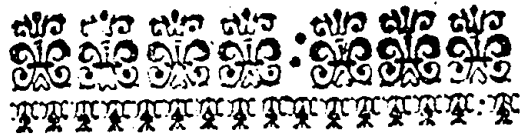


R. 1652
P E T R U S C U N Æ U S
OF THE 673
COMMON-WEALTH
OF THE
H E B R E W S.

Translated by C. B.

Nec omnia, nec nihil.

L O N D O N, *Jan 28*
Printed by T. W. for William Lee,
and are to be Sold at his Shop at
the Sign of the Turks Head in
Fleet-street over against
Fetter-Lane. 1651. 1652.



THE
AUTHOR'S
PREFACE,
TO
The States of Hol-
land and Westfrisi.

Most illustrious Lords,



Offer to your
view a Cōmon-
wealth, the most
holy, and the
most exemplary in the

A 3 whole

The Preface.

whole World. The Rise and Advance whereof, it well becomes you perfectly to understand, because it had not any mortall man for its Author and Founder, but the immortall God; that God, whose pure veneration and worship, You have undertaken, and do maintain. Here you shall see, what it was that contened the Hebrews so long in an innocent way of life; what rais'd up their courage, cherished their concord, bridled their desires. Indeed, that people had
Rules

The Preface.

Rules of Government, excelling the precepts of all wise men that ever were; Which Rules, we have shewed, may in good part be collected out of the holy Bible. Only, of their Military Discipline very little is deliver'd to our memory: Yet must every one, that considers their victories and achievements, confess, that the Hebrews, for military vertue, were inferiour to none. For, in the quality of banished men, when they were come out of *Egypt*, where they had long

The Preface.

fate, after a tedious march up and down in the deserts of *Arabia* for the space of forty years, they encountred with mighty and valiant Nations, expell'd them, and possessed their Country, where they built new Towns, and dedicated to God a magnificent Temple. In this most happy soil, where their valour had planted them, their mutuall concord made them grow to admiration. The Counsels of all provided for the safety of all; and the Cities, which were many,
did

The Preface.

did not every one aim at their own dominion, but all used their best endeavours to defend the publick Liberty. That the Government might be compleat and uniform, they had the same Laws, Magistrates, Senators, Judges; and the same weights, measures, mony. Wherefore, all *Palestin* might be accounted as one City, but only that all the Inhabitants were not shut up within the same Walls. Such a Community and Conformity there was between them all. Yet, by
the

The Preface.

the Law, there was one City Privileg'd above all the rest; not, to have dominion over the rest, but that all, even the remotest dwellers, should every year thrice hold their Religious meetings in it. A thing so far from breeding any difference among them, that it was the strongest bond of union. Thus did the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, every one being multiplied marvellously into the greatness of a Nation, overspread a very great and fertile Country. The force of enemies, the
Tem-

The Preface.

Tempests of Wars, and other the like evils nothing prevail'd against them. They alwaies rose higher by their overthrows, were enriched by their losses, and the keeness of their enemies sword put the more courage in them. For a long time the Commonwealth of the Hebrews continued in this state: till at last, after *Salmons* death, having attained the height of prosperity, a great alteration happened. A certain man, *Feroboam*, all whose hopes consisted in the discord of
the

The Preface.

the people, stird up sedition among them, and drawing to his party ten whole Tribes, constituted a kind of Common-wealth a part to himself, the head whereof was *Samaria*. And now there was no longer one, but two Common-wealths. That of *Israel*, or the ten Tribes, lasted but a little while, being conquered, and carried away into eternall exile. The other of the Jews, whose imperiall City was *Jerusalem*, although, before the times of *Vespasian* the Emperour, it was not

The Preface.

not wholly ruined, yet the power of it was so enfeebled, that it could seldom bear up against the enemy. Certainly, none of all this had come to pass, had not they fallen to pieces by their own dissentions, who whilst they held together, and kept their force united, were victorious over so many Nations. The discords of the people give the greatest advantage to the enemy. This was the cause of the Hebrews ruin, and the same hath destroyed the most flourishing Kingdoms of

The Preface.

other Nations. Please you to return into the memory of all former times, you shall find scarce any other thing to have given a check to the most high and most mighty States. Fortune (though envious to such as prosper) seldom assisteth any people to the destruction of another, unless the people first create trouble to themselves at home, knowing neither how to moderate their vices, nor govern their own forces. It is clear, That Politic Nation the Romans (*wha* as Tully saith,
by

The Preface.

by defending their confederates made themselves Masters of all the world) understood exceeding well, how the most easy way to subdue confederate people, was by their domestic troubles and dissentions. Thus, while they aided the oppressed party, or became Arbitrators of the difference, they brought all things into their own power, and *where they had made a waste, they called it peace.* The Achaians were once terrible to all their Neighbours, by means of a confederacy, wherein
upon

The Preface.

upon fair conditions the Cities of *Peloponnesus* were united; Their Commonwealth was of an excellent frame, and very like to yours (most illustrious Lords) strengthened by their united powers, and invincible. How often did that Lordly people of *Rome*, knowing *Greece* was inexpugnable so long as confederated, endeavour by art and cunning to dissolve that union? The Proconsul *Gallus* was put upon the business: and, when he found no success, the Spartans, by a treacherous

The Preface.

cherous device were added to the ligue, but upon unequal terms, to be a perpetuall cause of difference amongst them. This afterward undid the Achaians. The Annals are full of such examples, but here is no place to make a long relation. *Rome*, the Lady of all Nations, born for the ruin of the world (as *Mithridates* said) groaning under the peoples discord, and Senators faction, at last gave up her liberty, and submitted her proud neck to the yoke of *Caesar*. But, to return.

The Preface.

return to the Hebrews, I shall mention that in the last place, which is the chief of all. The for-
mention'd breach, after *Salomons* death, had been probably made up again in a short time, but that the ambitious Author of it, *Feroboans*, by changing the old true Religion into a vain and senseless superstition, obstructed the way of concord, and by a smooth oration having obtruded upon the ten Tribes his new invention, made them very prone to take armes, not so much
NOW

The Preface.

now for their Estates and Liberty, as for their Altars and Idols. These things, and many more of this sort, we have discoursed of in this Treatise: and we thought it not unfit to see the light. You that are the Fathers of your Country, have alwaies had this truth in mind: *That by concord a small Estate is raised, and the greatest is by discord overthrown.* Your own experience confirms you in it, since by divine favour, and your own vertue, and the conduct of your In-
vincible

The Preface.

vincible Leader, your Common-wealth, by many degrees, is at last arrived to that height, that your enemies can complain of nothing, but your greatness. As I pray for the perpetuity of this Union, whereby you are so happily advanced; so, when I consider your wisdom, which hath shined forth in the greatest Tryals, I am very confident, the same will last, as all good men would have it, and remain for ever. Yet, I confess, we are not so secure, but that sometimes

we

The Preface.

we reflect our thoughts upon the examples of former Ages. Many of your subjects are already gone into sides, and oppose each other with contrary opinions, since here sprung up amongst them some unprofitable controversies about mysteries of Religion, not understood by the most part of the people. The multitude are carried severall wayes by their affections, and every day the flame encreases. Your selves understand (most illustrious Lords) how

m uc

The Preface.

much it concerns you to apply (and you do apply) seasonable remedies to this distemper, lest your flourishing affairs receive some detriment by this intestine malady, more pernicious than forein War, than Famine, than Pestilence. 'Tis vain for me to speak more, when I can propose nothing to you out of my deepest consideration, which is not obvious to your own judgement. Only my Petition to your Highness is, that you would vouchsafe

The Preface.

safe an intentive eye to this Common-wealth, which I have here describ'd, the most sacred, and the best that ever was. Here you shall find some things which Kings and Princes and the Moderators of publick affairs may select and lay up for their use. And truly I was the more easily moved to offer these to you, in contemplation of some excellent men sitting in your Senate, whose learning is so exact, that, if I have brought any thing for the
illustra-

The Preface.

illustration of antiquity
and of the best Authors,
they are able to pass a right
judgement on it.

E R R A T A.

Page 17. l. 3. for two, r. too. p. 21. l.
7. for their, r. there. p. 122. l. 17.
for mystery, r. ministry. p. 137. l. 3.
for carried, r. carved. p. 150. l. 6. for
good, r. God. p. 136. l. 23. for Susa,
Susac. p. 137. l. 13 r. Salmanassar.



OF THE
COMMON-WEALTH
Of The
H E B R E W S.

CHAP. I.

*The Institution of the Hebrew
Commonwealth. Legislation. The
Vain-glory of the Grecians. The
seven Precepts of the Sons of
Noah. The design of Moses in his
Laws and Ordinances.*



IN this work we shall
not be over curious
in our method, nor
make any accurate
search after mate-
rials, but lay hold upon such
B things

The Common-wealth

things as freely and familiarly offer themselves to our consideration; and as they come into our mind, set down our discourses upon them all. The Common-wealth of the *Hebrews* was founded by that excellent Man of God, *Moses*, the first Man that undertook a business of the greatest consequence in the World: For, amongst all the Actions of old, which Fame hath left upon record, this in my judgement is the most noble, the constitution of Common-wealths, and the ordering of humane Societies by good Laws. Nothing is more acceptable to God, the Almighty Governour of this Universe. As the honour hereof is very great; so, many Nations have laid claim unto it. The *Grecians*, among the rest of the benefits, wherewith they

of the Hebrews.

they boast themselves to have obliged other Nations, put Legislation in the Head of the Account. *Lycurgus*, *Draco*, *Solon*, and other Antients, are names they glory in. Their Glory is but vain: For, all the Brags of this blown and arrogant Nation are silenced by the *Jew*, *Flavius Josephus*, whose Apology extant against *Apion* (an enemy to the *Jews*, and a Man so famous for his eloquence that he was called *Cymbalum Mundi*) is full of admirable learning. There he shews, that the Greek Legislators, compar'd to *Moses*, are but of yesterday: for, at what time their Father *Hammer* liv'd, they knew not the name of Laws, nor is it extant in all his Poems; Onely, the people had in their mouth certain common sayings and sentences,

B 2

whereby

Plin. prof.

4 *The Common-wealth*

whereby they were govern'd; to supply the defects whereof, the unwritten Edicts of Princes were upon occasion added. The truth is, which *Flavius* hath well observed, *Moses*, *Homer's Senior* by many ages, is the onely Man to whom this honour appertains, which so many afterward were ambitious of. He was the first writer and publisher of Laws, teaching the people, what was right or wrong, just or unjust, and by what Decrees that Common-wealth was to be established, which the most high God had commanded to settle in *Palestin*. Before the time of *Moses*, no written Laws were known in the World: for, although mankind liv'd not altogether without Laws before, yet were not those Laws consecrated and kept in any publick records

5 *of the Hebrews.*

records or monuments. Of this sort were those seven Precepts which the *Falmudists* say were given to the Sons of *Noah*, concerning certain Rules of righteousness necessary for the life of Man. Wherefore they were of so large extent, that whosoever knew them not, those the *Israelites* were commanded to destroy by War, and deprive them of all Communion with mankind; And justly: For, they that had received no Law, seemed worse than beasts; and (as *Aristotle* hath divinely spoken) *injustice strengthened with Arms and Power is most cruell and intolerable*. Now the Arms wherewith nature hath furnished Man, are Reason and Prudence; things enabling him abundantly for mischief, if they be not restrained and regulated

by Laws. But let us return to *Moses*. In his institution of that Common-wealth, the most holy upon earth, he assigned the Supreme Power to God; and when others find other names (as the matter requires) calling the Government Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, he conceived none of these appellations suitable to the nature of so great an Empire: Wherefore he ordained such a kind of Government, which *Flavius* saith may very significantly be stil'd *Theocracy*, that is, a Common-wealth whose Ruler and President is God alone; For, he professed all affairs were managed by divine judgement and Authority. And of this he gave an evident demonstration, in as much as although he saw all matters depending upon him, and

and had all the people at his devotion, yet upon so fair an invitation he sought no power, no wealth, no honour for himself. A thing, whereby he shew'd himself more than Man: For, in all Men there is implanted a desire of Rule, a desire inveterate, more flagrant and eager than all other affections whatsoever: Which, I believe, *Moses* had never been able to expectorate and extinguish, had he not seen God himself present and president in all affairs; with whom, to seek a Partnership in the Government, had been an extreme degree of madness. Moreover, He ordered that the Magistrates should not be Lords and Masters, but Keepers of the Laws and Ministers. An excellent Constitution: for, seeing even the best Men are sometimes

transported by passion, the Laws alone are they that alwaies speak with all persons in one and the same impartiall voice; Which I conceive to be the meaning of that fine saying of *Aristotle*, *The Law is a Mind without Affection*. Lastly, we consider that which is not the least of all, the eternall stability of *Moses* Laws: whereto to adde, where from to take ought away, was a most high offence. So that, neither old Laws were abolished, nor new brought in, but the observation of the first was exacted of all with rigour, even in the declination of that Common-wealth. Which was not so in other Common wealths, being both founded and overthrowen by Law-making: for, as many of the Rulers, affecting to bring in somewhat of their own

own, have changed things before well ordered; so, many good Orders by desuetude, more (which is worse) abolished by contempt, gave security to vices. This diversity we could never wonder at; seeing the Laws of other Nations, Inventions of humane Wit, are enforced only by penalties, that by time, or through the sloath of Governours, lose their terrour: but the Jewish Ordinances, being the Decrees of the eternall God, not weakened either by continuance of time, or softness of the Judges, they remain still the same; and when the Ax and Scourge are no longer feared, Mens minds are nevertheless kept in awe by Religion.

CHAP. II.

The prudence of the Lawgiver concerning Assignation of Lands. That they ought not to have been the first Seizer's. The Agrarian Law, and its inestimable Utility. The Redemption of lands. The benefit of the Jubily, and Solemnity thereof.

Flavius Josephus often cites *Hecataeus of Abdera*, an Author of great Faith and integrity, one that waited upon *Alexander the great* in his Wars; Many Countries he viewed, abounding with all kind of fruits, but admired none so much as *Palestine*; Of this he wrote a singular Book, out of which *Iosephus* recites many things in favour of the Jews. To our purpose, he saith the Jews inhabited

a

a very good Country, and most fruitful, conteining three hundred thousand Acres; a seat, where-into as most fit for them, the divine goodness transplanted the *Hebrews* out of *Egypt*: For, as formerly they had spent their lives in tillage of the ground, and feeding of Cattel; so here in a bounteous soil they might still enrich themselves, and prosper by the same profession. So soon as the holy people had by force of Arms possessed themselves of the promised Land, the chief Captain *Iosua* presently put in execution the commands of *Moses*. The whole Country he divided into twelve portions, and gave it to be inhabited by the twelve Tribes. Then, he numbred the families in every Tribe, and according to the number of persons gave to every family

The Common-wealth

family a certain proportion of Lands, and prescrib'd their bounds. By this means, all were equally provided for; which is the prime care of good Governours in every Common-wealth; a care, that the most Politick Nations, the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in after-times were not unmindfull of, when they carried forth their Colonies. Had every one made that his own, upon which he first set his foot, quarels and commotions among the people must needs have followed: for so it usually comes to pass; whilst every one seeks to get and appropriate to himself what was common, Peace is lost. Moreover, *Moses*, as it became a wise Man, not only to order things at present, but for the future ages to come, brought in a certain Law providing that the

of the Hebrews.

the wealth of some might not tend to the oppression of the rest; nor the people change their course, and turn their minds from their innocent labours to any new and strange employment. This was the *Agrarian Law*; a Law, whereby all possessors of Land were kept from transferring the full right and dominion of it unto any other person, by sale or other contract whatsoever: For, both they that on constraint of poverty had sold their Land, had a right granted them to redeem it at any time; and they that did not redeem it, receiv'd it freely again, by this Law, at the solemn feast of Jubily. There is a great writer, *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*, he that in his divine work entitled *מסנה תורה* hath happily collected all the Talmudicall doctrine

doctrine except the trifles, an Author above our highest commendation, the only Man of that Nation, who had the good fortune to understand what it is to write seriously and to the purpose; We shall often make use of his Authority, and now it will help us out in the matter we have in Hand. He is much upon the benefit of the Jubily, consisting (saith he) herein, that all Lands returned to their ancient Lords, although they had passed through the Hands of a hundred buyers. Neither are excepted; by this most learned writer, the Lands which came to any one by donation. These could no more than other be retained from the first possessor. It is a point of the Talmudicall Law, and I make no question but 'tis very right. The same

Rabbin

Rabbin from the same fountain declares, that Redemption was permitted only to such as were recovered from their poverry, and enabled by some gain or commodity that had befallen them. The reason's plain; for, to borrow money, or to sell one piece of Land to redeem another, was to frustrate the Law, that appointed the unable, and their Heirs, to wait for the relief of Jubily. Yet might the Kinsmen of the necessitous, in the mean time, buy off for their money, what the poor owner, without borrowing, could not. These Jubily-solemnities returned every fiftieth year, beginning at the seventh month *Tisri*. No other time brought with it so much publick joy: for, besides the repossession of Lands that had been alienated, liberty

was

was given unto all servants. Yet was nothing done before the tenth of that month, a holy Fast and day of Expiation. The nine preceding dayes were all spent in publick mirth and feasting, like the Roman *Saturnalia*. Hear how *Maimonides* relates it. *From the beginning of the year, to the day of Expiations, neither were the servants dismiss'd, nor did they serve their Masters. What then? The servants did eat and drink and make merry, and every one of them set a Crown upon his Head. After, when the day of Expiations was come, the Senators of the Sanhedrin sounded with their trumpets, and forthwith the servants went away free, and the old Lords took a repossession of their Lands.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Again of the Agrarian Law. The danger of too ample possessions. The Roman Common-wealth. Stolo's Law. How the Hebrews maintained themselves. The Legislators providence. Divine Laws of Agriculture and Pasturage.

BUT we have more to say of the utility intended by *Moses* in the Agrarian Law. Certainly, it was of great concernment to the Common-wealth, as before we noted, that the avarice of a few should not invade the possessions distributed with so fair equality. It is not unusuall with rich men to thrust the poor out of his inheritance, and deprive him of necessaries, whilst they enlarge their own estate

estate superfluously. This produce often a change of Government: For, the truth is, That Common-wealth is full of enemies, wherein the people, many of them having lost their ancient possessions, with restless desires aspire to a better fortune. These men, weary of the present, study alterations, and stay no longer, than they needs must, in an unpleasing condition. Time was, when at *Rome* the principall men (drawing all unto themselves, in so much that one Citizen possessed Land enough for three hundred) were confined by *Stolo's* Law to five hundred Acres a Man. But that good order, by fraud, was quickly broken. *Stolo* himself was the first to violate his own Sanction, and was found guilty for holding a thousand Acres, making
use

use of his Sons name, whom to that end he had emancipated. And after, by other arts, many others eluded the sentence of the Law, themselves possessing what was purchased by their Agents. This abuse being perceiv'd by the wife *Lilius*, friend to *Scipio Africanus*, he endeavour'd to reinforce the Law, but overborn by the adverse faction, to prevent contention and discord, he desisted. So the way was open for licence, and possessions were enlarged out of all measure; till at last all *Italy* and the next provinces fell into a few Hands, as their proper patrimony: whereof, it were very easy to allege testimonies, but here is needless. We touched also another reason of the *Agrarian* Law, namely, that *Moses* would not have the people languish
and

and lose their vertue by want of exercise. The most eminent of all their Ancestors having led a pastorall life, and been good Husbands in the Field, their posterity could not be better secured from the vices and incommodities that follow idleness, than by being obliged to the same employments: which are not only the means of getting riches, but were used by the best Men even from the beginning of the World. Indeed, those Country employments would soon have been deserted, had the Law permitted every one to purchase as much as he would, and lay Field to Field; Whereby it comes to pass, that the Lords of so much Land disdain to perform those honest labours with their own Hands, but commit the business of Husbandry to others; such

such as are, for the most part, strangers hired, or servants bought with money. The inferiour people, having no Heart to bestow their labour on Land that is not their own, get out of the Fields into the Cities, and there immure themselves, and are corrupted with an idle kind of life, supported by some soft and illiberall Art. Verily, after that the *Roman* Senators, and those but few, engrossed to themselves the Fields which formerly belong'd to many, not the Citizens alone, but all free men neglected and forgot the art of tillage. The Country that had once seen such brave and gallant men as *Curius, Fabricius, Cato*, was now fill'd with the noise of chained labourers and bondmen. The magnanimous of-spring of *Romulus* (as *Varro* complains) *did*

did no longer exercise themselves in the Corn-Fields and Vineyards, but in the Circ and Theater: For, they had now thrown away the Hook and Plow, who of old (saith he) had so divided the year, that every ninth day only they visited the City; all the other dayes they attended their Country-affairs. Thus did they decline from their Ancestors ways, which while they observed, they reaped a double benefit; their Fields did abound with fruits, and their minds with virtue. For prevention of the many publick evils that arise from the fore-mentioned neglect, Moses a Man excellent both in divine and humane wisdom providently decreed the privileges of Redemption, and established the Law of Jubily: A Law, that had not the least shadow of injustice,

justice, nor contained any in-commodity at all to the buyers of Land; for, in the sale, an eye was ever cast upon the Jubily, & with respect unto the nearness or distance of it, the price did either rise or fall. This is that, which is at large set down in *Leviticus* in these words: *If thou sell ought unto thy Neighbour, or buyest ought of thy Neighbours Hand, ye shall not oppress (or circumvent) one another: According to the number of years after the Jubily, thou shalt buy of thy Neighbour, and according to the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee: According to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof; and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it: for according to the number of the years shall he sell*
unto

Lev. 25.
14, &c.

unto thee: Ye shall not therefore oppress (or deceive) one another. Now, if the Seller desired to redeem his Lands, before the Jubily, it was also with great equity ordained, that he should render back the price, only retaining so much of the money, as the buyer had receiv'd in profits. By this means, Restitution of Lands was made without any damage at all to either party; and Agriculture, their old honest employment, kept up in esteem and practice amongst all the people. What the nature and condition of that people was, to whom *Moses* gave his Ordinances, cannot be doubted: for, among so many Laws which he made, as a great number concern Justice and Religion, so the rest which pertain to their estates and matter of profit, run all upon rules of
Husban-

ry. How carefully are the people taught, when to give rest to their Land, and to intermit their seeding? what they must observe at Harvest and Vintage? What years it was allowed to gather fruit of the Vine? Further, with what severity are they forbidden to sow mingled seed in the same ground; to mix divers kinds of Animals in generation; or put them together under one Yoke? The rest, touching the breed of Cattle, First Fruits, and Tenth, are almost infinite. They are handled at full in the *Talmud*: where they take up the sixt part of the whole, or more. *Maimonides* hath comprehended all in his Book, that he calls מגילת, wherein are admirable secrets.

C

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

In what streight every seventh year brought the Jews. The benefit granted to this Nation by Alexander the Great, for a certain prophecy. The Jews had little commerce with other people. The Grecians ignorant of their affairs. Aristotles opinion of the Jews. Who are the best Common-wealths men. Of Artificers.

Such were the Laws given to the Hebrews: all whose wealth lay in the Fields. According to the encrease whereof, they were in penury or abundance? Hence it was, that as oft as forein Kings imposed tribute on them, every seventh year brought them into so great a streight, that they were hardly able

able to raise the sum. For their Law would not permit them to till the ground that year, and to gather in the fruits thereof, which yeilded all their money. Alexander of Macedonia, having learned at Jerusalem out of Daniels Book, that a Grecian should overthrow the Persian Empire; glad with the prophecy, bad the Jews ask of him some royall favour. They answered, no greater benefit could be done them, than the remission of the seventh years tribute. It was granted. The Samaritans, when they said much for themselves to obtain the same indulgence, were not heard. But, of all that can be said in this kind, nothing is more luculent than that which * *Flavins* gives in answer to *Apion*, in behalf of his Country-men: *Neither do*

* 1 Apol.
adv. Ap.

we live near the Sea, nor delight intrading; nor have we therefore any commerce with other Nations: but our Cities are remote from the Sea; and we our selves seated in a fruitfull Land, which we make more fruitfull by good Husbandry. Indeed, whereas severall Nations are so associated by Trade, that the Commodities of all Countries are transported and may seem naturall to every one, the Jews alone contained themselves within the bounds of their own Land, not applying themselves unto negotiation. For they passed not the Sea, nor visited other people, nor were visited by others. Whence it came to pass, that the Grecians and others have delivered many fabulous reports concerning them. For very few had certain intelligence
of

of their affairs. *Hecataeus* is the only man that hath written truth; The rest have related what they had by fame and hear-say; Which, how unsafe it is in all History, appears by *Ephorus*, a famous Author of old, who said, *Iberia*, which he never saw, was one Citie: a ridiculous errour; for 'twas not a City, but a great and populous part of the Western World. It is a marvellous ignorant conceit of *Aristotle* in *Clearchus*, that the Jews were propagated from the wise men of *India*, but had changed their name: the Philosophers of *India* being called *Callans*, and in *Cava Syria* Jews. I am ashamed, so great a man should make such a poor conjecture. But that which the same *Aristotle* there addes, as it is not incredible to us, so is it

The Common-wealth

very glorious for that holy Nation. He saith, when he was in *Asia*, there came unto him a certain Jew, a man of so much learning and science, that in comparison of him all the Grecians that were present, seemed to be but Blocks. Herein he hath made some amends for that, he had imprudently related concerning their Originall: which he had been better to have omitted, as a thing unknown to a stranger. And truly to me *Flavius* seems to glory in the Jews obscurity, when he saith, They live in mediterranean places, and Merchants and strangers have no access unto them. For so, they long kept their manners uncorrupted, and none of those exotick things pertaining to luxury and riot was imported, whereby most potent nations

of the Hebrews.

ons are undone. The rest of his words are such, that *Flavius*, you may say, is proud of his Country: *We dwell in a fertile Land, and in the culture of it we spend our Labour*: as if nothing could be greater or better. *Aristotle* recites some Edicts, framed by most ancient Law-makers, coming very nigh unto the Mosaicall. *Oxyles*, King of the *Elians*, prohibited Lands to be mortgaged for mony; and the *Locrians* were not permitted to sell the Inheritances of their Fathers. Which Ordinances were (as the greatest Author of naturall wisdom noteth) to this purpose, that the people might not desert the culture of their Fields. Wherefore he so often iterates it in his Politicks, that the best Common-wealth is, where the people live upon Til-

lage and Pasture. He gives the reason: *Because they govern themselves and their affairs according to the Laws: for they maintain themselves by their labour, and cannot have any time to be idle.* Other Common-weals, fill'd with a multitude of Opificers and Mechanicks, he judgeth in far worse condition, because the life of such men is unactive and sedentary, and their employment of no alliance unto virtue. It appears hence, how vain and frigid that vulgar objection is, (which *Flavius* mentions) against the Jews: *In that Nation there are no inventors of new works, no Artificers:* This is no disgrace to the Jews, but the greatest praise; for how can the invention be praise worthy, when the exercise of the things invented is
 illiberall

illiberall? All Opificers are conversant in works that foul their hands; and *Aristotle* saith well, they serve a kind of servitude, but limited, because we use their hands and labour, not as of servants in all, but in some one matter. So little of what is ingenuous can be found in the Shop, wherein, beside the rest, there is also this evill, that it effeminates and weakens both the body and mind. Wherefore in ancient Common-weals well establisht, (as the most judicious Master saith) Opificers were not Free-men, but strangers, and they were a body as it were distinct and separate from the Citizens.

CHAP. V.

The Hebrews hated by the Egyptians, and why. The Egyptians given to idle Arts: emasculated by Sesostris. An Egyptian Law of inheriting trades. The Shepherds, a third of the Egyptians, feared by the rest: and why more hated than Husbandmen.

NOW it will be easy to observe the cause why the Jews were hated alwaies by the Egyptians, not only while they sojourned there, but afterward when they had a proper seat and a Common-weal of their own in the neighbouring Land of *Palestine*, bounded on the South with *Egypt*, as *Cornelius Tacitus* relates. Truly, that hatred sprang from nothing more, than a dissimilitude of life and studies. For all the Plebeians of *Egypt*,

Egypt, set upon sellulary arts, under the shade of their Cities took their ease within the Walls; Yea some, perverting the offices of the virile sex, handled the spinning wheel. And as they were ever prone by their own disposition unto softness, so afterward were their minds more enervated by the King *Sesostris*; Whose studie it was to soften his people, and as the Egyptians themselves report, learned the skill of *Mercury*. There was a Law too, that conduced to this end by confining their wit within narrow bounds: for no Opificer might exercise any other Art, but that which descended to him from his Father. *Juvenal*, when he would smite *Crispinus* (a man gotten up to high place by evill Arts, and *Casars* favour) with a Satyri-
call

call jerk, calls him a *Plebeian of Nilus, and slave of Canopus*. For so it was the opinion, that the Priests were free, and the Officers, which were the common people, servants. But there was another sort far different from those, a certain third part of the people, which liv'd at distance in the plains of *Egypt*, and near 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 stronger Garrison in these parts. When you have taken the most exact

exact view of all things, you will find, this was the only 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 lively spirits. *Pharaoh* himself, when he had decreed to abate and depress the growing multitude of the Israelites, speaks to his men on this wise: *The Israelites are stronger than we. Come, let us deal wisely, that they encrease not, lest when War arises they joyn themselves unto our enemies, and take arms against us.* That opinion I think to be right and 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 be suffered by that

that Nation, who revered, some Sheep, some Goats, some other fourfooted Beasts, and would not slay them, being perswaded, 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 Pentateuch, that *Pharaoh* had innumerable Flocks of Sheep; or when they shall see so many monuments of Histories to be produc'd, making manifest, that a considerable part of the Egyptians (as we have above said) lived in Pastures, and among Cattle? And yet is that saying notable in the Scripture; *All Shepherds are hated by the Egyptians.* Of Husbandmen it is not so spoken: nor indeed could their valour (which was none at all) be feared or hated. For
the

the lazy Clowns had all their hopes placed not in the industrious manuring of the ground, but in the River *Nilus*. The overflowing stream bred and encreast their Corn: nor did it bring only fruitfulness to the earth, but earth it self; for being mixt with much mud, it enlarg'd the Fields, and by an yearly addition stretch'd out the bounds of their Land. So, the Countryman admired both his soyl and Crop newly sprung, which without his labour and care had fallen to him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Jubily not celebrated after the Captivity. That solemnity was kept in the 49. year, which was the 7. sabbaticall.

CONCERNING the Egyptians, of, and how different from their Neighbours of *Judea*, wee have spoken sufficiently; We return, to say a little more of the Jubily. The Agrarian Law made by *Moses* touching the restitution of possessions was observed with very great Religion untill the desolation of the former sanctuary by the Assyrians. After that, *Palestin* lay forsaken and incult for the space of 70. years, as the Prophets had foretold. But when at length that fatall time was expired, the

the Jews indeed returned to their ancient habitations, and the Temple was built a-new, but never was the Agrarian Law revived, nor the Jubily solemnities celebrated any more. No more now did every fiftieth year give liberty to servants, nor restore unto the former Lords their lost and sold possessions. Whether justly the fiftieth year or the forty ninth was the year of Jubily, 'tis made a question. We joyn with those incomparable men of our time that hold the forty ninth: nor can we assent unto *Maimo.ides* in this, though for the most, we religiously embrace his judgement. For this Author hath recompensed us, for his few and little errors, with many great virtues, and very choice observations every where. It is observed by the

the same *Maimonides*, that, as to the intermission of Agriculture, there is the same reason of the Jubily and every seventh year; nor is this a conjecture of the Jews only, or a probable opinion, but certain and undoubted truth, which the Legislators own word confirms, *Levit. 25*. But now, if the 50. year exactly were the Jubily, two Sabbaticall years (for the 49. is Sabbaticall) would without intermission have been celebrated together. A singular, strange and unusuall thing. For, whereas providence had so ordained that every sixt year in *Palestin*, by its exceeding fruitfulness, should prevent the famine of the seventh, being the year of rest to the Fields, there must now be a more miraculous fruitfulness, if two years

of

of rest should come together. In neither was it lawfull to Plow or Sow. Therefore, the divine bounty, which is expressed in *Levit.* (*I will send my blessing upon you in the sixt year, and it shall bring forth the fruits of three years*) must be encreased to serve for four years, the 49. and 50. being, upon divers reasons, both Sabbaticall. No such fruitfulness was ever granted to any other Land or Nation. We confess indeed the Land of *Palestin* was the favourite of Heaven, and much indebted to the divine influence above other Lands; yea, things went there sometimes contrary to the Laws of Nature. Nevertheless, seeing none of the Prophets have given testimony to so great a miracle, nor any histories have made any record of it, we must

not

not, by too easy a credulity, give occasion to our Reader to charge us with stupidity.

CHAP. VII.

The three consecrations of Palestine and of the Cities ; Of City-houses, of Jerusalem and her privileges. Agrippa's offence, and the Jews embassage upon it to Nero. Of enlarging their territories : and the right of fortifying. The ruin of the Commonwealth. The Cities of refuge.

THe *Talmudists* affirm, when *Josuah* marched into *Palestine*, he consecrated all the walled Cities. This they called *the first entrance*. But when the holy people was carried
away

away by the Babylonians, beyond *Euphrates*, their Country was polluted by the wicked : Wherefore, after the return of the Jews into their seats, *Ezra* the high Priest, by a solemn act, restored sanctimony to the Cities, and that was *the second entrance*. At last *Cesar Titus*, having overthrown the Jews, prophaned all again. And here the *Talmudists* flatter themselves with a pleasing error. For they doe yet expect *Messias*, who, as they would have it, shall invade the kingdom of *Palestine*, and consecrate the Cities once more. This, say they, will be *the third entrance*. Moreover, the same Authors tell us, wherein consists the Religion and sanctimony of Cities ; and why the Villages and Country were not consecrated also :
Which

Which it would be tedious to relate. When the Towns of *Palestin* were assigned to the severall tribes, the *Levites* too received Cities for their habitations; but the Country, the Fields and possessions were so divided, that they had no share: For they had the Tenths only, and first fruits, and all the Sacrifices. Of these they lived, and with these they did abound. But we must observe with *Maimonides*, what is here said hath place only in the Land, which by Covenant was given to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and which was held by their children, and divided amongst them. But in other regions, which were subdued by some Kings of *Israel*, the Priests and Levites had their portion with the rest of the Hebrews. Concerning City-dwellings

dwelling there was a Law, that he who had sold his House might redeem it within a year: the year being past, it was the buyers; nor had the next of Kin any right to redeem it, nor was the Jubily here of any benefit. If the House were redeemed, the whole price was repayed to the buyer; although the sale and delivery had been made many months before. And the former possessor might redeem his House, even on the last day of the year. In case he was absent, who had bought it, or was gone out of the way on purpose, the Redeemer addressed himself to the Court, and having there in presence of the Senate laid down the price he had received, departed, brake open the doors, and took possession of his House again. Thus
the

the *Talmudists*. In the Cities of the Levites it was not so, but, for their houses, they had the benefit of the same Law which was establish'd by *Moses* concerning the Fields and rural possessions of all the Hebrews, as hath been said. Wherefore they might redeem them after the year was past; and what was not before redeemed, the Jubily restored. Amongst all the Cities; most eminent was *Jerusalems* sanctity, and (as the *Talmud* delivers) it remain'd perpetuall, ever since the Dedication by the most glorious King *Salomon*: That *Ezra* consecrated it again, was unnecessary, for it was not capable to be prophan'd, like other Cities, by the hands of the Sacrilegious. Whence it came to pass, (as the *Talmud*-tradition is)

is)

is, that it was lawfull to sacrifice at *Hierusalem*, 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 *Hadrian* the Emperour 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 bloud secretly 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 ancient and approved custom of the Nation. *Maimonides* relates,

D

if

if any had an upper room so high that it gave them a prospect to the Holy of Holies, they might indeed once a week go up to see all safe, but oftner or for other cause, they might not. Verily King *Agrippa* much offended his people when from a lofty room in his palace he took a frequent view of the Temple & saw from on high what was done within it. The Jews, thinking this to be an unsufferable thing, raised a high wall to cut off the Kings prospect, and without delay sent unto *Rome* ten Legates, with *Ismael* the High-Priest, and *Eleazar* the Treasurer, to Petition *Nero* for a confirmation of that, which Religion had compell'd the people to do. What *Hecataeus* of *Abdera* saith in *Flavius*, that *Jerusalem* was of 50. furlongs compass, inhabited

inhabited by one hundred twenty thousand persons, were not very materiall for us to know, but that there is something of singular note concerning the enlargement of their *parias*, which *Maimonides* hath declared out of the Talmudicall Books. And this it is. In the enlargement of the City, the great Senate *Sanhedrin*, and the King, and one Prophet, consulted the oracle, called *Urim* and *Thummim*. After that they had agreed among themselves about the interpretation of the divine answer, the Senators of the *Sanhedrin* 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 Monu-

D 2 ments

ments erected in the City, and pronounced these words: *I will exult thee O Lord, because thou hast lifted me up.* At last, when they were come unto the place designed for consecration, because it was to be the bound of their *pomaria*, they all stayed; 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 Talmudicall writers have thus left upon record. Nor are they improbable, seeing the like and almost the same are extant in the 12. Chapter, of *Nehemiabs* commentaries. Yet in after times, the liberty of the Jews being oppressed by the Romans, this prolation of their *pomaria* depended not upon the pleasure of the great Council, but

of

of the Roman people. Farther, this is also deliver'd by *Cornelius Tacitus*, that the Jews, with a great sum of money purchased leave to fortify. Whence it appears, the Queen of Cities, *Jerusalem*, was in the same condition with all towns under the Roman power, whose Walls could not be repair'd without the Authority of the Prince or Governour, nor any thing joyned to them, or set upon them: as * *Ulpian* the Lawyer saith. * *L. 9. sect.* And truly, *Claudius Caesar*, when *ff. de rerum* he had received intelligence *divis.* that they were enclosing *Jerusalem* with a mighty Wall, admonished *Agrippa* of that new attempt; and thereupon the King, in obedience to the Emperour, left off the work he had undertaken. The Talmudicall writers say, *Jerusalem* had this

D 3 privilege,

privilege, above other Towns of *Judaea*, that no house in the City, after one year, could be retained by the buyer. They say also, it was not lawfull to plant Orchards or Gardens there: affirming that of the whole City, which *Hecataeus* hath written of the circuit of the Temple. Dead bodies, which were carried any whither, were not admitted into that City, out of a respect unto the Holiness thereof. Only two Sepulchers were there, of *David*, and of *Olid*, built (they say) by the old Prophets. Yet were the Levites bound up with a more strict Religion, being prohibited to bury the dead in their Cities and in the Field of their Suburbs too. Wherefore, by divine appointment, they received from the other Tribes a parcell of ground without

without their own borders, where they might lay the bones of their dead to rest. In other Towns, it was not unlawfull to bury, provided seven honest men gave assent thereto; but when once the Corps was carried forth of the gate, it might not be received again within the walls, although all the people should desire it. *Jerusalem*, as we said above, was the head-city, the seat of Religion and holy rites; Wherefore, that being overthrown, there fell with it the form of the Jewish Common-wealth, both Civill and sacred. Truly what *Flavius* saith of a voice heard out of the Temple, before the destruction of the City, *Let us go hence*; seemeth unto me to signifie nothing else, but that the Common-wealth was to be dissolved, and the

Scepter 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. First of all, the most sacred College of the High-priests, that drew its Originall from the Prophets, was now no more; because their custom was, to goe 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 Profelytes, 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 expect,

pect, shall be built. Nor doe they any more marry their Brothers Widows, which have no Children. And the solemnity of the Passeeover, never since that time, hath been rightly celebrated; for the Law commanded it should be kept in that place, wherein God had chosen the seat of his house. Of so much consequence was the fall of one City it hath changed and perverted all things, and brought to ruin the Common-wealth of the greatest people in the world. Concerning other Towns of *Ju-dea*, nothing memorable comes into our mind, but that God appointed some of them for Cities of refuge that such as had unwittingly slain a man might find safety and protection there. There did they endure a gentle banishment till the High-Priest

D 5 dyed,

died, whose death set them all at liberty; so that, if happy any had deceased before, yet their bones might then be carried into the Sepulchers of their Fathers. These towns were six; and three more shall be added to them, say the Talmud-writers, when the greatest of Kings, Messias, shall come upon the earth; to which they refer that of *Moses*, not spoken surely in vain, *When the Lord your God shall enlarge your borders.* Besides the six Cities, the same privilege was granted to the two and forty towns of Levites; but that the same writers deny, those places to have been safe for them, that understood not the benefit of the Law. Other things, which may be said of the Right of these Cities, together with what the Jews comment upon

upon some other towns, we will therefore let pass, because we cannot polish nor grace them by our handling.

CHAP. VIII.

What Palettin had above other Countries. The Hebrew Common-wealth could not be translated into other places. Of the Babylonian Jews: and their power. Of the Scepter, against Maimon. The Jews Common-wealth bound to Palettin. No Temple to be built elsewhere.

The Common-wealth of the Hebrews had its beginning then, when the holy people was brought into the happy land of *Palettin*. Before which time, though in the *Arabiaz*

rabian deserts most wholesome Laws, both ceremoniall and judiciall, were given by *Moses* the man of God: yet all their force pertained to that Country, wherein as the severall Tribes should have severall Towns, so there should be one City singularly appointed, to be the Chamber of the Empire, and sent of sacred rites. In the last part of the Pentateuch, the most wise Legislator, repeating what he had given in charge before, hath to our purpose added these exprels words again and again: *These are the precepts, the Statutes and judgements, which ye shall observe in the Land which is given you for an inheritance to possess.* Truly, *Palestin* had this excellency above other Countries, that the holy Nation and Common-wealth was affixed

affixed unto it alone. Had any one led that people out of their proper seat, and established the same Common-wealth by the same Laws, neither would the Common-wealth have retained its sanctimony, nor the people their Majesty. Pertinent here and fit to be consider'd on our way is that saying of * *Maimonides*: *As it is not lawfull for the Jews to move their seats out of Palestin, so neither may they pass out of Babylon into other Countries.* Without the explication of this, whosoever read the writings of the Hebrew Masters will meet with rubs. The truth is, *Maimonides* speaks not of all the Jews, but of them only who were carryed away by the enemy beyond *Euphrates*, and dwelt at *Babylon* and thereabout. Some of

* Lib. 14.
Mish. in
Hal. Mel.
cap. 5.

of these, after 70. years, returned into *Palestina*; the rest, moved by the beneficence of the Kings, under whom they lived, continued at *Babylon*, and fixed their colonies there. The multitude of them was very great, and at last grew up into a Nation. 'Tis incredible, what strength these exiles had; for they did almost offer both the Miter and the Diadem that is, the Priesthood and the Kingdom, to *Hircanus*, hastening out of *Partia* unto *Herod*; and to them were committed the *Arxans* of the Babylonian Empire, which an Hebrew Priest kept in a great strong Tower at *Erbatans* of the Medes. These Jews were joynd in a very close alliance with those of *Palestina*. The same institutions, the same course of life, the same language was

was common to both sorts: all things were the same. Wherefore, as God permitted them to dwell at *Babylon* far from their Country, because they were free there from the contagion of any forein customs; so were they denyed to proceed any farther, and to go to any other habitation. This is the meaning of *Maimonides* where he interprets that of *Jeremy*; *they shall be carried into Babylon, and remain there.* There is no more question to be made of this matter. That is very glorious, which some wise men of the higher form, approved and followed by *Maimonides*, have conceived of these Babylonians. Their opinion is after the fall relation and decay of the affairs and state of *Jerusalem*, these Babylonian Jews are the only people

Gen. 49.
10.

people upon whom was transfer'd the Imperiall dignity, promised in that famous Oracle: *The Scepter shall not depart from Juda, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, untill Shiloh come.* We, who reverence the excellent virtues of *Maimonides*, make no scruple to reprehend his errors. Certainly, that most considering Author, in this opinion, whilst he too much favours his Country-mens conceits, forsook his own judgement. I am not ignorant, that the Babylonian Jews had a Common-wealth among themselves, and administered Justice to the rest of their own Nation that were without *Palestin*. Nor do we forget, that some Peers, descended from the house of *David*, alwaies held the principality there. Yet therefore

therefore follows not, that which *Rabbi Ben Maimon* would have. For the Scepter, whereof the Oracle was, is nothing else, but the Jewish Common-wealth, that is, that Priestly Kingdom, whereunto the Religions and Ceremonies were, not an accession or prop, but the very soul and spirit. Besides, the custody of Ceremonies and sacred Rites did not belong to every City, but one, wherein was the sanctuary, the peculiar seat and habitation of the Deity. That City first was *Shiloh*, afterward *Jerusalem* in the midst of *Palestin*. If any schismatical Jew built a Temple or Altar in other Lands, they offended against the Rights and inviolable Laws of the Common-wealth. There is extant, among the monuments of history, the Epistle

of Onias to Ptolomy and Cleopatra; wherein he accuseth his Countrymen, because they had built sanctuaries in the Pnenician Cities and elsewhere, contrary to the Law: being himself guilty of no less fault, having built a Temple at *Heliopolis*, pretending the Authority of the Prophet *Isaiah* to countenance his ambitious enterprize. This could not be done without violation of the Ceremonies. It was amongst the decees of the most ancient Jews, which *Rabbi Moses Egyptianus* delivers thus: If one hath transgressed the Law, and built an other house beside the sanctuary at *Jerusalem*, it is not indeed to be accounted a temple of Idols; but yet the Priest that hath served there, can never sacrifice at the sanctuary of God, which is at *Jerusalem*.

L. 8. in Hal.
Bath. c.
ult.

salem. Yea the vessels, which he hath used, no man shall apply to the Ministries of the true sanctuary, but they must be hid.

CHAP. IX.

Criminall causes judged only in Palestine, not by the Babylonian Jews and others. When the Common-wealth was of all the Hebrews, when of the Jews. What the Scepter was. The plausible opinion of Eusebius confuted. Wherein consists and to whom belongs Imperiall Majesty.

WHAT we have now said of the sanctuary is of great moment to the confuting of *Maimonides*: but wee must produce other Arguments to prove,

prove, that the Commonwealth of which old *Jacob* spake to *Juda* on his death Bed, was no where seated but in *Palestin*. We will not go far; but cite *Maimonides* for a witness against himself. How often doth he tell us, the holy people, without the bounds of the Holy Land, was loosed from many of the Mosaicall Laws? He hath a notable * dissertation, wherein he circumscribes with certain limits the power of the Judges, both of *Palestin*, and *Babylon*. Certainly, the greatest part of *Moses* Law is conversant about criminall causes. The judgement hereof, saith *Maimonides*, could be no where exercised by the Babylonian Jews, no not in *Palestin*. And the Jews of *Palestin*, as by the Law they gave judgement to their
 OWN

* In *Halachah* *Sanhedrin*.

own people in all causes, within their own Country; so, without it, they gave no sentence upon their Country-men, unless by the permission of the Babylonian Peers, or other heads of the exiled Jews. Whence we gather, that the Jews of *Palesti* judged of crimes in their own Country alwaies, by virtue of the Law; sometimes out of their Country, but by permission and leave of others: the Babylonians no where judged of them; not in their own dominion, nor in *Palestin*; not by force of Law, nor by permission. And are these the men, think you, to whom was given the Jewish Scepter, after the affairs of *Palestin* were broken and decayed? Surely either the excellent writer knew not what was the dignity of the Scepter,
 OR

or he thought too well of some States of straw, that do there boast themselves to be of *David's* house. But wee wonder not at this light mistake of *Maimonides*, when we consider by what strange interpretations others have laboured for the sense of *Jacob's* divine speech. I remember, I had conference, concerning this, with the honourable *Apollonius Scottus* assessor of the supreme Senate, at what time in his house at the *Hague*, I sweetly spent the Vacation, and with great ardor ran over the Luculent commentations of *Rabbi Ben Maimon*: wherewith I was so taken, that I crossed almost all my former notes concerning the Jewish State. There did this Senator, such is his learning and the exceeding vigor of his wit, signifie
more

more than once, that in his judgment no other Text in the sacred Book is more examined by learned men, and less understood. Verily I was glad to find of my opinion a man, whose authority and repute might encourage me to oppose the interpretations of any other whatsoever. Wherefore, by his incitement, I think I shall not do amiss if in so great a multitude of conjectures, I shall also publish what my judgment is, about a prophecy so illustrious. The Argument indeed is worthy, wherein the wit of every man may exercise it self, and shew its strength. Although in this our Treatise we handle the affairs of Hebrews and Jews in common and without difference, for the most part, yet to secure the Reader from mistake,
we

we will once for all demonstrate, that the sacred Common-wealth constituted by *Moses* according to Gods appointment, was alwaies the same, and founded on the same Laws, but not alwaies of the same persons. A long time it was of the Hebrews, afterward by change of times it was only of the Jews. And so, the oracle of *Jacob*, which is of *Juda's* Scepter, pertaineth only to those later times. The ignorance whereof is the cause why this admirable prophecy hath been hitherto misunderstood. I will not mention here the miserable hallucinations of *Origen*, *Austin*, *Epiphanius* and others, who thought the Jews were promised, by those words of *Jacob*, a perpetuall succession of Kings of the same tribe and the same lineage, even to the times of *Messiah*. An opinion which led the

the followers of it into insuperable difficulties; for they know not what to say, nor whither to turn themselves, when they saw, from the death of *Sedechiah* to the times of *Aristobulus*, the Kingdom of the Jews was none; and after that untill *Herods* tyranny, it was in the hands only of the *Hasmonai* of the tribe of *Levi*. These things of late are discussed well, and with good success, in the exercitations against *Baronius*, by the most learned man of our age *Isaack Casaubon*, who is pleased with the famous opinion of *Eusebius* extant in the eighth Book of his Evangelicall demonstrations. We pretermitt all things rightly said both by *Eusebius* and by *Casaubon*, that we may not do what is done to our hand. And we confess, among all the In-

E terpretations

terpretations hitherto divulged, that of *Eusebius* is far the best. But because neither *Eusebius*, nor that great Scholar that follows him, seem to me to have understood, what that Scepter is, of which the old Prophet speaks to his Son a little before his death, nor when it was given to the Jews, this is needfull now to be cleared, but not without a preface. For it is no pleasure to us to dissent, neither from *Eusebius*, whom we have ever esteemed among the greatest writers; nor from him, whom we have above named, the prime man of our age, the follower of *Eusebius*; to whom we owe so much reverence, that no man is so great with us, as He. For He it is, by whose conduct these our times have made admirable proficiency toward the

perfe-

perfection of all learning. But we are constrained by our ingenuous love of truth, to lay aside affection, and impartially inquire what is right. The first error of *Eusebius* is, that the Scepter was given to *Juda* even from the time of *Moses*, because this Tribe excelled alwaies among the rest, with singular dignity, and held a more honourable place both in the Camps and in the order of them that offered gifts in the Temple. Which Argument moves me no more, than if one should say, the Majesty of the Scepter, at *Rome* or *Athens*, was not in the Roman or Athenian people, but in one tribe, which was more noble or flourishing. For truly it is manifest by the most constant affirmation of antient Authors, that in *Rome* and *Athens*

E 2

both,

both; were many and divers tribes, some above the rest in dignity, place and order. What is it then? Verily I suppose the Scepter to be nothing else, but the Majesty of Empire, Majesty I mean pertaining to the Common-wealth it self; Wherefore, whose is the Common-wealth, theirs also is the Scepter. Now, the Hebrew Common-wealth, from the age of *Moses* until the reign of *Rehoboam*, was not of the Jews, but of the twelve tribes. Whence it follows, that the Scepter, all that space of time, was of all the Israelites. But of this Scepter, which a long time was common to all the tribes, the divine Patriarch spoke not in that celebrated oracle. He had respect unto the later times and the ages to come, when the tribe of *Juda*, the people

people being divided into contrary parts, began to have a Common-wealth of their own, asunder from the Israelites: a Common-wealth approved and favoured of God, and called Judaicall from the name of *Juda* alone, until he should come, who was designed for the King not of the Jews only, but of all Nations. And this Majesty of the Scepter, from the time it once began to be the Jews, continued theirs, although the State of the Common-wealth was sometimes altered, and the power was in the hand, one while of the best men and the Priests, other while of the Kings and Princes. It is want of judgment in them that restrain the honour of this Title to Kings alone. For what people soever enjoys a Common-wealth of their

own, and Laws of their own, that people may justly glory in their Empire, and in their Scepter. It is recorded, that in *Jerusalem*, even at the time when the people were govern'd not by Princes but by the best, in the midst of the Great Council, which they call *Sanhedrin*, there hang'd a Scepter. Which was, no question, a certain token of that Majesty, which * *Tully* expresseth to be a certain greatness of a people, in retaining that power and right, which appears in Empire and all kind of Honour. Not Kings, not Princes, but Consuls and Senators managed the Roman Common-wealth, when that Law of confederation was given to the *Etolians* (as *Livy* relates) that they should well and truly conserve the Majesty of the Roman people. And that the same

* *In part. orat.*

same was imposed upon all free people that were confederates (but upon unequall terms) and friends to the Romans, the Lawyer * *Proculus* is a witness. Neither is it materiall to us, of what family or tribe they were, who governed the Judaicall State. For, although the *Hasmonai* of the tribe of *Levi* many years possessed the Kingdom, nevertheless was the Common-wealth of the Jewish people. *Nero Casars* most wise * *Master* told him, *The Common-wealth is not the Princes, but the Prince the Common-weal's.* And *Ulpian*, the Lawyer was just of the same opinion: *The crime of Majesty, or Treason (saith he) is that which is committed against the Roman people, or against the security thereof.* *Ulpian* lived in those times, when

* *In l. 7. ff. de captiv. & postlim. reversis.*

* *Sen. l. 1. de clementia.*

* *L. 1. sect. 1. ff. ad legem Jul. Majest.*

neither the commands nor suffrages were in the people, but the *Cæsars* held the Empire and power of all: yet he, that is wont most accurately to define every thing, ascribeth Majesty to the people.

CHAP. X.

The twelve Tribes of the Hebrews was never called by the name of Jews. The ten tribes carried captive by Salmanassar never returned into Palestine. Two tribes served the Romans, and no more, in the time of Josephus.

Eusebius is not sufficiently confuted, untill wee have made it plain how imprudently he drew himself into the snare. In the forecited Book are extant

2. 8. De-
monst. evan.
dem. 1.

these words: *Ever since the time of Moses, the Governours of Israel, if you look upon them in particular, were chosen out of severall tribes, but in generall the tribe of Juda was over the whole Nation.* Hitherto he agrees with himself and falls into no contradiction; but he addes, *For example, as in the Roman Empire, the Governours of several Nations, and Camp-masters, and the Kings, greater than all the rest were not all born at Rome, nor descended from Romulus and Remus, but sprung of many other Nations, some of one, some of another; and yet, as well all the Kings, as the succeeding Governours and Leaders, were called Romans, and the power and authority said to be of the Romans, not of any other name: so must we think of the Hebrew*

E 5 State,

The Commonwealth

State, that one tribe of Juda gave an illustrious name to all the rest, though the Rulers and Kings were created out of the severall tribes, all honoured with the common appellation of Jews. See whither incogitancy will bring a man! *Eusebius* concludes contrary to what himself would have. For, affirming the Scepter was the Jews from *Moses* time; he proves it by this reason, because the Commonwealth, the Empire, and the whole people of twelve tribes, had their appellation from the one name of *Juda*. With this argument twice or thrice in severall places he triumpheth; and you shall hardly find any other proof of his opinion in the whole discourse. But, by his leave, all this is nothing. For, neither did the Commonwealth,

nor

of the Hebrews.

83

nor the Empire begin to be called after *Juda's* name, till after the greater part of the Israelites, had made a defection, drawn away by *Jeroboam*, who shortly at *Samaria* strengthened his Kingdom by introducing a change of ceremonies and Religion. I will make it good to *Eusebius*, and to all that have any acquaintance with sacred story, that this is so. *Eusebius* often and with confidence affirms, all the twelve tribes were called by the name of Jews, and hath obtruded this groundless opinion upon unwary men, nor have there been wanting some writers of greatest eminence to defend it. We cannot yield unto it: whether you respect the times antecedent to the seizure of the Kingdom, or subsequent. And, we may conjecture, that
Eusebius

Eusebius, although he doth not plainly express his mind, thought it came to pass at the rise of the Empire when the Common-wealth was first settled in the Land of *Canaan*, and it was debated by what name to call it. But this hath no colour of truth, wherefore that excellent man, the Defender of *Eusebius*, makes him think otherwise of the time, and what he believes he thought, himself approves and follows. For, saith he, it was observed by *Eusebius*, that the twelve tribes of *Israel* received appellation from the name of *Juda*; and the appellation began to be used, when the Kingly power, which the tribe of *Juda* had lost in *Sedechiah*, was by the High Priests transferred upon themselves. And this, saith he, is a thing most worthy

worthy of admiration, and fell out by speciall providence. For, seeing in *Polybius* his opinion 'twas not without some great cause that the *Acheians*, a little people of *Greece*, once gave name to all the *Grecians*; surely here also we must conceive some more sublime and weighty reason, when after the return from captivity all the children of *Abraham* of all the tribes were called *Jews*. This error we neither can, nor ought to excuse. The truth is this: When the Kingdom of the *Israelites* was rent and divided, two tribes, *Levi* and *Benjamin*, joyned themselves with the *Jews*; which tribes being but few in number, and of mean estate, were accounted but for an addition; the Common-wealth was not named from them, but they

they even lost their own name, and at length the name of Jews was common to them all. There is no doubt to be made of thus much. But what, or how this can concern the other ten tribes, let them consider that are pleased with the conceit. Certainly, after that those ten tribes of *Israel* were once carried away by *Salmanassar* the Assyrian, and dispersed through *Colchos*, *Parthia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*, they never came back again into their native soil, nor were again conjoynd with the Jews: but even to this day, (if there be any reliques of them) under the command of barbarous Nations, they suffer the grievous punishment of their Apostacy. Wherefore, to be in the Common-wealth of the Jews, or to have the honour
of

a name from the Jews, was impossible for them who had no familiarity, nothing to do with the Jews, but were seated in another World far off, and beheld a different Heaven, different Stars. It will be worth our pains, and much to the present dispatch, to examine a memorable place, that is in *Flavius Josephus*, an Author of exquisite and unusuall diligence, *Flavius* had spoken first concerning them, who from every quarter out of the neighbouring places came to *Babylon*, that they might return with *Ezra* to *Jerusalem*. They all were Jews, and their Associates of *Levi* and *Benjamin*. And then, concerning the Hebrews of other tribes, he addes: *But all the people of Israel remained in their seats; wherefore both in Asia* * *L. II. c. 5. Antiquit.* * Where they were carried by *Salmanassar* far beyond *Euphrates*.

Asia and in Europe, two tribes only fell under the dominion of the Romans; the other ten do still continue on the other side of Euphrates, being infinite in number and unknown. Verily, they were under a harder fate, whom *Salmanassar* led into captivity, than whom afterward *Nebuchodonozor* carried away. For the Israelites were for ever restrained and kept back by the River *Euphrates*, which they had once passed over. But the Jews passed the same, and repassed, and came again at last into *Palestin*: and when *Palestin* it self became either too narrow for them, or less gratefull, they enlarged and spread their habitations through *Europe* and *Asia*. This is the reason why *Josephus* said, only two tribes of the Hebrews were brought into

into subjection by the Romans. For at that time the people of *Rome*, although they had almost subdued the World, and the Sun did both rise and set within the compass of their Empire, being Lords of the East and West, they had not yet extended their bounds beyond *Euphrates*. Therefore, that the ten tribes of *Israel*, shut up in eternall prison by that River, were not then under the Roman power, was truly said by the most accurate Writer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Their Conjecture that say the Scepter of Juda was first given to David. The prophecy concerning the Scepter not fulfilled till after times. When the Scepter was taken away.

I Have ingenuously and freely spoken my opinion, when the Scepter, whereof *Jacobs* prophecy is extant, was given to the Jews: also, what were the members of that Common-wealth, which had its rise and beginning from the Secession of the common people. These things *Eusebius* did not understand: yet he alone, among so many Interpreters, hath rightly and almost divinely judged of that oracle. The comments of other men I will not relate. But, what

what *Eusebius* affirms to have been done from the beginning of the Hebrew Common-wealth, very many conjecture, came to pass at that time, when the royall power was devolved upon *David*, descended of the tribe of *Juda*, as the sacred History doth witness. These men have already received such a solid and happy confutation from *Eusebius*, that no place is left here for the industry of any other. For he shews, that *David*'s posterity possessed the Kingdom only for a small time, untill the Babylonian captivity: and the sundry Scriptures that speak of his eternall throne, he hath well and wisely interpreted in relation to the *Messias*. To adde more of this after *Eusebius*, were to labour in vain; for by his pains herein, he hath eased

eased every one. It remains only, that wee answer their doubt, who wonder why the event came so far behind the prediction concerning the Jewish Common-wealth. For we have said, it began under *Rehoboam*, and not before. But we give them to understand, this was very agreeable to the meaning of the prophetick Patriarch. For the old Father, before his death, breathing forth his last words to his children, saith, he would tell them, *what should come to pass in the later dayes*. Besides, in prophecies, the times are not curiously to be insisted on: for most of them are to be interpreted with very great latitude. Observe, in this very prophecy, when it is said, *The Scepter shall not be taken away, untill Shiloh come; you* would

would think 'twere meant, that presently upon the appearance of *Messias*, the Scepter should be snatcht out of the hands of that Nation. Which came not so to pass. For the Jews lost not that honour, till the City being destroyed, and the Temple burnt, they ceased to have any Common-wealth, and to govern themselves by their own Laws. Nevertheless, the oracle was infallibly true. For although the Saviour of the World had left the earth long before, yet, for certain, these things hapned in the same age: which was presignified by the *Messias* himself, when he speaks of the destruction of the City and Temple, in these words: *Verily, this Generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.* This is enough for the wise. The rest, that love to raise

Mat. 24.

raise doubts and scruples every where, we regard not. For my part, seeing men of great name fluctuating among uncertain errors, I applyed my self to find out some firm ground to rest on, which henceforth I might without danger constantly maintain. For otherwise this matter would have often hindered our proceeding in this Treatise.



CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Dictators and Judges. Of the Senate Sanhedrin. Of the initiation of Senators. The imposition of hands: and the solemn words. Who were chosen into that Council, and what was their jurisdiction. Of the peoples assemblies.

WE have shewed, that the Common-wealth, of which we discourse, was of all the Hebrews for a long time, and then only of the Jews. The stating whereof concern'd us much. Now, having past the trouble of that dispute, let us declare who they were that ruled over the Holy Nation, and what is to be thought of their judicature, and of their Senate. The Divine goodness granted
not

not leave to *Moses*, to behold in *Palestin* the beginnings of that Common-wealth, whose Laws he had published in the wilderness. That Grace was vouchsafed to his Successor *Josuah*, the Captain General and Sovereign of the people; for both at home, and abroad in the War, his word was a Law. His Successors with equall power were they, who, for going in and out before the people, and commanding them, might well be called Prætors and Dictators, but in the sacred Annals are, for the like reason, named Judges. *Flavius* hath stil'd them Monarchs, a name, that the Greek writers gave also to *Sylla*, *Cinna*, *Marius*, and other Roman Dictators. These Judges, in great commotions, were created by necessity
and

and experience witnessed, that in War they had alwaies good success, when the Kings very often had their rashness requited with ill fortune. Sometime also the same Judges were employ'd in civill affairs, and heard causes, but those of the greater moment. For they seldom sat in the judgment seat. Only the commands, and the Empire, and the Sovereignty pertained unto them. The last of their number was *Sammuel*, He, whom the Kings followed. Who not content with power and rule, lifted up themselves above the multitude, in their robes and ornaments and splendor of fortune. Moreover, besides the Sovereign Rulers and Judges of the people, and those that were after called Kings, there were others not a few, who consulted

ted of the Common-wealth, gave judgment, and arbitrated business. For there were certain Synedryes or Councils; wherein, who were the Senators, and what where the matters of their cognizance, we must now enquire. In the first place presents it self the great Council of the Sanhedrin, into which were ascrib'd seventy Adessors. That Council, constituted by *Moses*, continued under the Judges, and Kings, and high Priests, untill the last desolation of *Judaea*; and was holden in that City which was the seat of the Sanctuary, and the head of the Common-wealth. But because the first times, and the next to them, are most part obscure, and the Holy Book hath delivered to us nothing of principall consideration concerning the City *Shiloh*;

lib; We will deliver what the Jews have observed of that Council in the Princess of Cities *Jerusalem*, after the Temple was built there: and then we shall speak of the other Councils, which were either at *Jerusalem*, or at particular Cities. The Seat of the great Council was in the very Sanctuary, where the seventy Senators judged both of divine and humane things: Men, not chosen from among the Plebeians, but all most noble, commended by their honourable Parentage, and the antient ornaments of their family. The place was assigned to them by *Moses*, who commanded they should meet in the place which God should choose to have his name adored there. From these Judges was no appeal. Whatsoever the
F 2 other

other Magistrates and Judges in the towns of *Palestin* and in *Jerusalem* it self were not able to decide, belonged unto their jurisdiction. Two of them excelled the rest in honour and authority: one was the head of the Sanedrin, by the Talmudists entitled *Prince in every place*; the other next in degree, but inferiour to him, whom they called *the Father of judgment*. The rest were equall among themselves. This Senatorious dignity, because it was most honourable, was granted to none without a legitimate act, namely, imposition of hands. So, *Moses* layd his hand upon *Josuah* and the seventy Elders: which solemnity being performed, presently a divine spirit from above fell down upon them, and fill'd their breasts.

And

And these, being thus initiated themselves, admitted others after the same way. Yet could not that rite be used without the Holy Land, because all the vertue thereof was confined by the bounds of *Palestin*. It is very observable, which *Maimonides* hath delivered in the fourth Chapter of his *Halacha Sanhedrin*. For whereas of old this act was celebrated at their pleasure, by all those upon whom hands had been once imposed, that right (saith he) was freightned by the wise men, and a constitution made, that no man should after that time use it, but by grant from *Rabbi Hillel*, that divine old man. He was Prince of the great Council, and had another vice President, *Sameas*, a man truculent and ambitious; whose fol-

F. 3, lowers

lowers, when a little after they had risen up against the Disciples of *Hillel*, stirred the minds of men with so much passion, that willingly the whole people was drawn into their party. At length, this imposition of hands, which had been used long, ceased. And there was only pronounced a certain form of words (according to *Ben Maimon*) of this sense: *Behold, the hand is imposed on thee, and power given thee to judge, in criminall causes also.* Besides, the Talmudists have told us of another form; whose words, because the illustrious *Joseph Scaliger* * hath mistaken, we shall here restore unto their proper sense. The Talmudists, after they had spoken of *Juda* the son of *Baba*, a stout defender of the antient customs of

* In clensbo Tribe. ref.

of his Nation, and who, when the jurisdiction in criminals and imposition of hands were almost lost, supported the sinking cause, adde thus: *That solemn act is not only done by the hand imposed, as Moses did to Josuah; but it is also done by a form of words only, after this manner, I impose my hand upon thee, and be the hand on thee imposed.* But the excellent *Scaliger* collected from the place, that *Juda* had found out a form different from the most antient, which is there conceived (when 'tis not so, nor do the Talmudists say so) being deceived by a word which he renders, *besides*, which in Rabbinism signifies *only*. But this is a Grammaticall note, and ought to be left to others. We are here to consider graver matters. Into the Great Council,

F 4

not

not only Citizens of prime Nobility, as we have said, but Levites also and Priests were chosen. And the High Priest (saith *Maimonides*) was elected too, if he were a considering man, and fit for Counsell. Otherwise, it was lawfull to lay him aside. For he came not to the Senate by any right of his own, but he was admitted by suffrages. All the Adseffors were required to be entire and perfect in body. vvhosoever had any main or deformity was excluded. Nor were strangers and foreiners received into this order, except the Mother at least were a Jew. The Senators of the *Sannedrín* had this charge, to make their progress through all *Judea*, to take a view of the Assemblies of the people, to appoint them Magistrates in every town.

town. And all the vertue and authority of the *Cabbala* (a mysterious doctrine delivered from hand to hand even from the beginnings of the Common-wealth) was with them. Their part also it was, to make Statutes in sacred matters, and to devise certain wayes to expound the Law. Whereof *Maimonides* hath spoken with great care. Moreover, the causes of Prophets, who had highly offended, were no where tryed but in this great Council. Which our Saviour had respect unto, when he said in *Luke*, *It is not possible, that a Prophet should perish out of Jerusalem.* Lastly, which is a point of the greatest power, they did also constitute a King, and deliberat of waging War, and giving battail to the enemy, and enlarging the Empire. But because, in these things

things the common safety, and publick state was so much concerned, consultation was therein had (for the most part) with the people. For meetings were called, wherein alone they had some share in the Government. And truly, otherwise they ought not. Honours and Magistracies are committed to single and select men. *Plebeians* have not strength and skill to bear them. In their meetings (as *Aristotle* hath discreetly noted) and in conjuncture, the multitude hath some understanding, and can advance the publick good, because the wiser men are present and lead the way; but single and apart they have little judgement. Concerning a King then, and concerning War, as I have said, Decrees were made sometimes the people being Author:

all

all other things the Senators of *Sanhedrin* dispatched by themselves. The weightiest affairs were not too heavy for them, because they were chosen for their worth, and great abilities; by the divine *Moses* rightly named Elders, not only for their age, but for their wisdom and experience.

 CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of two other Councils at Jerusalem besides the Sanhedrin. The Senate of 23. in every town. The College of 3. The measure of Cities. The 5. men for expiation of slaughter. The 7. men and 3. men for ordering the Calendar. The times disposed by Rabbi Hillel. The authority of Sanhedrin lessened.

OF the great Senate we have said, what came to mind: the other Councils will not detain us long. The most learned * *Maimonides* relates, that in the City of Jerusalem it self were two Councils more. They are described in the * *Talmud*. In either of them sat three and twenty Judges. And as the Great Council was held in that

* n Hala-
et a San-
hedrin. c. 1.

* In Misna
& in Ge-
mara.

part

part of the Temple, which is called *Gazit*, so one of these at the Court-gate, the other was kept at the Gate opening to the Mount of the Temple. The Dignity of them also was not the same: for the Judges at the Mount-Gate, took it for a preferment to be ascrib'd into the Senate at the Court-Gate. And again, it was a new degree of honour to ascend hence into the *Sanedrin*. The distinction is exactly made by *Rabbi Ben Maimon*. Farther, beside these Councils at Jerusalem, there was constituted in every town of *Palestin*, a Senate for jurisdiction and the care of publick affairs. It consisted of 23. men, who sat in judgement upon the life and fortunes of the people, and decided all causes, except a few reserved, as is aforesaid,

to

to the great Councill. *Ben Maimon* also describes a certain College of three men, and saith it was in such a City, which had not a hundred and twenty inhabitants. But I am of *Aristotles* mind, that this is not a City. For, as it is not a Ship, which is of one handfull, or of two furlongs: so is it not a City, which wanteth a just measure; if it be too little, it cannot (as a City should) subsist by it self; and too much greatness turns it from a City to a Nation. But we must not call a *Rabbi* to so strict account. It was the office of those three, to judge of trespasses of moneys, and goods moveable. The Capitall offenders were brought (as I have shewed) before another Bench. *Ben Maimon** addes, somethings were of such a kind that they belonged

bedrin, c. 5.
* *In Halu-*
cho San-
bedrin, c. 5.

belonged neither to the seventy Elders, nor to the College of twenty three, nor to the three men: but were to be referred to a peculiar Senate. In which number he reckons man-slaughter committed by an uncertain hand in the borders of any town. Five men (saith he) must expiate this by the Sacrifice of a Heifer. The same Author hath more of this nature, which I willingly prætèrmit. For we doe not repeat Dictates. That may seem strange, that the ordering of times was commended to certain Judges; for, * concerning the Leap-year, seven, * *In eadem Halacha,* concerning the month, three men *eod. cap.* determined. But *Hillel* the Babylonian afterward acquitted all his Countrymen of this care: the prime man of his age, of whom we have this honourable testimony

* In libro
juchasin.

testimony from *Rabbi Abraham * Zacuth*: *Rabbi Hillel*, president of the great Council composed the Intercalation for all Israel till the times of *Messiah*; and that was done by him, before the Lawfull act of imposition of hands was abrogated. Had not this same *Hillel* maturely prevented so great an evil, certainly the times would have been much confused; for, not long after ceased the solemnity of imposing hands, without which those seven men and three men were not appointed overseers and correctors of the Calendar, as *Maimonides* observeth. But no more of this, lest the Reader think we prepare an accurate and perfect work, whereas we only thrust out our sudden and tumultuary Meditations. And we desire it may be noted,

noted, whatsoever we have said of Councils hath relation to the time before *Judaea* had received the Roman conqueror. For he changed and repealed many things, not for his lust or pleasure, nor out of any cruell design, but that he might secure his Dominion. *Gabinus* chiefly, the Proconsul of *Syria*, seeing the principall pillar of the Common-wealth was the *Sanhedrin*, thought it good policy to take away the authority thereof in many towns. Wherefore at *Gadar*, *Amath*, *Hiericho*, and *Sephor* he settled four Synedrises, and a fift at *Jerusalem* (now but a part of what she was) all of equall power. And the Councils placed by *Gabinus* in the other Cities, as they were not inferiour to that in *Jerusalem* for power, so were they far

*In l. 17. c.
de Jud. &
cal.*

far beyond it in continuance. These are meant, if I mistake not, by * *Justinian*, when he requires a Canon, from the *primates, who rule the Synedries of either Palestine*. But we make no excursion into these times. The ancient *Common-wealth* and primitive Institutions are under our consideration. To enquire into the rest, and set down things that were often changed, were unhappily to place our study, where no certain truth can be delivered.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The creation of a King. A bad one first chosen, why. What qualities the Prophet had respect unto. The Book of the Kingdom laid up. The power of the Hebrew Kings. Their honour above Priests and Prophets. Kings and Priests at first the same. The anointing of Kings made them sacred. The Holy Ointment hid by Josia, and lost with other things.

R *Abbi Ben Maimon* * saith, the Israelites received three commands from God, to be fulfilled in *Palestin*; the first whereof was, to make themselves a King; another to blot out the memory of the *Amalekites*; the third concerning the building of a Temple. The performance

* *In part.
post. Misna.*

formance whereof (saith he) was at severall times and long distant, but in the same order wherein they were commanded. For a King was created before the War with *Amalek*, and the building of the Temple was not begun, untill that most odious Nation was brought to an end, and quite destroyed. The testimonies illustrious, which are related by the same Author, need not be transcribed higher. In the 17 of *Deuteronomy* the most high God, saying the Israelites would desire a King, addes the truest reason of it, because all the neighbouring Nations lived under the royall Government. For such is the nature and disposition of men, inhabiting that part of the world: few prefer liberty before subjection unto just Lords. And *Claudius Civilis*.

vilis in *Tacitus* truly saith to his Batavians, that Syria and Asia serve, and the East is accustomed to the yoke of Kings. This being so, many have admired, why God took it ill, that the Sovereign power was transferred from *Samuel* to a King, since he had approved it before, and said it should be according to the inclination of the holy people. *Maimonides* answers learnedly, that the divine Indignation arose from hence, *Because they desir'd a King by unfaithfull complaints and seditious murmurings, not that they might comply with Gods design in the Law, but out of a distast of the most holy Prophet Samuel: to whom it was spoken by the voice of God. They have not rejected thee, but me.* Verily I am of this opinion, and I doubt not to assert it, that the King-

Kingdom was given to *Saul*, not out of Gods love and care of the Common-wealth, but because he perceived his arrogance and cruelty, hee meant to glorify *Samuel* by this unequall comparison, and by such a successor make his vertue the more desirable. The qualities seem but light and superficiall, but they are of great moment, which (as the Holy Book in severall places hath it) were considered by *Samuel* in the Kings election: a gracefull look, tallness of body, and such like, which affect and draw the eyes and minds of all. These are the things, which the great Prophet, in the midst of the Assembly, commended, when he spake these words: *Behold, whom God hath chosen: that there is none equall to him in all the people.* Wherefore, it is not

1 Sam. 10.
24.

the property of Barbarians only, but of the most civill men, to think them capable of great achievements, whom nature hath graced with a goodly form and stately countenance. No less a man than *Aristotle* hath pronounced thus: If any personages are by nature framed so much more excellent than others, as the images of Gods excell the images of men, it seemeth meet, that the rest should be servants unto such. If this be true in the body, much more in the soul: but the souls form and beauty cannot be so easily discerned. To leave this: In the Holy Bible is mentioned 1 Sam. 10, a certain volume, wherein *Samuel* wrote the sacred rights of the Kingdom, and laid it up in the Tabernacle. A text not well understood by *Josephus*; who imagi-

imagined all the evils, which God foretold the people they should fear from an unjust King, were comprehended in that volume. We on the contrary believe, there were in that Book the Laws, which commanded the King to follow justice and equity, and to govern the Common-wealth wisely for the peoples good: also, not to play the Prince in lusts and riots: lastly, to retain modesty in the greatness of his fortune, a virtue well becomming the best of men, and very pleasing unto God. The matter is deliver'd in Deuteronomy thus: *Thou shalt set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: One from among thy Brethren shalt thou set King over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy Brother.*

Deut. 17.
15, &c.

But

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt. For as much as the Lord hath said unto you, ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply Wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes to do them: That his heart be not lifted up above his Brethren. These words of the Law are not obscure, and they

G

seem

seem to contain the sum of that volume, which the great Prophet laid up in the Sanctuary. We said* above, the Jews had such a Common-wealth, which in the Scripture is called a Priestly Kingdom. Whence it follows, that their Kings did not only govern in civill affairs, and military, but were Presidents of Religion and holy Ceremonies. For they were sacred persons, to whom Gods Commission and the voice of a Prophet gave Empire, honour and authority. Yet as the Over-sight of Sacred things, the Sovereign power and judgment pertained unto them, so the mystery and charge of the same things was of right claimed by the Levites, that is, the High Priest, the rest of the Priests, and their assistants. It was their office, to slay the Sa-

crifices

crifices, to make expiations, to rehearse the divine Laws before the people, and to perform other services in the Temple. The Talmudicall writers well observe how much the King excelled all, both Priests and Prophets: which we will relate out of * *Maimonides*. The words are to this effect: *It was a Statute, that the chief Priest should reverence the King, and yield him his place to sit in, and himself stand, when the King came to him. But, the King standeth not in the presence of the Priest, unless when he consults the Urim after the solemn manner. And, such is the dignity of the King, that even the Prophet himself, as oft as he comes into his presence, bows himself down to the earth: as it is written, Nathan the Prophet came be-*

* In *Halu-cha Mela-chim*, cap. 2.

G 2

fere

fore the King, and, to honour him, fell upon his face to the ground. Yet more, David himself, whom the Prophet formerly had anointed King, so little feared to take upon him the honour of the High Priest, that he put upon himself the Ephod, and enquired of the Lord, whether he should pursue the enemy. The place is eminent in the Book of Samuel, perverted by the late Interpreters, men very learned, but here they seem indiligent. Let all men judge that have any skill in the original, whether the words translated by them, *Applicavit sibi Abiathar amiculum, Davidi causa*, signify not the same I have said, that David, having put on the Ephod of Abiathar, consulted the Oracle [The English Bible reads it, And Abiathar

Cap. 30.
v. 7.

thar brought thither the Ephod to David. Grotius de Imperio c. 6. reads it in this sense, Abiathar made the Ephod to come near to David, that as he stood before the high Priest (which the King only did when he consulted Urim) he might see whether the sparkling of the precious stones would promise him good success. Abiathar then had the Ephod upon him, not David. The Urim answered. i. e. God by the Urim. vide locum.] But let us give you some more of our Collections from the Rabbins. Herein also consisted an high point of honour, that the King only, and no man else, might sit in the Court of the Temple, in any place; only the King, who was of Davids family. That Court was divided by certain spaces, one part for the Priests,

M. i. n. c. 2. 1
in Hal.
M. l. & c.
7. Hal. Bath.
Habb.

another assigned for the people; Yet the Priests could not sit down, though within their own prescribed bounds. The Senators of *Sanhedrin* had right to sit: but, *in the midst of that place which the prophane common people had.* Never did the more sacred spaces of the Court behold any man sitting, but the King: this being his Prerogative, as if he were nearer to God than the Priests themselves, and a greater President of Religion. And, if we go to other Nations, *Aristotle saith, in the first times the same person, for the most part, was both King and Priest.* This was no depraved custom, being in use, while people followed nature more incorruptly, and saw what was right, so much better, by how much nearer they were to the divine originall.

But,

But, to speak of the Hebrew Kings, their sacredness depended much upon their being anointed. This was proper to them and the high Priests, as the *Talmud* saith, *That anointing added a divine Majesty to the Kings, and made them sacred, and allyed unto God.* The reason, why in those times they ordered or restored Religion, was not because they were Prophets: (that's a groundless and erroneous opinion, for except *David*, and perhaps *Saul*, no one of the rest prophcyed of things to come:) but *Salomon* and *Jehoshaphat* and *Ezechiab* and *Josiah*, and others exercised power and authority over things divine, because the vertue of the sacred Ointment had been communicated to them. This Ointment *Moses* was directed

* In Hal.
Cele Ham-
mik, c. 1.

to make of those aromattick ingredients which * *Maimonides* describes. And the *Talmud* saith, it was used for initiation and consecration untill the times of *Josiah*, who hid it under ground in the Temple, in a secret place prepared carefully long before by *Salomon*, upon notice of the prophecies, that the Temple should at last be thrown down by the Assyrians. In the same secret place (as the Tradition also is) the Ark of the Covenant, and *Aarons* rod, and the stones *Urim* and *Thummim*, with the residue of Manna, were laid up by *Josiah*: and none of them all was restored to the Jews, when upon their return from *Babylon* into their native seat, they built the second Temple. Wherefore, since that time the Kings and Priests received
not

not the same Majesty from the mysterious initiation. Nor was the Deity so propitious to their ceremonies and sacred rites, as before. The Jews have a proverb among them, related by * *Rabbi Zucuth*: The fire lay upon the Altar, as a Dog, because the vertue of it was extinct, after the five things were wanting in the later temple: but in the former, that fire was like a Lyon. The learned writer plainly saith, the five things were wanting, which even now we said were so hidden by *Josiah*, that posterity never found them.

* In libro
Juchasta.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Jeroboams policy to get the Kingdom. The declination and change of Common-wealths. Scipio's moderation. The disposition of common people. Samaria an imperiall City. Change of Religion a secret of State. The division of the ten tribes, and the miserable effects of it. The Captivity of the Israelites, and of the Jews. Babylon enlarged by the spoils of Jerusalem. The return of the Jews, and the Dominion of the Levites.

THe unity of the Hebrew nation, and the frame of that goodly Empire was cleft in two by *Jeroboams* policy, a man no less ambitious than valiant. Being commander of the Tribe of *Joseph* in the War, and put
in

in hope of the Kingdom by the Prophet, rightly conceiving Princes are made by Providence, He applyed his vast and climbing spirit to obtain the Dominion. First he attempted the Souldiers faith, endeavouring to draw away their affections from *Salomon* to himself: but the Plot being discovered, to avoid punishment he left his Country, and hid his head in *Egypt*. After the death of *Salomon* he returned and met with a conjuncture of affairs very favourable to his great designs. The heavy tributes, the unjust exactions were a fair pretence, which he gladly layd hold on to stir up the common people: and so brought all into a combustion, and became the Author of very great calamities, that quickly invaded
Palestin.

Palestin. Verily, so it usually comes to pass, that no great Common-wealth hath a fortune long continuing at one stay. The Hebrews were now come to the hight of their prosperity. All was safe and quiet, incredible was the encrease of riches, the Kings and Princes near and far off were friends, and no room now was left for their greatness to extend it self. Wherefore, being uncapable of any farther encrease, what remained, but that it should, according to the Law of fate, decrease, and (which is the most miserable condition of humane affairs) decline to the worse. *Scipio Africanus*, when he purged the City by Sacrifice, being Censor, and the Scribe rehearsed to him the solemn prayer, that the Gods would advance the Common-wealth of *Rome*,
said,

said, it was great enough already, and desir'd the Gods only to preserve it: commanding the prayer, in the publick record, should be thus corrected. The most prudent Roman well knowing, that the celestiaall bounty doth not so favour its own gifts, as to make them alwaies peculiar to any people, feared a vicissitude and change of fortune, proceeding (as he doubtles had in his thoughts) not only from a forein Invader, but from domestick causes; every State breeding, within her own bowels, diseases to consume and destroy it self. *Jerusalem* is an example. The most flourishing City in the world, where *David* and *Salomon*. two most potent and most wise Kings, had made a deep and secure peace, could not long
continue

continue quiet. For, *Salomon* being dead, although she had no enemy abroad, she found one at home. *Jeroboam*, of whom I spake, a man of a most turbulent spirit, arose; who in short time with better success effected the rebellious design he had before unprosperously attempted. An Assembly being called, he accused the publick State, and the condition of the times, and the Princes doings, in the presence of the people: whose ears (he knew) are ever open, and glad to hear ill reports of their Superiours. Liberty and other specious names hee pretended, when his secret thoughts were, how to enslave others, and get Dominion to himself. The people, enflamed by his violent words, fell presently into seditious ways, whereby the most
antient

antient Kingdoms and the greatest Common-wealths usually go to ruin, or at least are changed. Forthwith, the Captain of the Rebellion drew off the ten Tribes, whom he had prevailed with, from the territories of *Jerusalem*; and, to secure his dominion, and settle it, chose *Samaria* for his Imperiall City. That his Government might be more firm, he altered many customs of the Nation, and devised another worship of the deity, a new Religion. For, setting up calves to be adored, he renewed the old superstition, and made Religion, (the cement of Common-wealths) a tye upon the people, to keep them in his obedience, when he could not oblige them by the goodness of his cause. After which time, the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, drunk
with

with their sweet abominations, reeled more and more from *Jerusalem*, and refused (as upon their Gods command) to have any Communion with the Inhabitants thereof. And now, whatsoever cause of hostility there happened else, the greatest reason alwaies seemed that, which was taken from their different Religions. Thus began the Kingdom of *Israel*, divers from that of the Jews, the seat whereof was at *Jerusalem*. And here is the spring of all the calamities that came upon the Hebrews. For, being weakened by themselves, and having drawn much blood from one another, they were made a prey to forein Nations, who before were invincible against all the world. Now *Susac* the Egyptian spoiled the holy City and the Temple,

ple, and by way of disgrace set Pillars in severall places, upon which were carved ('tis a shame to speak) the secrets of Women. A fact, which *Herodotus*, ascribes unto *Sesostris*, by mistake of the name, as *Flavius* hath rightly judged. A bitter calamity, this; but the things, which a long time after were suffered both by the Jews and Israelites, were far more grievous. And first by *Salmanassar* the Assyrian, was quite destroy'd and overthrown, the Empire of the ten Tribes. The whole Nation, being carried into *Media* and *Persia*, gave place to the prophane Hittites, whom *Esarhadon* soon after sent out of *Persia* into *Palestin* to inhabit the Land of *Israel*. So do Kings, according to their pleasure, use to translate Nations, like Cattle,

tle, which Shepherds drive sometimes into their Winter, sometimes into their Summer pasture. For by this means people are tamed and softened, and they that dare any thing at home, are held under quiet subjection in a strange Land. Never had the Israelites, after that time, the happiness to return into their own Country, or to repair the ruins of their Common-wealth. They had so highly offended God by their impious Idolatry, that no length of time, nor revolution of ages, could pacify his wrath. The Israelites being thus gone into their eternal exile, the Jews remained to receive their due punishment likewise. Which was inflicted on them as surely, though more slowly. In the reign of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchodonozor* with a mighty

mighty army subdued *Egypt* and *Syria*: and burnt to ashes the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple, a place of infinite opulency. In which time, Himself, upon news of *Nabolassars* death, hastning home to take possession of the Kingdom, left Commission with his Commanders, to bring away the Jews to *Babylon* and the places thereabout. There he assigned them their seats, and Fields, in the culture whereof this new Colony might spend their time and get their living. Venerable monuments of antiquity remain of *Berosus* Annals, wherein 'tis written, that *Nebuchodonozor*, out of the spoils brought thence, built a Temple to *Belus*, enlarged *Babylon* according to the Majesty of his Empire, and girt it with Walls of Brick: Moreover,

over, made Gardens in the Air, and pendent Woods in favour of his Wife, who having been bred in the mountainous parts of *Media*, delighted in the prospect of Woods growing in high places. Whence appears the vanity of that which the Grecians have delivered with great consent, that *Semiramis* raised those admired works. For they are confuted by an Author in *Flavius* beyond all exception; namely *Berosus* the Chaldean, who (as all men have believed) is most antient, and with very great Religion and truth hath consecrated the affairs of his own Nation to eternall memory. But the Jews were not punished so grievously by the hand of God, nor so long as the Israelites. They lived in a gentle and easy exile, as in a Country of

of their own: and, after seventy years were gone about, they were restor'd to *Palestin*, rebuilt their City and Temple, and established their Common-wealth again. Here now was the state of things much different from what it was before. For, the Empire which before was in the House of *David*, was now usurped by the Levites, after a various manner. These men, having gotten into their hands the Supreme Power, advanced the Common-wealth indeed to the height of riches and greatness; but, while they contend among themselves for power and honour, they trod under foot both divine and humane things. So little of piety and modesty did the most sacred name of Religion give to them, whom God had selected for himself;

himself, out of all the rest, and separated so long ago, that among the holy offices and ceremonies, they should lead their lives, far from ambition and vain glory.

CHAP. XVI.

The Priests have the Government. Their evill behaviour. Of the sons of Elisab. The temple of Garizin built. The wickedness of Onias. The vertue of Matthias, and of Judas Maccabæus. Alcimus his outrage. Judea again under Kings. Of Herod, his cruelty, and iniquity.

OF the Tribe of *Levi*, after the restauration of the City and Temple, first the High Priests

Priests ruled all, without assuming the Title of Prince or King. These enjoyed themselves, or disposed of to others, all favour, wealth and power: the rest were Plebeians, without honour, without authority. Therefore, they that were but Levites were competitors, for so great a preferment; and used all endeavour, some by force, some by fraud and fallacies, few by the true way, to attain unto it. Nothing can be imagined more dishonourable, than what the two Sons of the high Priest *Elisab* committed after their Father's death. For both *Jesus*, by the help of a barbarous Captain, went about wickedly to deprive his Brother *Jannes* of the high Priesthood, which he had received according to the Law: and *Jannes*, to retain his right, became

became guilty of a greater wickedness; for he slew the same Jesus with his own hand, in the temple of God, and sprinkled the altars with his Brothers Blood. *Jannes* not long after had for his successor *Jaddus*; Whose Pontificate likewise his Brother *Manasses* devoured in his hopes: but having married, against the Law, a strange Woman, the Daughter of *Sanballet*, whence arose a tumult amongst the people, he quickly perceived a necessity lying upon him, either to lose his affinity with so potent a Father-law, or else relinquish his hopes of the Priest-hood. Here, upon long deliberation with himself, at last, having communicated his Counsels to his Father-in-Law, he conceived a notable enterprize, which all posterity talks of, none approves. For

he resolved to erect a Temple in *Garizin*, the highest mountain of *Samaria*, and shortly received power to doe so, from *Alexander*, by the mediation of *Sanballet*. Thus he, that was not capable of the most honourable office at *Jerusalem*, because he had violated the Law, became High-Priest, as he could, in another place, and in the possession of it thought himself in Heaven. See the heart of a most wicked man, in whom you may doubt whether his ambition or impiety were the greater. Yet was this but a small thing, in comparison of what *Onias* the fourth did, out of a desire of domination. Being made High-Priest, and seeing himself too weak for *Jasons* faction, to get the favour of *Antiochus Epiphanes*

H

phanes

phanes, whose protection he needed, he forswore the Mosaic Laws, and instead of them admitted the Religions and rites of the Grecians. And more, that he might not bear in his Body the marks of Circumcision, he renewed his fore-skin by Physicall Art, and perswaded all his people to do the like. Afterward, *Antiochus Epiphanius*, the High-Priest being his Minister, impiously perverted all the institutions of the Jews. And now nothing of the sound and the antient customs remained when *Matthias the Hasmonean*, the great restorer of the State, having taken up Arms, rendered to the Jews their Laws, and received the Common-wealth under his Rule, with the title of Prince. Being de-

ceased.

ceased, to him succeeded *Judas* in the Principality, the same that is called *Maccabeus*. Yet was there great power and authority in the High-Priest. Wherefore *Antiochus Eupator* after that time, cunningly having got entrance into *Jerusalem*, when he distrusted *Onias*, upon whom he saw the people and the State affairs depended much, placed *Alcimus* in his room. But he, being gotten into the holy chair, was more depraved than his Predecessor; for he went over to King *Demetrius* the Son of *Seleucus*, with criminations against *Judas*, whose principality he could not away with. Impiety can be never quiet, nor content with a single transgression. Wherefore hee brought against his own Country the

H 2

Kings

Kings Lieutenant *Bacchides*, with an Army; and after his return to the King without effecting the work, he increased the Companies left by *Bacchides*, by the concourse of wicked men. From every place were gathered unto *Alcimus*, Murderers, Sacrilegious Persons, Adulterers; whom their guilty consciences would not suffer to rest at home: and he engaged them all to do him service, by fair words and bountifull pay. At the last, this gallant Priest, to adde more unto his glorious impiety, prepared to throw down the Walls of the Sanctuary raised by the Prophets and the Hasidæans; But in the midst of his design death cut him off, and in his place the people constituted, in the most sacred office, their Prince

Judas;

Judas; the first of all the Jews that joynd the Miter and the Crown together, and was both Prince and Priest. The same was done, after him, by *Jonathan*, *Simon* and *Jannes*: untill *Aristobulus*, the name of Prince being laid aside, took upon him the title of King. And so, in the end, long after the death of *Zedekiah*, Kings again ruled over *Judæa*, but they were of the Tribe of *Levi*; the last of whom was *Antigonus*. *Antigonus* being expelled and slain; *Herod* held the Scepter, which he had before received from the Romans: a man, not indeed descended of the Royall family, no nor of the Sacerdotall, but one of *Idumæa*, an insititious Jew or Profelyte; for the *Idumæans* were not truly Jews, but

H 3

only

only accounted and called so, since the time that *Hircanus* forced them to submit to the rites and ceremonies of the true God, when before they worshipt, I know not what good, *Cosan*, whose rites were kept by the *Costobari*, a noble family in that Country. Famous was that prophecy of *Samcaas*, who had long since foretold, that *Herod* should bee given the Jews for a King, but to be a Plague unto them. Even so it came to pass. This Idumæan presently put to death *Aristobulus* the High-Priest, being very young; and after him *Hircanus*, allured out of *Parthia*; and after him, whatsoever remained of the *Hasmonæan* bloud, he extinguished, and left not any branch of the old stock.

Nor

Nor did the seventy Elders, the Assessors of the Great Council Sannhedrin, speed better. Thus all being remov'd out of the way, who might create him either fear or danger, *Herod* grew up to his height, and the greatness of his power gave him boldness to break forth into great licence; for he altered the old customs of the Jews, and brought in new, and did many things contrary to the Laws. Whereof let us hear *Josephus* speaking thus: *The antient discipline, unainted before, he weakened with Innovations: whence, in our following times, we have had no small harm; for all those things, whereby the multitude was heretofore led unto piety, are now neglected and despised.*

H 4

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Messias, King of the Jews and all Nations. The everlasting throne is his. A word in Esay written mystically. Balaams prophecy in the sense of the Jews. The singular nature of Messia's Kingdom. The reprehender of Maimonides censured. Ezekiels obscure vision, not to be curiously searched.

AND in this manner, after the Jews return out of *Babylon*, they were in possession of the Empire that had no right unto it; first the High-Priests, then the *Hasmonean* Princes, being also Levites, then Kings of the same tribe, and lastly *Herod the Idumæan*; He, under whom was born Messias, the

the King of Kings, a branch of *David's* family. To him alone must be referr'd that promise God made to *David*, that his throne should be everlasting, and his seed should sit therein. Certainly, it is not spoken of *Salomon*, nor of any other of his race; for, the kingdom once lost, they never recover'd after the *Babylonian* exile. Wherefore, unless wee will (which were great impiety) make the promise of God vain and false, we must understand that Son of *David* to be the Messias, our Redeemer, of whom the Angel hath pronounced that which is written in *St. Luke*: *Of his Kingdom there shall be no end.* The words are taken out of the ninth of *Esaiah*, where *Rabbi Jarchi* notes: *It was*
H 5 *subtily*

subtilly disputed by the Scribes, why in the midst of a word, contrary to custom, the letter Mem is closed. A doubt not to be contemned. Thereby is signified (as the Talmudists are of opinion) some great mystery, not opened promiscuously unto all, but close and reserved. Amongst all the Oracles in Scripture, concerning the greatest King Messias, the Jews think none so worthy of admiration, as that which *Balaam* uttered by divine instinct. *Num. 24.* But the same Interpreters, looking narrowly into the Prophets meaning, sagely found, the words are not all spoken of one King: but the oracle is so to be divided, that part may belong to *David*, who first of *Juda's* race possessed the Kingdom, the rest to the
Messias

Messias, the last King indeed of the same race, but greater and more potent than all the other. *Maimonides* in the end of his *Misna* hath handled this exactly. And the same excellent Master there refutes those, that expect in the Kingdom of *Messias* another face of nature, and a new course of things going on perpetually. For, saith he, they understood not the words of *Esaiab* in the 12. Chapter. The dark sayings whereof doe signifie, that all pious and good men shall have such quietness in the midst of the wicked, that they need not fear. Nor hath *Rabbi Abraham* the Son of *David* any just reason to reprehend *Maimonides* for this: whose other reprehensions too, for the most part, are more
sharp

sharp than solid; they make a shew of reason, but, when they are examined, come to nothing. As oft as I survey the sacred places, the rites and Religious solemnities, described by the most holy Prophet *Ezekiel* in the last part of his Book, I consider with my self, what they mean, or whither they are to be referr'd. So different are they from *Moses* precepts, and the Jewish customs, as themselves confess. What opinion is to be had of them, the * *Talmud* hath resolved, and * *Maimonides* hath in brief expressed: *All manner of offerings, spoken of in Ezekiel, and whatsoever is there written of the number of Sacrifices, and of the order of divine worship, are nothing else but the pacific oblations, which have not been used*

* *In tract. Menachoth.*
* *In Misna, l. 8. c. 2.*

used in former ages by the people; but the Prophet shews, how they shall be performed at the dedication of the new Altar, in the times of Messias, when the third Temple shall be built. This is no Jewish dream, nor Talmudicall conceit, but a certain Truth. The Prophet hath described another Temple, which should be in Messia's reign, and other sacred rites: and hath measured the structure of the Temple, the Courts, the Gates, and the rest, by an accurate rule of the work. The form of it, say the Jews, is not fully understood, but *Ezra*, when he built the second Temple after the pattern of *Salomons*, followed also the description of *Ezekiels* third Temple, so far as the capacity of the most holy man could reach,

* In Hal.
Beth. Hab.
c. 1.

reach, in so obscure and perplex a matter. This we learn from the Prince of Rabbins in* another place. Nevertheless, it is no little blindness in the Jews, that they hope for such a Temple to be built by the Messias, which may be seen with the eyes, and approached with the feet. We that are born in Messias's Kingdom know full well, 'tis otherwise. All the Prophets words, of the measure of the buildings, and the parts, have another more secret sense; but what that sense is, and how the words are to be explained, is hard to say. For my part, with Xenophanes in Varro, I would have every man to set down what he thinketh, not what he will assert; for man may have an opinion of such things, God alone knows

knows them certainly. Truly the Jews when they mention some pieces of the Bible, the reading whereof is interdicted youth, put the end of Ezekiel's prophecy in that rank. And not without cause. For the whole discourse is more obscure than Plato's number. Let them all, who would seem the greatest proficient in divine wisdom, call hither their industry: they will sweat enough, before they open the least of the things laid up in th'e leaves. The best interpreter can but give a handsome conjecture at the utmost, and when all is done we must remain unresolved. This is certain, that these, and some other things of like kind, are such, as the most high God hath set above the reach of humane wit; for, though in this light

The Common-wealth

light of the Gospell, great progress hath been made into science, yet somewhat is still left for admiration. Wherefore to go farther into these secrets, than the bounds prescribed to us by the Holy Spirit, would be a very unwise adventure.

CHAP. XVIII.

The State of the Jews after Messia's coming. Of their restitution yet expected. The dignity of that Nation even at this day. How much our Religion owes to the Jews. The Scripture not corrupted by them. The Masorites dilligence and fidelity.

IT was the pleasure of the immortal God, that the Jews should be called a Royall Priesthood,

of the Hebrews.

hood, and a chosen Generation, and that his sacred rites and ceremonies should be embraced by them alone, untill the day shined forth, that shewed the Messias to the world. From that time, the Son of God ordained, that the celestiaall benefits, long confined unto one Nation, should be common to all; the Tydings whereof, sent abroad far and wide, profited believers only. Here we must admire at the strange conversion of things. For the great Author of Salvation, who had left his heavenly throne to relieve the miseries of men, was entertained by prophane Nations with joy and veneration: but the Jews, to whom more than one Prophet had signified both the place and time of his coming, knew him not, when

when he was come and presented himself amongst them. So great a dulness had seized on them. Their eyes were blind, when their thoughts were on other matters and refused to behold what was set before them in the midst. Hereupon they were abdicated and cast off by God, and even to this day they eat Pottage, and deplore their lost birth-right. Their crime is engraven in the hardest Adamant, saith Jeremy the Prophet. Nor did they deprecate their punishment, but called it to themselves saying, *His blood be upon us, and upon our Children.* Very memorable is that which S. Paul writeth to the Romans: *I would not have you ignorant of this mystery, that hardness, in part, hath happened unto Israel*

Rom. II.
v. 25.

rael, *untill the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.* Certainly there will come a time; when the Jews shall be reduced into the right path, who do now wander miserably through ignorance of the way. The Suns of all days are not yet gone down: their light shall once again break forth-unto them: and though they are fallen, they are not fallen away for ever. Ezekiel also hath published some prophecies in favour of them. Ch. 36. The Prophet saith, a new heart shall be given them from Heaven, and a better understanding shall dwell in their breast. Then shall the veil be taken off, which Moses put upon his face; for they shall convert themselves unto God, who suffered them to live in darknes, and in ignorance

rance of the greatest matters, that at last he might take occasion to shew his old loving kindness. And on this wise do we commodiously interpret these words of Paul: *When Israel shall be turned to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away*: a very obscure place to many, and wherein some have taken much pains. The thing of which we speak, is of such consequence, that justly we cannot henceforth be altogether averse from the Jews, as if they were given up to publick hatred, when as yet so great hopes are remaining for them. And truly S. Paul doth them reverence, and extols them with high praise, even while they are in error. *To whom (saith he) pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the*
Covenants,

2 Cor. 3.
16.

Rom. 9. 4.
5.

Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises: Whose are the Fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh Christ came. What Nobility could be greater? So many Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Kings, they number among their forefathers; and so many brave men, and men of divine vertue, whose names are consecrated in Heaven. I confess, all the Jews at this day are of a base and illiberall disposition; and, if you look upon their course of life, you can hardly find any thing worthy of noble and erected spirits: Neither do we marvell at the cause hereof. For these things goe in a round, and as the times are turned, so are mens manners. Verily, the same day that deprived

ved them of the fair light of liberty, and struck the Scepter out of their hands, did also so abate the edge of their ingenuous spirits, that they have no more vigor now, nor keenness in them. Servitude dwarfs the mind, and enchains the spirit, and choaks all the seeds of generosity. What high thoughts can they possibly have, who, for so many years, through the whole world, have been wearied out with so great scorn and contumely? whom Children, in contempt, have pulled by the sleeve, and men by the beard? lastly, upon whom the fury of all the *Cæsars* spent it self. *Tiberius* distributed their young men, sending them as it were for Soldiers, into the Provinces of unwholesome air. The air of

Sardinia

Sardinea was very pestilent, Thither are four thousand commanded away, to meet an untimely death. *Titus* cast almost as many to the beasts, when hee set forth shews at *Berytum* and *Cæsarea*. *Trajan* himself, the mildest of all the Princes, decreed they should not read the Law; so did other Emperors after him at severall times. This was the greatest of afflictions, and by *Rabbi Zaccub* is numbred among the persecutions: They decreed (saith he) a persecution, that the Jews should not read the Law. But these things were done by Pagans: Let us, who are joynd to them with a closer bond, shew them more favour, having this communion with them, to hear the commands of one and the

*The Common-wealth*Rom. II.
16.

the same God. Truly S. Paul desires to lay down his life for them, so fervent is his charity to the Nation. And it is his saying, *If the first fruits be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.* I will not now ambitiously celebrate their praises: for wee abhor from nothing more; than such Vanity. Yet, as to these later times, the truth is, if we cast up the account rightly, our Religion is much indebted to that people. For who are they but the Jews, that have preserved for us the sacred volumes of the Bible safe and sound? How many *Errata's* had stoln into the Holy Scriptures, had the custody thereof been committed only to such as *Lactantius, Austin, Gregory,*

of the Hebrews.

Gregory, Chrysostom, most holy men indeed, but unskillfull of the Hebrew tongue? Amongst all the Greek and Latine Fathers, that governed the ancient Church, *Origen,* and (to speak the most) *Jerom* were the only Hebricians: the rest had not learned so much as the very Letters; Wherefore if the carelessness of Transcribers had made default, they were not the men that could make amends. But this was all the Jews only study, and their sole care, to vindicate the Books of *Moses,* and the Prophets, and the other holy writings, from the injuries of time. This is their proper praise: wherein no other Nation claimeth any share. There is an eminent place in *Rabbi Abraham* * of *Salman-*

* *In libro
tica, Fuchasius*

tica, whence we learn, That all the Copies of the Bible were amended according to a certain Book of venerable antiquity, written long before by the hand of *Rabbi Hillel*, High-Priest of the Jews, who came from *Babylon* into *Syria* sixty years before the Nativity of our Lord God Jesus Christ. *In the Kingdom of Leon* (saith he) they found the Bible written by *Rabbi Hillel*, and by it corrected all their Copies; part of it I saw, which was sold in *Afric*, and was written 900. years before my time. *Kimhi* in his *Grammar* saith, the *Pentateuch* was at the *City of Toledo*. At that time therefore the Jews were the only Correctors to keep the context of the Bible pure. Indeed, it had been easy for them, to alter

alter and corrupt those places, which seemed to condemn their follies, when the Christians understood scarce three words of Hebrew: but piety withstood, and Religion would not permit them to change what was sacred. Nevertheless, some have charged them with unfaithfulness in describing much of the text; but these men have already had sufficient answer from learned * *Origen*. As for me, * 8. *Explan. Esaiæ.* when I consider the unwearied dilligence and infinite pains of the *Masorites*, I do even stand amazed; for, having revised accurately, and compared all the parts of the Hebrew Bible, they signed them with certain notes. This was done after the destruction of the second Temple, about the year 436. It was ob-

I 2

served

served by them, not only how many Verses and words, but also how many Letters every Book contained. Wherefore, that afterward, when extreme barbarism oppress the world, no tittle of that most excellent Book was lost, is a benefit we owe to them. Not without cause have the Rabbins said, *The Masora is as it were the wall and the hedge of the Law.* In *Rabbi Zacuth* above cited, are Judaicall trifles, whereby forsooth it is concluded, that the Accents and the Points were extant in the time of *Ezra*; which I therefore mention, that it may be added to the rest of those vain arguments alleged by some, who in our time deny them to be the invention of the Masorites. And in the same

Rabbies

Rabbies Book, by the same proof is the Targum of *Onkelos* referd to *Ezra's* age. Which, although it be false, and easily discovers how little worth the other is, yet will find some to defend it, the rather, that the other may not fall. Many are so obstinately given, they care not what they say, if it may but serve to maintain the opinion they have once embraced. That the reading of the holy Scripture is not uncertain, and subject to any more variation, wee thankfully acknowledge the care and pains of the Jews, who lived in the later times, after the destruction of the second Temple: For, when they were fallen from their great and wealthy State, they made it their business, amidst their

their extreme calamity, to save out of the common Shipwrack this one Chest of inestimable value. And this is that we love them for; the rest deserve our compassion: For they read the Tittles, and Letters, and Books, but they read them only, not regarding nor seeking the true and sacred sense. So that, the saying of their own well agrees unto themselves: *They make that which is fundamentall, a lesser matter; and the lesser matter, fundamentall.* And, which is worst of all, they are not sensible of their Childishness and folly; for, whereas all their infelicity consisteth in their ignorance of the divine Law, they complain of the loss of their Country, and of the Kingdom taken from them, and

and of the like things: whose possession makes no man happy, and whose loss makes no man miserable. *Seneca* tells us of his Wifes fool, *Harpaste*, that having on the sodain lost her sight, *she knew not she was blind; and often requested her keeper to bring her to another house; for her own was dark.* The Jews are in the same case. They carry about in their own breast the cause of all their misery: and suppose; by some divine favour, they should recover *Canaan*, they would change their climat, not their mind. Whithersoever they turn themselves, their night goes along too, and overshadows them: nor shall it be dispelled, before they have

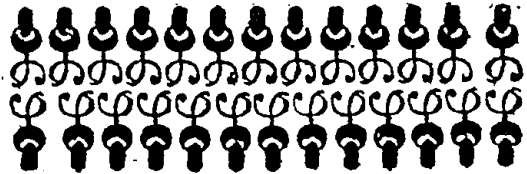
Have throughly smarted for their ingratitude, and their obstinacy, and the hardness of their hearts.

Imprimatur

Edm. Calamy.

PRINTED

FINIS.



**T H E
Table Alphabe-
ticall.**

A.

R.	A	Braham.	155
		<i>Acheians.</i>	85
		<i>Agrarian Law.</i>	13
			17, 40
		<i>Agriculture.</i>	20, 24
		<i>Agrippa's offence.</i>	50
		<i>Alcimus High-Priest.</i>	147
		<i>His impiety.</i>	148
		<i>Alexander M. his favour to the Jews.</i>	27
		I s	<i>Altera-</i>

A Table.

<i>Alterations whence.</i>	18
<i>Ambition.</i>	141
<i>Anointing of Kings.</i>	127
<i>Antigonus King.</i>	149
<i>Antiochus Epiphanes.</i>	146
<i>Apion cymbalum mundi.</i>	3
<i>Apollonius Scotus praised.</i>	70
<i>Aristobulus King.</i>	149
<i>Aristotle's opinion of the Jews.</i>	29, 30
<i>Arist. cited</i>	5, 8, 31, 119
<i>Arms of nature.</i>	15
<i>Artificers, none among the Jews.</i>	32
<i>Avarice, the hurt of it.</i>	17
<i>Author.</i>	1, 70, 74, 112, 114
B.	
B <i>Abylon enlarged by Nebuch.</i>	139
<i>Babylonian Jews. 62. Had not the Scepter.</i>	69
<i>Balaam's prophecy expounded.</i>	154
<i>Begin-</i>	

A Table.

<i>Beginning of the Heb. Com.</i>	59
<i>Benefit of the Jubily.</i>	14
<i>Berosus Annals.</i>	139
<i>Bible, some parts not to be read by Youth. 159. Forbidden the Jews by Trajan. 167 Not corrupted by the Jews</i>	168
<i>Buriall of the dead.</i>	55
C.	
C <i>Abala.</i>	105
<i>Capitall offenders.</i>	110
<i>Casaubons exercit. 73. His praise. 74. His error.</i>	85
<i>Calendar corrected.</i>	112
<i>Captivity.</i>	137
<i>Change of Laws.</i>	58
<i>City-life.</i>	21
<i>Cities of refuge.</i>	58
<i>City, what.</i>	110
<i>Colonies.</i>	12
<i>Commands, three to be fulfilled</i>	115

A Table.

<i>in Palestin.</i>	115
<i>ommon-wealth founded by</i>	
<i>Moses. 2. When full of ene-</i>	
<i>mies. 18. The best. 31. Af-</i>	
<i>fixt to Palestin.</i>	61
<i>Consecration of Cities.</i>	44
<i>Councils of the Jews.</i>	98, 108
<i>Country bred gollant men.</i>	21
<i>Court of the Temple.</i>	125

D.

D <i>Avids Scepter. 91. Ever-</i>	
<i>lasting throne.</i>	153
<i>Day of expiation.</i>	16
<i>Defection of the ten Tribes.</i>	
	136
<i>Deformity.</i>	104
<i>Desolation of Jerusalem. 56, 93</i>	
<i>Dominion secured by change.</i>	
	113

E.

E <i>Gyptians, their idle life.</i>	35
<i>Elders.</i>	107
<i>Elisab's</i>	

A Table.

<i>Elisab's Sons.</i>	142
<i>Ephod.</i>	124
<i>Ephorus his error.</i>	29
<i>Equality.</i>	12
<i>Eusebius confuted.</i>	74, 82
<i>Ezekiels obscure prophecy.</i>	156
<i>Ezra.</i>	157

F.

F <i>Athers error. 72. Unskil-</i>	
<i>full in the Hebrew text.</i>	168
<i>Field laid to field.</i>	20
<i>Fire on the Altar.</i>	129
<i>Fortification.</i>	53

G.

G <i>Abinius abates the power</i>	
<i>of Sanhedrin.</i>	113
<i>Gardons and Woods in Baby-</i>	
<i>lon.</i>	140
<i>God, the ruler of the Heb.</i>	
<i>Com. 6. Why angry at the</i>	
<i>desire of a King.</i>	117

Gospell

A Table.

Gospell common to all Nations. 161
 Grecians Law-givers. Their
 ignorance of the Jews. 29

H.

Hasmoneans. 79
 Hebrews, why hated by
 the Egyptians 34
 Hecateus praised. 10
 Herod King. 149. His cruelty.
 150
 Herodotus error. 137
 High Priest. 104
 Hillel. 101, 111.
 Hircanus. 150
 Holy of Holies. 50
 Holy ointment hid. and lost
 with other things. 128
 Homer hath not the name of
 Laws. 3
 Houses in Cities redeemed. 47

Husband-

A Table

Husbandmen of Egypt lazy. 38

Husbandry praised. 22

I.

Jacobs prophecy. 64

Jarchi. 153

Jeroboam. 83. His policy.

130. Turbulent. 134.

Idolatry punished. 138

Idumæans. 150

Jerusalems sanctity. 48. Privi-
 lege. 54. The head City. 55

Her fall. 56

Jews had no commerce with o-

ther Nations. 28. Spred a-

broad. 88. Knew not their

Messias. 161. Cast off. 162

Not without hope. 163. Their

dignity. 164. Their baseness.

165. Our relation to them.

167. Our debt to them. 168

Imperiall dignity. 64

Impiety never quiet. 147

Imposition

A Table.

Imposition of hands. 100
Josephus against Apion praised. 3. *Jos. cited.* 27, 50, 87, 151. *His error.* 120
Joshua Captain Generall. 96
Jubily, the benefit of it 14, *the* 49 *year.* 41. *not kept after the captivity.* 41
Judas Maccabæus. 147 *Prince and Priest.* 149
Juda's Scepter. 77
Judges of Palestin and Babylon. 68
Juvenal cited. 36

K.

K *Keepers of the Laws.* 7
Kings. 97
King created. 116. *Qualities of a King.* 118. *Rules for him.* 120. *Presidents of Religion.* 122. *Dignity.* 123
King and Priest. 126. *Appointed.* 127
King-

A Table.

Kingdom of the Levites. 149
Of the Messias. 155
 L.
L *Ælius his wisdom.* 19
Law of Jubily. 23
Laws, none written before Moses. 4. *Impartiall.* 8. *Stolo's Law.* 18
Law-givers, their honour. 2
The Grecian. 3
Levi and Benjamin called Jews. 85
Levites portion. 45. *Office.* 122
Reign. 141
Liberty pretended, to enslave. 134

M.

M *Magistrates:* 106
Majesty of the Empire. 76. *In the people of Rome.* 79
Maimonides praised. 13. *Cited.* 16, 25, 41, 49, 61, 64, 68, 101, 102, 108, 115, 155
Man-

A Table.

<i>Manſlaughter expiated.</i>	111
<i>Manaſſes High-Prieſt.</i>	144
<i>Matthias the Haſmonean.</i>	146
<i>Maſorites diligence and fidelity.</i>	169
<i>Mem clauſum.</i>	154
<i>Merchants.</i>	30
<i>Meſſias. 93, 153. Reign.</i>	157
<i>Modesty in opinion.</i>	158
<i>Monarchs, the Judges and Dictators ſo ſtil'd.</i>	96
<i>Moses, the firſt Law-giver.</i>	2
<i>More than man. 7. The ſtability of his Law.</i>	8
N.	
N <i>ebuchadonozor.</i>	139
<i>Nero petition'd by the Jews.</i>	50
<i>Nilus fruitfull.</i>	39
<i>Noahs ſeven precepts.</i>	5
O.	
O <i>rdinances of the Jews.</i>	9
<i>Opificers illiberall.</i>	33
<i>Onias</i>	

A Table.

<i>Onias High-Prieſt. 145. Renewed his fore-skin.</i>	146
P.	
P <i>aleſtin. 9. Fruitfulneſs thereof. 11, 43. Divided by Joſhua.</i>	16
<i>Pastorall life.</i>	20
<i>Paul interpreted. 164. His charity to the Jews.</i>	168
<i>Peace of Jeruſalem.</i>	133
<i>Peace loſt by appropriating what was common.</i>	12
<i>Perſonage goodly.</i>	119
<i>Perſecution of the Jews.</i>	167
<i>Pharaohs policy.</i>	37
<i>Plebeians ſingle and in conjunction.</i>	106
<i>Peoples Majeſty. 78. Jealous of Superiors.</i>	134
<i>Poſſeſſions too ample.</i>	17
<i>Prieſtly kingdom.</i>	122
<i>Princes made by providence.</i>	131
<i>Progreſs</i>	

A Table.

<i>Progress into science.</i>	160
<i>Prophecies.</i>	92
<i>Prophets not perish out of Jerusalem.</i>	105
Q.	
<i>Question of Juda's scepter discussed.</i>	71
<i>Quiet of Commonwealths.</i>	132
R.	
<i>Reason and prudence.</i>	5
<i>Redemption of Land.</i>	15
<i>Of houses.</i>	47
<i>Refuge.</i>	57
<i>Religion keeps in awe.</i>	9.
<i>The soul of the Commonwealth.</i>	65.
<i>The cement.</i>	135.
<i>Politically changed.</i>	136
<i>Return of the Jews.</i>	141
<i>Roman Commonwealth.</i>	21
<i>Power.</i>	89
<i>Royall Priest-hood.</i>	160
<i>Rule, the flagrant desire of it.</i>	7
<i>Samaria</i>	

A Table.

S.

<i>S Amaria an imperiall seat</i>	135
<i>Sameas.</i>	101, 150
<i>Samuel.</i>	97, 118
<i>Sanballets enterprize.</i>	144
<i>Sanhedrin.</i>	51, 78, 98
<i>Saul.</i>	118
<i>Scaliger mistaken.</i>	102
<i>Scepter of Juda.</i>	64
<i>Schismaticall Jews.</i>	65
<i>Scipio African.</i>	132
<i>Secrets to be admired.</i>	159
<i>Sedition brings ruin.</i>	135
<i>Semiramis.</i>	140
<i>Senators.</i>	98, 126
<i>Sepulchers.</i>	54
<i>Servants released.</i>	16
<i>Servitude dwarfs the mind.</i>	166
<i>Sesostris.</i>	35
<i>Seventh year.</i>	26
<i>Shapheards active.</i>	36
<i>Solemnity</i>	

A Table.

<i>Solemnity of Jubily.</i>	16
<i>Soveraignty.</i>	97
<i>State, every state breeds diseases.</i>	133
<i>Stolo violates his own Law.</i>	18
<i>Subjection preferd before Liberty.</i>	116
<i>Successor.</i>	118

T.

T <i>Almud quoted.</i>	14, 25, 48, 102, 154
<i>Temple, the voice there.</i>	55
<i>Only at Jerusalem.</i>	66
<i>Temple in Garizin</i>	145
<i>Ten tribes captive.</i>	85, 137
<i>Theocracy.</i>	6
<i>Territories enlarged.</i>	57
<i>Tiberius.</i>	166
<i>Times ordered.</i>	111
<i>Titus.</i>	167
<i>Trade. 28. Inherited.</i>	35
<i>Translation of Nations.</i>	137
<i>Tribute</i>	

A Table,

<i>Tribute heavy, an occasion of rebellion.</i>	131
<i>Truth before affection.</i>	75

V.

V <i>Arro cited.</i>	21
<i>Vertue lost by want of exercise.</i>	20
<i>Vicissitude.</i>	133
<i>Urim and Thummim.</i>	51, 124

W.

W <i>Ar.</i>	105
<i>Wealth without oppression.</i>	13

X.

X <i>Enophanes his saying.</i>	158
---------------------------------------	-----

Y.

Y <i>Ear of rest. 42. The sixt years fruitfulness.</i>	43
<i>Leap-year.</i>	111

Z.

Z <i>Acuth.</i>	112, 129, 167
------------------------	---------------

FINIS.