult to be adjusted; and the most reasonable Solution I have met with is what is given by a Man of great Learning in this Manner. Either the Knowledge which the Owner had of the ill Conditions of his Ox was certain, or uncertain, and his Carelessness in preventing the Mischiefs which he used to do, was greater or less, or the Friends of him that was killed pressed the strictest Justice, or were content to remit it. In the former Cases (if the Knowledge was certain, the Carelessness very gross, and the Friends were strict in the Prosecution) he was punished with Death: But if otherwise, he was punished only by setting a Fine upon him. It is certain that this Law might prove too rigorous in many Cases (as if the Ox pushed, being provoked, or broke loose when he was tied up, or was let go by the Negligence of a Servant) and therefore God permitted the Judges to accept of a Ransom as they law Caufe, which was to be paid according as the Sanhedrim thought fit. The Owner was obliged to submit to the Fine whatsoever it was, and it was given to the Heirs of him that was killed. If a Man’s Wife was killed, the Jews say, it belonged to the Heirs of her Father’s Family,
mily, and not to her Husband. This Law extended to Children and Servants, Men or Maids: Whether the Servant was of greater or lesser Value, says Maimonides, the Punishment was the Payment of thirty Shekels (and the Loss of the Ox) half the Price of a Freeman, who was estimated, he says, at sixty Shekels. He adds in his Treatise of Pecuniary Multis, that the Owner was not bound to pay this Ransom unless the Ox killed the Man out of his own Ground; for if he was killed within the Owner’s Ground, the Ox indeed was stoned, but no Ransom was pay’d.

CHAP. VIII.

The Expiation of an Uncertain Murder, by the beheading of a Heifer.

These are the Laws in the Levitical Code that relate to wilful Homicide, when the Person, or Beast is known, that committed the Fact: But in Case of secret Murder, when a Person was found dead, and the Murderer unknown, the Guilt was purged and Expiated by solemn Ceremonies in this Manner. The great Sanbedrim were obliged to send out some of their Body, called in the Law, the Elders and Judges. Two of the wife Men, or Elders, (says the Paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides) and three of the Judges were sent by the Sanbedrim, about this Buﬁnel’s. Now it may be proper in this Place to observe, that there were a Sort of Elders who were not ordained by Impoſition of Hands, but only were venerable Persons for their Age and Prudence, who some think might serve for this Employment; and they called such Elders, Elders of the Street, or vulgar
vulgar Elders; but none, I think, have more critically discoursed upon these Words of the Law, thy Elders and thy Judges, than our Mr. Thorndike; who observes that there had been Judges constituted to determine Cases by Jethro's Advice, the greater Causes being referred to Moses alone, for whose Assistance God appointed seventy Elders, who made up the great Court of Judgment in that Nation. Now they of this great Consiitory are called Elders of Israel; but they of other Consitories, or Inferior Courts, are called barely, Elders, or Elders of such a City. He alludes this very Law, and by Elders understands the Elders of Israel, the lower Elders being mentioned afterwards. And so those of the great Consiitory are commonly called in the Gospel, and in like manner, the Scribes of the People, and thy Scribes, signify there, those of this High Court; whereas the bare Name of Scribes is extended farther to the inferior Doctors of the Law. As also the Name of Rulers, and that of Rulers of the People, are to be understood with the like Difference. But to return.

If it was dubious what City lay nearest to the dead Body, these Members of the Sanhedrim were to measure to the Cities that were round about the Slain. It is a frivolous Dispute in the Mishena from whence they were to measure, whether from the Navel, or the Nose, or the Forehead, which last seems most rational to Maimonides, who calls it the Center of the Body: But they did not (if we believe the Jewish Doctors) in their measuring take notice of any City wherein there was not a Court of twenty three Elders, and Jerusalem was excepted. If the dead Body lay nearest to the Country of the Gentiles, then they did not measure at all, but it was presumed the Man was killed by them. After they had measured to the next City, from whence it might be supposed the Murderer came, or to which he was fled,
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Book VI. fled, these Elders of the Sanhedrim returned to Jerusalem, after they had seen the Body buried. If there was no Discovery of the Murderer, then the Senators of the City next to the dead Body performed the following Ceremonies.

They were to provide a Heifer that was not above two Years old; if it were a Day more they could not use it for this Purpose. If she had ever drawn in the Yoke she was improper for this Expiation; and such a one in this Case (wherein the Beast was not to be offered) was absolutely necessary, as many think, that it might the better represent the Person that had committed this Murder, who was a Son of Belial, subject to no Law, and deserved to be beheaded as this Heifer was. It is not required that it should be without Blemish, as those Beasts were to be that were offered at the Tabernacle; but it was sufficient if it had never been yoked; yet this is not to be taken without all Limitation; for if it wanted any Member, or were diseased, it might not be employed in this Service. The Elders of the City were to bring this Heifer into a Valley that was unploughed, and through which ran a Stream of Water, and which generally is the most fertile Ground: The Reason of this is given by Abendana, that the Inhabitants of each City might be the more careful to prevent such Murders, being in Danger otherwise, to lose the best Ground that belonged to their Inheritance; for the Land where the Body was found, (if we may believe the Mischna,) was never to be sown any more. In this Place one of the Elders coming behind the Heifer, struck off her Neck; for so the Murderer was supposed to have treacherously surprized the slain Man, and should have been thus used if he could have been found.

The Priests that belonged to the City were obliged to attend, not as Judges, but as Directors of the Ceremony; and all the Elders were to purge themselves of the Murder by washing their Hands.
Hebrew Republic

Chap. 8

Hands over the Heifer, in the Water of the Brook which flowed through the Valley, and there solemnly to protest their Innocence in this Form; *Our Hands have not shed this Blood, neither have our Eyes seen it.* The Wisdom of this Law is thus represented by Maimonides. The Elders called God to witness that they had not neglected to secure the Ways, not to set Watches to examine diligently those that travelled, saying, as our Rabbins express it. *This more Newer.*

*Man was not killed through any Negligence, or Forgetfulness which we were guilty of, in not observing our publick Constitutions; nor do we know who killed him.* Now by this Inquisition into the Fact, by this going forth of the Elders, and the striking off the Heifer’s Head, and the other Ceremonies, a great deal of Discourse necessarily arose about this Business, which made the Thing publick, and was a probable Means of discovering the Murderer by some or other, that were there, or should hear of all this. If any one came and said, he knew the Author, then they forbore to behead the Heifer: But the Man being apprehended, if the House of Judgement did not put him to Death, the King had Power to do it; if he neglected it, the Avenger of Blood might kill him wheresoever he met him.

Then was this solemn Supplication pronounced; *Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy People Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent Blood unto thy People of Israel’s Charge.* This Prayer, says the Mischna, was delivered by the Priest alone; though Josephus (who often differs from the Talmudists) is of another Opinion, and affirms, that both the Priests and Elders prayed that God would be propitious to them, and prevent the like Calamity for the future. Thus was the Guilt expiated, which in some Sort would have lain upon them, if they had taken no notice of a Murder committed so near
near their City, nor made Inquisition after it, nor expressed their Abhorrence of it. This Ceremon
ny was to be performed in the Day-time, and the Body of the Heifer was to be buried, but none of it eaten, or any part of it employed to other Uses. If the Murderer was found before its Head was struck off, it was to be let go into the Pasture among other Beasts, if after, he was to suffer capital Punishment, that is, says the Mifchna, be cut off by the Sword.

CHAP. IX.

Of Manstealing: Of Wounding.

To steal an Israelite, whether a Freeman or but a Servant, was accounted a Species of Murder, and punished with Death by strangling; for says Maimonides, it might well be thought he intended to kill him whom he violently carried away, at least, if he had no Opportunity to fell him. It was equally criminal, whether the Man was sold by the Thief or found upon him: No Israelite would buy him; and therefore such Kidnappers disposed of him to Men of other Nations, which made the Action more cruel; not only to take away his Liberty, but to make him a Slave to Strangers. And if he had not actually sold him, his Intention was sufficiently known by his stealing him away.

The Law of Moses had placed so strict a Guard over the Life of Man, that one could not wound another with Impunity, though it was in his own Defence; for if two Men quarrelled and come to Blows, and one received a Wound that forced him to his Bed, from whence he never arose, it was pronounced Murder by the Judges. Indeed, if the Man recovered so far as to get up after
after the Stroke, and walk abroad, (though he died not long after) it was presumed his Death was occasioned by his Negligence, or by some other Cause, and not by the Blow he received; and upon hearing the Cause the Judges were to acquit the Man that gave the Blow; that is, he was not to die for it; but he was not excused a pecuniary Punishment. Satisfaction, say the Jews, was given to the Sufferer for the Loss he sustained in five particulars; for the Hurt in his Body, for the Loss of his Time, the Pain he had endured, the Charge of Physician and Surgeon, and the Disgrace. They distinguish between the Cure of the Wound, Bruises or Swelling caused by the Stroke, and of any other breaking out he chanced to have at the same Time. He was bound to pay for the Cure of the former, and not of the latter: And if after a Man was cured, he fell ill again, he that struck him was not obliged to take Care of him. There is a Law among the Mosaic Institutions, which enjoins that an Eye should be given for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth, and Blemish for Blemish; but the Hebrews generally, and the best Christian Expositors understand this of Pecuniary Muds, and indeed there seems to be great Reason in many Cases, to admit of a Compensation; for it is impossible that this Law should be justly executed according to the Letter of it; for the same Member of the Body is far more valuable to one man than another; for Instance, The right Hand of a Scrivener, or a Painter, cannot be so well spared as the right Hand of a Singer; therefore the Jews commented justly upon this Occasion. Does any one cut off the Hand or Foot of his Neighbour? They value this according to the Example of selling a Servant; computing at what Price he would be sold before he was maimed, for how much less afterwards; and so much of the Price as is diminished, so much is to be paid to the maimed Person, as it is said,
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Book VI. said, An Eye for an Eye. We have received by Tradition, that this is to be understood of Pecuniary Satisfaction.

In the Quarrel between two Men, if the Wife of the one took her Husband's Part, who was likely to be overcome, and for that purpose seized the other by the Secrets, as a sure means to make him let go his Hold; she was sentenced by the Court to have her right Hand cut off for her Impudence; and because she had offered to injure those Parts that served to the Propagation of Mankind. She was not to be pitied upon the Account of her Sex, but to suffer the Penalty to the utmost.

CHAP. X.

Of Theft.

Exod. xxii. 23. THE Provisions made for the lesser Injuries will properly follow the Laws of Murder. To avoid Theft and Robbery was one of the Precepts of the Sons of Noah, and afterwards made the Eighth Command in the Decalogue. A Thief if he was taken with a weapon or Instrument about him, in the Night, breaking into a House, or any other Place, the Master might lawfully kill him, because it might justly be presumed, the Robber intended to kill him rather than lose his Booty: But the Hebrew Doctors make some Exceptions, as if he did not fly, and if there were no Witnesses present; for if there were, then it was like Theft in the Day time. If the Sun was up, so that the Thief might possibly be known who he was, and it might he supposed he intended only to steal and not to kill, then to kill him was accounted Murder, and accordingly punished. If he was taken in the Fact he was sold by the Sanhedrim.
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Chap. 10.

drim for six Years. But the Jewish Writers have many Mollifications of this Law; for they say, a Woman was not to be sold, nor a Man, but for the principal Sum; for double, or four or five Fold he was not to be sold, but to have Credit for it till he was able to pay. And he was not to be sold who robbed a Samaritan, nor if he had stolen less than he was worth when sold, with many other Evasions, which so mitigate this Law, that they almost abrogate the Force of it.

To steal an Ox, or a Sheep, and to kill it, or fell it before the Theft was discovered, the Penalty was to restore five Oxen for an Ox, and four Sheep for a Sheep. The Reason of this Disproportion is thus given by Maimonides. Of Cattle in the Field an Ox was more easy to be stolen than a Sheep; for Sheep feeding in Flocks may be all in View of the Shepherd; but Oxen feeding scattered one from another, are not so easily observed, and secured by the Netherd; but the true Reason seems to be because an Ox was of greater Value, and likewise useful to more Purposes in Husbandry, which made the Punishment the greater. Yet there was a Difference between a Thief who came and voluntarily confessed his Sin, and he that stood out till he was apprehended and convicted of it; for in the former Case Moses seems only to require the Restitution of that which was stolen, with the Addition of a fifth Part of the Value, and a Sacrifice. A great Difference likewise was made between killing or Selling, after the Stealth; and having these Cattle found alive with him: In the former Case the Thief was punished four or five Fold, but in the latter only double, because the former concealed his Theft with more Industry, and left less hope of Discovery and Restitution than the latter, as Bochart observes. Nor was the Thief to restore double if he was not otherwise found out, but confessed the Fact himself, before he had either killed or sold that Vol. III. N which
The Antiquities of the Book VI. which he stole. He that stole from another Thief was not bound, as Maimonides thinks, to restore double: But in Case a Thief killed what he had stolen, and after that consecrated it to God, he was obliged, notwithstanding, to restore four Fold; though if he consecrated it before he killed or sold it, only to restore double; for though the Satisfaction of a Thing, after the Sin was committed, did not take away the Guilt, yet before he aggravated his Fault by killing or selling what he stole, the Satisfaction lessened the Punishment.

Exod. xxii. 7, 8. If a Man deliver to his Neighbour Money or Goods to keep, without any Advantage to himself, and the Things be stolen, the Thief, if he be found, was to pay Double. If the Thief could not be discovered, the Matter was brought into a Court of Justice, where three Judges, at least, were to examine upon Oath, and endeavour to find out the Truth: The Issue was, that he who pretended to have deposited the Goods, was to pay double if he brought an unjust Charge against his Neighbour; or he with whom the Goods were deposited was to pay it, if it appeared he had dealt fraudulently; but if it proved that the Goods were lost by mere Chance, he was not bound to pay any Thing. This Law is thus explained by Maimonides, according to the Opinion of the Talmudists. When a Man brings an Action against another about such Things as are here mentioned, and the Defendant confesses Part of the Charge, but denies the rest, he was to restore as far as he confessed; but for the other which he did not confess, he was to be put upon his Oath: Or if he denied the Whole, and he that brought the Action had but one Witness against him, he was purg'd by an Oath; for it seems this was one Case where a Man was compelled to clear himself by Oath, when he had been proved guilty by one Witness.

CHAP.
CHAP. XI.

Of Lending and Borrowing: Of an Ox that goes with his Horns. Of Damages and Trespasses.

An Ass, an Ox, a Sheep, or any other Beast, if it was lent to a Neighbour, upon certain Conditions, or let for Hire, and the Man affirms that he died, or was hurt, or driven away by Enemies; but there was no Witness of any of these Allegations, then the Cause was brought before the Judges to find out the Truth. The Method was, that the Man, to whom the Beast was delivered, was to purge himself by Oath, that he had not killed it, nor done any Thing to hurt it, and the Owner was to trouble him no further; nor was he bound to make any Satisfaction, provided he had used these Goods, according to the Agreement between them; for if he had employed them contrary to their Contract, then he was bound to make them good to the Owner, of whom they were borrowed or hired. If he refused to take the Oath, he was pronounced guilty, and Restitution was ordered to be made out of his Goods. But there were some Temperaments of this Law, for every Man was not allowed to purge himself by Oath; for Instance: He whose Reputation was so bad that they suspected that he would make no Difficulty to perjure himself, was not admitted to be adjudged; no, though he that brought the Action required it. If it appear'd that the Beast was stolen through Negligence, he was obliged to make Restitution to the Owner, either because he was bound to have looked better after it by receiving Wages for his Care in keeping it, or engaging to make
make it good, if he did not take the same Care of it as if it had been his own. If he would produce any Part of it as an Evidence that it was torn, and he endeavoured to rescue it, he was not to make it good. But here the Hebrew Doctors make many Exceptions; for they would have him make good what was torn by one Wolf alone, because they think he might have been able to defend the Cattle against one, though not against many. If also he put the Oxen, or Sheep into a Pasture that used to be infested with wild Beasts or Thieves; or if he did not call in the Help of his Neighbours: In these and such like Cases he was to make Reparation for the Damage.

A Beast lent to a Neighbour out of Kindness, without any Consideration for the use of it, if any Controversy arose about it, if it had received a Maim, suppose, or had died, the Matter was brought before the Judges. If the Owner was with the Beast that was lent at the Time of its Hurt or Death, it was presumed he would do his best to preserve it, and see it was not ill used, and so must bear the Loss. But if he was not present at that Time, then the contrary was presumed, that the Borrower was in Fault, and therefore bound to make it Good; which, though it may seem hard, was but necessary to make Men careful to preserve what was lent them out of pure Kindness. *Rabbi Livi of Barcelona* interprets this Law quite another Way: That if the Owner was with it at the Time it was borrowed, though not with it at the Time of its Hurt, or Death, the Borrower was free; but if the Owner was then present, but not at the Time of lending, he was bound to make it good; for the Matter, says he, *depends upon the Beginning of it*. If the Thing were borrowed with a Condition to pay so much for the Use of it, as the Lender demanded, then the Man who hired it was not bound to make it good, whether
the Owner was present or not when it was hurt, Chap. 21, or died, but the Owner was to run the Hazard, because of the Hire which he received for the Use of it.

A Man that opened a Pit in the Street, or the publick high Way, and left it uncovered, was to make good the Damage, by a Sum of Money, if a Neighbour's Beast fell into it and perished; but the dead Beast was to be his own: He was not concerned in this Law, if he dug a Pit in his own Ground, nor was he bound as before if he did cover it conveniently, and in Time the Cover grew rotten, and a Misfortune followed to another's Loss.

If one Man's Ox gored another that he died, (and the Law was the same among other Cattle, an Ox being mentioned only for Example) and the Ox that was killed was worth as much more as the other, yet Satisfaction was to be made only out of the live Ox which did the Mischief; he was to be sold and the money divided: But it might so happen that the Ox which was killed was of little Value, and the live Ox worth many Pounds, in which Case it seems so unreasonable, that the Man whose Loss was small should be a great Gainer by the Sale of the Ox which did the Damage, that the Jewish Lawyers resolve the Meaning of this Law is, the Man whose Ox was killed should receive for half the Loss he had sustained; but if it appeared that the Ox used to push, and was notoriously mischievous, the Sufferer was to receive a full Price for his Damage, but the dead Ox belonged to him who paid for the Loss. And by this general Rule the Jews regulated all other Cases, making those Mischiefs that were done by Beasts that were used to hurt, or were of a dangerous Nature to be punished above as much more, than the Damage done by a Creature that was commonly quiet, or with a part of his Body that was usually inoffensive.

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The Trespass done by Beasts eating another Man's Corn, or Grains, or spoiling his Vineyard, was thus repaired: The Sufferer was to have Satisfaction made him out of the best of that Kind which the Owner of the Beasts possessed. The Jews were so scrupulous in this Matter, that to prevent the Damage one Man might do another, they made a Constitution that no Man should keep Goats, or Rabbits, or any such small Creatures, near the Corn Fields, or Vineyards, or Oliveyards of his Neighbour; no, says the Mischna, nor in any part of the Land of Israel, but in Syria, or in the Desarts of their own Land.

If a Man kindled a Fire in his own Ground, and within his own Bounds, and it spread farther to the Damage of his Neighbour, he was obliged to make Restitution, though he had no Hand in putting Fire to the Stacks of Corn that were burnt by it, because he should have looked better after it when he had kindled it. But here the Jewish Lawyers consider at what Distance the Fire was kindled, and resolve, that if there was a Fence of four Cubits high, or a publick High-Way, or a River between the Fire and the Field, or Stack of Corn that was burnt, the Man that kindled it was free.
CHAP. XII.

Laws of Mercy.

The judicial Laws relating to Mercy, to Charity and Compassion, were truly divine, and suitable to the Bounty and Goodness of the great Lawgiver to the meanest of his Creatures. A Hebrew was obliged to lend Money to the Poor of his own Nation without Usury; by the Poor, say the Jews, is not to be understood one that goes a begging, but a Person in such want as to deserve Pity more than those who have the Confidence to beg in the Streets. The Foundation of this Precept was to impress upon them the great Virtue of Kindness and Clemency, whereby poor People being assisted in this way of lending them Money gratis, might recover again into a better Condition under the Blessing of divine Providence. This Sort of Charity is frequently in the Scripture distinguished by the Name of Righteousness, which Word says Maimonides, does not merely signify the giving to every Man his own, but what a Man does out of pure Love to Virtue and Goodness, is properly called by that Name; that is, says Dr. Hammond, (in his Practical Catechism,) that Degree of Mercy, which the Law required of every Jew, without which he could not be accounted righteous. Usury in the Law is supposed to mean that which is taken for Money lent; and by Increase is understood what is received for the Use of Corn Fruits, or Goods; both these Oppressions are forbidden by the Law, which is so strictly interpreted by some Jews, that all Israelites are required to have no Hand in letting out Money, to Usury, either by writing the Bonds, or being a Witness to them,
or by being bound with others for the Interest of their Money; for the Word they observe is in the Plural Number, *Te shall not put upon him Usury*; which Law is fully handled by Mr. Selden, who shews that some Usury was forbidden by the Law, other by the Decrees of the wise Man, The Law forbade them to contract, to receive back again any Sum of Money more than they lent. But it was further required by their wise Men that they should not receive any Gift before Hand, to induce them to lend, nor any thing by way of Gratuity to express their Thankfulness afterwards; yet this last was permitted in the Loan of Orphans Money, as Maimonides remarks; and there are some who think this Law only forbade them to take Usury of a *poor Israelite*, but not of a *rich*, it being unreaoning that he should increase his Wealth by the Use of his Neighbours Money, and he have no Profit by it himself.

No Usury was to be taken for Money lent to Proselytes; but some Jews will have it to be an affirmative Precept, that Usury must be taken of a Stranger, or a Gentile; but others of them have been so modest as to decree, that though the Law did permit them to take Usury of a Gentile, yet they were not to practice it, unless it was to provide for themselves that they might live more safely among other Nations; and they add this Reason for this Limitation, left the Jews by this Way of Commerce and Traffick should grow too familiar with the Gentiles, and learn their Manners. Only Men that studied the Law might freely lend their Money upon Usury, for this very End, as they think, that they might make a Gain of it and enrich themselves. It is six Times forbidden in the Law, according to their antient Doctors, to lend to their Brethren upon Usury; and as nothing was more reasonable than this, that their Neighbours making great Gain by Merchandise, (such as the Sidonian,
Sidonians, Tyrians, and those that lived upon the Red Sea, and Egyptians should not borrow Money of the Israelites for nothing; so it was no less equitable, that the Israelites themselves, whose chiefest Profit was by Husbandry and breeding of Cattle, should have Money lent them freely by one another without any Interest, their Land not being a Country of Traffick wherein Money might be improved as in other Countries. Abarbinel is so tender as to say that Usury has something in it so unequal (at least as it is commonly practis'd) that God did not permit the Israelites to exercise it among all their Neighbours, but only those of the seven Nations of Canaan. And thus far he is in the right, that every one who was not a Jew was not to be esteemed a Stranger. An Edomite, for Instance, is called their Brother; and therefore this Precept, Thou shalt not lend upon Usury to thy Brother, is to be extended to the Edomites. In like manner, says he, neither do the Ishmaelites come under the Name of Strangers, nor other People, but those of the seven Nations. And this Opinion Leo of Modina follows in his present History of the Jews, who observes further, that it is only their present Distress in which they have no other Way of Livelihood left, that makes them think it lawful to lend upon Usury to those among whom they live.

But though one Hebrew was not allowed to take Usury of another, yet he might require a Pledge for Money lent, to secure the Payment of it. Yet he was not allowed the Privilege of going into the House of the Debtor and take what he pleased; he was to stand without and take what the Borrower could best spare, who was to chuse what was proper to give; and if it was sufficient the Lender had Reason to be satisfied with it. If the Man was poor, so as to be obliged to pawn the Coverlid of his Bed, or any of his Bed Cloaths, or any Thing that contributed
tributed to the Preservation of his Life or Health; his Pledge was to be returned before Night, left, (says the Law particularly) he should be forced to borrow from others a necessary Co-
vering to defended him from the Cold, and not be able perhaps to procure it. Any Barbarity that was exercised in Defiance of this Law God re-
solved to punish from himself; and say the He-
brew Doctors, the Offender was likewise to be beaten by Order of the Court of Judgment.

This Injunction seems to have been intended to keep them from taking any Pledge of a poor Man; for to what Purpose should they every Morning fetch a Pledge, and every Evening car-
ry it back again, which would only create them a great deal of Trouble.

The nether or the upper Millstone was par-
ticularly forbidden to be received as a Pledge, because it was the Man's Livelihood, by which he maintained himself and his Family, and kept them from starving. Upon this Account it was unlawful to take any other Thing for a Security, by the want of which a Man might be in Danger to be undone; for Example, They did not al-
low a Man to seize upon the Oxen that were at Plough: He that broke this Law was scourged.
The Widows and Orphans were intitled by the divine Law to all possible Tenderness and good Usage. No one (as Rabbi Levi remarks) was to give them Trouble in Word or Deed, but in all Commerce with them in buying, selling, or any other Intercourse to treat them not only civilly but kindly and benignly; because such have few or none to protect or plead their Cause; and therefore the Law took Care of them as if their Husbands and Parents were yet alive, to have Justice done them; it was Cruelty to take their Raiment for a Pledge. Whoever reviled, or insulted, or defrauded them, much more if any Man struck them, he was liable to the Judgment of God, who intended himself to be their Avenger, and punish him with Measure for Measure, by making his Wife a Widow, and his Children fatherless. If a Woman, say the Jews, shall afflict the Widow or the Orphan, she shall die, and her Husband shall marry another Wife who shall afflict her Children.

A competent Provision was made for the Poor by an express Law. Every one was obliged to leave a Corner of his Field unreaped, for their Use; it must be a sixtieth Part, at least, as their wise Men have determined, and that in the extremest Part of the Field, rather than in any other Place, that the Poor might know where to come for it; if a Sheaf was forgotten, the Owner was not to go back to fetch it: But the Talmudists have given such a Construction of this Law, as to make it of little Use; for they say, a Sheaf...
was not taken to be forgotten, unless, not only the Owner of the Field, but all the Labourers forgot it; and if none of them remembered it, yet if a Man that passed by that Way came and gave them notice of it, it was not look’d upon as lost by Forgetfulness. Yet they are so kind as to extend this Law not only to Sheaves of Corn left in the Field, but to Bunches of Grapes, and other Fruit which was left behind in their Vineyards and Orchards; and it seems no unreasonable Interpretation of this Law that if an owner of a Field, or his Workmen called to Mind, before they were gone quite away, that a Sheaf was left in such a Place, they might go back and fetch it; but not if they did not remember it till they came into the City. They that would see more Cases about this Matter, may look into Maimonides de donis Pauperum, translated by the late Dr. Prideaux, and his very learned Annotations upon it. Josephus seems to have interpreted this Command with the greatest Charity, where he observes, that they were not only not to go back to fetch what they had forgotten, but to leave on purpose Corn and Grapes, and Olives, for the Benefit of the Poor, who are commonly put together as proper Objects for Relief, under the Name of the Stranger, the Fatherless and the Widow.

If an Ear of Corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the Sheaves, or from under the Sickle, they were not to gather it from the Ground; but if three Ears fell at a Time, they might, say the Talmudists, be picked up.

In those Countries the Olive Trees were beaten with Sticks to bring down the Fruit, and the Owner was not to search the Boughs after they were once beaten; but the Poor might go into the Oliveyards, and gather what they found still remaining on the Trees. A Vineyard was not to be gleaned after the Grapes were once gathered; nor if any fell to the Ground as they gathered.
there they to take them up; that is if one or two Clusters fell, but not if three, much less if more; for they understand this as they do the Precept about the Ears of Corn. They also say, they were bound to leave the Corners of the Vineyard uncut, as well as the Corners of the Field; and that, says the Law, for the Benefit of the Poor and the Stranger, who is supposed to be a Proselyte of Righteousness, yet they did not hinder any poor Gentile from partaking of this Charity; and the Violation of these Laws, by the Owner, was punished with Beating: But say the Jews, if the Poor themselves left any behind, after the usual Time allowed for the gathering such Fruits, or Corn, as was left for them, it was lawful for the Owner to take it himself; and he was not bound either to pay the Poor the Price of it, or leave it for the Beasts and the Birds: For the Command is, say the Jewish Doctors, (who nicely scan these Things) that it shall be for the Poor, and that it be left for them; but not any Thing given them in the Place of it.

These Precepts obliged such Strangers as were Proselytes to the Jewish Religion, who before they were admitted into the Church, were examined whether they understood that they must observe such and such Laws, particularly these of Charity to the Poor, which were propounded to them plainly and distinctly; and after they had promised to keep them they were received by Circumcision.

There is a Law which allowed the Poor, especially Travellers as they passed through a Vineyard, to eat what they pleased for their present Use: This the Writers of that Nation understand to be an Indulgence granted to poor Labourers, who were hired to work in the Vineyard in the Time of Vintage, whom the Owners might not hinder from eating as many Grapes as they would (and the same held good in
in Olives, Figs, Dates, and all other Fruit) as long as they were at Work, but not after they had done working: And if their Master would not allow them the Benefit of this Law, he was to be scourged with forty Stripes, save one. But there is no Reason to restrain this Indulgence to Hirelings of whom there is no mention at all in this Law; and therefore Josephus seems to have justly enlarged this Privilege to all Travellers on the High-Way, though they were not Israelites, (to whom, and to Proselytes of Justice alone, they confine this Advantage) but mere Strangers of any other Nation, who had Occasion to pass by a Vineyard and wanted Refreshment. By this Permission they were not allowed to tread down the Vines, and make waste among the Grapes, but only to step aside out of their Way into the Skirts of the Vineyard, which lay near the Road, and there to satisfy their Hunger without entering further in; which was no Damage to the Owner, considering the great Plenty of Fruit in that Country. They might eat for their present Necessity or Delight, but not to carry any away with them in their Pouches, or Garments, or Baskets, or so much as in their Hands. They had the same Advantage in a Corn Field, which say they, extended to Jews, but not to Gentiles, under the Restrictions above-mentioned.

CHAP.
CHAP. XIV.

Mercy to Strangers, to Servants, to the Deaf, the Blind, to Beasts and Birds.

Strangers, who had renounced Idolatry, had a Right to Humanity, and Tenderness, by Exod. xxiii. 9, an express Command; they were to be dealt with equally in Courts of Justice without Distinction between them andIsraelites. They were neither to vex a Stranger, nor oppress him; the first of which the Hebrews will have to confess in not upbraiding him with his former State of Paganism, nor give him any afflicting Words, such as, Remember what thou wast, or, what thy Father did; and this was neither to be done to a Proselyte of Justice, nor to a Proselyte of the Gate, as far as Mr. Selden could judge of their Opinion. The Second not to oppress him, confessed in not using him hardly in their dealing with him, by making him pay (for Instance) more for any Thing than it was worth; which De Jure N. & the same Mr. Selden thinks, the Hebrews G. c. 4. were of Opinion, belonged only to their Usage of Proselytes of Justice, who were perfectly in their Communion: But this is unreasonable; as Levi of Barcelona observes, by thus treating any Proselyte they might endanger their Return to Paganism again, out of Indignation to be so despised, and much more, when they saw they were wronged, which God took care they should not be because they were more helpless than other Men, and had fewer Friends; and this is the Reason that this Precept, as the Jews themselves have computed, is inculcated in one and twenty Places. The Motive to inforce Obedience to this Law was the Remembrance of the Oppressions they suffered in Egypt, where they were Stranger,
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Book VI. Strangers, and from whence they were delivered only by the divine Mercy which they ought to imitate.

A hired Servant was not to be oppressed either by putting more Work upon him than he was able to do, or by detaining his Wages when it was done: There were two Sorts of People, say the Jews, that wrought for Hire, one were Day Labourers, the other Labourers by Night; neither of which were to stay for their Wages beyond the Time appointed, but the one were to have it before Sun-set, the other before Morning; for it was due as soon as the Day or the Night was done; for says a Rabbi, the merciful God would have his Creatures subsist, which poor Labourers cannot do if they want their Wages to buy them Victuals. No Difference was made between a natural Jew and a Proselyte of the Gate; the Hire was to be paid that was due to him either by Contract, or by natural Equity, whether he had agreed to serve for a Day, a Month, or a Year, unless he was willing it should remain in his Master's Hands. The Breach of this Law was punished by God, who promised to hear the Cries of the Poor, and to avenge them.

It was a cruel and base Indignity to curse the Deaf, whether Man or Woman, though he could not hear the Curse, so was insensible of the Injury, nor could he do himself right, or answer for himself. The Case of the Sick and Infirm, or the Absent, was the same with the Deaf. As for others who were not deaf, it was forbidden to curse them, says Maimonides, because it provoked Men to Anger, and Rage, and incited them to Barbarity and Revenge. It was equally inhuman to put a Stumbling Block before the Blind, which proceeded from so savage a Disposition, that the Hebrew Doctors seem to think Men incapable of it; and therefore expound this Law of giving ill Counsel to simple Persons, and advising them to
to their Disadvantage. If any Man was convicted of either of these Crimes, he was beaten.

Nor were the brute Beasts forgotten in the Laws of Mercy, and Compassion, enacted by Moses; the Cattle that were usually employ'd in their Labours had a Right to the Benefit of the Sabbatical Rest; and this was absolutely necessary, it being impossible for their Servants to observe the Sabbath as they are required, if they were obliged to set their Beasts to Work.

It was a Matter of common Right for one Man to take care of the Beasts of another, and this belong'd to their Enemies as well as Friends. If a Man met an Ox or a Sheep, or any other Beast going astray, he was bound not only to give Notice to the Owner, but to bring it back himself; if the Owner lived at a great Distance, or it could not be discover'd who he was, he was obliged to make Proclamation by the publick Crier, that such a Beast was with him, and that, say the Jews, three or four times. But here they are pleased to make a Distinction, that they were to do this, if there were Marks upon the Beast; but if there were none they were not bound to cry it, which seems to be an unreasonable Limitation. The Beast was to be restored when demanded by the Owner, he paying the Charges of Keeping it from the Time it was taken up till it came into his Hands. But if no body could prove a Right in the Beast that was lost, it became his who found it, and he might lawfully, by Right of Possession, keep it as his own. In all other Cases of Things lost, the same Law was to be observed.

An Israelite was forbidden to turn away his Eyes, as if he did not see the Danger an Ox or any other Beast was in that was fallen down, or oppressed by his Burden, but was commanded to help it up, though the Owner was his avowed Enemy. This Precept the Jewish Doctors, after their usual Severity, would have belong only to an Israelite that hated them; and they put several Cases upon this Law;
Law; as what if the Beast be a Gentile's, and the Burden was the Property of an Israelite, or on the contrary, what is to be done? And if they meet with two Beasts belonging both to Israelites, and labouring under Burdens; but one the Beast of a Friend, the other of an Enemy, which is he bound to help? In which they resolve, that he is by this Law to have regard to the Beast of his Enemy, that he may subdue his evil Affection which would persuade him otherwise. These Writers have raised many other Difficulties which are equally nice and insignificant. David Chytraeus, a Man of Learning, in his Observations upon this Law gives a famous Example of this Sort of Piety in Alphonfus, King of Naples who travelling upon the Road with a great Number of Courtiers, and seeing a poor Ass with a Burden sunk into a deep Slough, (when all that went before him passed by without any Regard) when he came to the Place stop'd, and went himself to the Driver, and lent him Assistance to help the Ass out of the Dirt.

It was a Custom among the Hebrews (as well as among the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans) to use Oxen in treading out their Corn, either with their Feet barely, or by drawing a Cart or other Instrument over it; and while they were at Work some muzzled them, others daubed their Mouths with Dung; others hung a wooden Instrument about their Neck, which hindered them from Stooping down, or put sharp pricks in their Mouths, or kept them without Drink, or covered their Corn with Skins to prevent their coming at it; which Inhumanity is forbidden by Moses, who instructs his People, by shewing Mercy to their Beasts, to be kind and compassionate one to another.

The Birds, especially such as were clean, and might lawfully be eaten, were likewise to be used with Tenderness. If a Man found a Nest, he might take the Young, but the Dam he was obliged
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obliged to let fly: It being a sufficient Affliction, as Maimonides calls it, to the old One to lose her Young; and it being unreasonable also, that Men should consider only their own present Interest, without regard to Posterity, to whom the Breed ought to be continued, by letting the old One go free. Long Life and temporal Prosperity are annexed to the Observation of this Law; from whence the Jews have fancied that the Observation of this single Precept was of so great a Value, as to procure even Forgiveness of Sins, and a long Life, which is such a foolish Conceit, that it makes all other Commands unnecessary. The plain meaning is, that God would reward them for their kind Usage even of brute Creatures; if they were possessed of other Virtues, such as Charity to their poor Neighbours. And so the Mishna discourses well, if in a light Precept concerning a Thing which is scarce worth a Farthing, the Law says, That (Tract. Cholin.) it may be well with thee, and thou mayst prolong thy Days; how much more may this be expected from obeying more important Matters of the Law?

CHAP. XV.

Laws concerning Food. The eating of Blood forbidden.

The first Grant made to Mankind concerning Food was soon after the Creation, and extended no further than to the Plants and Fruits of the Earth. There is no mention of Beasts, or Birds, or Fishes in this Affignation; for being made in Pairs, in their several Species (we may well suppose) and not being yet multiplied, the killing of them would have been the Destruction
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Book VI. fruition of the Kind; whereas there were Plants innumerable, and great Variety of Fruit for Sustenance. Mankind therefore, though there was no Prohibition, yet are thought to have abstained from the eating of Flesh till after the Flood, unless it were upon some special Occasions; as perhaps, when they sacrificed living Creatures, which they did in Process of Time, though not at the first.

This Grant was enlarged immediately after the Deluge, by allowing the Eating of all living Creatures; otherwise, says Abarbinel, there would not have been Food enough for Noah and his Sons; the Fruits of the Earth, which were before abundant, being all destroyed, so that for the present there were not sufficient for their Support. Others think the Reason of it was, because the Fruits of the Earth were not so nutritive as they had been, before the salt Water of the Sea very much spoiled the Soil. But this Privilege was restrained by an Exception, that the Blood of Beasts should not be eaten, just, as at the first, one Fruit in the midst of the Garden was excepted when all the rest were allowed. The Hebrew Doctors generally understand this to be a Prohibition, to cut off any Limb of a living Creature, and to eat it while the Life, that is the Blood, was in it: For Maimonides conceives, that there were some People in the old World so fierce and barbarous, that they eat raw Flesh while it was yet reeking from the Beast, out of whose Body it was cut, and this he makes to have been a Part of their idolatrous Worship: The Pagan Kings, says he, used to follow this Custom in the Sacrifices of their Idols, when they cut off the Limb of the Beast and feasted upon it. But it was certainly a positive Precept that the Blood of no Creature should be eaten, and the true Design of this Injunction was, that God intending in after-times to reserve the Blood for the Expiation of Sin, required this early Abstinance from it, that the
Hebrews might be the better prepared to submit to that Law, and understand the Reason of it, which was, that it was the Life of the Beast, which God accepted instead of their Life, when they had forfeited it by their Sins.

This Prohibition was renew'd several times in the Mosaic Law, and the Jews make a particular Remark upon the Penalty annexed to it, which was, that God would set his Face against the Criminal, which Threatning is denounced but once more in the whole Scriptures. God says (as Maimonides notes) I will set my Face against that Man that eats Blood, as he says of those that did immolate their Children to Moloch, that he would set his Face against them; and this Expression is to be met with no where else, but only in these two Commandments against eating of Blood and Idolatry; the Reason is, because the Eating of Blood had a Relation to certain Sorts of Idolatry, and gave Occasion to the Worshipping of the Devil: And this he proves by observing, that though among the Zabii, Blood was looked upon as a very unclean and defiling Thing, nevertheless they did eat it, because they regarded it as Meat proper for the Gods, and believed that such Persons as did eat it, enter'd thereby into a Correspondence with the Deities, who would reveal to them future Things. There being some among them who look'd upon it as a great Hardship to eat Blood, against the Use of which Nature itself seemed to have raised an Abhorrence in Man, they used the following Expedient. They sat down in a Circle to eat the Blood, not that they did actually eat it, but flatter'd themselves with a Notion that whilst they were feeding upon the Flesh the Gods did eat the Blood, and that by so doing, they contracted a certain Commerce and Correspondence, and Familiarity with them, since they did eat at the same Table and of the same Meats.
The Jews have made a vast Number of Observations upon this Prohibition of eating Blood, too long to be inserted here. They were extremly careful in the Manner of the killing of their Beasts, so that no Blood might remain in the Fleshy or muscular Parts; and Maimonides thinks, he has found out a singular Mystery in the Words of the Law, *The Blood is the Life*. He distinguishes the Blood into that which, as it issues forth, carries the Life along with it, being the same that is poured upon the Altar, and which springs out with a considerable Force or Impetuosity when the Beast is killed; he who eats this Sort of Blood is to be cut off from his People; but he who eats of the Blood which comes out by Drops after the Beast is dead, or that which Issues immediately after the Wound is given, before the Beast begins to die, deserves to be scourged only: The Writers of that People assert further, that the Blood forbidden to be eaten must be separated from the Body of the Beasts, because they did not think fit a Person should be made a Criminal, for having eaten some of the Blood distilling from the Wound, which ought not to be taken as separated from the Body. According to the Tradition of the Jews, this Precept concerning Blood (which is the seventh among those they call the Commandments of the Noachides) was the only one given to Noah, whereas the other six were delivered to Adam. This Law was equally obligatory upon Israelites and Strangers.
The divine Bounty having bestowed upon Mankind after the Flood every living thing to be their Food, it has raised a Question among learned Men, why he should restrain his own People from the Benefit of this general Grant; and some have thought this so unaccountable, that they think it in vain to enquire into the Reasons of the Difference that is made of Meats; concerning which Cunæus declares (as Plutarch does of the Laws of Solon and Lycurgus) that no doubt they were enacted with wise Counsel, but the Reason of the Law-givers cannot be known. But others conceive the Reason is sufficiently plain, and the Jews are of Opinion, that the Creatures called Unclean were forbidden to be eaten, because they were unwholesom Food. This Opinion perhaps is not wholly groundless, for though there be some Creatures prohibited which seem to us of as good Nourishment as those which are allowed, yet considering that Climate wherein the Jews lived, and the Temper of their Blood which was very hot and apt to be extremely corrupted (as appears by the unusual Leprosie, to which they were subject more than other Nations) it is reasonable to conclude, that God had some Respect to this in the Ordering of their Diet. But the principal Design was certainly to separate the Israelites from all other People in the World, by a Rule of Eating peculiar to themselves, which kept them from such familiar Conversation as otherwise they might have had with the Gentiles, and consequently from learning their idolatrous Customs. Besides, it may be observed, that most of the Creatures which are pro-
pronounced Unclean, were such as were in high Esteem and sacred among the Heathen; as a Swine was to Venus, the Owl to Minerva, the Hawk to Apollo, the Eagle to Jupiter, and even the Dog to Hecate; which gave Occasion to Origen justly to fall into Admiration of the Wisdom of Moses, who so perfectly understood the Nature of all Animals, and what Relation they had to Daemons, that he declared all those to be unclean which were esteemed by the Egyptians and other Nations to be the Instruments of Divination, and those to be clean which were not so: And if in the Time of Moses such Creatures were not sacred to Daemons, it is a greater Wonder that he should mark out those for impure which proved to be so sacred to after Ages; as a great Number of Birds mentioned in Porphyry, who says, the Gods used them as Heralds to declare their Mind to Men; and several other Creatures mentioned by other Authors, as peculiarly appropriated to other Deities.

All Beasts, it is observed, were lawful to be eaten before the Restraint laid upon Food by the Levitical Institution; but before the Law was deliver'd and long afterward, there was one particular Part of clean Creatures that the Israelites avoided to eat, upon the Account of a Misfortune that happen'd to the Patriarch Jacob, when he wrestled with the Angel, who in the Contest touched the Hollow of his Thigh, and dislocated his Hip-bone; in Commemoration therefore of this Adventure, his posterity forbore to eat that Sinew or Tendon which fastens the Hip bone in its Socket, which comprehends likewise the Flesh of that Muscle which is connected to it. The Offender against this Law, as the Jewish Masters tell us, was to be punished by Beating.

The Law concerning the Eating of living Creatures, is divided into four Branches, and relates to Beasts, to Fishes, to Birds, and to creeping Things. Of Beasts, there are some whose Hoofs are solid and not at all divided, such as Horses, Asses, and Mules;
Mules; others that are divided into several Parts like Toes, as Lions, Wolves and Dogs; a third Part are only divided into two Parts, as Oxen, Deer, Sheep; and these are of two Kinds, for some divide the Hoof into two Parts, but is not cloven quite through as the Camel, whose Hoof is parted above but joined by a thick Skin below, and therefore reckoned among unclean Beasts; others are both divided and cloven, which are in that Respect pronounced clean by the Law.

But to render Beasts perfectly clean, it was necessary that not only the Hoof should be cloven entirely through, but they were to chew the Cud, that is, they were to be such as had not a Set of Teeth above and below; such are Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which want upper Teeth, and therefore bring their Meat up again into their Mouths after it has been sometime in the Stomach, that it might by a new Chewing of it be better prepared for Digestion. The Author of a Book called Porta Cali explains this very exactly; when he says, for want of Teeth they cannot chew their Food perfectly at one time, nor can the Stomach make a perfect Digestion till it be ground a second time, and therefore such Creatures are provided with a double Stomach, an upper, into which the Meat goes down after the first Chewing, and another, into which it is sent after it has been grinded a second Time. All Kinds of Animals which had not every one of these Marks (of parting the Hoof, and being cloven footed, and chewing the Cud) were unlawful to be eaten; and such are these.

The Camel, who chewed the Cud, and whose Hoof, though it divided, yet it was not cloven through.

The Coney. This Beast is said to chew the Hierozoic. P. I. Cud, which it certainly does not; and therefore L. 3. c. 33. the learned Bochart proves by many Arguments, that the Original signifies a Mountain Mouse, which make their Holes in Rocks, as Rabbits do not,
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Book VI. not, and chew the Cud, but because he did not divide the Hoof, he was unclean.

The Hare. This Creature does not divide the Hoof, but chewing the Cud is ascribed to it; and Aristotle in some measure confirms it by saying, it has a Runnet in the Stomach. An eminent Anatomist has made this Observation in his Dissection of a Hare, that though he found but one Stomach, which made him wonder, at first, that Moses should reckon it among the Creatures that ruminate; yet he found that what was wanting in the simple Stomach was supplied by the Largeness of the Intestinum Cæcum, which Gut is of a great Bigness, consisting of two Parts; in one of which he found liquid and white Excrements, (like to Chyle) as if it were another Stomach; the other Part toward the Ileus being full of black Excrements.

The Swine; which, though it has the first part of the Mark of a clean Creature compleatly, being cloven footed as well as having the Hoof divided, yet not chewing the Cud, is forbidden to be eaten. And this, no doubt, was the sole Foundation why the Jews abstained from this Meat; whose filthy feeding and wallowing in the Mire, Maimonides fancies, was the only Cause why it was prohibited; others give the Reason, because it feeds upon Flesh, and some that it breeds the Leprosy; to which the Inhabitants in those Countries were very subject: But whatever Grounds there might be of this Prohibition, that alone could not be the Reason why the whole Nation of the Jews abhorred this more than any unclean Creatures which were equally forbidden with this, infomuch that they called it another, or a strange Thing; which arose certainly from some other Cause, that in process of Time made this the most abominable of all other Creatures; and that was, it is supposed, because the Gentiles used it in their Sacrifices and Mysteries of Religion, and because nothing was accounted a more delicious Food

Lib. 3. c. 22.
Bartholinus Cent.
Anatom. 2.
Hist. 86.
More Nevoch.
P. 3. c. 48.
Cunæus de Rep.
Hob. 1. 2. c. ult.
Food among many great Nations; which, (if a strong Abhorrence had not been infused into the Jews of this Creature) might have invited them to their Tables, and bred such Familiarity with them as might have concluded in Idolatry. They were not allowed so much as to open these Beasts to take out the Fat, and apply it to any Use. In this the Jews are so scrupulous, that they say they may not touch them though alive, with one of their Fingers, for fear of the Leprosy, it being a proverbial Saying among them, that ten Measures of Leprosy descending into the World, Swine took to themselves nine of them, and the rest of the World one. The Touch of these Beasts that were prohibited to be eaten when they were dead, made a Person unclean until the Evening: but while they were alive it was not unlawful to touch them, for they used Camels, and Horses, and Asses, for their necessary Service.

Moses gives the Names of some of those Creatures that had the Marks to pronounce them clean, and in the first Place he mentions

The Ox, the Sheep, and the Goat, because they were the only Creatures offered to God in Sacrifice.

The Hart and the Robuck, and the wild Goat, these, though they might not to be sacrificed, yet were allowed to be eaten; and are often named as the principal Food in the Land of Canaan.

The Pygarg. This is also a Kind of Doe, or Goat, which the Hebrews call Dison. We find mention of Pygargus in the eleventh Satyr of Juvenal, where the old Scholiaf gives this account of it, that it is a kind of Deer, que reteriores partes albas habet, whose hinder Parts are white; whence it had its Name among the Greeks, who call the Buttocks, Pugae.

The wild Ox; Bochart afferts, that there were no such Creatures in Judea, which are bred in colder
Book VI. colder Countries; therefore he reckons this among the Deer or Goats.

The Chamois. This also was a Kind of Goat, or Hart, of which there were great Variety in those Countries; but this was remarkable for Activity and Jumping. There are no more Particulars of clean Beasts mentioned in the Mosaic Law.

Though some of the Heathens abstained constantly from all Fish, and others for some time only when they were under strict Obligations of Purity, yet the Hebrews were left at greater Liberty, being forbidden only some kind of Fish, by abstaining from which they were sufficiently distinguished from those Nations which did eat all indifferently, and accounted Fish the greatest Delicacy. Fish, whether they were found in Seas, or Rivers, or Lakes, or Ponds, that had Fins and Scales, were to be eaten: But their Doctors say that if but one Scale was found upon a Fish it was accounted lawful; and they had no Occasion to observe whether it had Fins or no; for all that have Scales, they say, have Fins, though on the contrary, all that have Fins have not Scales. They observe also, secondly, that it was lawful to eat young Fish before the Scales appeared, if they were of that kind that have Scales, when they are grown: And thirdly, all Fishes that have Scales when they are in the Sea, but cast them when they are taken out, are lawful. It was an Abomination to eat any Fishes that had not these Marks, (which is not said of Beasts, that are only called unclean) because there was greater Danger of offending in this Matter, Fishes being a more common Food among the People of the East than Flesh, or any other Diet.
The Lawgiver of the Hebrews laid down no Notes to distinguish clean Birds from unclean; and therefore their Doctors say, all Birds are lawful to be eaten, but those hereafter mentioned, which they were to have in abhorrence; yet they venture to give certain Marks of a clean Bird, the Principal of which are, if it does not fasten its Talons; that is, if it be not rapacious, and has one Claw longer than the rest. The Birds forbidden are

The Eagle, whose Flesh is very hard, and Nature ravenous; and therefore upon a natural and moral Account some Authors fancy it was prohibited; But Origen, I think, has given a better Account in the Place above-mentioned, that Moses by his admirable Wisdom understood what Creatures were look'd upon as prophetical by the Egyptians, and other Nations, and these he forbid to the Jews, among which he expressly names the Eagle and the Hawk; for Diodorus Siculus relates, that the People of Thebes worship the Eagle, looking upon it as a royal Bird, worthy of Jupiter; and Julian in his Oration upon the Mother of the Gods, says, that in the Time of their strictest Purifications they were permitted to eat Birds, except a few which had commonly been held sacred, which is a plain Acknowledgement of the Sacredness of some Birds among the Gentiles.

The Offissrage; a Species of the Eagle, but of what Kind is not so certain.
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The Ospray, or black Eagle, which though it be the least, is the strongest of all other; and therefore called Valeria by the Romans.

The Kite and the Vulture after his Kind; that is, all the Species of them.

Every Raven, of which the Arabian Writers mention four Kinds; and some think under this Name is comprehended, not only Crows, and Daws, and Coughs, but Starlings and Pies also.

The Owl. The Hebrew word signifies a Bird which inhabits the Wildernesses and defolate Places, by which the antient Interpreters of Scripture understand the Ostrich; and it is certain it was the constant Persuasion of the Jews, that God did not permit them to eat the Flesh of an Ostrich, which is no where forbidden if not in this Law. It is supposed to mean the Female Ostrich.

The Night-Hawk. The Word in the Original, says the learned Bochart, signifies the Male Ostrich; for there is no general Name for this Bird in the Hebrew Language to comprehend both Sexes (as there is for an Eagle and a Raven) and therefore Moses mentions both Male and Female distinctly, that none might think by forbidding one of them only, he allowed the other.

The Cuckow.

The Hawk after his Kind. There are various Kinds of these Birds; Callimachus mentions six, Aristotle ten, and Pliny sixteen Sorts.

The Little Owl. The learned Author above has collected many ingenious Arguments to prove that the Word in the Original signifies a Bittern.

The Cormorant: The same excellent Person does not approve this Translation, yet he confesses the Hebrew Word signifies some Sea-Bird, which sits upon Rocks, and strikes at Fishes with great Force, and draws them out of the Waters.

The Great Owl. St. Hierom takes the Word to signify a Stork, and others a Bustard.

The Swan.

The Gier Eagle. It was of a dubious Kind, between an Eagle and a Vulture; and therefore happily translated by us a Gier Eagle, that is, a Vulture Eagle. It was a harmless good natured Bird, and was made the Hieroglyphick of Mercy and Tenderness among the Egyptians.

The Stork. This Bird, notwithstanding his Piety, so much celebrated by Authors, and which is the very Import of the Word, in the Original, was prohibited, it is supposed, because it feeds upon Serpents; though upon this Account it was had in Honour by the Egyptians, and the People of Thessaly.

The Heron after his Kind. The Word in the Original being derived from another, which signifies Anger, Bochart rather takes it for a Mountain Falcon, which is a fierce Bird, and very furious.

The Lapwing, conceived by the Hebrew Doctors to be a Mountain Cock with a double Crest.

The Bat. Moses begins the Catalogue of Birds with the noblest, which is the Eagle, and Ends it with the vilest, which is a Bat, being of a dubious Kind between a Bird and a Mouse. The Name in the Hebrew imports it to be a Bird of Darkness. It is observed the Birds that are forbidden are either rapacious, and live on Flesh, as Eagles and Harvks, or are Night Birds, as Owls and Bats, or haunt Marshes and Lakes, as the Cormorant, or are heavy and not easily raised from the Earth, as the Ostrich, or live upon Dung and Course Diet, as the Lapwing; and upon these Accounts are prohibited by Moses, who allows those that live upon a cleaner Food.

C H A P.
C H A P. XVIII.

Of creeping Creatures that flew.

All flying Things that go upon four Feet (called in our Translation, Fowls that creep) are expressly forbidden by the Mosaic Law, such as Flies, Wasps and Bees. A Fly indeed is observed to have six Feet, yet it goes only upon four, the two Forefeet serving for other Uses. From this Prohibition are excepted such flying Insects, as beside their four Feet wherewith they go, have two Legs, or Thighs, which give them Power to leap upon the Earth as well as to go. As to the various Sorts of Locusts, it is observed, there are nine Kinds of Locusts mentioned in the Scriptures; four of which are only permitted to be eaten; the first is called,

The Locust after its Kind, which is supposed to signify a peculiar Sort which leap'd as well as walk'd.

The Bald Locust after its Kind, which takes great delight in climbing upon Rocks.

The Beetle after its Kind. This Sort of Locust seems to have its Name from the vast Company wherein they fly: But the Word is improperly translated a Beetle; for those Insects are never eaten; nor are they four footed, with Legs to leap withal.

The Grasshopper after its Kind. These are likewise a Species of Locusts in the Shape of Grasshoppers, which were fit for Food, being large and flethy in the Eastern Countries, and used to fly in such Troops that they seemed to darken the Sun itself. These Locusts that were to be eaten are called in the Original Arbeh, Solam, Chargol, and Chagab; but by what Marks they were
were distinguished, the Hebrews differ so much, Chap. 18. that it plainly shews they are ignorant in this Matter. The most that can be made of what they say, (as a Man very learned in these Things has observed) is that the first hath neither a Bunch on his Back, nor a Tail; the second has a Bunch and a Tail; the third has both; the fourth has a Tail but no Bunch; which, whether it be true or false, is of small Importance to us. But this is certain, that before the Destruction of Jerusalem the Jews knew very well what Kind of Locusts were meant in the Levitical Law, and accordingly perfectly understood what might be eaten and what not; otherwise John the Baptist would have been under great Difficulties in the Wilderness when he had no other Diet but this and wild Honey. And indeed in desert Places there was little other Food but this by which whole Armies of Men have been relieved when they were in Danger to perish in Lybia; for that Locusts were a common Food in the Eastern and Southern Countries, is so evident, that I have no occasion to produce Authorities to prove it. The learned Author before cited has shewn at large, how many Nations live upon them, in his Commentary upon his Ethiopick History, and more lately in his most excellent Dissertation concerning Locusts; wherein he relates what Clouds of them came into Germany, not many Years since, (in the Month of August, 169;) of which seeing the Hogs and Hens, and other Creatures, feeding greedily, he, and his Family, ventured to eat freely of them also, and found the Taste of them like that of a Crab. And a Jew of Jerusalem, who was then in that Country, assured him, that the Locusts in Judea were much of the same Shape, with these in Germany, which he demonstrated to him by a Draught he had made of them.

It may be proper in this Place to observe once for all, that the Phrase, after his Kind, so often repeated
repeated in the Laws concerning *Fowls* and *Flying Things*, does not necessarily signify, that there are different Kinds of every Bird, or flying Thing to which it is applied, but only imports, *every one of that Kind*; for Moses does not speak in the plural Number, *according to their Kinds*, but in the singular, *after his Kind*, which only denotes that the whole Species is prohibited; and what he says of some Fowls, is in Reason, to be applied to all; though, to avoid Repetition, he does not add these Words, *after his Kind*, to every one of them.

All other flying creeping Creatures (as they are called) that came under the Description and Character above-mentioned, whether they were Locusts, or of any other Species, were strictly forbidden; if they did either eat of them, or to much as touch the Carcasse of them, they might not be admitted to come into the Tabernacle, nor to taste of any holy Thing, or to converse with their Neighbours. In this Uncleanness they continued till Sun-set. It is not said, (as in other Cases) that they were to wash themselves, or their Clothes, which makes it probable their mere Separation, for all the Day, from Communion with God, and one another, was their Cleansing without any other Purification. But there are so many Commands for washing themselves and their Clothes in other Defilements no greater than this; that it has persuaded some to think that such cleansing was necessary upon this account also. The Law enjoins expressly that whoever bore any of the Carcasse of them, though it were only to carry them out of the Camp, or City, to prevent Infection, was defiled till the Evening, and was obliged to wash his Clothes, and his Body in all likelihood, as was required in other Purifications. No Time is appointed for this, which perhaps a Man might think fit to do presentely, but notwithstanding he was to remain unclean till the setting of the Sun.
CHAP. XIX.

Of Beasts that went upon their Paws. Pollution by touching their Carcases. Of Creeping Things that move upon the Belly.

Creatures that go upon their Paws (or as it is in the Hebrew, upon their Hands) whose fore Feet resemble Hands, such as the Ape, the Lion, the Bear, Dogs and Cats, might neither be eaten, nor their Carcases touched without incurring Uncleanliness till Sun-set: To bear them when they were dead contracted the same Pollution, besides the Penalty of purifying the Clothes, and perhaps the Body, by washing.

The Law of Moses descended to creeping Things, Creatures that have such short Feet, that some of their Bellies seem to touch the Ground;

Of this Kind are,

The Weasel, which is supposed rather to signify a Mole.

The Mouse, that is, say the Jews, the black Mouse, the red and the white; for they are of so many Colours.

The Tortoise after its Kind: The Seventy understand this Creature to be a Land Crocodile, which is a Sort of Lizard, a Cubit long, to be found frequently in the Deserts of Arabia.

The Ferret is said to be another Sort of Lizard, which the Latins call Stellio, and in those Countries has a shrill Cry.

The Cameleon: The Word imports the strongest of all the Lizard Kind; remarkable in those Countries for its sharp Encounters with Serpents and Land Crocodiles.
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The Lizard; it is agreed, that this likewise is a Species of the Lizard, but of what Kind is hard to determine. The learned Bochart, out of the Arabian Writers, has shewn, it resembles that which is of a reddish Colour, and lies close to the Earth, infecting the Meat, which it touches, with its Poison.

The Snail, a Sort of Lizard, says the same Author, that lies in the Sand.

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And the Mole, conceived by the same admirable Person, to signify the Cameleon which gapes to draw in the Air. But after all that can be said, it must be confessed, that the Signification of all these Words are lost among the Jews; for as a great Man among them freely owns, neither these eight Sorts of creeping Things, nor the Birds above-mentioned, are known to us but by Tradition; and it is certain that the Talmudists tend those who are doubtful, what Birds are lawful, and what not, to be informed by those who are Makers in the Art of Fowling.

The eight Creatures, here mentioned, were forbidden to be eaten, and to touch their Carcasses contracted a Pollution till the Evening; for nothing was unclean by the Law of Moses while it was alive, but only a Leper, and a Woman in her Separation; all other Reptiles, say the Jews, as Serpents and Scorpions, you may touch and not be polluted.

The very touch of the Carcasses of these Creatures defiled every Vessel of Wood, or Mettle, all Raiment, Skins, Sacks, and other Things upon which they fell; they were purified by washing, and remained unclean till the Evening. By their Contact the Vessel and whatever was contained in it was defiled; if the Vessel was of Earth, it being of small Value, was to be broken. Any Meat, which otherwise might be lawfully eaten, was made unclean, if any Water poured out of such a polluted Vessel, came upon it; for the Water being defiled, it made the Meat, on which...
which it fell, to be unclean also. Every thing
liquid, though otherwise not prohibited, that
came out of such a Vessel, was to be poured out;
yet dry Things, such as Bread, were not forbid-
den to be used, because they did not so soon
receive any Effluvia’s from a dead Carcase as
the Liquid did; and the Pollution was the same if
the least Part of the Carcase fell upon a Vessel,
it was to be used no more but to be broken in

All Places where Meat and Drink were com-
monly prepared (such as Ovens, and Pots, and
Wine-Presses and Cellars) the Hebrews were
obliged to keep clean and pure; the Touch of
these Carcases made them unclean, they were to
be no more used but to be broken down. From
this Law was excepted a Fountain, or Pit of Wa-
ter, into which these Carcases might fall. This
was a merciful Provision for their speedy cleansing
from such Pollutions as they frequently contra-
ced, by allowing them to make use of any Col-
lection of Waters (notwithstanding a Carcase
had dropt into it) in their own private Grounds
as well as in the publick Baths, such as Bethesda
seems to have been, which had five Porches,
that they who laboured under the same Sort of
Pollution might betake themselves to the same
Porch, and go down into the Water together.
If this had not been permitted, it might have
been impossible (considering the few Rivers they
had in that Country) to have cleansed themselves
after their Defilements. The Man who should
draw out these Carcases out of such Waters was
unclean until the Evening, or at least, as some
Jews explain it, the Instrument, whatever it was,
that served him to pull the Carcase out of the
Fountain or Cistern, was polluted, and to be used
no more.

But a Carcase, or the least Part of it falling
upon dry Seed that was to be sown, gave it no
Defilement; if a Mouse, for Example, was found
dead
dead among the Wheat, it might, notwithstanding be used for Seed; but other Wheat which was not intended for Seed was made unclean, and might not be used till it was washed; the Reason of this Difference was, that the Seed to be sown went through many Alterations before it could become Food, which took away all the Pollution. Wet seed might be supposed to have received some Tincture from the Carcase which dry did not, and not being so fit to be sown, till it was dry, was in that Time to be cleansed.

All creeping Things that go upon the Belly, such as Worms and Serpents, were prohibited as abominable, vile and filthy, because they crawled upon the Earth. All Reptiles were forbidden that have abundance of Feet, such as Caterpillars, Hogslice, Forty Legs, and others; to eat them was unclean, and to touch them abominable. By this separate Sort of Diet, and these Ceremonies of Purification the Hebrews were distinguished from other People, and preserved from the Idolatrous Customs of the neighbouring Nations; not that there was any Uncleanliness in any of these Things forbidden but what was made by the Prohibition of them. It was the Duty of the Priests to be well skilled in the Marks whereby what was lawful to be eaten might be known from what was unlawful, and therefore they are frequently charged by God himself to attend carefully to the Laws that were given upon this Occasion.

Though the Hebrews were allowed to kill and eat any Creature that was clean, yet, if it died of its self, and consequently had the Blood remaining in it, or was torn of wild Beasts, and so beginning to be a Carcase, it became unlawful, not only to be eaten but to be touched. If he offended ignorantly, when he came to know it he was bound to purify himself by washing his Clothes and his Body in Water, and to remain till the Evening in his Uncleanness. If he neglected
neglected the Means of his Purification, he was liable to be punished by God, and if while he continued thus unclean, he presumed to eat of the Peace-Offerings, he was in Danger to be cut off from his People: But, if the Man wilfully violated this Precept, it was a high Crime against an express Law, and punished, as some think, by Death. But I suppose they mean he was obnoxious to the divine Displeasure, and in Danger to be cut off by him if he did not offer a Sacrifice, which seems to be allowed upon such Occasions to expiate his Offence. The Jewish Doctors say, He who violated this Law was only to be beaten, for cutting off either by the Hand of God or the Court of Judgment, was never threatened to Sins of so light a Nature as this: Proselytes of Righteousness were bound by this Law, which had no Obligation upon such as had not receiv'd the Jewish Religion; and yet Maimonides confesses, that the Israelites themselves when they went to War and entered the Countries of the Heathens and subdued them, might eat that which died of itself, or was torn of Beasts, when they were in want of Provision, or in Danger of suffering by Hunger. This sort of Food was allowed to be given to Strangers who were only Proselytes of the Gate, who had no concern with the Law being not Circumcised; and it might be sold to others who were mere Gentiles and happen'd to be in their Country. Now, it may be remark'd, that there were these sorts of People call'd by the Name of Strangers, being not of the Jewish Nation; First, Such as had received Circumcision, and consequently embraced the Jewish Religion, who were called Gere-tzedek, Strangers and Proselytes of Justice. Others were not Circumcised, but yet worshipped the God of Israel, who were called Strangers of the Gate, or Gere-toshab, Strangers dwelling among them; because they were to abide constantly in their Country. But there were a third
Book VI. Sort called Nocherim, which we translate Aliens, who were meet Gentiles, and not suffered to have an Habitation among them, but only to go backward and forward for the purpose of Merchandize and Traffick.

CHAP. XX.

The Art of Butchery: Their Kitchen Furniture, and way of dressing their Meat.

To kill Beasts, and to exercise the Office of a Butcher with dexterity, was, among the Jews, of more Reputation than to understand the Liberal Sciences; and this Art was to be attain'd by much Reading and long Experience. They have a Book concerning Shamble Constitutions, and in Cases of difficulty they apply to some learned Rabbi for Advice; nor was any allow'd to practice this Art without a License in Form, which gave the Man, upon Evidence of his Abilities, a Power to kill Meat, and others to eat what he killed, provided he carefully read over every Week for one Year, and every Month the next Year, and once a Quarter during his Life, the Constitutions above-mentioned. They have particular Knives for this Business, great ones for larger Cattle, and small for the smaller; the greater have blunter and broader Points, and if they had any Notches or Flaws in them, they were not to be used. The Feet of the great Beasts must be bound in Remembrance of Abraham's binding of Isaac, and then with one Cut or Thrust, he cuts the Wind-pipe asunder; then he looks upon his Knife to see if there be any Flaw in it, for that, say they, would terrify the Beast, and cause the Blood to recoil back to the Heart, whereby the Beast would be unfit for
for having some Blood in it. After this he hangs up the Beast, takes out the Inwards, and cutting a Hole on both sides the Heart, thrusts his Hand through it into the Body of the Beast to search for Blood, and if they find any remarkable Blemish in the Beast it is not to be eaten. They cut the Throat of a Bird in the same manner, if it be a Fowl that has Quills in the Wings, it bleeds into a heap of Ashes, and therein they cover the the Blood; and this they do in Memory of a particular Office done by Birds, as they say, to Rebecca, when she alighted from her Camel at the Sight of Isaac. They cover likewise the Blood of other Creatures in the Ground, because the Earth opened her Mouth to drink in the Blood of Abel; and because Satan should not accuse Men of Cruelty when he sees the Blood of so many innocent Beasts shed. When they have killed a great Beast, they cut out all the Veins and Sinews (upon which Subject they have written particular Treatises) and take out all the Suet; which done, they leave them sometime soaking in Water to mollify them, to cleanse them thoroughly, and to draw out all the Blood; then they lay them upon a Board to drain off the Water; after which they Salt them in a Vessel full of Holes, that the Salt may carry off all the Blood that remains. They never eat the hinder Parts in remembrance of Jacob’s Thigh.

The Jews generally buy their Kitchen Furniture all new, for fear it should have been used in dressing Viands which are forbidden by the Law; and if they happen to buy any that belonged to a Christian, they break all the wooden and earthen ware, and take all possible Pains in cleansing those Vessels that are of Metal. The Law commands in this Case, that they shall make every thing pass through the Fire which can bear it, and shall purify with the Waters of Expiation.
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The vessels are of two sorts, one for flesh, the other for white-meats. Their milk vessels of wood are marked with three cuts, because the Law, Thou shalt not seethe a Kid in his mother's Milk, is repeated three times. Every Jew carries two knives with him, one for flesh, the other for cheese and fish, and these also are marked with three cuts; and if these vessels should be intermingled, they were not to eat what was dressed in them, they were broken if they were made of earth, most carefully washed if of wood; and if of iron other metal, they were purged by fire: so very nice are they, that a knife was not used unless heated red-hot for three hours, and three days hid in the earth, and three times put into water. They never boil milk and fish at one time and over one fire over against each other, nor place them together upon the table, but separate them with something set between: one cloth is laid for flesh, and another for white-meat. After they had eaten flesh, or the broth of it, they were not to eat white-meats for an hour after; the most religious among them would abstain for six hours, yet they might eat a hen together with the milk of almonds. If a man had not the gift of such abstinence, he was obliged carefully to cleanse his teeth and wash his mouth, and with a piece of dry bread take away the taste of the flesh. If any suet fall into their white-meats they were not to be eaten, except there was sixty times as much of the meat as of the suet. An egg was not to be poached in a flesh vessel; they break it also, and diligently observe that none of that bloody resemblance in the top of the egg remain. If in cutting up of a hen they find eggs, they were not allowed to eat them till they were washed and soined in water and salt; flesh and fish was not to be dressed, or set on the table, or eaten together, for that they say would produce the le-
CHAP. XXI.

Their Meat, Bread, and Drink: Their Postures at Table: Their Manner of Feasting.

The Hebrews were no great Lovers of Flesh, and their Diet was usually Bread and Milk, and Fruits, and Herbs, very simple, and far from the Luxury and Delicacy of our modern Tables. All Sorts of Meat and Drink are often in the Language of Scripture called Bread and Water. Their Bread was generally made of Wheat, or Barley, or Lentils and Beans. The Bread of Wheat was the most excellent. That of Barley was a baser Sort, used commonly in Times of Scarcity and Distress. They had a worse Sort made of Lentils, Millet and Fitches. The manner of making Bread no one can be ignorant of. They had a Sort they called Unleavened Bread. The Effects of Leaven are very well known. It swells the Paste and makes it sharper, and from thence the Scripture takes several Comparisons; but it requireth some Time before it has this Effect. Their Way of baking was upon Coals or hot Ashes; they covered their Dough with Embers, and sometimes they baked upon hot Stones. Their Grain, in the first Ages, was parched, afterwards they used a Mortar to pound it; and at length they invented Mill-stones, such as our common Mills; and there were two Sorts of them, a greater Sort and
and a lesser. They made use of Horses or Asses to turn the great, the small were turned by Men, and Slaves were often condemned to this work by Way of Punishment. Hand-Mills also were in use among the Jews; they were made of two Stones, which they put one upon another.

Their Sauces to relish what they eat was commonly nothing but Salt and Vinegar. They had Cheese, but not Butter in that hot Country, as we now understand the Word, but only a thick Cream skimmed off their Milk when it had stood some time. In the Country of Judea there was abundance of wild Honey, which dropped from the hollow Trees, or the Clefts of Rocks, where Bees made their Combs, which they sometimes did upon the very Ground.

Manna was the Food of the Hebrews in the Wilderness. It fell upon the Evening Dew, and was covered with the Dew of the Morning, by which Means it was inclosed, and kept pure and free from the Dust that was upon the Ground. It seems to have been like a Drop of Dew frozen, as to its Form and Figure like unto Coriander Seed, of a pure white Colour, and bright, like Pearl, when newly fallen; it tasted like Honey, but when it was prepared by boiling or baking, it had the Taste of fresh Oil. The Jews indeed say, it had all Sorts of Tastes, according to every one's Appetite: It is certain it pleased every Man's Palate, was grateful to Young and old, refreshed the Spirits, and kept their Bodies in good Order. It is compared, says a Rabbi, to fresh Oil, which is fat and sweet, and shews how unjust their Complaint was, that they had no moisture left in them, but were dried away. It was gathered every Morning, and then either ground into Flour with a Handmill, or bruised with a Pestle in a Wooden or Stone Mortar, or boiled in Pans, or in a Pot, or made Cakes of in an Oven, or in a Pan. In short, say the Jews, it was of such an excellent Composition, that it
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might be dressed divers Ways, or eaten as it fell; and it was agreeable in what way soever it was prepared. That which remained ungathered was melted when the Sun waxed hot; though Abarbinel will have it, that what they had brought into their Tents melted also when the Sun grew hot, which obliged them not only to gather it early, but to bake and prepare it presently, while it was yet hard and not dissolved; but the plain Sense is, that the Sun which melted it exhaled it also into the Air, from whence it came, and it returned again the next Morning. All this was wonderful, says the great Huetins, as was also its melting, when the Sun shone upon it, and that it putrified before the next Day, except on the Sabbath, and yet kept in an Urn many Years. This Food was called Manna by the Israelites, which may reasonably signify it is a Gift or Portion; and the Meaning is, this is the Gift of God, or this is that which God hath appointed us; for the Word Manah signifies to order or appoint a Method of Diet. The Quails that covered the Camp of the Israelites, were only Provision for one Evening. The Jews are divided in their Opinions concerning these Birds; some conceive they were Pheasants, others, a Sort of Sea Fowl: They came up from the Country over against the Desert, from the Arabian Gulf, because they were in great abundance upon that Coast.

The Drink originally used by the Hebrews, was Water drawn out of Wells, or Rivers into which they sometimes squeezed the Juice of Citrons and Pomegranates, with it they often mixed Honey; they had a Sort of strong Drink of which the Principal Ingredients were Honey, Dates, Barley and Wheat: But their chief Liquor was Wine, called in Scripture, the Blood of the Grape, because the Red was in greatest abundance. They frequently mixed Water with it, for the Sake of Sobriety; and sometimes, to make it more palatable, they infused Spices in-
to it. They preferred their Wine in Skins and Bottles, and they usually drank it in a triennial Cup, that contained about half an English Pint. When the Weather was exceeding hot they used to cool their Wine with Snow from Mount Libanus. They never eat in the Morning till after nine o’Clock, when the Sacrifice was over; they had afterwards two Meals, a Dinner, which was sparing and short, and a Supper about six in the Evening, more costly and entertaining. The Jews, says Mr. Bajnace, had commonly every one their Table; this might be in the early Ages; for it is certain, that afterwards their Tables were round, and convenient for three to eat on; not but some were larger, and would hold more. When the Meal was over the Table was hung up by a Ring, (which shews it was but small and light) to set it, I suppose, out of Danger of contracting any legal Defilement.

It is supposed that sitting was the original Posture used by the old Hebrews, in eating and drinking; they either spread something upon the Ground, and sate upon it, or they sate at Table. Whatever some Criticks have suggested concerning the Antiquity of another Position of Body, it is certain this was the antientest of all; for in the Old Testament there are Examples of this long before any of those that are allledged out of profane Authors. The old Hebrew Patriarchs sat at Meat, as appears from the Words of Jacob to his Father, Sit and eat of my Venison. There are many other Examples to the same Purpose. In those elder Times every one was seated according to their proper Rank and Quality. Thus Abner sate by Saul’s Side, and David had his peculiar Situation allotted him, which is signally filled his Seat and his Place. It seems to have been the Practice, when the Custom of sitting prevailed, to put off their Shoes at Meals; for they washed their Feet even at that Time, as appears from Abraham’s entertaining the Angels,
so that they must put off their Shoes for that, and it is probable they did not put them on till they went out.

This Posture was afterwards changed; for when Men gave themselves to Ease and delicacy, they grew Soft and Effeminate, and lay down at their Dinners and Suppers upon Beds. They lay with the upper part of their Body leaning on the left Elbow, the lower Part stretched at length, and a little raised, and the Back had Cushions under. The first lay at the Head of the Bed, and his Feet stretched out at the Back of him that fate next. The Talmudists express it in this manner; They were used to eat leaning on the left Side with their Feet to the Ground, every one singly upon their distinct Beds: But when there were two Beds, he that was Chief fate highest, and he that was second to him fate above him; the Bed of him that fate second, was by the Bolster of him that was first. When there were three, the worthiest Person lay in the middle, and the second lay above him, and the third below him: The third lay at the Feet of him that was first. If he that sits chief would talk with him that is second to him, he raises himself and sits upright, for so long as he leans or lies down, he cannot talk with him, because he that lies second, lies behind the Head of him that lies first, and the Face of him that lies first is turned from him; so that it were better for the second to sit below him, because then he may hear his Words when he sits leaning: Not but that sitting was in Use, but with this difference, says the Tradition, if they fate, every one said Grace for himself, but if they lay along, one said Grace for them all.

They used Washings and Purifications before they eat; their Hands they washed by plunging them into the Water to the joyning of the Arm, and their Feet were washed by their Servants, (which their Wives likewise were obliged to do) lest their Couches should be made dirty, and to prevent
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prevent offensive Smells, but not under any Notion of a legal Cleansing. They observed great Decency at their Meals, and it was downright Impiety not to discourse about their Law and upon religious Subjects while they were eating.

The old Hebrews began their Meals with this Benediction at the Cup, always performed by the Master of the Family, *Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the World, who has created the Fruit of the Vine*; and then the Cup was put about the Table: Then followed the Blessing of the Bread, which he held out in his Hand, saying, *Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the World, who has produced Bread out of the Earth.* It was an established Rule, that none of the Company should touch anything till he who broke the Bread tasted it first. To give Thanks after a Meal is a Levitical Injunction, and say they, an affirmative Precept; but there is no Form deliver'd in the Law, tho' many and various are to be found in the Books of the Italian and German Jews. By the Feast made by Samuel for Saul and the People, it appears, that antiently the Masters of the Feast distributed to every one their Portion, or ordered what should be set before them.

The Jews were very magnificent and even expensive in their Feasts and publick Entertainments, which they had frequently; as upon their Birth-days, the Weaning of their Children, the Inauguration of their chief Priests, and other extraordinary Occasions. It was usual to pour Ointment upon the Head of their Guests as a Perfume, and to burn Incense for their Refreshment and Delight; they were attended by Servants, who waited at the Table with their Garments girt close to make them the more Active, and expeditious. The Guests always came dressed in their best Attire and diverted themselves at Table with pleasant and delightful Stories, tho' they never admitted Heathens to eat with them, yet they relieved Strangers from their Tables with great Hospitality;
tality; nor was the Poor forgotten, for it was Chap. 22. common with them to send Messes abroad to Neighbours that were in Want. All was Gaiety and Mirth; and to complete the Feslivity, they had the Entertainment of Musick, which play'd continually before them. Drunkenness and Intemperance soon grew common at their Feasts, for which Reason the Prophet denounced, Wo unto them that rise up early in the morning to follow strong Drink, that continue until Night till Wine inflame them, and the Harp and the Viol, the Tabret and Pipe and Wine are in their Feasts.

Learned Men are not agreed whether there was any such Officer among the Jews as a Sympoſiarbus or Governor of the Feast: It is certain there was such a one among the Greeks and Romans, whose Character is drawn by Plutarch; but whether the Guest that prefided at the Marriage-Feast in Cana, was in the ſame Poſt is difficult to deſcide: He was, says our Author, one chosen among the Guests, the moſt pleasant and diverting Person in the Company, that would not be drunk, and yet would drink freely: He was to rule over the rest, to forbid any Disorder, but to encourage their Mirth. He obſerv'd the Temper of the Guests, and how the Wine work'd upon them; how every one could bear his Wine, and accordingly to apply, to keep them all in Harmony, and in an even Composure, that there might be no disquiet nor disturbance. Effectually to do this, he first proclaimed Liberty to every one to drink what he thought proper, and then observing who among them was most ready to be disorder'd, mixt more Water with his Wine, to keep him in an equal pace of Sobriety with the rest; so that this Officer took Care that none should be forced to drink, and that none should be drunk though unforced. Now, had Plutarch's Sympoſiarbus been at this Wedding, he would in all probability have known what Quantity of Wine, and what Variety there was in the Houfe.
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Book VI. He would have well known (they are the very Words of Dr. Lightfoot) that the Wine was gone, and that they were at a loss for more; for the Yeomanry of the Wine was his Office at that time above all other Things, and above all other Men; but this Architriclinius knew none of these Things, but thought the Bridegroom had used a friendly Deceit to reserve the best Wine to make up their Mouths, whereas others used to reserve the worst; and he speaks as a Guest, and not as a Yeoman of the Feast; and our Saviour sends the Wine to him as to the chiefest Man at the Table, and as the fittest from whom the Taste of the Wine, and the Taste of the Miracle wrought might be distributed throughout all the Company of the Feast.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Matter and Fashion of their Garments.

The first Clothes of Mankind were of the Leaves of Trees, which they made themselves, being ready at Hand, woven by divine Art. The next were of the Skins of Beasts, which were much warmer, and better able to defend them from the Injury of cold Weather, and these were made by God's Direction: He entered into Covenant with our first Parents, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he signified that they should, for the confirmation of it, offer Sacrifices to him; by the Blood of which, Covenants were ratified in after Times by this Example, and with the Skins of these he order'd their Clothes to be made; for it is not probable that the Beasts, of whose Skins these Coats were made, died of themselves, or that they were killed merely for this Use, or for their Food. But whether this was done by dressing these Skins and making
making Leather of them, or only by drying them and letting the Hair still continue on them, it is impossible to know. Certain it is that there was a very antient sort of Clothing, as we learn not only by Profane Authors, but from the Sacred; the Jewish Doctors, have carried this Matter so far as to say, That Adam being a Priest these were his priestly Garments. The Skin indeed of the Burnt-Offering, under the Law, is given to the Priest, but not to make him Clothes; and Eve, if this were true, must have been a Priest also, for she had a Coat made of Skins no less than Adam, who, they fancy, left this Coat to his Posterity; so that Noah, Abraham, and all the rest of the Patriarchs (as Abel they say did) sacrificed in the very same Coat, till Aaron was made High-Priest, and had special Garments appointed him by God. But these are Conceits too insignificant to carry any Weight.

A learned Writer of the Scotch Nation, speaking of the Apparel of the Hebrews, has this Remark; That when they were in Egypt, their Clothes were long, reaching to their Feet, therefore when they went out of that Country, they were commanded to gird up their Loyns. When they travelled in the Wilderness, their Clothes reached to their Mid-leg; therefore Priests, when they went up upon the Altar, are ordered to put linnen Breeches upon them, lest their Nakedness should be seen; because their Clothes then were short and fit for travelling: When they came to Canaan, their Clothes reached to their Feet again. It is certain that long Habits were commonly worn by the People of those Eastern Countries; and the Law of Moses gives Reason to assert, that the Hebrews had usually four Skirts, for the Precept is, that they should make the Fringes upon the four Quarters of their Vesture. It is probable they sometimes had more or fewer than four; and in this Case if they had but three, their Doctors have resolved, that they were not bound to make
make any Fringes for them; but if they had five or six, they were bound to annex them to the four most remote Quarters, in which the intermediate were included; but this is an unreasonable Subtilty, the intention of the Law being to put them in Mind of the divine Commands by these Fringes, which therefore were to be worn in the Skirts of their Garments, tho' they had been divided into no Wings or Quarters at all. These Fringes were sewed to the uppermost Garment which covers the rest, whereby they were distinguished from the People of other Nations; for that was one End of them, to be a distinctive Mark, that they were of the Jewish Religion; and therefore there seems to be no Reason in the Determination of their Doctors, who say, Women Servants and little Children were not obliged to wear Fringes; for though small Children could not think of the divine Precepts, yet it was fit they should wear the Note of their Religion. There is no Foundation neither for Resolving that if Women and Servants (who were not bound so much as others to obey the Laws) would wear Fringes, though they were not obliged by their Constitutions, yet they might not put them on with the common Form of Benediction which they used, Blessed be thou, O God, who hast sanctified us by thy Precepts, and hast commanded that we should wear Fringes. But I think they observe justly enough that these Fringes were so peculiar to the Jews, that the Samaritans, tho' acquainted with the Law, did not wear them. Nor do the Jews themselves at this Day use them upon their upper Garment, for that being no longer four corner'd (because they were laugh'd at by other Nations) they wear only under their other Garments a kind of Square Frock's with the foresaid Tassels or Pendants hanging to it, only in their Synagogues or Schools, at Morning Prayer, every Man puts over his Head a Square Woollen Garment with the Tassels fastned at each Corner, which they call the Talith.
These Fringes so often mentioned, were appointed as a perpetual Mark of their Religion, and seems to be no more than Threads left at the End of the Web unwoven, at the Top of which they put a Lace of blue, or rather purple Colour, which bound the Fringe fast at the Top, and is so difficult to be dyed at present, that the Jews at this Day are contented to wear white. This Riband being of a distinct Colour from the Fringe which was of the same with the Garment, not only distinguished them sufficiently from all other People, but when they looked down upon the Fringe and Lace, they were put in mind of the Duty they owed to God, and that they were a holy Nation, obliged to the Observation of particular Laws. Such among them as pretended to greater Sanctity than others, enlarged their Fringes, and extended them to a greater Length, so that they swept the Ground, which made them the more observable; and their Superstition at last was so advanced, that with great Subtilty they contrived so to work these Fringes, as to denote the six hundred and thirty Precepts, contained in the Law of Moses, that so they might be put in mind of all the Commandments of the Lord. The present Jews wear a long Taffel at each Corner, consisting of eight white woollen Threads, knotted with five Knots like small Buttons, and open and untwisted at the Ends.

There is a Command among the Injunctions of Moses, that the Hebrews should bind the Words of the Law for a Sign upon their Hands, and they should be as Frontlets between their Eyes, which, without doubt, signifies no more than that they should be always meditating upon their holy Rites, and the Principles of their Religion; yet the Superstition of the Jews have grounded upon these Words the wearing of Phylacteries, and the tying of Parchments upon their Wrists, in which they placed the principal Part of their Devotion. Some-
thing has been said upon this Subject in a former
Part of this Work; in this Place it may observed,
that they are called Tephilim, or Instruments of
Prayer, because they use them in their Devotions:
They are described thus; they write upon two
Pieces of Parchment, with Ink made on Purpose,
and in Square Letters, with a great deal of Exact-
ness, four Passages of the Law upon each Piece.
These two Parchments are wound up together in
the Fashion of a pointed Roll, and included in a
black Calve's Skin; then they put it upon a
Square and hard piece of the same Skin, from
which hangs a Strop of the same Leather, an Inch
broad, and a Cubit and an half long, or therea-

bouts. They place these Tephilims at the Bending
of the left Arm; and the Strop being first formed
into a little Knot, like a Jod, is turned about
the Arm in a spiral Line, and terminates at the
End of the little Finger. This they call the
Teffila of the Hand. As for the other they write
the same four Passages upon four several Pieces
of Vellum, which by fastening together they make
a Square of, upon which they write the Letter
Schin; then they put upon it a little Square Piece
of Calves Leather, as hard as the other, from
whence come two Strops, in Figure and Length
like the first. This Square is placed in the Mid-
dle of the Forehead, and the Strops going round
the Head, make a kind of Knot behind in the
Form of the Letter Daleth, from whence they
meet upon the Stomach; and this they call
the Teffila of the Head. This is the Figure of the
Tephilim, which they commonly join with the
Talith in the Morning Devotions: Some also use
them in the Afternoon; but this is only done
by eminent Votaries, and Persons of peculiar
Sanctity.

The old Superstition for these Phylacteries have
considerably increased; the Jews swear by touch-
ing them; and the better to authorize such
Oaths, they introduce God swearing by them
likewise.
likewise. Many are the Niceties in the Method of making them; the Parchment must be taken from the Skin of a clean Beast; and it becomes impure and profane if a Christian dresses it; but it receives a Degree of Excellence when it has been deftined to this Use; and it was said in preparing it, I design this for the making of Tephilims. The Skin must be prepared with great Art, for the least Hole or Defect makes it useless. These Tephilims they write slowly, and with great Circumspection, that there may not be the least thing wanting to each Letter, and particularly to those that compose the Name of God. They first fall' ten the Tephilim at the Hand, and afterwards that of the Head, for fear they should mistake; the Strops serving to this Use, must be good; they must not mend nor repair them when they are worn and broken. They cannot fall'en till they have pronounced the Blessing, Blessed be thou our Lord and our God, King of the Earth; after which it was not lawful to speak to any Body; when they take them off, they put them into a Bag, which thereby becomes sacred, and cannot be employed to profane Uses. They ought not to be put on in the Night, but on the Day, excepting the Sabbath, because the Sabbath is called a Sign, and serves for a Phylacter. Women and Slaves are not obliged to wear them. It is not lawful to take them till a Man has covered his Nakedness, nor to wear them in Church Yards, nor to carry a Burden on their Heads; and especially, it is a great Crime to commit then the least Indecency. So many are the Scruples of the Jews, upon this Occasion, that to mention all of them would be of small use, and not worth the trouble of collecting together,

There are two Restraints in the Levitical Law concerning Apparel, the one, that they were forbidden to wear a Garment of Woollen and Linen; and this the Jews carried so far as not to
to few a woollen Garment with linen Thread, nor on the contrary. This Law, as Brannius observes, does not import the weaving of many different Things together, but only of linen and woollen; and that by Woollen is to be understood only what is made of the Wool of Sheep, not of Camels or Goats, which they called by the same Name. If a Man saw an Israelite wear such a Garment it was lawful for him to fall upon him openly and tear him in Pieces although he were his Master that taught him Wisdom. And the Reasons for this Abhorrence are commonly such as are given for many other Precepts, to preserve them from the horrid Confusion which was among the Gentiles, by incestuous and unnatural Mixtures. But Maimonides takes it to have been principally intended as a Preservative against Idolatry; the Priests of the Gentiles in those Times wearing such mixed Garments of the Product of Plants and Animals, with a Ring on their Finger, made of some Metal, as he says, he found in their Books. By which Mixture it is supposed they hoped to have the beneficial Influence of some lucky Conjunction of the Planets or Stars, to derive a Blessing upon their Sheep and their Flax.

The Hebrews were prohibited to confound the Sexes of Man and Woman by one's wearing the Garments of the other. This Practice is said to be an Abomination to the Lord, which plainly indicates that an idolatrous Custom was here forbidden; for Moses and the Prophets are used to speak in these Terms of utmost Abhorrence concerning such Matters. And indeed nothing was more common among the Heathen than for Men in the Worship of several of their Gods, to put on the Garments worn by Women, and Women those used by Men: Particularly in the Worship of Venus, Wome n appeared before her in Armour, and Men in Women's Apparel; and thus the Words literally run in the Hebrew, Women shall not
not put on the Armour of a Man, nor a Man the Stole of a Woman; and thus Maimonides says, that Men ought to stand before the Star of Venus in the flowered Garment of Women, and Women put on the Armour of Men before the Star of Mars. But whatever Force may be in these Observations, it is certain, that if there were no Distinction of Sexes, made by their Habits, it would inevitably open the Way to all Manner of Licentiousness and Impurity.

The Matter of which the Vesture of the Hebrews were made was of many Kinds. The Art of Spinning and Weaving was found in the most early Ages. The Wool of Sheep was used principally, and for coarser Purposes, especially for Sackcloth in Time of Distress and Mourning, they wrought the Hair of Goats, Camels and Horses. The white Goats Hair was the most valuable; and therefore the Sackcloth was made of Black, which is the Reason why the Scripture says of the Sky, when very cloudy, that it is covered with Sackcloth and Blackness. Persons of Distinction wore fine Linnen of Egypt, and Silk, rich Cloth shaded with the choicest Colours (or as the Vulgate calls it) with feathered Work, embroidered with Gold.

The Colour of their Apparel, especially for those of the lowest Rank, was usually white, being the native Colour of Wool, and most suited to the Nature of their Laws, which enjoined so many Washings and Purifications; not but that white was in Esteem among Persons of superior Degree, and is highly valued in Scripture, as the Emblem of Victory, Purity, Cheerfulness, Knowledge, Grace and Glory. Black was the general Wearing of Mourners. The Vesture of Baal's Priests were of this Colour; and was a Habit peculiar to themselves, which in Opposition to them, I suppose, few others would wear. Blue was a celestial or Skie Colour, highly praised by the
the Jews who antiently had, as their Rabbins say, the exact Skill of Dying it to the Height, which since they have lost. Yet I find no Jewish Apparel wholly made of this Colour, which perhaps they abstained from, as a Colour sacred and mysterious, than which none was more used about the Tabernacle and the Temple in the Curtains, Veils, and Vestments belonging to them. The Babylonians much delighted in this magisterial Colour, and so did the Persians, as may appear by Mordecai, who when advanced, was clothed in Blue among many other royal Accoutrements. The principal Jews in their Robes of State, and upon great Solemnities used Scarlet, not dyed as at present, with Madder or with Cochenil, or with the Powder in Grain called Alchermis, all Inventions of a late Date, but with a Shrub whose red Berries or Grains gave an orient Tinure to the Cloth. Crimson, (this Colour was made of the Blood of a Worm which is found in the Fruit of a Tree, and from thence it has the Name of Vermillion) was made use of in the Temple of Solomon, and by Men of the first Quality, and sometimes they wore Purple, the most sublime of all earthly Colours, having the Gaudinefs of Red, (of which it retains a Cast) abated with the Gravity of Blue; this was chiefly dyed at Tyre, and took the Tinure from the Liquor of a Shell-Fish, formerly found in the adjacent Sea, but utterly lost and unknown at this Day.

The Jews did not affect Novelty and Variety of Fashions in the Make of their Garments, which retained the same Form for many Ages; and indeed their Clothes being for the most part loose Vestments not exactly fitted to their Bodies, but only cast over, wrapped about or girt close, the least Curiosity was required in the making: And therefore it is, that we find the Clothes of the Philistines fitting Sampson's Friends, and Jonathan's Robe given to David serving him without any considerable Difference; and because the Trade of a
Taylor is no where recorded in Scripture, though Chap. 23. frequent mention be made of Weavers and Fullers) it seems antiently to have been no distinct Occupation, but probably the Men or their Wives made their own Clothes; for the State and Galiantry of the Jews consisted not in the Variety of Fashions, but in the many Changes, the orient Colours, the costly Matter, and the curious Embroidery of their Garments.

The antient Jews usually went bare-headed, except when they were in mourning or in the Temple, or in the Synagogues; they thought this Manner of Praying cover'd they'd more Respect for the Majesty of God, as testifying that they thought themselves unworthy to look up in his Presence. To guard themselves from the Wind and the Weather, they wrapped their Heads in their Mantles or upper Garments. We find the three Children cast into the fiery Furnace with their Hats on; but these it is supposed, they did not wear as they were Jews, but in Compliance with the Custom of the Babylonians: For many Ages afterwards, we find Antiochus Epiphanes introducing the Habits and Fashions of the Grecians among the Jews, and as the Maccabean History relates, he brought the chief young Men under his Subjection, and made them wear a Hat. In both the Talmuds, there are reckoned up eighteen several Garments with which the Jew is clothed from Head to Foot, but those which are more properly called Garments and are put upon the Body were these: A wollen Shirt was worn next the Skin, though some had Shirts of Linen in which they lay, as most clean and wholesome for the Purpose. Next to this was their Coat or Talith, which reached to their Feet, and was accounted modest and honourable among them, which made the Indignity the greater that was offered by the King of Ammon to David's Embassadors, cutting off their Garments in the middle even to their Buttocks, which made their Nakedness to be seen, for they wore no Breeches

Schabb fol. 118. 2.
Breeches in those Times. To prevent the dangling down and dagling of so long Garments, the Jews used when they were sent on Business, when they took a Journey, when they did any Office in the House, or when they eat the Passover, to gird up their Clothes about them; and hence in the Scripture Phrase, a Girdle signifies Strength, Readiness and Activity, and in it they carried their Money. These Coats were collared at the Neck and fringed at the bottom. Over this they had a Mantle or Cloak cast over them when they went abroad, and this the poorer Sort used for a Blanket or Coverlid when they laid down to Sleep. And therefore God by Special Command provided, that though Men might pawn their upper Clothes (as not absolutely necessary for wearing all the Day time) yet at Night such a Pledge was no longer to be detained, because it was the Raiment for their Skin wherein they slept.

Their Legs were generally bare, though some of them, it is said, wore a Sort of Buskins that were laced about the Small and reached up to the Calf of the Leg. Upon their Feet they wore Sandals, which were like those of the Capuchins abroad; they had Soles but no upper Leathers, except the Strings by which they were fastened over the Instep and Cross of the Foot, and from hence came the frequent Washings and Anointing of their Feet in the Eastern Parts, not only to cool them but to sweeten, and chiefly to clear them from the Gravel which the Openings of the Sandals had let in; when they would take them off, the Straps must be untied, which it was the proper Business of their Servants to do; they were made at first out of raw Hides, but afterwards of dressed Leather; and it is a Conceit of a very learned Man who has written upon this Subject, that the Tanners, among the Jews, were obliged to live without the Walls of the City, because by handling part of the Bodies of dead Cattle, they were subject to very frequent Pollutions. Badgers
gers Skins were esteemed the finest Leather, as appears by Ezekiel, who numbring the many Blessings bestowed upon the Jews by divine Providence, gives this Account; that God clothed them with broidered Work, and shod them with Badgers Skins.

Shoes were in Use among the Jews as well as Sandals, but that they were hollow and cover'd the Foot all over is difficult to prove. The Difference between them is thus stated by the Talmudists. Shoes were of more delicate Use, Sandals were more ordinary and fitter for Service; a Shoe was of softer Leather, a Sandal of harder: There were Sandals also whose Sole or lower Part was of Wood, the upper of Leather; and these were fastened together by Nails. There were some Sandals also made of Rushes, or of the Bark of Palm-Trees, and they were all open both ways, so that one might put in his Foot either before or behind. Those of a Violet or purple Colour were the most valued, and worn by young Ladies and Persons of the first Quality and Distinction.

Though the Shape be uncertain, yet the Use of Shoes is to be found in the most early Ages; for we read of Abraham protesting to the King of Sodom after his Victory over the Kings, that he would take nothing from a Thread even to a Shoe-latchet; and in those Times so sacred were Places that were made holy by the divine Presence, that it was irreverend to enter upon them with their Shoes on, because they might be defiled with Dirt that stuck upon them. It is certain, that in the Temple, many Ages afterwards, the Priests officiated Bare-foot, and all the Eastern People came into their holy Places after the same manner, which Justin Martyr thinks they learned from the Example of Moses before the burning Bush; but Mr. Mede's Opinion seems the truer, that Moses did not give the first beginning to this Rite, but it was derived from the Patriarchs before him, and transmitted to future Times, from that ancient general
Book VI. General Tradition; for we find no Command in the Law of Moses for the Priests performing the Service of the Tabernacle without Shoes, but it is certain they did so from immemorial Custom, and so do the Mahometans; and other Nations at this Day. It is the Opinion of the learned Bochart, that the Israelites used no Shoes in Egypt, but being to take a long Journey through a rough Way in the Wilderness, God commanded them to eat the Passover with Shoes on their Feet; and these very Shoes, which they put on at that Festival when they were ready to march, he suffered not to decay in all their Travels for forty Years following: And to increase the Miracle, the great Grotius falls in with the idle Conceits of some Jewish Writers, by asserting, that their Clothes enlarged as they grew bigger from Children to Men, and so did their Shoes also; but there was no need of this, for the Clothes and Shoes of those that died might serve their Children when they grew up; and it was sufficiently amazing without such Additions, that their Clothes should not so much as decay, nor their Shoes wear, nor their Feet swell by travelling over hot and stony Places for forty Years. Such in general was the Habit of the Jews; yet it might be supposed, that besides the Priests and Levites, all Vocations of People, as Husband-men, Trades-men, Citizens, Merchants, Doctors, Judges, were distinguished by their several Apparel, which at this distance of Time it is impossible to describe.

The Habit of Women was likewise suited to their Quality, and the same Fashion of Apparel seems to belong to Maidens, Wives and Widows, only that a Wife wore a Veil upon her Head in Token of Submission, and a Widow had a Garment as a Sign of her Widow-hood. Persons of Distinction, as Princesses of the Blood Royal, and others of the first Quality that were Virgins, had a particular Vestment of many Colours, which is supposed to reach down to the Heels, or Ankles, with
with long Sleeves down to the Wrists, which had a Border at the Bottom and a Facing (as we speak) at the Hands of another Colour different from the Garment; it was likewise embroider'd with Flowers, which was accounted noble as well as beautiful in antient Times. Before the Babylonish Captivity, the Jewish Women arrived at the utmost excess of Pride and Extravagancy in their Apparel. The Prophet Isaiah gives a long List of Trinkets which they used in dressing them in his Days. He speaks of their tinkling Ornaments, of small Bells at their Heels, Caules, round Tires like the Moon, Chains, Bracelets, Mufflers, Bonnets, Ornaments about the Leg, Head-bands; Tablets, Ear-Rings, Rings, Nose-Jewels, that hung down between the Eye-Brows and the Nose, changeable Suits, Mantles, Wimples, Crisping-Pins, Glasses, fine Linen, Hoods and Veils. These were some of the fashionable Vanities of those loose Ages, which particularly to describe, would be as difficult as to explain the Kind of Garments used in England five hundred Year ago, mentioned in Camden's Remains, such as Herlots, Paltcocks, Gits, Haketeres, Tabards, Court-pies, Chevefailes and Gipfers. Common Prostitutes were known among the Jews by the peculiar Habit they wore; particularly, they had nothing upon their Heads, and painted their Eye-brows with Stibium, which dilated the Hair, and made the Eyes look black and beautiful.
C H A P. XXIV.

Rites of Marriage among the Hebrew Patriarchs.

THE Origin and Institution of Marriage is deduced from the History of the Creation, and is founded upon that general Command to Man and Woman, *increase and multiply*. This Precept, as the Jews conceive, is obligatory upon all Males above twenty Years of Age, except such as were unfit for Procreation, or such as mortify themselves by a continual and excessive Application to the study of the Law. They say farther, that Women are not under such strict Obligations of fulfilling this Command, which Opinion is founded upon the Rules of Modesty, received among most Nations, which confine Women from making their Addresses to Men; and therefore their Obedience to this Injunction is not absolutely in their own Choice. All Males, say the Rabbins, are bound to promote the Propagation of their own Kind as long as they are capable of making Use of a Woman. Though a Man, says Maimonides, has paid Obedience to the Command which enjoins the Multiplication of the human Kind, by begetting Children pursuant to the Doctrine of our Sages; yet he ought not to desist from using the Means of Procreation so long as he is able to perform it; for he who adds a Soul to Israel edifies the World. It is also ordained in the Law by the same wise Men, that no Man should keep a Family without a Woman, lest he should be troubled with Incontinency, and that a Woman should not live without a Husband, lest her Virtue should be suspected, and she exposed to the Impor-
Importunities and Solicitations of Men. It is beyond all Dispute that the Jews made great Account of Marriage, and their Books are filled with the Praisés of it. For Instance, they say that a Woman is imperfect without a Husband, and that even a Man without a Wife is no Man; that God calls them Adam, that is, Man; and that he who neglects the Multiplication of the human Race is no better than a Manflayer. In those early Times both Sexes thought themselves obliged to endeavour the Propagation of the Species; voluntary Sterility was absolutely condemned, and even involuntary Barrenness was opprobrious.

Celibacy was of so ill repute among the Hebrews, that it was thought no Immodesty in the Virgins of that Nation to dance in the Vineyards upon the Day of Expiation, and declare publicly, O young Men, lift up your Eyes and see which of us you like best. Look not upon Beauty, for that is deceitful, nor upon Riches, for they make themselves Wings and fly away; but approve of such among us as fear God. The first Marriage was always esteemed the most happy, it being a common Maxim, that a Man finds no Refreshment for his Soul, but from his first Wife.

The Rights and Duties of Marriage are supposed to be expressed by Adam, after he awakned, full of the Spirit of Prophecy, in these Words, Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife, and they shall be one Fleśh. In this Command is forbidden all Manner of Fornication; for he that injoins that every one shall have his own Wife; and that he shall adhere to her, does at the same Time forbid his Commerce with the Wife of another Man. It is also evident, that Poligamy is contrary to this Declaration of Adam; for (as Jonathan observes in his Paraphrase) he does not say, You shall cleave to two Wives, but only to one; and what is farther said, that Man and Wife shall be one Fleśh, plainly evinces, that the Plurality of Wives, is not according
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. According to divine Institution; for it appears monstrous to be one Flesh with two different Persons. Furthermore, these Words of Adam are directly levelled against Divorce; for when he says they shall be one Flesh, he fully expresses that the divorcing of Man and Wife is contrary to the very End of Marriage; and a Violence offered to Nature by separating what is one Flesh.

The Marriage Contracts among the Patriarchs were performed, if we believe Maimonides, with little Ceremony. Before the Promulgation of the Law, says he, if a Man happened to meet a Woman, either in the Street, or upon the Road, and he liked her, he had no more to do than to carry her with mutual Approbation to his House, and to go to bed to her, and so she became his Wife. This is the general Sentiment of the Jews; so that in those early Days two Things were required only to make a Marriage, the Consent of both Parties, and a Consummation. By the mutual Consent is not to be understood the simple Consent of going to Bed together, but of being and living together as Man and Wife, and of fulfilling all the Duties belonging to this Cohabitation. The Opinion of the Rabbi above-mentioned, is not to be understood according to the Letter as if a Man meeting a Woman might carry her to his House without any further Ceremony, but a certain Decorum was observed; the Parents were consulted, if the Woman was under Tuition, and their Consents obtained; and then the Damisfl was asked, if she agreed to the Proposals. The contract was made in the House of the Father, before the Elders and Governours of the Place, and the Consummation fulfilled in that of the Husband. The Bride was veiled and conducted without Light into a Chamber designed for that Purpose, and the Bridegroom admitted; but before the Consummation, it was the Custom after the Espousals for the Maid to stay some
some Time with her Parents, for the Sake of Chap. 25. Decency, at least ten Months, say the Jews, (Gen. xxiv. 65.) that she might sufficiently prepare and provide herself with nuptial Ornaments. The Wedding was celebrated with a Feast of seven Days; for the septenarian Number was supposed to give the ultimate Perfection to every Thing, which those who lived before the Law observed in their Festivals, especially at their Marriage Feasts, to render them the more fortunate. Before the Spouse was carried to her Husband, there was a solemn Benediction given by some principal Relation, founded upon the Example of Re- bekah's Brothers who blessed her at her Departure, Be thou the Mother of Thousands of Millions, and let thy Seed possess the Gate of those that hate thee. (Gen. xxiv. 60.)

C H A P. XXV. Of Fornication, Adultery, Polygamy; Concubinage, Divorce: Of Levirate, or, marrying the Brother's Wife.

S U C H was the Simplicity of the Connu-bial Rites among the Patriarchs before the Delivery of the Law; but there are some singularities relating to these antient Marriages that seem directly opposite to the Laws of God, and therefore require to be considered in this place, such as Fornication, Adultery, Conversation within the forbidden Degrees, Polygamy, Divorce, and the Privilege of espousing the Wife of the eldest Brother, if he died without issue; called The Law of Levirate. The Subject of Simple Fornication is attended with no small Difficulty; for from the History Gen. xxxviii. of Tamar and Judah it has been collected, that 2, 3. &c. R 2 this
Book VI. this Act was not criminal in the most antient Times. For say the Advocates of this Opinion, Judah was a great Patriarch and a Person well advanced in Years, and therefore would not have condescended to so low an Act, if besides the Meaneness of it, it had also been a Crime. It is certain that the Jews have founded, upon this History, their Notion (so generally received among them) that before the Mosaic Law, simple Fornication was not forbidden. If you happened to meet, says a learned Rabbi, a Woman upon the Road, or in any other publick Place, you might lie with her if you could obtain her Consent; and after you had paid her the Money agreed for you were free from her; such a Woman was called Kedecha. But after the Promulgation of the Law, these Kind of Women were not allowed of, as it is said in the Law, There shall not be a Harlot in Israel. From the History (says he again) of Thamar and Judah it is evident, that before the Law it was no Crime to be with a Prostitute as with one’s own Wife, there being no Obligation laid upon any body to avoid it. The Money or Reward bestowed upon the Harlot, was in the Nature of the Dowry given to a Woman upon a Divorce; it was a Kind of a Tax payable to a Woman by the Person who had enjoyed her; but this Liberty and Indulgence is supposed to favour of Impurity and Falshood, the Act of Fornication being directly opposite to the Laws of Marriage in its first Institution. It is evident likewise by the Story of Dinah, that Prostitutes were infamous in those Days, and therefore to converse with them must be criminal; besides, if simple Fornication had not been forbidden, and if the Reward promised to the Prostitute was not illegal, it is hard to conceive why Judah should have made such a Secret of the Matter; and if the Act had not been opprobrious and a Crime, the Patriarch had no
Hebrew Republic.

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...no Reason to be so careful to conceal it. Indeed simple Fornication was not then subject to any Penalties either civil or ecclesiastical; because (says Maimonides) of the Contract which passed between the Persons concerned; but such wicked Practices are not to be justified by such Examples; for it is certain, that every thing not punished by Men was not allowed by God.

Adultery was always look'd upon as criminal, even in the first Ages of the World; the History of Thamar plainly evinces it to have been Capital; Judah understanding that Thamar was big with Child, and supposing her guilty of Adultery said, Bring her forth into the Place of Judgment, and upon Conviction, let her be burnt after her Delivery. Indeed some of the Jewish Doctors are of Opinion, that the Words signify no more, than that she should be branded with a hot Iron in the Forehead, a Mark commonly given to distinguish Harlots from other Women: But it seems most probable, that she was to have been condemned to die. Stoning, in the Time of the Gospel, seems to have been the Punishment for Adulterers; but it has been supposed that Thamar was a Priest's Daughter; and such a one guilty of Fornication or Adultery, was sentenced by the Mosaic Law to be burnt alive. It is certain, that Thamar could not be consider'd as a Whore only, tho' she was a Widow and had no Husband, because she was contracted to Shelah the third Son of Judah: Besides, if a Woman became a Widow by the Death of her Husband, who had a Brother that was capable to raise Seed to his deceased Brother, she was looked upon as contracted to him; for the Brother being obliged to take her, it was understood to be one continued Marriage. Otherwise had Thamar been consider'd barely as a Widow, she could have been accused of no more than simple Fornication, and therefore could not be liable to the Punishment of Adultery.
It will be more difficult to discover the Sentiments the Hebrews had concerning a Man, who defiled his own Bed by lying with an unmarried Woman: Concerning Women that were married it is certain, that the Persons who debauch'd them were looked upon as Ravishers, and punished as Criminals; but the Enquiry is about a Man's lying with a Woman that was under no Engagement. Some are of Opinion, that for a Man to have full Commerce with an unmarried Woman was allowable before the Law. This is the Judgment of St. Ambrose, founded upon the History of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar.

Some, says he, will perhaps object, how is Abraham set up for an Example, who begat a Child upon his Maid? or could it happen that so great a Man should fall into so great an Error? It is to be observed that Abraham lived before the Law and the Gospel, at a Time when Adultery was not forbidden as yet; it could not be consider'd as a Crime till it was forbidden by the Law, no Action being punishable till it is declared such by the Law: Abraham therefore did not transgress the Law, because he lived before the Law; for tho' God highly recommended Marriage in Paradise, he did not condemn Adultery. But this Notion contains several Errors both in Point of Reason and Matter of Fact; Hagar ought not to be consider'd as a Harlot, but as a secondary Wife (a Liberty that was legal in those Days) who was not to be Mistress of the House, but only to bear Children for the Increase of the Family; and such Children were in some Sort esteemed legitimate, bearing the Name of the Father's Family, and having some share in the Inheritance; so that Abraham did not commit Adultery, but only made Use of the Privilege of the Age when Polygamy was allowable; and the same may be justly said of a married Man's having close Commerce with an unmarried Woman.
married Woman, as was asserted before of simple Fornication; it was opprobrious and reputed criminal, but not subject to any civil Punishments.

In the first Ages of the World, it is certain that Brothers married their Sisters, Uncles their Neices, and Fathers in Law their Daughters in Law; nay Fathers might even marry their own Daughters; and if we believe the Jews, every thing of that Kind was allowable at that time, except lying with one’s own Mother, with one’s Father’s Wife, with another Man’s Wife, or Mankind with Beasts: They say further, though they were not allowed to lie with their Sister of the same Womb, that is, the Sister by the Mother’s Side, they might espouse a Sister the Daughter of their Father; so that according to their Sentiments, God added fifteen forbidden Degrees of Marriage unto those which were reputed as such in the preceding Ages: These are, the Commerce of a Man with his Wife’s Daughter, with his Mother in Law, with the Mother of his Mother in Law, with the Mother of his Father in Law, with his own Daughter, with his grand Daughter by his Daughter’s Side, with his grand Daughter by his Son’s Side, with the grand Daughter of his Wife by the Daughter’s Side, with his Wife’s Daughter by the Son’s Side, with his Sister by the Father’s Side, with his Father’s Sister, with his Mother’s Sister, with his Wife’s Sister, with his Father’s Wife, with his Uncle’s Wife: All these Degrees allowed of in the Patriarchal Times were forbidden by the Mosaic Law; and these Marriages of the first Ages of the World have been the true Cause, why the People of the East have proved less scrupulous in regard to these incestuous Copulations than those of the Western Parts, nothing being more frequent in the East than Marriages between Brothers and Sisters; whereas
whereas it is very uncommon to discover any such Practice among the Western Nations.

The Plurality of Wives, called otherwise Polygamy, furnishes us with another Piece of Singularity in the Marriages of the Patriarchs. Lamech of the Race of Cain was in all probability the first, who transgressed the original Institution by having more Wives than one, and after him this Custom became very common before the Deluge, but the Practice it is supposed was more frequent afterwards. Most of the Patriarchs lived in a State of Polygamy, Abraham had Hagar besides Sarah, and Jacob had no less than four Wives, the Daughters of Laban and their two Maids. The Jews very strenuously contend for the Legality of this Practice, as agreeable to the Law of Nature; and look upon the Sadducees as heretical, because they assert Polygamy to have been forbidden by Moses in these Words; Neither shalt thou take a Wife to her Sister to vex her. 'Tis one of the Maxims of their Law, every one is allowed to marry as many Women as he is able to maintain (chose four is the usual Number.) A Man is at Liberty, say they, to have a hundred Wives, either one after another or at once; the first Wife having no right to oppose it, provided the Husband be in a Capacity to furnish them all with clothing and other conjugal Duties, every one in their turn. They add, that before and after the Deluge it was a Custom to have two Wives, one for to beget Children upon; and another for Pleasure only, for which Reason, they used to give this last a Draught, which promoted Sterility or hinder'd Conception to preserve her Beauty; she used also to be richly attired, especially on their Feast Days, whilst the other was kept close within Doors like a Widow in deep Mourning. The Jewish Writers are too partial upon this Occasion, Polygamy being contrary to the original Law of Marriage.
Marriage which propounds, that a Man shall cleave to his Wife. It is certain there is no express Law against it, but there are not many Instances of it among holy Men before the Deluge, though afterwards it got footing in the Families of the Patriarchs, yet at the same time some among them were more scrupulous upon that account than others. Job had but one Wife, and Isaac none but Rebekah; neither do we read that any one of Jacob's Children had more than one Wife a piece. After the Promulgation of the Law, Polygamy lost ground more and more; for setting aside David and Solomon, and some few of their Race, there are not many Instances of it, especially among private Persons. And this Practice God seems to have connived at in the Kings of Israel, because they should not be inferior in Splendor to the other Eastern Kings their Neighbours, whose greatest Magnificence consisted in some measure, in the vast Number of their Wives, which Custom continues among them to this Day.

The Use of Concubines was a Kind of super-additional Polygamy among the Antients, they being regarded as half Wives; the Difference between them and lawful Wives, the Jews say, consists in this, that the Marriages of the latter were preceded by certain matrimonial Contracts and particular Solemnities of Nuptials, but nothing like this was observed in the taking of a Concubine. Wives, say the Talmudists, are taken under a previous Contract of a Dowry, and attended with the usual nuptial Ceremonies, but Concubines without either of them. Thus we may observe in the Marriages of Jacob with the two Daughters of Laban, something of a Ceremony, Feasts, Nuptials, and Sacrifices, the Festival continuing seven Days; they used nothing like this in the taking of their Concubines, they had no more to do than to take them, carry them to their Places of Abode.
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Book VI. Abode, and to cohabit with them without any further Ceremony: Besides, it is supposed that a Concubine, notwithstanding her free Commerce with her Master, remained in a State of Servitude as she was before. Hagar, Sarah's Maid, continued to be a Slave tho' she was Abraham's Concubine, as evidently appears from the Treatment she receiv'd afterwards; and if we may credit the Jews, a Free-woman became a Slave by Concubinage. The Children of the principal Wife succeeded the Father in his Inheritance, but the Children of the Concubine were dismissed with Legacies and Gifts. Maimonides says, that private Persons among the Jews were not allowed to have any Concubines, unless it were an Israelite Servant purchased from her Father. If she was sold by her Father she thereby became a Slave at least, so far as was consistent with the Jewish Law in Reference to the native Israelites, who could not be disposed of to perpetual Slavery; their Servitude being only the Loss of Liberty for a certain Time. For the rest, the Laws of Concubinage, were altogether the same with those of Marriage, the Man was obliged to entertain his Concubine in his House, and she was bound to Fidelity and Obedience to him, as much as if she had been his lawful Wife.

There is no Instance, I think, of a Divorce in the Patriarchal Times, unless that Action of Abraham may be said to be such, when he dismissed Hagar his Concubine and sent her away.

The Jews contend that Divorces were allowed by the Law of Nature as well as Polygamy, though they do not make it reciprocal, as if a Woman could leave her Husband as he might his Wife. When will the time come, says Maimonides, that a Wife among the Noachides will be in the same Condition with ours unto whom we give a Letter of Divorce; this will be when the Husband turns her away and breaks the
the Knot, or when she goes away and leaves Chap. 25.
her Husband upon her own accord; for among
them there is no giving a Letter of Divorce,
nor does this matter fall with them under the
Cognisance of the Judges, as it does with us;
but they part according as Husband and Wife
think it most convenient. It is a Maxim among
the Jews, the Noachides have neither any re-
gular Contracts nor Divorces, but their Marria-
ges are either made or dissolved as both Parties
shall agree. Their Meaning is, that as Men in
the Ages of the antient Patriarchs did marry
without any Formalities, so they parted in the
same Manner.
The Law of Levirate was, if a Man died
without Issue, leaving a Widow behind him, the
Brother of the deceased was obliged to marry
the Widow of his Brother, that so the eldest
Son born from this Marriage might retain his
Father's Name, pass for his Son, and inherit all
his Estate. This was an antient Custom in force
before the Law of Moses, and seems to be in-
dispensable in those times, tho' the Rigor of it
was abated afterwards, the Matter being in a
Manner left to the Choice of the Persons con-
cerned. This Ceremony will be particularly ex-
plained hereafter, when it comes to be con-
considered as an established Law: It is sufficient to ob-
serve in this Place, that the Marriage with the
next Brother was not attended with any new
Contract, but was understood to follow on
Course without any further Agreement by virtue
of the original Law; and if the next Brother
was too young to consummate the Marriage
with the Widow, it was defer'd till he arrived
at a proper Maturity, and she remained during
the Interval clothed with her Widow's Garments
in her Father's House.
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The forbidden Degrees of Marriage by the Levitical Law.

In order to prevent Incest, and abominable Mixtures that were practiced by the Eastern Nations, it pleased the Divine Law-giver to set a Fence about his own People, to guard them against such unnatural Prostitutions, and to enforce his Laws by Capital Penalties. The Degrees of Marriage that were expressly forbidden, are these that follow.

Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Father or thy Mother. Nakedness in the Holy Language signifies the Secret Parts, which natural Modesty teaches all civilized People to cover, and not to reveal them to any, but to those whom they marry; therefore, not to uncover the Nakedness of the Persons hereafter named, is properly not to take them in Marriage, and much less to have Knowledge of them without. Both the Father and Mother are mentioned in this Law, to shew that neither the Daughter might marry her Father, nor the Son his Mother; and consequently in all the following Particulars, Women are concerned in the same manner with Men, though the Men be only mentioned; and under the Name of Father and Mother, are comprehended Grand Father or Grand Mother, or Progenitors before them. Maimonides gives this as the general Reason for prohibiting this and all the following Marriages, because the Persons concerned, are in a manner such as used to live together in the same House, (for so Fathers, Mothers, Children, Brothers, and Sistres do,) who might easily be tempt-

Levit. xviii. 7, 8. &c.
ed to Lewdness, if even Marrying together were not expressly forbidden.

The Nakedness of thy Father's Wife, that is, of a Step-Mother; for as Dr. Taylor judiciously observes, She that is of one Flesh with my Father, is as near to me as my Father, and that's as near as my own Mother; as near I mean, in the Estimation of the Law, tho' not in the Account of Nature: And therefore, though it be a Crime of less turpitude, yet it is equally forbidden, and is against the Law of Nature, not directly, but by Interpretation. The Jews say upon this Occasion, that it was unlawful for the Son to marry her, though she had been only espoused by his Father; or if he had divorced her, it was not lawful for the Son to have her, even after he was dead.

The Nakedness of thy Sister: As the nearness of Flesh above a Man is his Mother, and below him is his Daughter, so on the Side of him is his Sister. This Law includes a Sister begotten by his Father of another Wife, and one born of his Mother by another Husband, whether she be legitimately born in Wedlock, or illegitimately out of it, as the Talmudist expounded it; for though the Marriage of Brother and Sister was necessary in the Beginning, when there was but one Man and one Woman, by whose Children the World was Peopled; yet when it was so, there was great reason that it should be made utterly unlawful, Now, says Bishop Taylor, it is next to an unnatural Mixture, it hath something of confusion in it, and blending the very first Partings of Nature, which makes it intolerably scandalous, and universally forbidden; for if it were not, the mischief would be horrible and infinite.

Of thy Son's Daughter, or of thy Daughter's Daughter. This Law relates to a Man's Grand Daughter, by his Son or his Daughter, whether legitimately or spuriously begotten: There is no mention made of a Man's own Daughter, because say the Jews, there was no occasion, for a Man's Grand
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Book VI. Grand Children either by Sons or Daughters, (which are more remote) being forbidden, there was no reason to observe, that it was unlawful for him to marry his own Daughter.

Of they Father's Wife's Daughter, begotten of thy Father. That is, of a Sister by the same Father, though not by the same Mother. This Prohibition was necessary, because, before the Promulgation of the Law, the Sons of Noah thought it lawful to marry a half Sister (as we speak) by the Father's Side, though not by the Mother's.

Of they Father's Sister, whether legitimately or spuriously descended from his Grand-Father; (say the Hebrew Doctors.) These Marriages are supposed to be allowed before the Law, for it is thought, that Amram the Father of Moses, was married to Jochobed his Aunt.

Of they Mother's Sister. There is the same Reason for this, as for the former Prohibition; the Aunt by the Mother's Side being as near to a Man, as his Aunt by his Father's.

Of they Father's Brother. She was his Aunt by Affinity, and therefore as much forbidden as an Aunt by Consanguinity. This Law includes the Mother's Brother's Wife, though She be not mentioned.

Of they Daughter in Law, thy Son's Wife, though She were only espoused to him; and therefore, much more when solemnly married.

Of they Brother's Wife. Unless he died Childless, for in this Case the Brother was bound to marry her; much less might a Man marry his Brother's Daughter, who was nearer to him, and of his own Flesh.

Of a Woman and her Daughter. If a Man married a Widow that had a Daughter, it was reckoned impious to marry that Daughter, either while her Mother lived, or after she was dead; the Grand Daughter of such a Widow, either by her Son or Daughter, was forbidden, which the Vulgar Latin makes to be an incestuous Conjunction.

Neither
Neither shalt thou take a Wife to her Sister.

There are many eminent Writers, who following our Marginal Translation, [one Wife to another] conceive, that Plurality of Wives is expressly forbidden by this Law; and so the Karaites interpret this Place, that a Man having a Wife, should not take another while she lived; which if it were true, would assist us to solve many Difficulties; but there are such strong Reasons against it, that I cannot think this to be the meaning: For as more Wives than one were indulged before the Law, so they were after. And Moses himself supposes as much, when he provides that a Man should not prefer a Child he had by a beloved Wife, before one by her whom he hated, if he was the eldest Son. We find expressly, that the Hebrew Kings might have many Wives, though not a Multitude; and the best of their Princes, who read the Divine Law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many Wives without any reproof; so far from that, that God gave him more Wives than he had before, by delivering his Master's Wives to him. The Meaning therefore is, that though two Wives at a time, or more were permitted in those Days, yet, no Man should take two Sisters (as Jacob had formerly done) begotten of the same Father, or born of the same Mother, whether legitimately, or illegitimately; which though it may seem to have been prohibited before by Consequence and Analogy, (because the Marriage of a Brother's Wife is forbidden) yet in this Place it is more expressly prohibited, as other Marriages are.

To vex her in her Life-time. There used to be great Jealousies and Emulations between Wives, (some being more beloved than others, and also superior to them,) which between two Sisters, would have been more intolerable than between two other Women; who, (as Cunæus remarks) De Rep. Heb. not being of the same Consanguinity as Sisters are, might live with more equal and quiet Minds under
under the same Husband. The vulgar Latin understands this, as if Moses forbade them to make one Sister their Wife, and the other their Concubine; which could not but occasion the greatest Disturbances. Besides, no one would afterwards marry either of the Sisters being Widows, because they were defiled by such an incestuous Conjunction, for which the Husband by the Law might be cut off.

These were the Boundaries expressly fixed by God, as a Guard against those abhorred Mixture and Impurities, for which the Seven Nations of Canaan were destroyed. They obliged all Proselytes who embraced their Religion, as well as the Hebrews, and were established under the Sanction of severe Penalties. If a Man lay with his Father's Wife, or with his Daughter in Law, or with his Wife and her Mother, or with his Sitter, his Father's Daughter, or his Mother's Daughter, or with his Mother's Sitter, or Father's Sitter, they were both to be put to Death: The kind of Death is expressed but in one Place, and that is when a Man lay with his Wife and his Mother, they were all three to be burnt with Fire; which it is probable was the Punishment, in the other Cases of Incest. If a Man lay with his Uncle's Wife, or his Brother's Wife, besides the Punishment of Death, the Law adds they shall die Childless; which is supposed to mean, that whatever Issue proceeds from such Incestuous Converse, was to be esteemed Spurious and illegitimate; and to be deprived of succeeding to their Father's Inheritance.
CHAP. XXVII.

Of Marrying with Idolaters; Laws concerning Proselytes.

Besides these strict Injunctions relating to Affinity and Consanguinity, there were other Restraints laid upon the Hebrews in their Marriages by the Law of Moses; they were forbidden to enter into matrimonial Contracts with the Inhabitants of Canaan, lest the Love of their Wives should seduce them into Idolatry. Some of the Jews would confine this Prohibition to the seven Nations only, but the best Expositors extend it to all People that were Idolaters to whatever Country they belong’d; yet they allow that they might marry with them if they became Proselytes of Justice, which is supposed to be the Case of Ruth a Moabitess and Delilah a Daughter of the Philistines.

The Case of marrying with Proselytes of Justice is thus explained by Mr. Selden; with Proselytes of some Nations, whether Men or Women, the Israelites were never to make any Marriages; with those of some other Nations, they were prohibited only to marry with Men, with others they were restrained from marrying only for some Generations; and there were others with whom they might marry, as soon as they were made perfect Proselytes. Of the first Kind were the seven Nations of Canaan, with the Males or Females of which, they were never to contract any Affinity. To the second Kind belong the Ammonites and the Moabites, to whose Males an Israelitish Woman was forbid to marry; but a Man of Israel might marry any of their Women after they professed the Jewish Religion; otherwise David who

S descended
descended from Ruth a Moabite had been illegitimate. The Ammonites had denied the Hebrews the Refreshment of Bread and Water when they were distressed in the Wilderness, and the Moabites had invited Balaam by the Promises of a great Reward to come from the Eastern Countries to curse them; for which Reason the Males of these Nations were excluded the Privilege of contracting with the Women of Israel: But as the learned Wagenseil has observed from a valuable Manuscript; the Females of those Countries might, if they embraced the Jewish Religion, marry with the Men of Israel; for the Women must be thought in all Reason not to have been guilty, as the Men were, of that which was the Occasion of this Law, it not being the Custom for Women to bring out Bread and Water to Travellers, nor did they send Ambassadors to hire Balaam to come and curse the Israelites. Of the third Kind were the Edomites and Egyptians, with whom it was lawful to marry after they had been Proselytes for three Generations. This Restriction, says Mr. Selden, was observed only to the Captivity of Babylon, when these Nations being confused, they might marry with any of them if they became Jews; for Wars and Colonies, and Deportations had made such a Mixture of People, that it was scarce possible to discover to what Country they belonged. Of the fourth Kind were all other Nations and People, except those above mentioned, with whom the Hebrews might lawfully marry, as soon as they became perfect Proselytes.

But this Law, as the Talmudists observe, did not extend to Proselytes, who were allowed to marry with the idolatrous Nations; however, it was esteemed as impious and unlawful for a Hebrew to have any Converse with a Gentile Woman as with a Woman in her Uncleanness, from whence this Character is given the Jews by Tacitus, that tho' they were a most libidinous
nous People, yet they abstained from marrying with Foreigners. It was not so criminal for a Man circumcised to marry the Daughter of one uncircumcised, as it was to give his Daughter in Marriage to an uncircumcised Husband; for a Man uncircumcised was accounted unclean tho' he had renounced Idolatry, but a Woman born of uncircumcised Parents was not so accounted, if she embraced the Worship of the true God; for which Reason it is supposed, that Salmon, a great Man in the Tribe of Judah, married Rahab who was a Canaanite.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Ceremonies of Marriage between a Soldier and a fair Captive taken in War.

There is one Instance in which this Law of marrying with Foreigners admitted of an Indulgence, and that was in the Case of a Soldier, who falls in love with a fair Captive, whether a Virgin, or a Widow, or a Wife, and passionately desires to marry her, though a Stranger of another Religion; she must be one of a neighbouring Nation, but not one of the People of Canaan, for not one of those were to be spared, but if they resisted were all to be destroyed. It is a common Opinion among the Jewish Doctors, that it was lawful for a Soldier to lie with such a Captive once to satisfy his Lust, but not repeat it unless he would take her for his Wife; and this they suppose was allowed to military Men when they were absent from their Wives, in order to prevent greater Outrages that were used to be committed by the Heathen, But the more sober Writers deliver a contrary Doctrine,
The Antiquities of the Book VI. Doctrine, and will not allow an Israelite to converse with a Gentile at all, till the Conditions that follow were accomplished when he was to make her his Wife.

The first thing required was after the War was over, to take the Captive home to his House. The Rabbins, who are so indulgent to the Soldiers Luft, will have this to signify, that they were obliged to observe the Rules of Modesty in the Camp, and not lie with her openly like Beasts but privately in their Tents; but this Construction has few Followers. When he had brought her home, he was to dispose of her thus; she was to have her Head shaved, which some suppose was done with a Design to abate his Affection that he might not marry her at all, and others to prepare her and make her fit for his Bed. By having her Head shaved (which every one knows was used in Mourning) she was deprived of one of her greatest Ornaments and made less amiable, which might be a Means to extinguish the Affection her Beauty had kindled; but others more justly conceive this to have been a Kind of Purification and cleansing of her from her Gentilism, and a Sign of her becoming a new Woman, that she might be better qualified to become his Wife; the Captive was then to pare her Nails, which likewise was a Sign of Neatness; But they of the other Opinion translate the Words, let her Nails grow, as our marginal Translation has it, and the Arabick, and Chaldee and the Hebrew Doctors commonly understand it; this was intended to make her more deformed, and to lessen the Affection of her Lover; at least this Ceremony was suitable to the Condition of a Mourner, for such she evidently was, being obliged to strip her self of her fine Clothes, which it is supposed she had when she was made a Captive, and to put on a mean and fordid Habit, and all this to cool the Love of the Soldier; these Ceremonies being de-
signed (as the Jews observe) to make the Woman as little inviting as possible, that such Marriages might not be common among them. She was likewise obliged to keep her self retired within Doors as a most unfortunate Person, and there to lament the loss of her Father and Mother, who perhaps were killed in the War, or rather whom she was never likely to see any more; and this also the Jews suppose served to abate his Affection; for Grief is one of the greatest Enemies to Beauty: She had a whole Month allowed her to indulge her Sorrow, for so long the Jews bewail'd their dead Relations, at least those of a superior Quality among them. This Constitution is highly magnified by Philo, Lib. de Philanthrop.
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Book VI. says, they gave her a Year’s time to consider of it; at the end of which, if she remained still obstinate, they required her at least, to observe the seven Precepts of the Son’s of Noah, and to become a Prosfelyte of the Gate, otherwise she was to be slain: But though she was so far converted, no Jew might take her to Wife, for such a Marriage was counted impious. Those Hebrew Doctors who conceive that the Soldier might lawfully enjoy the Woman once, as soon as she was made a Captive, have added another Conceit to this; that there was not only this Month’s-time allowed her to bewail her Parents, but that he was to stay two Months more, before he might go in to her and be her Husband, that he might see whether she was with Child or no by his first Enjoyment of her; for if she were, a great Difference was to be made between that Child, and those she might have by him after Marriage. And to prove this, they bring the Example of Tamar, the Daughter of David, whose Mother being a Captive, they suppose he lay with her as soon as she was taken, and had this Issue by her; but afterwards she becoming a Prosfelyte he made her his Wife, and the bare him Absalom: Whereby it came to pass, that there were not such a Relation between her and the other Sons of David, by other Women, but that it had been lawful for Amnon to have married her. But the famous Abarbinel judges all this to be very absurd, who neither believes that David would have committed this Fact, as to lie with a Woman in her Gentilism, nor if he had, that this Child would have been look’d up on as a Gentile, since he afterwards married her Mother; and therefore he takes those Words of Tammar, Speak to the King and he will not withhold me from thee, to be a meer Ev’asion to put him off, and get rid of his Company, which Amnon understood very well; who knowing he could not have her for a Wife, proceeded to force her.
If the Soldier at the Month's end, or any time before had changed his Mind, and resolved not to take her for a Wife, he was obliged to meddle no more with her, (as the Hebrew Doctors understand it,) nor keep her any longer as a Slave, nor sell her, or make Merchandise of her, but to give her Liberty to go where she pleased. This he left (say the Jews of that Opinion) by his short Pleasure he took at first, for other Captives, whom a Man had made himself Master of by the Law of War, he might employ in his Work as Slaves, or make Money of them; but one whom he had lain with, he was either to marry, or to set at Liberty. The Reason given in the Law why she had her Freedom, is, because he had humbled her; which Expression in other places of Scripture signifies close Converse with a Woman: And here is supposed to intend as much, yet some conceive it implies no more than that he had greatly afflicted her; for the Word in the Hebrew signifies any sort of Affliction. And sufficient Affliction and Humiliation it was to a poor Captive, to be brought into a Soldier's House, to be kept there a Month with her Head shav'd, and in a State of Mourning, and all this in prospect of Marriage, and at last when it should have been consummated, to be rejected; especially when she had submitted to be baptized as a Preparation for it,
Of Eunuchs: Of Bastards, and Harlots.

There is a Law which expressly forbids Eunuchs to enter into the Congregation of the Lord: Whether they were made so by having their Stones bruised or compressed, or by having their Privy Members wholly cut off, which was done when the other Method did not answer the Purpose in this unnatural Practice. The Meaning of this Law has given great trouble to Expositors, and some have even conceived, that such a Person was not to be entertained as a Proselyte, nor admitted to worship at the Temple, which is an unreasonable Conjecture; for if they renounced their Idolatry, the Temple was common to all Nations. The Design therefore must be either to forbid the Israelites to marry with such Persons, or not to admit them to bear any Office in the Jewish Commonwealth. The Hebrew Doctors generally take it in the first Sense, and so do many among Christian Writers; but some conceive it to be superfluous to forbid this, because none would marry with such Persons as were incapable to perform the Conjugal Duty; and therefore they follow the second Sense, it being certain, that by Congregation is signified in many Places not the whole Body of the Hebrew Nation, but the great Assembly of Elders, into which no such Person was to be admitted, because they were unfit for Government; Eunuchs being observed generally to want Courage. But it is certain, likewise, that by the Congregation of the Lord is meant in other Places, the whole People of Israel; and particularly where the Law speaks of forbidden Marriages: And though Marriages with Eunuchs were useless and unprofitable, as Maimonides observes,...
fervos, yet they allowed a Distinction between those that made Eunuchs by God, that is, born so, and those made by Men; and this Law, they say, is not to be understood of the former, but only of the latter; some of which it is certain, were left in such a Condition, that they were desirous of Marriage, as appears by the Constitution of the Emperor Leo, who did not think it superfluous to forbid Marriage with them; so that it is evident, that some Women made choice of such Husbands. And on the other Side, though Eunuchs were unfit for Marriage, yet it appears by many Instances in History, that they were well qualified for Government; nor did they want Courage to execute the greatest Undertakings.

Another Law follows, A Bastard shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, to the tenth Generation: The Word in the Hebrew is Mamzer, and is conceived not only to signify one begotten in simple Fornication, out of the State of Marriage, but a Person whether Male or Female, born of any Woman whom the Law prohibited them to have Knowledge of, whether it was by Violence or Consent, by Error or advisedly, it made no Difference. A Person thus unlawfully begotten, was not to marry with an Israelite, as all the Doctors, none excepted, expound it; as Mr. Selden observes. If any Man of Israel married such a Woman, or a Woman of Israel married such a Man, and they were found in Bed together after Espousals, they were both whipt for violating this Precept; but if they lay together without Espousals, this Punishment was not inflicted. The Reason of this Law, seems to be, that People might be deterred from such Marriages or Conjunctions, which would leave an indelible Blot upon their Posterity.

There were some also of these Mamzers, who were not evidently born of Incestuous or other forbidden Mixtures, but were called dubious, because their Fathers were not known; or being exposed,
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Book VI. exposed, and found in the Fields or Streets, neither Father or Mother could be discovered: It being uncertain therefore, whence they were descended, the Israelites might not marry with them, left they should be polluted by those, who, perhaps, were born of Incestuous Parents. But Proselytes of Justice, they say, might marry with Mamzers; and that they might not for ever be excluded from the Congregation of the Lord, they contrived this Remedy for the Restitution of their Blood. They might marry a Slave (who was baptized and become a Jew) whose Children were not reputed Mamzers, but only Slaves; who being made Jews, and having their Freedom given them, might lawfully marry with a Jewish Woman, and then they were entirely incorporated into the Congregation: For the Issue always follows the Mother, no Regard being had to the Father at all.

Josephus in his Account of the Hebrew Marriages, affirms, that a Hebrew was not to marry a Harlot, because God abhorred the Nuptials of such a Woman, upon the Account of the Filthiness of her Body; but there is no such Law to be met with, in the Code of the Mosaic Institutions.

Antiq. Lib. 4. c. 8.
CHAP. XXX.

Of Women marrying in their own Tribes.

Of marrying the Brother's Wife, according to the Levitical Law. The Ceremony of pulling off the Shoe, and spitting in the Face.

To preserve Inheritances in the Tribe to which they first belonged, the Law of Moses enjoined, that all Women who were HeiresSES, should marry in their own Tribe, and in their own Family, but other Women might marry into what Tribe they pleased; for Aaron Exod. 6. 22.

married the Sister of the Prince of Judah. If it be objected that this was done before the Delivery of the Law, it is evident, that Jehoiada a Priest, and consequently of the Tribe of Levi, married a Sister of King Jehoram, who was of the Tribe of Judah: And long before this, all the Tribes of Israel being in great Solicitude, how to find Wives for their Brethren of Benjamin, did not scruple their having them out of any Tribe, if it had not been for their Oath. And to add no more, David himself, of the Tribe of Judah, married Michal the Daughter of Saul, who was of the Tribe of Benjamin. The Talmudists observe, that even HeiresSES might marry into what Tribe they pleased, after the Division of the Land by Joshua, to which they imagine this Law was restrained; it being a common Saying among them, that it did not belong to any Age, but to that in which it was made. In the following Ages, they pretend a Man might purchase Land in any Tribe, and possess it always, or have the Inheritance of it by Marriage, though himself...
Book. VI. himself were of another Tribe. But the learned
Grotius, in his Annotations upon St. Matthew, con-

futes this Opinion.

The Law next to be explained, was of the same
Use with the former; which was to secure Estates
in the Family that first possessed them, and is
commonly called the Law of Levirate: The
Obligation of it was, that if a Man died without
Issue, leaving a Widow behind him, the Bro-
ther of the Deceased was bound to marry the
Widow of his Brother; that so the eldest Son
born from this Marriage, might retain his Father's
Name, pass for his Son, and inherit all his Estate;
which is the Meaning of the Expression, to raise
up Seed to a Brother. This was a Law before the
time of Moses, among the Patriarchs, and the
Force of it was so well understood, that the He-
brew Doctors say, it was not necessary there should
be any solemn Marriage celebrated with such a
Widow; because, unless her Husband's Brother
renounced her, she was esteemed his Wife by Di-
vine Authority, and that whether she had been on-
ly espoused by the Deceased Brother, or his com-
plete Wife: Yet by the Constitution of their El-
ders, he was to contract with her before two Wit-
nesses, and give her a Piece of Money; and be-
fore this, it was unlawful for him to lie with her.
There was also to be a Sacred Benediction of the
Marriage, and her Dowry assigned her by an In-
strument; but if he lay with her before those So-
lemnities, there was no formal Contract exacted
of him afterward: He was only to be scourged
for contemning the Constitutions of the Elders,
and compelled to settle a Dowry upon her.

If a Man left several Widows, and if his Bro-
ther either married or renounced one of them, all
the rest were free from this Law; and if several
Brethren died, and left every one of them a Wife
without Issue, the surviving Brother might either
take or reject them all, or choose one or two, and
let the Rest alone as he pleased. If the eldest Bro-

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Matth. 1. 16.

Deut. 25. 5. &c.

Gen. 38. 7. 8.

Selden, Un.
Heb. Lib. 1.
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of 14.
there that married his Brother's Relief died also without Issue, the next surviving Brother was to marry her; if he died Issueless, the third Brother succeeded in the same manner; the fourth to the third, and so to all the rest: Yet that Brother only was admitted to this Marriage, who was born before his Brother's Death, which is collected from the express Words of the Law, _if Brethren dwell together_, which cannot be intended of one born after his Brother was dead. It does not appear, that the Brother was to act in this Case, if he himself was married before; for it should seem that he lay under no Necessity of raising up Seed to another, when at the same time he was married in order to raise his own Family. It is further observed, that the Law of Levirate took place only with the Brothers by the same Father. It is, they say, _Maimon. Tr._ commanded by the Law, that a Man shall marry his deceased Brother's Widow, to raise up Seed for him; but this must be understood only of Brothers by the same Father, whether the Deceased was actually married, or only contracted, so he died without Issue, it was the same Case; those that were Brothers only by the Mother's Side, being not consider'd as Brothers, as well in respect to Succession, as in reference of marrying the Brother's Widow; because there can be no Right of Fraternity, but what comes from the Father's Side.

The old Practice, before the Time of _Moses_, admitted of a great Mitigation by this Law; for now, a Man might, if he did not like her, refuse to marry his Brother's Wife; which was not permitted before, as appears by the Story of _Onan_, _Gen. 38._ who married _Tamar_ against his Will, as his Behaviour towards her demonstrates: For this he had no Occasion to have done, if this Permission which here follows, had been then in Use.

The Woman upon the Brother's Refusal, applied to the Court of Judgment, which usually sate in one of the Gates, and a Court of these Elders was sufficient
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Book VI. sufficient to determine in this Matter; and it seems, it was indifferent whether these three were created Elders according to the solemn Form among them, by laying on of Hands; but it was sufficient, if they were such as they called Elders of the Street, or common Men: The Woman was to prefer a Bill of Complaint in these Words, My Husband's Brother refuseth to raise up unto his Brother a Name in Israel, he will not perform the Duty of my Husband's Brother. Then was the Man summoned to appear, together with the Woman, (who, they say, was to be fasting,) and two Witnesses at the least; and she opened the whole Matter. She was asked whether it was three Months since the Death of her Husband, (which were allowed to see whether she proved with Child,) and whether this Man was next of kin: A satisfactory Answer being returned, the Judges explained the Law before them, and admonished them seriously to consider on each Side, their Age, or any Disparity or Inconvenience that might be in their Marriage; and accordingly to resolve. Then was the Man asked in express Words, whether he would marry her, and raise up Seed to his Brother? If he stood to his first Resolution, and said, I like not to take her, she pronounced aloud, My Husband's Brother, &c. and then coming up to him, pulled of his right Shoe, (as the Hebrew Doctors say,) and when she had lift it up, threw it with Indignation against the Ground: This was understood as a Mark of Infamy, and a Punishment for his Want of natural Affection, which made him unworthy to be reckoned among Freemen; but deserve rather to be thrust down into the Condition of Slaves, that were used to go bare-foot. As another Instance of Contempt, she was to spit full in his Face. The Hebrew Doctors, indeed, expound this of spitting upon the Ground directly before his Face, so that the Spittle might be seen by the Judges; and they give this as a Reason, why the King was not subject to this Law of marrying his Brother's Wife;

Levit. 21. 13.
Wife; and they might add the high Priest, because it would have been below his Dignity to have his Shoe pulled off, (if he did not approve of the Woman) or to have had her spit before him. There was a Form of Words accompanying this Ceremony; for upon his preremptory Refusal, the Woman immediately read these Words of the Law, So shall it be done unto that Man, that will not build up his Brother’s House: Then the Judges gave her a Writing, signifying his renouncing of her in the Manner now related, that so it might be free for her to marry whom she pleased. As soon as the Shoe was loosed, the Judges, and all the Spectators round about, cried aloud three Times, The Shoe is pulled off, The Shoe is pulled off, The Shoe is pulled off, and from thence forward, the Family of the Man had the Name of the House of him that had his Shoe loosed; which implies a Disgrace fixed upon him, for not doing the Duty of a Brother: Some indeed, would have this pulling off the Shoe to signify no more than a Token, that he parted with his Right to her; but the Distinction set upon his Family plainly proves, that it was in the Nature of a Brand, and a standing Reproach upon himself and his Posterity.

There are many Niceties, concerning this Law, to be found in the Writings of the Jews; some of which serving to explain it, may be properly mentioned in this Place. If the deceased Person left behind him a Daughter, or any Grand Children, the Widow was under no Obligation of marrying her Husband’s Brother, but might dispose of herself as she thought best; nay, if her Husband left only a Bastard, provided he were born by a Jewish Woman, there was no Occasion for the raising up of his Seed; because Bastards in the point of Inheritance, were consider’d as legitimate Children. The Jews speak thus upon this Head: When it is said in the Law that he dies without Sons, it is to be understood, that he dies without having any Son or Daughter, or any Children of his Son or
or Daughter. If he has any Children either by this, or a preceding Wife, the Widow is free, and discharged from the Obligation to marry his Brother in Law, or to take off his Shoe, tho' even the Son or Daughter were no legitimate Children: But in case the Child he leaves behind him be born of a Slave, or a Stranger, the Widow is not discharged from that Law, because the Child born from a Slave, is a Slave likewise; and those begotten of a Pagan Woman, are consider'd as Pagans also. This is the Jewish Tradition, for the absolute Verity of which, I will not be answerable. If the Deceased left behind him either a Son or Daughter, and the Child died immediately after the Father, the Brother was not obliged to marry his Sister in Law. If a Man left his Wife behind him big with Child, and she miscarried of a dead Child after her Husband's Death, the Brother in Law of the Widow, was obliged to raise up Seed to his Brother; but if the Child be born alive, tho' it dies the next Moment after, the Mother is discharged from this Obligation of marrying her Brother in Law, or of untying his Shoe. If the eldest Brother was travelling abroad in Foreign Countries, the second Brother could not oblige the Widow to stay for his eldest Brother's Return; but must either marry his Sister in Law, or suffer the loosing of his Shoe. He who married his Sister in Law, was put into Possession of the whole Estate, belonging to his deceased Brother; but in Quality only of Guardian to the next Child: If many Children were procreated by this Marriage, the eldest Son only of this Woman, was consider'd as the Son and absolute Heir of the Deceased; if the Eldest died, the Second succeeded in all his Rights, being reputed the true Child of the first Husband: If they had no more than one Child between them, he was considered as the Son, both of the deceased and the living Father; and the same Custom was obtained among the Daughters. It is observed further, that there were certain
certain Circumstances, under which a Brother in Law might decline the marrying his Brother's Widow, without having his Shoe pull'd off: For instance, if the Woman was old and past Child-bearing, or known naturally to be Barren, if she was unchast, or convicted before of any enormous Crime, in such like Cases, the Brother in Law having represented the Matter to the Judges, they discharged him from the Obligation of marrying his Brother's Widow, without having his Shoe untied, or taken off.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Redeeming the Land, and Marrying the Widow of a deceased Kinman.
The Rites of delivering the Shoe.

The Ceremony of pulling off the Shoe, was made use of upon another Occasion, which, I confess, should have been mentioned in the former Part of these Antiquities; but this Rite being ascribed by Grotius to relate to in Matth. the Law of a Man's raising up Seed to his Brother, I purposely defer'd the Explanation of it to this Place; though (by the leave of so great a Man) I am now verily persuaded, that the Practice of it belonged to a quite different Design. It was allowed by the Law, that if a Man had Levit. 25, sold his Land, and was not able to redeem it before the Jubilee, his next Relation might do it, and the Buyer could not refuse: And the same Liberty was indulged if the Man who sold it was dead; but then he could not enjoy this Land, unless he would marry the Widow with it, to whom it belonged as long as she liv'd; and was to go to her Issue when she died. Now if the nearest Kinman refused this Redemption, he who

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flood next in Relation, and was willing to redeem the Land, and marry the Widow, had a Power to summon him before the Court of Judgment, and in the Presence of ten of the Elders of the Place, to demand of him, whether he was willing to redeem the Land of his Kinsman deceased? If he refused, he plucked off his Shoe himself, and delivered it to his next Kinsman as a sufficient Evidence that he transferr'd his Right to him.

It is not easy to give an Account of the Original of this Cultum, that is founded upon no positive Law; but the Reason of it is plain, it signifying naturally that he resigned his Interest in the Land, by giving him his Shoe wherewith he used to walk in it, to the end that he might enter into it, and take Possession of it himself. The Targum instead of the Shoe, has the right hand Glove, it being the Custom, perhaps, at that time, to deliver that in the Place of the Shoe; as now the Jews give a Handkerchief or a Veil, to the same Purpose. The Hebrew Doctors indeed, differ much about this Matter, for some say, he that parted with his Right to redeem the Land, pulled off his Shoe, and gave it to him that bought it; but others, that he who bought it, gave his Shoe to him that sold it: It is certain, that the Text in the Book of Ruth (the only Place where this Rite is mentioned) may be either way understood, but it is most reasonable to think that he who parted with his Right, parted with his Shoe also. The learned Selden observes from hence, how different this political Ceremony was from the Rites, used when a Man renounced his Brother's Wife; for it does not appear that Ruth loosed her Kinsman's Shoe, as the Brother's Wife is ordered to do, much less did she spit in his Face, of which there is not one Word in this Ceremony, which relates wholly to the Sale of Lands, or to their Redemption, and bringing them back again into the Family to which they belonged.
Penalties for Deflouring a Virgin unbetrothed. Of Whoredom, Sodomy, Bestiality.

SIMPLE Fornication, was no Capital Offence in the Hebrew Republick: If a Man seduced an unbetrothed Maid, by Flattery and fair Promises, perhaps of Marriage, and lay with her in the City, unless Witnesses came and proved that he forced her, he was obliged to make Satisfaction for taking away her Virginity; which was, by paying so much, in the Nature of her Dowry, as would render her fit to be his Wife, if both of them could agree; the Sum was fifty Shekels, says Josephus: Yet so, that if either He, or She, or her Father refused, (for it was in the Power of any of these, to hinder the Marriage) he paid this Mulct as the Dowry of a Virgin to her Father.

But if a Man found an unbetrothed Virgin in the Field, and there were Witnesses to prove that he lay with her by Force, or they confessed the Fact themselves, the Man was bound to pay to the Father of the Damsel, fifty Shekels of Silver; which made a Difference between this Case, and that abovementioned; where the Man was obliged to settle a Dowry upon her, but here to pay a Fine to her Father. The Reason is plain, because there was no need of settling a Dowry in this Case, as in the former; which justly required a Dowry, left her Husband should wantonly put her away by Divorce, and she have nothing to maintain her: But of this there was no Danger here, because the Law expressly enjoins that he should marry her, and not put her away all his Days.
Days. Concerning the Payment of this Mulls to the Father of the Damfel, many Exceptions are made by the Jews; but this is considerable, that this Fine was the same, whether the Woman was of noble, or of mean Parentage, neither more or less was paid by the Law: Yet in after-times, the Sanhedrim they tell us, added some other Mulls besides this here mentioned, because it seem'd so small, that the Honour of a Virgin was not thought sufficiently repaired by it; therefore he that intic'd a Virgin, paid other two, one for the Shame and Dishonour he had done her, and the other, for the Loss of her Virginity, and vitiating her Body; and he that forced a Virgin (which was always supposed to be the present Case) paid a third besides these two, upon account of the Pain he was supposed to have put her in. And in these three, they proportioned the Penalties, to the Quality of the Person, and other Considerations which made them vary.

Besides this pecuniary Fine, the Man was obliged to marry the Virgin he had defloured, if She and her Father pleas'd; for both their Consents were required, though the Man had not the Liberty to refuse; not if she were Lame, or Blind, or Leprous, or had any other blemish upon her; and as a complete Punishment for the Force he had committed, he was constrained not only to take her for a Wife, but to keep her as long as she lived; he was not allowed to give her a Bill of Divorce, as other Men, who desired to part with their Wives, might lawfully do. If it be enquired how it could be known whether a Virgin was inticed or forced? they answer, that it was reasonably presumed that she was forced; if the Act was done in the Field, or in a Place far from Inhabitants; but if in the City or Town, that she consented, unless the contrary was evidently proved.

The Law of Moses expressly injoined, that no Daughter of Israel should be a Whore, nor no
Son of an Israelite be a Sodomite, or a Whoremonger, as the Words may justly be translated, as Mr. Selden observes; and so they are render'd by the Vulgar Latin, and the Seventy: And great Reasons (says Maimonides) there were for this Prohibition, for by Whoredom Families are confounded and destroyed, and their Issue are look'd upon by all Men as Aliens: therefore publick Stews were disallowed among the Israelites, who had this Benefit by it among others, that Quarrels, and Fightings, and Bloodshed were prevented, which frequently happened when many Men met at the same time, and contended for the same Woman; for so the Scripture says, They assembled by Troops Jerem. 5. 7. in the Harlots Houses: For preventing these, and such like Mischiefs, and that the Distinction of Families might be preserved, both Whores and Worchemongers are here condemned, and no other Conjunction permitted, but with a Man's own Wife publickly married; for if a private Marriage had been sufficient, many would have kept Women in their Houses, as their Whores, and pretend they were their Wives: Therefore if a Man had privately espoused a Woman, he was obliged publickly to keep his Wedding.

Sodomy by the Law of Moses was Capital, and Levit. xviii. 22. though the kind of Death is not mentioned, yet it is probable it was by Burning, because the impure Sodomites were consumed by Fire.

All Bestiality and horrid Mixtures were for-Levit. xx. 15 bidden, under Capital Penalties; the Person and the Beast, as Commentators suppose, were to bestoned to Death. The Beast (says the learned Bochart) was killed as an Instrument in the Crime, like a Forger of Deeds is hanged with his Pen and Counterfeit Seals, and a Conjurator with his Magical Books and Characters; and this is also useful as an Example, though not to other Beasts, yet to him whose Concern it is to consider, that if Beasts were not spared, who were incapable of Sinning, what will become of them who committed...
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Mishna Tit. Sanhed. c. 7. n

Levit. 18. 24.

The Crimes against the known Laws of God, and the Impressions of Nature itself? The Talmudists observe, that the Beast suffered, that there might be no Memory left of so foul a Crime; by Mens pointing and saying, There goes the Beast that such a Man lay with, or for which such a Man or Woman was put to Death. The Seven Nations that inhabited the Land of Canaan, were over-run and destroyed, upon the Account of their filthy Vices; which was sufficient Caution to the Hebrews, who came into their Room, to avoid and abhor such monstrous Impurities.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Of deflouring a Virgin betrothed. The Punishment of Adultery.

Deuter. 22. 23.

To deflour a Woman that was betrothed to a Husband, tho' not yet known by him, was punished with Death, for there was generally some Space of Time between the Espousals and bringing her Home to her Husband's House. If the Act was done in the City, they were both summoned before the Court of Judgment, and upon Conviction were stoned; the Woman because she did not cry out, which was an Evidence she had no Force offered her but lay with him by consent, and the Man for abusing his Neighbour's Wife; for to she was by the Contract of Espousals; and this it is supposed was the Case of the Woman in Adultery mentioned in the Gospel.

But if he met with a betrothed Damsel in the Field and defloured her, the Woman by the Circumstances of the Place was supposed not to consent but to cry out and to be under a Force, which
which without doubt she pleaded and he could not prove the contrary; she was therefore excused, it being her Misfortune rather than her Fault that she was ravished, but the Man, as only guilty of the Crime, was to suffer Death.

Thus was the Law executed, if the Parties concerned were Israelites, but if a Man lay with a Bond-Maid that was betrothed, they were both punished by Scourging, and the Man was likewise to offer a Trespass-Offering as an Attonement; but this Case has been sufficiently explained in another Part of these Antiquities.

If the Daughter of a Priest, that was betrothed, play'd the Whore (as the Hebrew Doctors unanimously understand this Law) she was doubly guilty, First, In profaning or dishonouring her self, who being related to so eminent a Person committed to foul a Crime, and Secondly, By dishonouring her Father, whose Reputation suffered by this Offence; the Punishment was Burning, the forest Penalty among the Jews, and was not inflicted upon other Persons in this Case who were barely stoned, but only upon the Daughter of a Priest from whom greater Virtue was expected; the Man, it is supposed, was strangled. But if the Witnesses of this Fact were conviected of Perjury, by other credible Witnesses produced by the Woman or her Father, then both her Husband who accused her and those false Witnesses suffered the same Punishment that she should have done.

Adultery was punished with Death among the Hebrews, and if we believe their Doctors it was by strangling; if the Parties concerned were apprehended in the Act and conviected, they were to die for it, and it was not left to the Husband's Liberty, whether he would spare their Lives or not; but if he pleased, he was not obliged by Law to bring his Wife to Shame by the Tryal of the bitter Waters before the Priest,
Book VI. Priests, or to Punishment by the Sentence of the Judges. The Adulteress indeed was to be put to Death, if she were accused, prosecuted, and convicted, but the Law did not oblige to accuse or prosecute unless she was found in the Fact, and then no Connivance was allowed: It may be enquired in this Place, whether a Man might marry a Woman after the Death of her Husband, with whom he had committed Adultery? This was the Case of David and Bathsheba, the Legality of whose Marriage is much disputed. But the Contract seems to have been valid, because she is frequently in Scripture called the Wife of David; and Adonijah, who claimed the Succession before Solomon, because he was the elder Brother, never objected to him that he was spurious and illegitimate.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Tryal of the Suspected Wife, by administering the Bitter Waters.

A Woman suspected of Adultery, was put upon her Purgation by a peculiar Ceremony: As soon as the Husband entertained a Jealousy of her Virtue, and had Reason to believe he conversed with another Man, he was obliged to forbid his Wife, before two Witnesses, from having any Commerce with the Man he suspected; and the Defect of this Formality, the Jews say, was a sufficient Reason to secure the accused from capital Punishment. If she persisted in her Intreague, and was observed by two Witnesses to have been so long in private with another Man as she might have been defiled, the Man was to begin his Process before the Magistrates of the Place where he lived, having
having with him his Witnesses both of the Premonition he had given her and of the Privacy she had with another after his Premonition. Otherwise, as Mr. Selden observes, this Action did not lie against her. If the Husband happened to see her alone by himself, or in company of one Witness only, he might give her a Letter of Divorce, but could not engage her to drink the bitter Waters. If a Woman behaved herself ill, yet unperceived by her Husband and without creating any Jealousy in him, the Husband being afterward advertised of her Conduct, might, say the Jews, give her a Letter of Divorce, but could not force her to this Purgation.

The Husband having brought the Wife before the Judges of the Place where he dwelt, having his Witnesses ready, he opened his Accusation in this Manner: Having a Jealousy of this my Wife, I admonished her not to keep Company with such a one with whom she afterward was in secret; and these are the Witnesses of it, she says she is innocent, but I desire that the Water might be given her that the Truth may be tried. Then she was referred to the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, who alone had Authority to judge the Cause, and she was conducted thither by two Scholars of the Wife, in order to prevent the Husband's cohabiting with her, which was not to be allowed after the Process was begun. The Council having the accused before them by herself, the Husband being put out of Court, endeavoured by striking a Terror into her, and then by good Words to induce her to confess, Dear Daughter, perhaps thou wast overtaken by drinking too much Wine, or wast in a gay Humour, or carried away by the Heat of Youth, or by the Example of evil Neighbours, come, confess the Truth, for the Sake of his great Name which is described in the most sacred Ceremony, and do not let it be blotted out by the Water. If after this she owned the Fact, saying I am defiled, then she was to tear
Book VI. the Instruments of her Dowry in Pieces and go where she pleased; for such an Adulteress was not put to Death, but only left her Dowry without any other Punishment; but if she denied the Fact, protesting she was ready to drink the Waters, they brought her through the East Gates, says the Talmud, which are before the Door of the Gate of Nicanor, and here they tugged and haled her up and down those Stairs, to bring her by Weariness to Confession. If she still persisted in her Innocence, she was set in the Gate of Nicanor, which was the East Gate of the Court, and put upon her Tryal.

But before the Process began, the Husband was obliged to bring an Oblation for her, in order to supplicate the Divine Majesty, that he would be pleased to clear the Woman's Innocence, if she were causlessly suspected, or otherwise discover and punish her Guilt. This consisted of the tenth Part of an Ephah of Barley Meal, which was a vile Sort of Offering most suitable to her sad Condition; for which Reason also, there was no Oil nor Frankincense allowed to be offered with it, for these were always understood to be Signs of Joy and Gladness, and therefore not used upon so melancholy an Occasion as this was. It is called in the Law an Offering of Memorial bringing Iniquity to Remembrance; for now the Woman appeared before God as a Sinner, and if she proved innocent, yet she was loaded with an Accusation and a just Suspicion of Guilt, for which, if she had given any Reason, this Sacrifice reminded her of it, and awakened her Conscience to reflect upon it.

The Priest whose Lot it was to attend at that Time in his Course, was to put her upon her Tryal; he laid hold of her Bosom, and rent her Clothes open, till he had laid her Breasts bare as low as her Heart; her Clothes he tied to her Throat, with a Cord that came from Egypt, to put her in
mind of the Miracles that God had wrought in that Country; her Hair was dis-shavelled, which was a great Indignity to the Jewish Women: She was dressed in Black, without her Ring and other Ornaments that were taken from her; here in the Presence of a great Number of Women and of Men, if they could be there, she stood upon her Deliverance; but her Maids and Domestick Servants were not suffer'd to be there, lest they should place any Confidence in them; or as others, lest her Mind should be overcome with too much Grief at the Sight of them.

The Water she was oblig'd to drink was called the Holy Water, because it was taken out of the Laver of the Court; the Priest us'd an Earthen Vessel for this Purpose, to signify, say the Jews, that she should be broken in Pieces like that Earthen Vessel, if she was guilty of what she denied: The Quantity of Water was half a Log, which is about three Egg-shells full, upon which he was to sprinkle some of the Dust, taken from the Floor of the Tabernacle, (as a Token of her Vilenes, this being the Serpent's Food;) but if there was no Dust in the Tabernacle, he was allowed to fetch it from some other Place, and lay it upon the Floor of the Tabernacle, and then take it up and put it into the Water. After the Building of the Temple, where the Floor was either of Cedar Wood, gilt, or of Marble, they had left a loose Marble Stone, which might be lifted up by the help of a Ring, between the Doors of the Entrance of the Temple; from underneath this Stone they took the Dust, which being put into the Water, swam upon the Surface of it. It has been observed by learned Men, that such Methods of Purgation were in use among the Gentiles, which if they could be proved to have been as antient as the Days of Moses, it would make it probable that this was ordered by God, to divert the Jews from following the Superstitions of other Nations; to make this Discovery, and bring them
to appear before him, at his Tabernacle, and there use such Rites as were immediately of his own Appointment.

The Woman being placed at the Door of the Tabernacle, with her Head uncovered, (as the Manner was in all Judicial Proceedings) the Priest put the Offering of Jealousy in her Hands, under which he held one of his own, and at the same time had the bitter Water in the other, which he shewed her: The Water was called Bitter, because of the direful Effects it had upon the Body of the Woman, if she was found Guilty. The Jews, indeed fancy, that the Priest put Worm-wood, or Gall, or some other bitter Drug in it; but of this there is no mention made in the Law, which speaks nothing of Bitterness in the Composition. Then did the Priest most solemnly adjure her to tell the Truth, in this Form; If no Man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with another Man, instead of thy Husband, be thou free from this Bitter Water that causeth the Curse: Then follows a dreadful Malediction, conceived in these Terms of the Law, But if thou hast gone aside to another, instead of thy Husband, and if thou be defiled, and some Man have lain with thee, besides thine Husband, The Lord make thee a Curse, and an Oath, among the People; when the Lord maketh thy Thigh to rot, and thy Belly to swell; and this Water that causeth the Curse, shall go into thy Bowels, to make thy Belly to swell, and thy Thigh to rot; the Woman was to answer twice Amen, Amen; for there being a double Curse, one that her Belly should swell, and another, that her Thigh should rot, she said a double Amen; praying that both might fall upon her, if she were Guilty. This Form was to be pronounced to the Woman, in a Language she understood, but she was not obliged by it, to confess whether she had committed any Crime of that Nature, before she was contracted to her Husband; or (if that was her Case,) since her having been divorced from him,
him, and re-taken by him. If after a Man had brought his Wife to this Tryal, he chanced to die before this Adjuration, she was free from taking the Potion, but lost her Dowry.

The Curses, the Priest was to write upon a Scroll of Parchment, and then he was to scrape out the Words he had written into the Bitter Water, or as some expound it, he was to wash what he had written with the Water, till the Words were quite blotted out. The Offering of Jealousy was then waved, and offered at the South Corner of the Altar; a handful of it was burnt, the rest the Priests were to eat, unless her Husband himself was a Priest, in which Case it was all thrown among the Ashes. Mr. Selden observes, that if the Woman confessed the Fact, or her Husband would not suffer her to drink, or either of them died before she drunk, or a Witness of the Adultery appeared, which made the whole useless; the whole Sacrifice was burnt, and not only a Part of it.

Now was the Water offered to the accused Person to drink, if she refused, they forced her with this preceding Admonition; My Daughter, if thou art confident of thy Innocence, fear not to drink this Water, which will doe thee no more hurt than dry Poison, laid upon the Flesh of a living Creature: If upon this she confessed she had been defiled, the Water was immediately poured out; if she drank, the most dreadful Effects followed if she was Guilty, her Veins swelled, her Face grew livid, and her Eyes started out of her Head, her Belly was ready to burst, her Thigh began to rot, and so she expired; but before she was dead she was carried out, left the Court of the Temple should be defiled by her dying there. Mr. Lightfoot remarks from the Rabbins, that the Operation of these Waters, sometimes, did not appear for two or three Years, for she bare no Children, she was sickly, languished, and at last died of that Death; but this Opinion is generally exploded. The Adulterer
The Antiquities of the

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The adulterer also, (if we believe the Jews,) died the same Day, and at the same Hour; his Belly swelled as her's did, and his Secret Parts rotted, and he expired in the same miserable Manner. But if the Wife proved innocent, her Face immediately became lively, and her Eyes sparkled with an unusual Lustre; if she was afflicted with any Distemper, she was freed from it; if before she used to have hard Labours, for the future she had an easy Delivery; if she had only Daughters, she brought forth Males; with many other Privileges observed by the Writers of that Nation. They say also, that if she kept Company with the same Man whom her Husband suspected, and by his renewed Admonition had required her not to be in Private with him, this Potion was not repeated, but she was dismissed from being his Wife without any Dowry: But if she conversed privately with any other Person after Admonition, to the contrary, this Potion might be repeated, as often as she offended with new Lovers. If the Husband put her away after her Acquittal, and she married another Man, who had the same Ground of Jealousy as her former Husband had, because of her Familiarity with the same Person, whom he had forbidden her to keep Company with, her new Husband might bring her to a new Tryal by this Water; and so might as many Husbands as she should marry, one after another, if she gave the same Occasion

The Wife or her Parents, if she appeared to be innocent, could have no Action against the Husband, upon the Account of this Accusation, and if she was Guilty, she was justly punished for her Crime; but the Husband was not obliged to bring his Wife to this Purification, if he could otherwise get rid of his Jealousy; yet the Priest was bound to proceed against her according to the foregoing Rules if she was set to be tryed: The Process might be executed upon any Day that was not a Festival, and in any Hour of the Day, but not in the
the Night; nor might he give the Drink to two suspected Women at the same time: Where the too indulgent Husband suffered his Wife to be Guilty, or to spread Reports against his Honour, the Magistrates took the Husband’s Place, and made the Prosecution. However, say the Jews, there are many Cases in which the Wives are exempted from the Magistrate’s and the Husband’s Jurisdiction; for the Wife and the Husband ought to be found in Body and Mind; a deaf, a dumb, or a lame Man has no Right; a young Woman that is a Minor, is not subject to the Inquest; because the Law appoints it only against a Woman, with many more Exceptions equally trifling. There seems to be more Reason in what the Talmudists conclude, that this Action did not lie against a Woman that was only espoused, or that waited for her former Husband’s Brother to take her to Wife, if she gave Suspicion of being defiled. If a Man was guilty of the same Crime his Wife was accused of, having defiled himself by Fornication, or Adultery, the Waters of Jealousy produced no Effect upon the Woman; nor could he oblige her to drink them.

The Design of this Law was to preserve Conjugal Faith and Chastity, and to protect suspected Innocence: It secured Men by a solemn Appeal to God, from cruel and furious Proceedings against their Wives, and contained the Women within their Duty, out of Dread of this Punishment; which was so terrible, as Mamonides observes, even to innocent Women, that they would have given all they had to avoid it; they wished rather to die than to undergo such a publick Infamy, of having their Heads uncovered, their Hair cut off, their Garments torn to their Breasts, and so to stand in the Sanctuary before a Multitude of Men and Women, and the whole Sanhedrin. It is supposed, that this Way of Trial ceased towards the latter End of the second Temple, and was extinguished by the Authority of the Sanhedrin it self;
I. because the Number of Adulterers was then so great, that the Bitter Waters had no Effect: By this means, say the Jews, the Prophecy of Hosea was accomplished, I will not punish your Daughters, when they commit Whoredom, nor your Spouses, when they commit Adultery; for themselves are separated with Whores, and they sacrifice with Harlots.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Law of Divorce. The Form of a Bill of Divorce.

Deut. xxiv. 1. AS the preceding Law was ordained in favour of the Husbands, so this of Divorce was made for the Advantage of the Wives. They had this Privilege by it, that they could not be discharged and turned out of Doors at Pleasure; they were freed from the Pain and Vexation, occasioned by froward and unkind Husbands, and had the Liberty of marrying others, who possibly might be tender of them, and delight in them.

A Man, after he had espoused a Wife, as well as after he had consummated the Marriage, upon a Dislike, founded (says the Law,) upon some Uncleanliness he perceived in her, might dissolve the Contract, by giving her a Bill of Divorcement: Some of the Jews indeed, extend this Liberty so far, as to fancy they might, without any Reason at all, for their mere Pleasure part with their Wives; and their Doctors, after the Captivity, grew strangely loose upon this Subject: But others are more modest, and confess that the Reason being a Matter of Uncleanliness, signifies a Cause of some Moment and Importance; yet they distinguish...
guish between the first Wife a Man took, who might not be put away but for some Uncleanness, and the Second, who might be divorced for a less Reason. There were great Differences between the School of Hillel, and the School of Shammái, (so much talked of by the Talmudists) upon this Matter of Uncleanness; yet both agree that it signified much less than Adultery, Inceft, or such like Turpitude; for if Adultery had been meant, she might have been put to Death, or the mere Suspicion of it might be tried by the Water of Jealousy; so that the most sober Expositors have given two Reasons upon which a Bill of Divorce might justly be allowed, either when the Behaviour of the Wife made her suspected of Impurity, (as if she went with her Face uncovered, or her Breasts naked; if she sported with young Men, or washed in the same Place with them, or had her Arms bare;) or they were both of such a different Temper and Disposition, that they loathed each other's Company, and consequently lived in continual Uneasiness and Discontents; besides such moral Causes, they allowed also such natural, as made the Woman offensive, as if she had the Leprosy, or some Diseaee in her Body, which he did not discover before Marriage; and sometimes they extended this so far as to a stinking Breath.

But whatever was the Cause of the Husband's Dislike, he had not the Liberty to turn her out of his House, without giving her a Bill of Divorce, called a Bill of Expulsion, an Instrument of Dismission, and a Bill of Cutting off; because by this Means, the Woman was cut off from her Husband's Family. A Copy of this Bill is found in Alphesins, in the following Form.

in Tract. Gittin.
The Antiquities of the

On the Day of the Week N. of the Month of
N, of the Year of the World's Creation N.
according to the Computation by which we are used
to reckon, in the Province of N. I N. the Son of
N. and by what Name soever I am called, of the
City N. with the full Consent of my Mind, and
without any Compulsion urging me, have put away,
dismissed, and expelled thee; thee I say N. the
Daughter of N. by what Name soever thou art
called, of the City N. who heretofore was my
Wife, but now I have dismissed thee; thee I say
N. the Daughter of N. by what Name soever thou
art called, of the City N. so that thou art free,
and in thine own Power, to marry whosoever
shall please thee; and let no Man hinder thee, from this
Day forward even for Ever. Thou art free there-
fore for any Man, and let this be to thee a Bill of
Rejection from me, Letters of Divorce, and a
Schedule of Expulsion, according to the Law of
Moses, and of Israel.

Reuben the Son of Jacob, Witness.
Eliezer the Son of Gilead, Witness.

This Bill being confirmed by the Husband's
Seal, and the Subscription at least of two Wit-
nesses, was delivered by the Husband into the
Hand of the Wife, in some such Form, Behold
this is thy Bill of Divorce, otherwise it was not
valid; the Wife if she pleased might carry this
Instrument to the Sanhedrim, where it was enrolled
among the Records if she desired it, in Memo-
ry of her Dismission. Then was she sent out of
the Husband's House, which Dr. Hammond con-
ceives to lay an Obligation upon him, to furnish
her for her Journey, to endow her, and make
Provision for her: But the Jews are of Opinion,
that the Divorce was perfect and complete, before
he sent her out of his Doors; for it was sufficient,
to give her an Instrument in such a Form, as
plainly
plainly shewed the Matrimony was dissolved, and that she was no Part of his Family, though he had not actually sent her away. Yet if he kept her still in his House, after this Bill was delivered into her Hand, it was presumed that they cohabited together, and therefore he was obliged to give her a new Bill of Divorce.

The Contract of Marriage being wholly dissolved by this Instrument, the Woman was free to marry another Man, who, if he pleased, might dismiss her with the same Ceremonies: But she was obliged to tarry ninety Days, besides the Day of Divorce, or of her Husband's Death, and her last Espousals, that it might be known whether she was with Child or no; and that there might be Evidence, whether it were the Seed of the first Husband or the second: But the Husband upon no Account was allowed to marry her again, because the Law says, that by her second Marriage she was defiled; which (say the Jews) she was though she had been only espoused to a new Husband, who had never lain with her; for they make no Difference between her second Marriage, and her second Espousals, but conceived that a Woman contracted as much Pollution by her second Espousals, as if she had play'd the Whore after her Divorce; for in that Case, they say, he might, notwithstanding, have married her again, but not after she had been married to another. Thus Mr. Selden gives the Opinion of Uxor Heb. the Rabbins, and observes upon the Occasion, that the Mahometans, who usually are fond of Copying after the Jews, differ from them in this Particular, for they allow a Man to take his Wife again, though he had divorced her three Times.

Now the Ground, upon which a divorced Woman was accounted defiled or unclean, after another Man had married her, I suppose was, that this was looked upon as a solemn Renunciation of her former Husband on her Part, who

H E B R E W Republick.

Chap. 34.
Book VI. had been renounced by him, by the Bill of Divorce; but he was not absolutely renounced by her, till she married another, whereby she was totally alienated from him. This made her unclean, not in her self, nor with Respect to her second Husband whom she married, nor with Respect to any other Man, (who might marry her without any Pollution) but only with Respect to her first Husband, unto whom, by this Law, she was made unclean; for so all Things forbidden to the Jews were accounted, as appears from a Passage in the Acts of the Apostles, where all Meats forbidden by the Law, are called unclean; and God is said to have cleansed them, by taking off that Prohibition.

For a Woman to return to her first Husband, and to be his Wife again, is called an Abomination before the Lord; for this, says Abarbinel, was to imitate the Egyptians, who changed their Wives, and took them again into their Houses, which was the Occasion of great Filthines and Pollution: But this seems to intimate, that if she had not been married to any other Man, and kept herself free, she might have been his Wife again, if he was willing to have been reconciled to her.

Deut. xxiv. 4. Mr. Basnage, in his History of the Jews, observes, that in the latter Time of their Government, the Women took the same Liberty as the Men, and in their Turn, divorced their jealous and disagreeable Husbands. Herod's Sister sent a Letter of Divorce to her Husband Costobarus, and married again. Josephus remarks, that this was done against the Laws of the Country, and he maintained the Husband's Authority, against the Usurpation of the Wives. Scaliger is mistaken here, for he imagined that Salome only sinned, because she married again, before she had obtained Costobarus's Permission; and this Permission was necessary to capacitate her to contract a new Marriage; but this is not Josephus's Notion:
Notion: 'Tis true, the Clause of having Power to marry another, is commonly inserted in the Letter of Divorce, the Husband gives the Wife, but it is not absolutely necessary; for when all the Bonds of Marriage are broken, the Person returns to primitive Liberty. Salome's Crime therefore, according to Josephus, did not consist in Antiq. L. 15, marrying again, but in her breaking with him, before he separated from her. It was then thought, that the Husband had only the Power of Divorcing, and he had not sent her away. Salome's Example was followed by Herodias, who deserted her Husband to marry Herod. Berenice, Agrippa's Sister, did the same thing, for after having obliged Polemon King of Lycia to turn Jew to marry her, she divorced him: Prophane Historians only say, that she left him in the Lurch, and forsook him, to ramble elsewhere; but it is most probable, that she made Use of the Liberty that was then enjoyned, and of which she had so many Instances in her Family, to give a Letter of Divorce to a Man she had no Affection for. So far Mr. Basnage upon this Subject.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Ceremony of Espousals.

The Jews are very warm Affiters of the Honour and Sanctity of Marriage, they extol it infinitely above a single Life, and hold it a Condition more suitable to Nature, more advantageous to Mankind, and more acceptable to God, so that they admit of no unmarried Sect among them; but on the contrary, look very jealously upon such of their Nation, as either marry not at all, or long defer it. Wedlock they esteem among the affirmative Precepts, which they
they make obligatory upon their whole Nation. Every Male coming to Years of Maturity, is bound to take a Wife, to increase his Family; and some among them, allow of no other End of Matrimony, but Propagation, and account those wicked Persons, who propose any other Satisfaction from it.

Upon this Account their Espousals are very early, their Daughters being usually betrothed at ten Years of Age, and if they are rich, are married very young; their Manner of Espousals is sufficiently orderly and decent. When a Male is disposed to marry, he enquires among his Kindred for a Virgin, to whom he may be joined in this sacred Bond, for the Maintenance of his Name and Family in Israel; and being informed that there is such a one, he acquaints himself with her Age, Complexion, state of Body, and other Circumstances, and after this begins to drive the Bargain with the Virgin’s Relations; who, if they approved of the Proposals, admitted him to visit her: But they were cautious that the Visit should be short, for should the Match not succeed, the Familiarity of this Interview might tend much to the Damsel’s Disparagement. The Consent of the Parents was thought necessary, if the Maiden was not of Age to contract for herself, but the Time of completing the Marriage was generally left to the Choice of the Bride.

The Manner of Contracting or Espousing, was done three different Ways; either by a Piece of Money, or by an Instrument in Writing, or by carnal Knowledge. This last is understood of a Man who had lain with a Maid, and therefore was bound by the Law to marry her, if her Father consented; otherwise there was no carnal Conversation allowed before the Marriage was solemnized, it being no less forbidden, than to lie with a Woman in her Disease: To espouse with Money, the Man gave the Piece in the Woman’s Hand before Witnesses, though it were put
but a Farthing, and said, Be thou espoused to me according to the Law of Moses and Israel. To betroth by Writing, was no more than to write the same Form of Words with the Woman's Name, and deliver it to her before Witnesses. A Woman contracted either of these Ways, tho' she were not yet married, nor conducted into the Man's House, yet was esteemed his Wife; and if any Man lay with her, they were both punished with Death by the Sanhedrim. These Solemnities of Betrothing were performed by the Man and Woman under a Tent or Canopy made for that Purpose, called Chuppa in their Language; and in this Bride-chamber, says Dr. Ham-mon, the Bridegroom was used to go with his Bride, to talk with her more familiarly; and this as a Ceremony of Confirmation to the Wedlock. Whilst he was there, no Person came in, but his Friends and Attendants waited for him at the Door, with Torches or Lamps in their Hands; and when he came out, he was received with great Joy and Acclamation, by all that were there. Upon the Day of Betrothing, the Husband takes a common Vessel filled with Wine, a few Drops of it he drinks, and throws the Vessel against the Ground, which breaks, and the Wine is spilled; by which they pretend to signify a Community of Goods, and the Fragility and Uncertainty of them. There was a publick Feast, held for the Relations of both Parties, at the Time of the Espousals.
The Rites of Marriage among the Hebrews. The Form of a Dowry-Bill.

The Law of Moses appointing few particular Ceremonies to be used in the Marriages of the Hebrews; the Jews have been obliged in their connubial Rites to establish a Form of human Institution: Some of their Customs are trifling and superstitious enough, but in others they have followed, as near as possible, the Practice of the old Patriarchs and some of the best Men in their own Nation, whose Example they imitate in their matrimonial Concerns; though bound upon them by no Law: Accordingly, they usually suffer'd a great deal of Time to pass between the Ceremony of Espousal and the Marriage; during this Interval the Woman continued with her Parents, which was about a Year or ten Months, that she might provide herself suitably with nuptial Ornaments; though some lay the espoused Bride was taken Home to the Husband's House, that he might be a Witness and a Keeper of her Virginity till the Marriage was solemnized; but this Opinion has few Followers.

All Parties being agreed, there is a Writing drawn in the House of the Damsel's Father, where is contained the Articles of Marriage, and the Covenant of Dowry: According to the common Rule the Maid brings a Portion to the Husband, but the Contrary is practised among the Jews, and the Husband promises a Portion to his Wife, which he engages all his Goods for, even to his Cloke, but it cannot be demanded till after his Death. It is equal for all Maids rich and poor,
and the Doctors have fixed it to the Value of Chap. 36.

fifty Crowns or two hundred Zufes, but a Widow is endowed but with half so much. They think that by this Equality they facilitate the Marriage of poor Girls, and prevent the Disorder which the Difference of Conditions causes in Alliances; but they are mistaken, since the Husband over and above the Portion he promises his Wife, commonly adds a Sum proportioned to his Estate. The Custom followed by the Jews is antient; for Sichem submitted to the Conditions imposed on him, provided they would let him marry Dinah; and Saul demanded three hundred Foreskins of the Philistines of David for Michal's Portion; however, the Wife brings to her Husband her Clothes, the Particulars of her Night Dress not being omitted, her Moveables and all that belongs to her, which is done before a great Company, and a Bill of Particulars being deliver'd to the Bridegroom, by Virtue thereof, at the Day of Marriage, he has Power to recover whatsoever is therein specified. What she brings with her is valued and sometimes sold in order to buy immovable, and which are to be restored in Case of Widowhood, retrenching a Part from the just Value to help the Husband to defray the Expences of the Wedding. This is the moveable Gift; and the Gift that is made to the Bride not being paid till after Death, may be looked upon as a Jointure in which the Widow has the Propriety. When the Parties have given their Consent to contract Marriage with the Right to her Parents Succession; a short Blessing is pronounced to the Glory of God, who has commanded Marriage and forbidden Incest, and then the young People who assist at the Ceremony, break their Earthen Vessels which they had in their Hands against the Ground, imagining it to be a Prefiguration of Prosperity and Abundance.

The
The Dowry being settled, they pass to the Affiancing wherein the Woman is given to the Man by some of her near Kindred with this Form of Words: Behold, take her after the Law of Moses, and the Man replies, Be thou unto me a Wife according to the Law of Moses and Israel.

A Copy of a Dowry-Bill is to be found in the Babylonian Talmud, and runs in this Form.

Upon the sixth Day of the Week, in the fourth of the Month Sivan, in the Year five thousand two hundred fifty four of the Creation of the World, according to the Computation which we use here at Mafilia, a City situated near the Sea Shore, the Bridegroom Rabbi Moses, the Son of Rabbi Jehuda, said unto the Bridewife Clarona the Daughter of Rabbi David, the Son of Rabbi Moses, a Citizen of Lisbon; Be unto me a Wife according to the Law of Moses and of Israel; and I according to the Word of God, will worship, honour, maintain and govern thee according to the Manner of the Husband among the Jews, which do worship, honour, maintain and govern their Wives faithfully. I also do bestow upon thee, the Dowry of thy Virginity, two hundred Deniers of Silver, which belong unto thee by Law; and moreover, thy Food, thy Apparel, and sufficient Necessaries; as likewise the Knowledge of thee, according to the Custom of all the Earth. Thus Clarona the Virgin rested and became a Wife to Rabbi Moses, the Son of Jehuda, the Bridegroom.

This Dowry-Bill, upon the Wedding-Day, is delivered into the Custody of the Bride, and by it she has Authority to challenge from her Husband, Food, Apparel, and the Right of the Bed.

It was a Custom among the antient Jews, to crown the married Couple. The Husband wore a Crown composed of Salt and Sulphur; the Salt was as transparent as Crystal, and with the Sulphur several Figures were drawn upon it.

In the mean Time, as this Custom was extra-ordinary
ordinary, it is hard to discover the Reason of it. It is said, that this reminded the Husband of the Sin of Sodom, whose Impurities have been severely punished, since that Land was changed into Salt and Sulphur, and it was an excellent Lesson which taught him to cleave to his Wife, and not to run after foolish Amours. The bridal Crowns were commonly of Gold made in the Form of a Tower, almost as Cybele the Mother of the Gods is represented, and a great many Empresses in Medals. The sacred Writers mention this Ceremony, *Go forth, O ye Daughters of Zion! And behold King Solomon with the Crown wherewith his Mother crowned him in the Day of his Espousals;* and 'tis probable that when Isaiah rejoices, that God had covered him with a Robe of Righteousness, as a Bridegroom decketh himself with Ornaments and as a Bride adorneth her self with Jewels, we ought to understand a Crown instead of Ornaments; for so the Seventy, who must have known the Ufe of the Expression, have translated it: *He has put a Mitre on my Head as on a Bridegroom.*

We read in the Mishnah, that this Custom of Crowning was abolished for the Bridegrooms, when the War began under Vespasian, and that of Crowns for the Brides, when Titus besieged the City: Yet I am informed, that they make Ufe of Crowns of Roses, Myrtle, and Ivy to this Day.

The Day of Marriage being appointed, the Bride prepares her self for the Celebration; upon the Marriage Eve, at the going down of the Sun, she is put into a Ciftern full of pure Water, by two discreet Matrons who are very diligent, that not an Hair of her Head appear above Water; for if any Part about her remain uncovered, she must be dipped a second Time; this Bathing, they say, ought to be very exact, because it is to supply whatever was defective in the other Circumstances of the Bride's Preparation.
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Book VI. Upon the Wedding Day, the Bride adorns her self as sumptuously as her Fortunes will allow; she is attended by Women who convey her into a Chamber, and placing her in a Seat, they plait her Hair in the most beautiful Curles, and (in Imitation of Rebekah's Modesty and Subjection) they put a Veil over her Face: This dressing of the Bride's Hair, though it may be lookt upon only as an Act of Handsome-ness and Adorning; yet their Masters teach it for an Instance of Religion; for those Words, 

And brought her unto the Man, they expound thus, 

And God brought Eve to Adam, after the same Manner that a Bride is brought to her Husband; that is, elegantly dressed, with her Hair curiously curled and plaited, and with Joy and Dancing.

The Bride was led in great Pomp to the House of her Husband, where the Marriage was usually consummated; but the Matrimonial Form was commonly dispatched in a Garden or in the open Air, where the Bride was placed under a Canopy supported by four Youths, and adorned with Jewels, according to the Quality of the married Persons, all the Company crying out with joyful Acclamations, Blessed be he that cometh. The Bride then makes three Turns about her Husband, because Jeremiah has said, The Woman shall compass the Man, and the Bridegroom makes two about her. The Company in the next Place scatter some Grains of Wheat upon the married Couple, crying Increase and multiply: The Relations throw some Pieces of Money for the Poor to scramble for. In some Places they put, some Time before hand, Barley in a Pot full of Earth, which is brought to the new married People, when it shoots, to shew them by this Symbol, that they ought to multiply speedily like Barley: It was certainly a Marriage Ceremony, for the Bridegroom to take a Cake of Barley, and to break it between him and the Bride, to intimate that they were to break
break Bread and to live together in mutual Society; which Custom, they say, is alluded to by Hosea, when he says, that He bought a Woman for an Homer, and half an Homer of Barley.

The Bride takes the right Hand, because the Psalmist says, upon thy right Hand did stand the Queen; she usually turned towards the North or South, as an Omen of happy Procreation both for the Number and Sex of their Children; and therefore the Jews, as their Doctors say, set their Beds North and South, in order to beget Male Children; the Curtains of their Beds, in order to guard them from Flies, were of a very fine Net-Work, which coming round the whole Bed, shut them in such a Manner, that they had the Benefit of the Air without being offended by the Flies which could not get through them: Perhaps the Beds of the Jewish Women, at such Times as it was a legal Uncleanness to touch them, were enclosed within a Sort of Partition, (as is to this Day practised by the Samaritans) to prevent any one’s touching them.

Then the Rabbi, that officiates, takes the Vestment called the Thaled, which hangs about the Neck and Shoulders of the Bridegroom, and puts it upon the Bride’s Head in Imitation of the Manner of Ruth’s Marriage, who said to Boaz, spread thy Skirt over thine Handmaid. The Rabbi, or the Chanter of the Synagogue, or even a Relation takes a Glass of Wine, presents it to the Bridegroom, blessing God for having created Man and Woman, forbidden Incest and ordained Marriage. It is pretended, that this Form of Benediction was given by Ezra, particularly for Betrothing; however, as it was often repeated without Scruple in this first Ceremony, the modern Rabbins never fail to repeat it in that of Marriage. After he has drunk, he puts a Ring without a Stone upon the Bride’s Finger saying, Behold thou art my Spouse, according to the Rite of Moses and of Israel. There must be
be two or three Witnesses when these Words are pronounced, and they commonly chuse Rab-

beins, tho' this is not absolutely necessary. Wine is brought a second time in a new Vessell, the Mouth whereof is narrow, if it be a Maid, and larger if it be a Widow. They chant six Benedic-
ditions, says Mr. Basnage, the Husband drinks and throws about the rest of the Wine as a Mark of Joy and Plenty. At the Conclusion, it was antiently the Custom, for the Father and Mother and the Kindred of the Woman, to pray to God that she might be fruitful, and that her Posterity might prove victorious over their E-

nemies. There was likewise a solemn Benedic-
tion made, say the Jews, in the Presence of ten grave Persons at the least; and the Blessing was pronounced by the Eldest, which was understood as a Ratification of what was agreed upon. Marriages were usually celebrated in the Night, and were fixed to a certain Day of the Week; the fourth Day of the Week was appointed for a Virgin, and for a Widow the fifth. At the Ceremony, an Epitaphalium was sung to mu-
sical Instruments in Praife of the Bridegroom and Bride. The Woman in Token of her Subjec-
tion changed her Name, and was called after her Husband; for, to impose a Name, was a Sign of Power and Authority.

Plentiful Entertainments or Collations fol-
lowed the Ceremony, and it has been said (but I think without Grounds) that they chose a Go-
vernor of the Feast of the Sacerdotal Race, who had the Super-intendency over the Dishes and the Wine, and obliged the Guests to observe all the Decorums which Religion requires; yet there were Persons appointed to break Glass Vessels in their Wedding Feasts, lest they should run into Excess, for this gave them Notice that they had drunk enough. The first Mefl that is served up to the Bride is a Hen with an Egg; the Hen is torn to Pieces the very Moment she has tasted of
of it, and the Egg is thrown at the Nose of a Chap. 36.

Christian, if there be any one there to see the Ceremomy: Seven Days was the nuptial Solemnity to continue in antient Times; they could not shorten the Days, as the Jewish Doctors say, but they might lengthen them as they did at the Marriage of Tobias, when the Wedding Feast continued fourteen Days, though according to Custom, they were bound to keep but three, the Woman being a Widow. This Feast was called the nuptial Joy, with which no other was to be intermixed; all Labour ceased as long as it continued; and there was no Sign of Mourning or Sorrow to be seen. It was of old the Custom to propose Questions and Riddles to be resolved, that the Time might not be spent merely in dull Eating and Drinking, but that there might be something to exercise and whet the Wits of the Company; and because it was not the Practice to Feast without Sacrificing, therefore it is probable that for the seven Days, they offered Sacrifices for the Prosperity of the married Couple.

Besides the Company (who were called the Children of the Wedding) there were two Paranymphs, one of the Kindred of the Bridegroom, and the other related to the Bride; the first was called his Companion, and the other her Conductor. Their Business was to attend upon them to the nuptial Chamber, where (say the Jews) they stayed all Night, and on the Morrow they received the Tokens of the Bride's Virginity, and kept them in their own Custody.


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Book VI.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The Tokens of Virginity, explained.

After a tiresom search into blind and superstitious traditions, a law established by Moses comes to be explained. If the husband, upon carnal experience with his wife, found her to have been debauched, he had the liberty to enter an action against her before the court of twenty three, who had the cognizance of this matter; it was laid, as Mr. Selden observes, in this form, Having lain with this young woman not of full age, as her husband, I found not in her the tokens of virginity, and making inquisition into the matter, it appears to me, that she hath been guilty of adultery after I had espoused her, and these are the witnesses of her guilt. Upon this accusation, the father of the damsel was to appear in her defence; for the Jews say, the mother had no power to espouse her daughter, but the father only, before she was of age; though the mother and brethren, they allow, had some power in this matter, but such, that the daughter within the time limited might make the contract void. If she had no parents alive, the judges appointed her a guardian, and Josephus says, that the next of kin were to patronise her as if they had been her parents. In her defence the witnesses who had the keeping of the sheet, in which her husband first lay with her, were to spread it before the court; if there were no signs of her virginity to be seen, she was sentenced to be stoned at the door of her father’s house, as a disgrace to her parents, who had taken no better care to preserve her chastity while she lived with them: And this was
was the Punishment of such Adulteresses, except Chap. 37. only of a Priest's Daughter, who, if she was guilti- 174 of this Crime, was burnt alive. It plainly appears, that the Woman intended by this Law, was one corrupted between the Time of her Espousals, and of her Husband's compleating the Marriage, otherwife he could not have had this capital Action against her, none being put to Death for simple Fornication. The Reason given by the Law, why she was punished with Death is, because she committed this Folly, or Wickedness, in her Father's House, where she remained after her Espousals, as in a safe Place till the Husband brought her to his own Home.

If the Judges were convinced, that the Man had accused his Wife falsely, he was to be deli-

ver'd into the Hands of the Officers, who exe-

cuted the Sentence of the Court. He was first to receive forty Stripes, save one, inflicted by a Scourge made of Thongs of an Ox's Hide, and the Woman was dismissed with a solemn Bene-
diction. Then he was amerced in a hundred She-
kels of Silver to be paid to the Father of the Dam's, as a Satisfacction for the Reproach thrown upon his Family. *Josephus* mentions no more than fifty Shekels to be paid to her Father, though the Scripture expressly says a Hundred; but it is supposed by some, that he means fifty besides her Dowry, which he was to have given her if he had put her away; which that he might save, he designed to take away her Life, and therefore he was punished double to what it would have cost him, if he had not been so wicked. This Fine was required, because he laid the most infamous Crime to the Charge of an innocent Virgin, and that out of Hatred to her and Love to his Money; for if he would have put her away according to the Law of Di-

vorce, no Man could have hinder'd him; but then, he must have paid her fifty Shekels, which they take to be the Dowry of Virgins. To keep which
which to himself and be rid of her, he brought this scandalous Action against her, for which he was thus justly punished. But besides this Infliction upon his Body and his Purse, he was deprived of the common Benefit which all Men had who did not like their Wives, which was to sue out a Divorce. Upon this Occasion Mai- monides calls upon his Readers to admire the wife Ordination of God, which appears in his Judgments as well as in his Works. For because this Man took away his Wife's Reputation, therefore God ordered him to be rendered vile by being whipt; and because he basely designed to save her Dowry of fifty Shekels, he ordered him to be amerced as much more; and because he indulged his Lust and fought nothing but his Pleasure, therefore he was bound to keep her as long as he lived.

But this Law meets with a quite different Con- struction from some Hebrew Writers, who will have it to signify no more, than that the Accu- sation against the Woman was to be support- ed by Witnesses of her Adultery, and her De- fence to be made by contrary Witnesses, who en- deavoured to disprove the Testimony that was brought against her; for say they, though such Tokens of Virginity, as are commonly understood by the Words of the Law, might always be found in those Countries, especially in such Vir- gins as the Jews say were here meant, who were under thirteen Years of Age, yet there are weighty Reasons to incline us to think, that no Man of Sense would bring such an Action against his Wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his Cause was right or wrong, if these were the Evidences whereby it was to be tried. For if he accused her falsely, he knew her Friends were able to produce the Sheet wherein they lay when they were married, with such Tokens up- on it, as would disgrace him and render him guilty of Defamation; and if he had a just Ground
to accuse her, because he knew they could produce no such Tokens, yet this was no Proof he had been vitiated since he was espoused to him, for the might have been corrupted before; and then he could not attain his End, which was to be rid of her, not by way of Divorce (for then he must have given her a Dowry which he was desirous to save) but by having her put to Death as an Adulteress, which certainly was the present Case. Such Reasons as these have constrained the Jews to understand these Words, not according to the very Letter of them, but figuratively of such Witnesses produced by her Parents, as convinced the other of Falsity so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a Piece of Cloth that is unfolded, and laid before Mens Eyes to view it. And they think the Hebrew Word Simlah, which we translate the Sheet, favours this Exposition; for it never signifies a Sheet or Linen Cloth (which is usually called Sadin) but such as Men's Garments are made of, which is commonly Woollen and not Linen. So that if this Interpretation be allowed, the Sense must be; They shall produce evident Proofs, and lay them before the Court like a Piece of Cloth which is spread, for all that please to look upon it. But this Opinion has few Followers, and the learned may judge as they think fit.
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Book. VI.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The Consummation and Duties of Marriage. A new married Man exempt from going to the Wars.

When the Marriage is consummated, the Bridegroom is obliged to leave the Bed, and come not near his Wife for a certain time. There are five Days in every Month in which the Wife must advertize her Husband, that it is not lawful to touch her, and then he does not sit near her, nor eat upon the same Plate, nor drink in the same Glass; afterwards she must bathe in running Water, and the Bath would be invalid, if she wore so much as a Ring, that hindered the Water from touching any part of her Body, for she ought to be washed from Head to Foot: There are some who superintend these Baths, to see if the Woman be over Head and Ears in Water. This Custom of refraining from their Wives, is founded upon a Law of Moses, which obliges a Woman under her monthly Flux, to be separated from her Husband and the Sanctuary for seven Days; but enough has been said of this, in another Part of these Antiquities.

Infinite are the Niceties, found out by the Rabbins, in regulating the Duties of married Persons. The Woman owed to her Husband Love, Honour, and Obedience, and if she proved rebellious and refractory, he had a Power to lessen every Day a Penny of her Portion; the Husband paid no more than half the Fine if he abused his Wife: She was obliged to labour in the woollen Manufacture to avoid Idleness, and to attend to the Concerns of her Family; he was bound to find Remedies for her in her Sickness, to redeem her
her being Captive, to bury her when dead, to
nourish her out of his own Goods, to keep her
Daughters till they were married, to suffer her
Sons to inherit, and to provide a House for her
in her Widowhood. They have even attempted
to regulate the Conjugal Duties, by Rules immo-
dest and ridiculous, \textit{Otio vacantes quotidie, mecha-
nicus operarius bis in hebdomade; Asinarius qui
farcinulas necitat, semel; qui portat per Camelos semel
in Mensa; Nauta semel in dimidio Anni, \\textit{etc.}} Maimonides upon this Subject remarks thus, “Know
thou, that it is in the Power of the Wife to
retain her Husband from going to Sea, or into
the Army, unless it be near at hand, left she
should be defrauded of the Rights of her Bed.
She may also restrain him from passing from
one Work to another, left her due Benevolence
should be thereby diminished; the Study of the
Law only excepted.

And this is perfectly consistant with the Indul-
gence allowed by the Law of Moses, \textit{which per-
mits a Man, when he has taken a new Wife, to
study at home for a whole Year, where he is ex-
empt from going to the War, and from executing
any publick Employment, that might occasion his
Absence; only the Jews make a Difference be-
tween a War by divine Commandment, and one
undertaken voluntarily; unto the former of which,
they conceive, this Immunity doth not extend,
but only to the latter. They interpret this Law
either of a Man who had espoused a Wife, and
had not yet brought her Home, or of one that
had but lately completed his Marriage; and whe-
ther he had married a Widow or a Virgin, an
old Woman, or a Young, it was the same thing;
and they extend it even to him who had married
his Brother’s Wife, but not to him who had mar-
ried a Person prohibited to him by the Law; or
him that took his Wife again, whom he had for-
merly put away, because she was not a new Wife,
as the Phrase is. This Privilege was a great Se-

\textit{security}
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Book VI. Security to Conjugal Love, which had time to settle into a stable Affection, by an uninterrupted Conversation together at the beginning; and the Jews were so favorable in this Matter, that they say, if five Brethren were in the War together, and one of them was slain, leaving a Widow, without Issue, all the remaining four returned Home; because every one of them in order, in case those before him refused, was to raise up Seed to his Brother deceased.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Of Child-birth. The Nursing, the Habit, and Education of Children.

After Marriage, the barren Womb was esteemed not only a Reproach, but a Curse; and to want Children was to be civilly dead, according to the old Proverb among the Jews, A Man childless, is lifeless; and for the better Security of Propagation, the Husbands not only avoid conversing with their Wives, when they have the Custom of Women upon them, but all the time they are breeding, and as long as they continue to suckle their Children.

Moses in his Laws has prescribed nothing concerning the Rites of Child-birth, which among the Modern Jews are perfectly Enthusiastic and Diabolical; they consist of Charms and Conjurations, which are equally horrid, and ridiculous to mention. The Women among the Hebrews, no doubt, were decent and laudable in their Travels, at their Delivery they were placed upon Stools or Seats, purposely contrived for them to sit on, that the Midwives might better do their Office. Their Infants they nursed at their own Breasts,

Exod. i 16.
Breasts, unless some avoidable necessity required otherwise; and they made a publick Feast at the weaning of their Children. They used them tenderly till they were about twelve Years old, and then they were placed to that Art or Profession, by which they were to live: And says the Tradition when they were so old, they inured them to fasting, that they might be able to fast upon the Day of Atonement. It is a received Doctrine in the Jewish Schools, that if Children were born lame, or blind, or defective, it was a Punishment inflicted for the Sin of their Parents, who had been remiss, in discharging some of the legal Ordinances; especially in some particular Rites of Cleansing and Purification.

The Women among the later Jews, are not allowed to go with open Breasts during the time of Nursing, nor to observe the publick Fast, nor to expose their tender Sucklings to the Sun or Moon; nor when the Child is able, do they permit it to go bare headed out of doors, because on a Time, one of their Masters seeing a Child in this Posture, pronounced it unlawfully begotten, and that his Mother was either menstruous or unchaste in her Embraces. They usually girdle their Children as soon as their Bodies will endure it, and when they are grown up, none of them go ungirt to the Synagogues; for if they should do so, they think that not only thereby the Benefit of the Prayers is forfeited, but also the Divine Displeasure is provoked; hence is that Saying, Ungirt, Unblessed: There is another Proverb common among them, that there is no Fruit at Autumn, where there is no Budding in the Spring, which the Jews apply to the Education of their Children; whose riper Years they hope to have pious and well-governed, when their tender Minds are duly instructed in Religion and Virtue. The Law of Moses has bound it upon Parents to use their utmost Diligence, to infill the Divine Laws into the Minds of their Youth; particularly this Principle,
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Deut. vi. 4.

ciple, that there is but one God, and to inspire
them with a Fear and Love of his sublime Ma-
jefty: The Father was to instruct the Sons, and
the Mother the Daughters; this great Duty they
were to inculcate at Home and Abroad, Night
and Day; from whence the Jews have made this
one of their Affirmative Precepts, that twice a
Day they should recite these Words, *Hear O
Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*; which
is a very dilute Sense of this Precept, where-
in Moses requires not merely their Saying these
Words, (in which there might be a great deal
of Superflition,) but taking all Opportunities
to imprint them upon the Minds and Hearts of
their Children.

The Jewish Writings give this Account of the
Method of Institution, made use of in the Edu-
cation of their Children. As soon as they were
able to pronounce, they are taught such Sen-
tences of Holy Writ, as seem to favour their
Religion, and to infuse into them the Seeds of
Piety; and to this purpose, they frequently use
the Exhortation of Solomon, *Catechize a Child in
the Way that he should walk, when he is young,
and his old Age will not depart from it.* And be-
cause the Sabbath is appointed for the more solemn
Celebration and Instruction in religious Rites, and
ordained to be one Character, whereby the He-
brews are distinguished from all other People;
therefore the Jews are signally diligent, to implant
upon their Children a great Veneration for this
Festival: They employ the Morning and Even-
ing of this *Queen of Feasts,* (as the Rabbins call
the Sabbath) in teaching their Children several
pious Forms of saluting their Parents; in which
Greetings, they allow not their Children to use
the Name of God, till they are seven Years old;
that they might retain a greater Regard for that
Name which is Holy and Reverend; and there-
fore the first Salutations of the Children, are
plainly. *I wish you a good Sabbath, may you have
a good Day.*
Being perfect in this decent way of Salutation, they are next instructed in the Elements of Learning; and their first Lessons are concerning the Name and Figure of the Hebrew Letters, in which they use this Method: First, upon a smooth Stone or Board, they cast two, or more Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, and inform the Child of the Name and Figure of it, and when the Child is able to pronounce these Letters, they proceed to more, according to the Capacity and Towardness of the Scholar; and so forward till the whole Alphabet be run over. When this Task is finished, the Children are taught to join their Letters, into short and easy Syllables; and having attained to read a little, they are put into the first Book of Moses, and so pass through the whole Pentateuch. When they are taught to Write, there is a Draught of very large Letters, made upon a fair Paper, which they imitate upon a thin Paper laid upon it.

When the Parents have grounded their Children at Home, in the prelatory Rudiments, they send them to School, and every Morning before they go, it is the Mother's Office to provide them something to eat, which is usually sweetned with Honey or Sugar, and serves them both for Breakfast, and for Instruction; for at giving the Child this sweet Morsel, she uses these Words, *As this is sweet to thy Palate, so let Learning be sweet to thy Mind.* And she gives directions how he should behave himself at School, as that he is to use no filthy Words, but such as he reads in the Law; because God loves *clean Lips*, pure and wholesome Discourse, and that all Communication ought to be agreeable to the Divine Word; next, that the Child must not spend his Time in idle Talk, to his own hindrance, or to his fellows; with other such Directions, as a Mother's Care and Affection shall suggest. At five Years old, the Children commonly go to School, where they spend five Years in learning the Pentateuch; and at ten Years old.
old they are put (if they prove towardly) to read
the Mischna, and some select Parts of the Talmud;
which contain the Body of their Institutes. Du-
ing the time that the Boy is learning the five
Books, he is called the Son of the Law, and when
he is thirteen Years old, he is stiled, the Son of
the Precept; for now the Youth receives the
Passover, and is purified: Until he comes to be
a Son of the Precept, the Father stands chargeable
for all his Miscarriages, but at thirteen Years old,
the Lad being supposed to be able to discern Vir-
tue from Vice, and Good from Evil, he is bound
to answer for his own Faults. Therefore, the
Father having before a Synagogue of ten antient
Jews, declared that his Son, whom he there pro-
duces, has been well instructed in the Law, and
understands the general Decisions of the Mischna,
and the Talmud, and that he can repeat the daily
Prayers; he lets them know, that he no longer
charges himself with his Crimes, but he leaves
him to answer for himself, and to be punished if
he shall be delinquent against the Commandments.
At fifteen, he is obliged to learn the Gemara, at
eighteen he is to marry, and at twenty, he is to
buy, and sell, and act for himself.

The Daughters are instructed by the Mother,
with great Care, in the Business that belongs to
their Sex, they were seldom allowed to go abroad;
and upon this Account, a Daughter in the Hebrew
Language, is called Alma, which signifies as much
as a Person concealed, and close confined.
The Duties of Children to their Parents, and of Parents to their Children. The Punishment of a Rebellious Son.

The Duty of Children to Parents, is founded upon the Law of Nature, and as such enjoined in the Institutions of Moses; it is a Duty of so great Concernment, that it is taught and placed immediately after those Precepts, which peculiarly relate to divine Worship; intimating, that next to the Majesty of God, our Parents are to be honoured with that Reverence, Love, Obedience, and Support, that belongs to them. In one Place of the Law, Children are commanded to honour their Father, and their Mother; in another, to fear their Mother and their Father; the Difference of which Expression, signifies (says Maimonides,) that no Distinction ought to be made between them, but they are both equally to be honoured and reverenced. The Breach of this Command is punished with Death by the Law of Moses, and long Life, which is the greatest Worldly Blessing, is promised to the Dutiful and Obedient, and that in their own Country; which God had peculiarly inriched with abundant Marks of his Care and Favour. The proper Expressions of Fear and Reverence, are, (according to the Rabbins,) not to fit in their Seats, nor to contradict them in any thing they say, much less to cavil against them; nor to call them by their proper Names, but to add the Title of Sir, &c. as we speak, or the like: The Signs of Honour are, not to sit down in their Presence, to provide them Necessaries, if they fall into Poverty; to clothe them, to cover them, to lead them in and out,
Now to defeat the Force of this Precept, the Pharisees, and the Masters of the Traditions had invented two Devices, as wicked as they were ridiculous; the one was, that a Father was to be made no Account of, in comparison of a Rabbin, who taught them the Law; the other, that if a Son bound himself by a Vow or Execration not to relieve his Parents, he was released from all obligation to do so; for whatever was included under his Vow, was utterly unlawful to be applied to the Support of his Parents, it was as unlawful as Corban; which being consecrated, must not be touched, or employed to any other uses. The plain Meaning, says Dr. Hammond, is this, A Parent being in Want, requires Relief of his Son, the Son answers, that he hath vowed he will not, and so that to him it remains not lawful to relieve him; and the Pharisees approve of this Practice, that he may thus evacuate his Duty to his Parents; and though quite contrary to this Precept of honouring and relieving them, yet it was by them thought obligatory to the frustrating of that Commandment: But that Opinion (as the Annotator goes on) is more ordinarily received by the Antients, which Origen had from a Hebrew, and is thus explained by Theophylact; The Pharisees persuading Children to give nothing to their Parents, but to consecrate all to the Treasury of the Temple, taught them to say, O Father, that which thou desirest to be profited by me, that is relieved, is a Gift that is consecrated to the Temple; and so they divided with the Children, all that they had, and the poor old Parents were left without any Relief in their old Age. This Interpretation is probable also, yet seems not to be agreeable to the Jewish Practice; for among them appears no Footsteps of devoting to God, or consecrating in this Matter.
But though the Doctors of the Jews have given a Toleration to unnatural Children, who refuse Sustenance to their Parents, overwhelmed with Age and Poverty, yet they have judicial Laws against the Fathers who refuse to perform the Duties of Nature, in which they distinguish the Age of the Children. When they are under six Years of Age, the Judge compels the Father to maintain them, whether he be rich, or poor, willing, or unwilling; after this Age the Father is cited, and it is represented to him, that he is crueler than the savage Beasts that provide for their Young. If he yield not to those Remonstrances, an Estimate is taken of his Goods, and he is obliged to give to his Children an Alms, in Proportion to the Value of his Estate; which Charity is employed to breed up the Children: Nor is the Distinction of Age the only thing remarkable in this Custom, but there are two Things more observable; the first, that the Father is by the Law dispensed with maintaining his Children after six Years old, and he does it afterwards only by way of Alms. Secondly, that the Law of Charity is more extensive than the Law of Nature, since this Father, who is dispensed with maintaining his Son at six Years old, is forced by Stripes to give him an Alms, because it is one of the affirmative Precepts, which admits of no Distinction of Sex, or Age; and for the Performance whereof, Recourse may be had to Violence and Scourging.

The Honour due to Parents, is guarded by severe Penalties in the Levitical Law: If a Son presumed to strike his Father, or his Mother, so as to wound them, and to make the Blood come, or to leave a Mark of the Stroke, by making the Flesh black and blue, he was put to Death, (strangled say the Hebrews,) by the Sentence of the Judge; there being a competent Witness of the Fact, as in other Cases: The giving them lowly Words, or making Mouths at them, which signified
fied Contempt, was punished also with Whipping; there was no occasion to say any thing of killing them, for all wilful Murder was capital, and punished with Death. This Crime was so horrid, that the Laws of most Nations made no Provision against it; Solon, it is observed, made no Law against it, because it was supposed, that no Man could be so wicked; nor was this Sin known among the Persians, as Herodotus says, in his Days, nor is there any mention of it in the Law of the twelve Tables, among the Romans: But in after Times there were most severe Laws enacted against Parricide; and Plato, particularly, would have him that killed either Father or Mother, Brethren, or Children, not only to be put to Death, but to be disgraced after his Execution, by throwing his dead Body naked, into a common Place, without the City, where all the Magistrates in the Name of the People, should every one throw a Stone at his Head, and then carrying him out of the Coasts, leave him there without Burial. But nothing of this is to be found in the Jewish Pandects.

To curse a Father or Mother was likewise capital, by Stoning; and this Law the Hebrews interpret to concern those who cursed their dead Parents, no less than those who cursed them when they were alive; but not without Premonition and Witnesses as in other capital Offences; and not unless they cursed their Parents by some proper Name of God, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish Doctors; otherwise he was only scourged. This, and the preceding Law, appointed Death as the Punishment of such Crimes, because they were a Sign (says Maimonides) of a desperate Malice, and audacious Wickedness; being a Subversion of that domestic Order, which is a principal Part of good Government.

A stubborn and rebellious Son was to be stoned to Death; by a stubborn Son, the Jews understand...
Hebræus Republick.

understand one that will not do what he is bidden, and by a rebellious One, that does what he is forbidden; if such a One behaved not only un- dutifully but perversely to them, and with such Contempt of their Authority as argued, that he had not only lost all filial Affection and Rever- ence, but resolved, after frequent Admonitions and Corrections, if he could, to ruin and undo his Parents, they might appeal to the Court of Justice, and desire Officers might be sent to apprehend him; when they had brought him, the Judges examined the Parents, and their Testimony alone seems to be sufficient to convict him without any further Evidence. This Prosecu- tion, say the Jews, relates only to a Son, that was no less than thirteen Years Old and a Day, and so might be presumed to know his Duty, and be capable of good Counsel and Advice: They say further, that a Daughter was not in- cluded under this Law, because she was unable to do so much Mischief to a Family as a wick- ed Son was. The Matter of Complaint was, that the Son was a Glutton and Drunkard, had abandoned all Reverence and Regard for his Parents, and was so profligate and debauched, that he would not only spend their Estate, if he had it, but was inclined to kill them that he might get it the sooner into his own Hands. It is observed, that the Sins of Gluttony and Drunk- enness are no where made capital by the Law of Moses, but when they were attended with re- bellious Disobedience to Parents; who say the Hebrew Doctors were to bring Witnesses, that this Son had stolen some of their Goods and sold them, that he might spend the Money in these Vices, under which others are comprehended that usually go along with them. And that he had done this after he had been admonished and chastized, so that he was not to be punished as this Law at last prescribes, till he was grown incor- rigible; for they say the Court was first to or- der
der him to be whipt, and not to proceed further, till upon a new Complaint it was proved, that he had run into the same riotous Courses since that Punishment; then upon this second Testimony, as they called it, the Court gave Sentence against him that he should be stoned to Death; unless the Parents, before the Sentence was pronounced, declared they gave him their Pardon. The Offender, says Josephus, was drag'd out of the City, in the Sight of all the People, and there executed; there he was to lye as a publick Spectacle till the Evening, and there he was buried; which was the Practice observed to Criminals, who were condemned and suffered by the Courts of Justice. The Punishment of such Children, as are here described, was very severe among other Nations, particularly among the Romans, after the Power was taken from Parents to sell them or put them to Death, and the Cenfure of them committed to the Magistrates. No Wonder therefore, that Moses ordained this Penalty, when a Son was come to such a Degree of profligate Wickedness, that he endeavoured to ruin and destroy his Parents; and this Severity, some States have thought fit to follow in these latter Ages; for David Chytreus says, that he himself saw an Example of it at Zurich, in the Year one thousand five hundred and fifty, where a disobedient Son was beheaded, who had cursed his Mother and beaten her almost to Death.

CHAP.
CHAP. XLI.

The Power of Parents over their Children; the Privileges of the First-born; the Rights of Inheritance and Succession among the Hebrews.

The paternal Power, among the antient Romans, was so great, that they might put their Children to Death as they did their Slaves, without any Process before a Magistrate; and this some have conceived to be a natural Right, and imagined that God would not have commanded Abraham to kill his Son, but that it was a Part of his inherent Power; however this be, the Hebrews we find were not long intrusted with it, but it was committed to the publick Judges as the most disinterested Persons; yet there is Reason to believe, that they had a Right to sell their Children in Cases of extreme Poverty and Distress. This seems to appear from the Story of the poor Widow that cried after the Prophet Elipha, that the Creditor was come to take away her two Sons for Bondsmen, because she was not able to pay her Husband's Debts. The learned Huetius thinks, that from the Jews this Custom was propagated to the Athenians, and from them to the Romans; and the Hebrew Doctors have a Fancy that this Prophet was Obadiab; and that the Creditor was Jebo-ram the Son of Ahab, which are Notions utterly ungrounded.

Among the Children, the eldest Son was invested with peculiar Privileges; particularly, he had a Right to a double Portion of his Father's Estate, that is, of all that he was in Possession of.
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. of when he died, but not (as Mr. Selden shews to be the Opinion of the Jewish Lawyers) of that which was his in Reversion after his Death. And this Claim was so unalterable, that the Father had no Power to disinherit him; for the Law provides, that if a Man had two Wives, and the first was less beloved than the second; the Son of her who had his first Love was to enjoy the Effects of it, and entitled to a double Portion of all that he had; and the Reason given is, because he was begot in his full Vigour, and had a Right by antient Custom antecedent to the Law, which made the First-born the Head of the Family, and gave him as much more as any of his Brethren of the Estate belonging to it, that he might be able to maintain and support the Dignity of it. A Son born after the Death of his Father was excluded from this Privilege, but if there was no Son, and the Inheritance was to be equally divided among the Daughters, the eldest Daughter had no Right to a double Share of the Estate.

The Jews commonly take Notice of three Prerogatives belonging to the First-born; a double Part of the Inheritance, the Priesthood and the Kingdom (as they speak) that is, the principal Authority among his Brethren; the first of these, says the Chaldee Paraphrast, was given to Joseph, the second to Levi, and the third to Judah, because Reuben had forfeited all the Rights of his Primogeniture by his Incest with his Father's Wife; but Mr. Selden (who gives a full Account of the Jews Opinion in this Matter) acknowledges, that the Priesthood was not confined to the First-born before the Law, as appears by Abel's offering up Sacrifice as well as Cain, and Moses being a Priest as well as Aaron, unless by this Observation we understand the Office of the chief Priest; nor is it true that the First-born always succeeded in the Kingdom, as appears evidently from the regal Table of that Nation.

However,
However, the First-born among the Old Hebrews were eminently distinguished, as it were, by a natural Right from the rest of the Children, otherwise it could not have been so criminal in Esau, to have sold the Prerogative of his Birthright; by this, among other Privileges, he was entitled to a more than ordinary Blessing from his dying Father; he went in a richer Habit as the Heir of the Family, between whom and the other Sons, the Affection of the Parents usually made a Difference in their Apparel. He sat at the Table next to his Father, and enjoyed other Advantages, that gave him a Sort of Authority among his Brothers and Sisters, and the Servants of the Family. The other Sons, if there were any, had their equal Share in the paternal Estate, and the Daughters might have Legacies left them in Money and moveable Goods, which being of his own getting, the Father might dispose of them by his Will to whom he pleased.

If there were no Son, the Inheritance was to pass unto the Daughter, or equally to all the Daughters, and this Practice was observed before it was injoined by a Law, at the first Division of the Land of Canaan: For Zelophehad dying in the Wilderness, being one of those that were number'd to have a Portion in the Land, left behind him no more than three Daughters; who observing, that only Males from twenty Years Old were number'd, apprehended that they being Females, were excluded from having any Inheritance among the Israelites, and so their Family would be extinguished. Under this Difficulty they apply to Moses, who after he had enquired of God; declared, that they were Heiresses to their dead Father and represented his Person, and therefore they justly put in their Claim, and had their Allotment in the Land according to this Decision. This special Case afterwards passed into a general Law, and gave Occasion to the principal
principal Rules, that relate to the Succession to the Inheritances in the Hebrew Republick.

It was justly observed by Maimonides, that what a Man leaves should come to his Family, and to those that are next of Kin to him; because, says he, the nearer any Person is to us, we are inclined by natural Affection, to have the greater Regard to him: Upon a Default therefore of Daughters, the Estate passed to the Brethren of the deceased, unless the Father was alive, who undoubtedly, the Jews say, was the next Heir, but not mentioned because it was unnecessary, or, as some conceive, because it would have been a melancholy Thing to speak of a Father's burying all his Children without Issue. This Law is understood by the Hebrew Doctors, as if Moses had said, If he have no Daughter, he shall give his Inheritance to the next of his Kindred, to his Father for Instance, and afterwards he shall give it to his Brethren, that is, the Children of his Father; and the same is to be said of the Grand-Children, unto whom the Brethren of a Father dying without Issue are Heirs; for the Grand-Father stands in the same Relation to a Father, that a Father doth to his Son.

If his Father has no Brethren, says the Law, Then ye shall give it to his Kinsman, that is next of Kin to him of his Family, and he shall possess it; that is, to his Brother's Children, or to those who are descended from them, or from his Fathers Brethren; but no Consideration was to be had of his Mother's Kindred (as the Jewish Lawyers say) who could never be capable of the Inheritance; which they gather, not only from these Words of the Law, which determine the Inheritance to his Family (that is, the Family of the Father before mentioned, not to the Family of the Mother), but from the frequent Mention of the Father of Families, or rather Kindreds of the Fathers, to be found in the Books of Moses, Chronicles, Ezra, and other Places of Scripture; from whence arose
this solemn Maxim of the Talmudists; The Family or Kindred of the Mother is never called by the Name of Kindred; that is, it has not the Effect of a Kindred, in Succession to Inheritances; and this is what Mr. Selden observes out of the old Book Siphri, that Families follow the Fathers. This Author has given an Example drawn up by Maimonides of such a Succession out of the holy Scriptures; Amram had two Sons, Aaron and Moses; if they had both died without Issue Miriam their Sister had inherited; and if she had died in like manner, the Inheritance of the Family would have reverted to Koath the Father of Amram, or he being dead to his three Sons the Brethren of Amram, viz. Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel, as the Heirs of Kohath; and there would have been no Consideration of Primogeniture, both because none of them was the First-born, and because the Inheritance was not in the Possession of his Father at the Time of his Death.

This was ordained as a Statute of Judgment among the Israelites, as a Law whereby to determine the Right of Succession in future Times, and to be observed inviolably; so that no Father should have Power to make any other Settlement; but if either by Word or Writing he declared his Will to be that his Son should not inherit, his Act was null and void, as the Jewish Lawyers resolve, from the Title of the Law which was called a Statute of Judgment, that is, a Rule whereby to judge of Succession into Inheritances; and consequently if a Man had no Son, and made a Will in Prejudice of his Daughter or his Brethren, it had no Force, because it was expressly contrary to this Law.
C H A P. XLII.

The Law of Servants. Of the Redemption, and Manumission of Servants. The Rite of Boring the Ear through with an Awl.

The Servants in the Hebrew Republick, were commonly either such as were Jews by Descent, or were originally Gentiles; and afterwards became Proselytes wholly to the Religion of their Masters, or at least renounced Idolatry, and conformed to the Precepts of Noab. A Hebrew might come into a State of Servitude three Ways: He might either sell himself by reason of Poverty, or he might be sold by the Court of Judgment, as in a Case of Theft, for which he was unable to make Satisfaction; or he might be sold by his Parents, to relieve them in their Distress. It was unlawful for a Man to sell himself, till his Poverty became extreme, and he had nothing left; but was obliged to preserve his Life, by the Price that was given for him. No Man (says Maimonides) might sell himself to lay up the Money, or to buy Goods, or to pay his Debts, but merely that he might get Bread to eat; neither was it lawful as long as he had so much as a Garment left. A Hebrew was not to sell himself to a Proselyte or to a Gentile, but to one of his own Nation, who was bound to treat him kindly, not as a Slave, or as a Captive taken in the Wars, over whom he had an absolute Dominion; but he was to be used as a hired Servant, who had hired himself for Wages, for a time, and then was at his own Disposal again: If the Master used him rigorously, the Servant might complain, and procu
Hebrew Republick.

Chap. 42.

Hebrew was to be discharged from his Servitude upon the seventh Year from the time of his Sale, he was to serve six complete Years, unless the Jubilee happened to intervene, then every one was set free, though he had not served so long.

If a Hebrew sold himself to a Profession, or a Gentile, (which he ought not to do) the Sale was good, but he had the same Benefit of being redeemed, as if he had been sold to one of his own Nation; any Man of his Family might redeem him; or if after his Sale an Estate had fallen to him, he might redeem himself, and his Master could not refuse his Dismission. The Method was, to compute how long he had served, and what time was still behind, and what Price was paid for him; and then according to the Number of Years gone, and to come, the Master was to make his Demands. The Service he had done was to be valued as the Labour of an Hireling, (who worked for so much by the Day or Year,) and deducting that from the Price which was given for him, the remainder was the Price of his Redemption. If he had served but a few Years, and there were many to come before the Jubilee, then less was to be deducted from what his Master gave for him, and the Price of his Redemption was higher; but if there remained but few Years, less was to be given for his Redemption, because he had been a long time in his Master's Service. It is evident, that a Servant sold to a Professor, had not the Benefit of being discharged the seventh Year as Hebrew Servants, who served Hebrew Masters had; for it had been unequal if Hebrews sold to Professors or Strangers, had been released from their Service so soon; when the Children of Professors, sold to Hebrews, were to be their Inheritance for ever; it was more reasonable (and therefore enacted) that the Hebrews sold to Professors,
felytes, should not be free till the Year of Jubilee, unless they were redeemed by themselves, or by their Friends. A Prosfylete was bound, when he bought a Hebrew Servant, to maintain his Family while he served him, as the Hebrews were bound to do, when they bought one of their own Nation.

To prevent the Cruelty of Masters over their Servants, the Law provided, that if a Master struck out the Eye, or the Tooth of a Servant, he had a Right to his Freedom, and could demand his Liberty: It is but reasonable, that this Privilege should extend to all Servants, though of another Nation, not merely to those who were Jews; and so Maimonides seems to allow, when he says, This is a Precept of Pity and Mercy to poor Wretches, who should not be any longer afflicted with Servitude, when they have lost a Member of their Body. And therefore the common Resolution of their Doctors is very cruel, that Gentile Servants (whom they call Canaanites) who were not circumcised, should not have the Benefit of this Law; for they thus distinguish Servants of another Nation: Some were circumcised, and baptized, others still remained Gentiles, or were only Prosflytes of the Gate; the former kind might be set free three Ways, by being redeemed by a Price, paid by themselves or any other Friend, by Manumission, and by Virtue of this Law, upon the Loss of any Member; for though only an Eye or a Tooth be mentioned, yet all other principal Members of the Body are included; which being mutilated, cannot be repaired, which they reckon to be four and twenty in all. If they did not dismiss such a Servant thus maimed, the Court of Judgment, upon an Appeal to it, compelled them to give him his Liberty, with a Certificate of it; but the second Sort of Gentile Servants, could be made free, only by the two first Ways, having (according to
this Doctrine) no manner of Advantage from the Indulgence of this Law.

The Court of Judgment had Power to fell a Thief, that was unable to make Satisfaction to the Person that received the Damage, and he was to be a Servant for six Years; but this Sale, they say, did not extend to both Sexes, for a Woman was not to be sold for Theft: Not but that his Servitude might end sooner, by Manumission, or Redemption, or by the Death of his Master, if he were a Gentile or a Proselyte; or if he were an Hebrew his Death put an end to it, in case he had no Son. His Master also was bound to maintain his Wife and Children (if he had any) all the Time, giving them Food and Raiment, and a Dwelling, though they were not to be his Servants: If the Man was single, so he was to depart; but if he was married when he was sold, as the Master was not to let his Wife and Children want the Necessaries of Life, while he continued his Slave, so when he was free, he was not to meddle with them, or to detain them from their Father, or their Husband. Unto such a Servant as this, his Master might give a Gentile Maid to his Wife, (and no other Hebrew but such as he might marry a Gentile,) that he might beget Children of her, who were to be the Master's Servants or Slaves for ever. The Hebrew Doctors say, that the Masters could not do this, unless such a Servant had a lawful Wife and Children before of his own, who might not be kept from him; but he might get Children for himself as well as for his Master, who could not impose upon him more than one Maid Servant, to be his Wife. He that sold himself was not subject to this Law; but as his Master could not force a Wife of this Sort upon him, so neither was he bound when the Servant went free, to bestow any Gift upon him; which was due only to him that was sold by the Court for Theft. After the Expiration of six Years, the Master was allowed to
to furnish such a Servant with what was necessary for his comfortable Subsistence, and to set him up in the World, for all he got during his Service was his Master's; and says the Law, he was worth a double hired Servant who served at most for three Years only, and had Wages paid him all the Time, whereas he had served twice as long, and for nothing; so that considering what Wages he gave the other, and how small a Price, perhaps, the Master paid for this, he would find himself sufficiently a Gainer, and therefore should think it no hardship to give him a Gratuity, when he went away. But this is to be understood of such as went out free, after they had served six Years, not of those who were redeemed by their Friends, or redeemed themselves with their own Money; for such might be supposed to have no Occasion for their Master's Kindness, as they had, who had nothing to help them when they were out of their Slavery. The Law obliged the Master to furnish the Servant liberally out of his Flock, out of his Floor, and out of his Winepress; no certain Measure is prescribed to his Bounty, but every one is left to express his Affection freely; and the Hebrew Doctors have determined, that the Master is obliged to give the Servant at the least thirty Shekels of Silver.

It must be observed, that the Wife of such a Servant was a Slave as well as himself when he married her, and she was given to Wife merely that he might beget Slaves of her; who therefore continued with the Master as well as their Mother, when the Man had his Liberty; for they were not so much his, as his Master's Goods, who had such a Power over them, that he might circumcise them as he did his own Children, without their Consent. But if the Love of the Man to such a Wife and Children, (who were not properly his own) was greater than his love of Liberty, which made him still desire their Company, and choose to stay with his Master after his
his six Years Service was expired, and if the Master had a mutual Affection to the Servant, he was obliged to bring his Slave before the Court of Justice, that it might appear, he was not fraudulently or forcibly detained against the Law, but at his own Desire; and when the Case had been heard, and the Judges had given Sentence, the Master was to bring him to the Door, or the Door-post of his House, and there to fix him, by boring his Ear through with an Awl: Thus was he fastened to his House, and might not step over the Threshold, without leave of his Master, but to be obedient to his Will, till his Death, (for his Son could not detain him, when his Father was dead) or till the Year of Jubilee; unless he chose to release him, or he was redeemed. This is to be understood, only of a Servant that was sold by the Court, not of him that sold himself; and though the Hebrews take this to have been a Mark of Infamy, set upon a Man who chose Servitude before Liberty; yet it being his Choice out of Love to his Master, it cannot be supposed that they intended by this Act to disgrace him; it rather seems to be a solemn Devoting him to his Master’s Service, which was done, it is probable, in the Presence of the Judges. This Custom of boring the Ears of Slaves, was, as the learned Bochart observes, the common Practice in Syria, and Arabia for many Ages. This Ceremony, if we believe the Hebrew Doctors, was Hierozonic, not used to Maid Servants, who were willing to stay with their Masters, they only addicted themselves in a solemn Form of Words, to their Service for ever.

In Servitude (lays the Talmud,) there are three Differences; He that seloth himself, is sold for six Years, or more than six; he that is sold by the Sanhedrim, is sold for six Years only, he that seloth himself, is not bored through the Ear with an Awl; he that is sold by the Sanhedrim, is bored through; he that seloth himself, they provide
provide no Viaticum for him; one fold by the Sanhedrim they do provide for; a Man that fel-leth himself, his Master cannot give him a Canaanitish Handmaid to Wife; to him that is fold by the Sanhedrim he may.

C H A P. XLIII.

The Selling of Children for Servants; the Case of a Maiden Sold. The buying of Slaves of other Nations.

Besides the two former Sort of Persons fold to be Servants, there was a third, which were Children fold into Servitude by their Parents; the Case of a Son was much the same with that of a poor Hebrew (who fold himself) but a Daughter was favour’d with better Conditions, which are thus explain’d by the Jewish Writers. She was to be a Virgin under Age, that is less than twelve Years Old and a Day; if she was more than that, it was not lawful for the Father to sell her, and when she came to be of Age it put an end to her Servitude, as well as the Year of Jubilee did, or Redemption, or the Death of her Master; besides, her Father might not sell her, unless he were reduced to extreme Poverty, if he did without such Necessity, he was forced by the Court of Judgment to redeem her, and she was not to be sold neither, unless there was some Probability that the Master or his Son would take her to Wife. Concerning this there was a previous Agreement, and there was no Occasion for other Espousals; but if the Master changed his Mind and refused to marry her, she was obliged to serve him for six Years, and she was sold for so long, unless she was redeemed (which her Master could not refuse) or manumitted, or set free by the Year of Jubilee, or by
by the Death of her Master, or (which was peculiar in this Case) the Signs of her being ripe for Marriage appeared. He could not sell her to an Hebrew of another Family, but after the Years expired, she was set free for nothing, and her Master was obliged to bestow Gifts upon her for her Support, after she obtained her Liberty. If her Master’s Son thought fit to marry her, she was to be used in all Respects like a Wife; and if he thought fit to take another Wife after her, he was still bound to execute all that belong to a Wife, to provide her Food and Raiment, and at certain Times to cohabit with her as a Husband. From this Law the Hebrews have made a general Rule, that these three Things are owing to all Wives from their Husbands, Alimony, Clothes, and the Conjugal Duties; which they have attempted to settle with infinite Niceties, too tedious and empty to be mentioned in this Place.

If the Hebrews wanted Slaves, they were to be such of other Nations, as were sold to them, or were taken Captive in their Wars. But it does not appear, that they had any great Number of them, for they were very laborious themselves, breeding their Children to look after their Land, and their Cattle (in which their Estates chiefly consisted) and being also very numerous in a small Country. But upon Occasion, they had Liberty to purchase the Children of Proselytes both of Circumcision, and of the Gate, and to make them Slaves. When they were bought they became their proper Goods, and continued with them as their Lands did, unless they found Means to obtain their Liberty, by the Methods above-mentioned, but they received no Advantage from the Year of Jubilee; the very Bodies of such Slaves and of their Children, they had power to bequeath after their Death, and had the same Power and Dominion over them, as they had over their Lands, their Goods, or their Cattle.

A Servant says the Talmud, is like a Farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with Money.
or with a Writing, or by some Service done as a Pledge or Pawn. A Servant bought by Service, looseneth the Buyer's Shoe, carrieth such Things after him as are necessary for the Bath, he uncloatheth him, washeth, anointeth, rubs, dresses him, puts on his Shoes, and lifts him up from the Earth. The Price of a Slave, according to Maimonides, was thirty Pieces of Silver, whether Male or Female, great or little, without any Respect to Sex, or Shape, or Size, or intrinsic Value.

But notwithstanding this absolute Right, if a Master struck a Gentile Servant with a Rod (as the Law speaks) and he died while he was beating him, he was punished (say the Hebrew Doctors) with Death. But others are of Opinion, that he was rather to be punished for his Cruelty, as the Judge who examined the Fact thought fit; for his striking him with a Rod, not with a Sword was an Evidence that he intended only to correct and not to kill him; and besides no Man could be thought willing to lose his own Goods as such Servants were. If the Servant continued alive a Day and a Night, the Master suffered no Penalty, because it might be presumed he did not die of those blows, and his Death being a loss to his Master, he might well be judged not to have any Intention to kill him, and was supposed to be sufficiently punished by losing the Benefit of his Service.

A Servant of another Nation, if he became a Jew was not to be carried by his Master out of Judea against his Will, if he was, and afterwards fled from him, he might not be delivered up, but permitted to dwell in the Land of Israel; this the Jews also understand of a Servant that fled from his Master out of any of the Countries of the Gentiles into Judea, which was to be a safe Refuge to him; if he embraced the Jewish Religion, he was not to be abridg'd of his Liberty, but allowed to settle himself where he pleased, in any Part of the Country without any Disturbance. If he became a perfect Proselyte by Circumcision, he was to be treat-
ed as a Native Jew, and to have the same Privileges with themselves in Things Civil and Sacred; he was admitted to eat of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Peace-Offerings, and no Difference was made between him and an Israelite, only say the Jews, a Stranger was not allowed to be a Member of the Great Sanhedrim.

There is an express Law which forbids any Hardships or Injuries to be offered to Strangers; if they were Profelytes of the Gate only, they were called Sojourners, and were to be used with Humanity; they might trade in the Country, though they could not purchase Land in it; they were not to be upbraided with their being Strangers, or for their worshipping of Idols heretofore, but to be used kindly, though not with such strict Friendship as other Profelytes, who observed the whole Law; if they were Poor, they were to be relieved, either by Alms or by Money, but without Usury; and the Charity of the Jews increased so far, that they entertained the Unfortunate of other Countrys, by building Hospitals for their Reception. Profelytes of Righteousness, whether Servants or not, were obliged to observe the Law of the Sabbath; but other Profelytes might work; yet if any such Person was a Servant to a Jew, his Master might not imploy him on the Sabbath-Day in any Business of his, but the Man might work for himself if he pleased, being not obliged by this Law.
CHAP. XLIV.

The Art of War among the Hebrews. The Military Laws, concerning the Seven Nations of Canaan. Of proclaiming War, and making Peace.

Of the Military Discipline of the Hebrews, says Cunæus, a very imperfect Account is transmitted to Posterity, yet must every one confess, that for Bravery and true Courage they were inferior to no Nation in the World; for consider them under the Circumstances of banished Men, when they came out of Egypt, and had wander'd up and down in the Desarts of Arabia, for the space of Forty Years, and how surprizing is it, that they should encounter mighty and valiant Nations, expel them and possess their Country, where they built new Towns, and dedicated a most magnificent Temple to the Almighty God. But by the leave of this great Writer, this Remark seems to contradict, what is observed by one who was well acquainted with their Disposition, and affirms that they got not the Land in Possession through their own Sword, neither was it their own Arm that helped them, but the Right Hand of God, and his Arm, and the Light of his Countenance, because he had a Favour unto them: It is certain, that in the beginning of their Republick (notwithstanding the Figure they made in after Ages, when they served under Xerxes and Alexander, in whose Wars they fought valiantly) they were a timorous and daftardly People, their Spirits were broken with Bondage, and they were more inclined to run away back into Slavery, than to fight their Way into Canaan; this base Temper appeared plainly in many Instances, particularly when they heard the Re-
por of the Spies concerning the Inhabitants of the Land, which put the whole Congregation into a Fit of Despair, and made them resolve to return into Egypt.

And this Behaviour seems the more unaccountable, if we consider the great Encouragements and divine Helps that were promised them, in order to inspire them with Bravery, when they engaged their Enemy; the Angel of God (supposed by the Jews to be Michael) was to go before them, and to strike a Terror into the Inhabitants of the Land to make their Conquest the easier; unusual swarms of Hornets so infested the Natives before the Hebrews came among them, that many of them were forced to leave their Country, and to fly into other Places, and when they came to give them Battle, those Creatures attacked them so violently, that they soon determined the Victory. The Book of Wisdom calls them the Forerunners of God's Host, and Kimchi says, they flew into the Eyes of the Canaanites, and made them so blind that they could not see to fight; and when they fled, they seem to have pursued them into their lurking Holes, where they had hid themselves after the Battle. Indeed the People of the seven Nations were not to be destroyed at once, left the Land that was uninhabited should be possessed by wild Beasts, which might have been dangerous to the Israelites in other Parts, where they were settled; for the Hebrews were not yet sufficiently numerous to People the whole Country, especially when two Tribes and a half were settled upon the other side Jordan. However, they were sure of an entire Conquest, had they acted consistently with God's Commands, who threatens them with utter Destruction, if they did not drive out the Natives; who notwithstanding were suffered to remain among them unsubdued, and therefore they were Pricks in their Eyes, and Thorns in their Sides; they were frequently overcome by their Enemies, who triumph'd over them, and reduced them into the Rank of Slaves.
The Wars engaged in by the Hebrews, were either such as were injoyed expressly by a divine Command, or such as were enter’d upon by the Prince for the Enlargement of his Territories, and the Honour of his Sovereignty. In the first Case, the King had absolute Power to declare War and to impress Soldiers, and no one could plead a Privilege and Exemption from Service; but the Bridegroom, say the Rabbins, was obliged to have his Spouse upon the first Night. In the latter, a voluntary War could not be undertaken by the Prince by Virtue of his Prerogative, without the Consent of the great Sanhedrim, and whoever was by Law excused from Service, might plead his Privilege, and stay at Home. The Wars appointed by divine Precept were to be waged against the seven Nations of Canaan, which were to be utterly destroyed without Mercy: These were the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizites, the Hivites and the Jebuzites, and Gergashites. There were ten Nations inhabited this Country in the Days of Abraham, but three of them were either worn out since that Time, or being but a small People were incorporated with the rest; for the Kenites and the Kenizzites are not mentioned by Moses, and the Rephaim possessed but a small part of Canaan, the great Body of them being in Bashan on this side Jordan. The Gergashites, are likewise said by some to have fled upon the first Summons of Joshua unto Africa, and therefore are not named among those who gathered themselves to fight against the Hebrews; But the true Reason of this seems to be, that these were a People mixed among the rest, and did not live in a separate Part of the Country by themselves; but it is evident, that they opposed Joshua, as well as other Nations, and were deliver’d into his Hand. This Law of utter Excision is applied by some of the Jewish Writers, to the Amorites, and the Moabites; to the first, because they had not Compassion upon the Israelites, when they were distress’d in the Wilderness, nor shew’d them that
that Civility which is commonly expressed to Strangers in their Travels; to the latter, for that with the Assistance of the Midianites, they invited Balaam by the Promises of a great Reward to come from the Eastern Countries to curse them. But the more sober Expositors conceive, that they were not to be treated with the same Severity as the seven Nations, for though the Hebrews were not to offer them Peace, as they were obliged to do to all People, but to the seven Nations devoted to Destruction, yet if they desired Peace they were bound to grant it. Grotius is of another Opinion in his Observations upon St. Matthew, that God did not give the Jews any Right to their Country (as appears from Scripture) and therefore the Intent of the Law is, that they should make no League with them of mutual Assistance, they should admit them into no conjugal Society, but look upon them as dangerous Enemies, who being near Neighbours would take all Opportunities to disturb and suppress them.

There is an Instance of great Severity used by David against the Ammonites, after he had taken Rabbah one of their Cities by Storm; the Occasion of the War was a vile Indignity offered to his Embassadors against the Law of Nations, and therefore he gave the City to be plunder’d by his Soldiers; and the Inhabitants he forced to inexplicable Tortures, some of them he caused to be fawn in sunder, over others Horses drew Harrows with great Iron Teeth, others were drawn over sharp Sickles or sharp Stones; or rather he dragged them through the Place where Bricks were made, and there grated their Flesh upon the ragged Pieces of broken Bricks. This dreadful Punishment was to terrifie other Countries from breaking through the Right of Nations by abusing publick Embassadors; though many have thought it too severe, and looked upon it as an Argument that David did this in the State of his Impenitence, when the mild and gentle Spirit of God was departed from

Hebrew Republic.

Chap. 44.

Chap. vi. 43.

Deut. i. 19.

Numb. xxii. 5, 6.
from him, and he was become Cruel and Furious, as well as Lulfful and Incontinent. The Captives of the Edomites taken by Amaziah, were likewise used with uncommon Severity, for he took ten Thousand of them alive, and brought them to the Top of a Rock and cast them down, that they were broken all in Pieces. This was a very antient Punishment among the Romans and other Nations, and was in use upon other Occasions among the Israelites, who threw Jezabel down upon the Stones out of the Window at the Command of Jehu.

No Terms of Peace, say some of the Jews, were to be offered to the seven Nations, which were to be utterly extirpated as abominable Idolaters, Magicians, Witches, and Necromancers, for which and other Crimes, God thought them unfit to live longer upon the Earth; and therefore commanded them to be utterly destroyed in War, which was undertaken by his Order, and called therefore the War of the Lord. But Maimonides is of a contrary Opinion, and afferts it to be unlawful to make War upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them Terms of Peace; and that such of the seven Nations, as renounced Idolatry, were to be received into Amity and Friendship. As for that Objection which seems to be against this about the Gibeonites, who had no Occasion by Craft to have obtained a League with the Israelites, if this Doctrine were true, his Answer is, that Josba had sent a Summons to them with offers of Peace which they rejected, but would afterwards have gladly received, when it was not to be admitted, and therefore they contrived that cunning way to be received into Friendship. It is certain, that the most antient Writers of the Jews say, that Josba sent three Messages to the seven Nations before he invaded them, though he undertook the War with a Command from God to destroy them; the subject of the two first Messages was either to fly or to make Peace, the last was a Declaration of War.
War. After this no Mercy was to be shewn, but all were to be killed without Distinction of Age or Sex, unless they repented and offered to become Proselytes of the Gate, which seems to have been the antient Practice, because we find the remains of these People often mentioned in Scripture; and this Custom is agreeable to the general Law of Nations, that such as beg for Mercy should be saved.

But whatever was the Law of War with regard to the seven Nations, the People of other Countries and Cities were offered Conditions of Peace before War was proclaimed. The Terms proposed were three, the first, that they should take up on them the Observation of the seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah, and consequently renounce Idolatry; the second, pay an yearly Tribute; the third, become their Subjects, live indue Subjection to them as their Governors, who though they could not make them Slaves, yet might employ them in their publick Works, in repairing the King's Palace, the Walls and Fortifications of Cities, and other Business of the same Nature. If the Conditions were refused, every Male near a State of Manhood was to be destroyed, but the Women, the Male and Female Children were to be spared, and the Cattle, the Money, the Household Stuff, and all Manner of Goods were to be made a Prey to the Victors.

The Laws of War are given by Josephus, who introduces Moses speaking to the Hebrews in this Manner. "If it shall be the Fortune of your selves, or your Posterity to undertake a War, "God grant that it may happen without the confines of your Country, but if the Matter must be decided by the Sword, you shall first send "Heralds to your Enemies; for before you engage in Battle, it will be necessary to parley, "and to inform them that you have a great Army, "that you are furnished with numbers of Horses "that
that you have military Weapons and Stores, and (above all this) that you fight under the Favour and Assistance of God; if they condescend to reasonable Conditions, accept them, but if they offer to injure you, lead your Army against them, having God for your General, and for your Lieutenant, him whom your selves shall choose, on the Account of his Conduct and Courage. When the Battle is over and the Day your own, kill those Enemies that resist you in the Fight, the rest reserve as Tributaries, except the People of the Land of Canaan, for they and all their Families are to be destroyed; give your Enemies burial by Night; take heed, but especially in War, that no Woman use a Man's Apparel, nor Man a Woman's Habit. Forget not the Injuries you suffered by the Amalekites, lead out your Armies against them, and take Vengeance of them for the Wrongs they did you when you were in the Desert.

These Amalekites were devoted to utter Extermination by the Express Command of God; and Abarbinel, enquiring why such Severity was used against his People, when the Edomites, who were of the same Race, were favourably dealt with; observes four Reasons given by Moses, why the Hebrews, when they were settled in Canaan and were able to effect it, should remember, and not forget to extinguish and destroy this Nation. The First is, that whereas Men undertake War against others, either to defend their own Territories or to subdue the Country of their Enemies, the Amalekites could pretend no such Cause; for the Israelites did not pass by their Country, and consequently gave them no Apprehension of an Invasion, nor had they any Land of their own which might tempt the Amalekites to covet it and drive them thence; but they engaged in this War with a petulant Malice only to reduce them again into a State of Slavery: Unto which he might
might have added, that their Barbarity was much aggravated by assailing them when they were newly deliver'd from grievous Oppressions, and were unaccustomed to War and without Provocation. He gives this as a second Reason, that it being the Custom of all Countries by the Law of Nations, before they begin a War, to denounce it by Heralds and to shew the Grounds of it; they fell upon the Israelites unexpectedly, which was an Instance of the basest Treachery; they assaul ted them, says one of their Rabbins, like a Bear in their Way to devour the Mother of the Children. The Third Cause is, that they did not offer the Hebrews a pitched Battle, but only fell upon their Rear, and cut off those who for Weariness were obliged to lag behind; what some of the Jews say, that the Amalekites cut off the privy Members of certain of the Tribe of Dan in Derision of Circumcision, is disowned by others of them as having no Foundation. He gives this as a last Reason; that the Amalekites, though they knew how wonderfully the Hebrews were deliver'd from Bondage, yet had no Sense of the Fear of God, but attempted to enslave those whom God had lately freed, and continued under the Protection of a glorious Cloud. Upon these Accounts the Amalekites were to be cut off without Mercy when the Israelites were fully settled: For the Command was not to be immediately executed, but after they were possess'd of the Land. This Injunction was never to be forgotten, but imprinted deeply on their Hearts and Minds, and accordingly the Jews pretend to have had their Hearts so set upon it, that when the Officers were about to proclaim Freedom from War, to those who had a Right to be excused; they always excepted the War against the seven Nations, and Amalek, in which every Body was bound to assist.

Z 4 C H A P.
The Age qualified to enter into the Service. Persons exempt from bearing Arms.

The Age that was thought proper to bear Arms was from twenty to fifty; then a Soldier had Liberty to claim a Discharge, but if he pleased he might continue in the Service. At the first mustering of the Army the Priest anointed of War, or proper Heralds appointed by him, made Proclamation, that if any Man had built a new House and had not dedicated it, or had planted a Vineyard and had not eaten of it, or had betrothed a Wife and had not taken her, or was timorous and faint-hearted he might return Home. These Privileges were allowed only in Wars that were made voluntarily; the first is understood by the Jewish Writers, to signifie a House that the Man had not yet dwelt in, for nothing of a Religious Consecration is here intended: At the first Entrance into an House they made a Feast, which being the first Meal eaten in it, was called Chanach or Dedication; and because a Year is allowed to a Man, to enjoy his Wife before he is obliged to go to the Wars, they indulge the same Time in these other Cases, as many have observed; and this they understand not only of a new built House, but of a House newly come into a Man's Possession, either by Purchase, Succession or Gift, yet not of such Houses as were unfit for Habitation.

Concerning the Planting of a Vineyard it must be observed, that no one could lawfully eat of the Fruit of it for the three first Years after it was planted, and in the fourth Year the Fruit of it was to be carried to Jerusalem and eaten there, after which the Fruit of the fifth Year was wholly
wholly the Man's own, when it was no longer sacred but common to every one's Use. The Man, as the Jews say, had Liberty to return home, if he had made any other Plantation wherein were Fruit-Trees fit for Food, if there were five of them planted together in good Order. The Reason for this and the foregoing Privilege is given by Josephus, left from a longing Desire after these Things, they should be sparing of hazarding their Lives and reserving themselves for the Enjoyment of them, not fight manfully; but many think this was a bare Concession to such Persons, who, if they could overcome their Affection to all Things, but the Love of their Country, might remain in the Camp and go to the Battle. The Law concerning a betrothed Wife has been already explained, and what relates to the fearful and the Faint-hearted, is refer'd by some Writers to old Soldiers, in whom that Heat and Vigour which makes Men valiant is quite abated; upon which Account they would not admit one, who had no Children, to go to War (if we may believe Maimonides) because he was not thought Masculine enough, or rather because they would not cut off all Hope of his having Posterity. But there are those who understand this Permission, of the Terrors of an evil Conscience, for they did not admit of the Practice that we follow in these Days (to send the wickedest Villains into the Wars) but if they knew any Man to be guilty of a great Crime, they thrust him out of the Army, left they should all suffer upon his Account. All these who were thus dismissed were bound, if required, to furnish the Army with Victuals and Water, to clear the Way, and to take up their Quarters.

The Soldiers among the Hebrews, when they were enter'd into the Service, were trained up by proper Officers in the Art of War; the military Exercises, were such as were in Use likewise among other Nations. To be swift of Foot was an
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Book VI. an Accomplishment highly valued among Warriors, the better to attack and pursue the Enemy; and St. Jerome speaks of an old Custom among the Jews that was practised in his Time, to set their Youth to lift great Weights to confirm their Strength, and to prepare them for the Fatigues of War.

CHAP. XLVI.

Military-Weapons Offensive and Defensive; Engines of Battery

The warlike Weapons of the Hebrews, were either such as were to defend the Persons that wore them, or such as were to hurt and incommode the Enemy. Of the former Sort, were first a Helmet to cover and defend the Head. This was Part of the military Provision, which that warlike King Uzziah prepared for his vast Army; and we read before this, that Part of Saul's Armour was a Helmet of Brass. It was used by the Philistines, for Goliath had a Helmet of Brass upon his Head. And this martial Cap for the Head, was worn by the Persians and Ethiopians when they fought.

Another defensive Piece of Armour used in those early Times, was a Breast-Plate or Corselet; Goliath was accoutred with this Defence, which we translate a Coat of Mail. This is mentioned among the Jewish Armory, and is called an Herbergeon: Between the Joynts of this Harness (for so we English it) King Ahab was casuallly struck with a Dart. To this Species of Armour the Prophet Isaiah alludes, where the same Hebrew Word is used, that is in the forementioned Texts, but is here render'd a Breast Plate; and in Jeremiah a Brigandine is our English Word for it: So that
that according to what may be gather'd from this various rendering of it, it seems to answer the Cuirass, or Corselet-Armour, both for Back and Breast. It is likely, that it was chiefly designed to defend this latter, and thence had its Denomination. But some had it made so long as to come over all their other Clothes; which is the Reason, why in some Places it is otherwise translated.

The Shield, to defend the whole Body in Time of Battle, and to keep off the Enemies Insults, which was either Tsinnah the great Shield or Buckler, or Magen the lesser Kind of this Weapon, was of great Service in old Times. It was frequent among the Jews in their Wars, and used by the Babylonians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, and by the Egyptians. David, who was a great Warrior, often mentions a Shield and Buckler in his divine Poems, to signify that Defence and Protection of Heaven which he expected, which he experienced and wholly trusted in. And when, he says, God will with Favour compass the Righteous as with a Shield, he seems to allude to the Use of the great Shield Tsinnah (which is the Word he uses) with which they cover'd and defended their whole Bodies. King Solomon caused two different Sorts of Shields the (Tsinnah, which answers to Clypeus among the Latins such a large Shield) as the Infantry wore, and the Maginnim, Scuta, used by the Horsemen, which were of a far less Size) to be made. The former of these are translated Targets, and are double in Weight to the other. The Philistines came into the Field with this Weapon: So we find their formidable Champion was appointed, one bearing a Shield went before him, whose proper Duty it was to carry this and some other Weapons, with which to furnish his Master upon Occasion.

A Shield-Bearer was an Office among the Jews as well as the Philistines, for David when he first went to Court was made King Saul's Armor-Bear-er,
er, and Jonathan had a young Man who bore his Armour before him. Besides this Tinnah, this great massy Shield, Goliah was furnished with a less one, which is not expressed by one of the forementioned Words, but is called Cidon, which we render a Target in one Place and a Shield in another, and was of a different Nature from the common Shields, and (as I conceive) was not only to hold in his Hand when he had Occasion to use it, but could also conveniently at other times be hung about his Neck and turned behind, wherefore it is added, that it was between his Shoulders. This Target as well as his Helmet, and some other Pieces of his Armour were of Brass, which was the usual Metals with which their Arms were made in those Times. The Loss of the Shield in Fight was excessively resented by the Jewish Warriors, as well as condoled by them, for it was a signal ingredient of the publick Mourning, that the Shield of the mighty was vilely cast away. David a Man of Arms, who composed the Funeral Song upon the Death of Saul, was sensibler how disgraceful a Thing it was for Soldiers to quit their Shields in the Field, yet this was the sad and deplorable Case of the Jewish Soldiers in that unhappy Engagement with the Philistines, they fled away and left their Shields behind them; this vile and dishonourable casting away of that principal Armour, is the deserved Subject of this lofty Poet’s Lamentation.

It may be further observed, that their Shields were used to be oiled, scoured and polished, as indeed it was the Custom to be equally careful of their other Armour, as may be gather’d from the Expressions of the Prophets, of *furbishing the Spears and making bright the Arrows*. But more especially their Shields (which were Weapons they highly valued, and upon which they generally engraved their Names and warlike Deeds, if they archived any, whereas those that had none of these were called Blank-Shields) these Weapons were care-
fully polished with Oil; and made exceeding bright; whence two Places of Scripture (if we give Credit to some Expositors) may receive some Light; the former occurs in the Chapter before cited, where it is said, The Shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the Shield of Saul as if it had not been anointed with Oil. For so the latter Clause may be understood to refer to the Shield and not to Saul, and the Hebrew Text will bear this Version. The meaning then is (according to this Construction which the Reader is to judge of) the Shields were cast away and trodden under Foot, as if they had not been made bright with Oil, as if there had not been that Care taken about them. And that other Passage of the Prophet, anoint the Shield, is plain Reference to this antient Custom of polishing their Shields with Oil, and therefore the Import of these Words is this, furnish and make ready that Weapon and prepare for Battle: It might be further observed, that as they anointed their Shields to give them a Brightness and Lustre, so they cover'd them with a Case when they used them not, to preserve them from being rusty and foil'd, thence we read of uncovering the Shield, which signifies preparing for War, and having that Weapon especially in Readiness.

Another defensive Provision in War, was the Military Girdle, which was for a double End; First, In order to the wearing the Sword, for this hung as it does this Day at the Soldier's Girdle or Belt. Secondly, It was necessary to gird their Clothes and Armour together, thus David girded his Sword upon his Armour. To gird and to arm are Synonymous Words in Scripture; for those that are said to be able to put on Armour, are, according to the Hebrew and the Septuagint, girt with a Girdle, and from hence comes the Expression of girding to the Battle. There is express Mention of this warlike Girdle; where it is recorded, that Jonathan, to assure David of his entire Love and Friendship by some visible Pledges,
Pledges, &c. himself not only of his usual Garments, but his military Habiliments, his Sword, Bow, and Girdle, and gave them to David.

Boots were part of their defensive Harness of old, because it was the Custom to cast certain Impediments, (so called, because they entangled the Feet) afterwards known by the Name of Gall-traps, which since, in Heraldry, are corruptly called Call-traps,) in the Way before the Enemy; the military Boot, or Shoe, was therefore necessary to guard the Legs and Feet from the iron Stakes, placed in the Way to gall and wound them; and thus are accounted for Goliab's Greaves of Brass upon his Legs.

Offensive Weapons, are either such as they made use of when they came to a close Engagement, or when they were at a Distance. Of the former Sort were the Sword, Chereb, and the Battle-Ax Mapheng. The first of these is the antientest Piece of Armour that we read of, (except the Bow, of which afterwards,) for we find it was treacherously handled by Jacob's Sons, when they invaded the Shechemites; and it was likewise used by the Israelites in the Wilderness. If it be enquired how they furnished themselves with this, and other Weapons in that Place, since as (it is generally said) they left Egypt without taking any Arms with them? there is no occasion to answer as some do, that the great Winds and Tide, upon the return of the red Sea, beat the Egyptians Arms upon the Shore, where the Israelites had pitched their Tents; for this is more than can be proved, and so indeed is their Supposal that the Israelites came unarm'd out of Egypt, for the contrary plainly appears, The Children of Israel went up harnessed, that is, girt or armed, out of the Land of Egypt; and then it is no wonder that we read of their being armed in the Wilderness. This may be meant when it is said, they borrowed of the Egyptians Rayment, in which may be included military Habits; however, they are comprehended in what
what follows, *The Lord gave the People favour in the Sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent un-
to them whatever they required, and they spoiled the Egyptians.* The Israelites left Egypt not only
with leave, but with the Consent of the Inhabitants; for the last Plague, which flew all their first-born in one Night, put them upon hurrying them away, and to be rid of them, they were willing to part with any thing; and accordingly, they not only suffered them to carry off their own Goods and Cattle, but gave them a great deal of Gold and Silver, and all sorts of rich Materials, with which afterwards they furnished the Taber-
nacle; and among other Things, they doubtless carried with them Weapons of War, for they who willingly lent them Jewels, would scarce deny them Armour.

The *Battle-Ax,* mentioned by the Prophet Jer-
emiah, was another Weapon which they antient-
ly fought with, when they came to a close En-

gagement: We have no particular Account of this martial Implement, but it is reasonable to believe that it was a weighty Weapon, or Ham-
mer, made use of when there was occasion to break asunder any hard thing that stood in their Way, and to beat down the Enemies, and lay them prostrate, and to bruise and batter their Ar-
mour. It is likely it was a sort of *Poll-Ax,* but proper to the Cavalry; which I gather from the following Verfe, which speaks of breaking in Pieces with it the Horse and his Rider, and the Chariot and his Rider.

The Weapons offensive, to wound and hurt
the Enemy at some distance, were the *Spear or Javelin,* which were of different Kinds, according to their Length and Make. Some of them might be thrown or darted, others were a sort of long Swords; and some of them were piked, or point-
ed at both ends.

A *Sling,* with which they flung Stones at the Enemy, is reckoned a part of Warlike Provision, and
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Book VI. and David made use of one of these to a good Purpose, when he flew the Giant of Gath. The Benjamites, (but properly the Benjaminites,) were famous in Battle, because they had attained to a great Skill and Accuracy in handling this Weapon, they could fling Stones to a hair's breadth, and not miss; and whereas it is said they were left handed, it should rather be rendered Ambidexters, for we are told, they could use both the Right Hand and the Left; that is, they did not constantly use their right Hand as others did, when they shot Arrows, or flung Stones, but they were so expert in their military Exercifes, that they could perform them with their left Hand, as well as with their Right.

Bow and Arrows are of great Antiquity, indeed no Weapon is mentioned so soon, take thy Weapons, thy Quiver and thy Bow; though it is true, these are not spoken of as used in War, but in Hunting, and so they are supposed and implied before this; where it is said of Ishmael, that he became an Archer, he used Bows and Arrows in shooting of Wild Beasts. This afterwards became so useful a Weapon, that care was taken to train up the Hebrew Youth to it betimes. When David had in a solemn Manner, lamented the Death of King Saul, he gave orders for teaching the young Men the use of the Bow, that they might be as expert as the Philistines; by whose Bows and Arrows Saul and his Army were slain. These were part of the military Ammunition, (for in those Times Bows were instead of Guns, and Arrows supplied the Place of Powder and Ball.) From Job it may be collected, that the warlike Bow was made of Steel, and consequently was very stiff and hard to bend, wherefore they used their Foot in bending their Bows; and therefore, when the Prophets speak of treading the Bow, and of Bows trodden, they are to be understood of Bows bent, as our Translators rightly render it; but the Hebrew Word which is used in these Places,

Places, signifies to tread upon. This Weapon was thought so necessary in War, that it is there called The Bow of War, or the Battle-Bow.

It was common in the Eastern Countries, to fight in open Chariots, or War-Coaches, and without doubt the Chariots of Pharaoh were of this kind, with which he pursued the Israelites; for he appointed Captains over them, which proves that they were fighting Chariots. About fifty Years afterwards, we find this military Vehicle among the Canaanites, who used them in that Champaign Country, and struck such Terror to the Hebrews, that made them despair of conquering that Part of the Nation.

We learn from the Scriptures, that when they were besieged of old, they made use of Engines on their Towers, and Bulwarks to shoot Arrows and Stones withal, and when they set down before a Place, and resolved to besiege it, they dug Trenches, they drew a Line of Circumvallation, they made Ramparts, they built Forts against it, and cast a Mount against it; and set the Camp also against it, and set battering Rams also against it round about. These Engines of Shot (as our Mar- gin renders it, in the Prophecy of Jeremiah) without doubt resembled in some measure the Balista, and Catapultæ among the Romans; which were used for throwing Stones and Arrows; and were to them of old, instead of Mortars and Carcasses. I might observe, that to give notice of an approaching Enemy, and to bring the dispersed Inhabitants of the Country together, they used to set up Beacons on the Tops of Mountains, as a proper Alarm upon those Occasions. “King Uzziah, says Josephus, taught his Soldiers to march in a Battalia, (after the manner of the Macedonian Phalanx,) arming each of them with Swords, Targets, and Corsets of Brass, with Arrows, and Darts. He also made great Provision of Engines, to batter Cities, and to shoot Stones, and Darts; besides Hooks of different
C H A P. XLVII.

The Discipline of War. The Ceremonies before and after the Battle.

In the Beginning of their Republick, the Armies of the Hebrews consisted all of Foot, not that the Use of Horses was absolutely forbidden; for Solomon had a Body of twelve thousand Horses, and fourteen hundred Chariots, some with two, and others with four Horses belonging to them; but whether they served for Pomp, or for War is uncertain: These Chariots and Horses were brought from Egypt, but not without paying a great Toll; six hundred Shekels for a Chariot, and one hundred and fifty for a Horse. This Prince prevailed upon his Father in Law, the King of Egypt, to remit this Tribute, upon Payment of a certain Sum of Money by the Year; by this means he got rid of the Custom that was exacted from other Nations, and his Merchants
Merchants could afford to sell Chariots and Horses to the Syrians, at a lower Price than they could have them out of Egypt.

The Soldiery was paid out of the King's Treasury, and to incite their Valour, there were Rewards publickly bestowed upon such as had signalized themselves against the Enemy: The military Honours were such as these, a Sum of Money, a Belt, a Woman of Quality for a Wife, an Exemption from Taxes, a principal Commission in the Army; and other Distinctions, attended with great Profit and Reputation.

The General was the commanding Officer in the Army, under him were Tribunes, who had each the Command of a thousand Men, Centurions who commanded a hundred were the next; they had under them Commanders over fifties, and the last commanded over ten: There was a Secretary of War, who took an Account of the Number of the Forces, and Heralds to send of Messages to declare War, and to treat of Peace.

The Hebrews made use of Spies, to enquire into the State of the Enemy, and were not unacquainted with Stratagems of War, by which they got many Victories.

It has been observed, that before they invested a City, they were obliged to offer Conditions; if they were refused, they did not begin it all round, but only on three Sides, leaving one naked, that the Besieged might fly away if they pleased, by which means Effusion of Human Blood was prevented; but this Privilege was not allowed to the Amalekites, and the Seven Nations of Canaan. A Siege, say the Jewish Doctors, must be begun three Days before the Sabbath, and then it may be continued every Day, even upon the Sabbath, till the City be taken; and this may be done in a War that is engaged voluntarily; agreeable to this, in some measure, is what Kimchi remarks of the Siege of Jericho, "The Ark of the Lord compassed the City the first time,}
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Book VI. "time, upon the first Day of the Week. So our Doctors of pious Memory have delivered, "that the seventh Day whereon the City was taken was the Sabbath, though they killed and "burnt upon that Day; for he that commanded "the Sabbath to be observed, commanded it now "to be profaned, for the Destruction of Jer- richo." If the Peace that was offered was accepted, the League was ratified, by a solemn Oath on both Sides. Whether the Ceremony of dividing a Heifer, and both Sides passing between the Parts of it was in use is uncertain, tho' the Prophet Jeremiah speaks something of this Rite, when he charges the Princes of Judah and Jerusalem, with violating the Covenant which they made before God, when they cut the Calf in twain, and passed between the Parts thereof.

When a Peace was concluded, it was publickly proclaimed by order of the Magistrates: They sent Heralds or Cryers upon the Top of all the Hills, who made Proclamation, which being carried from one to another, Notice was soon given to all the Country about; and this might conveniently be done, the rising Grounds being many, and the Valleys of a small Extent.

Before they engaged in Battle, the Law of Moses appointed two Priests to blow with two Silver Trumpets, which are described by Josephus to have been a Cubit long, and narrow like a Pipe, but wider as ours are at the Bottom; no more than two were at first ordered for present Use, but more were afterwards made when the Priests and the People were increased. There were others called Trumpets of Rams Horns, (from their Shape I suppose) which were used in War, to incite the Soldiers to fight. These Instruments were blown to call the People to the Sanctuary to pay their Devotion, and to pray to God before they engaged; and they were sounded with a particular Blast, that they might know the Meaning of the Summons: Then the anoint-
ed for the War, going from one Batallion to another, was to exhort the Soldiers (in the Hebrew Language, and no other) to fight valiantly. The Rabbins have a Conceit, that the Romans learnt both the Form of Encamping, out of the Law of Moses, and also to make Orations to their Armies, before they went to fight; but it is more reasonable to think they taught those that were Leaders of others, to encourage them to follow their Example. There were Officers whose Duty it was to make Proclamation, that those whose Business it was, should make sufficient Provision for the Army before they marched; and every tenth Man was appointed for that Purpose.

When they gave the On-set, they rushed upon their Enemies with Shoutings and Cries, and after they had obtained the Victory, they sung Hymns, and Songs of Triumph, and went in publick Procession with the Women and Children, dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments; and sometimes they erected a Triumphal Arch (as St. Jerome observes of Saul, when he had overcome the Amalekites,) of Olive Branches, Myrtle, and Palm, as a Token of Victory. The Land that was subdued, was divided by Lots, and the Crown of the conquered King, was set upon the Conqueror, who had likewise assigned him, as we find in the Talmud, the Furniture of the King’s Palace, or Pavillion, as his Share of the Spoils. A City after it was taken, they usually dismanted or laid waste, and sometimes sowed it with Salt, not to make the Place barren; (for the Strewing it with Salt could not destroy the natural Fruitfulness of the Soil,) but in token of Hatred, as wishing that the City might continue unbuilt, and be a perpetual Desolation.
A strict discipline, and an outward decency and purity, was observed in the camps of the Hebrews; if a soldier chance to be unclean by a nocturnal pollution, which was no moral impurity, he was obliged to go out of the camp, left by touching, he should defile others, and continue excluded till the evening, when he was to wash himself all over, and after the sun was set, he was admitted again; to the end, says Maimonides, that all should believe their camp ought to be as the sanctuary of God, where no man might enter in his uncleanness; and not like the camps of the Gentiles, where all manner of wickedness, filthiness, and rapine, is freely practised. They were not allowed so much as to ease nature within the limits of the camp; this promoted cleanliness, and contributed to the preservation of their health; and hereby, as the rabbins observe, they were distinguished from brute beasts, which commonly ease themselves before any body, and in any place: But Moses gives a much better reason, which has respect to the divine majesty, dwelling between the cherubims, over the ark which was carried with them in their wars; and therefore all uncleanness, though in itself natural, was to be removed far off. By such actions as these, Maimonides observes, God intended to confirm the strength and faith of the soldiers, that he dwelling among them, would go along with them, and fight for them against their enemies; and Abarbinel remarks thus, The camps of the
the Israelites ought to be holy, having a special Providence of God among them; for they do not make War by meer human Power and Courage, but by the Power of God, and of his Spirit, on which they depend for Deliverance from all Evil, and for Victory over their Enemies. The Place for this Evacuation, was to be at some Distance from the Camp, and every Soldier was to have a Paddle of Iron to fix upon the End of his Sword, which would dig a Hole in the Ground; this he was to fill again when his Purpose was served, that there might be no Appearance nor Scent of it remaining. The Jews will have it, that they were to accustom themselves to do this Business, in the Morning as soon as they were up, and thus (as Leo of Modena tells us in his History of them) the Jews do at this Day, afterwards washing their Hands, that they may go clean to their Devotions. In this Matter, as I have remarked, the Essenes were extremely Superstitious, for as Josephus relates, they would not eafe themselves at all upon the Sabbath, because they looked upon it as a Labour to dig in the Earth, and Excrements not fit to be seen upon that Day.

But many Rites in the Levitical Law were relaxed during the Time of Encampment; the Soldiers were allowed, say the Rabbins, to use forbidden Meats even Swines Flesh, to eat without washing their Hands before Meals, not to observe the Severity of the Sabbatical Rest, to fetch Wood where they could find it, to raise Bulwarks and Fortifications, and other Privileges, which would have been Penal, if not Capital in time of Peace.

The Disposition of the Hebrews Encampment was at first laid out by God himself; every Family and Houshold had their particular Ensigns, besides the great Banner under which they encamped and marched, it being pitched and carried in the midst of them. How these Banners and Ensigns were distinguished one from another, we have no certain Knowledge. The later Jews say, particular-
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Book. VI. ly Aben Ezra, that Judah carried in his Standard the Figure of a Lion, and Reuben the Figure of a Man, Ephraim of an Ox, and Dan of an Eagle, for which there is no manner of Foundation; for though Judah be compared to a Lion, yet the Reasons he gives for the other are very absurd, with which I shall not trouble the Reader; but only observe, that there is not one Word of any such Thing in their antient Writers, no not in the whole Body of the Talmud; and it is not likely, that they who had lately smaried for making the golden Calf, would adventure to make any other Images, and expose them to the Eyes of all the People. Nor is it impertinent to observe, that when Vitellius in after Ages was to march against the Arabians through Judea, the great Men of the Nation met him, and beseeched him to march another Way, the Law of their Country not allowing Images (such as were in the Roman Ensigns) to be brought into it; for which one can see no Reason, if their Ancestors in the Wilderness had by the Command or Allowance of Moses carried an Eagle in any of their Standards. It is more probable, if there be room for Conjecture in this Matter, that the Name of Judah might be embroidered in great Letters in his Standard, and Reuben in his, and so of the Rest, or they were distinguished by their Colours only, as now our Regiments are.

The Camp of Israel called the Army of God was of a Quadrangular Form, surrounded say the Jews with an inclosure of the height of ten Hands breadth, to prevent the Soldiers from flying from their Colours. It was not a regular Square, for the Court of the Tabernacle being in the midst of the Camp, and the Sides of that being unequal, those towards the East and West of no more than fifty Cubits Length, but those towards the North and South of the Length of a hundred Cubits, it made the Encampment about it also unequal. The Distance of the Camp from the Tabernacle, is reason-
ably judged to have been about two Thousand Cubits; at the East End were the Tribes of Issachar, Judah, and Zabulon, at the West were Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin; at the North were Asher, Dan, and Naphtali; at the South were Simeon, Reuben, and Gad. This Camp say the Jews made a Square of twelve Miles in Compass about the Tabernacle. Within this was another called the Camp of the Levites; they were divided into three Families the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites; the first guarded the West-end of the Tabernacle, the second stood on the South-side, and the third was placed towards the North. Eastward was the Station of Moses and Aaron, and their Families, who lay between the Standard of Judah and the Tabernacle; which was the honourable Post, where the Priests were with great Reason placed, together with Moses the chief Governor, because they were to guard the Holy Place, that none might go into it but themselves. When the Camp was to move, the Priests were to sound four Alarms with the Silver Trumpets, but in what Order they marched, have been described in another Part of these Antiquities. The Tents they lived under were much the same as are now in Use, as may be collected from a Passage in Isaiah,

_Enlarge the Place of thy Tent, and let them stretch forth the Curtains of thy Habitation, spare not, lengthen thy Gords, and strengthen thy Stakes._

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C H A P. XLIX.

The Dividing of the Spoils. Purifications observed after the Battle.

The Practice of the Hebrews concerning the Division of what they had taken in War was not always the same; but before this Distribution be inquired into, it may be observed, that what they took was commonly of three Kinds, the Persons of their Enemies called Captives, the Beasts called the Prey, and Money and Goods called the Spoil. Every thing that breathed, that belonged to the Seven Nations of Canaan, and to the Amalekites was to be destroyed; if they were not of the seven Nations, the Men were to be cut off, but the Women and the little ones, the Prey and the Spoil they might keep for themselves; yet this Rule was not always followed; for after a Victory over the Midianites, the Hebrews were commanded to kill all the Males, and the Women that had known Man, but the Virgins they were allowed to keep alive for their own Use, either to be sold as Slaves to any other Nation, or to be kept as Servants, or taken to be their Wives after such Preparation as the Law required.

The whole Army that went out to War were to stay without seven Days before they were admitted into the Camp, and such as had had their Hands in Blood, or had touched a dead Body, though killed by another were to be purified on the third, and on the seventh Day by the Water of Separation. All Spoil of Garments, or other things that they had taken, were to be purified in the same Manner, or to be washed in running Water, as the Method was in other Cases. All sorts of Metals had, besides Sprinkling with the Water of Separation,
paration, a Purification by Fire, and what would not bear the Fire passed through the Water, before it could be applied to Use.

In the Distribution, the King had antiently the tenth Part of what was taken, but in following Times, say the Talmudists, he had all the Gold and Silver, and Things of Value, and half of the rest of the Prey, that was divided between him and the People. What was taken from the Midianites was divided by Divine Appointment into two Parts; the Army that won the Victory had one, and those that hid at Home had the other, because it was a common Cause in which they engaged, and the rest were as ready to fight, as those that went out to Battle; this Division was by a special Direction, but was not the Rule in after Ages; for after the General had taken what he pleased for himself, the rest was divided among the Soldiers, as well those who kept the Baggage, or were disabled by Wounds or Weariness, as those who were engaged in the Fight, but the People had no share; and this was ordained, as a Statute to be observed throughout their Generations: But in the Time of the Maccabees the Jewish Army thought fit to recede from the Strictness of this military Law, for when they had obtained a Victory over Nicanor under the Conduct of Judas, they divided among themselves many Spoils, and made the maimed, Orphans, Widows, yea and the Aged also equal in Spoils with themselves.

In the Midianitish War, after the Distribution of the Spoils among the Army and the People, there was another Division made for the Service of the Priesthood, and the Levitical Ministry. The Priests out of the Share that fell to the Army were allotted one out of five Hundred of all the Women, and Children, and Cattle that were taken, and the Levites from the Part that fell to the People received one out of Fifty, so that the Priests had just a tenth Part of what was allowed to the Levites, as they had a tenth Part of the Levitical Tythes, which was paid them for their constant,
Book. VI. aant Support; but whether this was the Practice in future Wars is uncertain. Sometimes all the Spoils were by Divine Appointment ordered to be destroyed; and there is an Instance in the Siege of Jericho, when all the Silver and the Gold (except the Gold and the Silver of their Images, which were to be consumed utterly) and Vessels of Brass and Iron were devoted to God, and appropriated to his Service. They were to be brought into the Treasury which was in the Tabernacle, after they were purified by making them pass through the Fire according to the Law; the Jews conceive, that these Spoils (called in Scripture, the accursed Thing on the account of their being devoted, with a Curse upon him, who should take them for his own Use) were given to God, because the City was taken upon the Sabbath Day.

C H A P. L.

The Rites of Burial among the Hebrews, The Method of Embalming, Shrouding, Laying out, and bearing the Dead.

Gen. xlix. 2. THE Funeral Rites among the Hebrews were solemn and magnificent; when a Man was dying, his near Relations, especially his Children attended upon him, to whom he gave good Counsel concerning their future Conduct, together with his Blessing before his Departure; for it was an antient Opinion, that the Souls of all excellent Men, the nearer they approached their End, the more Divine they grew, and had a clearer Prospect of Things to come. The Practice among the more modern Jews, was to send ten Persons with a Rabbi, before whom the sick Man repeats the Confession of his Sins, which is composed
in an Alphabetical Order, each Letter of the Alphabet containing one of the Sins that are usually committed. As this Confession is only made for the Ignorant and for common Use, those that have a more lively Sense of their Faults, and a more comprehensive Knowledge, enter into the Particulars of their Sins, after the manner of penitent Christians. The sick Person also prays God to restore him his Health, or to take care of his Soul, and especially he begs that Death may serve for an Expiation. His Friends go to the Synagogue to pray to God for the Sick under another Name, to signify, that he had changed his Life.

Those that continue in the Chamber, wait the Moment when the Soul must separate from the Body and leave the Earth, they made it a particular Piece of Devotion to be present, and they thought to reap great Benefit by it, especially, when it was a Person eminent for his Learning and Piety; the next Relations kiss the Dying Person, and this Use is very antient; for Philo, relating Jacob's Complaint upon the unexpected Death of his Son, makes him say, that he shall not have the Comfort of closing his Eyes, and giving him the last Kiss; this was the last Farewel and Sign of Affection given to those that left the World; and this Practice was dispersed among the Heathens, who pleased themselves with receiving the last Breath of Persons that were dear to them, and this they called the Soul of the Dying.

They had such a Veneration for the Book of the Laws, that they would not allow it to be laid upon the Bed of a Person leaving the World, lest it should be polluted by touching the Dead.

The first Thing after one expired, was to close his Eyes (which was performed likewise among the Greeks and Romans) by the nearest Relations or the dearest Friends. Then did the Company rend their Clothes, which was a Custom of great Antiquity, and the highest Instance of Mourning in the earliest Ages; this Practice was never omitted by
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Book VI. by the Hebrews upon sorrowful Events; but was so particularly used for the Dead, that it was forbidden to the high Priest, who never tore his Robe but out of Zeal when he heard Blasphemy; at present there is but a faint Imitation of this antient Custom, for the Jews only cut some Part of their Garment, to shew they are afflicted. It is pretended that there is another old Use; which is, to throw all the Water into the Street that is found in the House and in the Neighbourhood, but it is peculiar to the modern Jews, and we do not find it was practiséd by the Antients. The Design is to give Notice, that there is a Person dead in that Place, that he may be regretted and lamented, and this is what is found in Antiquity: For God threatened Jehoiakim as with a terrible Curfe, that no Body should lament him at the Hour of his Death.

The Management of the Dead (says Maimonides) among the Israelites is thus; they close the Eyes of the deceased, and if the Mouth gapes, they bind up the Jaws; they stop up the Passages of the Body after they have cleaned away the Excrements, by pressing the Belly, and then they anoint it with various Kinds of Spices and Perfumes. After Death, they lay out the Body upon a Cloth on the Earth, with the Face covered, it being no longer lawful to see it: And says a Book of the Jewish Rituals, they bend the Thumb into the Hand, which they tye with the Strings of his Thaled, because the Thumb having the Figure of the Name of God, Schaddai, the Devil dares no more come near it; the rest of the Hand remains open, to signify that he abandons all; whereas Children come into the World with their Hands closed, to shew, say they, that God has put all the Riches of the Earth into their Hands. Then was the Body washed, which is a Custom difficult to give a Reason of; the Notion of the Jews is, that the Body ought to appear clean before God. But it is a more probable Conjecture, that the Ointments and Perfumes
Perfumes might more easily enter into the Pores when they were opened by warm Water; the Women performed this Office, which was always esteemed an Act of great Charity and Devotion.

The Hebrews formerly embalmed the Bodies of their Dead; for Joseph after he had fallen upon his Father and kissed him, commanded his Servants the Physicians, to embalm him, and this agrees with what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus relate, that there were those in Egypt who professed the Art of preserving Bodies from Corruption, in which they excelled all other People, Bodies of their embalming remaining whole unto this Day, and are often brought into these Countries. The Authors above mentioned, give an Account of the different Prices at which this Operation was performed, and tell us there were three Rates according to the Cost that Men would bestow upon their Friends. Upon the first Rank of Funerals, they expended a Talent of Silver; the second cost about twenty Pound, about the third they made but small Expence. The Manner of embalming was thus, they scooped out the Brain with a bent Iron, and threw in Medicaments to fill up the Vacuum; they also drew out the Entrails; and having stuffed the Body with Myrrh, Cassia, and other Spices, except Frankincense, that were proper to dry up the Humours, they pickled it in Nitre where it lay a soaking seventy Days; longer than which, neither the Bodies of the better nor of the meaner Sort were to be salted. After that, they were wrapped up in Bandages of fine Linnen and Gums, to make it stick like Glue, and so they deliver'd the Body to the Kindred of the Deceased entire, in all its Features, the very Heirs of the Eyelids being preserved.

The Kings of Judah were for many Ages embalmed, and after the Manner of the old Egyptians, had Spices and Perfumes burnt before them at their Funerals, and as Kimchi observes, they burnt the Bed on which they lay, and other Household-stuff, that none might have the Honour to use them when
Book VI: when they are gone. Private Persons, as well as Kings, were at prodigious Expences upon this Account, and if we may believe what the Jews say, when Gamaliel the Son of Simeon, the Grand-child of Hillel (at whose Feet Saint Paul sat) was buried, Onkelos burnt seventy Pound of Frankincense on his Sepulchre; but this is a Fable invented to raise the Credit of the Targum of Onkelos, which (say some) was not known till many Ages after. The best of the Jews believe this burning of sweet Spices and Woods, was first intended merely to prevent the Offence, which the Smell of dead Bodies might possibly sometimes give, but the Vanity of particular Persons often made them exceed beyond Necessity. This Practice is still kept up in the East, where Perfumes are more common and not so dear, but in Italy the Jews are contented, to put dry Roses and Chamomil in the Water, which they use to wash the Dead Body.

When the Body is washed it is shrouded, the Head is bound about with a Napkin, and the Body is swathed with a Linen Cloth, tho' in most Places they only put on a pair of Drawers and a white Shift. Abrabinel affirms, that Samuel was buried with the Cloak wherewith he cover'd himself as a Prophet, but this Conjecture is only founded upon the Sorcery of the Pythones, who shew'd Saul Samuel's Apparition with his Mantle, which is much suspected. Others say, that they sumptuously appareled the Dead, and that the Funeral Expences grew so excessive, that they were sometimes forced to fly and abandon the Corps; but Gamaliel the old restrained this Abuse, by ordering them only to cover their dead Body with a Linen Cloth, without any Distinction of Conditions, which was executed. They wrapped them up with Fillets, as is observed in the Egyptian Mummies, and this Reformation of the Doctors was approved, his own Body was buried without Pomp, and the Nation followed his Example.

There
There is a Controversy among the Rabbins, about the Kind of Habits that are put upon the Dead; some are persuaded that they may bury them in a Cloth mingled with Wool, Thread or Silk; it would be a Crime in the Living, to wear such, because they are forbidden by the Law, but they believe that Death dispenses with its Observation; and they add the Words of David, who complained that he was free among the Dead; others maintain, that if it be lawful to cloath the Dead with Linsey-woolsey Habits, it can only be for the Time they are expos’d in the Coffins, and that they must be divest’d of them when they are carried to the Grave. The devout cause themselves to be buried in the Clothes they wore in their life Time. Some add to the Habit, or to the Shift, a Kind of Rochet of very fine Linen; they put the Thaled over it, and a white Cap upon the Head.

The Body was expos’d for some Time before it was carried to the Grave, and a Candle was placed at the Head which always burns. Some have imagined, that this Light was ordered to enlighten the Soul, that returns to visit the Body and to facilitate its Entrance; but the Jews reject this Accusation, and say, that this very antient Custom among them, was established only to ridicule the Sorcerers, who maintained, that the lighting a Wax Candle near the dead Body, was sufficient to cause violent Pains in the separate Soul.

Then he was placed in the Coffin, which was formerly a Kind of Bed so made, that the Body laid upon it might be easily carried. The History of the Kings tells us, that Asa being dead, they laid him in the Bed which was filled with sweet Odors. Josephus, desiring the Funeral of Herod the Great, says, that his Bed was adorned with precious Stones, that his Body reiled under a purple Coving, that he had a Diadem and a Crown of Gold upon his Head, a Scepter in his Hand, and that all his House followed the Bed. About the Bier were his Sons and Relations; and the Guards of Thracians;
Book VI. **Germans and Gauls**, went before in Order, as if they were going to the Wars; the rest of the Soldiers followed their Captains and Leaders, and five hundred Servants carried Perfumes. He was born upon the Shoulders of the prime Nobility of Israel, with slow and solemn Pomp into the Castle called Herodion, where according to his own Appointment, he was interred: The Ceremony of carrying out the Corpse of private Persons is thus described by Maimonides; they bear the Dead upon their Shoulders till they come to the Place of Sepulture, and the Bearers are not allowed to be shod with Sandals, lest a Latchet should break, and so the Solemnity of the Procession be interrupted; they dig a Cave in the Earth, and they make a Hollow in the Side of it, and there they bury the Dead with his Face upwards; they use Coffins of Wood, and those who attend upon the Funeral, solemnly pronounce go in Peace. One Corpse is never placed upon another, nor do they bury two at one time, but an Infant is allowed to be buried with its Mother. No Part of the Dead could be applied to any Use except the Hair, which is an Excrecence and no integral Part of the Body; nor was any Linen, or Cloth, or Vessels, that were used about the Dead to be preserved for common Purposes, but to be carried with him or given to the Poor; a Corpse once buried is never to be removed.
MUSICK used at Funerals. Concerning the Body of Adam; Places of Burial.

Among the Jews, the Time of Burial is in the Day-time; the nearest Friends and Relations follow the Dead Body, which is usually carried in Procession through the Streets and publick Places. It is unlawful (says a learned Rabbi) by our Constitutions for the King to accompany a dead Corps to the Grave, but he might mourn at home, though David thought fit to follow the Bier when Abner was buried; but this, says another famous Writer among them, Mikotzi, was indifferent; the King might do as David did if he pleased, who to purge himself from all Suspicion of being concerned in the Death of Abner, and to shew his extreme Grief upon the Occasion, attended the Solemnity and did him that publick Honour.

It was accounted the highest Instance of Respect to lament the Dead, for which Purpose, in the later Times of their Republick, they hired Persons who dolefully played upon musical Instruments, a Custom borrowed from the Rites and Manner of the Gentiles; for the old Practice was to begin the Lamentation with the Voices of old Women, who in a sad Modulation strove to extort Sorrow from those that were present, and this Ceremony it seems the Children in the Street were used to act and imitate. When Musick was introduced at Funerals, the Trumpet was used for Persons of Quality, and the small Pipe or Flute for those of ordinary Rank, and says Maimonides, the poorest among the Israelites ought to be mourned for with two Pipes, and one lamenting Woman; but if he be rich let all Things be done according to his
his Degree. Besides the Musicians, there were Men and Women hired for the Purpose, which were paid and procured by the Heir of the deceased, unless upon his Death Bed he had given express Orders to the contrary. When they came to the Grave and laid the Corps there, it was the Custom to make great and loud Lamentations, which are sometimes called Howlings in the Prophetical Language. In some Places they carried lighted Torches with the Corps, but it does not appear from any Passage of Scripture, that the antient Jews carried Torches in their Funerals in the Day-time, and those that cite Josephus for their Voucher, as if he had lighted Lamps and Fires at Herod the Great's Funeral are mistaken; for the Historian makes no mention of it.

There is a most curious Collection of Traditions, to be found in the Works of the most learned Mr. John Gregory, concerning the Body of Adam, and the manner of the Funeral; you must know, says he, that it is a most confessed Tradition among the Eastern Men, (and St. Ephraim himself is very principal in the Authority) that Adam was commanded by God, and left the same in charge to his Posterity, that his dead Body should be kept above Ground, till the Fulness of Time should come, to commit it to the middle of the Earth, by a Priest of the most high God; for Adam prophefied this Reason for it, that there should be a Redeemer of him, and all his Posterity. The Priest that was to officiate at this Funeral, they say was Melchisidec, and that he buried his Body at Salem, which might very well be the Middle of the habitable World as then, and indeed it was so afterwards. Therefore, as they say, this Body of Adam was embalmed, and was transmitted from Father to Son by a reverend and religious Way of Conveyance, till at laft it was delivered up by Lamech, into the Hands of Noah, who being well advised of that Fashion of the old World which was to worship God toward a certain Place;
and considering with himself that this could not be towards the Right, (which was the East) under the Inconstancy and Inconvenience of a Ship, appointed out the middle of the Ark for the Place of Prayer, and made it as holy as he could, by the reverend Presence of Adam’s Body. Towards this Place, the following Prayer was said, not as terminating the least part of divine Worship in the Body, (it were a stupid thing to think so,) but (where it ought to be, and where all Worshippers do, or should do so,) in God himself, and only him, as the Tradition distinctly clears the Case. So soon as ever the Day began to break, Noah stood up towards the Body of Adam, and before the Lord, he and his Sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, prayed, O Lord, excellent art thou in thy Truth, and there is nothing great in comparison of thee; look upon us with the Eye of Mercy and Compassion, deliver us from this Deluge of Water, and set our Feet in a larger Room; by the Sorrows of Adam, the first made Man, by the Blood of Abel, thy holy One, by the Righteousness of Seth, in whom thou art well pleased; number us not among those who have transgressed thy Statutes, but take us into thy merciful Care, for thou art our deliverer; and thine is the Praise from all the Works of thy Hand, for evermore: The Sons of Noah, and the Women answered from another part of the Ark, (which shews the Antiquity of the Custom of the sitting of Women apart from the Men, in the Houses of God) Amen, Lord. The Blood of Abel, it seems was so holy and reverend a Thing, in the Sense and Reputation of the old World, that the Men at that Time used to swear by it. The learned Mr. Selden observes, that the Sethians took a solemn Oath upon the Blood of Abel, that they would not go down from their holy Mountain into the Plain of the Cainites. But enough has been said upon this Subject.
It is certain, that there was no such Custom among the antient Hebrews, as burning the Bodies of the Dead; notwithstanding we read that the Bodies of Saul, and of his Sons were burnt, which is supposed to have been done by the Benjaminites, out of an Affectation of Singularity, and in compliance with the Superstition of the Gentiles. The Practice from the Beginning, was to bury their Dead, and their common Cemeteries were in publick Places, as they are with us, but generally of a considerable Distance without the Cities. The Talmudical Writers, says Cunæus, allow this Privilege to Jerusalem, above other Towns of Judea, that no House in the City after one Year, could be retained by the Buyer: It was not lawful to plant Orchards or Gardens there; dead Bodies which were carried any where, were not admitted into the City, out of respect to the Holines of the Place; only two Sepulchres were there, of the House of David, and of Huldah the Prophetess, built, they say, by the old Prophets: Yet were the Levites bound up by a more strict Religion, being prohibited to bury their Dead in their Cities, and in the Field of the Suburbs too; wherefore, by divine Appointment, they received from the other Tribes, a parcel of Ground without their own Borders, where they might lay the Bones of their Dead to rest. In other Towns it was not unlawful to bury, provided seven honest Men consented to it; but when once the Corpse was carried out of the Gate, it could not be received again within the Walls, though all the People should desire it.
Sepulchers of the Hebrews, particularly of the Hebrew Kings.

The most noble Sepulchres were hewn out of some Rock, with great Art and Expence; they are thus described by the Jewish Writers: To those that entered the sepulchral Cave, and carried the Bier, there was a Floor where they stood and set down the Bier, in order to let the Body down into the Sepulchre. The Floor within the Entrance consists of a Square, according to the Dimensions of the Bier, and of them that bear it; the Cave contains thirteen Sepulchers, four on each Side, and three before, one on the right Hand of the Door, and another on the Left; and the Sepulchers were in a hollowed Place, deeper than the Floor, by four Cubits.

The Cave of Machpelah, bought by Abraham for a Burying-Place, has given great Trouble to Expositors; for though it be the most probable Conjecture, that it was the proper Name of a Place, yet the Talmudists generally conceive the Word to signify (as the vulgar Latin, also with the Seventy understand it) a double Cave; yet they cannot agree in what Sense it was so, whether they went through one Cave into another, or there was one above another; for by a Cave, is certainly meant a Vault arched over with Stones or Wood, and was the same with the Crypts of the Antients. Benjamin of Tudela, in his Itinerary relates, that being in a Valley near Hebron, he found this double Cave, of which he gives a Description; Here, says he, is a Temple that bears the Name of Abraham, and was formerly a Synagogue. The Christians have built six Sepulchers,
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Book VI. pulchers, to which they have given the Names of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebekah, of Jacob and Leah, and they shew them to Travellers for Money; but when a Jew comes there, the Porter, when he is paid, opens an Iron Gate, which was made in the Time of the Patriarchs; the Jew enters in with a Wax Candle in his Hand, pasles the first and second Cave without finding any thing, but in the third, are the Sepulchers of all the Patriarchs, distinguished by their Names; these Tombs have a Lamp continually burning by them: There are also great Casks full of dry Bones, because the Israelites continue to carry their dead Bodies thither. At the End of the Field of Machpelah is Abraham's House, and a Fountain before it. Jacob had not an Opportunity to carry his Wife Rachel to this Sepulchre of his Father's, and therefore he buried her in the Highway of Bethlehem, and erected a Pillar upon her Grave as a Monument, which continued for many Ages. The Jew abovementioned relates, that five hundred Paces from Bethlehem, he saw Rachel's Sepulchre, upon which was a Pillar composed of twelve Stones, with reference to Jacob's twelve Children which is covered with a Vault, supported by four Pillars; and all the Jews that travel thither engrave their Names upon one of the twelve Stones. It is certain the Hebrews antiently had their Sepulchres upon great Roads, to awaken the Curiosity of the Travellers, and keep up the Memory of the Dead; they have placed them likewise in Gardens, and the more modern Jews at the Entrance of their Synagogues; or rather they have taken up a Custom of building Synagogues, near the Tombs of Saints, and great Men: And here on their Festivals, the Jews meet in Multitudes, and having read the History of their Deliverance, thy revel it out, just as the Christians do about the Churches, on the Festivals of the Saints, to whose Honour they were built.
The latter Jews have held strange Conceits, concerning the Place of Burials, and are persuaded, that if an Israelite be buried in any strange Country, out of the promised Land, he shall not be a partaker so much as of the Resurrection, except God vouchsafe to make hollow Passages under the Earth; through which, his Body, by a continual Volutation and Rowling, may be brought into the Land of Canaan. The Ground of this, is taken from the Charge of Jacob, to his Son Joseph, that he should not bury him in the Land of Egypt, but in Canaan; for which Charge they assign three Reasons, first, because he foreknew by the Spirit of Prophecy, that the Dust of that Land should be afterward turned into Lice; secondly, because those who died out of the holy Land, would not rise again, without a pitiful rowling and tumbling of their Bodies through these hollow Passages; thirdly, lest he should be made an Idol, and an object of false Worship among the Egyptians.

The Sepulchers of the Hebrew Kings, were exceeding Grand, and Magnificent, and are supposed to be at present, the only true Remains of old Jerusalem, that are to be seen by Travellers. This royal Burying-Place discovereth so great an Expence, both of Labour and Treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the Work of Kings, and is generally ascribed to King Solomon: It lies now without the Walls of Jerusalem, but it is probable was formerly within them, before that City was destroyed by the Romans. You approach it (says the judicious Mr. Maundrel, from his Observations upon the Spot) at the East Side, through an Entrance cut out of the natural Rock, which admits you into an open Court of about forty Paces Square, cut down into the Rock, with which it is encompassed instead of Walls. On the Southside of the Court, is a Portico nine Paces long, and four broad, hewn likewise out of a natural Rock: This had a kind of Archi-
trave running along its Front, adorned with Sculpture of Fruits and Flowers, (still discernible) but by much time defaced. At the End of the Portico on the left Hand, you descend to the Passage into the Sepulchers: The Door is now obstructed with Stones and Rubbish, that it is something difficult to creep through it; but within, you arrive in a large fair Room, about seven or eight Yards square, cut out of the natural Rock. Its Sides and Cieling are fo exactly square, and its Angles fo just, that no Architect with Levels and Plummetts, could build a Room more regular; and the whole is fo firm and entire, that it may be called a Chamber hollowed out of a Piece of Marble. From this Room we passed into (I think) fix more, one within another all of the fame Fabrick with the first of these, the two Innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second Descent of about six or seven Steps into them.

In every one of these Rooms, except the first, were Coffins of Stone, placed in Niches in the Sides of the Chambers: They had been at first covered with handsom Lids, and carved with Garlands, but now most of them were broke in Pieces by Sacrilegious Hands. The Sides and Cieling of the Rooms were always dropping with moist Damps condensing upon them, to remedy which Nuisance, and to preserve these Chambers of the Dead polite and clean, there was in each Room, a small Channel cut in the Floor, which served to drain the Drops that fall constantly into it; but the most surprizing Thing belonging to these Subterraneous Chambers, was their Doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpose to puzzle the Beholders: It consisted of a Plank of Stone, about fix Inches in Thickness, and in its other Dimensions, equally the Size of an ordinary Door, or somewhat less; it was carved in such a manner, as to resemble a Piece of Wainscot.
Wainscot. The Stone of which it was made, Chap. 52. was visibly of the same Kind with the whole Rock, and it turned upon two Hinges, in the Nature of Axles. These Hinges were of the same entire Piece of Stone with the Door, and were contained in two Holes of the immovable Rock, one at the Top, the other at the Bottom.

The Custom among the Hebrews, was to bury great Riches and Treasure in the Sepulchers of their Kings; Josephus relates, that Solomon interred his Father David with great Grandeur, and Solemnity in Jerusalem, with all the Ceremonies proper to be used at Royal Obsequies, and among others, he buried a prodigious Value of Riches with him; the incredible Estimate of which, may be conjectured from that which follows; for one thousand three hundred Years after, the high Priest Hircanus, being besieged by Antiochus, surnamed the Wicked, and willing to give him a Sum of Money to induce him to raise the Siege, and unable to procure it by any other means, he opened one Cabinet of the Monument of David, from whence he took three thousand Talents; which he delivered to Antiochus: And a long time after this, Herod opened another Cabinet, from whence he took an immense Sum. A learned Country-man of our own, has offered many Reasons to shew the Improbability and the Fiction of this Account, which, I confess, give me no Satisfaction.
Ornaments fixed upon Tombs. Superstitious Customs at the Sepulchres of the Dead.

The Tombs of great Men were usually set out with Ornaments suited to the Actions and Achievements for which they were distinguished. We have this Description of the Tombs of the warlike Macchabees: Simon built a Monument upon the Sepulchre of his Father and his Brethren, and raised it aloft to the Sight with hewn Stone behind and before: Moreover, he set up seven Pyramids one against another, for his Father and his Mother and his four Brethren, and in these he made cunning Devices, about the which he set great Pillars, and upon the Pillars he made all their Armour for a perpetual Memory, and by the Armour Ships carved, that they might be seen by all that sail on the Sea. This is the Sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this Day. The Prophet Ezekiel alludes to this Custom of hanging the Arms of deceased Warriors at the Heads of their Tombs, where he threatens the Egyptians, that they shall not be buried with the Mighty, and though they have laid their Swords under their Heads, yet their Iniquities should be upon their Bones.

It was Sacrilege, says Josephus, in the Place above, for any Man to deface the Tombs of Princes, which were magnificently built, and not to be violated; and the Sepulchres of private Persons were held likewise in great Reverence and Veneration; it was unlawful to cross them with an Aqueduct or a Highway, to gather Wood there, or to lead Flocks to Pature; they were not allowed to walk...
walk among the Tombs with Phylacteries fastened to their Heads, nor with the Book of the Law hanging at their Arm, with other Niceties too insignificant to insert; these Observations grew at last into Superstition, and the Jews at length referred to the Sepulchres of their Saints for the Purposes of Devotion, and to offer up their Prayers; for they believed they had a Power to assist and succour them in their Distress. Thus, say they, Caleb escaped from the Hands of his Persecutors, because he went to the Tomb of his Ancestors to pray them to intercede for his Safety; and for this Custom they allege four different Reasons. They believe that the Souls return and hover about the Tombs where their Bodies are buried. They conceive that there is a sensitive Virtue in it which being made active by the Prayer of the Devout, goes and awakes the Soul in Heaven and admonishes it to pray. They are also persuaded, that the divine Influences are communicated to Men by the Bones of the Dead; and Lastly, They imagine that to visit the Sepulchres is the way to learn more pressing Motives to Repentance and Humility; for, say they, this Lesson naturally arises from viewing a Tomb, you are all dead like these unless you be converted. The old Hebrews had an Idolatrous Custom among them, of going among the Tombs in order to receive Dreams, by which they judged of Events and how to manage their Affairs, for they are charged by the Prophet Isaiah with remaining among the Graves, and lodging in the Monuments, which is render'd by the Seventy, with sleeping in the Tombs upon the Account of Dreams; and it is reasonable to believe, that the Sepulchre of Moses was purposely concealed, left in after Times it should become an Object of Worship and Adoration; for says R. Levi ben Gershom, future Generations perhaps might have made a God of him, because of the Fame of his Miracles; for do we not see how some of the Israelites berred on the Account of the Brafen Serpent, which Moses made? The
The Jews had a Custom of marking the Graves with Chalk, and drawing upon them the Figure of human Bones; and every Year they whitened them with Lime, in the Month of February, that they might be known, for fear of defiling themselves in passing by; these Graves were otherwise grown over with Grass, and not to be distinguished from other ordinary Ground; so that it was necessary they should be mark’d that no one might go over them, and by that means contract a legal Pollution. It is certain, that the dead Bodies defile and render those that touch them unclean, but the Impurity is not contracted till the Soul is perfectly separate from the Body and there remains no Motion; then a Piece of a dead Body no bigger than an Olive, a Nut-shell of Ashes, any Part of a Bone, a little Quantity of Blood, are sufficient to propagate the Contagion. But some Doubt is raised concerning the Gate or Pales, that shut up or encompass the Tombs; some maintain that they can’t defile, except when some Particles of a dead Body are observed upon them. Others that are more rigid, will have every touch of the Sepulchral Stones or Planks to be impure. When they plow up a burial Place, they may plant Trees and sow Grain in it which is mowed and reaped, but it is not lawful to sow such as is plucked up, because the Root carries with it Dust and Bones with the Earth; at least the Grain that has been thus gather’d must be twice sifted, to avoid contracting Impurity. In order to purify the burial Places; they add new Earth to them, or take a certain Quantity from them; but the surest Way is to cover them with great Tables of Stone fastened together, for fear that by moving them in walking, a Quantity of Bones or Dust may fly out and defile.

C H A P.
CHAP. LIV.

Epitaphs upon the Tombs of the Jews. Ceremonies used at the Grave, and after the Funeral. Self-Murderers denied the Privilege of Burial.

It has been disputed by learned Men, whether Epitaphs or Inscriptions were in use among the antient Hebrews. Benjamin of Tudela travelling into Judæa relates, that he read the Inscriptions upon the Tombs of the Patriarchs that were buried at Machpelab; this is the Sepulchre of Abraham our blessed Father; but the Christians, who for a long Time had the Custody of these Tombs, had made these Inscriptions to deceive devout Travellers, and to get the more Money by them. The Scripture says, that Jacob having buried Rachel in the Way to Bethel, erected a Pillar there. The Author of the Vulgar, has translated it a Title; and hence it has been concluded that it was an Epitaph, since the Heathens engraved some Verses upon the Tombs of the Dead, and those Verses were called Titles. But though the Use of Epitaphs may not be of that Antiquity, yet the Jews, it is certain, have long since received this Custom. We may read those produced by Buxtorf; I have set this Stone for a Monument, over the Head of the venerable B. Eliakim deceased;—God grant he may repose in the Garden of Eden, with the rest of the Saints of the Earth, Amen, Amen, Selah. Here is the Elegy of a Maid, I have erected this Monument on the Head of the most holy, most chaste, and most excellent Rebecca, Daughter to the holy Rabbi Samuel the Levite; who has lived in good Reputation, and who died the Eighth of December, in the Year 135
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Book. VI. (that is, in the Year 1575.) Let her Soul be bound in the Garden of Eden. We find another for R. Baruch, who descendened towards those who are among the Cedars; and God is prayed to, that his Soul may be in the Bundle of Life. It would be useless to multiply these Inscriptions which are so frequently to be met with in the Writings of that Nation.

The Sepulchre, one would think, should be called the House of the Dead; but on the contrary, the Jews give it the Title of the House of the Living, or House of the Age, and they imagine that these Names were invented by the Pharisees, who would teach their Enemies, the Sadduces, that the immortal Soul lived after its Separation from the Body, and that the Body shall rise in the World to come.

But to return to the Rites of Burying, of which there being so few Foot-Steps in Scripture, we must have Recourse to the Practice of the later Jews. When they come to the burying Place, a Speech is made to the Dead. Blessed, say they, be God who has formed thee, fed thee, maintained thee, and taken away thy Life. O Dead! He knows thy Numbers, and shall one Day restore your Life! Blessed be he that takes away Life, and restores it. They put the Coffin in the Ground, and if it be a Person of Merit they make his Elogy. The holy Job, they say, alluded to this Custom, when he considers it as a Curse to the Wicked, whose Rem- brance shall perish from the Earth, and he shall have no Name in the Street; they urge likewise that David when he had the News of Jonathan's Death, made a Kind of Funeral Oration for his Friend, but these Proofs are very weak; for Job speaks of Reputation which is lost after Death, and the Street does not signify a Cemetery. Nor did David assist at the Funeral of Saul and Jonathan, he only made a Song of Lamentation upon the Loss of the Battle
Battle and the Death of the Princes that were killed in it.

After the Encomium, they make a Prayer which they call the Righteousness of Judgment, because they give thanks to God for having pronounced an equitable Sentence upon the Dead; and it begins with these Words of Deuteronomy, He is the Rock, his Work is perfect. Then they turn the Face of the Dead toward Heaven, and say go in Peace. Those that most scrupulously observe the Rites of the Talmudists say, go to Peace; because the first of these Benedictions, was given by David to Ab-salom, who remained hung in the Forest by his Hair, and the other was given to Moses by Jethro his Father in Law, whose Journey after it, was prosperous. They lay a little Bag of Earth upon the Head of the Dead, and nail up the Coffin. Ten Persons turn seven times round it, and say a Prayer for the Soul of the deceased, but this is not done in all Places; the nearest Relation tears a Corner of his Cloaths, then they lay the Body into the Grave, and as they let down the Coffin, they must take care that there has been none laid there before, because they will not allow two Bodies to be placed one upon another. The Relations of the Dead are the first that throw Earth upon the Coffin. Each of those present throw in handfuls, or with a Shovel till the Grave be filled. Before they leave the Cemetery, each plucks up Grass three times and throws it behind him, saying, they shall flourish like Grass of the Earth, and this in hopes of the Resurrection which shall restore the Bodies, or to teach that all Flesh is Grass, and the Glory of Man is like the Flower of the Field. They also put Dust upon their Heads, to remember that they are Dust and shall return to Dust. Some add as taking farewell of the Dead, We shall follow thee as the Order of Nature shall require. They wash, sit down, and rise nine times saying, He that dwelleth in the secret Places of the most high; and at last the Company departs.

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The Antiquities of the Book VI. The Jews distinguish the Age of the Children that die; if the Child expires thirteen Days after the Birth, a Woman carries it in her Lap; if it be a little older they make it a Coffin, but they don't carry it on their Shoulders like a bigger Corpse, one or two Women make the Funeral Pomp. It is not lawful to alter this Order; because, if there were two Women and one Man, they might both yield to be corrupted, whereas two Men don't so easily agree to debauch one Woman. At least this is the Notion of the Rabbins, which is founded upon the great Distance of Cæmeteries, from the Cities which give Opportunity of Temptation by the Way. In the mean Time they tell, that a Woman carrying her Child to the burying Place, under Pretence it was dead though it was still alive, to find Opportunity of committing Adultery with him that accompanied her, suffer'd her self to be dishonour'd by ten Men that followed her. This extraordinary Event shews, they had Reason to take Precautions for the maintaining a Decorum, and prevent the Disorders occasioned by the Weakness of Women.

After the Burial, a Feast followed, which ridiculous Practice the Jews are supposed to espouse, because the Author of Ecclesiasticus says, that Dainties poured upon a Mouth shall up, are as Messes of Meat set upon a Grave; but the Author does not attribute to his own Nation the Custom of setting Dishes upon the Graves, but alludes only to that of the Heathens, who made many Collations, and brought Meat and Wine to the Tombs, as if the Dead could be replenished with them. It is certain that the Gentiles invited their Friends and Relations to eat upon the Sepulchre of the Dead, where they made a Feast. One would think that this Custom had come among the Jews, since Tobias advised a Man to pour out his Bread on the Burial of the Just. God likewise threatens his People by the Prophet Jeremy, as with a great Calamity, that Men shall not give them the Cup of Consola-
Conflation to drink for their Father or their Chap. 54. Mother; and Josephus observes, that Archelaus after he had lamented Herod the Great seven Days, De Bell. 1. c. gave a magnificent Treat to the People; and that the Custom ruined most of the Jews, who were not able to bear the Expence of those Feasts, and yet they would have been thought Atheists, if they had not done it.

Saint Jerome relates another Custom of the Jews of his Time, who rolled themselves in Ashes, and in Imitation of the Pharisees, they first eat Lentils, to remember that they had lost their Birthright. At present the Relations of the Dead being returned Home sit upon the Ground, and having taken off their Shoes, Bread and Wine and hard Eggs are brought them, and they eat and drink. Give strong Drink unto him that is ready to perish, and Wine to those that be of heavy Hearts. He Prov. xxxi. 16. that says the common Grace to the Meat, is used to add some Words of Consolation. In the Levant and in many other Places, the Friends and Relations usually send in for seven Days together, Night and Morning, to the near Kindred of the Dead, Provisions for great and sumptuous Entertainments, and also go and eat with them to comfort them. As soon as the Dead is carried out of the Doors, they double up the Quilts, and roll up the Coverings which they leave upon the Mat, then they light a Lamp at the Head-board, which burns uninterruptedly for seven Days. They also take down all the Beds of the House; some say this is done the very Moment the Dead is carried out, others when the Grave is shut up; and the Controversy is so nice, that the Talmudists have left it undecided. The Reason assigned for this Custom is, that the Friends of Job sat with him near the Earth; but the Practice at present is, for the Relation of the Dead to continue in the House seven Days, sitting on the Ground and eating in this Posture.
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Book VI. The Privilege of Burial among the Hebrews, was denied to none but Self-Murderers who laid violent Hands upon themselves; these had their right Hand cut off, and were thrown out to rot above Ground. Malefactors that were hanged upon the Gallows (which was a Circumstance of the greatest Ignominy) were always buried the same Day; which was done, say the Rabbins, out of Reverence to the Image of God wherein Man was created; and though God, says Grotius, has sometimes punished some Persons with the Loss of Burial, yet this he did by his own peculiar Right, as his Authority is above all Laws. And whereas David kept the Head of Goliah, to shew it as a Token of his Victory; this was done to an Alien, to a Contemner of the true God, and under that Law wherein the Word Neighbour was confined to the Hebrews alone. There is, however, this one Thing remarkable concerning Burial, that in the Jewish Law, an Exception was made of those that laid violent Hands upon themselves, as Josephus informs us; and no wonder since no other Punishment can possibly be inflicted upon them who esteem Death itself to be none. Yet some of the Hebrews, as the same Author goes on, except one Case out of the Law against Self-Murder, as a Kind of commendable Transport, when a Man plainly perceives that his Life is like to be nothing for the future but a Reproach to God himself; for since it is concluded, that the Right over our own Lives is not in our selves but in God; they are of Opinion, that the Will of God made known to us by sure Tokens, is the only lawful Reason why a Man should hasten his Death. To this Purpose they allege the Example of Sampson, who found the true Religion was made a Mock of in his Person, and that of Saul who fell upon his own Sword, that he might not be insulted by his and God's Enemies; for they will have it, that he repented as soon as Samuel's Ghost had foretold him his Death; and though he knew
he should die in cause he fought, yet that he would not refuse to fight for his Country and the Law of God, having attained eternal Praise thereby as David declares; and hence it was, that he so highly commends those who had given Saul an honourable Burial.

CHAP. LV.

Rites of Mourning for the Dead.

To mourn for the Dead, was esteemed an affirmative Precept by the Jews, and it was accounted a Sign of a Cruel and Savage Disposition, to deny this last Tribute to the Deceased. This Duty more peculiarly was paid to the nearest Relations; and says Maimonides, a Man is bound by the Obligation of the Law, to mourn for his Mother, his Father, his Son, his Daughter, his Brother, and his Sister by the same Father; and he is obliged by the Judgment of our Ancestors, to mourn even for a Wife betrothed, before he has cohabited with her. If a Relation of this Kind died in another Country, and a Man had notice of it within thirty Days, or upon the thirtieth Day after the Decease, he was obliged to observe seven Days of Mourning, with all the Ceremonies belonging to it; and to reckon from the Day when the News was brought him. This was the Rule for Relations that were grown Persons.

The Jews make a Distinction between Weeping and Mourning, and (if I understand the Difference) the first denotes all outward Expressions of Grief, the other signifies inward and silent Sorrow; which is always understood to be most sincere. Children that were abortive, were allowed the Ceremony of Weeping, and others
that were about five or six Years old, had the
same Privilege. Persons that were lawfully ex-
cuted for capital Crimes against the King, might
be mourned for, and though their Estates were
forfeited to the King, their Bodies were buried in
the Sepulchers of their Ancestors. Such as suf-
f ered by the Sentence of the Judges, for private
Offences, had a Mourning allowed for them,
but were not buried among their Fore-fathers,
till their Flesh was perished from the Bone, their
Estate however descends to their Heirs; when
their Bones are laid up in the Sepulchre, then
the Solemnity of Mourning begins. A Person
drowned in a River, or torn by wild Beasts, for
such, the Day of Mourning commenced from
the time that any Part of the Body was found;
or when the Relations despaired of finding the
least Member of it. One that laid violent Hands
upon himself, was denied the Ceremony of
Weeping and Mourning, and so were all wick-
ed and profligate Persons, who neglected the
Worship of the Synagogue, and the Observation
of the Law: For these, the nearest Relations
were forbidden to mourn; their Brethren and
Neighbours at their Death, were to put on white
Garments, and to rejoice, because an Enemy of
God, and of Religion, was taken out of the
World. Upon the Death of a Servant Man
or Maid, there was no Weeping or Mourning,
nor was any more regard had to them, than to
an Ox or an Ass when it died; which was this,
that the Neighbours usually wished to the Master,
The Lord make up thy Loss.

The Obsequies of a King were celebrated
with peculiar Honours; among others, says Mai-
monides, a Company of Students in the Law were
appointed to sit at his Sepulchre, and to mourn
seven Days together. All the Horses in the King's
Stable were ham-strung after his Death, and so
were the Mules that were used to Burdens: His
Servants, Men and Maids, were not to submit
to vulgar Offices, but kept in their Employments, by the Successor. But the Queen Dowager suffered the severest Discipline, she was bound never to marry, not the Brother of her deceased Husband; but to remain in her Widowhood all the Days of her Life. The King, the high Priest, and Priests of a lower Order, were exempt by the Law of Moses, from the principal Ceremonies of Mourning; but these Immunities being already explained, in the former Part of this Work, are not to be repeated in this Place.

The time of Mourning for the Dead, was longer or shorter, according to the Dignity of the Person. The Jews have a Tradition which distinguishes between the Days of Weeping and Mourning, the former of which never exceeded a Month, which was the time they wept for Moses; the latter never lasted more than a Year, as they gather from the Example of the greatest Doctor they ever had, Rabbi-Judah, who composed the Mishna, for whom they mourned twelve Months. The nearest Relation was usually the principal Mourner, and the Neighbours were Comforters; and say the Rabbins, when they returned from the Grave, they went forward a little, and then sat down, partly to comfort the Mourner, partly to weep themselves, and partly to meditate upon the Subject of Mortality; then they stood up again, and went on a little, and sat down again, and so for seven Times; and these seven Standings or Sittings for the Dead, must not be diminished. The Mourner always sits Chief, and the Comforters were not to speak a Word till he broke Silence first. There are many other Niceties to this Purpose, too trifling to be inserted, which may be judged of by these already mentioned. The three first Days of Mourning were observed with more Severity than the other: Upon the first Day, it was not lawful for the Mourner to wear his Phylacteries, to eat of holy Things, nor indeed to eat of any Thing of his own:

\[\text{Bava Bathra, fol. 109. 2.}\]
The Antiquities of the

own: All the three Days he might do no servile Work, no not privately; and if any one saluted him, he was not to salute him again; for the first seven Days, he was not to use his Wife, nor to put on his Sandals, to do no servile Work publickly; not to wash himself in warm Water, nor his whole Body in Cold, nor to anoint himself, nor to read the Mischna, or the Talmud, nor to cover his Head. All the thirty Days he was not to be shaved, nor to wear any Clothing that is white, or whitened, or new, nor to sew up the Rents that he made in his Garments, for the Party deceased. They go to the Sepulchers, says another Tradition, for three Days, the very Height of Mourning is not till the third Day; for three Days the Spirit wanders about the Sepulchre, expecting it may return into the Body, but when it sees the Form or Aspect of the Face is changed, then it hovers no more, but leaves the Body to it self.

The common time for Mourning, among the more modern Jews, is for seven Days; ten Persons come Evening and Morning to pray with the Afflicted, they read the forty ninth Psalm, pray for the Soul of the Dead, and administer their Comforts in proportion to the Loss. They dress themselves in Mourning, according to the Custom of the Country where they live, without being obliged to it by any Commandment. At the seven Days end, they come out of Doors, to go to the Synagogue, where many cause Lamps to be lighted, Prayers to be said, and promise Alms for the Soul of the Dead; which they repeat again at the End of the Month and Year. If the Dead be a Rabbi, or some considerable Person, they make on these Days his Espre, that is, his Funeral Oration. The Son was used to say every Day, Night, and Morning, in the Synagogue, his Prayer Cadisf, or Holy, for the Soul of his Father or Mother, and this for eleven Months
Months together; and some fast every Year on Chap. 55.
the Day that one or the other of them died.

The Mourning Habit among the Hebrews was Ezek. xxxi. 15.
Black, and the Tokens of Sorrow Publick and Private were doleful and affecting; to cover the Head was a Sign of the severest Grief and Distress,
and to suffer the Beard to grow rude and disorder-
ly, expressed the greatest Confusion and Calamity.
It was a Funeral Ceremony to go bare-foot, which was used likewise on the great Fast, or Day of Expiation, though the Doctors say, they might put on Woollen or Linnen Socks, but no Leathern Shoes. Their Feet also were unwashed, which made Men very fordid, especially in hot Weather,
when the Smell of them was strong and offensive; nor did they wash their Shirt, or any of the Lin-
nen which they wore, for their woollen Garments were never washed. To rend the Clothes was antiently the highest Degree of Mourning, which they did upon occasion of any great Misfortune,
or the Commission of any great Crime; and this Custom continued in the Times of the Prophets,
who make it criminal that Men did not rend their Cloths, when grievous Sins were committed. To put Dust upon the Head was an Expression of great Grief, and though the Holy Job shaved his Head (or rather plucked off the Hair) in his Affli-
ation, yet it was not allowed to be shaved du-
ing the Days of Mourning, and to pull off the Hair was equally unlawful. The Hebrews were expressly forbidden to make any Baldness between their Eyes for the Dead, and to mar the Corners of their Beards; these Prohibitions certainly re-
er'd to the Superstitious Customs among the Gen-
tiles, in their Ceremonies of Mourning. Some of the Heathen, says Theodoret, cut off all their Hair and offered it to the Dead, they threw it into the Sepulchre with the Bodies of their Friends, or laid it upon the Face or Breast of the deceased as an of-
fering to the Infernal Gods. Others shaved their Beards, their Eye-brows and Eye-lids, or (which some
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Book VI. some think is the meaning of between their Eyes) the Hair in the forepart of their Head, or near their Temples; which seems to be the Design of the Jerusalem Targum, which translates it, ye shall not make any Baldness in the House of your Countenance; and whether it were done with the Razor, or they used any Art by Plaisters or Ointment to make the Hair fall off, it was the same Offence against this Law. The Heathen had another Practice, which was to cut themselves with their Nails, or with Knives, or with sharp Instruments in order to pacifie the Infernal Spirits, and make them favourable to the Dead. These Incisions were forbidden, and Huetius conceives that Law of Solon's, which was transcribed by the Romans into the twelve Tables, that Women in Mourning should not scratch their Cheeks, had its Original from this Institution of Moses.

No Mark was to be printed upon their Bodies in Imitation of the Gentiles, who made Impressions upon their Flesh at the Funeral of their Friends, that by the Compunction and Pain they felt, they might pacifie and appease the Infernal Powers.

There were other Ceremonies of Mourning which being less significant, to mention only will be sufficient; such as profound Silence, Elevation of the Hands, the letting the Nails grow, lying upon the Ground, with Watching and Fasting; a Garment of Sackcloth was sometimes wore next the Flesh, and sometimes over their Clothes. It was made of harsh and course Materials, which some conjecture to be Camels Hair. It was common in Mourning and great Afflictions, to beat the Breast and the Thigh. The Prophet Nahum says, that the Queen being a Prisoner, her Maids accompanied her as with the Voice of Doves, tabring upon their Breasts; this Passage has been thought obscure. To make the Queen march with the found of Tabers, as many Interpreters do, is a sign of Joy, rather than Grief. It is therefore more natural to ascribe to those Maids, who followed
lowed the Princess in her Captivity, the Mourning of Doves, and to make them beat their Breast with the same vehemence as a Taber is beaten. Sometimes they laid their Hand upon their Head, as well as upon the Thigh. Jeremy mentions both these Customs. Thou shalt go forth from him, and thine Hands upon thy Head, for the Lord hath rejected thy Confidence, and thou shalt not prosper in them. I have laid my Hand upon my Thigh, says Jer. xxxi. 19, he in another Place; and this Custom has continued to this Day.

CHAP. LVI.
The Hebrew Coins.

It does not appear that there was any pecuniary Traffick before the Flood, and it is probable, that bartering one Thing for another was the Practice of those Times, as it still is among the most barbarous Nations. And even after the Flood this way Commerce did not cease, as when there was a Distention between the Servants of Abraham and Abimelech about the Well that Abraham dug, we read that he took Sheep and Oxen and gave them to Abimelech, which perhaps denote his Bartering for the Well, no less than furnishing him with Beasts for Sacrifice, by which they made a Covenant with one another.

The most ancient mention of Money or Coin, is when we are told that Abraham was very rich in Silver and Gold; and that Money was used in the Days of that Patriarch, is evident from the Text which speaks of a Servant that is bought with Money, or as the Hebrew has it, that is the Acquisition of Silver; and concerning the same Patriarch, it is said, that Abraham weighed to Ephron four Hundred Shekels of Silver for a burying Place, which is called Current Money with the Merchants, such as...
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paffed to the Trader, which he would take as well as give. This is undeniable Evidence, that Money, Silver Coin, was in Use betimes, even in those first Ages of the World. From this Time we constantly read, that Things were purchased with Keseph, Money, properly Silver, and therefore render'd by the Seventy ש' כְּפֵל. This is the Word for a Shekel in all those Texts, where it is put absolutely and alone by itself, it is generally translated a Piece of Silver, but by the Prophet Isai-ah, a Silverling.

Money was not antiently stamp't, but it was received by its Bulk and Weight, which being very troublesome, they learnt in Time to set a Mark upon it to free it from that Inconvenience; for having the publick Stamp, that made it Current at a known Value. This must not be understood of Foreign Money, which was still weigh'd though stamp'd; but of that of their own Country, which they were sure was worth so much as the Mark expressed. Yet it continued to be weigh'd among the Jews till David's time, and even till the Captivity of Babylon, and indeed the very Word Shekel comes from Shakal to weigh, and may properly be interpreted the Weight. From hence it appears, that there is no Truth in what the Jews say, that Josua, David, and Mordecai, nay Abraham coin'd Money in their Days. To support which Fiction they have counterfeited some Coins with the Inscription of Senex and Anus on one side, and Venenis and Virgo on the other, as if Isaac and Rebe-kah were now married, or Abraham had Power to coin Money in a Country where he did but sojourn and was no Sovereign. The Tradition upon this Occasion runs thus, On Abraham's Money were stamped on one side an old Man and an old Woman, on the other a young Man and a young Maid; on Josha's Money on one side an Ox, on the other a Monoceros; on David's Money on one side a Staff and a Scrip, on the other a Tower; on Mordecai's Money, on one side Sackcloth and Asbes, on the other a Crown. What
What is the Jerusalem Money says another Tradition? the Answer is, David and Solomon were stamped on one side, and on the reverse Jerusalem the Holy City. But the Truth of all this depends upon the Credit of the Authors, which I fear is but of small Signification.

Among the Antients the way of reckoning their Money was by Talents; so the Hebrews, so the Babylonians, so the Greeks, and the Romans did reckon; and of these Talents they had Subdivisions, which were usually into Mina's and Drachms, that is of their Talents into Mina's, and of their Mina's into Drachms. The Hebrews had besides thefe their Shekels, and half Shekels or Beke's, and the Romans their Denarij, which last were near of the fame Value with the Drachms of the Greeks. What was the Value of an Hebrew Talent, appears from a Passage in Exodus, where six hundred Thousand and three Thousand five hundred and fifty Persons being taxed at a half Shekel a Head, they must have paid in the whole, three hundred Thousand, and one Thousand seven hundred and seventy five Shekels, and that Sum is said in the Text to amount to a hundred Talents, and a Thousand seven hundred and seventy five Shekels over; if therefore we deduct the one Thousand seven hundred and seventy five Shekels from the Number, thirty Thousand and one Thousand seven hundred and seventy five, and divide the remaining Sum, that is, three hundred Thousand by a hundred, this will prove each of thoefe Talents to contain three Thousand Shekels. Each of these Shekels weigh'd about three Shillings of our Money, and fiftty of them Ezekiel tells us made a Mina, and therefore fifty of those Mina's make a Talent.

As to their Drachms, it appears by the Gospel, that it was a fourth Part of a Shekel, that is nine Pence of our Money, for there the Tribute Money annually paid to the Temple by every Jew (which was half a Shekel) is called διπραξμ, that is the two Drachm Piece; and therefore if a half
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Book VI. half Shekel contained two Drachms, a Drachm must have been the quarter Part of a Shekel, and every Shekel must have contained four of them; and so Josephus tells us it did, for he says that a Shekel contained four Attic Drachms, which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the Valuation in the Currency of common Payments; for according to the Weight the heaviest Attic Drachms did not exceed eight Pence Farthing half Farthing of our Money, and an Hebrew Drachm, as I have said was nine Pence: But what the Attic Drachm fell short of the Hebrew in Weight, might be made up in the Fineness, and its ready Currency in all Countries (which last the Hebrew Drachm could not have) and so might be made equivalent in common Estimation among the Jews. Allowing therefore a Drachm, as well Attic as Jewish, as valued in Judea to be equivalent to nine Pence of our Money, a Beka or half Shekel, will be one Shilling and six Pence, a Shekel three Shillings, a Mina nine Pound, and a Talent four hundred and fifty Pound. So was it in the Time of Moses and Ezekiel, and so was it the same in the Time of Josephus among that People; for he tells us, that a Hebrew Mina contained two Litra's and a half, which comes exactly to nine Pound of our Money; for a Litra being the same with a Roman Libra, contained twelve Ounces Troy-weight, that is ninety six Drachms, and therefore two Litra's and a half must contain two hundred and forty Drachms; which being estimated at nine Pence a Drachm, according to the Jewish Valuation, comes exactly to sixty Shekels, or nine Pound of our Money. The quarter of a Shekel was called Zuza by the Talmudists, and the Gerah was the twentieth Part, and is translated ἕβολος by the Seventy Interpreters.

Exod. xxx. 13. The Shekel was sometimes called the Shekel of the Sanctuary, because there the Standard was kept, by which such Money was to be examined; as Justinian commanded the Weights and Measures, where-
whereby all others were to be regulated to be kept in the great Church of every City; for there is no Foundation for that Opinion, that there were two sorts of Shekels among the Jews, one Sacred (as valuable again as the other) and the other Common, but strong Arguments against it: The Cabinets of the Curious pretend to shew a Jewish Shekel among their Collections; one side is marked with the Pot of Manna, or as others think, Aaron's Cen-
fer or the Incense Cup, and round this Vessel are written these Words, The Shekel of Israel in Sama-
ritan Characters; on the Reverse side was repre-
sented Aaron's Rod Budding, with this Inscription about the Coin, Jerusalem the Holy.

The Valuations of the Hebrew Money hitherto mentioned, must be understood only of Silver Mo-
ney, and not of Gold, for that was much higher. The Proportion of Gold to Silver was among the antients most commonly as ten to one, sometimes it was raised to it as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. The present Proportion among us in England, is as sixteen to one, but the Understanding of the Hebrew Coin will be much easier by the following Table of Calculation.

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<td>Two Drachms made a Bekah, or half Shekel, which was Tribute Money paid by every Jew to the Temple</td>
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<td>Sixty Shekels made a Mina</td>
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CHAP.
THE principal Weights used by the Hebrews were the Shekel, the Talent and the Mina or Maneh; the Shekel (says Dr. Cumberland) was just of the weight of half an Ounce Aver-dupoise now, and antiently used in England, or it weigh'd 219 Grains used in our Troy-weight, and so wanted 21 Grains of the half Ounce Troy, and this he proves from many Shekels still remaining that differ not sensibly from this Weight; which may reasonably be thought to have been tried by the Jewish Standards when they were coined. Of these Villalpandus reckons up many, and Greaves, two, one in the Library of King Charles the First, of blessed Memory, weighed by Archbishop Usher, and another in Mr. Selden's, weighed by himself as he witnesseth in his learned Treatise of the Roman Denarius.

I have also, says the same learned Prelate, seen and weighed two Shekels with Samaritan Inscriptions on them, which (although I had not opportunity to weigh them to a Grain) yet I do testify they weighed within a very few Grains as is above expressed. Nor can I find any sufficient Reason to reject these as counterfeit, and if any will believe them to be such, yet it must be acknowledged, that they are made so as to agree in Weight with the Testimonies of the Ancients, which is sufficient to our Purpose, because their Value in our Coin may be deduced thence; for since it is known, that now by the Laws of our Mint, 62 Pence are coined out of every Troy Ounce, it will follow that 2 s. 4 d. and a Farthing worth of Silver with three Centesimals of a Penny over, must be contained in 219 Grains, which is the Shekels Weight. By
By this Analogy; as 480s. are to 62d. so 279s. are to d. 28, 28 Decimals of a Penny which make a Farthing, and near the 8th Part of a Farthing.

Such was the Shekel of the Sanctuary. Another half so heavy is contended for by some Modern Jews and Christians. There is certainly a Piece of that Weight, but it constantly bears the Inscription of half a Shekel, called a Bekah, whose Weight must be 109 Grains and a half. The Quarter called Zuza, is Gra. 54, 75. Its twentieth Part which is the Gerah (and is understood to be the same with Agrah, which we translate indefinitely a piece of Silver) must be Gr. 10. 95: Which wanting but the twentieth Part of a Grain, of eleven Grains may pass for just so many.

The Weights les than a Shekel being stated, those which are greater may be called Sums of Shekels, and are the Talent, and the Maneh. A Talent was 3000 Shekels, as may be collected by halving the Number of the Israelites (because each one brought half a Shekel) which half of their Number is 301775, and is the Sum of the Shekels which they all contributed. Now Moses assures us, that these amounted to 100 Talents with 1775 Shekels more, wherefore that Number which dividing 301775 will quote 100, and leave 1775 in Remainder, is the Number of Shekels in a Talent, but only 3000 will do this, therefore 3000 Shekels are a Talent. Now we may easily reduce the Talent to Ounces or Pounds Averdupoize used in Weight among us; for two Shekels are our Ounce Averdupoize, there-1500 Ounces are in a Talent: Which Number divided by 16, the Ounces of a Pound Averdupoize, gives the Pounds in a Talent, thus 16) 1500 (93, 75. The Quote shews that 93 Pounds and three Quarters of a Pound Averdupoize are in a Talent. This Weight is the same now and in former Ages; but the true Value of this Weight of Silver or Gold alters in several Ages considerably, as Coins do every where.

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Book. VI. The Maneh, being set for a meer Weight, without respect to the Coinage, contained just 100 Shekels: This seems clear by comparing the Text, where it is laid, that in each of Solomon's Shields were three Maneh's, or, as we translate it, Pounds of Gold, with another, where our Translation affirms, that 300 Shekels of Gold went to one of those Shields. And indeed, although the Word Shekel be not in the Original express, yet it must be understood, because Ezekiel assures us that by the Shekel, the Maneh was adjusted.

There is an an express Injunction in the Mosaic Law, Ye shall do no unrighteousness in Judgment, in Mete-yard, in Weight, or in Measure; so that says Rabbi Levi, of Barcelona, he who measures or weighs has the Office of a Judge, and if he commits any Frauds in his Measures and Weights, he is a Corrupter of Judgment, and is called wicked, abominable, accursed. He observes further, that such Men are the Cause of five Mischiefs which are imputed to unjust Judges, who defile the Land, prophane the Name of God, remove the Presence of the divine Majesty, bring a Sword upon the People, and at last carry them away Captive out of their own Country: And therefore great Punishments have been enacted in all Countries, against this Crime, as destructive to human Society; particularly Justinian ordained that such should be sorely beaten, as impious People. The Mete-Yard, refers to the Measuring of Land, Cloth, and other Things; for the Word in the Original signifies the Measure of continued Quantity, that is, in Things dry.

They were obliged to be just in Weight, by which they paid and received Money in those Days, and sold Brass, and Iron, and things of the like Nature; and they were commanded to do no unrighteousness in Measure, which relates to the Measure of discrete Quantity (as we speak) as of Corn, and of all continued fluid Quantity, as of Wine and Oil; the same Rabbi Levi will have
have it signify the very least of such Measures, Chap. 57. about which, says he, the Law concerns itself, that Men should be exact in them, as well as in the greatest: And so Hesychius notes upon this Occasion, that Moses provides against all Injustice, in small Things, as well as in great; for what the Possession of a Field or a House is to a wealthy Man, that the Measure of Corn, or Wine, or the Weight of Bread is to the Poor, who have daily Need of such Things for the Support of Life. The Jewish Doctors assert, that it was a Constitution of their wise Men, for the preventing of all Frauds in these Matters; that no Weights, Balances, or Measures should be made of any Metal, as of Iron, Lead, Tin, (which were liable to rust, or might be bent, or easily impaired,) but of Marble, Stone, or Glass; which were less subject to be abused; and therefore the Scripture speaking of the Justice of God's Judgments, in the Book of Proverbs, observes (according to the Vulgate) that they are weighed with all the Stones in the Bag.

For these excellent Constitutions Moses was so famous, that his Name was celebrated on the Account of them in other Nations. Apuleius (a rude kind of Writer, but who had collected much out of better Authors) says, that Mochus was the Inventor of Scales, and Weights, and that his Memory is preserved in the Constellation called Libra: Now if for Mochus, we read Moshe, chos, it is the very Name of Moses, (viz. Moscheh,) who, as the learned Huetius observes, is so called by other Authors.
C H A P. LVIII.

Measures of Capacity, among the Hebrews.

The Measures of Capacity, are either of Things that are Dry, or of those that are Liquid; of the first Sort are the Cab, the least of dry Measures used by the Jews, containing about a quarter of a Peck, of our English Measure.

The Ephah, of the same Quantity with the Bath, (of which afterwards) only the one is for dry Things, the other for Wet. It may be called the Hebrew Bushel, because it was much about that Quantity, though some will have it to be much more, and others a considerable deal less; that is, half a Bushel, and a Pottle. Some say it contains about seven Gallons, others nine, so that we cannot fix the precise Quantity of this Measure; which neither the Greek Interpreters knew, though they were Jews, for they render the Word differently, sometimes μέτρον, sometimes πηγμα, and at other times υφαι, and υφαι, and υφαι.

An Homer, or Chomer, is ten Baths or Ephahs, that is, ten Bushels say some; but others set it higher, making it fourteen Bushels; and others bring it lower, reducing it to about eight Bushels. This is the greatest (however the just and exact Quantity be disputed) of all dry Measures.

An Omer, or Gnomer in the Hebrew, in the Vulgar Latin Gomor, has been confounded by some Writers of no mean Note, with the Homer; and the Seventy Interpreters did so long before, calling both of them Gomor, but they are certainly two distinct Measures; for we are assured, that an Omer is the tenth Part of an Ephah, that is, the tenth
tenth Part of a Bushel, or thereabouts, and therefore is called a Tenth Deal; whereas the Homer contained ten Ephabs, or Baths, that is, ten Bushels. But yet this is an Equivocal Word, as appears from this Precept, Ye shall bring a Sheaf of the first Fruits of your Harvest unto the high Priest. It is the Word Omer which is here translated a Sheaf, (a far different thing from a Measure) and by the Septuagint, and vulgar Latin Version, a Maniple, or Handful; which is indeed a sort of Measure, but greatly disagreeing with the usual Signification of Omer; but in all other Places, the Hebrew Name itself is retained in the Greek and Latin Versions, as well as in ours.

The Cor is made by some a distinct Measure from those before named, but you will find that according to the vulgar Latin, a Cor and a Chomer are the same.

The Measures for Liquids among the Hebrews, were a Log, which contained about half a Pint; however, this is sure that it was the least of Liquid Measures.

A Hin was somewhat bigger than a Log, some say it held ten Logs, a great Gallon I may call it.

A Bath was yet bigger, and contained six Hins, that is, about six Gallons; others say four Gallons and a half: And yet it is said to be of the same Capacity with the Ephab, that is, a Bushel; and consequently should hold eight Gallons.

The Homer was also a Measure for Liquor, as well as for Grain, and it contained ten Baths, as is evident from the Prophet Ezekiel, Ten Baths are an Homer; but because a Bath is more or less, according to the different Determinations of Writers, we cannot assign the exact Quantity of an Homer.

A Cor (which I before mentioned, as the same with the Chomer, the greatest of all dry Measures,) is also a Measure for Liquids. But it is
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Book VI. no wonder that we have not an exact Knowledge of these Jewish Measures, for even those that are mentioned in Greek and Latin Authors, and very much fall short of the Antiquity of these, are but little known by us.

C H A P. LIX.

The Antiquity of Agriculture, and the
Feeding of Cattle. The Offerings of Cain, and Abel.

When God placed Adam in Paradise, a Garden of delight, he instructed him to dress and keep it, that is, according to the Seventy, to work and belabour the Ground; to open the Earth, to let in the Influences of Heaven, to prune the Trees, and cherish the Plants, to preserve the Fruits from the Beasts and Fowls, which had Admittance into that Place, and to keep all Things in good Order, as a skilful Gardener and Husbandman; for both these made up the first Employment and Trade in the World. And when Man was ejected out of Paradise, he was still set about the same Work, and there was more need of exercising this Art now than before, the Earth not being a little endamaged by the Curse which God had denounced against it, and had executed upon it; which was one Reason why Adam brought up his Son Cain to Husbandry and tilling the Ground, for now it wanted Manuring and Cultivating: And as his eldest Son was brought to take care of the Fruits of the Earth, so his next was bred up to feeding of Sheep. Jabal advanced higher, and became the first Grazier, for so the Words may be understood, He was the Father of such as have Cattle, that is, other Cattle besides Sheep; for these and the keeping or feed-
ing of them had been mentioned before: He lived upon Pasturage, and for that purpose was the Father of such as dwell in Tents; the Meaning of which is, that others generally lived in one fixed Place and Habitation, but he and those of his Calling went from one Place to another feeding. They travelled as their Cattle did, and for this Reason it was requisite they should have Tents; accordingly that they might take Care of their Flocks and Herds the better; they invented these Coverings, that they might be out in the Fields all Night under this Shelter. This was the primitive State of Things, Adam and his First-born Son were Husbandmen, and others of his Race were busied in feeding of Cattle. Such was the Employment of those that were the first Heirs of the World.

For a long time after, in the first and most uncorrupted Ages, this was the Entertainment of the greatest Persons, the old Patriarchs embraced this kind of Life, and the Wealthiest of them lived by looking to their Grounds, and to their Flocks. Moses, the great Law-giver of the Hebrews, was a Shepherd; Nabal and Absalom were Sheep-Masters; Elijah when he was busy at the Plough, was called to the Prophetick Dignity and Office; and Amos of a Herdsman, became a divine Messenger, and Preacher: Shamgar was taken from the Herd to be a Judge in Israel, and with the fame Goad that he drove his Oxen, he slew six hundred Men; Gideon's Seat of State and Justice, was in a Threshing-Floor: The renowned Jair, and Jepthah, were fetched from that Employment to be Judges; and David the Son of Jesse, was taken from the Sheepfolds. Thus the Pastoral Art was a Preludium to Empire and Government. King Uzziah was a Lover of Husbandry; and the wife Solomon confessed, that the Profit of the Earth was for the Advantage of all; and more especially (as it is in the Hebrew,) the King himself is a Servant to the Field.
The first Oblations that were made to God were of the Fruit of the Ground, and of the Firstlings of the Flock: They were offered by Cain and Abel, in process of Time as the Text speaks; in the Hebrew the Words are in the End of Days, that is, in the Conclusion of the Year, or after Harvest. This was a very reasonable Time to make their Acknowledgements to God, who had given them a fruitful Year, and blessed them with Increase. The first of these Offerings were the most antient Sacrifices among the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans, as their Authors tell us; and therefore it is supposed, that Adam began with these Oblations of Herbs, Flowers, Frankincense, Meal, &c. in which Cain followed him, being of the same Profession, and provided with such Things. Now as there were some solemn Times of making their devout Acknowledgments to God, so without question there were some set Places where they met for that Purpose, for it is said, they brought their Offerings; and the Word in the Hebrew is never used about domestick, or private Sacrifices, but always about those publick Sacrifices, which were brought to the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, to be offered by the Priest, as it is expressed in Leviticus, He shall bring the Bullock to the Door, &c. which occurs all along, especially in the ninth Chapter of that Book.

And therefore, I suppose they brought their Sacrifices here mentioned, to some fixed Place, looking towards the Shechinah, or glorious Presence of God, at the Entrance of the Garden of Eden, from which Adam had been expelled: for there being no doubt some settled Place, where they performed sacred Offices, it is most reasonable to think it had respect to the Shechinah, or the divine Majesty. Wheresoever that appeared, there they appeared (as the Scripture speaks) before God, because there he manifested his special Presence, which moved them to go thither to worship.
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worship him, to give him Thanks, or to enquire of him.

What Kind of Sacrifices these were is a Question among learned Men. The Talmudists are of Opinion that they were whole Burnt-Offerings, and that there was no other before the Law was given, nor would the Jews, after the giving of the Law, permit the Gentiles to offer any other at their Temple. It is their Opinion also, that Cain and Abel brought these Sacrifices to be offered by Adam; but the most difficult Question is, how they came to sacrifice at all, either Meal or Beasts? since we read of no divine Command requiring them to bring such Oblations; which induced some to conclude, that Men did this out of a grateful Inclination to return God some of his own Blessings, though they had no Directions from him about it. But if this were true, How came Abel to believe, that his Sacrifice of a Beast would be so acceptable to God; as the Apostle says, it was by Faith? That Faith had certainly something else to warrant it than barely his own Reason. Adam in all likelihood had received some Order concerning it, and sacrificed by Direction from the Shechinah or divine Majesty, from whence a Voice spake to him upon several Occasions. This Order indeed is not recorded, no more than many other Things which Moses has omitted in the Book of Genesis; but it does not seem probable, that Adam would have presumed to invent a Way of Worship, by killing Beasts and burning their Fat, especially since one cannot perceive any Inclination to it in Nature. And therefore Eusebius very judiciously observes, in my Opinion, that this way of Worship was not taken up by Chance, or by a human Notion, but suggested to them by a divine Intimation. Plato, one would suppose, had some Thought of this, when he forbids his Lawmaker (in his Epinomis) to make any Alterations in the Rites of Sacrificing, because it is not possible for our mortal Nature to know any thing about such Matters.

Heb. xi. 4.
Gen. ii. 16, 17.
iii. 8, 9.
L. I. c. 10.
Demonst. Evan.
The Offering of Abel was of the Firstlings of his Flock; and therefore many have fancied from hence that Cain's Guilt lay in this; that he did not bring the first of his Fruit as he ought to have done, as the Heathens ever did, or were bound to do by the pontifical Laws (as Mr Selden observes) in their Præmiium, that is, the first Fruits of their Corn, or their Calpar, which was the richest of their Wine: For it is only said, he brought of the Fruit of his Ground, when Abel brought of the Firstlings of his Flock. And Moses also adding, that Abel brought of the Fat thereof, that is, the very best, they think that Cain's Fault was, that he brought not the fullest Ears of Corn (which he kept for himself) but the leanest, and offered them with a niggardly Hand, or a grudging Mind. Thus Palladius in his Life of St. Chrysostome says, He was the first that tasted the first Fruits, and kept the best Things for his own Belly. But there is no Certainty of this; and the Apostle to the Hebrews has directed us to a better Account. Abel offered with a pious Mind, Cain without a due Sense of God and sincere Affection to him. He offered the Fruit of his Ground, but did not devote himself to God, therefore he did not so much as shine upon his Sheaves, much less make them ascend up to Heaven in a Smoke, though he were the elder Brother and brought his Offering first. God testified his Acceptance of Abel's Sacrifice, say the Jews, by a Fire from Heaven (or rather I think by a Stream of Light, or a Flame from the Shechinah or glorious Presence of God to whom it was offered) which burnt up his Sacrifice. Thus it is expressed in the Translation of Theodotion, He looked upon Abel's Sacrifices and set them on Fire; of which there were many Examples in future Times, to be met with in the holy Scriptures.
Of Ploughing Sowing, and Reaping.

In the first Ages of the World, Men were chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the Earth with their own Hands, but Noah advanced the Art of Husbandry, and found out fitter Instruments for Ploughing than were known before. This Patriarch is called a Man of the Ground, but in our Translation a Husbandman, because of the Improvements he made in Agriculture, and of the Inventions he found out to make the Earth more tractable and fruitful. It was a Curse upon the Earth after the Fall, that it should bring forth Thorns and Thistles: These Obstructions were to be removed, which required a great deal of Pains; and the Ground was to be corrected by Ploughing.

The Hebrews were forbidden by the Law of Moses, to plough with an Ox and an Ass together. Deut. xxii. 10. This Precept, without doubt, had respect to some Magical Rites, used by the Idolatrous Nations of the Eastern Countries; who thought their Fields would be more fruitful, if according to some Directions which had been given by their Gods, they were ploughed: For it can scarce be sup-posed, that Men of themselves, would join together two Creatures so different in their Temper and Motions, to draw in the same Yoke, if they had not been led to it by some Superstition; for as Eben-Ezra observes upon this Law, The Strength of an Ass is not as the Strength of an Ox; whence it was, that Ulysses, to make it be believed that he was mad, joined a Horse, and an Ass to plough. The Jews commonly think this Law extends to all other Creatures of different Species, which might not be yoked; but some understand it so, that they might join several Kinds together, pro-
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And there are those who think the Apostle alludes to this, when he says, Be not unequally yoked together with Unbelievers.

There is no Account of Ploughing in Scripture, but with Oxen drawing by Pairs, in a Yoke, which without doubt, was practised before the Time of Moses, who was long before Ceres, or Triptolemus; to whom this Invention is ascribed by the Greeks. Elissa was ploughing with twelve Yoke of Oxen, when Elijah found him, which shows him to have been a great Man; who, according to the Manners of those antient Times, looked after his Business himself; his Servants managed the rest, he himself drove the last. Shamgar, who was called to be a Judge in Israel, it is suppos'd was at Plough when the Philistines came to invade his Country; and gave them such a Repulse, with the loss of Six Hundred of their Men, without any other Weapon than an Ox Goad. And thus Lycurgus is said to have overthrown the Forces of Bacchus, without any other Arms, but an Ox Goad. The ingenious Mr. Maundrel in his Journey from Jerusalem to Aleppo, relates, that when he was near Jerusalem, he came to a certain Place, where (says he) "The Country People were every where at Plough "in the Fields, in order to sow Cotton: 'Twas "observable, that in Ploughing, they used Goads "of an extraordinary Size; upon measuring of "several, I found them to be about eight Foot "long, and at the bigger End, six Inches in "Circumference. They were armed at the lesser "End with a sharp Prickle, for driving of the "Oxen, and at the other End, with a small "Spade, or Paddle of Iron, strong and maffy, "for cleansing the Plough from the Clay that "incumbers it in working. May we not from "hence conjecture, that it was with such a Goad "as one of these, that Shamgar made that pro-
digous Slaughter related of him. I am con-
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fident, that whoever should see one of these Instruments, would judge it to be a Weapon, not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a Sword for such an Execution: Goads of this Sort I saw always used hereabouts, and also in Syria; and the Reason is, because the same single Person both drives the Oxen, and also holds and manages the Plough; which makes it necessary to use such a Goad as is above described, to avoid the Incumbrance of two Instruments.

The Method of managing the Ground, and preparing it for the Seed, was much the same with the Practice of the present Times; for Jeremiaab speaks of Ploughing up the fallow Ground, and Isaiab of Harrowing, or breaking up the Clods; but Moses gave a positive Injunction, that they should not sowe their Fields with mingled Seed.

Philo remarks ingeniously upon this Occasion, De Creatione Things of the same Kind were made for Society one Princip. with another, but Things heterogeneous (as we call them) were not intended to be mixed, and associated; and therefore, he who attempts to mingle them, wickedly destroys the Law of Nature. This Law is extended by Rabbi Levi, to Trees, which he says they were not to ingraft one upon another; but it concerns, they say, only such Seeds and Plants as are for Mens Food, not those that are for Medicine. But Maimonides found a particular Reason for this Precept, from the Idolatrous Customs of the old Zabij, who not only sowed different Seeds, and grafted Trees of a different Kind upon one another, in such or such Aspect of the Planets, and with a certain Form of Words and Fumigations, but also used abominable Filthiness, at the very Moment of the Incision; which he proves out of a Book, concerning the Incision of an Olive into a Citron, and doubts not that God forbad his People to sow with mingled Seed, that he might root out the detestable Idolatry, and those preternatural Lufts which abounded in those Days.

Among
Among many Rewards promised to the Jews for their Obedience, they were to expect the first Rain, to soften their Ground, before the sowing of their Seed, and after it was sown, that it might take Root in the Earth, and spring up; and the latter Rain, by which their Corn was brought forward when it was but in the Blade, to Ear-ing, and so on to Harvest. They were to be blessed in their Basket and their Store, which signifies, their Barns should be full, where they laid up their Corn, and other Fruits of the Earth; they should be preserved from Fire, or Thieves, or other Disasters; and they should have over and above what was sufficient for their present Use. As a Curse for their Disobedience, it was threatened, that the Clouds which hung over their Country, should have no more Moisture in them than Brass, and that the Earth should be as hard as Iron, for want of Rain to soften it. The Observation of Maimonides is worth noting upon this Part of the Law, That the Zabij, an antient fort of Idolaters in the Eastern Countries, thought the Fruitfulness of the Earth, depended upon the Worship of the Planets, and the rest of the heavenly Bodies: "And therefore their wise Men, and their Prophets (as he says he found in their Books, particularly in one, concerning the Husbandry of the Egyptians,) taught the People to keep Festivals in their Honour, because the Fruitfulness of the Earth, upon which Men subsist, depends upon their Will and Pleasure. In opposition to which, God ordered Moses to tell the Israelites in his Name, that if they worshipped the Stars, they should have no Rain, the Earth should be barren, the Trees yield no Fruit, the Season prove unhealthful, and their Lives be shortened: On the contrary, if they worshipped Him, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Him alone, they should have Showers from above, the Earth should bring forth abundantly, and they
He should be blessed with healthful Seasons, found Bodies, and long Life.” It is further threatened if they would not conform to their Duty, that there should be such a long Drought, that instead of Rain, Showers of Dust, blown up into the Air by the Wind, should fall down from Heaven upon them; that they should be oppressed sorely by Famine, for they should carry much Seed into the Field, but should gather little in; that Strangers should eat up the Fruit of their Land and of their Labours; and that Swarms of Locusts should devour the Produce of their Trees and of their Fields.

The sorts of Grain that they sowed, were Fitches, Cummin, Wheat, Barley, and Rice; there were three Months between their Sowing, and their first Reaping, and four Months to their full Harvest; their Barley Harvest was at the Passover, and their Wheat Harvest at the Pentecost. The Reapers made use of Sickles, and according to the present Custom they filled their Hands with the Corn, and those that bound up the Sheaves their Bosom: There was a Person set over the Reapers, to see that they did their Work, that they had Provision proper for them, and to pay them their Wages; the Chaldees call him Rab, the Master, the Ruler, or Governor of the Reapers. The Women were used to reap as well as the Men, and such was the Piety of antient Times, that such who came into the Field, saluted those they saw at Work in this Form, The Lord be with you, to which they answered, The Lord bless thee. This was practised by the Gentiles themselves, especially in Harvest-time; which they would not begin, by putting the Sickle into the Corn, till Ceres had been invoked; as Virgil relates in the first Book of his Georgicks. This religious Salutation became familiar among the Jews, and was continued even to our Saviour’s Days, when the Angel saluted the blest Virgin after this Manner. The Reapers were usually entertained.
entertained above the Rank of common Servants, though in the time of Boaz, we find nothing provided for them, but Bread, and parched Corn, and their Sawce was Vinegar, it being very cool in those hot Countries. The Poor were allowed the Liberty of leaing, they were not bound to admit them immediately into the Field, as soon as the Reapers had cut down the Corn, and bound it up in Sheaves, but when it was carried off: they might choose also among the Poor, whom they thought most Worthy, or most Neceffitous.

C H A P. LXI.

Of Threshing and Grinding the Corn.

A F T E R the Grain was carried into the Barn, the next Concern was to thresh, or beat the Corn out of the Ear, which (as was before observed) was performed different Ways. It was done sometimes by drawing a loaded Cart with Wheels over the Corn backwards and forwards, so that the Wheels running over it, did forcibly shake out the Grain. Of this is express mention in Isaiah, where we read that Ophan gnagalab, the Cart Wheel was turned about upon some part of Corn: And this in the next Verse, is called Gilgal gnagalab, which is the fame; and therefore by the vulgar Latin, is rendered both here, and in the former Place Rota Plauftri. To this bruising of their Corn with loaded Carts, perhaps that place of Amos refers, (although otherwife applied by Ex- positors generally) which may be rendered thus, I am pressed under you, as a full Cart presseth the Sheaves, or Sheaf; (for it is in the singular Number,) It sets forth the Manner of Threshing in those Days, which was by pressing the Ears of
of Corn with a heavy Cart, and forcing out the
Grain, by bringing the Wheels often over it.

Another antient way of Threshing, was with
a wooden Slead, or Dray without Wheels, full
of Iron Nails or Teeth, on the Side towards the
Ground, and loaded with mafty Iron, or some
other heavy Weights at the Top to make it heavy;
and this was drawn by Oxen over the Corn, till
the Ears were so pressed, that the Grain flew
out. This Instrument was commonly known
(as the Hebrew Masters, and Talmudists report,)
by the Name of Morag, and also of Cherutz;
and accordingly it has these Names given it, and
both of them together we meet with in Isaiah,
where it is translated by us a sharp threshing In-
strument; and in the same Place, it is said to have
Teeth, which plainly refers to the aforesaid make of
it; and shews that this great wooden Plank was set
at the Bottom with Iron Teeth, or Spikes to cut
the Sheaves, and make way for the Grain to come
out: And to these Iron Nails or Teeth, the
Prophet Amos refers, where this sort of Country
Tackling is called Threshing Instruments of Iron.

Upon the whole, it appears, that the Instrument
wherewith Husbandmen at this Day break the
Clods of Earth, was used heretofore (when they
had not attained any great Skill in these Affairs,)
in threshing the Corn; for by the Description that
is given of it, it seems to have been a kind of
Harrow.

They threshed with Oxen, who with their
Hoofs (which for that Purpose were generally
shod with Iron or Brafs,) were used to tread out
the Corn, and sometimes they brought in a whole
Herd of Oxen, to trample upon it. This way
of Threshing is refer'd to, when they were for-
bidden to muzzle the Ox when he treadeth out
the Corn. And this is plainly alluded to in Hosea,
Ephraim is a Heifer that is taught, and loveth to
tread out the Corn; and in Micah, He shall gather
them as Sheaves into the Floor; (that is, to be thresh-

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Arise, and thresh, I will make thy Hoofs Brass and thou shalt beat in Pieces.

Another Method of Threshing, was that which is now in Use with us, that is, with Flails; some sort of Grain and Seeds were beaten out with this Flagella, (for this is the Word whence the English one comes,) as is clear from Isaiah, The Fitches was beaten out with a Staff, and the Cummin with a Rod; and generally Bread-Corn was thus threshed. Of this Nature was Gideon and Araunah's threshing of Wheat, for it is represented as their personal Action, and those general Terms Chabat, and Dash, (the Words in those Places) favour this Sense; and in the former Text, Threshing is rendered by ἀξόν, in the Version of the Septuagint, which signifies beating with Staves, Sticks, or Rods.

Sometimes they used the Feet of Horses, to tread out the Corn, as may be gathered from the Scripture, in Isaiah, He will not ever be threshing it, nor break it with the Wheel of his Cart, nor bruise it with his Horsemen. These Threshing Floors were Places of great Note among the old Hebrews, particularly that of Araunah, the Jebusite, which was the Spot of Ground made choice of by King David, to build the Altar of God upon; and this was the very Place where the Temple of Solomon was afterwards erected. These Floors were covered at the Top, to keep off the Rain, but lay open on all Sides, that the Wind might come in freely, for the Winnowing of the Corn; which being done, I suppose, they were shut up at Night, with Doors fitted to them, that if any Body lay there, he might be kept warm, and the Corn be secured from the Danger of Robbers: The Time of Winnowing, or separating the Corn from the Chaff, was in the Evening, when the Heat of the Day was over, and cool Breezes began to rise; for this Purpose, they had the same Implements which are in common

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mon Use, for Isaiah speaks of winnowing with the Shovel, and with the Fan, and God pronounces by his Prophet Amos, That he will sift the House of Israel among all Nations, like as Corn is sifted in a Sieve; yet shall not the least Grain fall upon the Earth.

When the Corn was to be made use of, they laid it open to the Sun to dry, or they dried it by a Fire, or in a Furnace, to get off the Husk, and this dried or parched Corn it self, without any farther Preparation, was a great Food in those Eastern Countries. This, as the Rabbins say, was first soaked in Water, and then dried, as Barley is malted among us at this Day; but generally the Drying and Parching of the Corn were to make it more capable of being ground.

The manner of Grinding, was either in Mortars, or in Mills; that both of these were in use, appears by the Text, where we read of Rechwm, Numb. xi. 2, Mills, and Medacah, a Mortar. In this latter they were used Pinfore, (for from the Jews this Practice descended to the Romans,) to pound or bray their Corn; whence Bakers, who did this in order to make their Bread, had their Name Pifstores: That they used of old to beat and bruise their Wheat in a Mortar, with a heavy Pestle, may be collected from the Proverbs, where this hollow Vessel is called Mace/bo. But Mills were chiefly made use of for this Purpose in those early Times; and they were of such Use and Necessity, that Men were strictly forbidden to take the Nether or the upper Millstone to Pledge, because it was taking a Man’s Life. The Grinding at Mills, was counted an inferior sort of Work; and therefore, Prisoners and Captives were generally set to it; whence, to take Millstones and grind Meal, is part of the Description of a Slave; and to this refers Sampson’s Grinding in the Prison House: For of old Time there were Mills in the Prisons, (whence Pifrinum is used both for a Mill,
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Book VI. a Mill, and a Prison,) and the Prisoners were used by Grinding, to earn their Living, and procure themselves Food; however, this was counted a very laborious, and mean Employment: And this was in Use, not only among the Jews, and Philistines, but the Egyptians also; and thence there is mention of the Maid Servant behind the Mill, that is, thrusting it forward with her Arm. So among the Chaldeans, the young Men, the Captives of Judea, were taken by them to grind, but for the most Part, the Women Servants were employed in this Drudgery, as is deducible from the Gospel; Women are said to be grinding at the Mill, whilst the Men are in the Field. Therefore, Buxtorf observes, that the Word for Grinders is Resopheth, of the feminine Gender, to note that Grinding was usually Womens Work. These Mills which they used in those Days, were Hand Mills, and therefore, before the Invention of others that go with greater Force, they first dried their Corn, (as I mentioned before) that they might grind it with the greater Ease.
Of Vineyards and Oliveyards.

It is supposed, that before the Flood Mankind were accustomed to eat Grapes, but drank no Wine (unless the Offspring of Cain may be said to have debauch'd themselves with it, of whom it is recorded in the Gospel that they drank). The first Planter of a regular Vineyard was Noah, who apprehending how reasonable the Benefit of Wine would be at that Time, when the Flood had chilled the Earth and Air, and made every Thing look bleak and dismal, set Vines in the warm Place where his dwelling was. He made choice of a proper Soil for them, for Armenia is noted for an excellent Ground for Vines, and the Vines of that Place are celebrated by Historians. And now when the good old Man had taken this Pains, and skilfully order'd that generous Fruit by pressing out the Juice, he began to taste the Product of his Labours, which happen'd to be with ill Success, for he had chosen so excellent a Spot of Ground, and had so richly cultivated it, that the Liquor proved too potent and active for his Brain, so that through the Heat of the Weather, and of the Wine he threw off his Clothes, and was uncover'd in his Tent.

It was ordained by the Law of Moses, that they should not sow their Vineyards with divers Seeds, which without doubt was an Idolatrous Custom, as the Reason given against it plainly shows. Maimonides says, that he found it written in a Book of the Zabij, that these three Things Wheat, Barley, and Grapes dried in the Sun, should be sown together in the Ground with one and the same cast of the Hand, which was so senseless a Thing, that he could not but think they learnt it from the Ways of the Amorites, as his Words are, that is...
from the wicked Idolaters of the Country to which the Israelites were going when this Law was given; for Wheat being sown properly at one season of the Year, and Barley at another, and a Vineyard being an improper Place for the growth of either of them, this Custom could not have its Original either from God or from Man, but from the Devil the Author of Confusion, who perhaps taught them this uncouth Rite in Honour of Ceres and Bacchus, whom they joined in the same Act of Worship. If the Israelites had followed this Custom, it would have made the Corn and the Grapes that sprung up from such Seed, impure, because polluted by Idolatry, the very Smell of which says Maimonides, God would not have to remain among them. Besides, it was unlawful for the Hebrews to eat any of the Fruits of the Earth, till the first Fruits of them had been offered to God, which would not have been accepted by him of such Things that were expressly forbidden by his Law, and consequently the whole Crop became unclean to them, and might not be used by them.

The Land of Palestine abounded with generous Wine, and the Clusters of Grapes, especially in the Southern Part of the Country were of an extraordinary Bigness, so that the Spies, who were sent to search the Land of Canaan, bore one Cluster between two on their Shoulders upon a Staff. In Confirmation of this Forsler in his Hebrew Dictionary asserts, that there was a Preacher at Norimberg called Achaicus who lived as a Monk eight Years in the Holy Land, who told him upon his sick Bed, that in his Time there were Clusters of Grapes at Hebron of such a Size, that one single Kernel was sufficient to quench his Thirst for a whole Day, when he lay sick there of a Typanmy. The time of Vintage was a season of Joy and Feasting, and it was denounced as a Curse upon the Land of Moab, that in their Vineyards there should be no singing, neither shall there be shouting, the Treaders shall tread out no Wine in their Pref-
Chap. 62. And it is recorded of the Men of Shechem, that they gathered their Vineyards, and trod the Grapes, and made merry. Their Mirth consisted in plentiful Entertainments, in Dances with Musick and Songs; which was a Practice used among the Greeks in Honour of Bacchus, when they pressed out the Grapes.

It was a Curse pronounced upon the Israelites, that upon their Disobedience, they should plant Vineyards and dress them, but they should neither drink of the Wine, nor eat the Grapes, for the Worms should eat them. It seems there is a peculiar sort of Worms that infest the Vines, called by the Latins Volvox and Convulvulus, because it wraps and rolls itself up in the Buds, and eats the Grapes up, when they grow towards a Riperness, as the Roman Authors explain it.

Besides other Fruits that were common in Judea, as Dates, Figs, Pomegranates, they had regular Plantations of Olives; and among the Judgments with which God threatened the Israelites for their Sins, it was denounced, that though they had Olive-trees through all their Coasts, yet they should not anoint themselves with the Oil, for the Olive should cast her Fruit; being blasted (as the Jerusalem Targum explains it) in the very Blossom, the Buds should drop off for want of Rain, or the Fruit should be eaten with Worms. Maimonides observes, that the Idolaters in those Countries pretended by certain Magical Arts to preserve all manner of Fruit, so that the Worms should not gnaw the Vines, nor either Buds or Fruits fall from the Trees (as he relates their Words out of one of their Books): Therefore to deter the Israelites from all idolatrous Practices, Moses pronounces that they should draw upon themselves those very Punishments, which they endeavour'd by such means to avoid.

The Fruit of Trees that were planted for Food, was to be accounted impure for the three first Years.
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understood by some Jews to refer only to the Vine,
which, say they, if it be not cut for sometime,
it's Grapes are not so large, nor the Wine so good,
nor fit to be offered at the Altar. But Moses ex-
pressly mentions all manner of Trees for Food, and
therefore there can be no Pretence for this Limita-
tion; and a very good Account, as Nachmanides
observes, may be given of this Prohibition, if we
have Respect only to natural Reason; for young
Trees grow better, if they are stript of their Fruit,
the Juice which is waterish and unconcocted,
ha-ving neither a pleasant Smell nor Taste; and there-
fore not proper for Food, and upon that account
not fit to be offered as the first Fruits to God.

But, besides all this, Maimonides afferts, that there
was an idolatrous Custom among the Zabij to
which this Law of Moses may reasonably be
thought to be opposed; for they imagined all Trees
would be blasted, or their Fruit fall off, whose
first Fruit was not offered in their Idol Temples,
and the other Part eaten there. And therefore God
commanded his People to forbear to eat the Fruit
of any Tree till the fourth Year, and not doubt of
the Fruitfulness of their Plantations, though they
did not consecrate the Fruit of the foregoing Years,
after the manner that the Gentiles did. The Fruit
of the fourth Year was to be offered as the first
Fruit to God, and for their Obedience to this Pre-
cept, he promises they should lose nothing by
 staying, till the fifth Year for the Fruit of their
Trees, for by forbearing so long, their Trees
should be the more exceeding fruitful; and there-
fore says Maimonides, they were sure to receive
abundant Increase, though they did not use the
wicked Arts which the Zabij did; for it was their
Custom to let certain Things lie till they are putri-
fied, and when the Sun was in such a Degree to
sprinkle them about the Trees which they had plant-
ed, using certain Magical Ceremonies, by which
they fancied Flowers and Fruits would be produ-
C H A P. LXIII.

Of the Feeding of Cattle.

The riches of the Old Hebrews consisted in Flocks and Herds, and very much Cattle, that is in Camels, in Oxen, and black Cattle, in Goats and Sheep, and Asses; to look after them was the Business of the ancient Patriarchs, and of their Children, their Daughters not being exempted from taking Charge of them, whose Office it was to water them, and tend them in their Pasture. They were very expert in this Profession, and Jacob particularly gave a nice Testimony of his Skill when he bargain'd with Laban his Father-in-Law, about the Hire he was to have for taking Care of his Cattle. The Contract stood thus,

He was to separate all the Sheep and Goats, and then out of those that were of one Colour he was to have all that should prove hereafter to be spotted or speckled. Now this was a Thing so unlikely to happen, that Laban greedily embraced the Motion, thinking that white or black Cattle, would bring forth none but such as were like themselves. This Separation being made it would appear, that if Jacob had any spotted, they were not taken from Laban's Flocks, but given by God as a Reward of his honest Diligence. Laban therefore went and rated the spotted Cattle from the rest, and then, lest Jacob should procure any of them to mix with those of one Colour, he committed them to his own Sons to be set apart by themselves; he removed them to the Distance of three Days Journey, that none might be in Danger to stray to the Cattle which were fed by Jacob, unto whose Care were committed all that had no Spots at all.

Now
Now Jacob to obtain his Purpose made use of three Artifices. The first was this, he procured some Rods of green Poplar, and of the Hazel (or rather of the Almond) and Chestnut Tree, and peel’d off the Bark from the Rods, till the white appeared between the Bark, which was of a different Colour. These Rods thus discoloured, he laid in the Channels of Water at that Time, when the Cattle were used to couple; that their Fancies might be painted with such divers Colours as they saw in the Rods. The Greek Fathers ascribe this to the miraculous Operation of God, as Bochart observes, but the Latin Fathers, particularly St. Jerome, look upon it as done by the natural working of the Imagination. For which he allidges the like Practice followed in Spain among Horses and Mares, and brings Quintilian and Hippocrates to justify the like Conceptions in Women, which he supports with a great Number of Authorities out of Galen and other Writers, who have observed indelible Marks to have been impressed upon Children, by the Objects that were presented to the Mother’s Fancy at the Time of her Conception. St. Austin asserts, that the Egyptians by the like Device with this of Jacob’s, had still a new Apis or Pied Bull, to succeed that which died, to whom they gave Divine Honour. But whatever Power there might be in natural Imagination to produce such Effects, it must be confessed, that God gave an extraordinary Blessing to this Contrivance, as appears by the Vision which Jacob says he had, wherein God (who had directed him to this Invention) promised to give it Success.

This Stratagem took Effect, those young Cattle (whether Lambs or Kids) which were brought forth spotted, he did not suffer to remain with the Flock of Laban, lest he should say, he did him wrong by letting them mix together, and so bring spotted Cattle, (and perhaps he might think also that they looking upon Laban’s one coloured Cattle might bring forth young Ones like to them.) But
But instead of this way of enriching himself he had a second Artifice, which was to put the spotted Cattle (produced by the former Device) foremost, so that Laban's Flock should always look upon them, and thereby be the more apt to conceive the like. Those which brought forth spotted by this second Artifice he also put by themselves, and suffered them not to be mingled with Laban's Cattle, as before he had separated those that were brought forth spotted, by looking upon the Rods.

This was the third Device, which is thus explained by the Chaldee, and many other Authors; he laid the Rods before the Cattle only in the Spring time, when the Sun was ascending, and the Cattle lusty and vigorous: But let them alone, when the Cattle came together in September, or the Declension of the Year (for they bred twice a Year in those Countries) at which Time they were become more feeble. If he had always laid the Rods before the Cattle, there might have been none but spotted, and so Laban have been quite impoverished; therefore he chose to do it in their first and prime Copulation, which was in the Spring time, and omitted in the latter which was in the Autumn. Our famous Mr. Mede follows this Interpretation. But there is no certainty in it; for Pliny and Columella prefer these begot in Autumn to those begot in the Spring. And therefore our Translation is most proper, which represents Jacob using this Artifice of laying the Rods before them, when the stronger Cattle came together, and not when the weaker. And so the Seventy understood the Words, without Respect to the former or latter breed, and this is the proper Sense of the Hebrew. Some have made it a Question, whether Jacob got his Stock of Cattle honestly, because Laban did not think of his using any Art, but only of bare casual Productions; but as what was not directly against the Contract, may be thought to be allowed by it, so it is certain, that Jacob might lawfully take what God bestowed upon
upon him, who seems to have directed him by an Angel to this Artifice, or at least testified his Approbation of it: Intending to transfer unto Jacob the Wealth of Laban; as he gave the Riches of the Egyptians to the Israelites; for the World is his and the Fulness thereof, and he may dispose of every Thing in it, as he pleases.

There was nothing particular in the Pastoral Art as exercised by the Hebrews, from the common Practice of the present Times. It was the Custom with them, as it is with us at the Time of Sheep-shearing to make a Feast, and to invite their Kin-dred and Friends to it, which appears sufficiently from the Story of Absolom; for in those Countries where they had vast Flocks, Sheep-shearing was a kind of Harvest, which made that Time to be ob-served with great Joy, whence the Servants of Da-vid said to Nabal, that they were come to him on a good Day, for he was shearing his Sheep.

The Hebrews were commanded by the Law, not to let their Cattle gender with a diverse Kind, as Horses with Asses, Goats with Sheep; but if they came together of themselves, it was lawful to use such Heterogeneous Creatures, as were so produced: For they did not abhor the Use of Mules, which were either accidentally begotten among them, or brought to them from other Countries. The Reason commonly given by the Jews, for this Precept, is, because God having made all Things perfect in their Kind, it was a presumptuous Attempt, to go about to mend his Creation, and add to his Works. By this means also, Men were deterred from unnatural Mix-tures, which they saw to be abominable in Brutes. But after all, there might possibly be a Respect in this Precept, to some Idolatrous Customs, which Moses intended to prevent, or abolish; for it is supposed, that the Gentiles were used at this Time, or in after Ages, to procure such mixtures of Creatures, in honour of their Gods.
When Joseph was going to introduce his Father, and his Brethren to the Egyptian Court, he instructed them to say that they were Shepherds, that they might be separated from the Egyptians, and be seated together in the Land of Goshen; which was a Country abounding with Pasturage, and next adjoining to Canaan, unto which they might the more easily return when the time came. Upon this occasion, the sacred Writer remarks, that every Shepherd is an Abomination to the Egyptians, which Text has given much trouble to Expositors. Canaan, I think, has given the most reasonable Account of it, whose Words I shall translate, and with which, I shall conclude this Book. "A third Part of the People lived at a Distance, in the Plains of Egypt, and in the Marshes; These were the Shepherds, active and able Men, but execrable to all the Egyptians, because they would not suffer them to be secure in their idle Course of Life: These often made great Commotions, and sometimes created Kings for themselves, wherefore the Romans in after Times, when they easily held the rest of Egypt in obedience, placed a strong Garrison in all these Parts. When you have taken the most exact View in all Things, you will find this was the Reason that made the Egyptians even from the first, so ill affected unto Shepherds, because those sedentary Men and Officers, could not endure their fierce and active Spirits. Pharaoh himself, when he had decreed to abate and depress the growing Multitude of the Israelites, speaks to his Subjects in this Manner, The Israelites are stronger than we, let us deal wisely, that they increase not, left when War ariseth, they join themselves unto our Enemies, and take up Arms against us. That Opinion I think to be true, nor can I assent to them that impute the Cause of this publick Hatred to their Superstition, as if the Hebrews Keepers of Flocks and Herds, could not
The Antiquities of the

Book VI. "not be suffered by that Nation, who reverenced
"some Sheep, some Goats, some other four
"footed Beasts; being persuaded there was in
"them something of Divinity. But this Reason
"is very improbable, for what will they answer,
"when either they shall learn out of the Pen-
tateuch, that Pharaoh had innumerable Flocks
"of Sheep, or when they shall see so many
"Monuments of Histories to be produced, mak-
ing it evident, that a considerable Part of the
"Egyptians lived in Pastures, and among Cattle?
"And yet is that Saying notable in Scripture,
"All Shepherds are hated by the Egyptians:
"This could not be said of Husbandmen, nor
"indeed, could their Valour (which was none
"at all) be feared, or hated; for the lazy
"Clowns had all their Hopes placed, not in
"the industrious Manuring of the Ground, but
"in the River Nile. The overflowing Stream
"nourished and increased their Corn, nor did
"it bring only Fruitalness to the Earth, but
"Earth itself; for being exceeding muddy, it
"enlarged the Fields, and by a yearly Addition,
"stretched out the Boundaries of their Land.

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