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H O R Æ

HEBRAICÆ ET TALMUDICÆ:

HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL EXERCITATIONS

UPON

THE GOSPELS, THE ACTS,

SOME CHAPTERS OF

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS,

AND

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

BY

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A NEW EDITION,

BY

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LIGHTFOOT'S *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ* were originally written in Latin, and the several portions were published at intervals between 1658 and 1674. With the exception of those on the Acts and Romans, they appeared during his lifetime<sup>a</sup>. These last were printed after his death by Richard Kidder, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells.

They were reprinted on the Continent by Carpzov, (Lips. 1675,) and in the Editions of his collected works by Texelius, (fol. Rotterdam, 1686,) and by Leusden, (fol. Franequer. 1699.)

They appeared for the first time in English in 1684, when Lightfoot's entire works came out in two volumes, folio (London); the first volume, "revised and corrected by George Bright, D. D.," the second "published by the care and industry of John Strype, M. A."

It is not known by whom the translation was made. Strype in his Preface mentions "the trans-

<sup>a</sup> A detailed bibliographical account of Lightfoot's works will be found in the first volume of Pitman's edition.

lators," but as at the same time he speaks of "our pains," he seems to have had some share in it. The translation on the whole is carefully done, and deserves the praise he bestows upon it.

This most valuable portion of Lightfoot's writings was included in the new edition of his works (13 vols., 8vo. London, 1822-5), superintended by the Rev. John Rogers Pitman, M. A. That edition has now become scarce and expensive; and besides, contains much matter less interesting to modern readers. It seemed therefore desirable that the *Horæ Hebraicæ* should be rendered accessible to theological students by being published alone.

The present edition has been printed from Mr. Pitman's; but wherever a passage seemed obscure, not only the folio edition, but the original Latin also has been consulted. Thus the text has been carefully revised throughout, and alterations made in many places. Upon the Hebrew quotations much attention has been bestowed. Very many corrections were required here, and though from the similarity of some Hebrew letters, and other causes, the Editor can hardly hope that he has overlooked no errors, yet he can say that he has spared no pains to secure accuracy.

For the more convenient distribution of the work; the Geographical matter, which the Author prefixed to each Gospel, has in this edition been brought together in one volume.

Lightfoot's references have generally been found

to be very carefully made. Where they were imperfect, what was wanting has been supplied, and the additions indicated by brackets<sup>b</sup>.

Notes have occasionally been added, where the text seemed to require explanation. And the Reader has often been referred, for further information, to that great storehouse of Rabbinical learning—the result of thirty years' assiduous labour—Buxtorf's Talmudical and Rabbinical Lexicon.

May these works of Lightfoot, written under many disadvantages, the fruit of untiring industry, and deep veneration for Holy Scripture, encourage and aid those who by devout and patient study endeavour to understand the words of our Divine Master, and the inspired writings of His Evangelists and Apostles!

R. G.

OXFORD,  
April 1, 1859.

<sup>b</sup> The references to Hudson's edition of Josephus were made by Pitman.



A

# CHOROGRAPHICAL CENTURY:

SEARCHING OUT,

CHIEFLY BY THE LIGHT OF THE TALMUD,

SOME

MORE MEMORABLE PLACES

OF THE

LAND OF ISRAEL;

THOSE ESPECIALLY, WHEREOF MENTION IS MADE IN THE  
GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.





## THE PREFACE.

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AMONG all those, who have either published their own chorographical tables of the land of Canaan, or have corrected others,—you can hardly find any, that have consulted with the writers of the Talmud in this matter: whereas, certainly, their consent is by no means in this case to be despised, if, indeed, it be not rather especially to be regarded.

For, besides that they, above all other men, do most curiously inquire of the affairs and of the places of that land,—all the doctors of the Misna, and the Gemarists also of Jerusalem, were inhabitants and dwellers there: and not a few also of those of Babylon well viewed it; eyewitnesses; and who (any reader being judge) could not but have, beyond all others, a most familiar knowledge of that land, dwelling in it: and not only so, but being such as thought themselves bound, by a religious necessity, to inquire after the situation and nature of the places in that land, and to trace them out with an exact search and curiosity.

Let reason, therefore, determine, whether they, above all others, are, either justly or prudently, cast aside in the business of chorography? Whether, among all the means used for the correcting and polishing this, the means that the Talmud affords, should, with any merit or equity, be only refused? Why the Jewish chorography of the Jewish country should not be admitted? Certainly, it is unjust, out of prejudice, to reject, or out of ignorance not to entertain, those things, which either might yield us the profit of the chorography of that land, or stir up no unprofitable search into it. If a man would engrave maps of Palestine, surely it is very fit, that he should, together with others, consult those authors, as being the nearest witnesses, inhabitants of the country, and such as most studiously and most religiously describe it. And though you esteem them not worthy of credit, because

they are Jews,—yet certainly they are worthy of examination, and may have leave to relate, as they are chorographers.

When, in the reading of these writers, I collected all those things, which I met with relating hitherto, and compared them with the maps and tracts already published, I plainly saw, if my eyes deceived me not, that very many things might be fetched and drawn out of these authors, which might correct the maps; very many things, which might discover places unknown; very many, which might fix those, that were uncertain; very many, which might illustrate those, that were certain; and infinite things, which might some way or other hold out a light to chorography. And if any dexterous and happy artist, versed in the Talmudic writings, and skilled in chorography, would undertake a task and work of this nature, I should expect from such a hand a more polite and correct map, and a more full, plain, and certain description of the lands of Israel, than any the Christian world hath yet seen.

We are far from daring to enter upon such a thing: nor is our hand sufficiently taught for so great a work, or, indeed, teachable. That only, which we have attempted in the following century, was this; that, by some instance, we might a little demonstrate those things, which we speak concerning the writers of the Talmud: and that some specimen might be set before our eyes, whereby the reader may judge of their study, style, use, benefit, in the thing propounded. Nor did we think it the part of modesty, to burden the reader with too much of those things, which perhaps are of dubious acceptation with him; nor the part of prudence, to expose and commit, together at once, all that we have, to one wind and fortune.

From our Study, May 22, 1658.

\* \* We have quoted Josephus according to the distinction of chapters in the Greek edition of Frobenius, anno 1544. [The references in brackets are to the edition of Tauchnitz—Leips. 1850.]

## CHOROGRAPHICAL CENTURY,

&c. &c.<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAP. I.

*The Division of the Land.*

THE Jewish writers divide the whole world into ארץ ישראל "The land of Israel," and חוצה לארץ "Without the land:" that is, the countries of the heathen. Both which phrases the book of the gospel owns: "The land of Israel," Matt. ii. 20: and it calls the heathens, τοὺς ἔξω, "those that are without," 1 Cor. v. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 7, &c. And sometimes the unbelieving Jews themselves, as Mark iv. 11.

They distinguish all the people of the world into ישראל "Israelites," and אומות העולם "the nations of the world." The book of the gospel owns that phrase also, Matt. vi. 32; Πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητεῖ, "After all these things, do the Gentiles (or nations) seek:" which, in Luke xii. 30, is τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κοσμοῦ, "The nations of the world." Hence the word 'world' is most commonly used for the Gentiles; John iii. 16, 17; 1 John ii. 2, &c.

Somewhere a distinction is made into ארץ "The land [of Israel]," and מדינת הים "The region of the sea;" וכל ח"ל קרי מדינת הים בר מבבל "And every foreign region is called the region of the sea, except Babylon:"—they are the words of Rabbi Solomon<sup>b</sup>. Which, nevertheless, fall under the censure of R. Nissim<sup>c</sup>: "It is something hard (saith he) to reckon every country, which is out of the land, to be the

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 1. — *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 169.

<sup>b</sup> R. Sol. in Gittin, cap. 1.  
<sup>c</sup> R. Nissim *ibid*.

region of the sea: for then, under that name, would be included all the neighbouring places, and which are, as it were, swallowed up by the land. They say, therefore, that the more remote places are called, *מְדִינַת הַיָּם* ‘The region of the sea.’ But neither does this please me: for there is no need of so great a distance, to make any place to be called, ‘The region of the sea,’ &c. But it is spoken in relation to the western coast of the land of Israel; on which side there are no [*heathen*] cities near, and swallowed up by the land. But the sea sets the bounds; but it doth not set the bounds on other sides, &c. The sense, therefore, of R. Solomon, when he saith, ‘that every region, without the land, is the region of the sea,’ comes to this,—That every region, which is like to that region, is so called.”

Heathen cities were on that western coast; but seeing they lay within the ancient bounds of the land, namely, the ‘lip of the Mediterranean sea,’—they could not so properly be said to be ‘without the land,’ as those which were altogether ‘without the limits.’ Those cities and that country, therefore, are called by a peculiar title, *מְדִינַת הַיָּם* that is, the “coast or country by the Mediterranean sea.” Which title all other cities of the like condition underwent also, wheresoever seated within the bounds of the land. Examples will not be wanting as we go along.

They<sup>d</sup> commonly define the ‘land of Israel’ under a double notion: to wit, that *שֶׁהָחֲזִיקוּ בָּהּ עוֹלֵי מִצְרַיִם* “which they possessed, who went up out of Egypt;” and that *שֶׁהָחֲזִיקוּ בָּהּ עוֹלֵי בָבֶל* “which they possessed, who went up out of Babylon.” This was, in very many places, circumscribed within narrower limits than *that*, not only by reason Samaria was rejected and shut out,—but also, because certain portions were cut off (and they neither a few nor small), which became the possessions of those, that went up out of Egypt; but, under the second Temple, had passed into the possessions of the heathen.

Now they were, upon this account, the more exact in observing their bounds, distinguishing this land by known bounds, both from all others, and, in some places, as it were, from itself; because they decreed, that very many mysteries

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 2.

of their religion were to be handled nowhere but within these limits. For<sup>e</sup> besides the rites of that dispensation, which the Holy Scripture doth openly and evidently fix to that land, such as Sacrifices, Passovers, the Priesthood<sup>f</sup>, and other appointments of that nature (which are commonly, and not improperly, called מצות תלויות בארץ (“Statutes appendant to that land”), very many others also are circumscribed within the same borders by the fathers of the traditions.

“The land of Israel (say they<sup>g</sup>), above all other lands, is sanctified by ten holinesses. And what is the holiness of it? Out of it they bring the sheaf, and the first-fruits, and the two loaves. And they do not so out of any other land.”

“The law of beheading the cow doth not take place any where, but in the land of Israel, and beyond Jordan<sup>h</sup>.”

“They do not appoint or determine concerning the new moons, nor do they intercalate the year any where but in the land of Israel: as it is said, The law shall go forth out of Sion<sup>i</sup>.”

“They do not prefer to eldership out of the land of Israel: no, not although they that do prefer, have themselves been preferred within the land<sup>j</sup>.”

And that I heap not together more, they do, in a manner, circumscribe the Holy Spirit himself within the limits of that land. For “Shechinah (say they<sup>k</sup>) dwells not upon any out of the land.” Compare Acts x. 45.

The land, which the Jews, that came up out of Babylon, possess, they divide after this manner:—

“There<sup>l</sup> are three lands (or countries), שלשה ארצות, — Judea, the land beyond Jordan, and Galilee; and each of those have three countries:”—those we shall take notice of in their places. To this received division our Saviour hath respect, when, sending his disciples to preach to the “lost sheep of Israel,” he excludes Samaria, Matt. x. 5; which, according to the condition of the nation, was not merely

<sup>e</sup> Vid. R. Sol. in Num. xxxiv.

<sup>f</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 170.

<sup>g</sup> Kelim, cap. i. hal. 6. Hieros. Shekalim, fol. 47. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Maimon. in תולדות cap. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Idem in קדוש קדוש cap. 1. Vid. Hieros. Nedarim, fol. 40. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Idem in Sanhedrim, cap. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. R. Sol. in Jonah i.

<sup>l</sup> Sheviith, cap. 9. hal. 2.

*heathen*, nor was it truly *Israel*. It was not *heathen*; for<sup>m</sup>  
 ארץ כותים טהורה ומקוותיה ומדרותיה ושביליה טהורין  
 “The land of Samaria is reckoned clean, and the gathering  
 together of its waters clean, and its dwellings clean, and its  
 paths clean:” which the Jewish curiosity would by no means  
 pronounce of a heathen land. But as to many other things,  
 they made no difference between them and the Gentiles.

The Jewish doctors do, indeed, particularly apply that  
 division of the three countries in the place alleged, to the  
 tradition and canon concerning ביעור; but yet they do every  
 where retain the same, wheresoever they treat of the divi-  
 sion of the land of Israel. What ביעור means, you may  
 learn from the authors of the gloss upon the place. Briefly  
 it was this:—In the seventh year they might eat of the  
 fruits laid up in their storehouses, so long as some fruit of  
 that kind hung upon the tree in that country: but when they  
 could no more find them upon the trees, they were to cast  
 out those which they had gathered, and laid up at home, and  
 not to eat of them, as they did before.

#### CHAP. II<sup>n</sup>.

*The Talmudic Girdle of the Land under the second Temple,*  
*taken out of the Jerusalem Sheviith, fol. 36. 3. ניסים שבים*  
*ibid. col. 4.*

כל דאשקלון &c. unto תחומי א"י כל  
 mean, I cannot so much as conjecture; yea, nor can I scarce  
 conjecture, what the meaning is of *some* of them. Neither is  
 there any Œdipus at hand, nor Sphinx herself, to explain and  
 unriddle them. The Talmudists are silent from making any  
 comments here, nor have we the advantage of any other com-  
 mentator. We must, therefore, act here according to the  
 uncertain instruction of nods and winks; and that either by  
 saying nothing, or by mere conjecture, since that the mind of  
 the authors is either altogether unknown, or it is wholly  
 doubtful, whether it be known or no. Expect not, that I go  
 from street to street to knock at all the gates of these places:  
 it will be enough, if we can scrape out, in what regions these  
 places lie, and are able to guess at what points of the heaven  
 they are disposed. We will at present take in hand only the

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Avoda Zara, fol. 44. 4. <sup>n</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 3.

first and last clause of this place quoted ; which may have some tendency towards our entrance into our present business. The rest (if there be any we can attain unto) we shall handle in their proper places.

“ These (say they) are the bounds of the land of Israel, which they possessed that came out of Babylon.”

“ The division, or part, of the walls of the tower Sid.” Nor dare I confidently to assert, that this is spoken of the ‘ tower of Strato,’ or ‘ Cæsarea ;’ nor yet do I know to what it may more fitly be applied. We observe in its place, that that tower is called by the Talmudists, מגדל שיר “ The tower Sir :” which, by how very little a point it differs from this word, and how very apt it is by want of care in writing to be confounded with it, the eye of any reader is witness. It may happily confirm this conjecture, that עכו the name Aco<sup>o</sup>, so soon follows, שינ דרור only coming between. Concerning which we have nothing to say, if that, which we meet with in the writers of the Babylonian Talmud, may not have any place here. They say<sup>p</sup>, תא אשינא דטורא: which by the glosser is rendered, בוא דרך תחתית ההרים, &c. “ Go in the lowest way, below the mountains,” and they will protect you from showers and rain. Hence, therefore, it may be supposed, that the word שינ doth denote some way at the foot of some mountainous place, which was, as it were, the dividing line between the ‘ land of Israel,’ and ‘ without the land ;’ perhaps at the foot of mount Carmel :—but we do not assert it : we had rather profess silence or ignorance, than, by a light conjecture, either to deceive others or be deceived ourselves.

These places, concerning which the Talmudists here treat, are of a different condition from those, which were called מדינת הים “ The region of the sea.” For those places were certain towns, here and there, on this sea-coast, and elsewhere ; which were, indeed, inhabited by heathens, and so could not properly be reckoned the ‘ land of Israel ;’ yet they were such, as between which, and the outmost bounds of the land, was again the land of Israel. But these places, which we are now handling, are those, which were the utmost bounds, and beyond which were no places at all, but what

<sup>o</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 171.

<sup>p</sup> Bab. Sanhedrim, fol. 96. 2.



was reckoned the 'land of the heathen:' the Phœnicians, Syrians, or other Gentiles, possessing all that coast thence forward unto the shore of the Mediterranean sea.

We cannot also pass by those things, that are said by the Gemarists in the very same page, from whence the scheme before-mentioned is taken. הַנִּיִּסִּים שְׂבִיִּם, &c. "You see isles in the sea; and if a line were drawn from the mountains of Amana to the river of Egypt,—whatsoever is within the line, belongs to the *land of Israel*; whatsoever is without the line, is *without the land*." After the same manner speaks the Targum of Jerusalem upon Num. xxxiv. 4: "And their western bounds shall be the great sea, and the isles of it." Isles? What isles? Let the authors of the maps well weigh these passages.

### CHAP. III<sup>q</sup>.

*A great part of south Judea cut off under the second Temple.  
Jewish Idumea.*

THE Talmudic girdle ends, as you see, in רָקִים הַגִּיעָה וּגְנִיָּא דְאֶשְׁקֶלוֹן "Kadesh, Barnea, and Ascalon." Hence it cannot but be observed, that these two places are placed, as it were, in parallel; and whatsoever space lies between Ascalon and the river of Egypt, is excluded,—to wit, fifty-four miles. And one might, indeed, almost see some footsteps of that exclusion under the first Temple, in that very common expression, "From Dan even to Beer-sheba."

This country, that was excluded, was something barren. The Talmudists<sup>r</sup> speak thus of it; "That tract, which lies in Gerariku [*Gerar*] is ill to dwell in. How far? To the river of Egypt." And Strabo<sup>s</sup> thus; "The country, which follows Gaza, is barren and sandy," &c.

It was anciently inhabited by the Avites,—namely, from Gaza to the river of Egypt. "The Avims dwelt in Hazerim," Deut. ii. 23. *Hazar* is a word of most frequent mention in that southern land, "Hazar-Addar, Hazar-Gaddah, Hazar-Shua, Hazar-Susah," &c. And it seems to denote some champaign plain and level, lying between the mountains. Hence the habitation of the Avites is called 'Hazerim;' who

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. in the place above.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. 16. [c. 2.]



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but at length, by the powerful arms of the Maccabees, and the Asmoneans, they were either rooted out, or constrained to embrace Judaism. So Josephus<sup>b</sup> speaks of Hyrcanus<sup>c</sup>: *Ἰρκανὸς δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἰρεῖ πόλεις Ἀδωρα καὶ Μάρισσαν, &c.* “Hyrcanus takes Ador and Marissa, cities of Idumea: and, having subdued all the Idumeans, suffered them to remain in the country, on condition they were willing to be circumcised, and to use the Jewish laws. And they, out of a desire of their own country, underwent circumcision, and conformed to the same course of life with the Jews.” Hence there became a mingled generation in that country, between Jew and Edomite: and the name of the place was mingled also, and called both Idumea and Judea: “And Palestine was divided into five countries,—Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and the country beyond Jordan<sup>d</sup>.”

#### CHAP. IV<sup>e</sup>.

*The seven Seas according to the Talmudists, and the four Rivers compassing the Land.*

“SEVEN seas (say they<sup>f</sup>) and four rivers compass the land of Israel. I. ימא רבא The Great Sea, or the Mediterranean. II. ימא דטבריא The sea of Tiberias. III. ימא דמלחה The sea of Sodom. IV. ימא דסמכו The lake of Samocho. V. ימא דחולתא VI. ימא דשליית VII. ימא דאפמיה These four last are otherwise writ in the Jerusalem Talmud: to wit, thus, IV. ימא דכובבו V. דחילתא VI. ימה דשלחת VII. ימא דאפמיה In the Babylonian Talmud, thus: IV. ימה של סימכו V. יבה של חילת VI. ימה של חילתא VII. ימה דאפמיה.

The three first named among the seven are sufficiently known, and there is no doubt of the fourth:—only the three names of it are not to be passed by.

IV. 1. סבכו The Sibbichæan. The word seems to be derived from סבך a bush. 2. כובבו, which seems to sound the same thing: for קוצים *thorns*, among the Targumists, are

<sup>b</sup> Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 17. [Hudson, p. 584.]

<sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 172.

<sup>d</sup> Olivar. in Pompon. Melam, lib. [i.] cap. 11.

<sup>e</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Kilaim, fol. 32. 1. et Babyl. Bav. Bathra, fol. 72. 2.

כובין; because that lake, having no great depth, but very much dried in the summer-time, was grown over with thorns and bushes. 3. סמכו, from whence the common name Samochonitis, the letters ס and כ being changed in סכו and סכו.

V. ימא דחולתא Perhaps the *sandy sea*. Which fits very well to the lake of Sirbon, joining the commentary of Diodorus Siculus<sup>b</sup>. For he relates, that that lake, for the most part, is so covered with sand, that it hath often deceived and supplanted travellers, yea, whole armies, thinking it to be firm land.

VI. ימא דשלחת We have nothing to say of this, besides this observation,—that since it is also called by the same Gemarists דשליית, the guttural ח seems to be melted into י; which is not unusual to the dialect of the nation, so to smooth and soften guttural letters. It is also called, by the Babylonians, חילתא, which, among the Talmudists, does sometimes signify *rushy* or *sedgy*:—but what the sea is, we know not. However, we do not forget the Cendevian lake: but whether that be to be numbered among our catalogue, we doubt upon this reason,—because on the same coast lies the Great Sea.

VII. ימא דאפמיה “The sea of Apamia.” The Jerusalem writers, in both places, when they speak of that sea, add these words, ימא &c. The sea of Apamia is the same with the sea of Chamatz. דיקליטינס, &c., “Dicletinus caused it to be made by rivers gathered together.” It was, therefore, of a later date. Concerning it, see the sixty-eighth chapter.

After these seas, mentioned by the Talmudists, hear also no lean story of theirs concerning the fish: “R. Chaninah<sup>c</sup> Bar R. Abhu said, Seven hundred kinds of clean fish, and eight hundred kinds of clean locusts, and of birds an infinite number, travelled with Israel into Babylon, and returned when Israel returned, except the fish שיבוטא. But how did the fish travel? R. Honna Bar Joseph saith, דרך תהום גלו they travelled by the way of the deep, and by the deep they came back.” Surely it requires a Jewish invention (which is able to frame any thing out of any thing), to trace a way, either by any sea, or by any river, through which fish might

<sup>b</sup> [Lib. i. 30.]

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 2.

swim out of Palestine into Babylon. By the same art they bring Jonah in the belly of the whale, out of the Phœnician sea, into the Red sea<sup>d</sup>.

That, indeed, is somewhat hard, yet not to be doubted of, what is said, 2 Chron. viii. 18, concerning Hiram sending ships to Solomon into the Red sea. What! ships to come from Tyre into the Red sea? Which way sailed they? It is answered, He sent such Tyrian ships, which had much and long traded before in the Red sea, to accompany Solomon's fleet. To this belongs that, that it is said there likewise (and in 1 Kings ix. 27), that "he sent seamen, that had knowledge of the sea;" that is, knowledge of that sea: and they probably not such, who had never yet adventured themselves into the Red sea, but had experience of it before, and were not ignorant of the Ophir voyage.

The four rivers for the compassing of the land (they say) are,—I. ירדן *Jordan*; that is sufficiently known. II. ירמוך *Jarmoch*. In Pliny<sup>e</sup>, 'Hieramax:' "Gaddara (saith he), Hieramax flowing before it." III. קרמיון *Kirmion*. IV. פיגה *Pigah*. Concerning which, thus the Aruch<sup>f</sup>: "Kirmion is a river in the way<sup>g</sup> to Damascus, and is the same with Amanah. Pigah is Pharphar. And Jarmoch is also a river in the way to Damascus." And the Talmudists<sup>h</sup>: "The waters of Kirmion and Pigah are not fit" (to sprinkle the unclean), "because they are muddy waters. The waters also of Jordan, and the waters of Jarmoch, are not fit, because they are mixed waters:"—that is, as the Gloss speaks, mixed with the waters of other rivers, which they receive within themselves.

To<sup>i</sup> the seven seas, concerning which we have spoken, those things which are said by Midras Tillim<sup>k</sup>, do refer: "I have created seven seas, saith the Lord, but out of them all I have chosen none, but the sea of Gennesaret."—And of the river of Amanah, of which the Aruch speaks, mention is made in the Targum upon Cant. iv. 8: "They that dwell upon the river Amanah, shall offer thee a gift," &c.

<sup>d</sup> R. Sol. in Jon. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Aruch in קרמיון

<sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 173.

<sup>h</sup> Parah. cap. viii. hal. 10.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Midr. Tillim, fol. 4. 1.

## CHAP. V.

*The Sea of Sodom, ים המלח.*

The bounds of Judea, on both sides, are the sea; the western bound is the Mediterranean,—the eastern, the Dead sea, or the sea of Sodom. This the Jewish writers every where call **ים המלח**, which you may not so properly interpret here, “the *salt* sea,” as “the *bituminous* sea.” In which sense **מלח סדומית** word for word, “Sodom’s salt,” but properly “Sodom’s bitumen,” doth very frequently occur among them. The use of it was in the holy incense. They mingled **מלח סדומית**, ‘bitumen<sup>1</sup>,’ **נפת הירדן**, ‘the amber of Jordan,’ and **מעלת עשר**, an herb known to few, with the spices that made that incense.

**Ἀσφαλτίτις<sup>m</sup> λίμνη ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὄρων σταδίου τ’**: “The lake Asphaltitis is distant from Jerusalem three hundred furlongs:”—about eight-and-thirty miles.

**Ταύτης<sup>n</sup> τῆς λίμνης μῆκος μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι**: “It is extended in length five hundred and eighty furlongs;” seventy-two miles.—**Εὖρος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν**: “in breadth a hundred and fifty furlongs;” eighteen miles.

Pliny<sup>o</sup> speaks thus of it: “In length it is more than a hundred miles: in its greatest breadth, it makes five-and-twenty,—in its least, six.” What agreement is there between these two? I suppose Josephus does not comprehend within his measure the *tongue* of the sea, of which mention is made, Josh. xv. 2.—and defines the breadth, as it was generally every where diffused. Concerning its distance from Jerusalem, Solinus<sup>p</sup> also speaks: “In a long retreat from Jerusalem (saith he) a sad bay openeth itself; which that it was struck from heaven, the ground, black and dissolved into ashes, testifies. There were two towns there, one named Sodom, the other Gomorrha.” But that distance was not directly southward, but by a very long declination eastward.

The Talmudists devote “to the sea of Sodom,” **ים המלח** any thing, that is destined to rejection and cursing, and that by no means is to be used.

<sup>1</sup> Maimon. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. xv. 9. [xv. 6. 2.]

<sup>n</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 27.

[Hudson, p. 1195.] [iv. 8. 4.]

<sup>o</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Solin. Polyhist. cap. 38.

לִים הַמֶּלַח “Let<sup>q</sup> him devote the use of such a thing to the bituminous sea.” “Let<sup>r</sup> the price of an oblation for sin, the owner whereof is dead, depart לִים הַמֶּלַח into the salt sea.”

עֲקִילָם הַגֵּר<sup>s</sup> “The proselyte Aquila divided the inheritance with his brother a Gentile, and devoted the use and benefit of it to the salt sea. Of three doctors one saith, That he devoted the moneys of idolatry into the salt sea.” Hence is that allusion, Rev. xx. 14, “And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire.”

It doth not please me, that Sodom, in the maps, is placed in the northern bounds of the Asphaltites; when it seems rather to be placed in the southern extremity of it. For,

I. The bounds of the land are thus defined by Moses, Gen. x. 19: “The borders of the Canaanites were from Sidon” (on the north) “unto Gaza” (on the south), “as thou goest forward, or until thou comest to Sodom.” Are not the bounds here bent from Gaza to the farthest term opposite to it on the east?

II. Josephus<sup>t</sup>, in the description of the Asphaltites, which we quoted a little above, hath these words: “The length of it is five hundred and eighty furlongs, καθὸ δὴ μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐκτείνεται: and it is stretched out as far as Zoar of Arabia.” Note, that the farthest coast of the extension of it southward, is to Zoar. But now Zoar was not far distant from Sodom, when Lot, with his company, got thither before the rising of the sun, Gen. xix. 23. “It is written (say the Gemarists<sup>u</sup>), ‘The sun was risen upon the earth, when Lot entered into Sodom.’—Now Sodom was four miles from Zoar.”

The maps show you Zoar and Lot’s Cave in Judea, at the northern coast almost of the Asphaltites:—by what authority, I do not apprehend. The Talmudists<sup>x</sup>, indeed, do mention a certain Zoar, which they also call, “The City of Palms.”—“There is a story (say they) of some Levites, who travelled to Zoar, the city of palms: and one of them fell sick, whom

<sup>q</sup> Hieros. Avodah Zarah, fol. 39. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 19. 1. Nazir. cap. 4. hal. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Demai, fol. 25. 4.

<sup>t</sup> Jos. de Bell. [iv. 8. 4.]

<sup>u</sup> Hieros. Berach. fol. 2, 3.

<sup>x</sup> Jevamoth, cap. 16. hal. ult.

they brought to an inny, and there he died." But I should sooner believe, that there were two Zoars, than I should believe, that the father of the Moabites were not conceived and born near Zoar of the land of Moab. See Isa. xv. 5.

Concerning the age of Sodom, when it perished, see the places in the margin<sup>z</sup>, and weigh them well.

## CHAP. VI.<sup>a</sup>

### *The Coast of the Asphaltites. The Essenes. En-gedi.*

"ON the western shore" (of the Asphaltites) "dwell the Essenes; whom persons, guilty of any crimes, fly from on every side. A nation it is that lives alone, and of all other nations in the whole world, most to be admired; they are without any woman; all lust banished, &c. Below these, was the town Engadda, the next to Jerusalem for fruitfulness, and groves of palm-trees, now another burying-place, From thence stands Massada, a castle in a rock, and this castle not far from the Asphaltites<sup>b</sup>."

Solinus<sup>c</sup>, Pliny's shadow, speaks the like things: "The Essenes possess the inner parts of Judea, which look to the west. The town Engadda lay beneath the Essenes; but it is now destroyed: but its glory for the famous groves, that are there, doth still endure: and in regard of its most lofty woods of palms, it hath received no disparagement either by age or war. The castle Massada is the bounds of Judea."

We are looking for the places, not the men:—we might otherwise begin the history of the Essenes from those words, Judg. i. 16: "And the sons of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law, went out of the city of palms, with the sons of Judah, into the deserts of Judah." From these we suppose came the Rechabites,—and from their stock, or example, the Essenes. Which if it be true, we make this an argument of the ill placing of En-gedi in the maps, being set too much towards the north, when it ought to have been placed towards the utmost southern coasts.

If the Essenes were the same with the Kenites in seat and place, and the Kenites dwelt beyond Arad southward, or in-

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 174.

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Shab. fol. 10. 2. et 11. 1. et Juchas. fol. 8. 1.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. 2. p. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Solin. cap. 38.



deed even with Arad, which is asserted in the text alleged,—and if below these were En-gedi, which is also asserted by the authors cited,—certainly, then, the maps have laid it a long way distant from its own proper place, too much northward. View them, and think of these things. To which we also add this:—

The southern borders of the land, Ezek. xlvii. 19 (the very same which are mentioned Num. xxxiv. and Josh. xv. 2), are thus declared; “The southern coast southward from Tamar to the waters of Meribah in Cadesh,” &c. But now Tamar and En-gedi are the same, 2 Chron. xx. 2. Nor have we any reason why we should seek another Tamar elsewhere. Certainly, the Chaldee paraphrast, and Rabbi Sol. Jarchi, and Kimchi following him, have rendered Tamar, in Ezekiel, *Jericho*. But upon what reason? For how, I beseech you, was it possible, that Jericho should be the bounds of the south land, when it was the utmost bounds of Judea northward? It was this, without all doubt, drove them to that version of the word, because *Jericho* is called the *City of Palms*,—and *Tamar* תָּמָר signifies a *palm*; since En-gedi would not give place to Jericho, one inch in regard of the glory of palm-groves.

Whether Tadmor, 1 Kings ix. 18, be the same with this our Tamar,—and whether Tadmor in the Talmudists be the same with that Tadmor,—we leave to the reader to consider. We produce these few things concerning it, which are related by them,—for the sake of such consideration:—

“They<sup>m</sup> receive proselytes from those of Cardya and Tadmor. Rab. Abhu, in the name of R. Jochanan, saith, The tradition asserts, that the proselytes of Tadmor are fit to enter into the congregation.” It was said a little before; “Haggai the prophet taught these three lessons:—צַרְתָּ הַבַּת, The rival of a daughter” (of a priest) “may be married by a priest. The Moabites and Ammonites ought to tithe the poor’s tithe the seventh year. And the proselytes of Tadmor are fit to enter into the congregation.”

This story is recited in the Jerusalem Misna<sup>n</sup>: מְרִים תְּדַמּוּרִית, “Mary, of Tadmor, having part of the blood

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Jevam. fol. 3. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Nazir. cap. vi. hal. 13.



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came in the fortieth year of their travel, Num. xx. These, we suppose, were some of the reasons, whereby the authors of them were drawn to it.

I. Because Kadesh-barnea was in the desert of Paran, Num. xii. 16. xiv. 1. But the Kadesh, whither they came the fortieth year, was in the desert of Zin, Num. xx. 1.—I answer, The searchers of the land, departing from Kadesh-barnea, are said, also, to go out of the deserts of Zin, Num. xiii. 21. Paran was the general name of that dreadful desert; Zin only one part of it.

II. In Kadesh-barnea they encamped many days, Deut. i. 46. But in that Kadesh, concerning which mention is made, Num. xx, there was not provision sufficient, whereby they might be sustained one day. For they complain, that it was a place altogether destitute of seed, figs, vines, and pomegranates, Num. xx. 5: which they did not at all complain of, while they remained in Kadesh-barnea.—I answer, Omitting, that wheresoever they encamped, they were fed by manna; the complaint arose among them, not so much of the place itself, as of the ill boding and prejudice, as I may so say, of the place; because, from the barrenness of this place, they prejudged of the like barrenness of that land, into which they were to enter,—and the porch, as it were, of which, was Kadesh-barnea. When they came hither first, now thirty-eight years before, “Ye came to the mountain of the Amorites (saith Moses) which the Lord giveth you,” Deut. i. 20, 21. ‘Is it so?’ (think they with themselves) ‘Does the first entrance of the land of promise, promise no better? There is little hope of the land itself, if the beginnings of it are such. It is convenient, therefore, that we send before us spies, who may bring us word, whether it is of so great account, that we should tire and hazard ourselves by going to that soil, whose first appearance is so horrid and desperate.’—And hence was that unhappy argument before their eyes, by the inducement of which the whole multitude, by so unanimous a vote, concluded and resolved against the land. And since now, after so much time passed, they are come back to the same place, they think, distrust, and complain of the same things.

III. In Kadesh-barnea, they had a supply of water; in

Kadesh, whither they came the fortieth year, there was no water, Num. xx, &c.—I answer, They drank, when they first came to Kadesh-barnea, of the rock, which followed them (1 Cor. x. 2), which dried up, when they were now ready to enter into the land. If you ask, Why had those rivers that followed them, dried up, as soon as they came at Kadesh-barnea, which before had not dried up when they came thither;—then I ask also, Why had they dried up, when they came to another Kadesh?

IV. Concerning the Kadesh, whither they came the last year of their travel, it is said, that the city was in the utmost bounds of the land of Edom: and therefore, they desire leave of the king to pass through the land of Edom, Num. xx. 16, 17.—I answer, Nothing at all hinders, but these things may be spoke of Kadesh-barnea, which lying contiguous to the mountain of the Amorites, that is, to mountainous Judea, showed so great an army an access, and promised it; only that access was winding, and very difficult to be passed. They desire, therefore, a more level way of the king of Edom, but obtain it not.

V. Perhaps<sup>t</sup> that which chiefly moved them, was this; that supposing one Kadesh only, to wit, Barnea,—it will be scarce possible not to confound the encampings of Israel in the wilderness, and their movings from place to place.—I answer, There will be the same easiness of ordering them, if you do but reduce the sixth and seventh verses of Deut. x, into a true sense, and into agreement with Num. xxxiii. from ver. 31 to 41; which is not hard to do. But let these things suffice, for the present, to have spoke besides our scope. That that Kadesh, to which they came in the fortieth year (which is called Meribah, Num. xx. 13), is the same with Kadesh-barnea, is clear enough from hence,—that Meribah in Kadesh is assigned for the southern border of the land, Ezek. xlvii. 19; which border of old was Kadesh-barnea, Num. xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 3.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*The River of Egypt, Rhinocorura. The Lake of Sirbon.*

PLINY<sup>u</sup> writes, “From Pelusium are the intrenchments of

<sup>t</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 9.

<sup>u</sup> *Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 12. [13.]*

Chabrias: mount Casius: the temple of Jupiter Casius: the tomb of Pompey the Great: Ostracine: Arabia is bounded sixty-five miles from Pelusium: soon after begins Idumea and Palestine from the rising up of the Sirbon lake." Either my eyes deceive me, while I read these things,—or mount Casius lies nearer Pelusium, than the lake of Sirbon. The maps have ill placed the Sirbon between mount Casius and Pelusium.

*Sirbon* (שרבון) implies *burning* [שָׂרַב]; the name of the lake being derived from its nature, which is fiery and bituminous. It is described by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others, whom you may look upon. A lake like to that of Sodom<sup>u</sup>, and perhaps was of the like fate and original; to wit, an example of divine indignation. What if it be the monument of that dreadful earthquake in the days of Uzziah, Amos i. 1, Zech. xiv. 5? when God contended also in fire, Amos vii. 4: so that some cities perished after the manner of Sodom and Gomorrha, Amos iv. 11, Isa. i. 9.

נחל מצרים, The farthest border of the land of Israel southward is not *Nile* in Egypt, but *Shihor* in the way to Egypt, Josh. xiii. 3, Jer. ii. 18. In the Seventy interpreters, it is *Rhinocorura*; for they render that in Isa. xxvii. 12, עַד נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, “unto the stream of Egypt.” “Εως Ρινωκορούρα, “unto *Rhinocorura*.” Of which place and name, derived from the ‘cutting of nostrils,’ see *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1. [60.]

## CHAP. IX.

### *A Sight of Judea.*

“IN *Judea*<sup>x</sup> is the mountainous country, the plain, and the vale. What is the mountainous country of *Judea*? זוה דהר, המלך It is the king’s mountain. The plain of it is the plain of the south. The vale is from *En-gedi* to *Jericho*. The plain of *Lydda* is as the plain of the south: and its mountainous country is as the king’s mountainous country: מבית הורון, &c. From *Beth-horon* to the sea is one circumjacent region. *Rabbi Jochanan* saith, Yet it hath a mountainous part, a plain, and a vale. From *Beth-horon* to *Emmaus* is moun-

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 176.

<sup>x</sup> *Hieros. Sheviith*, fol. 38. 4.

tainous,—from Emmaus to Lydda is plain,—from Lydda to the sea is valley.”

Judea is not divided amiss into four parts:—namely, into the country, which formerly was the Philistines’, which takes up the western part. To this joins, on the east, the mountainous country of Judea, which is also called “The king’s mount.” To the mountainous country, on the east, joins a plain, a country more low and level than the mountains, which nevertheless here and there hath its hills. Hence is that, שפלה שבהר, &c. “A valley, lying between mountains, is reckoned with the mountains, and mountains in a valley are numbered with the valley.” To to the plain eastwardly joins a valley, lower than the plain,—namely, the coast of the sea of Sodom, and at length of Jordan.

The<sup>z</sup> land of Benjamin, in like manner, which is numbered with Judea, in respect of its superficies, was of the same nature; which, although στενότατος ὁ κλήρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν, “it<sup>a</sup> was a portion of the narrowest limits, by reason of the goodness of the soil,” yet had its mountainous part, its plain, and vale: and that, not only towards Lydda, and the great sea, but towards Jericho and Jordan.

Judea did excel all the other parts of the land of Israel in very many privileges. For, besides that in it was seated Jerusalem, the metropolis of the whole nation, and in Jerusalem stood the Temple, and in the Temple sat the Sanhedrim;—this was also peculiar to it out of the Canons, that “it<sup>b</sup> was not lawful to intercalate the year out of Judea, while they might do it in Judea.” Maimonides<sup>c</sup> gives the reason of the thing, “Because there dwelt the divine glory.”—“Nor<sup>d</sup> was the sheaf of the first-fruits of the barley to be fetched elsewhere, than from Judea, and as near as might be to Jerusalem.” Once<sup>e</sup> it was fetched a great way off, &c.

## CHAP. X.

### *A Description of the Sea-coast, out of Pliny and Strabo.*

“IDUMEA<sup>f</sup> and Palestine begin from the rising up of the

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. ἐν τοῖς παραγγώδεσι τῶν ὀρῶν. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 13. [xiii. 7. 3.]

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. 2. p. 10.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [v. 1. 22.]

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Nedarim, fol. 40. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Maim. in Kiddush Hodesh, cap. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 11. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Idem Menachoth, fol. 64. 2, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Pliny, lib. v. cap. 13.

Sirbon lake. The towns of Rhinocorura, and within Raphea. Gaza, and within Anthedon. Mount Angaris. The country along the coast, Samaria. The free town Ascalon, Azotus. The two Jamnes, the one a village" (otherwise Jamne within). "Joppe of the Phœnicians. Thence Apollonia. The tower of Strato; the same is Cæsarea. The bounds of Palestine are a hundred and eighty-nine miles from the confines of Arabia. Then begins Phœnice."

And chap. xix: "We must go back to the coast, and Phœnice. There was the town Crocodilon; it is now a river. Ruins of some cities. Dorum. Sycaminum. The promontory Carmel: and, in the mountain, a town of the same name, heretofore called Ecbatana. Near that, Getta, Lebba, the river Pagida or Belus, mingling glassy sand with its small shore: it flows from the lake Cendevia, at the root of Carmel. Next that is Ptolemais, a colony of Claudius Cæsar, which heretofore was called Ace. The town Ecdippa. The White Promontory. Tyrus, heretofore an island, &c. It is in compass nineteen miles, Palæ-Tyre, lying within, being included. The town itself contains two-and-twenty furlongs. Then the towns, Enhydra, Sarepta, and Ornithon; and Sidon, the artist of glass, and the mother of Thebes in Bœotia."

Strabos goes backward: Διέχει δὲ τῆς Σιδόνης ἢ Τύρος οὐ πλείους τῶν διακοσίων σταδίων. "Tyrus is not distant from Sidon above two hundred furlongs:"—five-and-twenty miles.

The masters of the Jews have observed this neighbourhood in that canon, whereby provision is made, that nobody betake himself to sail in the Mediterranean sea within three days before the sabbath: "But if any (say they<sup>h</sup>) will sail from Tyre to Sidon, he may, even on the eve of the sabbath: because it is well<sup>i</sup> known, that that space may be sailed, while it is yet day."

Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ πολίχνιον, ὀρνίθων πόλις λεγομένη. "Between Tyre and Sidon there is the little city Ornithon" (the city of *birds*). "At Tyre a river goes out."

"Thirty furlongs beyond Tyre is Palæ-Tyrus:" three miles three quarters. When, therefore, Pliny saith, the compass of Tyre is nineteen miles, "Palæ-Tyre, that lies within, being included," he shows manifestly, that it is not to be understood

<sup>g</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi. [2.]

<sup>h</sup> Tanchum, fol. 77. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 177.

of the compass of the city itself, since he saith, “The town itself held two-and-twenty furlongs:” nor can it well be taken of the whole circumference of the Tyrian jurisdiction, but rather of the extent of the bounds of it that way, which he went.

Εἶθ' ἡ Πτολεμαῖς ἐστὶ μεγάλη πόλις, ἣν Ἀκὴν ὠνόμαζον, &c. “Moreover, from Tyre” (southward) “is Ptolemais, formerly called Ace. And between Ace and Tyre, is a shore heaped with sands fit to make glass.”

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκὴν Στράτωνος πύργος, &c. “Beyond Ace is the tower of Strato. The mountain Carmel lies between: and the names of some small cities, and nothing more. The cities of Sycamines, of Herdsmen, of Crocodiles, and others. And going thence, is a certain great wood.”

Εἶτα Ἰόππη &c. “After that, Joppa; next which, the shore of Egypt, which before had stretched out towards sun-rising, does remarkably bend towards the north. There some talk, that Andromeda was exposed to the whale. A place sufficiently high; so high, indeed, that from thence (they report) Jerusalem may be seen, the metropolis of the Jews. The Jews, also, that go down to the sea, use this port. But these ports are receptacles for robbers. And so was the wood and Carmel.”

Καὶ<sup>k</sup> δὲ καὶ εὐήνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, &c. “And this place was so well peopled, that, out of Jamnia, a near village, and the dwellings neighbouring about, might be armed forty thousand men.”

Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸν Κάσιον, &c. “Thence to mount Casius towards Pelusium, the distance is a thousand furlongs, and a little more. And three hundred more to Pelusium.”

Here we must stop, and see how these two authors do agree. For, according to Strabo's account, one thousand three hundred furlongs, and a little more, run out from Pelusium to Joppa: that is, one hundred and sixty three miles, or thereabouts: but according to Pliny's, at first sight, more by far. For “Arabia (saith he) is bounded sixty-five miles from Pelusium: and the end of Palestine is one hundred and eighty-nine miles from the confines of Arabia. And then

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 11.



begins Phœnice.” The sum is two hundred and fifty-four miles. He had named Joppa before, ‘Joppa of the Phœnicians.’ But now, supposing he makes Joppa the border of Palestine, and the beginning of Phœnice, there are from Pelusium to Joppa, himself reckoning, almost a hundred miles more than in Strabo. Nor is there any thing to answer from the difference of the measure of Strabo’s furlongs, and Pliny’s miles. For they go by the same measure, themselves being witnesses: for to Strabo, τὸ μίλιον ὀκτοστάδιον, “Eight” furlongs make a mile;” and, to Pliny, “A<sup>o</sup> furlong makes a hundred and twenty-five of our paces:”—which comes to the same thing.

We must therefore say, that by the ‘end of Palestine,’ in Pliny<sup>o</sup>, is properly signified the end of it, touching upon Phœnicia properly so called;—that is, upon the borders of Tyre and Sidon. For when he calls Joppa, “Joppa of the Phœnicians,”—he does not conclude Joppa within Phœnicia; but because the sea, washing upon that shore of Palestine, was divided in common speech into the Phœnician and the Egyptian sea (so Strabo before, “Afterward Joppe; after that, the shore of Egypt,” &c.); and because the Phœnicians were famous for navigation,—he ascribed their name to Joppa, a very eminent haven of that shore. But he stretched the borders of Palestine a great way farther;—namely, so far till they meet with the borders of Tyre and Sidon. So far, therefore, doth Pliny’s measure extend itself; to wit,—that, from Idumea, and the rising of the Sirbon lake, to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, there be one hundred and eighty-nine miles. The place that divided these meeting-bounds to the Jews, was Acon, or Ptolemais; which we shall note, when we come thither:—but whether it was so to Pliny, remains obscure. But it is a more probable opinion, that he computed according to the vulgar and most known distinction.

Gulielmus Tyrius<sup>p</sup>, measuring the borders of the Tyre of his time southward, extends them to four or five miles: “For it is extended southward towards Ptolemais, as far as to that place, which, at this day, is called ‘the district of Scandarrion,’ which is four or five miles.” If, therefore, it should be

<sup>n</sup> Strabo, lib. vii. [p. 497.]

<sup>o</sup> Plin. lib. ii. c. 23.

<sup>p</sup> G. Tyrius, De Bello Sacro, c. 3.



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The mountain of the Amorites took its beginning from Cadash-barnea, the southern border, of the land of Israel,—and, by a hardened gibbosity, thrust forward itself into Judea beyond Hebron, the name only being changed into the “Hill-country of Judea.” Whence is that of Samson to be understood, that he carried not the gates of Gaza near to Hebron, or to the mountain, whence Hebron might be seen;—but to the top of this mountainous country, which runs out to Hebron:—and so are the words to be rendered, Jud. xvi. 3, “He carried them to the top of a mountainous place, which is before Hebron.”

This mountainous country is called *מְדִבֵּר הָרִים*, “The mountainous desert,” Psal. lxxv. 6, because it is not from the east, nor from the west, nor from the desert of the mountains. Where the Targum thus; “Nor from the south, the mountainous place.”

It remains doubtful, why it is called by the Talmudists *הַר הַמֶּלֶךְ*, “The King’s mountain.” Whether because it was king among all the other mountains of Judea? or, because the royal dignity of David’s house sprang hence,—to wit, from Hebron? There is much mention of it in the Jewish writers.

The Chaldee paraphrast upon Judg. iv. 5: “Deborah had *עֵפֶר חוֹר בְּטוֹר מַלְכָּא* white dust in the King’s Mountain.” That is, as it seems, potter’s clay: for the Gemarists, speaking somewhere concerning potters, say, “that<sup>t</sup> they work in black dust, or in white dust.”

“In<sup>u</sup> the days of R. Hoshaia, some went about to get a freedom from some tithes for the Mount of the King.”

Rabbi Simeon<sup>x</sup> had vine-dressers *בְּהַר הַמֶּלֶךְ* in the Mount of the King. He was minded to let out his vineyard to heathens.

R. Chaijah<sup>y</sup>, R. Issai, and R. Immai, went up to the King’s Mountain. They saw a certain heathen, who was suspicious concerning their wine.

A<sup>z</sup> myriad of cities stood in the Mountain-royal, of which R. Eliezer Ben Harsum possessed a thousand.” This moun-

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Bava Mezia, fol. 11. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Idem Demai, fol. 24. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Idem Avodah Zarah, fol. 42. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. fol. 44. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

tainous country is not, therefore, called מְדִבֵּר הָרִים “The mountainous desert,” because it was void of cities and towns, but because it was a more barren and rough country.

אֶת־רִנְגוּלָא וְאֶת־רִנְגוּלָתָא &c. “The<sup>a</sup> Royal Mountain was laid waste by reason of a cock and a hen. It was the custom, when they brought forth the bridegroom and the bride, to lead before them a cock and a hen: as if they should say, Increase and multiply, as they. On a certain day a regiment of Romans passed by, and wrested the cock and the hen from them: these, therefore, rose up against them, and beat them. Away, therefore, they go to Cæsar, and told him, The Jews rebel against thee, &c. R. Asai saith, Three hundred thousand drew sword, and went up to the Royal Mountain, and there slew for three days and three nights,” &c.

Rabbi Asai saith, “Janneus the king had sixty myriads of cities in the Royal Mountain: and in each the number was equal to them, that went out of Egypt,—excepting three cities, in which that number was doubted. And these were, I. כַּפַּר בִּישׁ, *Caphar Bish*” (that is, the *Ill Town*); “therefore called so דְּלָא, &c. because it afforded not a house of hospitality. II. כַּפַּר שִׁיחֲלִיִּים, a town, that had its name from a certain herb, because by that herb they were nourished. III. כַּפַּר דְּכַרְיָא, *the town of males*; so called, saith R. Jochanan, because their wives first brought forth males, and then females, and so left off.”

This story is recited by the Jerusalem Talmudists, who say, כַּפַּר דְּכַרְיָא<sup>b</sup> is so called, because, unless the women departed thence somewhere else, they could not bring forth male children.

“But (saith Ulla) I saw that place, and it is not able to contain even sixty myriads of nests. Therefore, said a certain sectary of R. Chaninah, Ye lie, ye lie. To whom he replied That land is called אֶרֶץ צְבִי ‘the land of a Kid:’ but now צְבִי ‘a kid’ hath a skin, that does not<sup>c</sup> contain his flesh: so the land of Israel, while it is inhabited, is spacious; but, when uninhabited, more contracted.”

<sup>a</sup> Bab. Gittin. fol. 57. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 179.

CHAP. XII.<sup>d</sup>

*The South Country.* דְּרוֹמָא עִילָאָה וְתַחָאָה. *Judea called*  
 דְּרוֹם ‘*the South,*’ *in respect of Galilee.*

RABBAN GAMALIEL<sup>e</sup>, and the elders sitting together at the ascent into the gallery, in the mount of the Temple, had Jochanan, the priest, and the amanuensis, sitting with them. They said to him, ‘Go to, write to our brethren, the inhabitants of Upper Galilee, and of Nether Galilee, health: we certify you, that the time is come of separating the tithes. וְלֵאחֲנָא בְּנֵי דְּרוֹמָא עִילָאָה וּבְנֵי דְּרוֹמָא אַרְעִיתָא And to our brethren, that inhabit the Upper South Country, and that inhabit the Nether South Country, health: we certify you,” &c.

The ‘Upper South country’ consisted of that part of the country, which was hilly; the ‘Nether,’ of a plain, and valley sinking on both sides. Which country, although it were barren<sup>f</sup> above all other parts of the land, yet had its inhabitants, and those many, as well as other countries of the land.

He that turns over the Talmudical books, will meet very frequently with the name of the ‘South,’ taken for ‘whole Judea’ in opposition to ‘Galilee.’ “Those<sup>g</sup> of Zippor enjoined a fast to obtain rain, but the rain came not down. Therefore, said they of Zippor, R. Joshua Ben Levi obtained rain for the southern people: but R. Chaninah hinders it from coming upon the people of Zippor. They were called, therefore, together to a second fast. R. Chaninah sent to fetch R. Joshua Ben Levi. And both went out to the fast, and yet rain fell not. He stood forth, therefore, and said before them, Neither doth Joshua Ben Levi obtain rain for the southern people, nor does R. Chaninah restrain it from the people of Zippor: but the southern people have a soft heart, to hear the words of the law and be humbled: but the people of Zippor have a hard heart.” But now R. Joshua Ben Levi, who was called דְּרוֹמִיא “the<sup>h</sup> southern,” was of Lydda: and those

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Maasar Sheni, fol. 56. 3. and Sanhedr. fol. 8. 4. and Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 11. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Tanch. et R. Solom. in Num. xiii.

<sup>g</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 66. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Idem Chaltah, fol. 57. 2.

southern people<sup>i</sup>, for whom he obtained rain, were of Lydda, and such as dwelt in that country.

“A<sup>k</sup> devout disciple תלמיד ותיק, learned the intercalation of the year before his master, three years and a half: he came, and intercalated for Galilee: but he could not intercalate for the *south*,” that is, for *Judea*.

Hence you may understand, in what sense some Rabbins are called דרומיא *southern*: as ר' יעקב דרומיא, “R. Jacob<sup>l</sup> of the south,” who is called also R. Jacob דרומנה: also<sup>m</sup> ר' שמלאי דרומיא, “R. Samlai of the south”;” whom you have disputing with certain, whom the Gemarists call מינין, that is, *heretics*: whom I think rather to have been ‘Christians.’ And it seems to be the disputation of a Christian purposed to assert a trinity of persons in the Deity, but nevertheless a unity of the Deity. After you have heard the matter, perhaps you will be of my judgment. View the place.

### CHAP. XIII.

#### Gaza.

AFTER very many histories of this place in the Holy Bible, which there is no need to repeat here,—in<sup>o</sup> this city did Alexander the Great, at length, besiege Babemeses the Persian, by the space of two months. Ἐνδοξός ῥ ποτε γενομένη κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος. “And that city, which before-time was most famous, was laid waste by him, and rendered desert.” Not that he had destroyed the building of the city, or consumed it with fire; for presently after his death, Antigonus and Ptolemy, his captains, fighting, it<sup>q</sup> had walls, gates, and fortifications: but that he divested it of its ancient glory, so that it was at last melted into a new city of that name built nearer the sea, where formerly had been Γαζαίων λιμὴν, ‘the haven of the Gazæans.’ That is called by Diodorus, Γάζα παλαιὰ, ‘old Gaza;’ and Γάζα ἔρημος, ‘Gaza desert,’ by Strabo, and the New Testament, Acts viii. 26. At last it was called ‘New Maijuma,’ and after that

<sup>i</sup> Idem Trumoth, fol. 46. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Idem Erubhin, fol. 23. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Idem Succah, fol. 53. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Idem Beracoth, fol. 2. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. fol. 11. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 8. [xi. 8. 3.]

<sup>p</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi. [2.]

<sup>q</sup> Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. [84.]

‘Constantia:’—concerning which, see Eusebius, of ‘the Life of Constantine,’ book iv. chap. 28; and Sozomen’s ‘Ecclesiastical History,’ book v. chap. 3.

עטלוחא של עזה<sup>r</sup> is mentioned by the Talmudists<sup>s</sup>; which, the Glosser interpreting, was a certain street without the city Gaza; where was *a shambles*, and where there also was an idol-temple.

There<sup>t</sup> is mentioned, also, the ‘mart of Gaza,’ one of the three more famed marts,—to wit, that of Gaza, and of Aco, and of *Botna*, (בוטנה.)

There<sup>u</sup> was a place also without the city, which was called, חורבתא סגירתא ‘The waste (or desert) of the leper’s cloister.’

#### CHAP. XIV.<sup>x</sup>

##### *Ascalon. Gerar. The Story of the Eighty Witches.*

‘ASCALON,’ in the Samaritan interpreter, is the same with ‘Gerar,’ Gen. xxi.

The word *Gerar*, among the Talmudists, seems to have passed into ‘Gerariku.’ “Wherefore (say they<sup>y</sup>) have they not determined על אותה רוח שבגרריקו, of that country, which is in Gerariku? Because it is ill to dwell in. How far? To the river of Egypt. But behold, Gaza is pleasant to dwell in,” &c.

In the author of Aruch it is, גרדקי, *Gardiki*. “Bereshith Rabbah (saith he<sup>z</sup>) renders גררה, *Gardiki*” (לגרדיקי)—מלך—‘The king of Gerar,’ Gen. xx. 2, with the Jerusalem Targumist, is מלכא דערר “The king of Arad.” Note the affinity of Arad, Gerar, and Ascalon; and thence, unless I am deceived, will grow some light, to illustrate those places in the Holy Bible, where we meet with these names.

Ascalon<sup>a</sup> was distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs: that is, sixty-five miles. Which is to be understood of the older Ascalon. For Benjamin Tudelensis<sup>b</sup> makes mention of a double Ascalon,—(this our) old, and the

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p.

14.

<sup>s</sup> Bab. Avodah Zarah, fol. 11. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Avodah Zarah, fol. 39.

4.

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 71. 1.

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 180.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Aruch in גרדיקי.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. de Bell. Jud. [iii. 2. 1.]

<sup>b</sup> Benjamin. in Itinerario, pag. mihi 80. [p. 51. Ed. L’Empereur.]

new. For thus he writes : “ Thence” (from Azotus) “ is new Ascalon distant two parsæ, or leagues” (that is, eight miles) ; “ which Ezra, the priest, of blessed memory, built at the sea-shore : and they called it, first, בניברה : now that is distant from old Ascalon, now destroyed, four leagues.”

So that, from Azotus to Ascalon, of which we are speaking, and of which alone the Holy Scripture speaks, were, by his computation, four-and-twenty miles ; and by the computation of Adrichomius, two hundred furlongs, that is, five-and-twenty miles.

“ Ten miles from Gaza” (says our countryman Sandes [Sandys]<sup>c</sup>, an eyewitness), “ and near the sea, is placed Ascalon, now of no note, anciently a venerable place to the heathen for the temple of Dagon, and the festivals of Semiramis’s birthday.”

From Gaza to Azotus, Diodorus Siculus<sup>d</sup> being witness, are two-hundred and seventy furlongs : which amount to four-and-thirty miles : namely, from Gaza to Ascalon, ten miles, and thence to Azotus four-and-twenty.

That is a common saying, מאשקלון לדרום, &c. “ From<sup>e</sup> Ascalon onward to the south, is the heathen country, and Ascalon itself is reputed for a heathen country.” And yet something of Ascalon was within the land of Israel. בנייה דאשקלון The *apple-gardens* or *orchards*, did bound the land of Ascalon on that coast, which we have observed before. And yet, “ when<sup>f</sup> R. Ismael Ben R. Josi, and Ben Hakkaphar, were set over על אורר אשקלון the space of Ascalon” (that is, when it was intrusted to them to judge concerning the spaces or parts of Ascalon,—namely, what were within the land, and what without, &c.) “ they pronounced it clean from the authority of R. Phinchasi Ben Jair, who said, We went down to the corn-market of Ascalon, and thence we received wheat, and going up into our city we washed, and ate our Thruma ;” i. e. The portion of first-fruits belonging to the priests. The greatest part of the city, if not the whole, was esteemed, under the second Temple, to be without the limits of the land : but some part, or at least the apple-yards, and the places next adjacent, were within the land.

<sup>c</sup> Georg. Sandes’s [Sandys’] Travels, p. 151. [Ed. of 1621. quoted loosely.]

<sup>d</sup> Diod. Sicul. lib. xix.

<sup>e</sup> R. Nissim in Gittin, cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.



Mention is made of a certain temple in Ascalon among the “five & more famous temples,—viz. the temple of Bel in Babylon, the temple of Nebo in Cursi, of Tiratha in Mapheg, of Zeripha in Ascalon, and of Nishra in Arabia.”

And there is a story of a fast enjoined, because some sign appeared of a blast of the corn in Ascalon: “The<sup>h</sup> elders went down from Jerusalem into their cities, and enjoined a fast, because so much of a blast was seen in Ascalon, as the space of the mouth of an oven may contain.”

But most famous of all is the story of the eighty women, that were witches, hanged by Simeon Ben Shetach in one and the same day. We will not think much to relate the thing in the words of the Gemarists<sup>i</sup>:—“When as two disciples of the wise men in Ascalon were<sup>k</sup> intent upon the study of the law, one of them, at length dying, had no funerals performed for him,—when yet a publican, dying at that time, had. To the student, that survived, are revealed the joys of his saved companion, and likewise the punishments of the damned publican.” וחמא מרים בת עלי בצלים תלייא : בחוטי ביזייה : Let the learned reader turn this clause into English; unless my conjecture fail me, it savours of spite and poison.. I should thus render it: “He saw Mary, the daughter of Eli, in the shades, hung up by the kernels of the breasts; and when he inquired, How long she was to suffer those things? it was answered, Until Simon Ben Shetach came to supply her place. But, said he, for what crime? It is answered, Therefore, because he sometime swore against his soul, and said, If I shall ever become a prince, I will destroy all wizards. But behold, he is become a prince, and yet he hath not done this: for eighty women, that are witches, lie hid in a cave at Ascalon, and kill the world. Go, and tell him, &c. He went to him, therefore, and related these things, &c. On a certain rainy day, therefore, having eighty young men in company with him, he goes to the cave, knocks, professes himself one of the bewitching society, and is let<sup>l</sup> in. He sees them exercising their art. For, muttering certain words together, one brings morsels of meat,—another, wine,

<sup>g</sup> Bab. Avodah Zarah, fol. 11. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Taanith, cap. 3. hal. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 23. 3. Bab.

Sanhedr. fol. 44. 2. in Glossa.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 15.

<sup>l</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 181.



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they called *ברכת מינים* “The prayer against heretics,” composed by Samuel the Little, who died before the destruction of the city”. Gamaliel died eighteen years before the Temple was destroyed; and his son Rabban Simeon succeeded him<sup>o</sup>, who perished with the city.

Jerusalem being destroyed, Rabban Jochanan<sup>p</sup> Ben Zaccai obtained of Titus the conqueror, that he might still receive and retain the Sanhedrim of Jabneh: which being granted by him, Jochanan himself was first president there; and after him, Rabban Gamaliel the second: and after him, R. Akibah. And this place was famous above all the other universities, except only the latest of all,—viz. Tiberias: so that *כרם שהיו ביבנה* “The vineyard of Jabneh” became a proverb. *יושבים שורות שורות ככרם* “For<sup>q</sup> there they sat in order, as a vineyard.” And it is reported<sup>r</sup>, “that there were there three hundred classes of scholars,—or, at least, eighty.” How long time Rabban Jochanan sat here, is doubted.

There<sup>s</sup> are some<sup>t</sup>, who attribute to him two years only; and others<sup>u</sup> five: with whom we consent. This Rabban Jochanan I very much suspect to be the same with that John, mentioned Acts iv. 6. Omitting those things, which were done by him, while he remained at Jabneh,—let me produce his dying words, as they are recited by his friends: “When<sup>x</sup> Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai now lay languishing, his scholars came to visit him: whom he seeing began to weep. To whom they said, ‘O thou light of Israel, thou right-hand pillar, thou strong hammer, whence are those tears?’ To whom he replied, ‘If men were about to carry me before a king of flesh and blood, who to-day is here, and to-morrow is in his grave,—if he were angry with me, his anger is not everlasting; if he should cast me into bonds, his bonds are not eternal; if he should kill me, his killing would not be eternal: and I might perhaps pacify him with words, or soften him with a gift. But they are ready to lead me before the King of kings, the Lord, holy and blessed, who lives and

<sup>n</sup> [See Buxtorf Lex. Talm., under *שְׁמֵר*. col. 2441 and *מִין*. col. 1201.]

<sup>o</sup> Juchas. fol. 57. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Avoth R. Nathan, cap. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Jevamoth, cap. 8. and R. Sol. ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 67. 4.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 16.

<sup>t</sup> See Juchasin, fol. 20, 21.

<sup>u</sup> Tsemach David.

<sup>x</sup> Bab. Beracoth, fol. 28. 2.

lasts for ever, and for ever and ever; who if he be angry with me, his anger is eternal; if he bind me, his bond is eternal; if he kill me, his killing is eternal; and whom I cannot either appease with words, or soften with a gift. And moreover, there are two ways before me, one to paradise, another to hell; and I know not which way they will lead me. Should I not therefore weep?' " Ah! the miserable and fainting confidence of a Pharisee in death!

Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh, a busy and severe man, succeeded Jochanan. Being<sup>y</sup> to be slain with his father, Rabban Simeon,—by the intercession of Rabban Jochanan he was delivered. Being<sup>z</sup> also sought for to be slain, when Turnus Rufus (in Josephus<sup>a</sup>, Τερέντιος Ροῦφος, Terentius Rufus) ploughed up the floor of the Temple, he was delivered by a way scarcely credible. Sitting<sup>b</sup> in Jabneh he removed R. Akibah, head at that time of the school of Lydda, from his headship; and<sup>c</sup> he at last was removed from his, and over him was placed R. Eleazar Ben Azarias. R. Akibah succeeded him, and sat forty years, and died a fool, being deceived<sup>d</sup> by Ben Cozba, and slain with him: and the university was removed from Jabneh to Usha.

“Jabneh stands two parsæ” (that is, eight miles) “from Azotus: and was at last called איבלין *Ivelyn*.” They are the words of Benjamin, in his Itinerary. [p. 51.]

## CHAP. XVI.

### *Lydda.* לוד

Λύδδα κώμη, πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσα. “Lydda<sup>e</sup> was a village, not yielding to a city in greatness.”

Concerning its situation, and distance from Jerusalem, the Misna hath these words: “כרם רבעי<sup>f</sup> The vineyard of four years” (that is, the fruit of a vineyard now of four years' growth; for, for the first three years, they were trees, as it were, not circumcised) “was brought to Jerusalem, in the space of a day's journey on every side. Now these were the bounds of it; אילת מן הדרום Elath on the south; עקרבת

<sup>y</sup> Juchas. f. 53. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Taanith, fol. 29. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. de Bell. [vii. 2. 2.]

<sup>b</sup> Rosh Hashanah, c. 1. hal. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 67. 4.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 182.

<sup>e</sup> Joséph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. [xx. 6. 2.]

<sup>f</sup> Maasar Sheni, cap. 5. hal. 2.

לוד מן המערב Lydda on the west ; and Jordan on the east.” The Gloss ; “ The wise men appointed, that the second tenth of the fruits, growing within the space of a day’s journey from Jerusalem, should be carried thither to be eaten, and should not be redeemed : כרי לעטר &c. That the streets of Jerusalem might be crowned with fruits.”

When you consider this distance, you may well wonder what that means, which is almost become a proverb, “ The women of Lydda knead their dough, go up to the Temple, pray, and come back, before it be leavened.” Not that the distance of the places is made less ; but that hence may be shown, that no disadvantage accrued to these women, who paid their vows and performed their religion.

I very much wonder, that the authors of the maps have held Lod and Lydda for two towns ; Lod not far from Jordan and Jericho ; Lydda not far from the Mediterranean sea. A Jew, or one versed in Jewish affairs, will laugh at these things ; when Lod and Lydda have no difference at all between them,—unless that that is Hebrew,—this, Greek.

When the Sanhedrim sat in Jabneh, there flourished eminent schools in Lydda. Yea, Lydda had her schools and her learned men, when the university was gone away into Galilee, and Jabneh lamented her loss of scholars.

There R. Akibah bore the headship of the school, removed, as I said before, from his government by Rabban Gamaliel, “ because<sup>h</sup> he detained at Lydda more than forty pair of men travelling” (towards Jabneh) “ to give their testimony to the Sanhedrim concerning the new moon ; and suffered them not to go forwards.”

Gamaliel being dead, or rather removed,—when R. Akibah was head in Jabneh, R. Tarphon was rector of the school of Lydda, whom you have sometimes disputing with R. Akibah, but at last yielding to him with this commendation ; “ He that separates himself from you, is as if he separated himself from his own life.”

We read<sup>k</sup> of five elders teaching and erring before Tar-

<sup>g</sup> Gemar. Hieros. in Maasar Sheni, in the place above.

<sup>h</sup> Rosh Hashanah, cap. i. hal. 7.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Hieros. Jom Tobh, fol. 62. 1.

phon at Lydda. We read<sup>1</sup> also of a fast enjoined at Lydda for the obtaining of rain, and Tarphon the moderator of the solemnity. The stories of this place are infinite; we will gather a few.

Helena<sup>m</sup> the queen celebrated the feast of tabernacles at Lydda.

R. Eliezar<sup>n</sup> and R. Joshua were sometime present in the same place at the feast of dedication: but being not enough satisfied concerning the fast at that time enjoined, one went to the bath,—the other, to the barber's shop.

Here<sup>o</sup> it was, that Ben Satdah was surprised and taken, and brought before the Sanhedrim, and stoned.

There is also very frequent mention of Papus and Lulienus, brethren, slain at Lydda by the Roman kingdom: “The<sup>p</sup> day טיריון is the day wherein Lulienus and Papus were slain.” טיריון with the Jerusalem writers is טוריינום with the Babylonian: who relate, that these brethren were slain בלודקיא, “in<sup>q</sup> Laodicea,” as one would guess. But לודקין, saith the Gloss, “is Lydda: for לודגי לוד, the slain of Lydda are every where mentioned.—And these (saith the Gloss) were put to death for the king's daughter, who was found slain; and there was a rumour the Jews had killed her. When, therefore, a sharp decree was decreed against the Jews, these two stood forth, and delivered Israel. For they said, We slew her; therefore, the king put them only to death.”

Since<sup>s</sup> it was not lawful to intercalate the year any where but in Judea, “a<sup>t</sup> great many went to Lydda out of the school of the Rabbi” (Judah Haccodesh, viz. out of Galilee), “that they might intercalate: but a certain evil eye met them, and they all died together. After that, they removed the intercalation of the year out of Judea into Galilee.” And a little after: “R. Jeremiah asked before R. Zeira, Is not Lydda a part of Judea? Yes, saith he. Wherefore, then, do they not transact the intercalation of the year there?—Because they are obstinate, and unskilful in the law.”

<sup>1</sup> Taanith, cap. iii. hal. 14.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Succah, fol. 51. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Id. Nedarim, fol. 40. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Id. Sanhedr. fol. 52. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 66. 1. et Megil. fol. 70. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Taanith, fol. 18. 2.

<sup>r</sup> See Bab. in Bathra, fol. 10. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Maim. in Kiddush. Hodesh, cap. ii.

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 18. 3.

“Lydda is a part of Judea.” Let some maps mark this, which have placed a certain Lod, which never was any where, not far from Jericho, as<sup>u</sup> was said before; because Lod, in the land of Benjamin, is brought in, Neh. xi. 35: but they set Lydda far beyond the bounds of Judea in the land of Ephraim.

“Koshab Bar Ulla<sup>x</sup> sometime got away to Lydda to Rabbi Jesua Ben Levi, dwelling there, when he fled from the Romans. The Romans pursued him, and besieged the city. Unless you deliver him to us, say they, we will destroy the city. R. Josua Ben Levi persuaded him, and he was delivered to the Romans.”

I might produce numberless things celebrating the name of Lydda; such as, עליית בית ארם בלוד, “They chamber of Beth-Arum in Lydda.” עליית בית לבזה בלוד “The<sup>z</sup> chamber of Beth-lebaza in Lydda.” עליית בית נתזא בלוד “The<sup>a</sup> chamber of Beth-Nethaza in Lydda.”—We suppose these were schools.

I might mention very many names of Rabbins residing at Lydda, besides those whom I have remembered before: such are, R. Chama Bar Chanina<sup>b</sup>, and R. Hoshaiia with him. R. Illai<sup>c</sup>, and R. Eliezer; and others, who are vulgarly called *the Southern*, in the sense we produced before. Concerning R. Josua Ben Levi, by name, the author of Juchasin hath these words, ישיבתו בדרום א”י “His<sup>d</sup> habitation, or college, was in the south of the land of Israel.” He means Lydda.

R. Eliezer, dying at Cæsarea, desired to be buried at Lydda, whom R. Akibah bewailed as well with blood as tears. “For<sup>e</sup> when he met his hearse betwixt Cæsarea and Lydda, he beat himself in that manner, that blood flowed down upon the earth. Lamenting, thus he spoke,—O my father, my father, the chariot and horsemen of Israel. I have much money, but I want a moneyer, to change it.” The Gloss is this, “I have very many questions; but now there is no man, to whom I may propound them.”

There is a place between Jamnia and Lydda, which was

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 183.

<sup>x</sup> *Id.* Trumoth, fol. 46. 2.

<sup>y</sup> *Id.* Shekal. fol. 30. 2.

<sup>z</sup> *Id.* Sheviith, fol. 35. 1.

<sup>a</sup> *Bab. Sanhedr.* fol. 74. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Hieros. Shekalim*, fol. 49. 2.

<sup>c</sup> *Id.* Succah, fol. 53. 1.

<sup>d</sup> *Juchas.* fol. 92. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Bab. Sanhedr.* fol. 68. 1.

called בקיעין *Bekiin*; of which there is this mention: "R. Jochanan Ben Brucha, and R. Eliezer the blind, travelling from Jabneh to Lydda<sup>e</sup>, met R. Josua בבקיעין in Bekiin," &c.

From Jamnia to Joppe (according to Benjamin, in his Itinerary [p. 51]) are פרסאות ג' three leagues, or parsæ: 'Εγγὺς δὲ ἦν Αὐδδὴ τῆ'Ιόππη, "Now Lydda was nigh to Joppa," Acts ix. 38.

CHAP. XVII.<sup>f</sup>

*Sharon. Caphar Lodim.* כפר לודים, *The Village of those of Lydda.*

BETWEEN Lydda and the sea, a spacious valley runs out, here and there widely spreading itself, and sprinkled with villages. The holy page of the New Testament [Acts ix. 35.] calls it Saron, τὸν Σάρωνα: and that of the Old calls the whole, perhaps, or some part of it, 'the plain of Ono,' Neh. vi. 2, xi. 35, 1 Chron. viii. 12.

The word שָׂרוֹן denotes a *champaign pasture country*, from שָׂרָה *to send forth*, sending forth cattle<sup>g</sup>; one beyond Jordan, 1 Chron. v. 16; and this our Sharon.

The wine of Sharon is of great fame, with<sup>h</sup> which they mixed two parts water: and remarkable is that they say concerning the houses of Sharon. R. Lazar saith<sup>i</sup>, "He that builds a brick house in Sharon, let him not return back:" which was allowed to others, Deut. xx. 5,—namely, that they should return back from the war, if they had built a new house, and it were not yet dedicated. "But<sup>k</sup> the men of Sharon withdrew not themselves back" (they are the words of the Jerusalem Gamara), "because they repaired their houses within seven years: and the chief priest also prayed for them on the day of expiation, that their house might not become their graves." The Gloss upon the Babylonian Talmud thus; "Sharon was the name of a place, whose ground was not fit for bricks: and therefore, they often repaired their houses within seven years."

Among the villages, scattered up and down in this pleasant vale, we meet with Caphar Lodim, between Lydda and the sea. There is mention of it in the book Gittin, in the very

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Chagigah, fol. 75. 4.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 18.

<sup>g</sup> [Gesenius and Fürst consider שָׂרוֹן another form of שָׂרוֹן, a plain,

from שָׂרָה.]

<sup>h</sup> Bab. Shab. fol. 77. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Sotah, cap. viii. hal. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Hieros. *ibid.* fol. 23. 1.



beginning: "He<sup>l</sup> that brings a bill of divorce from a heathen country is bound to witness thus,—This bill was written I being present, and was sealed I being present.—R. Eleazar saith, Yea, he that brings it from Caphar Lodim to Lydda:" R. Nissim, explaining the place, saith thus; "Caphar Lodim was without the land of Israel, neighbour to Lydda, which was within [*the land*], and partook of its name, because some people of Lydda were always present there."

### CHAP. XVIII.<sup>m</sup>

#### *Caphar Tebi.* כפר טבי.

AND this village neighboured upon Lydda, situate on the east of it. "R. Eleazar" had a vineyard of four years' growth; כפר טבי במזרח לוד בצד כפר טבי on the east of Lydda, near Caphar Tebi." Of it there is this mention also:—

"They<sup>o</sup> sometime brought a chest full of bones from Caphar Tebi, and they placed it openly in the entrance to Lydda. Tudrus the physician and the rest of the physicians go forth"—(namely, that they might judge, whether they were the bones of men or no; and thereby, whether they were to be esteemed clean or unclean). "Tudrus said, Here is neither the backbone nor the skull of a man. They said, therefore, Since here are some, who reckon them clean, others that hold them unclean, let the matter be decided by votes. R. Akibah began, and he pronounced them clean, &c."

The name טבי *Tebi*, given to this village, seems to be derived from the *kids* [צְבִי, Heb.] skipping up and down in this fruitful vale. The word also gave name to men; and that, as it seems, with some delight. The woman Tabitha [Ταβιθά ἡ διερμηνευομένη λέγεται Δορκάς] is of eternal memory, Acts ix. [36]; and, in the pages of the Talmudists, "Tebi<sup>p</sup> the servant of Rabban Gamaliel; and Tabitha<sup>q</sup> his maid-servant. Yea, every maid-servant of his was called, אִמָּה טַבִּיתָא, Mother Tabitha,—and every man-servant, אָבִי טַבִּי Father Tebi."

<sup>l</sup> Gittin, cap. i. hal. 1.

<sup>m</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 184.

<sup>n</sup> Bab. Rosh Hash. fol. 13. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Hieros. Berac. fol. 3. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Berac. cap. ii. hal. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Hieros. Nidda, fol. 49. 4.



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“The ascent of Beth-horon was a strait place; nor was there room to bend to the right hand or to the left.”

The story of Cestius, the Roman captain, in Josephus, is sad, but not unseasonable in this place. He<sup>z</sup> intrenched against Jerusalem, in a place called *the Scope* (ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Σκοποῦ), on the north part of the city (which we shall show hereafter): and being at length forced by the Jews to retreat, μόγισ εἰς Γαβαὼ κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον στρατόπεδον, “he came near to Gabaon, to his former camp.” And being pressed farther by them, he betook himself to Beth-horon; Προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βαιθώρας, “He led his forces to Beth-horon.”

“But the Jews, whilst he marched along places where there was room, did not much press him; Συνειληθέντων δὲ εἰς κατὰ στενὰ κατάβασιν but they getting before the Romans who were shut up within the straits of the descent (of Beth-horon), stopped them from going out: others thrust them that came in the rear down into the valley. And the whole multitude being spread ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ὁδοῦ, at the opening of the way, covered the army with their darts.”

Behold! the way leading from Jerusalem to Beth-horon:—

I. From the city to Scopo (סופים of which we shall speak afterward), is seven furlongs. For so Josephus, Διέχει δὲ ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους.

II. From Scopo to Gabao, or Geba, forty-three furlongs. For Gabao was distant from Jerusalem, the same Josephus relating it, fifty furlongs,—that is, six miles and more.

III. From Geba to Beth-horon fifty furlongs, or thereabouts. And about Beth-horon was a very great roughness of hills, and a very narrow passage.

## CHAP. XX.<sup>a</sup>

### *Beth-el. Beth-aven.*

JOSEPHUS thus describes the land of Benjamin; Βενιαμίται<sup>b</sup> δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἔλαχον ἄχρι θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος·

<sup>z</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. ii. cap. 19. [Hudson, p. 1102. lin. 21.] [ii. 19. 4, 5.]

p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [Hudson, p. 188. l. 8.] [v. 1. 22.]

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii.

τὸ δὲ πλάτος, Ἱεροσολύμοις ὀριζομένην, καὶ Βεθῆλῳις. “The Benjamites’ portion of land was from the river Jordan to the sea, in length: in breadth, it was bounded by Jerusalem and Beth-el.” Let these last words be marked, “The breadth of the land of Benjamin was bounded by Jerusalem and Beth-el.” May we not justly conclude, from these words, that Jerusalem and Beth-el were opposite, as it were, in a right line? But if you look upon the maps, there are some that separate these by a very large tract of land, and make them bend and slope from one another.

Beth-el heretofore was Luz: of which the Rabbins upon Judg. i. 23, &c. do not a little trifle. Sometimes it is called Beth-aven. So the Talmudists; “That town, which sometimes was called Beth-el, afterward was called Beth-aven.” And the Chaldee upon Hos. iv. 15: **לֹא תִסְקֹן לְבֵית־אֵל** “Go not up to *Beth-el*;” for the Hebrew, **אַל תַּעֲלֶה בֵּית אֵל** “Go not up to *Beth-aven*.” So also chap. x. 5, 8. Not that there was not another town, named Beth-aven (see Josh. xviii. 12, 13): but that Beth-el too deservedly bore the reproach of that name, in the same manner as Jerusalem bore the name of Sodom, Isa. i. 10.

It is said of Deborah, that she lived “between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim,” Judg. iv. 5: where the Targum thus; “She had gardens in Ramatha, olive-trees making oil in the valley, a house of watering in Beth-el.” Not that Beth-el properly was in the hill-country of Ephraim, since that town stood upon the very boundaries of Judea; but that the dwelling of Deborah was at the beginning of that hill-country, a valley running between that hill-country and those boundaries. Beth-el itself was situate in a hilly country, Josh. xvi. 1; which yet one would scarcely call the hill-country of Ephraim (since there was a time, when Beth-el and her towns belonged to Judea, 2 Chron. xiii. 19: hence the idolatry of those of Judah is sometimes mixed with the Ephraimites’, of which they hear often enough from the prophets); but it was a certain hilly place, running out between Judea and the land of Ephraim: see Josh. xviii. 12.

On the east of Beth-el heretofore was Hai, Gen. xii. 8,

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Shab. fol. 11. 4. et Avod. Zar. fol. 43. 3.

Josh. viii. 9, &c. But upon the very first entrance almost of Israel into the land of promise, it became thenceforth of no name, being reduced into eternal ashes by Joshua. The town Beth-aven was not far from it, Josh. vii. 2, which gave name to the wilderness adjacent, Josh. xviii. 12. In which we suppose Ephraim stood, 2 Chron. xiii. 19. Which Ephraim, in the New Testament, is called *χώρα ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου*, “the region near the wilderness,” John xi. 54; concerning which we shall speak afterward.

## CHAP. XXI.

### *Jerusalem.*

THE first name of this city was Shalem, Gen. xiv. 18, Psalm lxxvi. 2, and it is still retained in the writing *ירושלם*, however it is read *Jerushalaim*.

“The<sup>d</sup> name of that place is Jehovah-jireh. Abraham called the place Jireh; Shem called it Shalem. Saith God, If I shall call it Jireh, it will displease Shem the Just; if I shall call it Shalem, it will displease Abraham the Just. I will therefore put that name upon it which was put upon it by both, *יראה שלם ירושלם* *Jireh, Shalem,—Jerusalem.*”—“We<sup>e</sup> do not, therefore, put in Jod between the letters Lamed and Mem in the word Jerusalem, that the word *שלם* *Shalem* may be retained.”

By the computation of Aben Ezra, it is situate in the three-and-thirtieth degree of latitude. For so he speaks, *רוחב מצרים* &c. “The<sup>f</sup> latitude of Egypt is less than thirty degrees. *ורוחב ירושלם* &c. And the latitude of Jerusalem is three-and-thirty degrees.”

Jerusalem<sup>g</sup> was not divided among the tribes<sup>h</sup>: for the tradition is, That houses are not hired out at Jerusalem, because they were no man’s own. R. Eleazar Bar Zadok said, Nor beds also. Therefore, the master of the family received the skins of the sacrifices from the guests. Abai saith, You may learn this from hence, That it is a custom, that a man leave his earthen jug, and also the skin of his

<sup>d</sup> Beresh. Rabba, sect. ix. See Aruch in *ירושלם*

<sup>e</sup> Gloss. in Bab. Taanith, fol. 16. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Ab. Ezra in Num. xiii.

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 21.

<sup>h</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 12. 1. et Megillah, fol. 26. 1.

sacrifices, to his host." The Gloss: "The inhabitants of Jerusalem did not let out their houses at a price to those that came to the feasts, but granted them to them gratis." Compare Matt. xxvi. 17.

Nevertheless, the city was divided between the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and the distinguishing line went through the very court of the Temple: "What<sup>i</sup> was in the lot of Judah? The mountain of the Temple, the Chambers of them that kept it, the Courts. And what in the lot of Benjamin? The Porch of the Temple, and the Temple, and the Holy of Holies. And a line went out of the lot of Judah, and passed on into the lot of Benjamin, and in it was the altar built." The Gloss; "The whole breadth of the outmost Court, on the east part, the whole Court of the Women, the whole Court of Israel, eleven cubits of the Court of the Priests" (these were within the lot of Judah). "From thence the altar, and thenceforward to the west, is within the lot of Benjamin."

In so exact distinction were these lots observed, that<sup>k</sup> the south-east corner of the altar had no foundation; because that small part was<sup>l</sup> in the portion of Judah, when the whole altar ought to have been within the portion of Benjamin.

"Jerusalem<sup>m</sup> was holy above other cities, girt with walls, because in it they ate the lighter holy things, and the second tithe. These also are those things which are spoken of Jerusalem. They do not permit a dead body to remain a night in it: they do not carry the bones of a dead body through it: they do not let out houses in it: in it they do not let out a place to a *proselyte inhabitant* (גר תושב): in it they do not allow a sepulchre, except the sepulchres of the house of David, and the sepulchre of Huldah the prophetess; which were there from the days of the former prophets: nor in it do they suffer a dunghill by reason of creeping things; nor do they bring out of it into the streets scaffolds set up against the walls by reason of defilement: nor in it do they make chimneys, by reason of the smoke: nor do they nourish cocks in it for the sake of the holy things: nor do the priests

<sup>i</sup> Bab. in the place above.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. fol. 15. a. in Gloss.

<sup>l</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 186.

<sup>m</sup> Maimon. in Beth Habbech. c. 7.

nourish cocks throughout the whole land of Israel, for the sake of purity: nor is there in it a house for shutting out suspected of the leprosy: nor is it polluted with leprosy: nor is it become any way a city to be cursed for idolatry," &c.

"Never<sup>n</sup> did serpent or scorpion harm any one within Jerusalem. Nor did ever any one say to his neighbour, 'The place wherein I am entertained at Jerusalem is too strait for me.'"

"There<sup>o</sup> is no anathema at Jerusalem, nor hath any man stumbled. Nor hath a fire or a ruin happened there: nor hath any one said to his neighbour, 'I found not a hearth to roast my passover,' or 'I found not a bed to lie on.' In it they do not plant trees, except gardens of roses, which were there from the days of the former prophets: they do not nourish in it peacocks, or cocks, much less hogs," &c.

The fathers of the traditions<sup>p</sup> give this reason, why they do not allow gardens in the city: "They make no gardens or paradises in Jerusalem, **משום סירחא** because of the stink." The Gloss, "Because of the stink from weeds, which are thrown out; and it is a custom to dung gardens, and from thence comes a stink."

The same Gloss, in the same place, gives this reason also, why they might not keep cocks: "It is also forbidden the Israelites to keep cocks in Jerusalem" (the priests may nowhere do it), "because of the holy things. For there they have eaten the flesh of the peace-offerings, and thank-offerings. And it is customary for dunghill cocks to scrape dunghills, and thence perhaps they might rake up the bones of creeping things; whence those holy things, which are to be eaten, might be polluted."

Gardens without the city were very frequent, and they stretching out a good way from the very walls of the city. Hence that in Josephus<sup>q</sup>, concerning the hazard Titus ran, whilst he rode about the city to spy it. *Τῷ δὲ, πρόσω μὲν ἦν χωρεῖν ἀδύνατον, ἐκτετάφρευτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἅπαντα, κήποις τε ἐπικαρσίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔρκεσι διειλημμένα.* "It was impossible for him to go forward; for all

<sup>n</sup> Avoth, cap. v. hal. 5.

<sup>o</sup> Avoth, R. Nathan, fol. 9. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Bava Kama, cap. 7. hal. ult.

<sup>q</sup> De Bello, lib. v. cap. 7. [Hudson, p. 1215. l. 45.] [v. 2. 2.]

things from the walls were fenced up with deep ditches for the gardening, and gardens lay cross, and many walls, that parted them."

The Talmudists<sup>r</sup> relate also these wonders of the Temple: "Ten miracles were done for our fathers in the sanctuary. No woman ever miscarried by the smell of the holy flesh; nor did the holy flesh ever stink, or breed worms; nor was there ever seen fly in the house [or *place*] for slaughter; nor did ever the gonorrhœa happen to the high-priest on the day of expiation; nor rains put out the fire of the altar; nor the wind prevail over the pillar of smoke; nor was any profane thing found in the sheaf of first-fruits, or the two loaves (*of the high-priest*), or in the show-bread. עומדים צופים ומשתחיים הוחדים They stood (*in the Court*) crowded" (the Gloss explains it thus, "They did so press one another by reason of the multitude, that their feet scarcely touched the ground"); "but when they worshipped, they had room enough," &c.

ירושלם כולה כרמלית, "All<sup>t</sup> Jerusalem was Carmelith, because it was like a common court." What *Carmelith* is, the Lexicons will teach us, and the Gemarists in the tract Sabbath<sup>u</sup>; "There are four capacities of the sabbath" (or respects of places, as to walking on the sabbath), "public, private, Carmelith, and covered lobbies. B. Chaijah saith, Carmelith is a place, neither public nor private. R. Jissa, in the name of R. Jochanan, saith, Carmelith is as the shop of Bar Justini," &c.

ירושלמי and קרתני are words opposed, as a 'countryman' and a 'citizen.'—"R. Ismael saith<sup>x</sup>, הקרתני שקבל סדה מירושלמי A countryman, or a villager, who takes a field from a man of Jerusalem, the second tenth belongs to the Jerusalem man. But the wise men say, The countryman may go up to Jerusalem, and eat it there." The Gloss, קרתני &c. "A *Kartani* is one of those that dwell in villages."

<sup>r</sup> Avoth, in the place above.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 22.

<sup>t</sup> Gloss. in Erubhin, f. 101. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Hieros. Shab. fol. 2. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Demai, cap. vi. hal. a.



## CHAP. XXII.

*The parts of the City. Sion. Ἄνω πόλις, the Upper City : which was on the north part.*

THERE is one who asserts Jerusalem to stand on seven hills ; but whether upon a reason more light, or more obscure, is not easy to say. “ The whale showed Jonah (saith he <sup>y</sup>) the Temple of the Lord, as it is said, ‘ I went down to the bottom of the mountains : ’ whence we learn that Jerusalem was seated upon seven mountains.” One may sooner almost prove the thing itself, than approve of his argument. Let him enjoy his argument to himself ; we must fetch the situation elsewhere.

Πόλις<sup>z</sup> μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο. “ The city itself<sup>a</sup> (saith Josephus) was built upon two hills, divided with a valley between, whereby, in an opposite aspect, it viewed itself ; in which valley the buildings, meeting, ended.”

Τῶν δὲ λόφων, ὁ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων, &c. “ Of these hills, that, which contained the Upper City was by far the higher, and more stretched out in length : and because it was very well fortified, it was called by king David *The Castle* : ἡ δὲ ἄνω ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν, but by us it is called ‘ the Upper Town.’”

Ἄτερος δὲ, ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα, καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφέστως, &c. “ But the other, which was called *Acra*, bearing on it the lower town, was steep on both sides.”

“ Against this was a third hill [*Moriah*], lower than *Acra*, and disjoined from it by a broad valley. But when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up the valley, desiring that the Temple might touch the city ; and they took the top of *Acra* lower, that the Temple might overlook it.”

Bezetha and Ophel were other little hills also : of which in their place, when we shall first have taken a view of these two, Siou and *Acra*, and the situation of each.

It is an old dispute, and lasts to this day, whether Sion or Jerusalem lay on the north part of the city. We place Siou on the north, convinced by these reasons :—

I. Psal. xlvi. 2 : הַר צִיּוֹן יִרְבֵּיתִי צְפוֹן “ The joy of the

<sup>y</sup> Tanch. fol. 52. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Joseph. de Bello, [v. 4. 1.]

[Hudson, p. 1221, l. 36.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 187.



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πόλιν ἔλθων, ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο· “Cestius” (having wasted the other places of the city) “came at length into the Upper City [*Sion*], and encamped against the king’s court.”

When the Romans had fired Acra, and levelled it with the ground<sup>e</sup>, οἱ στασιασταὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὄρμήσαντες αὐλὴν, “the seditious rushing into the court, into which, by reason of the strength of the place, they had conveyed their goods, call away the Romans thither.” And afterward<sup>f</sup>: Καῖσαρ δ’, ὡς ἀμήχανον, &c. “But, when it was in vain to assault the Upper City without ramparts, as being every where of steep access, Cæsar applies his army to the work,” &c.

II. The House of the Asmoneans, and the Xystus, or *open gallery*. King Agrippa<sup>g</sup> calls the people of Jerusalem together into the Xystus, and sets his sister Berenice in their view, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσαμωναίων οἰκίας, &c., “upon the House of the Asmoneans, which was above the Xystus, in the farther part of the Upper City.”

III. There was a bridge, leading from the Xystus unto the Temple, and joining the Temple to Sion. Γέφυρα<sup>h</sup> τῷ Ξυστῷ τὸ Ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν· “A bridge joined the Temple to the Xystus.” When<sup>i</sup> Pompey assaulted the city, the Jews took the Temple, καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔκοψαν· “and broke down the bridge that led thence into the city. But others received the army, and delivered the city and the king’s court to Pompey.”

And<sup>k</sup> Titus, when he besieged the seditious in the court in the Upper City, raises the engines of four legions, κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως, ἀντικρὺς τῆς Βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς, &c., “on the west side of the city, against the king’s court. But the associated multitude, and the rest of the people, were before the Xystus and the bridge.”

You see, these places were in the Upper City: and you learn from Josephus, that the Upper City was the same with the Castle of David, or Sion. But now, that these places

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 37. [Hudson, p. 1286. l. 35.] [vi. 7. 1.]

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. cap. 40. [vi. 8. 1.]

<sup>g</sup> [Hudson, p. 1084. l. 34.] [ii. 16. 3.]

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Idem Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 8. [Hudson, 613. l. 31.] [xiv. 4. 2.]

<sup>k</sup> Idem de Bello, lib. vi. cap. 40. [vi. 8. 1.]

were on the north side of the city, learn of the same author from these passages that follow:—

He saith plainly, that the towers<sup>1</sup> built by Herod,—the Psephin tower, the Hippic tower, &c.—were on the north. “Titus (saith he<sup>m</sup>) intrenched two furlongs from the city on the angular part of the wall near the Psephin tower, where the circuit of the wall bends from the north towards the west.” And in the chapter next after; “The Psephin tower lifted up itself at the corner of the north, and so westward.” And in the same chapter, describing the compass of the outmost wall, Ἀρχόμενον δὲ (saith he<sup>n</sup>) κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ, &c., “It began on the north at the Hippic tower, and went on to the Xystus.”—And when he had described those towers, he adds these words, Κειμένοις δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον, &c., “To those towers, situate on the north, was joined, on the inside, the Court.” What can be clearer? The court was in the Upper City, or Sion; but the court was joined to the outmost northern wall: therefore, Sion was on the north.

Add to these, those things that follow in the story of Pompey, produced before. When the court was surrendered into Pompey’s hands, Πομπήϊος δὲ ἔσωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ μέρος, “he encamped on the north part of the Temple.” And of Cestius<sup>o</sup>, Πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. “Being come to the Upper City, he pitched against the king’s court.” And a little after<sup>p</sup>, Κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπιχειρεῖ κλίμα τῷ Ἱερῷ. “He attempted the Temple on the north side.”

We shall not urge more at this time. There will occur here and there to us, as we proceed, such things as may defend this our opinion: against which what things are objected, we know well enough; which we leave to the reader to consider impartially. But these two we cannot pass over in silence, which seem, with an open face, to make against us:—

I. It may be objected, and that not without cause, that Sion was in the tribe of Judah, but Jerusalem in the tribe of Benjamin. But now, when the land of Judah was on the<sup>q</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 188.

<sup>o</sup> *Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 39. [ii. 19. 4.]

<sup>m</sup> *De Bello*, lib. v. cap. 12. [v. 4. 3.]

<sup>p</sup> [*Id. de Bell.* ii. 19. 5.]

<sup>n</sup> [Hudson, p. 1222. l. 17.] [v. 4. 2.]

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii.

p. 24.

south part of Jerusalem, and mount Sion is to be reckoned within the lot of Judah,—how could this be, when Jerusalem, which was of the lot of Benjamin, lay between Judea and Sion?

I answer, 1. No necessity compels us to circumscribe Sion precisely within the portion of Judah; when David conquered it, not as he was sprung of Judah, but as he was the king of the whole nation.

2. But let it be allowed, that Sion is to be ascribed to Judah,—that dividing line, between the portion of Judah and Benjamin, concerning which we made mention before, went not from the east to the west; for so, indeed, it had separated all Jerusalem from all Sion: but it went from south to north, and so it cut Jerusalem in two, and Sion in two: so that both were in both tribes,—and so also was mount Moriah.

II. It is objected, that, at this day, a hill and ruins are shown to travellers under the name of Sion, and the tower of David, on the south part of the city.

I answer, But let us have leave not to esteem all things for oracles, which they say, who now show those places; since it is plain enough that they mistake in many other things: and let it be without all controversy, that they study not so much truth in that affair, as their own gain. I wish less credit had been given to them, and more search had been made out of Scripture, and other writers, concerning the situation of the places.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Some buildings in Acra. Bezetha. Millo.*

MOUNT Sion did not thrust itself so far eastward as mount Acra: and hence it is, that mount Moriah is said, by Josephus, to be “situate over-against Acra,” rather than over-against the Upper City: for, describing Acra thus, which we produced before, “*Ἄτερος*† δὲ [λόφος] ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα, &c., “There is another hill, called Acra, which bears the Lower City upon it, steep on both sides:” in the next words he subjoins this, *τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος*, “Over-against this was a third hill,” speaking of Moriah.

† Joseph. de Bello, lib. v. c. 13. [Hudson, p. 1221. l. 43.] [v. 4. 1.]

The same author thus describes the burning of the Lower City: Τό τε<sup>s</sup> ἀρχεῖον, καὶ τὴν Ἄκραν, καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ τὴν Ὀφλᾶν ὑφῆψαν· καὶ προὔκοψε τὸ πῦρ μέχρι τῆς Ἑλένης βασιλείων, ἃ δὴ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν Ἄκραν ἦν· “ Then they fired the Archivum and Acra, and the council-house, and Ophla: and the fire destroyed unto the palaces of Helen, which were in the middle of Acra.”

I. Ἀρχεῖον, the *Archivum*. Whether he means *the magistrates' court*, or *the repository of the ancient records*, according to the different signification of the word, we do not determine. There were certainly sacred records in the Temple, and civil records no doubt in the city, where writings and memorials of sales, contracts, donations, and public acts, &c. were laid up. I should more readily understand this of their *repository*, than of *the magistrates' court*, because, presently after, the council-house is distinctly named.

II. *Acra*: that is, either the buildings, which were upon the very head and top of the mount, or some garrison or castle in the mount. In which sense that word doth not seldom occur in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus.

III. *The Council-house*. He mentions elsewhere βουλῆ the *council*, and that, as it seems, in the Upper City. For he saith, that “ the<sup>t</sup> outmost wall on the north began at the Hippic tower, and went forward to the Xystus; ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτου, and thence, touching upon *the council*” (or *the court*), “ it went onward opposite<sup>u</sup> against the west walk of the Temple.” The council in the Upper City you may not improperly interpret the ‘Court of the King:’ the council-house in the Lower City, the council of the Sanhedrim, whither it went, when it departed from the Tabernæ.

IV. *Ophla*. Ophel, Neh. iii. 26.

There<sup>x</sup> was also a fourth hill, saith the same Josephus, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ, “ which was called Bezetha, situate over-against Antonia, and divided from it with a deep ditch. Now Bezetha, if you would render it in Greek, Καινὴ λέγοιτ’ αὖ

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 35. [Hudson, p. 1286. l. 20.] [vi. 6. 3.]

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 189.

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. v. cap. 13.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. lib. v. cap. 13. [v. 4. 2.]

[v. 4. 2.]

Πόλις, one might call it ‘The New City<sup>x</sup>.’” And yet there is a place where he seems to distinguish between Bezetha and the New City: for he saith concerning Cestins, Κέστιος<sup>y</sup> δὲ παρελθὼν, &c., “But Cestius, passing over, set fire upon Bezetha, so called, and the New City.”

Bezetha<sup>z</sup> was seated on the north part of Antonia, and that and Cænopolis (or the New City) filled up that space, where Sion ended on the east, and was not stretched out so far as Acra was. Πλήθει<sup>a</sup> ὑπερχομένη (ἡ πόλις) κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων, &c., “(The city), abounding with people, crept, by little and little, out of the walls: and on the north side of the Temple, at the hill, making a city, went onward not a little; καὶ τέταρτον περιουκνηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθα, &c. and a fourth hill is inhabited, which is called Bezetha,” &c.

Interpreters differ about Millo. There is one<sup>b</sup>, who supposes it to be a large place, appointed for public meetings and assemblies. Another<sup>c</sup> interprets it of heaps of earth, thrown up against the wall within, whence they might more easily get up upon the wall: and when David is said to build Millo, that he erected towers upon these heaps, and banks. Some others there are, who understand it of the valley or street that runs between Jerusalem and Sion; and so it is commonly marked out in the maps,—when, in truth, Millo was a part of Sion, or some hillock cast up against it on the west side.

Let that be observed, 2 Chron. xxxii. 5; וַיְחַזַּק אֶת-הַמְּלוֹא וַיְחַזַּק אֶת-הַמְּלוֹא וַיְחַזַּק אֶת-הַמְּלוֹא “And he restored, or fortified, Millo, of the city of David:” or, as our English reads, “in the city of David.” The Seventy read, τὸ ἀνάλημμα τῆς πόλεως Δαυὶδ, “the fortification of the city of David.” When, therefore, David is said to build “Millo, and more inwards,” it is all one as if he had said, ‘he built on the uttermost part of Sion, which was called Millo, more inwardly to his own castle.’ And Joab repaired the rest, 1 Chron. xi. 8.

The<sup>d</sup> street or valley, running between Sion and Acra, was

<sup>x</sup> [בית חרתא]

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 39. [ii. 19. 4.]

<sup>z</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii.

p. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. [Hudson, p. 1222. l.

41.] [v. 4. 2.]

<sup>b</sup> Kimchi in 2 Sam. v.

<sup>c</sup> R. Esaias, there.

<sup>d</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. v. c. 13.

[v. 4. 1.]

called *Τυροποιῶν φάραγξ*, as if one should say, *The valley or street of cheesemongers*. There was also *Δοκῶν ἀγορὰ*, *The market of beams*, which Josephus joins with Bezetha, and the New City. “Cestius (saith he<sup>e</sup>) wasted Bezetha and Cænopolis, καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν ἀγορὰν and that which is called the beam-market, with flames.”

## CHAP. XXV.

*Gihon, the same with the Fountain of Siloam.*

I. IN 1 Kings i. 33, 38, that which is, in the Hebrew, “Bring ye Solomon to Gihon: and they brought him to Gihon;” is rendered by the Chaldee, “Bring ye him to Siloam: and they brought him to Siloam.” Where Kimchi thus; “Gihon is Siloam, and it is called by a double name. And David commanded, that they should anoint Solomon at Gihon for a good omen, to wit, that, as the waters of the fountain are everlasting, so might his kingdom be.” So also the Jerusalem writers<sup>f</sup>; “They do not anoint the king, but at a fountain; as it is said, ‘Bring Solomon to Gihon.’”

The bubblings up of Siloam yielded a type of the kingdom of David, Isa. viii. 6. “Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Siloah that go softly,” &c. Where the Chaldee paraphrast thus; “Because this people are weary of the house of David, which deals gently with them, as the waters of Siloam slide away gently.” And R. Solomon; “Siloam is a fountain, whose name is Gihon and Siloam.” See also the Aruch in the word *גִּיחֹן*.

II. That fountain was situate on the west part of the city, but not far from the south-west corner.

Josephus, speaking of that deep valley which runs between Sion and Acra, saith<sup>g</sup>, *καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωὰμ*, “it is extended to Siloam; for so we call the sweet and large fountain.” But now the mounts Sion and Acra, and likewise the valley that cut between them, did run out from east to west. And the same author, in the same place, speaking of the compass of the outermost wall, saith these things among others, καὶ

<sup>e</sup> Id. *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 39. [Hudson, p. 1102. l. 33.] [ii. 19. 4.]

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 22. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. v. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 1222. l. 8.] [v. 4. 1.]



ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, &c.  
 “And thence it bends to the south behind the fountain Siloam.” After the tumult raised at Jerusalem by the Jews under Florus,—the Neapolitan tribune, coming thither with king Agrippa, is besought by the Jews, σὺν<sup>i</sup> ἐνὶ θεράποντι περιελθεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Σιλοᾶ τὴν πόλιν, “that taking only one servant, he would go about through the city as far as Siloam” (that is, from the east to the west, through the whole city) and that thence, from the peaceable and quiet behaviour of the people towards him, he might perceive, that the people were not in a heat against all the Romans, but against Florus only.

III. Siloam was on the back of Jerusalem, not of Sion. Let that of Josephus be noted<sup>k</sup>; Ῥωμαῖοι, τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ληστὰς, &c., “The Romans, when they had drove out the seditious from the Lower City, burnt it all to Siloam.” This we therefore observe, because we may see some maps, which, placing Siloam behind Sion, do deceive here, and are deceived: when<sup>l</sup> in truth it ought to be placed<sup>m</sup> behind Acra. The pool, indeed, of Siloam was behind some part of Sion, westward; but the fountain of Siloam was behind Acra.

IV. It emptied itself, by a double rivulet, into a double pool, to wit, the upper and the lower, 2 Kings xviii. 17, Isa. vii. 3. The lower was on the west, and is called ‘The pool of Siloam,’ John ix. 7, Neh. iii. 15. The upper, perhaps, was that which is called by Josephus, ‘the pool of Solomon,’ in the place lately quoted. “And thence (saith he) the outermost wall bends to the south behind the fountain of Siloam: ἐνθέν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνου πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, &c.: and thence again bends to the east at the pool of Solomon.” See 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Isa. xxii. 9, 11.

V. They drew waters out of the fountain of Siloam, in that solemn festivity of the feast of Tabernacles, which they called, נִיסוּךְ הַמַּיִם “The pouring out of water:” concerning which the fathers<sup>n</sup> of the traditions thus; “The pouring out

<sup>i</sup> Jos. de Bell. [Hudson, p. 1084. l. 12.] [ii. 16. 1.]

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. lib. vi. cap. 36. [vi. 6. 2.]

<sup>l</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 26.

<sup>m</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>n</sup> Succah, cap. 4. hal. 7.



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and it shall go about to Goath. And all the valley of dead carcasses, and of ashes, and all the fields to the brook Kidron, even to the corner of the horse-gate on the east, shall be Holiness to the Lord," &c.

גבעת גרב *The hill of Gareb* :—not that Gareb certainly, where the idol of Micah was, [Judg. xvii.] concerning which the Talmudists thus <sup>t</sup>; “ R. Nathan saith, From Gareb to Shiloh were three miles, and the smoke of the altar was mixed with the smoke of Micah’s idol :” —but, as Lyranus, not amiss, “ The mount of Calvary.”

גועתה *Goathah* : the Chaldee, ברכת עגלה ‘ the calves’ pool,’ following the etymology of the word, from געה *bellowing*. Lyranus, *Golgotha*.

עמק פגרים והדשן *The valley of carcasses and ashes*. The Chaldee paraphrast and the Rabbins understand this of the place where the army of the Assyrians perished : nor very subtilly ; for they seem to have perished, if so be they perished near Jerusalem, in the valley of Tophet, or Ben-Hinnom, Isa. xxx. 33. And Jeremiah speaks of that valley, namely, the sink and burying-place of the city,—a place, above all others that compassed the city, the most foul and abominable : foretelling that that valley, which now was so detestable, should hereafter be clean, and taken into the compass of the city : but this mystically, and in a more spiritual sense. Hence we argue, that “ the tower of Hananeel” was on the south side of the city : on which side also was the valley of Ben-Hinnom ; yet bending also towards the east : as the valley of Kidron bent from the east also towards the north. It will be impossible, unless I am very much mistaken, if you take<sup>u</sup> the beginning of that circumference in Nehemiah, for the corner looking north-east, which some do,—to interpret these words of Jeremiah in any plain or probable sense ; unless you imagine that which is most false,—that the Valley of Hinnom was situate northwardly.

Ver. 3 : שער הדגים. The Seventy render it by Τὴν πύλην τὴν ἰχθυρὰν, *The fish-gate*. That was also southward. Of it mention is made, Zeph. i. 10 ; where the Seventy have Πύλη

<sup>t</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 103. 2. See also Midr. Till. in Psal. cxxxii. and Buxt. in Lexic. Talmudic. in the word מל. [col. 1198.]  
<sup>u</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 27.

ἀποκεντούντων· something obscure. Many conjecture this gate was called the ‘Fish-gate,’ because fish were carried into the city through it: I rather, because it was the ‘fish-market:’ as the Sheep-gate was the market for sheep. Zephaniah addeth, וַיִּלְלָה מִן הַמִּשְׁנָה “And he shall howl from the second.” The Chaldee reads, מִן עוֹפֵא; R. Solomon, מִשְׁעַר הָעוֹפוֹת ‘from the Bird-gate:’ perhaps the gate, near unto which fowls were sold. Kimchi reads, מִן עִפְלָא ‘from Ophel;’ more plain indeed,—but I ask, whether more true? This<sup>x</sup> Bird-gate perhaps was that which is called the Old-gate, Neh. iii. 6.

Near the corner, looking south-west, we suppose, the fountain of Siloam was; and that, partly, being persuaded by the words of Josephus before alleged,—partly, being induced to it by reason itself. For hence flowed that fountain by the south wall eastwardly to the Sheep-gate, as we suppose; thence the river, somewhat sloping, bends towards the north into the valley, and ends, at length, in the pool of Siloam, at the foot of mount Sion.

On the west was, 1. שַׁעַר הַגֵּיא “The gate of the valley,” ver. 13, being now gotten to the foot of mount Acra. And, 2. A thousand cubits thence, שַׁעַר הָאֲשֵׁפוֹת “The Esquiline, or Dung-gate,” ver. 14. And, 3. שַׁעַר הָעַיִן “The Fountain-gate,” ver. 15; not that of Siloam, nor of Draco; but another.

And now we are come to the pool of Siloam, and to the foot of Sion, whither they went up by certain steps, ver. 15. The pool of Siloam was first a fountain, and a river, on the west, without the walls: but at last, Manasseh the king enclosed all, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, that the city might be more secured of water, in case of a siege: taught it by the example of his grandfather Hezekiah, but more incommodious, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3.

The wall went forward along “burying-places of David, another pool, and the House of the strong,” ver. 16. And, not much after it, bended eastwardly.—And now we are come to the north side. See ver. 19, 20.

At the turning of this corner, Herod built the most famous

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 191.

Psephin tower, of which Josephus *y* thus; Θαυμασιώτερος ἀνείχε κατὰ γωνίαν βόρειός τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ Ψήφινος, &c., “ On the north-west corner, the admired Psephin tower lifts up itself, near which Titus encamped,” &c.

There was no gate on this north side. The buildings, which were inward, are mentioned, Neh. iii. 20—24; and the Hippic tower is mentioned by Josephus.

On the east were, 1. A tower, advancing itself in the very bending of the north-east corner. Within was the ‘ King’s House,’ and the court of the prison, ver. 25. 2. The Water-gate, of which is mention, Neh. xii. 37. 3. Ophel, and the Horse-gate, Neh. iii. 27, 28; of which mention is also made, Jer. xxxi. 40. Whence was the beginning of the valley of Ben-Hinnom: which, running out below the city southward, at last bent into the west. Therefore, the Water-gate led into the valley of Kedron: but the Horse-gate into the valley of Hinnom, at that place touching on the valley of Kedron. 4. The Gate Miphkad: the Vulgar calls it, The Gate of Judgment. 5. Not far distant thence was the south-east corner. And thence a little on the south side was the Sheep-gate, whence we first set out.

Let us add the words of Josephus, describing how the outmost wall went. Ἀρχομένον<sup>z</sup> δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν, &c. “ It began on the north at the Hippic (or *horse*) tower, and extended to the Xystus (or *open gallery*); then touching upon the Council-house, it ended at the east walk of the Temple. On the other side, westwardly, beginning from the same tower, it stretched along by a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes; and thence it inclined to the south behind the fountain Siloam: and hence it bowed again eastwardly unto Solomon’s pool, and passed on to a certain place, which they call Ophla, and joined to the east walk of the Temple.”

In which words let us observe two things for the asserting the procession that we have gone:—1. That this description proceeds from the north to the west, the south, and the east. 2. That Ophla, or Ophel, lay between the south-east corner and the porch of the Temple; which cannot at all be con-

*y* Joseph. de Bell. lib. v. cap. 13. [Hudson. p. 1223. l. 35.] [v. 4. 3.]

<sup>z</sup> Josephus, in the place above.

ceived, if you begin Nehemiah's delineation at any other place than where we have. To these may be added, the situation of Siloam, of which those things, spoken in Josephus and the Scripture, can in no manner be said, if you reckon it to be near Sion.

Let us add also the processions of the choir, Neh. xii. 31. They went up upon the wall, and went forward on the right hand to the Dung-gate, the Fountain-gate, the city<sup>a</sup> of David, &c. ver. 37. Let those words, "They went forward on the right hand," ver. 31, be observed: which could not be, unless according to the procession which we have laid down,—if so be they went up on the wall on the inside of the wall, which it is rough and strange not to think.

The other part of the choir went on the left hand, towards the south west, and to the gate of Ephraim, and the Old-gate, and the Fish-gate, &c. ver. 29. Of the gate of Ephraim nothing was said in the delineation given chap. iii. Mention also is made of it, 2 Kings xiv. 13; where the Corner-gate is also spoken of; concerning which, also, here is nothing said.

In Nehemiah, seems to be understood that place, where formerly was a gate of that name,—but now, under the second Temple, was vanished.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### *Mount Moriah.*

"WHEREFORE<sup>b</sup> is it called mount Moriah? R. Levi Bar Chama and R. Chaninah differ about this matter. One saith, שיצא ממנה הוראה, Because thence *instruction* should go forth to Israel. The other saith, שמורא לאומות העולם, Because thence should go forth *fear* to the nations of the world."

"It<sup>c</sup> is a tradition<sup>d</sup> received by all, that the place, where David built an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah, was the place where Abraham built his, upon which he bound Isaac; where Noah built his, when he went out of the ark:

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Bab. Taanith, fol. 16. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Maiimon. in Beth Habbechir.

cap. ii. Juchas. fol. 9. 1. Midr. Till.

41. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 192.

that in the same place was the altar, upon which Cain and Abel offered: that Adam offered there, when he was created; and that he was created from thence. The wise men say, He had the same place of expiation as he had of creation."

Mount Moriah was so seated, that ἀντικρὺ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ Ἱεροῦ θεατροειδῆς οὖσα, "the<sup>e</sup> city, in the manner of a theatre, lay about the Temple:" on this side Sion, then Acra, and a little on the back of Bezetha.

The<sup>f</sup> mount of the Temple (that is, the place where the buildings of the Temple were) was a square of five hundred cubits (see Ezek. xlii. 16, 17), compassed with a most noble wall,—and that *fortified* (shall I say?) with double galleries or halls, or *adorned* with them, or both. It went out beyond this wall, towards the north-west corner, to such a dimension,—that there the tower Antonio was built, of most renowned workmanship and story.

The whole space of the courts was hollow under-ground: וְכִיפִין הָיוּ, &c. "And<sup>g</sup> the whole platform stood upon arches and pillars," that so no sepulchre might be made within this sacred space, whereby either the holy things or the people might gather pollution.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*The Court of the Gentiles.* הַר הַבַּיִת *The Mountain of the House, in the Rabbin.*

In the Jewish writers, it is ordinarily called הַר הַבַּיִת "The Mountain of the house;" sometimes חוֹל, or the "Common Court." Hence is it, that a gate, descending hither from the Court of the Women, is called שַׁעַר יוֹצֵא "The gate whence they go out from the Court of the Women into the Common Court." Hence the author of Tosaphth<sup>h</sup>, "They go out by the gate leading from the Court of the Women *into the Common Court.* (לְחוֹל) And some vessels of stone were fastened to the wall of the steps going up into the Women's Court, and their covers are seen *in the Common Court.*" (לְחוֹל)

And that, because hither the heathen might come: "Rabban

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. [xv. 11. 5.] the place above. <sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Middoth, cap. ii. hal. 1. and in <sup>h</sup> Tosaphth. in Parah, cap. 2.

Gamaliel<sup>i</sup>, walking *in the Court of the Gentiles* (בהר הבית), saw a heathen woman, and blessed concerning her.”

And<sup>k</sup> those that were excommunicated and lamented. “All<sup>l</sup> that entered into the mount of the Temple, enter the right-hand way, and go about: but they go out the left-hand way: except him, to whom any accident happens: for he goes about to the left hand. To him that asks, ‘What is the matter with you, that you go about to the left hand?—he answers, ‘Because I lament:’ and he replies to him, ‘He that dwells in this temple comfort thee.’ Or, ‘Because I am excommunicated:’ and to him he replies, ‘He that dwells in this house, put it into their heart to receive thee.’”

And not seldom those that are unclean. Yea, he that carries away the scape-goat might enter into the very court, although he were then unclean. “Is<sup>m</sup> he polluted, who is to take away the goat? He entereth unclean even into the court, and takes him away.”

“The<sup>n</sup> greatest space of the Court of the Gentiles was on the south; the next to it, on the east; the third, on the north; but the least space was on the west. Of that place, where the space was greater, the use was greater also.”

In<sup>o</sup> the wall compassing this space were five gates: and within, joining to the wall, were סטיו לפניו מן סטיו “double galleries” or “halls,” which yielded delightful walks, and defence also from rains.

There<sup>p</sup> was only one gate eastward, and that was called, the Gate of Shushan; because the figure of Shushan, the metropolis of Persia, was engraven in it, in<sup>q</sup> token of subjection. In<sup>r</sup> this gate sat a council of three and twenty. At the gate, on both sides, were חנות *shops*; and the whole gallery-walk, on this east side, was called “Solomon’s porch.”

On the south were two gates, both called the Gate of Huldah: of the reason of the name we are not solicitous. These looked towards Jerusalem, or Acra. The hall or gallery, gracing this south side, was called<sup>s</sup> Στοὰ Βασιλική,

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Avodah Zarah, fol. 40. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii.

p. 29.

<sup>l</sup> Middoth, cap. 2. hal. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 66. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Middoth, cap. 2. hal. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. c. 1. hal. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Glossa, *ibid.*

<sup>r</sup> Sanhed. cap. 11. hal. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 14.

[xv. 11. 5.]



“The king’s walk,” which was trebled, and of stately building.

On the west was the gate קיפונוס *Kiponus*; haply so named from ‘Coponius<sup>t</sup>,’ governor of Judea. By this gate they went down into Sion, the bridge and way bending thither.

On the north was the gate טדי (*Tedi*) or טרי (*Teri*), of no use: for so is the tradition<sup>u</sup>, “The gate of Tedi on the north was of no use.” On this side was the castle Antonia, where the Romans kept guard; and from hence perhaps might be the reason the gate was deserted.

## CHAP. XXIX. <sup>x</sup>

חיל : עזרת נשים

*Chel. The Court of the Women.*

THE Court of the Gentiles compassed the Temple and the courts on every side. The same also did חיל *Chel*, or the Ante-murale. “That<sup>y</sup> space was ten cubits broad, divided from the Court of the Gentiles by a fence, ten hand-breadths high; in which were thirteen breaches, which the kings of Greece had made: but the Jews had again repaired them, and had appointed thirteen adorations answering to them.

Maimonides<sup>z</sup> writes: “Inwards” (from the Court of the Gentiles) “was a fence, that encompassed on every side, ten hand-breadths in height, and within the fence *Chel*, or the Ante-murale: of which it is said, in the Lamentations, וַיִּאֲבֵל-חֵל וְחוֹמָה” And he caused *Chel* and the Wall to lament,”<sup>a</sup> Lam. ii. 8.

Josephus writes<sup>a</sup>, [Περίβολος] δεύτερος προσβατὸς βαθμῖσιν ὀλίγαις, ὃν περιεῖχε ἔρκιον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου, &c. “The second circuit was gone up to by a few steps: which the partition of a stone wall surrounded: where was an inscription, forbidding any of another nation to enter, upon pain of death.” Hence happened that danger to Paul because of Trophimus the Ephesian, Acts xxi. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. [xviii. 1. 1.]

<sup>u</sup> Middoth, in the place above.

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 193.

<sup>y</sup> Middoth, cap. 2. hal. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Beth Habbechir. cap. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 704. l. 1.] [xv. 11. 5.]



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five cubits, and the breadth a hundred thirty-five cubits. And there were four chambers in the four corners of it, each forty cubits, but not roofed." See Ezek. xlvi. 21, 22.

"At the south-east was the court of the Nazarites: because there the Nazarites boiled their thank-offerings, and cut their hair, and put it under the pot."

"At the north-east was the chamber of wood: where the priests, defiled with any spot, searched the wood, whether it was unclean by worms. And all wood in which a worm was found was not fit for the altar."

"At the north-west was the chamber of the Leprous."

"At the south-west was the chamber of wine and oil."

"On the highest sides" (we follow the version of the famous Constantine L'Empereur), "was the smooth and plain Court of the Women; but they bounded it round about with an inward gallery, that the women might see from above, and the men from below, that they might not be mingled."

In this Court of the Women was celebrated the sacred and festival dance, in the feast of Tabernacles, called the "Pouring out of Water:" the ritual of which you have in the place<sup>k</sup> cited in the margin.

"The<sup>l</sup> Court of the Women was more sacred than *the Chel* (חיל); because any, who had contracted such an uncleanness that was to be cleansed the same day, (טיבול יום) might not enter into it."

## CHAP. XXX.

### *The Gate of Nicanor, or the East Gate of the Court of Israel.*

FROM hence they went up from the Court of the Women fifteen steps. Βαθμοὶ δὲ δεκαπέντε, &c. "There were fifteen steps (saith Josephus<sup>m</sup>) ascending from the partition-wall of the women to the greater gate." Concerning these steps, the Talmudists<sup>n</sup>, relating the custom of the dance just now mentioned, speak thus: "The religious men, and the men of good works, holding torches in their hands, danced and sang.

<sup>k</sup> Succah, cap. v. hal. 2, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Maimon. in Beth. Habbech. in the place above.

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. v. cap. 14.

[Huds. 1227. l. 14. [v. 5. 3.]

<sup>n</sup> Succah, cap. v. hal. 4.

The Levites °, with harps, lyres, cymbals, trumpets, and infinite other musical instruments, stood upon the fifteen steps going down out of the Court of Israel into the Women's Court, singing according to the number of the fifteen psalms of degrees, &c.

The east gate of the Court of Israel was called the "gate of Nicanor."—"All p the gates were changed to be of gold, except the gate of Nicanor; because concerning that a miracle was shown: others say, because the brass of it did exceedingly shine."

In q the gate of Nicanor, they made the suspected wife drink the bitter waters; they purified the woman after childbirth, and the leper.

Of the miracle, done about the folding-doors of this gate, see Constantine L'Empereur, Middoth, p. 57, and Juchasin, fol. 65. 2, &c.; who also produceth another reason of the name, in these words: "In the book of Josephus Ben Gorion it is said, that the gate of Nicanor r was so called, because a miracle was there shown, namely, that there they slew Nicanor, a captain of the Grecians, in the days of the Asmoneans: which may also be seen in the end of the second chapter of the tract Taanith."

The history alleged is thus:—Nicanor s was one of the captains of the Greeks; and every day he wagged his hand towards Judea and Jerusalem, and said, "Oh! when will it be in my power, to lay them waste!" But when the Asmonean family prevailed, they subdued them, and slew him, and hung up his thumbs and great toes upon the gates of Jerusalem. Hence 'Nicanor's day' is in the Jewish calendar.

This t gate was πεντήκοντα πηχῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, &c., 'fifty cubits in height;' the doors contained forty cubits, and very richly adorned with silver and gold, laid on to a great thickness."

In u that gate sat a council of three and twenty; as there was another in the gate of Susan.

° Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 194.

p Middoth, cap. ii. hal. 3.

q Sotah, cap. i. hal. 5.

r English folio edit., vol. ii. p. 31.

s Bab. Taanith, fol. 18. 2. Vid.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 17.

[Huds. p. 549.] [xii. 5. 5.]

t Joseph. de Bello, [Huds. 1227.

10.] [v. 5. 3.]

u Sanhedr. cap. xi. hal. 2.

None<sup>u</sup> of the gates had *מזוזה*, (a small scroll of paper fixed to the posts,) but the gate of Nicanor.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### *Concerning the Gates and Chambers lying on the South Side of the Court.*

HERE, concerning the chambers, they differ. The tract Middoth assigns these to the south side; “The<sup>y</sup> chamber of wood, the chamber of the spring water, the chamber Gazith.”—The Babylonian Gemara<sup>z</sup> and Maimonides<sup>a</sup> assign them to the north side. In Middoth, “the chamber of salt, the chamber of Happarva, the chamber of them that wash,” were on the north side: in those, they are said to be on the south. The matter is hardly of so great moment, that we should weary ourselves in deciding this controversy. We enter not into disputes, but follow those things that are more probable, the Middoth being our guide.

I. Therefore we suppose, first, that the chamber Gazith was on the south side of the court, near the east corner: and that upon this reason,—that since, according to all the Jews (howsoever differing on what side it was placed), this chamber was not in the middle of the three chambers before named, but on the outside, either on the one hand or on the other,—the council could not sit in the lot of Judah, if Gazith were not seated about that place which we assign.

“*The<sup>b</sup> chamber Gazith was in the form of a great court walk. And half of it was in the Holy Place, and the other half in that which was common: and it had two doors; whereof one opened towards the Holy Place,—the other towards that which was common:*”—that is, one into the court, the other to the *Chel*. The great Sanhedrim sat in that part, which was in *Chel*; for “none might sit in the court, unless kings only of the stock of David.”

“In<sup>c</sup> the chamber Gazith sat the council of Israel, and judged concerning the priests. Whosoever was found touched with any spot was clothed in black, and was veiled in black,

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 11.

<sup>x</sup> [See Buxtorf Lex. sub v. col. 654.]

<sup>y</sup> Midd. cap. v. hal. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Joma, f. 19. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Beth Habbecbir. cap. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Joma, fol. 25. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. fol. 19. 1.

and went away. Whoever was without spot, being clothed and veiled in white, went into the court, and ministered with his brethren.”

: זקן יושב במערבה “The<sup>d</sup> president sat in the west part of the chamber;” and “Ab Beth Din<sup>e</sup> [אב בית דין] the next in rank to the president], on his right hand, and the elders on both sides, in a half circle.”

How the Sanhedrim was driven from this chamber, and when and why, we observe elsewhere.

H. לשכת הגולה “The<sup>f</sup> chamber of the spring” was next to this, westwardly: “where was a well, and a pulley: whence water was supplied to the whole court.”

III. Contiguous to this was the “gate of waters;” so called, either because the water, to be poured out upon the altar, on the feast of Tabernacles, was brought in through this gate; or because the water-course, conveyed into the Temple from the fountain Etam, went along through this gate into the chamber of the spring. “Abai saith<sup>g</sup>, That fountain was deeper than the pavement of the court three and twenty cubits.”—“And I think (saith the author of the Gloss), that the fountain Etam was the same with the waters of Nephtoah, of which mention is made in the book of Joshua, xv. 9; from thence it descends and slopes<sup>h</sup> into the east and west, and that place was the highest in the land of Israel.”

IV.<sup>i</sup> After<sup>k</sup> this gate was the ‘chamber of wood;’ and above that, לשכת פרהודרין “the chamber *παρέδρωγ*, of the magistrates;” or, as it was commonly called, לשכת בולוויטי “the chamber of the counsellors:” where there was a sessions of the priests, consulting about the affairs of the Temple and Service. The ‘wood-chamber’ seems to be called so upon this account, because the wood was conveyed hither, after the search about it was made in the ‘chamber of wood’ (which was in the corner of the Women’s Court,) whether there were any worms in it: that which was found fit for the altar was laid-up here, that it might be more in readiness.

V. Beyond that was שער הקרבן “the gate of offering:” and, after that, שער הדלקה “the gate of kindling.”

<sup>d</sup> Joma, fol. 25. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Maimon. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Midd. cap. v. hal. 3. et Joma, fol. 19. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 31.

<sup>h</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 195.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 32.

<sup>k</sup> See Midd. in the place above.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*The Gates and Doors on the North Side.*

I. FIRST, we meet with the “gate<sup>1</sup> and chamber Nitsots;” where the priests and Levites watched. This was also called “the gate of a song.”

II. The “chamber of them that wash” was next to that, and the “chamber of Happarva,” joining to that. In that, they washed the inwards of the sacrifices; in this, they salted the skins of the sacrifices. Some<sup>m</sup> believe one Parva, a magician, built this chamber; others, that that magician, Parva, made a secret hole in the wall of this chamber, that through that he might see what was here done by the high-priest: “For<sup>n</sup> in a covered place of this chamber there was a bath for the great priest, in the day of expiation.”

III. Thence was the ‘gate of offering,’ or of ‘Corban:’ this was also called ‘the gate of the women.’ The reason rendered of the former name is, “that by this gate they brought in the Most Holy sacrifices, which were slain on the north.” But the reason of the latter is more obscure: perhaps before that gate the women delivered their sacrifices into the hands of the priests.

IV. After that gate, westward, was the “chamber of salt:” where<sup>o</sup> salt was laid up for the offerings.

V. Following that was the “gate Beth Mokadh,” or the “gate of burning:” so called from a chamber adjoining, where a fire continually burnt for the use of the priests. This also was called the “gate Corban:” for, between this and the gate last named was the chamber, where the public treasure of the Temple was laid up. In ‘Beth-Mokadh’ were four chambers:—1. לשכת טלאים ‘The chamber of lambs:’ where they were kept for the use of the altar. 2. ‘The chamber of the show-bread.’ 3. The chamber, where the stones of the altar were laid up by the Asmoneans, when the kings of Greece had profaned the altar. 4. The chamber, whence they went down into the bath.

<sup>1</sup> Midd. cap. i. hal. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 35. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Midd. cap. v. hal. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Court itself.

“The floor<sup>p</sup> of the whole sacred earth was not level, but rising: when any went on, from the east gate of the Court of the Gentiles, to the farthest part of the *Chel*,—he went all in a level. From the *Chel*, he went up into the Court of the Women, twelve steps,—whereof every step was half a cubit in height. Along the whole Court of the Women he went in a level; and thence went up into the Court of Israel fifteen steps, every step half a cubit in height.”

The <sup>q</sup> Court of Israel was a hundred and thirty-five cubits in length, eleven in breadth.

Through all this court one went in a level; and thence went up into the Court of the Priests by one step of a cubit high: on which was set a pulpit (where the choir of the Levites that sang stood), and in it were three steps, each half a cubit. Therefore, the Court of the Priests is found to be two cubits and a half higher than the Court of Israel.

The <sup>r</sup> Court of the Priests was a hundred thirty-five cubits in length, eleven in breadth. And they divided the heads of the beams between the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests.

They went through the Court of the Priests in a level; and the same they did along the space by the altar, and along the space between the altar and the Pronaon, or the ‘Porch of the Temple.’ Thither they ascended by twelve steps, each half a cubit high. The floor of the Pronaon and the Temple was all level: and was higher than the floor of the east gate of the Court of the Gentiles, two and twenty cubits.

The length of the whole court was a hundred eighty-seven cubits, that is, from east to west. To wit,

The breadth of the Court of Israel . . . . .	11
The breadth of the Court of the Priests . . . . .	11
The breadth of the altar . . . . .	32
The space between the altar and the Pronaon . . . . .	22
The length of the Pronaon and the Temple . . . . .	100
Behind the Temple to the west wall. . . . .	11

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<sup>p</sup> Maim. Beth Habbech. cap. 6.  
<sup>q</sup> Midd. cap. 2. hal. 6.

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 33.



CHAP. XXXIV.<sup>s</sup>*The Altar. The Rings. The Laver.*

The <sup>t</sup> altar was, on every side, two-and-thirty cubits; after the ascent of one cubit, it was so straitened, that it was less by one cubit in the whole square,—that is, on every side thirty cubits. It went up five cubits, and again was straitened a cubit; so that there it was eight and twenty cubits on every side. The place of the horns on every part was the space of one cubit; so that now it was six and twenty cubits every way. The place of the priests' walk, hither and thither, was one cubit; so that the place of burning extended four and twenty cubits round about.

A scarlet thread begirt the middle of the altar, to discern between the upper bloods and the lower.

The basis of the altar towards the south-east had no corner, because that part was not within the portion of Judah.

At the horn between the west and the south were two holes, like nostrils, through which the sprinkled blood descended, and flowed into the brook Kedron.

The ascent to the altar was, on the south, two and thirty cubits, and the breadth sixteen cubits. There <sup>u</sup> was a time, when, upon this ascent, one priest stabbed another priest with his knife, while they strove who should first get up to the altar.

On the north were six orders of rings, each of which contained four. There are some who assert there were four orders, and each contained six, at which they killed the sacrifices: there, therefore, was the place of slaughter. Near by were low pillars set up, upon which were laid, overthwart, beams of cedar: in these were fastened iron hooks, on which the sacrifices were hung; and they were flayed on marble tables, which were between those pillars.

There was a laver or cistern between the porch and the altar, and it lay a little to the south. “Ben Kattin <sup>x</sup> made twelve cocks for it, which before had but two. He also made *מִכְנֵי לַכִּיּוֹר* *the machine of the cistern:*” that is, as the Gloss explains it, ‘Ben Kattin, when he was the chief

<sup>s</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 196.

<sup>t</sup> Middoth, cap. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Joma, 23. 1.

Ibid. fol. 37. 1.



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# HISTORY

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Temple at the three feasts, until" (according to the school of Hillel) "he was able, his father taking him by the hand, to go up with him into the mount of the Temple."

III. Ἡ <sup>b</sup> τῶν Τυροποιῶν [προσαγορευομένη] φάραγξ, [ἦν ἔφαμεν] τὸν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλων, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ. "The vale of the *Tyropei*" (or *the cheesemongers*), "that divided between the hill of the Upper City and the Lower, went down unto Siloam." The entrance into this vale, probably, was eastward by the Horse-gate, and the street (the most noted of the whole city) went onward to the west.

IV. שוק העליון The Upper Street.—"Any<sup>c</sup> spittle, found in the city, was clean, except that which was found in the upper street." The Gloss thus; "The spittle of any unclean person is unclean, and defiles. But strangers of another country are as unclean among us, as those that have a flux. Now the strangers dwelt in the upper street." Here I remember the story of Ismael Ben Camithi, the high priest; who<sup>d</sup> when he went out on the day of expiation to speak with a certain (heathen) captain, some spittle was sprinkled upon his clothes<sup>e</sup> from the other's mouth: whereby being defiled, he could not perform the service of that day: his brother therefore officiated for him.

V. שוק של פטמים "The street of the butchers." [*Saginatorem*, Buxtorf.]

VI. שוק של צמרים "The street of those that dealt in wool." "In<sup>f</sup> the butchers' street, which was at Jerusalem, they locked the door" (on the sabbath), "and laid the key in the window which was above the door. R. Jose saith, That this was in the street of those that dealt in wool."

Josephus hath these words, Καθὸς καὶ τῆς Καινῆς πόλεως, ἔριοπώλιά τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεῖα, καὶ ἱματίων ἀγορά. "In the new city there was a wool-market, and braziers' shops, and a market of garments."

VII. "At<sup>h</sup> Jerusalem was a great court, called בית יעזק *Beth Jaazek*, where the cities were gathered together,"—

<sup>b</sup> Jos. de Bello, lib. v. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 1222. l. 6.] [v. 4. 1.]

<sup>c</sup> Shekalim, cap. viii. hal. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Avoth R. Nathan, fol. 9. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 197.

<sup>f</sup> Erubhin, cap. x. hal. 9.

<sup>g</sup> De Bello, lib. v. cap. 24. [Hudson, p. 1237. l. 26. [viii. 1. 1.]

<sup>h</sup> Rosh hashanah, cap. ii. hal. 5.

namely, that they might testify concerning the new moon: “and there the Sanhedrim took them into examination; and delicious feasts were made ready for them there, that they might the more willingly come thither for the sake thereof.”

VIII. Some<sup>i</sup> courts also were built upon a rock, under which there was made a hollow, that by no means any sepulchre might be there. Hither they brought some teeming women, that they might be delivered there, and might there also bring up their children. And the reason of that curiosity was, that those children, there born and brought up, where they were so secure from being touched by a sepulchre, might be clean without doubt, and fit to sprinkle, with purifying water, such as were polluted with a dead carcass. The children were shut up in those courts, until they became seven or eight years old. (So R. Solomon, who also cites Tosaphoth, where nevertheless it is, “until they are eighteen years of age.”) And when the sprinkling of any one is to be performed, they are brought with the like care and curiosity to the place, where the thing is to be done, riding upon oxen, because their bellies, being so thick, might defend them the more securely from the defilement of any sepulchre in the way.

IX. There were not a few caves in the city, hollowed out of the rock, which we observed concerning the hollowed floor of the Temple. Into<sup>k</sup> one of these Simon the tyrant<sup>l</sup> betook himself with his accomplices, when he despaired of his affairs. Of whom you have a memorable story in the place quoted.

X. Besides the pool of Siloam, of Bethesda, of Solomon, (if that were not the same with Bethesda,) there<sup>m</sup> was Στρουθίου κολυμβήθρα, “the Sparrow-pool,” before Antonia; and κολυμβήθρα Ἀμύγδαλος, “the Almond-pool,” on the north side of the city.

XI. We cannot also pass over אבן הטועים “The<sup>n</sup> stone of things lost:” where publication was made concerning any thing lost or missing.

<sup>i</sup> Parah, cap. iii. hal. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. 7. c. 7. [Huds. p. 1297. l. 35. [viii. 2. 2.]

<sup>l</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 35.

<sup>m</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. v. cap. 30.

[Hudson, p. 1248. l. 45. [v. 11. 4.]

<sup>n</sup> Taanith, cap. iii. hal. 8.

XII. We conclude with the trench brought round the city by Titus, wherein he shut it up in the siege. “Beginning<sup>o</sup> from the tents of the Assyrians, where he encamped, he brought a trench ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν, to the nether new city” (the Upper was the hill Bezetha, the Nether was a place somewhat lower on the east of Sion), “and thence along Kedron to mount Olivet. Thence bending to the south, he shut up the mountain round, to the rock called περιστερεῶνος, the Dove-cote,—and the hill beyond, which lies over the valley of Siloam. From thence bending on the west, he came even into the vale of the fountain. After which, ascending along the sepulchre of Anan the chief priest, and enclosing the mountain where Pompey pitched his tents, he bended to the north side, and going forward as far as the village, which is called, ‘the house, or place of turpentine’ ” (perhaps בית אלה); “and after that, taking in the sepulchre of Herod, he came eastwardly to his own intrenchment.”

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### *Synagogues in the City ; and Schools.*

“R. PHINEHAS<sup>p</sup>, in the name of R. Hoshaiia, saith, There were four hundred and sixty synagogues in Jerusalem : every one of which had a house of the book, and a house of doctrine,” בית ספר למקרא ובית תלמוד למשנה : “A house of the book for the Scripture,” that is, where the Scripture might be read : “and a house of doctrine for tradition’s,” that is, the *Beth Midrash*, where traditions might be taught. These things are recited elsewhere, and there the number ariseth to four hundred and eighty. “R. Phinehas<sup>q</sup>, in the name of R. Hoshaiia, saith, There were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem,” &c. We do not make inquiry here concerning the numbers being varied : the latter is more received : and it is made out by *gematry*<sup>r</sup>, as they call it, out of the word מלאתי ‘full,’ Isa. i. 21. “We<sup>s</sup> find

<sup>o</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. v. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 1251. l. 31.] [v. 12. 3.]

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Chetub. fol. 35. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Idem, Megillah, fol. 73. 4.

<sup>r</sup> [מלאתי, Rabbini est Kabbalæ species, quæ ex diversarum vocum

æquali numero, eundem sensum colligunt. Ortum videtur esse ex Græco γεωμετρία. Buxtorf Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabb. sub v. תמג. col. 446.]

<sup>s</sup> R. Sol. in Isa. ii. 1.

in Pesikta: R. Menahem, from R. Hoshaiā, saith, Four hundred and eighty synagogues were in Jerusalem, according to the arithmetical value of the word מלאתי. Note, that the letter נ is not computed. [מ=40. ל=30. ת=400. י=10.]

“The synagogue of the Alexandrians,” is mentioned by the Talmudists: concerning which also the Holy Scripture speaks, Acts vi. 9.

“Eleazar<sup>t</sup> Ben R. Zadok received (*for a price*) the synagogue of the Alexandrians, and did his necessary works in it. The Alexandrians had built it at their own charge.” This story is recited by the Babylonian Talmudists, and they for Alexandrians have טורסיים *The Braziers*. For so they<sup>u</sup> write: “The<sup>x</sup> synagogue of the Braziers, which was at Jerusalem, they themselves sold to R. Eleazar,” &c. The Gloss renders טורסיים by צורפי נחושת ‘workmen in brass.’—The reason why the Alexandrians were so called, you may fetch, perhaps, from this story: “There<sup>y</sup> was a brass cymbal in the Temple; and there<sup>z</sup> being a crack in it, the wise men brought artificers from Alexandria to mend it, &c. There was also a brass mortar in the Temple, in which they beat their spices; and there being a crack in it, the wise men brought artificers in brass from Alexandria to mend it,” &c.

Consider well, what לשון טורסי “The language of Tursi,” means in that legend. “Bigthan<sup>z</sup> and Teresh שני טורסיים (perhaps) were two Tarsians:” or, if you will, ‘two artificers:’ “and they talked together בלשון טורסי in the language of Tursi” (where the Gloss, ‘Tursi is the name of a place’); “and they knew not that Mordecai was one of the elders in the chamber Gazith, and that he understood seventy languages,” &c.

In<sup>a</sup> the place noted in the margin, these words are related concerning the sending away the goat Azazel, or the scape-goat: “The chief priests permitted not an Israelite to lead away the scape-goat into the wilderness: but once, one Arselā, who was an Israelite, led him away: and they made him a footstool because of the Babylonians, who used to pull off his hair, and to say, Take it, and go.” The Gemara thus;

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. in Megill. in the place cited above: and Juchas. fol. 26. 2.

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 198.

<sup>x</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 26. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Bab. Erachin, fol. 10. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 13. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 66.

“ Rabba Bar Bar Channah saith, They were not Babylonians, but Alexandrians; but, because they hated the Babylonians, therefore they called them by their name. Take it, and go. Why does this goat tarry, when the b sins of this generation are so many?” Where the Gloss thus; “ They made him a footstool, or something to put under his feet, that he might be higher: and upon this he went out of the court, and out of the city: and this, lest the Babylonians should touch the goat: for they used to pull off his hair, and to say, Go, make haste, begone, delay not, our sins are yet upon us.” And after; “ The inhabitants of the land of Israel hated the Babylonians; every one, therefore, carrying himself irreverently and indecently, they called by their name.”

Συναγωγή Λιβερτίων, ‘ The synagogue of the Libertines,’ Acts vi. 9: כנסת המשחררים “ The synagogue of those, that are made free:” of whom the Talmudists speak infinitely.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

### *Bethphage.* בית פגי.

THERE is very frequent mention of this place in the Talmudists: and, certainly, a more careful comparison of the maps with those things which are said by them of the situation of this place is worthy to be made; when *they* place it in mount Olivet, *these* make it contiguous to the buildings of Jerusalem.

I. In<sup>c</sup> the place cited in the margin, the case זקן ממרא “ of a stubborn judge” (or elder) is handling. For when, by the prescript of the law, difficult matters, and such things as concerning which the lower councils could not judge, were to be brought unto the chief council, unto the place which God should choose, Deut. xvii. 8;—and when that judge of the lower council, who, after the determination and sentence pronounced in that cause, which he propounded, shall refuse to obey, and shall deny to behave himself according to their sentence,—is guilty of death, ver. 12, inquiry is made, “ Whether, מצון אבית פגי, &c. if he shall find the Sanhedrim sitting in Bethphage, and shall rebel against the sentence pro-

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 14. 2.

nounced by them there, that stubbornness be to be judged for rebellion," which, according to the law, is to be punished with death: and it is answered, "The text saith, 'Thou shalt arise, and go up to the place,' &c. Whence it is taught, that the place itself" (the chamber Gazith only) "adds force to the sentence."—The Gloss writes thus, **בית פאגי מקום לפנים** &c. "Bethphage was a place within the walls of the city, and was reckoned as Jerusalem itself, in respect of all things." Observe, 'Bethphage was within the walls of Jerusalem:' so that if the sentence of the Sanhedrim, pronounced at Jerusalem (out of the chamber Gazith), obtained in the case propounded,—it had obtained, when pronounced in Bethphage.

II. "He<sup>d</sup> that kills a sacrifice of thanksgiving within the wall, and the bread of it is without the wall, the bread is not holy. What is without the wall? R. Jochanan saith, Without the wall of Bethphage; but without the wall of the court, it is holy."—The Gloss thus; **בית פאגי היינו מקום היצין שבירושלם** "Bethphage is the outmost place in Jerusalem: and whosoever is without the walls of Bethphage, is without Jerusalem, where is no place to eat the holy things."

III. It<sup>e</sup> is disputed, whether the passover be to be slain in the name of a person in prison singly; and, among other things, it is thus determined: "If he be within the walls of Bethphage, let them kill it for him singly. Why? Because it is possible, to come to him, and he may eat it."—The Gloss; "Bethphage is the outmost place in Jerusalem: and thither they carry the passover to the person imprisoned, that he may eat it, because he is there within Jerusalem." For it was by no means lawful to eat the passover without Jerusalem.

IV. "The<sup>f</sup> two loaves" (daily offered by the chief priest) "and the show-bread are baked aright either in the court or in Bethphage.

V. That<sup>g</sup> which we produced first concerning the cause **זקן ממרא** "of the stubborn elder," is recited also elsewhere; and these words are added, "He<sup>h</sup> found the council sitting in Bethphage: for example's sake, if he betook himself thither

<sup>d</sup> Idem, Pesachin, fol. 63. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Bab. Pesachin, fol. 91. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Menacoth, cap. 11. hal. 2.

<sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 199.

<sup>h</sup> Bab. Sotah, fol. 45. 1.



to measure for the beheading of the cow, or to add to the space of the city, or the courts.”

VI. “He<sup>i</sup> thrashes within the walls of Bethphage.”—The Gloss; “Bethphage is the outmost circuit of Jerusalem.” The Aruch;—“The wall of Bethphage is the wall of Jerusalem.”

Now consult the maps and the commentaries of Christians, and you have Bethphage seated far from the walls of the city, not very far from the top of mount Olivet: where, also, the footsteps of it (even at this day) are falsely shown to travellers. So our countryman Sandys<sup>h</sup>, an eyewitness, writes concerning it: “We now ascend mount Olivet (saith<sup>k</sup> he), another way bending more northwards” (for before, he had described the ascent to Bethany). “On the right hand, not far from the top, was Bethphage seated, whose very foundations are confounded; from whence Christ, sitting upon the foal of an ass, went in triumph to Jerusalem: the father-guardian every Palm Sunday now superstitiously imitating him.”

They took their resolutions concerning the situation of this place not elsewhere certainly than from the gospel history, which seems openly to delineate Bethphage at the mount Olivet. True, indeed; and yet nothing hinders, but we may believe the Jews, asserting it to be within the walls of Jerusalem, since they illustrate the thing with so many examples; nor is there any reason, why they should either feign or dissemble any thing in this matter.

To the determining, therefore, of the business, we must have recourse, first, to the derivation of the word: Bethphage is rendered by some a ‘house or place of a fountain,’ from the Greek Πηγή, “a fountain:” but this is something hard: by the Glosser in Bava Mezia, in the place last cited, it is rendered, a paved ‘causeway;’ “The outmost compass of Jerusalem (saith he), which they added to it, is called Bethphage, and seems to me to denote a *beaten way*.” To which that of the Targumists seems to agree, who render אֶל עֶמֶק שָׁוֵה “At the valley of Shaveh,” Gen. xiv. 17, לְמִישַׁר מִפְּנֵי שָׁוֵה. [*In valle expedita*, Buxt.] But what need is there of wan-

<sup>h</sup> [Travels, p. 197.]

<sup>i</sup> Id. Bava Mezia, fol. 90. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 37.



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deep bottom, called Kedron, bounds the mount of Olives, which lies against the city eastward.” כבש היו בונין מהר “They<sup>m</sup> built a foot-causeway, or a foot-bridge, upheld with arches, from the mount of the Temple to the mount of Olives, upon which they led away the red cow (*to be burned*). In like manner, such a foot-causeway they made, upon which they led away the scape-goat: both were built at the charges of the public treasure, which was in the Temple.” The reason of that curiosity concerning the red cow was this:—when the ashes of that cow were especially purifying above all other things (for they cleansed from the uncleanness contracted by the touch of a dead person), they thought no caution enough to keep him safe from uncleanness, who was to burn the cow. When, therefore, there might be, perhaps, some sepulchres not seen, in the way he was to go, whereby he might be defiled, and so the whole action be rendered useless,—they made him a path, at no small cost, all the way, upon arches joining to one another, where it was not possible to touch a place of burial. The like care and curiosity was used in leading away the scape-goat.

The<sup>n</sup> sheaf of first-fruits<sup>o</sup> was reaped from the Ashes'-valley of the brook Kedron. The first day<sup>p</sup> of the feast of the Passover, certain persons, deputed from the Sanhedrim, went forth into that valley, a great company attending them; and very many out of the neighbouring towns flocked together, that the thing might be done, a great multitude being present. And the reason of the pomp was fetched thence, because the Baithuseans, or Sadducees, did not think well of doing that action on that day: therefore, that they might cross that crossing opinion, they performed the business with as much show as could be. “When it was now even, he, on whom the office of reaping laid, saith, ‘The sun is set;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘The sun is set;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘With this reaping-hook;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘With this reaping-hook;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘In this basket;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘In this basket;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—

<sup>m</sup> Maimon. in Shekalim, cap. 4. 8.

<sup>n</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii.

p. 38.

<sup>o</sup> Menachoth, cap. 10. et Tosapht.

ibid.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 200.

If it were the sabbath, he said, ‘On this sabbath;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘On this sabbath;’ and they answered, ‘Well.’—‘I will reap;’ and they answered, ‘Reap.’—‘I will reap;’ and they answered, ‘Reap.’ This he said thrice; and they answered thrice, ‘Well.’”

In <sup>q</sup> the place, marked in the margin, they are treating concerning removing a sepulchre, seated in an inconvenient place, that it might not pollute any man. Examples are brought-in of the sepulchres of the house of David, which were moved out of their places,—and of the sepulchres of the sons of Huldah, which were within Jerusalem, and were not moved out of their places. “Hence it appears (saith R. Akibah), that there was a certain cave, whereby filth and uncleanness was carried down into the valley of Kedron.”

By such a pipe and evacuation under-ground, did the filth of the Court of the Temple run into the valley of Kedron. “The <sup>r</sup> blood poured at the foot of the altar *מתערבין באמה* flowed into a pipe, and emptied itself into the valley of Kedron: and it was sold to the gardeners to dung their gardens.”

## CHAP. XXXIX.

### *The Valley of Hinnom, גי הנום.*

A GREAT part of the valley of Kedron was called also the ‘Valley of Hinnom.’ Jeremiah, going forth into the valley of Hinnom, went out by the gate *הַחַרְסִית* “*Hacharsith*, the Sun-gate,” Jer. xix. 2; that is, the <sup>s</sup> Rabbins and others being interpreters, ‘by the East-gate.’ For thence was the beginning of the valley of Hinnom, which, after some space, bending itself westward, ran out along the south side of the city.

There is no need to repeat those very many things, which are related of this place in the Old Testament; they are historical. The mention of it in the New is only mystical and metaphorical, and is transferred to denote the place of the damned. Under the second Temple, when those things were vanished, which had set an eternal mark of infamy upon this

<sup>q</sup> Hieros. Nazir, fol. 57. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 58. 2.

<sup>s</sup> See Kimchi upon the place.

place, to wit, idolatry, and the howlings of infants roasted to Moloch,—yet so much of the filthiness, and of the abominable name remained, that even now it did as much bear to the life the representation of hell, as it had done before.

It was the common sink of the whole city; whither all filth, and all kind of nastiness, met. It was, probably, the common burying-place of the city (if so be, they did now bury within so small a distance from the city). “They shall bury in Tophet, until there be no more any place,” Jer. vii. 32. And there was there also a continual fire, whereby bones, and other filthy things, were consumed, lest they might offend or infect the city. “There was a tradition according to the school of Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai. There<sup>t</sup> are two palm-trees in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, between which a smoke arises: and this is that we learn, ‘The palms of the mountain are fit for iron.’ And, ‘This is the door of Gehenna.’”

Some of the Rabbins apply that of Isaiah hither, chap. lxvi, verse the last: “They shall go out, and see the dead carcasses of the men, that rebel against me; for their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched.”—“Those Gentiles (saith Kimchi upon the place) who come to worship from month to month, and from sabbath to sabbath, shall go out without Jerusalem into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and shall see the carcasses of Gog and Magog,” &c. And a little after; “The just shall go out without Jerusalem into the valley of Hinnom, and shall see those that rebel,” &c.

What<sup>u</sup> is to be resolved concerning the ‘valley of Jehoshaphat,’ he himself doubts, and leaves undetermined: “For either Jehoshaphat (saith he<sup>x</sup>) here erected some building, or did some work, or it is called ‘the valley of Jehoshaphat’ because of judgment.” So also Jarchi [on Joel iii. 2.]; יהושפט יהושפט יהושפט “Jehoshaphat means all one with the ‘judgments of the Lord.’” Chald. פילוג דינא, “distributionem Judicii.”

<sup>t</sup> Bab. Erubhin, fol. 19. 1.

<sup>u</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 39.

<sup>x</sup> Kimchi upon Joel iii.

## CHAP. XL.

*Mount Olivet.* הַר הַזַּיִתִּים *The Mount of Olives*, 2 Sam. xv. 30.

Zech. xiv. 4. *In the Rabbins commonly,* הַר הַמֶּשְׁחָה *The Mount of Oil.*

“Ὄρος ὃ τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαιῶν, ὃ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺς κείμενον, ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε. The mount called the mount of Olives, lying over against the city, is distant five furlongs.” But Luke saith, Acts i. 12, “Then they returned from the mount called Olivet, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλήμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν· “which is near Jerusalem, a sabbath-day’s journey.” But now a sabbath-day’s journey<sup>z</sup> contained eight furlongs, or a whole mile. Neither yet, for all this, doth Luke fight against Josephus. For this last measures the space to the first foundation of Olivet; the other, to that place of Olivet, where our Saviour ascended. The first foot of the mount was distant five furlongs from the city; but Christ, being about to ascend, went up the mountain three furlongs farther.

The mount had its name from the *Olive*-trees, however other trees grew in it; and that, because the number of these perhaps was greater, and the fruit better. Among other trees, two cedars are mentioned, or rather two monsters of cedars. “Two<sup>a</sup> cedars (they say) were in the mount of Olivet, under one of which were four shops, where all things needful for purifications were sold: out of the other, they fetched, every month, forty seahs” (certain measures) “of pigeons, whence all the women to be purified were supplied.”

It is a dream like that story, that, beneath this mountain, all the dead are to be raised. “When the dead shall live again (say they<sup>b</sup>), mount Olivet is to be rent in two, and all the dead of Israel shall come out thence; yea, those righteous persons, who died in captivity, shall be rolled under the earth, and shall come forth under the mount of Olivet.”

There was a place in the mount, directly opposite against

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 6.  
[Hudson, p. 893. l. 40.] [xx. 8. 6.]

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Targum upon Cant. viii. 1.

<sup>z</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 201.

the east gate of the Temple, to<sup>c</sup> which the priest, that was to burn the red cow, went along a foot-bridge laid upon arches, as it was said before. And<sup>d</sup> when he sprinkled its blood there, he directly levelled his eyes at the Holy of Holies.

Those signal flames also, accustomed to be waved up and down on the top of this mount in token of the new moon now stated, are worthy of mention. The custom and manner is thus described: “Formerly<sup>e</sup>, they held up flames; but when the Cutheans spoiled this, it was decreed, that they should send messengers.” The Gloss is this; “They held up the flames presently after the time of the new moon was stated: and there was no need to send messengers to those, that were afar off in captivity, to give them notice of the time; for those flames gave notice: and the Cutheans sometime held up flames in an undue time, and so deceived Israel.”

The text goes forward: “How did they hold up the flames? They took long staves of cedar, and canes, and fat-wood, and the coarse part of the flax, and bound these together with a thread. And one, going up to the mount, put fire to it, and shakes the flame up and down, this way and that way, until he sees another doing so in a second mountain, and another so in a third mountain. But whence did they lift up these flames first? מִהַר הַמְּשָׁחָה לְסַרְטָבָא *From the mount of Olivet to Sartaba*; from Sartaba to Gryphena; from Gryphena to Hauran; from Hauran to Beth Baltin. And he who held up the flame in Beth Baltin, departed not thence, but waved his flame up and down, this way and that way, until he saw the whole captivity *abounding in flames*, כַּמְדוּרַת הָאֵשׁ. The Gemarists inquire, what ‘from Beth Baltin’ means? This is Biram. What the captivity means? Rabh Joseph saith, This is Pumbeditha. What means כַּמְדוּרַת הָאֵשׁ? There is a tradition, that every one taking a torch in his hand, goes up upon his house,” &c.

The Jews believe, the Messias shall converse very much in this mountain: which is agreeable to truth and reason. For when they think his primary seat shall be at Jerusalem,

<sup>c</sup> See Middoth, cap. i. hal. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Parah, cap. iii. hal. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Rosh Hashanah, cap. ii. hal. 2. 3, &c.

they cannot but believe some such thing of that mount. R. Janna saith <sup>f</sup>, שכינה “ *The Divine & Majesty* stood three years and a half in mount Olivet, and preached, saying, ‘ Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found ; call upon him, while he is near.’ ”

And now let us from this mountain look back upon the city. Imagine yourself sitting in that place, where the priest stood, while he burnt the red cow, directly over against the east gate of the Temple. Between the mount and the city you might see a valley running between, compassing Sion on the right hand, and Jerusalem on the left : the Gate of Waters against you, leading to the Temple ; on the left hand, Ophla and the Horse-gate. From thence, as we have said, was the beginning of the valley of Hinnom, which, at length, bowed towards the south side of the city. In that place, near the wall, was the Fullers’ field ; which whether it was so called from wood framed together, where fullers dried their cloth ; or ἀπὸ κναφέως μνήματος, ‘ from a fuller’s monument,’ of which Josephus <sup>h</sup> writes,—we do not dispute.

From the Horse-gate, westward, runs out the valley Kedron, in which is a brook, whence the valley takes its name—embracing Sion also on the north, and spreading abroad itself in a more spacious breadth.

“ Below <sup>i</sup> the city, there was a place ” (we do not dare to mark it out) “ which was called מוצא *Motza* : hither they came down ” (in the feast of Tabernacles) “ and cropped off thence long boughs of willow ” (it may be, from the banks of the brook Kedron) ; “ and, going away, placed them near the sides of the altar,—bended after that manner, that their heads might bow over the top of the altar,” &c.

It is no marvel, if there were a multitude of gardens without the city, when there were none within. Among them “ a <sup>k</sup> garden of Jerusalem is famed, wherein figs grew, which were sold for three or four assarii each : and yet neither the Truma, nor the Tenth, was ever taken of them.”

Josephus hath these words, Ἐκτετάφρευτο <sup>l</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους

<sup>f</sup> Midras Tillin.

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 40.

<sup>h</sup> De Bello, lib. v. cap. 13. [v. 4. 2.] 45.] [v. 2. 2.]

<sup>i</sup> Succah, cap. iv. hal. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Maasarith, cap. ii. hal. 5.

<sup>l</sup> De Bello. [Hudson, p. 1215. l.



περὶ τὰς κηρείας, &c. “The gardening was all compassed about from the wall with trenches; and every thing was divided with crooked gardens, and many walls.”

### CHAP. XLI<sup>m</sup>.

*Bethany.* בית היני *Beth-hene.*

BETHANY seems to be the same with בית היני among the Talmudists. Of which they write thus. They<sup>n</sup> treat in the place, noted in the margin, concerning eating of fruits the seventh year, and concerning ביעור *Beor*, of which we have spoke before<sup>o</sup>. They inquire, How long one may eat of these or the other fruits?—And they state the business thus: “They eat Olives (say they) until the last ceases in Tekoa. R. Eleazar saith, Until the last ceases in Gush Chalab” (in the tribe of Asher). “They eat dry figs, until green figs cease בית היני *in Beth-hene.* R. Judah saith, The green figs of Beth-hene are not mentioned; unless in respect of the tenths; as the tradition is, &c. פגי בית היני ואהיני דטובני &c. The figs of Beth-hene, and the dates of Tubni, are bound to be tithed.” The Gloss is this; “They are not mentioned in the schools among fruits, unless in respect of tithing.” These words are recited in Erubhin: where<sup>p</sup> the word בית היני *Beth-hene* is writ, ביתיוני *Beth-jone*, and טובני *Tubni* is writ טובינא *Tubina*.

*Beth-hene* certainly seems to be the same altogether with our *Bethany*; and the name to be drawn from the word אהיני *Ahene*, which signifies the “dates of palm-trees,” not come to ripeness: as the פגי also signifies “green-figs,” that is, such figs as are not yet ripe.

And now take a prospect a little of mount Olivet. Here you may see olive-trees; and in that place is Gethsemane, “The place of oil-presses.” There you may see palm-trees growing; and that place is called Bethany, בית היני “The place of dates.” And we may observe in the gospel-history, how those that met Christ, as he was going forward from Bethany, had branches of palm-trees ready at hand. There you may see fig-trees growing; and that place was called Bethphage, “The place of green-figs.”

<sup>m</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 202.

<sup>n</sup> *Bab. Pesachin*, fol. 53. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. i.

<sup>p</sup> *Erubhin*, fol. 28. 2.



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it before the Temple.” Where the Gloss thus; “Zophim is a place whence the Temple may be seen.” But another Gloss doth not understand the thing here of that proper place, but of the whole compass about the city, wheresoever the city could first be seen. So R. Eliezer, of Abraham, going from the south to Jerusalem, “The<sup>u</sup> third day they came to Zophim: but when he came to Zophim, he saw the glory of the Divine Majesty sitting upon the Mount” (Moriah).

### CHAP. XLIII.<sup>x</sup>

*Ramah. Ramathaim Zophim. Gibeah.*

THERE was a certain Ramah, in the tribe of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 25, and that within sight of Jerusalem, as it seems, Judg. xix. 13; where it is named with Gibeah:—and elsewhere, Hos. v. 8; which towns were not much distant. See 1 Sam. xxii. 6; “Saul sat in Gibeah, under a grove in Ramah.” Here the Gemarists<sup>y</sup> trifle: “Whence is it (say they) that Ramah is placed near Gibeah? To hint to you, that the speech of Samuel of Ramah was the cause, why Saul remained two years and a half in Gibeah.” They blindly look over Ramah in the tribe of Benjamin,—and look only at Ramah in Ephraim, where Samuel was born.

His native town is very often called Ramah, once Ramathaim Zophim, 1 Sam. i. 1. “There was a certain man of Ramathaim:” that is, one of the two Ramaths, which were surnamed also ‘Zophim.’ A like form of speech is that 1 Sam. xviii. 21; בְּשָׂתִים תִּתְּתֶנּוּ בִּי “In one of the two, thou shalt be my son-in-law.” That town of Samuel was Ramath Zophim; and this of Benjamin, was Ramath Zophim also: but by a different etymology, as it seems:—that, it may be, from Zuph, Saul’s great-great-grandfather, whence that country was so called, 1 Sam. ix. 5; this, from Zophim, of which place we have spoke in the foregoing chapter.

Gibeah was Saul’s town. Κώμη<sup>z</sup> Γαβαθ-Σαούλη καλουμένη. Σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου διέχοντα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων. “The town called Gahath-

<sup>u</sup> Pirke R. Eliezer, cap. 31.

<sup>x</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. ii. p. 203.

<sup>y</sup> Bab. Taanith, fol. 5. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. v. c. 6.

[Hudson, p. 1215. l. 27.] [v. 2. 1.]

Saul. This signifieth Saul's-hill, which is distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs." Hence you may guess at the distance of Rama from Jerusalem. Josephus calls the neighbouring place of Gibeah, Ἰκανθῶν ἀλῶνα: "the long Valley of Thorns:" perhaps, the valley under the rock *Seneh* [סֵנֶה]: of which mention is made, 1 Sam. xiv. 4.

CHAP. XLIV.<sup>a</sup>*Nob. Bahurim.*

THAT Nob was placed in the land of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem, whence Jerusalem also might be seen,—the words of the Chaldee paraphrast, upon Isa. x. 32, do argue. For so he speaks; "Sennacherib came and stood in Nob, a city of the priests, before the walls of Jerusalem; and said to his army, 'Is not this the city of Jerusalem, against which I have raised my whole army, and have subdued all the provinces of it? Is it not small and weak in comparison of all the fortifications of the Gentiles, which I have subdued by the valour of my hand?' He stood nodding with his head against it, and wagging his hand up and down," &c. Where Kimchi thus; "Jerusalem might be seen from Nob. Which when he saw from thence, he wagged his hand, as a man is wont to do, when he despiseth any thing," &c. And Jarchi thus; "When he stood at Nob, he saw Jerusalem," &c.

The Talmudists<sup>b</sup> do concur also in the same sense with the Chaldee paraphrast, and in his very words; adding this moreover,—that all those places, which are numbered-up by Isaiah in the place alleged, were travelled through by the enemy with his army in one day.

The tabernacle sometime resided at Nob, when that was destroyed, it was translated to Gibeon. "And the days of Nob and Gibeon" (they are the words of Maimonides<sup>c</sup>) "were seven-and-fifty years."

We meet with mention of Bahurim, 2 Sam. xvi. 5. It was a Levitical city, the same with Almon, Josh. xxi. 18; which is also called Alemeth, 1 Chron. vi. 60. Those words, "And David came to Bahurim," in the place alleged in the

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 42. <sup>b</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 94. 2. and 95. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Maim. in Beth Habbechirah, cap. 1.

Book of Samuel, the Chaldee renders, אַתָּא דָּוִד כִּלְכַנָּא עַד עַלְמַת “And David the king came to Almath.” Where Kimchi thus; “Bahurim was a city of the Benjamites, and is called in the Books of the Chronicles, ‘Alemeth;’ for Bahurim and Alemeth are the same.” Both sound as much as, *young men*.

## CHAP. XLV.

### *Emmaus. Kiriath-jearim.*

“FROM Beth-horon<sup>d</sup> to Emmaus it was hilly.”—It<sup>e</sup> was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.—Ὀκτακοσίοις<sup>f</sup> δὲ μόνουσι, ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφιεμένοις, χωρίον ἔδωκεν (Οὐεσπασιανὸς) εἰς κατοίκησιν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους ἑξήκοντα. “To eight hundred only, dismissed the army, (Vespasian) gave a place, called Ammaus, for them to inhabit: it is sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.”

I inquire, whether this word hath the same etymology with Emmaus near Tiberias, which, from the ‘warm baths,’ was called חַמַּת *Chammath*. The Jews certainly do write this otherwise; namely, either אַמְמַאֵס, as the Jerusalem Talmudists in the place above cited; or, עֵימַאֵס, as the Misna.

“The<sup>g</sup> family (say they) of Beth-Pegarim, and Beth Zipperia was אַמְמַאֵס *out of Emmaus*.”—The Gloss is this; “Emmaus was the name of a place, whose inhabitants were Israelite gentlemen, and the priests married their daughters.”

Josephus, mentioning some noblemen, slain<sup>h</sup> by Simeon the tyrant, numbers one Aristeus, who was “a<sup>i</sup> scribe of the council γένος ἐξ Ἀμμαοῦς, and *by extraction from Ammaus*.” By the same author is mentioned also Ἀνανός<sup>k</sup> ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀμμαοῦς, “Ananus of Ammans,” one of the seditious of Jerusalem; who nevertheless at last fled over to Cæsar.

Kiriath-jearim was before-time called *Baale*, 2 Sam. vi. 2; or *Baalath*, 1 Chron. xiii. 6. Concerning it, the Jerusalem writers speak thus; “We<sup>l</sup> find, that they intercalated the year in Baalath. But Baalath was sometimes assigned to Judah, and sometimes to Dan. Eltekah, and Gibbethon, and

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Luke xxiv. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. vii. cap. 27. [Hudson, p. 1311. l. 15.] [vii. 6. 6.]

<sup>g</sup> Erachin, cap. 2. hal. 4.

<sup>h</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 204.

<sup>i</sup> De Bello, lib. v. cap. 33. [v. 13. 1.]

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.* lib. vi. cap. 23. [vi. 4. 2.]

<sup>l</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 18. 3.



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δὲ Ἰορδάνου ἐξήκοντα, &c. “ Jericho is distant from Jerusalem a hundred and fifty furlongs” (eighteen miles and three quarters), “ and from Jordan sixty furlongs” (seven miles and a half). “ The space from thence to Jerusalem is desert and rocky; but to Jordan and the Asphaltites, more plain, indeed, but alike desert, and barren.”

This our author asserts the same distance between Jericho and Jordan elsewhere, in these words: Οἱ<sup>ο</sup> δὲ, πεντήκοντα προελθόντες στάδια, βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος. “ But the Israelites, travelling forward fifty furlongs from Jordan, encamped the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho :” that is, in Gilgal, in the east coast of Jericho, Josh. iv. 19.

But concerning the distance between Jericho and Jerusalem, he does not seem to agree with his countrymen. For, however they, according to their hyperbolical style, feign very many things to be heard from Jerusalem as far as Jericho,—to wit<sup>p</sup>, the sound of the gate of the Temple, when it was opened,—the sound of Migrephah, or the little bell, &c. yet there are some of them, who make it to be the distance of ‘ ten parsæ.’ “ Rabbath<sup>q</sup> Bar Bar Channah saith, Rabbi Jochanan saith, מִירוּשׁ לִירִיחוֹ יִפְרָסִי *from Jerusalem to Jericho were ten parsæ*: and yet, from thence thither the voice of the high-priest, in the day of expiation, pronouncing the name *Jehovah*, was heard, &c. The hinges of the gates of the Temple are heard בשמונה תחומי שבת *as far as the eighth bound of the sabbath* ;” that is, as far as a sabbath-day’s journey eight times numbered. The Gloss hath these words; “ The hinges, indeed, not farther, but the gates themselves are heard to Jericho.” There is an hyperbole in their measuring of the space, as well as in the rest.

Ἐκπυρῶται δὲ ὥρα θερούς τὸ πεδίου, καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν αὐχμοῦ περιέχει νοσώδη τὸν ἀέρα, &c. “ And that plain burns in the summer, and, by too much heat, renders the air unhealthful: for it is all without water, except Jordan; the palms that grow in whose banks are more flourishing and more fruitful than those that grow more remote.”

Παρὰ μέντοι τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντά ἐστι πυγὴ, δαψιλῆς τε, καὶ πρὸς

<sup>ο</sup> Antiq. lib. v. cap. i. [v. i. 4.]

<sup>p</sup> Tamid, cap. iii. hal. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 20. 2. et 39. 2.

ἀρδείας λιπαρώτατη, παρὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν, &c.  
 “Near Jericho<sup>r</sup> is a very plentiful spring, and very rich for watering<sup>s</sup> and moistening the ground; it riseth near the old city, and Jesus the son of Nave took it. Of which spring there is a report, that, in former times, it did not only make the fruits of the earth and of the trees to decay, but also the offspring of women; and was universally unwholesome and harmful to all: but it was changed into a better condition by Elizeus, &c. (see 2 Kings ii. 21). So that those waters, which before were the cause of barrenness and famine, did thenceforth produce fruitfulness and abundance: and they have so great<sup>t</sup> a virtue in their watering, that whatsoever place they touch, they bring on to a very speedy ripeness.”

Καὶ πεδίου μὲν ἑπείσις ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων μῆκος, εὖρος δὲ εἴκοσις. “And they overflow the plain seventy furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth: and there they nourish very fair and thick gardens of palm-trees of divers kinds, &c. That place also feeds bees, and produceth opobalsamum, and cyprinum, and myrobalanum: so that one might not call it amiss Θεῖον τὸ χωρίον, ‘a divine country,’” &c.

Strabo<sup>u</sup> speaks like things, Ἱεριχοῦς δὲ ἐστὶ πεδίου κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον ὀρεινῇ τινι, &c. “Jericho is a plain surrounded with mountains, which in some places bend to it after the manner of a theatre. A grove of palm-trees is there, with which are mixed also other garden plants, a fruitful place, abounding with palm-trees for the space of a hundred furlongs, all well watered, and full of habitations. The royal court and paradise of balsam is there,” &c.

And Pliny<sup>x</sup>; “Jericho, planted with groves of palms, and well watered with springs,” &c.

Hence the city is called, the “city of palm-trees,” Deut. xxxiv. 3, and Judg. i. 16: where for that, which, in the Hebrew, is **מְעִיר הַתְּמָרִים**, *From the city of palm-trees*, the Targum hath **מִן קֶרְתָּא יְרִיחוֹ** *From the city Jericho*: which nevertheless Kimchi approves not of, reckoning *the city of palm-trees* to be near Hebron: whom see. See also

<sup>r</sup> Hudson, 1194. 6.

<sup>s</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 205.

<sup>t</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 44.

<sup>u</sup> Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvi. [c. 2.]

<sup>x</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 14.



the Targum upon Judg. iii. 13, and Kimchi there; and the Targum upon Judg. iv. 5.

When you take a view of that famous fountain, as it is described by Josephus, thence you understand what waters of Jericho the Holy Ghost points out in Josh. xvi. 1.—And when you think of that most pleasant country watered from thence, let that Rabbinical story come into your mind, of *דושנו של יריחו* *The gift of Jericho*, of five hundred cubits square, granted to the sons of Hobab, Moses's father-in-law: of which see Baal Turim, upon Num. x. 29, and the Rabbins upon Judg. i.

## CHAP. XLVII.

### *Jericho itself.*

WE read, that this city was not only wasted by Joshua with fire and sword, but cursed also. “Cursed be he before the Lord, who shall rise up and build that city Jericho,” Josh. vi. 26. “Nor was another city to be built (says the Talmudists <sup>y</sup>), which was to be called by the name of Jericho: nor was Jericho itself to be built, although to be called by another name.” And yet I know not by what chance this city crept out of dust and rubbish, lived again, and flourished, and became the second city to Jerusalem. The same persons which were just now cited, suppose that the restorer of it was Hiel, the son of Jehoshaphat, to wit, the same with Jeziel, 2 Chron. xxi. 2; “Hiel (say they <sup>z</sup>) was of Jehoshaphat, and Jericho of Benjamin.” And that is a just scruple, which R. David <sup>a</sup> objects,—how it came about, that the pious king Jehoshaphat should suffer such a horrid thing to be done within his kingdom? Much more, how this should have been done by his son? Let them dispute the business; we hasten somewhere else.

That, which ought not to be done,—being once done, stands good. Hiel did a cursed thing in building Jericho: yet Jericho was not to be cursed, being now built. A little after its restoration, it was made noble by the schools of the prophets, 2 Kings ii. 5; and it flourished with the rest of the cities of Judea unto the destruction of the nation by the Babylonians.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 29. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Id. ibidem.

<sup>a</sup> Kimchi upon 1 Kings xvi.



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remark, if not more,—when so many of the stations dwelling there were at hand, who were fit to be employed in government; and so many to be governed.

אנשי יריחו<sup>k</sup> “ *The men of Jericho* are famed for six things done by them: in three of which the chief council consented to them, but in the other three they consented not.” Those things, concerning which they opposed them not, were these:—

I. מרכיבין דקלים כל היום “ They ingrafted, or folded, together, palm-trees every day.” Here is need of a long commentary, and they produce one, but very obscure. The business of the men of Jericho was about palm-trees; which they either joined together, and mingled males with females, or they ingrafted, or (as they commonly say) inoculated the more tender sprouts of the branches into those, that were older. So much indulgence was granted them by the wise men concerning the time, wherein these things are done, which, elsewhere, would scarcely have been suffered; unless, as it seems, the nature of the place, and of the groves of palms, required it.

II. כרכין את שמע “ They folded up the recitations of their phylacteries:” that is, either not speaking them out distinctly; or omitting some doxologies or prayers; or pronouncing them with too shrill a voice. See the Gemara and the Gloss.

III. קוצרין וגודשין לפני העומר “ They reaped, and gathered-in their sheaves, before the sheaf [*of first-fruits*] was offered:” and this, partly, because of the too early ripeness of their corn in that place; and, partly, because their corn grew in a very low valley, and therefore it was not accounted fit to be offered unto the Mincha, or daily sacrifice. See the Gloss.

The three things, concerning which the wise men consented not to them, were these:—

I. מתירין גמזיות של הקדש “ Such fruits and branches, also certain fruits of the sycamine-trees, which their fathers had devoted to sacred uses,—they alienated into common.

II. אוכלין מתחת הנשרים בשבת “ They ate, on the sabbath-day, under the tree, such fruits, as fell from the tree.”

<sup>k</sup> Pesach. cap. 4. hal. 8.

although they were uncertain whether they had fallen on the sabbath-day or the eve of the sabbath : for such as fell on the sabbath were forbidden.

III. נותנין פאה לירק They granted a corner of the garden for herbs, in the same manner as a corner of the field was granted for corn.

Let the description of this city and place be concluded with those words of the Talmud, in the place<sup>1</sup> noted in the margin : “ Do they use a certain form of prayer upon balsam ? משחא דאפרסמא. Blessed be he, who hath created the ointment of our land.” The Gloss is, “ The ointment of our land : for it grows at Jericho ; and, for its smell, it is called יריחו *Jericho* : and it is that Pannag of which mention is made in the Book of Ezekiel. ‘ Judah and the land of Israel were thy merchants in wheat of Minnith and Pannag.’ This I have seen in the book of Josephus Ben Gorion.” Judge, reader.

#### CHAP. XLVIII.<sup>m</sup>

##### *Some miscellaneous matters belonging to the Country about Jericho.*

LET us begin from the last encampings of Israel beyond Jordan.

Num. xxxiii. 49 : “ They encamped near Jordan from Beth-jeshimoth unto Abel-shittim.”—“ From<sup>n</sup> Beth-jeshimoth to Abel-shittim were twelve miles.” It is a most received opinion among the Jews, that the tents of the Israelites in the wilderness contained a square of twelve miles. So the Targum of Jonathan, upon Num. ii. 2 ; “ The encamping of Israel was twelve miles in length, and twelve miles in breadth.” And the Gemarists<sup>o</sup> say, “ It is forbidden a scholar to teach a tradition before his master, yea, not to do it, until he be twelve miles distant from him, according to the space of the encamping of Israel. But whence is that space proved ? ‘ And they encamped near Jordan from Beth-jeshimoth to Abel-shittim.’—How far is that ? Twelve miles.”

<sup>1</sup> Bab. Berach. fol. 43. 1.

<sup>m</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 46.

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3. &

Gittin, fol. 43. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Hieros. in the place above.

They<sup>p</sup> believe, also, that the bulk of the host took up the same space, while they passed Jordan. Nor is it unfit so to believe: for it, indeed, seems at least to have taken up a very large space in its passage: this especially being observed, that, while the ark stood in the middle of Jordan, none might come within two thousand cubits near it, Josh. iii. 4. When, therefore, it is said, “that the people passed over against Jordan,” it is to be understood of the middle of the host,—or of those that carried the ark, and of those that went next after the ark.

From<sup>q</sup> Abel to Jordan, were sixty furlongs (seven miles and a half). The breadth of Jordan from bank to bank was but of a moderate space. The Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>r</sup> do write thus of it, in some part of it: “A fire sometime passed over Jordan” (that is, a flame kindled on this bank flew over to that). “But how far is the flame<sup>s</sup> carried? R. Eleazar saith, For the most part to sixteen cubits; but when the wind drives it, to thirty.—R. Judah saith, To thirty cubits; and, when the wind drives it, to fifty.—R. Akibah saith, To fifty cubits; and when the wind blows, to a hundred.”

From<sup>t</sup> Jordan to Gilgal were fifty furlongs (six miles and a quarter). Therefore the whole journey of that day, from Abel to Gilgal, was fourteen miles, or thereabouts. The Talmudists, being deceived by the ambiguity of the word גִּלְגָּל *Gilgal*, extend it to sixty<sup>u</sup> miles, and more: whom see afterward quoted in the eighty-eighth chapter. It is thus said in Midras Tillin, “Saul<sup>x</sup> went, in one day, threescore miles.”

Of the stones, set up by Joshua in Jordan and Gilgal, the Gemarists<sup>y</sup> have these words:—“R. Judah saith, Aba Chalaphtha, and R. Eleazar Ben Mathia, and Chaninah Ben Chakinai, stood upon those stones, and reckoned them to weigh forty sata each.”

<sup>p</sup> Bab. Sotah, fol. 34. 1. in the Gloss.

<sup>q</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [v. 1. 1.]

<sup>r</sup> Bava Kama, fol. 3. 5.

<sup>s</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 207.

<sup>t</sup> Joseph. in the place above.

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 44. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Midr. Till. fol. 7. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Bab. Sotah, 34. 1. Tosapht. in Sotah, cap. 8.



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Ben Samuel said, The whole face of the east is light unto Hebron : to whom another answers, Well," &c. Upon which words Rambam<sup>c</sup> thus; " There was a high place in the Temple, whither he who was sent to see went up; and when he saw the face of the east shining, he said, ברקאי It is light, &c. And they who were in the court, said, עד שהוא בחברון What! As the light is unto Hebron?—That is, Is the light come so far, that thine eyes may see Hebron?—And he answered, Yes." So also the Gloss upon Tamid; " The morning (saith he, who is on the roof) is seen as far as Hebron; because they could see Hebron thence."

" And<sup>d</sup> therefore they made mention of Hebron, (although the east was on that coast), that the memory of the merit of those, that were buried in Hebron, might occur at the daily sacrifice." They are the words of the author of Juchasin, out of which those are especially to be marked, " Though the east was on that coast;" or, " Though the east were on that quarter of the heaven." Consider which words, and consult the Gemarists upon the place quoted: for they understand those words,—“ What! As the light is unto Hebron?”—of the light reaching as far as Hebron; just as the Gloss understands them of his eyes reaching thither that went to look. All which things compared, come at last to this,—if credit may be given to these authors,—that Hebron, however it be placed south of Jerusalem, yet did decline somewhat towards the east, and might be seen from the high towers in the Temple and in Jerusalem. Let the reader judge.

Of Machpelah, the burying-place near Hebron, very many things are said by very many men. The city was called Hebron, that is, *a consociation*, —perhaps, from the *pairs* there buried, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives.

Not a few believe Adam was buried there in like manner: some, that he was buried once, and buried again. " Adam said, (say they<sup>e</sup>), After my death, they will come perhaps, and, taking my bones, will worship them; but I will hide my coffin very deep in the earth, 'in a cave within a cave.' It is therefore called, the cave Machpelah, or the *doubled* cave."

<sup>c</sup> Rambam in משניות in Joma.

<sup>d</sup> Juchasin, fol. 63. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Juchasin, fol. 5. 1.

CHAP. L.<sup>f</sup>*Of the cities of Refuge.*

HEBRON, the most eminent among them, excites us to remember the rest. “The<sup>g</sup> Rabbins deliver this; Moses separated three cities of refuge beyond Jordan, [Deut. iv. 41, 42, 43;] and, against them, Joshua separated three cities in the land of Canaan, [Josh. xx. 7, 8.] And these were placed by one another, just as two ranks of vines are in a vineyard: Hebron in Judea against Bezer in the wilderness: Shechem in mount Ephraim against Ramoth in Gilead: Kedesh in mount Napthali against Golan in Basan. And these three were so equally disposed, that there was so much space from the south coast of the land of Israel to Hebron, as there was from Hebron to Shechem; and as much from Hebron to Shechem, as from Shechem to Kedesh; and as much from Shechem to Kedesh, as from Kedesh to the north coast of the land.”

It<sup>h</sup> was the Sanhedrim’s business to make the ways to those cities convenient, by enlarging them, and by removing every stop, against which one might either stumble or dash his foot. No hillock or river was allowed to be in the way, over which there was not a bridge: and the way, leading thither, was, at least, two-and-thirty cubits broad. And in every double way, or in the parting of the ways, was written *מקלט, מקלט* “Refuge, refuge,”—lest he that fled thither might mistake the way.

The<sup>i</sup> mothers of the high-priest used to feed and clothe those, that for murder were shut up in the cities of refuge, that they might not pray for the death of their sons,—since the fugitive was to be restored to his country and friends at the death of the high-priest: but if he died before in the city of refuge, his bones were to be restored after the death of the high-priest.

The<sup>k</sup> Jews dream<sup>l</sup>, that in the days of the Messias, three other cities are to be added to those six which are mentioned

<sup>f</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 208.

<sup>g</sup> *Bab. Maccoth*, fol. 9. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *Maimon. in מוצק*, cap. 8.

<sup>i</sup> *Maccoth*, fol. 11. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 48.

<sup>l</sup> *Maimon. in the place above.*



in the Holy Scripture,—and they to be among the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites.—Let them dream on.

“Let<sup>m</sup> him that kills the high-priest by a sudden chance, fly to a city of refuge; but let him never return thence.” Compare these words with the state of the Jews, killing Christ.

## CHAP. LI.

### *Beth-lehem.*

THE Jews are very silent about this city: nor do I remember that I have read any thing in them concerning it, besides those things which are produced out of the Old Testament; this only excepted, that the Jerusalem Gemarists<sup>n</sup> do confess that the Messiah was born there before their times.

Βηθλεὲμ<sup>ο</sup> κώμη τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέχουσα σταδίου τριακονταπέντε Ἱεροσολύμων. “Beth-lehem is a certain town in the land of the Jews, thirty-five furlongs distant from Jerusalem:” and that towards the south.

The father of the ecclesiastical annals, citing these words of Eusebius, Ἀκμήσαντος<sup>p</sup> δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδέκτου τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀδριανοῦ κατὰ Βήθηκα πόλιν, &c. thus renders them in Latin; “Jam<sup>q</sup> vero, cum, decimo octavo anno imperii Hadriani, bellum, juxta urbem Beth-lehem nuncupatam (quæ erat rerum omnium præsiidiis munitissima, neque adeo longe a civitate Hierosolymarum sita) vehementius accenderetur,” &c. “But now, when in the eighteenth year of the empire of Adrian, the war was more vehemently kindled near the town called Beth-lehem (which was very well fortified with all manner of defence, nor was seated far from the city of Jerusalem),” &c.

The interpreter of Eusebius renders Βήθηκα, Beth-thera: not illy, however it be not rendered according to the letter: perhaps κ crept into the word instead of ρ, by the carelessness of the copiers. But by what liberty the other should render it Beth-lehem, let himself see. . Eusebius doth certainly treat of the city ביתר, *Betar* (it is vulgarly written *Bitter*), of the destruction of which the Jews relate very many things

<sup>m</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 18. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Beracoth, fol. 5. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Just. Martyr, Apol. 2. p. 75.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Baron. Annal. ad annum Christi, 137.



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again to the possession of his wealth, suffer him not to do it, for he hath sold it among us.'”

The principal cause of the destruction of Beth-Tera was Ben-Cozba, and his rebellion against the Romans. The Babylonian writers assign another cause.

אֲשֶׁקָא דְרַסְפֵּק חֲרִיב בֵּיתָר <sup>u</sup> “For the foot of a chariot, was Bathara laid waste. It was a custom, that when an infant male was born, they planted a cedar; when an infant female, a pine; and, when the children contracted marriage, out of those trees they made the bride-chamber. On a certain day the daughter of the emperor passed by, and the foot of her chariot broke. They cut down such a cedar, and brought it to her. [The Jews] rose up against them, and beat them. It was told the emperor that the Jews rebelled. Being angry, he marched against them, and destroyed the whole horn of Israel,” &c.

“Hadrian<sup>x</sup> besieged Bether three years and a half.—And *y* when they took it, they slew the men, the women, and the children, so that their blood flowed into the great sea. You will say, perhaps, that it was near the sea; but it was a mile distant. The tradition is, that R. Eliezer the Great saith, That there were two rivers in the valley of Jadaim, of which one flowed this way,—the other, that. And the Rabbins computed that the third part of them was blood, and two parts water. It was delivered also, that the heathen gathered the vintages, for the space of seven years, without dunging the land, because the vineyards were made fruitful enough by the blood of the Israelites.”

The Jerusalem writers do hyperbolize enough concerning the distance of this city from the sea. “For if you say (say they) that it was near the sea, was it not distant forty miles? They say, that three hundred skulls of young children were found upon one stone: and that there were three chests of torn phylacteries, each chest containing nine bushels: but there are others that say, nine chests, each containing three bushels.”

Josephus mentions<sup>z</sup> Βήταριν καὶ Καφάρτοβαν, δύο κώμας,

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Gittin, fol. 57. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Hieros. in the place above.

<sup>y</sup> Gittin, in the place above.

<sup>z</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 26.

[Hudson, p. 1193. l. 14.] [iv. 8. 1.]

τὰς μεσαιτάτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ; “ Betaris, and Cephartobas, two midland towns of Idumea :”—where by *Idumea* he means the southern part of Judea, especially that that was mountainous : as appears by the context. He calls Idumea, properly so called, Μεγάλην Ἰδουμαίαν, “ Idumea the Great.”

## CHAP. LIII.

עפרים, *Ephraim*.

WE mean not here the land of Ephraim, but a certain town in the confines of that land : of which you read 2 Chron. xiii. 19<sup>a</sup>; and of which the Talmudic writers speak<sup>b</sup> : “ What is the best flour,” to be offered in the Temple? “ Michmas and Mezonechah obtain the first place for fine flour ; שנייה Ephraim in the valley obtains the next place to them.” These words are not read the same way by all.

Those of the Mishnaioth, in the eighth chapter, read, as we have writ it : the Tosaphtah also reads מכמס *Michmas* : but the Talmud מננים וזטה : the Aruch also hath מכמס, *Michmas*<sup>c</sup> : but for מזוניחה *Mezonechah*, it hath זנוח *Zanoah*. The same also read עפריים, with the letter ע (Ain) : the Talmud עפוריים *Ephoraim* : the Gloss saith, עפוריים “ *Ephoraim* is a city, of which it is thus written in the books of the Chronicles, ‘ And Abijah took עפריים *Ephraim*.’ ”

The Gemarists read it after the same manner, עפריים *Ephraim*, this story being added<sup>d</sup> ; אמרי ליה יוחנא וממרא “ Jannes and Mambres said to Moses, Do you bring straw into Ephraim ?” Which the Aruch reciting, adds these words ; “ There was a city in the land of Israel, very fruitful in bread-corn, called Ephraim : when Moses therefore came with his miracles,—Jannes and Mambres, who were the chief of Pharaoh’s magicians, said unto him, This is our business, and we can do thus with our enchantments ; you therefore are like one bringing straw into Ephraim, which is the city of bread-corn, and out of which is provision for many places : therefore, how doth any carry in straw thither ?” &c.

Josephus<sup>e</sup>, speaking of Vespasian, hath these words<sup>f</sup> ;

<sup>a</sup> [עפרון, Cthiv ; עפרין, Kri.]

יורהני in Aruch.

<sup>b</sup> Menacoth, cap. ix. hal. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 59.

<sup>c</sup> Aruch in מכמס

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. de Bel. lib. iv. c. 33.

<sup>d</sup> Bab. Menacoth, fol. 55. 1. et

[Hudson, p. 1200. l. 22.] [iv. 9. 9.]

Ἄναβας εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν, αἰρεῖ δύο τοπαρχίας, τὴν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν καλουμένην· μεθ' ἧς Βηθηλᾶ τε καὶ Ἐφραΐμ πολιχνία· “After he went into the hill country, he took two Toparchies,—namely, Gophnitica and Acrabatena: and, together with them, Beth-el and Ephraim, two small cities.” Into this Ephraim, we suppose it was that Christ retired, in that story, John xi. 54.

Let us also add these things from the places alleged above. R. Josi saith g, “They brought also of the wheat ברתיים of *Barchaim*, and כפר אחום of *Caphar Achum*<sup>h</sup>; which were near Jerusalem.”

“For<sup>i</sup> oil, Tekoa deserves the first praise. Aba Saul saith, רגב *Ragab*, beyond Jordan, obtains the next to it. R. Eliezer Ben Jacob saith, Gush Chalab, in Galilee, obtains the third place.”

קרותרים והטולין<sup>k</sup>, (otherwise written קרוחיים ועטולין, in the Aruch it is קרוחיים) *Karchiim* and *Atolin* “produce the best wine: Beth Rimmah and Beth Laban, in the hilly country,—and Caphar Sigana, in the valley, next to them.”

Let us also add these words elsewhere<sup>l</sup>: “He eateth all manner of victuals, and eateth not flesh: לאיתויי דבילה, the clusters of figs of Keila are brought in. He drinks all manner of drink, but he drinks not wine: honey and milk are brought in.” And elsewhere<sup>m</sup>: “He eateth *the clusters of Keila* (דבילה קעילית), and drinks honey and milk, and enters into the Temple.”

#### CHAP. LIV.

צוק *Tsok*: and בית חדרורו, *Beth Chadudo*.

WHEN<sup>n</sup> they sent forth the goat Azazel [עֲזָאזֵל], on the day of expiation,—before that, they set up ten tents, a mile distant one from another: where some betook themselves before that day, that they might be ready to accompany him, who brought forth the goat. Those of the better rank went out of Jerusalem with him, and accompanied him to the first tent. There others received him, and conducted him to the

g Tosapht. in Menacoth, c. 9.

<sup>h</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 210.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.* et Menach. in the place above, hal. 3.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> Bab. Sanhedrim, fol. 70. 2.

<sup>m</sup> *Idem*, Joma, fol. 76. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 66. 2.



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Gemarists was this,—In the way to Beth-horon, were three miles to the first verge of the wilderness,—and the name of the place was Beth Chadudo.

## CHAP. LV.<sup>q</sup>

### *Divers matters.*

I. BETH-CEREM, Neh. iii. 14. “The<sup>r</sup> stones, as well of the altar, as of the ascent to the altar, were מבקעת בית-כרם *from the valley of Beth-cerem*, which they digged out beneath the barren land. And thence they are wont to bring whole stones, upon which the working iron came not.”

The fathers of the traditions, treating concerning the blood of women’s terms, reckon up five colours of it; among which that כמימי אדמה מבקעת בית-כרם, “which<sup>s</sup> is like the water of the earth, out of the valley of Beth-cerem.”—Where the Gloss writes thus, “Beth-cerem is the name of a place: whence a man fetches turf, and puts it into a pot, and the water swims upon it: that is, he puts water to it, until the water swims above the turf.”

The Gemarists<sup>t</sup>, examining this clause, hath these words: “R. Meir saith, He fetched the turf out of the valley of Beth-cerem. R. Akibah saith, Out of the valley יושפת of *Jotapata*. R. Jose saith, Out of the valley סכני of *Sicni*. R. Simeon saith, Also out of the valley of Genesara.”

II. הוה וגו<sup>u</sup> טור שמעון, Let the author of Aruch<sup>x</sup> render it for me: “The mount of Simeon brought forth three hundred bags of broken bread for the poor every sabbath evening.” But instead of ‘the mount of Simeon brought forth,’—whence it might be taken for the lot of the land of Simeon,—he renders it, “Rabbi Simeon brought forth,” &c.

“But why was it laid waste? Some say, For fornication:—others say, Because they played at bowls.” Κώμη Σιμωνιάς, the town Simonias is mentioned by Josephus in his life, ἐν μεθορίοις Γαλιλαίας, “in the confines of Galilee.”

III. “Two<sup>y</sup> tribes had nine hundred cities.” The Gloss

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 51.

<sup>r</sup> Middoth, cap. iii. hal. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Niddah, cap. ii. hal. ult.

<sup>t</sup> Bab. Niddah, fol. 20. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 211.

<sup>y</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 111. 2.

is: "There were nine hundred cities in the tribe of Judah, and in the tribe of Simeon: therefore, nine became the priests' and Levites'." See Josh. xxi. 16, and weigh the proportion.

IV. "Nittai<sup>z</sup> the Tekoite brought a cake out of Bitur" (in the Jerusalem Talmud it is *בייתור*); "but they received it not. The Alexandrians brought their cakes from Alexandria; but they received them not. *אנשי הר צבוים* *The inhabitants of mount Zeboim* brought their first-fruits before Pentecost; but they received them not," &c. The Gloss is, *ביתר* "Bitar was without the land." Therefore, this was not that Bitar, whose destruction we have mentioned before.

*הר צבוים* "Mount Zeboim," wheresoever it was, was certainly within the land: for otherwise the first-fruits were not to be received from thence. Now they refused them, not because they were unlawful in themselves, but because they were brought in an unlawful time: for "they<sup>a</sup> offered not the first-fruits before Pentecost," saith the tradition; where also this same story is repeated.

Mention is made of *מגדל צבעייה* *Migdal Zabaaria* (a word of the same etymology), in that notable story: "Three cities were laid waste; *כבול* *Chabul* for discord: *שיחין* *Shichin* for magical arts: *ומגדל צבעייה* and *Migdal Zabaaria*" (or the town of *dyers*) "for fornication."

V. Socoh, Josh. xv. 35. Thence was Antigonus, some time president of the Sanhedrim. *אנטיגונוס איש סוכו* *Antigonus<sup>c</sup> of Soco* received the Cabala of Simeon the Just."

VI. *בי תרי*, and *קובי* "Be Teri and Kubi." The Gemarists, speaking of David's battle with Ishbi-benob, 2 Sam. xxi, make mention of these things: "When<sup>d</sup> they were come to Kubi (say they), they said, 'Let us arise up against him:'—when they were come to Be Teri, they said, 'Do they kill the lion between the two she-whelps?'" Where the Gloss writes thus: "David pursued them flying, and he approached near to the land of the Philistines: and when he came to Kubi, which was between the land of Israel and the Philis-

<sup>z</sup> Challah, cap. 4. hal. 10.

<sup>a</sup> Bicurim, cap. 1. hal. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Taanith, in the place before.

<sup>c</sup> Avoth, cap. 1. hal. 3. Juchas. fol. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 95. 1.



tines, they said, &c. **בִּי תֵרִי** *Be Teri* is also the name of a place.”

VII. **גּוֹפְנָא**, *Gophna*.—Concerning the situation of this place it is doubted whether it is to be assigned to Judah or to the land of Samaria. These things certainly seem plainly to lay it to Judea. Josephus saith these words concerning Titus marching with his army to Jerusalem: *Ἐμβάλλει<sup>e</sup> διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος εἰς Γοφνά:..... ἔνθα μίαν ἑσπέραν ἀυλισάμενος, ὑπὸ τῆν ἕω πρόεισι, &c.* “He passeth swiftly through the country of Samaria unto Gophna:.....where tarrying one day, in the morning he marches forward; and, after some days, pitches his station along the valley of thorns unto a certain town called Gabath-Saul.”

The<sup>f</sup> Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>g</sup> write thus: “Fourscore pair of brethren, priests, married fourscore pair of sisters, priestesses, in Gophna, in one night.” You will scarce find so many priests in the country of Samaria.

**בְּצִיפּוֹרִין** “The<sup>h</sup> synagogue of the men of Gophna was in Zippor:”—whom you will scarcely believe to be Samaritans.

Of<sup>i</sup> the eleven Toparchies, the second after Jerusalem was Toparchia Gophnitica, in Pliny<sup>k</sup> Zophanitica, the Toparchy of Gophna.

The word **גּוֹפְנָא** *Gophna* is derived from the *vineyards*.

VIII. **בְּקַעַת רִמּוֹן** “The valley of Rimmon.”—“Seven<sup>l</sup> elders came together to intercalate the year in the valley of Rimmon:—namely, R. Meir, R. Juda, R. Jose, R. Simeon, R. Nehemiah, R. Lazar Ben Jacob, and R. Jochanan Sandelar.” And a little after; “There was a marble rock there: into which every one fastened a nail; therefore it is called to this day, “The Rock of Nails.”

IX. “They<sup>m</sup> do not bring the sheaf [*of first-fruits*] but from some place near Jerusalem. But if some place near Jerusalem shall not produce those first-fruits, then they fetch it farther off. There was a time when a sheaf was brought

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. v. cap. 6. [Hudson, p. 1215. l. 21.] [v. 2. 1.]

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 52.

<sup>g</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Id. Nazir. fol. 56. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 4.

[iii. 3. 5.]

<sup>k</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 14.

<sup>l</sup> Hieros. Chagig. fol. 78. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Gloss. in Bab. Sanhedr. fol.

11. 2.



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# HISTORY

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fortified ; and in it were springs, and well-watered land, and gardens, and paradises, and vineyards, and olive-yards. And two parsæ thence (eight miles) is Neapolis, which is also Sychem in mount Ephraim. And it is seated in a valley between the mountains Gerizim and Ebal : and in it are about a hundred Cutheans observing the law of Moses only, and they are called Samaritans : and they have priests of the seed of Aaron.” And a little after, “ They sacrifice in the Temple in mount Gerizim, on the day of the Passover, and the feasts, upon the altar, which they built upon mount Gerizim, of those stones which the children of Israel set up when they passed over Jordan,” &c. And afterward, “ In mount Gerizim are fountains and paradises : but mount Ebal is dry, like the stones and rocks : and between them, in the valley, is the city Sychem.”

Josephus speaking of Vespasian ; Ὑπέστρεφεν<sup>s</sup> εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα, ὅθεν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ παρὰ τὴν Νεάπολιν καλουμένην, Μαβαρθὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, &c. “ He turned away to Ammans, thence through the country of Samaria, and by Neapolis so called, but Mabartha by the inhabitants,” &c. מעברתא *Maabartha*.

“ R. Ismael<sup>t</sup> Ben R. Josi<sup>u</sup>, אָזל לְהֵרָא נִיפּוּלִים *went to Neapolis*. The Cutheans came to him : to whom he said, ‘ I see that ye do not worship to that mountain, but to the idols which are under it : for it is written ;’ ‘ and Jacob hid the idols under the grove, which was near Shechem.’ ”

You may not improperly divide the times of Samaria under the second Temple into heathenism,—namely, before the building of the Temple at Gerizim,—and after that into Samaritanism, as it was distinguished from Judaism, and as it was an apostasy from it : although both religions indeed departed not a hair’s breadth from deceitful superstition.

The author of Juchasin<sup>x</sup> does not speak amiss here : “ Then” (under Simeon the Just) “ Israel went into parties. Part followed Simeon the Just, and Antigonus his scholar, and their school ; as they had learned from Ezra and the prophets : part, Sanballat, and his son-in-law : and they offered

<sup>s</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 26.  
[Huds. p. 1193. l. 18.] [iv. 8. 1.]

<sup>u</sup> Hieros. Avodah Zar. fol. 44. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Juchas. fol. 14. 2.

<sup>t</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 53.

sacrifices without the Temple of God, and instituted rites out of their own heart. In that Temple, Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat, the son of Joshua, the son of Jozedek the high-priest, performed the priest's office. And at that time Zadok and Baithus, the scholars of Antigonus, did flourish; and hence was the beginning of the schism; — namely, when, in the days of Antigonus, many went back to mount Gerizim."

That<sup>y</sup> Temple flourished about two hundred years, and<sup>z</sup> it perished by the sword and fire of Hyrcanus: but the Samaritan superstition perished not, but lasted for many ages; as odious to the Jews as heathenism, John iv. 9. Yet they confess that *ארץ נותים טהורה* *the*<sup>a</sup> *land of the Samaritans was clean*, and their fountains clean, and their dwellings clean, and their paths clean." But much dispute is made about their victuals, in the place noted in the margin. "R. Jacob Bar Acha in the name of R. Lazar saith, 'The victuals of the Cutheans are lawful,' which is to be understood of that food with which their wine and vinegar is not mingled. It is a tradition. They sometimes said, Why is the wine of *Ugdor* [אוגדור] forbidden? Because of [its nearness to] Caphar Pagash. Why the wine of Burgatha? Because of Birath Sorika. Why the wine of En Cushith? Because of Caphar Salama. But they said afterward, If it be open, it is every where forbidden; if it be covered, it is lawful." And a story concerning R. Simeon Ben Lazar follows; who came into a certain city of the Samaritans, and a certain Samaritan scribe came to him; from whom when he asked something to drink, and it was set before him, *אטרה עליו* "he doubted about it," &c. And other things to that purpose are read not much after: *לא אישתנה חמרא בכל סמרטיקי* *No wine was found in all Samaria*, on a certain eve of the sabbath, but, in the end of the sabbath, there was abundance; for the Syrians had brought it, and the Samaritans received it of them," &c.

They<sup>b</sup> took not the half-shekel of the Cutheans, nor the pigeons of women after child-birth, &c. "Rabbi<sup>c</sup> said, 'A

<sup>y</sup> Juchas. fol. 14. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 17.  
[xiii. 9. 1.]

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Avod. Zar., fol. 44. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Shekalim, cap. 1. hal. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. there, fol. 46. 2.

Samaritan is as a heathen.' R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, A Cuthean is as an Israelite in all things. R. Lazar, The tradition is concerning the heathen<sup>d</sup>, not concerning the Cutheans, &c. But the tradition contradicts R. Lazar," &c.

But that deserves to be observed, כותים כל זמן שעושין מצותן עם ישראל נאמנים הם על ביעור חמץ *The<sup>e</sup> Cuiheans, when they make their unleavened bread with the Israelites, are to be believed concerning the putting away of leaven: but when they do not make their unleavened bread with the Israelites, are not to be believed concerning the putting away of leaven.* R. Josah saith, This is to be understood of them as to their houses; but as to their courts, they may be suspected: for so they interpret, 'Leaven shall not be found in your houses;' not, 'in your courts.'—It is a tradition. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, In whatsoever precept the Cutheans converse, they are more accurate in it than the Israelites. This is to be understood, saith R. Simeon, בראשונה שהיו משוקעין בכופריניהו *concerning the time past,—namely, when they were scattered about in their towns; but now, when they have neither precept nor any remainders of a precept, they are suspected, and they are corrupted.*" The word משוקעין brings <sup>th</sup><sup>a</sup> of R. Abhu to mind, who said, עיירות נשתקעו בכותים <sup>th</sup><sup>t</sup> "Thirteen<sup>f</sup> cities were drowned among the Cutheans;" that is, mixed and confounded among them. It is something difficult what that means, "They were scattered in their towns," whether it is spoken of the Cutheans residing within their own towns,—or of the Jews residing with them,—or of them residing with the Jews. Whatsoever that is, it is clear certainly, both hence and elsewhere, that the Samaritans sometime did dwell together with the Jews, being here and there sprinkled among them, and the Jews here and there among the Samaritans. Certainly that is worthy of observing which Josephus relates of Herod's rebuilding Sebaste, heretofore called Samaria: 'Ενθ μὲν γε τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι, πόλιι καλλίστῳ περιβόλῳ τειχισάμενος ἐπὶ σταδίου εἴκοσι, καὶ καταγαγὼν ἑξακισχιλίου, εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας, &c. "In the land of Samaria (saith he) he com-

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 213.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Pesachin, fol. 27. 2.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* Kiddushin, fol. 65. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. [Hudson, p. 1007. l. 14.] [i. 21. 2.]



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When the Asmoneans had snatched away this city out of the hand of the Grecians, the name of it was changed into *אחידרת מגדל שור* “The taking of the tower Shur,” as the Gemarists tell us in the place alleged: or as the author of Juchasin, “The<sup>l</sup> taking of the tower *צור Tzur*:”—or as the Jerusalem Talmudists (unless my conjecture deceives me), *מגדל שיד*<sup>m</sup> “the tower *Sid*.” Whether out of these words you can make out the name of *πύργος Στράτωνος*, “the tower of Strato,” it is your part to study; that certainly was the denomination of this place before it was called Cæsarea.

It was distant six hundred furlongs, or thereabout, from Jerusalem (that is, seventy-five miles), as Josephus relates in that story of an Essene Jew that prophesied. Who<sup>n</sup>, when he saw Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus, passing by in the Temple, having been now sent for by his brother (indeed, that he might be slain by treachery), “O strange! (saith he) now it is good for me to die; because that which I foretold proves a lie. For Antigonus lives, who ought this day to die: and Strato’s tower is the place appointed for his death: *καὶ τοῦ μὲν χορίου σταδίου ἀπέχοντος ἑξακοσίου* which is distant six hundred furlongs hence: and there remains yet four hours of day. But the very time makes my prediction false.” Having said these things, the old man remained perplexed in his thoughts; but by and by news was brought that Antigonus was slain in a certain place underground<sup>o</sup>, *ἐν σκοτεινῇ τινι παρόδῳ*, “in a certain dark passage,” which also was called *Στράτωνος πύργος*, “Strato’s tower.”

Herod built the city to the honour and name of Cæsar, and made a very noble haven at vast expenses. *Πόλινρ πᾶσαν ἀνέκτισε λευκῷ λίθῳ, καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησε βασιλείοις, ἐν ἧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνονον ἐπεδείξατο, &c.* “He built all the city with white stone, and adorned it with most splendid houses: in which especially he shewed the natural greatness of his mind. For between Dori and Joppa, in the middle of which this city lay, it happened that all the sea-coast was destitute of havens, &c. He made the greater haven of Pi-

<sup>l</sup> Juchas. fol. 74. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Sheviith. fol. 36. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 19. [Hudson, p. 589. l. 42.] [xiii. 11. 2] De Bell. lib. i. cap. 3. [1. 3, 5.]

<sup>o</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 214.

<sup>p</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 10.

[Hudson, p. 694. l. 31; and 1008. l. 4.] [xv. 9. 6. De Bell. i. 21. 5.]

reus, &c: and, at the mouth of it, stood three great statues, &c. There were houses joining to the haven, and they also were of white stone, &c. Over against the haven's mouth was the temple of Cæsar, situate upon a rising ground, excellent both for the beauty and greatness of it; and in it a large statue of Cæsar, &c. The rest of the works, which he did there, was an amphitheatre, a theatre, and a market, all worthy to be mentioned," &c. See more in Josephus.

Cæsarea was inhabited mixedly by Jews, heathens, and Samaritans. Hence some places in it were profane and unclean to the Jews.

"R. Nichomi<sup>q</sup> Bar R. Chaija Bar Abba said<sup>r</sup>, My father passed not under the arch of Cæsarea; but R. Immi passed. R. Ezekiah, R. Cohen, and R. Jacob Bar Acha, walked in the palace of Cæsarea: when they came to the arch, R. Cohen departed from them; but when they came to a clean place, he again betook himself to them." This story is recited Beracoth, fol. 6. 1; and there it is said that they walked in the palace of Zippor.

"One<sup>s</sup> brought a bill of divorce from the haven of Cæsarea. Concerning which when judgment was had before R. Abhu, he said, There is no need to say, It was written, I being present,—and I being present, it was sealed. וְאֵין, לְמִינָהּ שֶׁל קִיסָרִין נְקִיסָרִין For the haven of Cæsarea is not as Cæsarea."

Of the various strifes and uproars between the Cæsarean Greeks and Jews, in which the Jews always went by the worst, Josephus hath very much. Ἐτέρα παραχῆ συνίσταται περὶ Καισάρειαν, τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους στασιασάντων. "Another disturbance (saith he<sup>t</sup>) was raised at Cæsarea, of the Jews mingled there, rising up against the Syrians that were in it." The contest was about priority and chiefdom, and it was transacted before Nero, καὶ<sup>u</sup> οἱ Καισαρέων Ἕλληνες νικήσαντες, &c. "And the Greeks of Cæsarea overcame," &c. Where the reader will observe, that the Syrians and Greeks are convertible terms.

<sup>q</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii. p.

55. <sup>r</sup> Hieros. Nazir, fol. 56. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Id. Gittin, fol. 43. 2.

<sup>t</sup> De Bello, lib. ii. cap. 23. [Hudson, p. 1076. l. 25.] [ii. 13. 7.]

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. cap. 25. [ii. 14. 4.]



In<sup>x</sup> this city were the first seeds of a direful war, by reason of workshops, built by a certain Greek of Cæsarea, near a synagogue of the Jews. Twenty<sup>y</sup> thousand men were slain there afterward on one sabbath-day. You may read of more seditions and bloodshed at that place, before the destruction of the nation, in the author quoted.

Long after the destruction of it, here the schools and doctors of the Jews flourished; so that רבנין דקיסרין “the Rabbins of Cæsarea” are celebrated every where in the Talmudical books<sup>z</sup>.

I. R. Hoshaiia Rubba, or the Great.—“R. Jochanan said, We travelled to R. Hoshaiia Rubba to Cæsarea, to learn the law.”

II. R. Abhu.—“R. Abhu<sup>a</sup> appointed divers sounds of the trumpet at Cæsarea.”—“R. Abhub sent his son from Cæsarea to Tiberias to the university,” &c.—“The Cutheans<sup>c</sup> of Cæsarea asked R. Abhu, saying, Your fathers were contented with our things, why are not ye also? He answered, Your fathers corrupted not their works, but you have corrupted them.”

III. R. Achavah and R. Zeira.—“R. Mena<sup>d</sup> said, I travelled to Cæsarea, and I heard R. Achavah and R. Zeira.”

IV. R. Zerikan.—“R. Mena<sup>e</sup> said, I heard R. Zerikan at Cæsarea.”

V. ר' פריגורי דקיסרין “R. Prigori<sup>f</sup> of Cæsarea.”

VI. Ulla<sup>g</sup> of Cæsarea. And,

VII. R. Ada<sup>h</sup> of Cæsarea, and R. Tachalipha, &c.

Mention is made of (כנשתא מרדתא דקיסרין) “the<sup>i</sup> synagogue Mardatha, (or Maradtha,) of Cæsarea:” we do not inquire of the reason of the name, for it is written elsewhere כנשתא מרדתא “The<sup>k</sup> synagogue Madadta;”—in both places with this story joined; “R. Abhu sat teaching in the synagogue Maradta of Cæsarea. The time came of lifting up hands, and they asked him not of that matter. The time of

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. cap. 25.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. cap. 32. [ii. 18. 1.]

<sup>z</sup> Hieros. Trumoth, fol. 47. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Juchas. in fol. 7. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Avod. Zar. fol. 44. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Id. Challah, fol. 57. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Id. Pesachin, fol. 28. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Idem. Trumoth, fol. 47. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Id. Pesachin, fol. 30. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Id. Rosh Hashanah, fol. 59. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Nazir, fol. 56. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Id. Beracoth, fol. 6. 1.



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patris,"—you must place that city much nearer Jerusalem than almost all the maps do.

III. This measuring once and again occurs among the Gemarists, מַנְבַּת וְעַד אַנְטִיפַטְרִים "From Gebath to Antipatris."—"From Gebath to Antipatris (say they<sup>p</sup>) were sixty myriads of cities, the least of which was Beth-Shemesh." We do not assert the truth of the thing; we only take notice of the phrase.

And again; "Hezekiah the king (say they<sup>q</sup>) fixed his sword to the door of Beth-Midrash, and said, Whosoever studieth not the law shall be run through with that sword. They make inquiry from Dan even to Beersheba, and found not any one uninstructed (יְעִים הָאָרֶץ): מַנְבַּת וְגו', from Gebath to Antipatris, and found not boy or girl, man or woman, who did not well know the traditions of cleanness and uncleanness." Where the Gloss is; "Gebath and Antipatris were places in the utmost borders."—Think of the scene of the story, and how such an encomium could reach as far as Antipatris, almost in the middle of Samaria, as it is placed in the maps. And what authority had Hezekiah to make inquiry among the Samaritans?

The Talmudists also say, that the meeting of Alexander the Great, and of Simeon the Just, was at Antipatris. "The Cutheans (say they<sup>s</sup>) prayed Alexander the Great, that he would destroy the Temple [*of Jerusalem*]. Some came, and discovered the thing to Simeon the Just. Therefore what does he? He puts on the high-priest's garments, and veils himself with the high-priest's veil: and he and the chief men of Israel went forth, holding torches in their hands. Some went this way and others that, all night, till the morning brake forth. When the morning grew light, said (Alexander) to his men, Who are those?—The Jews, said they, who have rebelled against you. When they were come לַאֲנְטִיפַטְרִים to Antipatris, the sun arose, and they were met by these:

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 2. et Megill. fol. 70. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 94. 2.

<sup>r</sup> [יְעִים הָאָרֶץ. Populus terræ, i. e. Vulgus, plebs imperita. Judæi etiam

de uno homine id efferunt, pro Idiota, Ignaro, Imperito, Vili, &c. Buxtorf Lex. Chald. Talm. sub יְעִים col. 1625-6.]

<sup>s</sup> Id. Joma, fol. 69. 1.

when Alexander saw Simeon the Just lighting down out of his chariot he worshipped him," &c.

Do you think that the high-priest, clothed in his priestly garments, and the Jews, went through all Samaria almost in such solemn procession? Josephus, relating this story, only the name of Jaddua changed, saith, this meeting was εἰς<sup>t</sup> τόπον τινὰ Σαφὰ λεγόμενον. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν σκοπὴν σημαίνει, &c. "at a certain place called Sapha. But this name, being changed into the Greek language, signifies, A watch-tower. For the buildings of Jerusalem and the Temple might from thence be seen." Of which place he and we treat elsewhere under the name of Σκοπὸς, *Scopus*, and תְּצוּרִים, *Tzophim*.

## CHAP. LIX.

*Galilee.* גליל.

"THERE<sup>u</sup> is Galilee the upper, and Galilee the nether, and the valley. From Caphar Hananiah, and upwards,—whatsoever land produceth not sycamines, is Galilee the upper: but from Caphar Hananiah, and below, whatsoever produceth sycamines, is Galilee the nether. There is also the coast of Tiberias, and the valley."

Δύο<sup>x</sup> δ' οὔσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τὴν τε ἄνω, καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευομένην, &c. "Phœnice and Syria compass both Galilees, both the upper and the nether, so called. Ptolemais and Carmel bound the country westward."

That which is said before of the sycamines, recalls to mind the city Sycaminon, of which Pliny speaks: "We must go back (saith he<sup>y</sup>) to the coast, and to Phœnice. There was the town Crocodilon: it is a river. The remembrance of cities. Dorum, Sycaminum, the promontory Carmel," &c.

And<sup>z</sup> Josephus<sup>a</sup>: "Ἐπλευσε, καὶ καταθεῖς εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Συκάμινον, &c. "He set sail, and, being brought to the city called Sycaminum, there he landed his forces."

<sup>t</sup> Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 8. [Hudson, p. 503. l. 20.] [xi. 8, 5.]

<sup>u</sup> Sheviith, cap. 9. hal. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 4. [Hudson, p. 1120. l. 14.] [iii. 3. 1.]

<sup>y</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 19.

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 57.

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 20. [Huds. p. 592. l. 10.] [xiii. 12. 3.]

שקמונה *Shikmonah* the name of a place, among the Talmudists, seemed to design that town. כל הדימין פטורין חוץ ב מדימי שקמונה. Where the Gloss saith, שקמונה ' *Shikmonah* is the name of a place.'

Since the whole land of Samaria lay between Judea and Galilee, it is no wonder if there were some difference both of manners and dialect between the inhabitants of those countries. Concerning which, see the eighty-sixth and the eighty-seventh chapters.

Διακόσιαι<sup>c</sup> καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμαι. "There are two hundred and four cities and towns in Galilee:"—which is to be understood of those that are more eminent and fortified.

In<sup>d</sup> nether Galilee, those, among others, were fortified by Josephus,—Jotopata, Beersabee, Salamis, Pareccho, Japha, Sigo, Mount Itaburion, Tarichee<sup>e</sup>, Tiberias.

In upper Galilee, the rock Acharabon, Seph, Jamnith, Mero. More will occur to us as we go on.

## CHAP. LX.

*Scythopolis.* בית שאן, *Beth-shean, the beginning of Galilee.*

THE bounds of Galilee were, Ἀπὸ<sup>f</sup> μεσημβρίας, Σαμαρίς τε καὶ Σκυθόπολις, μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ῥείθρων. "on the south, Samaris and Scythopolis, unto the flood of Jordan."

Scythopolis is the same with Beth-shean, of which is no seldom mention in the Holy Scriptures, Josh. xvii. 11, Judg. i. 27, 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. Βεθσάνη καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις: "Bethsane (saith Josephus<sup>g</sup>), called by the Greeks Scythopolis." It was distant but a little way from Jordan, seated in the entrance to a great valley: for so the same author writes, Διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἤκου εἰς τὸ Μέγα πεδίου, οὗ κεῖται κατὰ πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη, &c. "Having passed Jordan, they came to a great plain, where lies before you the city Bethsane," &c.

<sup>b</sup> Demai, cap. 1. hal.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. in his life, with me, p. 642. [c. 45.]

<sup>d</sup> Idem de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 42. [ii. 20. 6.]

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 216.

<sup>f</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 4. [Huds. p. 1120.] [iii. 3. 1.]

<sup>g</sup> Id. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 12. [Huds. p. 543. l. 29.] [xii. 8. 1.] See also lib. xiii. cap. 13. [xiii. 6. 1.]



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Shichin, and the poor of Caphar Hananiah, came: *ומחשכין על* *התחום* and when it now grew dark, they contained themselves within the bounds [of the sabbath], and in the morning went forward." The Gloss is, "Arumah is the name of a place. The poor of Caphar Shichin were neighbours to those of Arumah, being distant only four thousand (*cubits*)." Which distance exceeding a sabbath-day's journey, the poor, before the coming-in of the sabbath, contained themselves within the bounds of Arumah; that, the morning following, they might betake themselves to the houses of those that distributed their charity, and not break the sabbath. He that turns over the Talmudical writers will meet with very frequent mention of this city.

You observe before in Pliny, that Sycaminum was seated between Dor and Carmel; and in the Talmudic writers, that the plenty of *sycamines* began at Caphar Hananiah.

## CHAP. LXII.

### *The disposition of the tribes in Galilee.*

THE country of Samaria contained only two tribes, and those of the brethren, Ephraim and Manasses: Galilee four, Issachar, Zebulun, Nephthalim, and Asher, and a part also of the Danites.

The maps agree indeed about the order in which these tribes were seated, but about the proper place of their situation, Oh how great a disagreement is there among them! The tribe of Issachar held the south country of Galilee: some maps place it on the south of the sea of Gennesaret, not illy: but it is ill done of them to stretch it unto the sea itself: and others, worst of all, who set it on the west of that sea. Of this land Josephus writes thus; *καὶ<sup>s</sup> μετὰ τούτοις Ἰσάχαρις, Κάρμηλόν τε ὄρος, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμωνα, τὸ δὲ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος τοῦ πλάτους*: "And after these (the Manassites) Issachar maketh mount Carmel and the river her bounds in length, and mount Itaburion in breadth."

The country of Zabulon touched upon that of Issachar on the north. Some maps spread it out unto the sea of Gennesaret; some place it a long way above that sea northwardly;

<sup>s</sup> Antiq. lib. v. cap. i. [Hudson, p. 188. l. 17.] [v. i. 22.]

the former not well,—the latter exceedingly<sup>t</sup> ill. Of it thus writes the same Josephus, Ζαβουλωνίται<sup>u</sup> τὴν μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν, ἔλαχον. “The Zabulonites had for their portion the land unto Gennesaret, extending unto Carmel and the sea.” Observing that clause μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, “unto Gennesaret,” we (persuaded also by the Talmudical writers, and led by reason) do suppose the land of Zabulon to lie on the south shore and coast of the sea of Gennesaret, and that whole sea to be comprised within the land of Nephthali. With what arguments, we are led we shew afterward, when we treat of that sea. Which assertion, we know, is exposed, and lies open to this objection:—

*Object.* Josephus saith, in the place but now quoted, that τῆς Γαλιλαίας τὰ καθύπερθεν, ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν, “the upper parts of Galilee unto mount Libanus, and<sup>x</sup> the springs of Jordan,” belonged to the portion of Nephthali. But now if you stretch the portion of Nephthali from the springs of Jordan to the utmost southern coast of the sea of Gennesaret (which our opinion does), alas, how much doth this exceed the proportion of the other tribes! For from Scythopolis, the utmost south border of Galilee, to the south coast of the sea of Gennesaret, was not above fifteen miles: within which space the whole breadth of the two tribes of Issachar and Zabulon is contained. But from the south coast of Gennesaret to the springs of Jordan, were about forty miles; which to assign to the land of Nephthali alone, is neither proportionable nor congruous.

*Ans.* This objection indeed would have some weight in it, if the land of Nephthali did extend itself eastwardly as much as the land of Issachar and Zabulon. For these run out as far as the Mediterranean sea; but that hath the land of Asher, and the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon lying between it and the sea. So that when the breadth of those countries is measured from south to north, the breadth of this is measured from east to west. There is therefore no such great inequality between these, when this is contained in the like

<sup>t</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 217.

<sup>u</sup> *Antiq. lib. v. cap. i. [ibid.]*

<sup>x</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 59.



straits of breadth with them, and they enjoy the like length with this.

The confines of the land of Nephthali bounded the land of Asher on one side, and those of Tyre and Sidon on the other: and this land, in the same manner as the portion of Nephthali, extends itself in length from south to north; and (which somewhat agrees with our opinion, and answers the objection mentioned before) Josephus allows it a greater length than we do the land of Nephthali, or at least equal to it. For, Τὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρμήλου κοιλάδα προσαγορευομένην, διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτην εἶναι, Ἀσήριται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμμένην. “The Asherites possess all that hollow valley so called, because it is such that runs from Carmel to Sidon.”

### CHAP. LXIII.

#### *The west coast of Galilee-Carmel.*

THE<sup>z</sup> people of Issachar had Τέρμονα τοῦ μήκους Κάρμηλον καὶ ποταμόν. “Carmel and the river for their bounds in length:” the people of Zabulon, Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν, “Carmel and the sea.”

Carmel was not so much one mountain as a mountainous country, containing almost the whole breadth of the land of Issachar, and a great part of that of Zabulon. It was, as it seems, a certain famous peak among many other mountain tops, known by the same name, lifted up and advanced above the rest. The<sup>a</sup> promontory Carmel, in Pliny, and in the mountain a town of the same name, heretofore called *Ecbatane* [עקבתן]; where probably Vespasian sometime consulted the<sup>b</sup> oracle of the god Carmel.

The sea washes upon the foot of the mountain. “R. Samuel<sup>c</sup> Bar Chaiah Bar Judah said, in the name of R. Chaninah, Any one sitting upon mount Carmel when the orb of the setting sun begins now to disappear, if he goes down and washes himself in the great sea, and goes up and eats his *Truma* [תְּרוּמָה], חֲזַקָת בְּיוֹם טָבֵל *it is to be presumed that he washed in the day time.*”

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. [Ibid.]

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. 78.

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Berac. fol. 2. 1.



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III. *בית זניתה*, IV. *קובעיא*, and some others, seem to denote the places which were the boundaries between Galilee and the borders of Tyre and Sidon.

### CHAP. LXIV.<sup>n</sup>

*Acon, עֵכוּ. Ptolemais.*

Πρόσεστι δ' ἡ πόλις [αὕτη] τῆς Γαλιλαίας παράλιος, &c. "Ptolemais" (which is also called Acon) "is a city of Galilee on the sea-coast, situate in a great champaign, but it is compassed with hills; on the east, sixty furlongs off, with the hill-country of Galilee; on the south with Carmel, distant a hundred and twenty furlongs; on the north, with a very high mountain which is called Climax" (or the ladder), "belonging to the Tyrians, and is a hundred furlongs distant. Two miles off of that city the river Belens flows, a very small one, near which is the sepulchre of Memnon; having about it the space of a hundred cubits, but well worthy admiration. For it is in the form of a round valley, affording glassy sand, which when many ships coming thither have gathered, the place is again replenished<sup>h</sup>."

: *מעכו לצפון ועכו כצפון* "From<sup>i</sup> Acon onwards to the north" (is heathen land), and Acon itself is reckoned for the north (that is, for heathen land).

"In<sup>k</sup> Acon the land of Israel is, and is not." And therefore, "R. Josi Ben Hananiah<sup>l</sup> kissed the arch of Acon, and said, Hitherto is the land of Israel."

"R. Simeon<sup>m</sup> Ben Gamaliel said, I saw Simeon Ben Cahna drinking wine in Acon, &c. But was it within the bounds of the land or no?" See the author of Juchasin disputing largely of this matter, in the place of the margin<sup>n</sup>.

There was *the bath of Venus* in Acon [*מרחץ של אפרודיטי*]: Where<sup>o</sup> R. Gamaliel washing, was asked by a certain heathen (whose name in the Jerusalem Misna is *פרקלוס בן פלוסלוס*, in the Babylonian *פרוקלוס בן פלוספוס* 'Proculus, the son of the philosopher'), "What have you to do with the bath

<sup>n</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 17. [Hudson, p. 1068. l. 12.] [ii. 10. 2.]

<sup>l</sup> R. Nissin in Gittin, cap. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Hieros. Gittin, fol. 43. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Id. Sheviith, fol. 35. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Id. Challah, fol. 60. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Juchas. fol. 71. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Avod. Zarah, cap. iii. hal. 4.

'Αφροδίτης, of Venus,—Then it is written in your law, ‘There shall not cleave to thy hand any of the accursed thing?’ He answered, I must not answer you in the bath” (because you must not speak of the law when you stand naked). “When he came out therefore he said, I went not into her bounds, but she came into mine.” (The Gloss is, ‘The bath was before she was.’) “And we say not, Let us make a fair bath for Venus,—but, Let us make a fair Venus for the bath,” &c.

A story, done at Acon before R. Judah, is related, not unworthy to be mentioned. “Rabbio came to a certain place, and saw the men of that place baking their dough in uncleanness. When he inquired of them, Why they did so, they answered, A certain scholar came hither, and taught us, *הוא מי בצים דרש להו וכ* the waters *בצעים* are not of those waters (that bring pollution). He spake of the waters *בצים* (that is, of eggs); but they thought that he spake of *בצעים* the waters of the marshes.” These things we have the more willingly produced, that the reader may see that the letter ע (Ain) was no sound with these; examples like to which we bring elsewhere. Now hear the Glosser; “Rabbi saw this (saith he) in Acon, in which is Israelitic land and heathen land:—now he saw them standing within the limits of Israelitic land, and baking their dough in uncleanness, and wondered, until they told him, A certain scholar came hither,” &c.

*כפר עכו*, *Caphar Acon*, is very frequently mentioned by the Talmudists.

“A city<sup>p</sup> which produceth fifteen hundred footmen, as *כפר עכו* *Caphar Acon*, if nine dead persons be carried out thence in three days successively, behold! it is the plague: but if in one day, or in four days, then it is not the plague. And a city which produceth five hundred foot, as *כפר עמיקו* *Caphar Amiku*,” &c.

Hence<sup>q</sup> are the names of some Acon Rabbins; as,

“R. Tanchum<sup>r</sup>, the son of R. Chaia of Caphar Acon.”

<sup>o</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 5. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Id. Taanith, fol. 21. 1.

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 61.

<sup>r</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 7. 2.

“ R. Simeon<sup>s</sup> Ben Judah, אִישׁ כַּפַּר עֵנו, A man of Caphar Acon.”

ר' אבא דמן ענו “ R. Abbat<sup>t</sup> of Acon :” and others.

Weigh this story<sup>u</sup> “ One<sup>x</sup> brought a bill of divorce to R. Ismael ; who said to him, Whence are you ? He answered, מִכַּפַּר סַמַּי שְׁבַתְחוּם עֵנו *From Caphar Samai, which is in the confines of Acon.*—Then it is needful, saith he, that you say, It was written, I being present,—and sealed, I being present. When he went out, R. Illai said unto him, Is not Caphar Samai of the land of Israel, being nearer to Zippor than Acon ?” And a little after : “ The cities which are in the borders of Zippor near to Acon, and which are in the borders of Acon near to Zippor, what will you do concerning them ? As Acon is, so is Zippor.”

#### CHAP. LXV.

*Ecdippa. Achzib. Josh. xix. 29. Judg. i. 31. Κλίμαξ  
Τυρίων Climax of the Tyrians.*

“ TRAVELLING<sup>y</sup> from Acon to Achzib, on the right hand of the way, eastwardly, it is clean, from the notion of heathen land, and is bound to tithes, and to the law of the seventh year, until you are certified that it is free. On the left hand of the way, westward, it is unclean, under the notion of Gentile land ; and it is free from tithes, and from the law concerning the seventh year, till you are certified it is bound to those things, even until you come to Achzib.” The Gemara hath these words : but the text, on which is this commentary, is this : “ The<sup>z</sup> three countries” (namely, Judea, Galilee, and Perea) “ are bound to the law of the seventh year : whatsoever they possessed, who came up out of Babylon, from the land of Israel unto כְּזִיב *Chezib* (the Jerusalem Misna reads גְּזִיב *Ghezib*), is not fed nor tilled : but whatsoever they possessed, who came up out of Egypt, from Chezib to the river, and to Amanah, is fed, but not tilled : from the river and from Amanah, inwards, is fed and tilled.”

<sup>s</sup> Juchas. fol. 69. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. fol. 71. 1.

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 219.

<sup>x</sup> Hieros. Gittin, fol. 43. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Sheviith, cap. 6. hal. 1.



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CHAP. LXVI.<sup>e</sup>

*The northern coasts of Galilee. Amanah.*

*The mountain of snow.*

THIS coast is described by Moses, Num. xxxiv. 7 : “ From the Great Sea to mount Hor : from mount Hor to the entrance of Hamath,” &c.

Mount Hor, in the Jewish writers, is Amanah ; mention of which occurs, Cant. iv. 8, where R. Solomon thus : “ Amanah is a mount in the northern coast of the land of Israel, which in the Talmudical language is called *טורי אמנון*, The mountainous place of Amanou ; the same with mount Hor.”

In the Jerusalem Targum, for mount ‘ Hor’ is *טוורוס מנוס* *the mount Manus* : but the Targum of Jonathan renders it *טוורוס אומניס* *The mountain Umanis*.

“ What<sup>f</sup> (say the Jerusalem writers) is of the land of Israel, and what without the land ? Whatsoever comes down from mount Amanah inwards is of the land of Israel ; whatsoever is without the mountainous place of Amanah is without the land.”

And a little after ; “ R. Justa Bar Shunem said, When the Israelites<sup>g</sup> that return” (from their dispersion), “ shall have arrived at the mountainous places of Amanah, they shall sing a song ; which is proved from that which is said (Cant. iv. 8), *תִּשְׁוֹרֵי מֵרֵאשׁ אֲמָנָה* He renders it, Thou shalt sing from the head of Amanah.”

There was also a river of the same name with the mountain, of which the Targum in that place ; “ They<sup>h</sup> that live by the river Amanah, and they that live on the top of the mountain of snow, shall offer thee a present.” And the Aruch, which we have noted before, writes thus ; “ Kirmion<sup>i</sup> is a river in the way to Damascus, and is the same with Amanah.”

“ The mountain of snow,” *תִּיר תִּלְגָּא* among the paraphrasts and Talmudists, is the same with Hermon. The

<sup>e</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 62.

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 4, et Challah, fol. 60. 1.

<sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 220.

<sup>h</sup> Targum in Cant. iv. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Aruch in קרמיון.

Samaritan interpreter upon Deut. iv. 48, עד שבר תלגה הוא "To the mountain of snow which is Hermon." And the Jerusalem writers say, "They<sup>k</sup> built for the daughters of the Midianites little booths of hurdles from Beth-Jeshimon unto the mountain of snow, and placed there women selling cakes."

The Jerusalem Targum upon Num. xxxv. writes thus; "The mountain of snow at Cæsarea" (Philippi). See also Jonathan there.

## CHAP. LXVII.

פמיאס *Pamias. Paneas, the spring of Jordan.*

THE maps assign a double spring of Jordan; but by what right it scarce appears; much less does it appear by what right they should call this *Jor*,—and that *Dan*. There is indeed mention in Josephus of little Jordan and great Jordan. Hence, as it seems, was the first original of the double spring in the maps, and of a double river at those first springs. For thus Josephus; Πηγαί, αἱ τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην προσπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ. "There are fountains (in Daphne) which send little Jordan, as it is called, into the great." He treats, in the text cited, of the lake Samochonitis, and saith<sup>l</sup>, διατείνει δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἔλη μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου, &c. "That the fens of it are extended to the country Daphne, which, as it is otherwise pleasant, so it contains springs, from which issue little Jordan," &c.

Riblah (that we may note this by the way) by the Targumists is rendered Daphne. They, upon Num. xxxiv. 11, for that which is in the Hebrew, "And the border shall go down to Riblah," render it, "And the border shall go down to Daphne." See also Aruch in דפני *Daphne*. But this certainly is not that Daphne of which Josephus here speaks; which will sufficiently appear by those things that follow. But as to the thing before us:—

I. Both he and the Talmudists assign Panium or Paneas to be the spring of Jordan; nor do they name another.

"Near<sup>m</sup> Panium, as they call it (saith he<sup>n</sup>), is a most de-

<sup>k</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 20. 4.

<sup>l</sup> De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 1. [Huds. p. 1160. l. 5.] [iv. 1. 1.]

<sup>m</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 63.

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13. [Huds. p. 698. l. 10.] [xv. 10. 3.]



lightful cave in a mountain; and under it the land hollowing itself into a hugo vale, full of standing waters. Over it a great mountain hangs; and under the cave, rise the springs of the river Jordan.”

And again, Παρὰ<sup>o</sup> τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγὰς· καλεῖται δὲ Πάνιον ὁ τόπος· “By the springs of Jordan: now the place is called Panium.”

And elsewhere<sup>p</sup>, Δοκεῖ μὲν Ἰορδάνου πηγὴ τὸ Πάνιον· “Panium seems to be the fountain of Jordan:” and more may be read there.

The Talmudists write thus; “Rab<sup>q</sup> saith, יַרְדֵּן יוֹעַנָא Jordan riseth out of the cave of Pamias: and so is the tradition.”

לְשֵׁם זֵי פַמְיָאִים “R. Isaac<sup>r</sup> saith, *Leshem is Pamias.*” The Gloss is, “Leshem is a city which the Danites subdued (Judg. xviii. 29): Pamias is a place whence Jordan ariseth.”

And Pliny, “The<sup>s</sup> river of Jordan ariseth out of the fountain Paneas.”

II. That fountain of Jordan was the so-much-famed fountain of ‘little Jordan,’ as it is called. For so it is plainly collected from Josephus. Concerning the Danites invading Laish, or Leshem, which being subdued they called Dan, he speaks thus; Οἱ δ’<sup>t</sup> οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν, &c. “But they, travelling a day’s journey through the great plain of Sidon, not far from mount Libanus, and the springs of lesser Jordan, observe the land to be good and fruitful, and shew it unto their tribe; who, invading it with an army, build the city Dan.”

In like manner speaking of Jeroboam, he saith these things; “He<sup>u</sup> built two temples for the golden calves,—one in Beth-el, ἕτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνη, ἥ δέ ἐστι πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου: the other in Dan, which is at the springs of little Jordan.”

You may certainly wonder and be amazed that the fountain of Little Jordan should be so famed and known; and in

<sup>o</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 16. [i. 21. 3.]

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 35. [iii. 10. 7.]

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Bava Bathra, fol. 74. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Id. Megill. fol. 6. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 15.

<sup>t</sup> Joséph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 2. [Hudson, p. 199. l. 44.] [v. 3. 1.]

<sup>u</sup> Id. ibid. lib. viii. [Hudson, p. 364. l. 44.] [viii. 8. 4.]



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## CHAP. LXVIII.

What is to be said of יַמַּא דְאַפַּמְיָא, the sea of Apamia.

יַמַּא דְאַפַּמְיָא ‘The sea of Apamia’ is reckoned the seventh among those seas that compass the land of Israel; which word hath a sound so near akin to the word Pamias, by which name the Rabbins point out the fountains of Jordan,—that the mention of that word cannot but excite the memory of this, yea, almost persuade that both design one and the same place: and that the sea Apamia was nothing else but some great collection of waters at the very springs of Jordan.

This<sup>b</sup> also might moreover be added to strengthen that persuasion, that, in both places, in the quotations cited in the Jerusalem Talmud, these words are added; “The sea of Apamia is the same with the sea of Chamats, which דוּקְלִיטְיָנוּס *Diocletianus*, by the gathering together of the waters, caused to be made.” But now that Diocletianus, whosoever he was (we prove elsewhere that he was the emperor), lived sometime at Paneas; as is clear also from the same Talmud<sup>c</sup>.

But the thing is otherwise. Pamias and Apamia were different places, and far distant from each other: one in the land of Israel; the other in the confines indeed of the land of Israel, but in Syria.

Let this tradition be marked:—“Ariston<sup>d</sup> brought his first-fruits from Apamia, and they were received: for they said, He that hath a possession in Syria, is as if he had it in the suburbs of Jerusalem.” The Gloss is, “Apamia is the name of a place in Syria.”

And these things do appear more clearly in the Targumists, to omit other authors. The Samaritan interpreter renders the word שֶׁפָּם (Shepham,) Numb. xxxiv. 10, by אַפַּמְיָא *Apamia*, with אַ (Ain). (Note ש (Shin) changed into אַ (Ain): note also, in the word Bozor, 2 Pet. ii. 15, אַ (Ain) changed into ש (Shin).) Jonathan reads it אַפַּמְיָאָה *Apamia*, with אַ (Aleph): for מִשֶּׁפָּם הָרִבְלָה “From Shepham to Riblah,” he renders מִן אַפַּמְיָאָה לְדַפְנֵי ‘From Apamia to Daphne.’

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 64.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Trumoth, fol. 46. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Challah, cap. 4. hal. 11.

## CHAP. LXIX.

*The lake Samochonitis [or Semechonitis.]*

IN the Holy Scriptures it is the ‘Water of Merom,’ Josh. xi. 5. In the Babylonian Talmudists it is יַמָּה דְסַבְכִי ‘The Sibbechean sea.’ Hence is that, “Jordan<sup>e</sup> ariseth out of the cave of Pancas, and flows into the Sibbechean sea.” In the Jerusalem Talmudists, sometimes it is יַמָּה דְכוּבְבו ‘The sea of Cobebo,’ as we have noted before; and sometimes יַמָּה דְסַמְכו ‘The sea of Samaco;’ whence in other languages it is ‘Samachonitis.’

Τῆ<sup>f</sup> Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνη τριάκοντα μὲν εὖρος, ἐξήκοντα δὲ μῆκος στάδια. Διατείνει δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἔλη μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου. “The lake Semechonitis is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length. The fens of it are stretched out unto the country Daphne; a country, as it is otherwise pleasant, so containing fountains: αἱ, τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάμην ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσοῦς βοῦς νεών, προσπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ.” The scruple lies concerning the pointing of ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσοῦς βοῦς νεών. The sentence and sense seems indeed to flow more smoothly, if you should render it thus, “The springs which, nourishing Little Jordan, as it is called, send it out into the Great, under the temple of the golden calf:” but then a just doubt ariseth of the situation of that temple. That clause, therefore, is rather to be referred to the foregoing, so that the sense may go thus; “The springs, which, nourishing Little Jordan, as it is called, under the temple of the golden calf, send it into the Great:” and so you have the temple of the golden calf at the springs of Jordan, and the place adjacent called Daphne, and the marshes of Samochonitis reaching thither.

The<sup>g</sup> Jerusalem Gemarists do thus explain those words of Ezekiel, chap. xlvii. 8: “These waters go forth into the east coast: יַמָּה דְסַמְכו *that is, into the lake Samochonitis.* And they shall go down into the plain; that is, into the sea of Tiberias. And they shall go out into the sea; that is, into the Dead Sea.”

[Ἄσωρος πόλις] ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σαμαχωνίτιδος λίμνης. “The

<sup>e</sup> Bab. Bava Bathra, fol. 74. 2.

[Hudson, p. 1160. l. 4.] [iv. 1. 1.]

<sup>f</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Hieros. Shekalim, fol. 50. 1.

city Hazor (saith Josephus<sup>g</sup>) lies on the lake Semechonitis." This city is the metropolis of Canaan, that is, of that northern country, which is known by that name: which is called also 'Galilee of the Gentiles.' Jabin the king of Hazor, and others, fight with Joshua at the waters of Mcrom, that is, at the lake Samochonitis, Josh. xi. 4<sup>h</sup>. And Jonathan<sup>i</sup> in the same place, as it seems, with the army of Demetrius, 'Εν πεδίῳ Ἀσὼρ, "in the plain of Asor," as the same Josephus writes. But, in the Book of the Maccabees, it is τὸ πεδῖον Νασὼρ, "The plain of Nador," 1 Macc. xi. 67.

### CHAP. LXX.<sup>k</sup>

*The lake of Gennesaret; or, the sea of Galilee and Tiberias.*

JORDAN<sup>l</sup> is measured at one hundred and twenty furlongs, from the lake of Samochonitis to that of Gennesaret. That lake, in the Old Testament, is יַם־כִּנְרֶת 'The sea of Chinnereth,' Numb. xxxiv. 11, &c. In the Targumists, יַמָּא דגניסר, 'The sea of Genesar;' sometimes, דגניסור, 'of Genesor;' sometimes, דגינוסר, 'of Ginosar:' it is the same also in the Talmudists, but most frequently יַמָּא דטבריא 'The sea of Tiberiah.' Both names are used by the evangelists; 'the lake of Gennesaret,' Luke v. 1; 'the sea of Tiberias,' John xxi. 1; and 'the sea of Galilee,' John vi. 1.

The name 'Chinnereth' passed into 'Genesar,' in regard of the pleasantness of the country, well filled with gardens and paradises: of which we shall speak afterward. [ch. lxxix.]

It is disputed by the Jerusalem Talmudists, why כְּנַרְוֹת 'Chinneroth' occurs sometimes in the plural number; as Josh xi. 2, נֶגְבַּ כְּנַרְוֹת, 'The south of Chinneroth;' and Josh. xii. 3, יַם כְּנַרְוֹת, 'The sea of Chinneroth.' "Thence<sup>m</sup> (say they) are there two Gennesarets? Or there were אֵלֶּא ב" but two castles, as Beth-Jerach, and Sinnabris, which are מִגְדְּלוֹת כִּנְרֶת towers of the people of Chinnereth; but the fortification is destroyed, and fallen into the hands of the Gentiles." You see, by the very sense of the place,

<sup>g</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 6. [Hudson, p. 202. l. 25. [v. 5. 1.]

<sup>h</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 222.

<sup>i</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9. [xiii. 5. 7.]

<sup>k</sup> English folio edit., vol. ii. p. 65.

<sup>l</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 35.

[iii. 10. 7.]

<sup>m</sup> Jerus. Megill. fol. 70. 1.



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duce these words, they discourse what is to be thought of those waters, where the unclean fish swim together with the clean; whether such waters are fit to boil food or no: and it is answered, ‘Flowing and gliding waters are fit; those that do not glide are not; and that the lake of Gennesaret is to be numbered among gliding waters.’

The Jews believe, or feign, that this lake is beloved by God above all the lakes of the land of Canaan. “Seven seas (say they<sup>t</sup>) have I created, saith God, and of them all I have chosen none but the sea of Gennesaret.” Which words, perhaps, were invented for the praise of the university at Tiberias, that was contiguous to this lake; but they are much more agreeable to truth, being applied to the very frequent resorts of our Saviour thither.

#### CHAP. LXXI.<sup>u</sup>

*Within what tribe the lake of Gennesaret was.*

By comparing the maps with the Talmudic writers, this question ariseth: for there is not one among them, as far as I know, which does not altogether define the sea of Gennesaret to be without the tribe of Naphtali; but the Talmudists do most plainly place it within.

ת"ר ימה של טבריה בחלקו של נפתלי: *The<sup>x</sup> Rabbins deliver: The sea of Tiberias is in the portion of Naphtali; yea, it takes a full line for the nets on the south side of it: as it is said, ‘Possess the sea and the south,’ Deut. xxxiii. 23.”* The Gloss is; “(Naphtali) had a full line in the dry land on the south coast, that he might draw out his nets.” So also the Jerusalem writers; “They<sup>y</sup> gave to Naphtali a full line on the south coast of the sea, as it is said, ‘Possess the sea and the south.’” They are the words of Rabbi Josi of Galilee. So that Talmud that was written at Tiberias: so R. Josi, who was a Galilean.

The words of Josephus, which we cited before, are agreeable to these. *Ζαβουλωνίται<sup>z</sup> τὴν μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, &c.* “The tribe<sup>a</sup> of Zebulon’s portion was to the sea of Genne-

<sup>t</sup> Midras Tillin, fol. 4. 1.

<sup>u</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 66.

<sup>x</sup> Bab. Bava Kama, fol. 81. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Bava Bathra, fol. 15. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [Hudson, p. 188. l. 19.] [v. 1. 22.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p.

223.

saret, stretched out also [*in length*] to Carmel and the sea." On the south, the land of Zebulon was bounded by that of Issachar, extending itself in breadth *μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος*, "to Gennesaret:" touching only upon Gennesaret, not comprehending Gennesaret within it. So the same Josephus speaks in the place alleged, that *Νεφθαλίται παρέλαβον τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως*, "the men of Naphtali took those parts that ran out eastwardly unto the city of Damascus." It would be ridiculous, if you should so render *μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως*, "unto the city of Damascus," as to include Damascus within the land of Naphtali. The maps are guilty of the like solecism, while they make Zebulon, which only came *μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος*, "unto the lake of Gennesaret," to comprise all the lake of Gennesaret within it. Look into Adrichomius, to say nothing of others, and compare these words of Josephus with him.

Hither perhaps is that to be reduced, which hath not a little vexed interpreters in Josh. xix; where Jordan is twice mentioned, in defining the limits of the tribe of Naphtali; ver. 33, "the outgoings of the border," hence, "was to Jordan;" and, ver. 34, *וּבִיהוּדָה הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרַח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ* "The going out from thence [that is, from the south border] was to Jordan in Judah towards the sun-rising."

What hath the land of Naphtali to do with Jordan in Judah?

I answer, Judah, that is, Judea, is here opposed to Galilee: Judah is not here spoken of as opposed to the other tribes. Before ever the name of Samaria was risen, the name of Galilee was very well known, Josh. xx. 7; and so was the name of Judea: and at that time one might not improperly divide the whole land within Jordan into Galilee and Judea: when as yet there was no such thing as the name of Samaria. The words alleged, therefore, come to this sense, as if it had been said, 'The north bounds of Naphtali went out eastwardly to Jordan in Galilee: in like manner the south bounds went out eastwardly to Jordan now running into Judea;' that is, the country without Galilee, which as yet was not called Samaria, but rather Judea.

The bounds, certainly, of the land of Naphtali seem to touch Jordan on both sides, both on the north and the south;



and so to contain the sea of Gennesaret within its bosom, according to that which is said by the Talmudists before alleged, and those also men of Tiberias.

While I am discoursing of Jordan, and this lake, let me add this moreover concerning the ‘boat of Jordan:’—“R. Jacob<sup>b</sup> Bar Aidai saith, in the name of R. Jochanan, Let no man absent himself from Beth-Midrash, for this question was many a time propounded in Jabneh, עריבת הירדן למה היא טמאה *The boat, or barge, of Jordan, why is it unclean?* Nor was there any who could answer any thing to it; until R. Chaninah, the son of Antigonus, came, and expounded it in his city. The boat of Jordan is unclean, because they fill it with fruit, and sail down with it from the sea unto the dry land, and from the dry land into the sea.”—עריבה, the Jews themselves being interpreters, is ספינה קטנה *a small vessel*, πλοιάριον, *a little ship*. Josephus hath these words; Τὰ<sup>c</sup> δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης σκάφη πάντα συναθροίσας, &c. “Having gathered together all the boats in the lake, they were found to be two hundred and thirty, and there were no more than four mariners in each.”

## CHAP. LXXII.<sup>d</sup>

### *Tiberias.*

ALL the Jews declare, almost with one consent, that this was a fortified city from ancient times, even from the days of Joshua, and was the same with Rakkath, of which mention is made, Josh. xix. 35.

: רקת היא טבריא “Rakkath is Tiberias,” say the Jerusalem Gemarists<sup>e</sup>. And those of Babylon say the same, and that more largely: וקיימא לן רקת זו טבריא “It<sup>f</sup> is clear to us that Rakkath is Tiberias.” And when, after a few lines, this of Rabbi Jochanan was objected, “When I was a boy, I said a certain thing, concerning which I asked the elders, and it was found as I said; namely, that Chammath is Tiberias, and Rakkath Zippor;” it is thus at last concluded, “Rabbi said, Who is it, to whom it was said, that Rakkath is not Tiberias? For, behold! when any dies here (in Baby-

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Shabb. fol. 7. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 43.  
[Hudson, p. 1112. l. 46.] [ii. 21. 8.]

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 67.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 70. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 5. 2. et 6. 1.



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## CHAP. LXXIII.

*Of the Situation of Tiberias.*

WHEN I read Pliny of the situation of this city, and compare some things which are said by Josephus and the Talmudists with him, I cannot but be at a stand what to resolve upon here. Pliny speaks thus<sup>h</sup> of the situation of it: “The lake [of Genesar] is compassed round with pleasant towns: on the east, Julias and Hippo; on the south, Tarchea, by which name some call the lake also; on the west, Tiberias, healthful for its warm waters.”

Consult<sup>i</sup> the maps, and you see Tiberias in them seated, as it were, in the middle shore of the sea of Gennesaret, equally distant almost from the utmost south and north coasts of that sea. Which seems well indeed to agree with Pliny, but illy with Josephus and his countrymen.

I. Josephus asserts that Hippo (in Perea, i. e. the country on the other side Jordan) is distant from Tiberias only thirty furlongs. For speaking to one Justus, a man of Tiberias, thus he saith, ‘*Ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ᾧ Ἰοῦστε, κειμένη ἐν τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι λίμνῃ, καὶ ἀπέχουσα μὲν Ἰππου στάδια τριάκοντα, &c.*’ “Thy<sup>k</sup> native country, O Justus, lying upon the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippo thirty furlongs,” &c. The same author asserts also (which we produced before), that<sup>l</sup> the breadth of the sea of Gennesaret was forty furlongs. Therefore, with what reason do the maps place the whole sea of Gennesaret between Tiberias and Hippo? Read those things in Josephus, look upon the maps, and judge.

II. The same Josephus saith of the same Justus, ‘*Ἐμπύρησι ὁ Ἰοῦστος τὰς τε Γαδαρηνῶν καὶ Ἰππηνῶν κώμας· αἱ δὲ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος, καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.*’ “Justus<sup>m</sup> burnt the towns of those of Gadara and Hippo. And the towns bordering upon Tiberias, and the land of the Scythopolitans, were laid waste.” Note, how the towns of those of Gadara and Hippo are called *μεθόριοι*, “towns bordering upon Tiberias;” which certainly cannot

<sup>h</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 15.

[Hudson, p. 938. l. 16.] [c. 65.]

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 68.

<sup>l</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. iii. 35. [iii. 10. 7.]

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. in his own life, p. 628.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. in his own life, p. 650.

[Hudson, p. 908. l. 17.] [c. 9.]

consist together, if the whole sea be between, which is so put by the maps.

III. Those things which we learn from the Talmudists concerning the situation of this place cannot be produced, until we have first observed certain neighbouring places to Tiberias; from the situation of which, it will be more easy to judge of the situation of this.

In the mean time, from these things, and what was said before, we assert thus much: That you must suppose Tiberias seated either at the very flowing-in of Jordan into the lake of Gennesaret,—namely, on the north side of the lake, where the maps place Capernaum [illy]; or at the flowing out of Jordan out of that lake, namely, on the south side of the lake. But you cannot place it where Jordan flows into it, because Josephus saith, Tiberias is not distant from Scythopolis above a hundred and twenty furlongs,—that is, fifteen miles; but now the lake of Gennesaret itself was a hundred furlongs in length, and Scythopolis was the utmost limits of Galilee southward, as we shewed before.

Therefore we are not afraid to conclude that Tiberias was seated where Jordan flows out of the lake of Gennesar, namely, at the south shore of the lake; where Jordan receives itself again within its own channel. This will appear by those things that follow.

We doubt, therefore, of the right pointing of Pliny. Certainly we are not satisfied about it; and others will be less satisfied about our alteration of it. But let me, with their good leave, propose this reading, “*Ab oriente, Juliade; et Hippo a meridie. Tarichæa, quo nomine aliqui lacum appellant, ab occidente. Tiberiade, aquis calidis salubri.*”—“On the east Julias, and Hippo on the south. Tarichea, by which name some call the lake, on the west. Tiberias, wholesome for its warm waters.” Which reading is not different from Pliny’s style, and agrees well with the Jewish writers: but we submit our judgment to the learned.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

חמת Chammath. Ammaus. חמי טבריא *The warm baths of Tiberias.*

CHAMMATH and Rakkath are joined together, Josh. xix. 35. For they were very neighbouring cities; Rakkath is Tiberias,—and Chammath κώμη Ἀμμαοῦς, the town Ammans, in Josephus.

Of their neighbourhood, the Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>n</sup> write thus: “The men of a great city may walk” (on the sabbath) “through a whole small city” (which was within a sabbath-day’s journey); “but the inhabitants of a small city walk not through a whole great city.” And then follows, “Formerly<sup>o</sup> the men of Tiberias walked through all Chammath; but the men of Chammath passed not beyond the arch: but now those of Chammath and those of Tiberias do make one city.”

And<sup>p</sup> the Babylonian Talmudists<sup>q</sup> thus, מחמתן לטבריא מיל “from Chammath to Tiberias is a mile.”

“Chammath<sup>r</sup> is Tiberias. And why is it called Chammath? על שום חמי טבריא By reason of the *Chammi, warm baths* of Tiberias.”

It is not seldom called חמת דגדר ‘Chammath of Gadara;’ not only because it was very near the Gadarene country,—for the channel of Jordan only was between;—but because it was built, as it seems, on both the banks of Jordan, the two parts of the town joining by a bridge.

“Rabbah<sup>s</sup> said, Chammath is the same with the warm baths of Gadara, and Rakkath is Tiberias.”

“It<sup>t</sup> was lawful for the Gadarenes, R. Judah Nasi permitting them, to go down into Chammath [on the sabbath], and to return into Gadara: but the men of Chammath might not go up into Gadara.”

Behold! Tiberias so near to Chammath, that it was almost one city with it: and Chammath so near to the country of Gadara, that thence it took the name of ‘Chammath of Gadara.’

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Erubhin, fol. 23. 4.

<sup>o</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 225.

<sup>p</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 69.

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 2. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. fol. 6. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Idem. ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Erubhin, fol. 23. 4.



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of the Maccabees <sup>t</sup>, Καὶ Ἰόππην ὠχύρωσε τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τὴν Γάζαρα τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων Ἀζώτου. “ And he fortified Joppe, which is on the sea, and Gazara, which is on the borders of Azotus.”

At length, according to the idiom of the Syrian dialect, ז (Zain) passed into ד (Daleth); and instead of Gazara, it was called Gadara. Hence Strabo, after the mention of Jamnia, saith <sup>g</sup>, καὶ ἡ Γαδαρίς ἐστίν, εἴτ' Ἀζώτος καὶ Ἀσκάλων: “ and there is Gadaris, then Azotus and Ascalon.” And a little after; “ Philodemus the Epicurean was a Gadarene, and so was Meleager and Menippus, ὁ σπουδογελοῖος, surnamed the ‘ ridiculous student,’ and Theodorus the rhetorician,” &c.

But the other Gadara, which we seek, was in Perea, and was the metropolis of Perea. Ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα, Μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαιῆς καρτεράν. “ Being come into the parts of Gadara, the strong metropolis of Perea.” They are the words of Josephus <sup>h</sup>.

It was sixty furlongs distant from Tiberias <sup>i</sup>, by the measure of the same author.

“ Gadara <sup>k</sup>, the river Hieramax [יַרְמוֹךְ *Jarmoc*, of which before] flowing by it, and now called Hippodion.” Some reckon it among the cities of the country of Decapolis.

Another <sup>l</sup> city, also ‘ Gergesa ’ by name, was so near to it, that that which in Mark is called χώρα Γαδαρηνῶν, ‘ the country of the Gadarenes,’ chap. v. 1,—in Matthew is χώρα Γεργεσηνῶν, ‘ the country of the Gergesenes,’ chap. viii. 28: which whether it took its name from the Gergashites, the posterity of Canaan,—or from the clayish nature of the soil, (גַּרְגִּישָׁתָא *Gargishta*, signifying *clay*,)—we leave to the more learned to be decided. The Chaldee certainly renders that מַעֲבָה הָאֲדָמָה עוֹבֵי גַרְגִּישָׁתָא *thick dirt*, which is in the Hebrew מַעֲבָה הָאֲדָמָה *the clay ground*, 1 Kings vii. 46.

The Jerusalem writers say, that <sup>m</sup> the Gergashites, when Joshua came, and proclaimed, “ He that will go out hence, let him go,”—betook themselves into Africa.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Macc. xiv. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi. pag. mihi 878.

[xvi. 2.]

<sup>h</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 26. [iv. 7. 3.]

<sup>i</sup> Id. in his own life, p. 650. [c. 65.]

<sup>k</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 18.

<sup>l</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 70.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

## CHAP. LXXVI. P

*Magdala.*

Not far from Tiberias and Chammath was Magdala. You may learn their neighbourhood hence :—

“ If <sup>q</sup> a man have two floors, one in Magdala and another in Tiberias,—he may remove his fruits from that in Magdala, to be eaten in that of Tiberias.”

“ R. Simeon <sup>r</sup> Ben Joebai, by reason of certain shambles in the streets of Tiberias, was forced to purify that place. And whosoever travelled by Magdala might hear the voice of a scribe, saying, Behold ! Bar Jochai purifies Tiberias.”

“ A certain <sup>s</sup> old shepherd came, and said before Rabbi, ‘ I remember the men of Magdala going up to Chammath, and walking through all Chammath’ (on the sabbath), “ and coming as far as the outmost street, as far as the bridge. Therefore Rabbi permitted the men of Magdala to go into Chammath, and to go through all Chammath, and to proceed as far as the farthest street, as far as the bridge.”

Josephus <sup>t</sup> hath these words of Magdala ; Πέμπει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Μαγδαλὰ τὸ φρουρίον ἐξαιρήσοντας. “ King Agrippa sends forces and a captain into Magdala itself to destroy the garrison.” We meet with frequent mention of the Rabbins, or scholars, of Magdala :—

ר' יודן מגדליא “ R. Judan <sup>u</sup> of Magdala.”

ר' יצחק מגדלאה “ R. Isaac <sup>x</sup> of Magdala.”

“ R. Gorion <sup>y</sup> saith, The men of Magdala asked R. Simeon Ben Lachish,” &c.

It is sometimes called מגדל גדר ‘ Magdala <sup>z</sup> of Gadara,’ because it was beyond Jordan.

## CHAP. LXXVII.

*Hippo. סוסיתה Susitha.*

You may suppose, upon good grounds, that Hippo is the

p *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 226.

q Hieros. Maasarith, fol. 50. 3.

r Id. Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.

s Id. Erubhin, fol. 23. 4.

t Joseph. in his own life. [c. 24.]

u Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 13. 1.

Taanith, fol. 64. 1.

x Bab. Joma, fol. 81. 2.

y Hieros. Megill. fol. 73. 4.

z Bab. Taanith, fol. 20. 1.



same with סוסיטה *Susitha* in the Talmudists, from the very signification of the word. [סוס=ἵππος] Inquire. Of it there is this mention:—

“ R. Joshua Ben Levi<sup>a</sup> saith, It is written, And Jephthah fled from the face of his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tobh. זו סוסיטה, which is *Susitha*.” If you would render it in Greek, it is Ἴππηνη, *Hippene*.

This city was replenished with Gentiles, but not a few Jews mixed with them. Hence is that<sup>b</sup>, “ If two witnesses come out of a city, the major part whereof consists of Gentiles, סוסיטה כגון הדא *Susitha*,” &c. And after a few lines, “ R. Immai circumcised from the testimony of women, who said the sun was upon *Susitha*.” For it was not lawful to circumcise, but in the day-time.

Hippo<sup>c</sup> was distant from Tiberias thirty furlongs only.

#### CHAP. LXXVIII.<sup>d</sup>

*Some other towns near Tiberias.* בית מעון *Beth-Meon*.

כפר היטיא *Caphar Chittai*. פלטהה *Paltathah*.

AMONG the towns, neighbouring upon Tiberias, Tarichee is especially commemorated in Josephus<sup>e</sup>, a city thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias: you will find in him the history and mention of it very frequent.

In the Talmudists we meet with other names also.

I. בית מעון *Beth-Meon*. “ The<sup>f</sup> men of Tiberias, who went up to Beth-Meon to be hired for workmen, were hired according to the custom of Beth-Meon: the men of Beth-Meon, who went down to Tiberias to be hired, were hired according to the custom of Tiberias.”

This place is also called, as it seems, בית מעיין *Beth-Mein*. In the place noted<sup>g</sup> in the margin, they are treating of the town Timnath: of which it is said, that “ Samson went up to Timnath;” and elsewhere, that “ the father-in-law of Samson went down to Timnath:” so that there was both a ‘going up’ and a ‘going down’ thither. R. Aibu Bar Nigri at last con-

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Id. Rosh Hashanah, fol. 54. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. in his own life, pag. mihi 650. [c. 65.]

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 71.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. in his own life, p. 637

[c. 31, 54, 73.]

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Bava Mezia, fol. 11. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Id. Sotah, fol. 17. 1.



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And elsewhere<sup>s</sup>, where it is disputed, what is the more noble part of food, something seasoned with salt, or a morsel,—and it is concluded, that that which is seasoned is to be preferred, and that thanks are to be given upon it; the mention of the fruits of Gennesaret is brought in, *חשובים מן הפת* which are preferred also before a morsel.

Hereupon there is mention of the ‘Tent of Gennesaret<sup>t</sup>,’ *סנת גנוסר*: that is, as the Gloss speaks, “When Genosar, which is also called Chinnereth, abounded with noble gardens, they made certain shady bowers, or small tents, for that time, wherein they gathered the fruits.”

The<sup>u</sup> length of this most fruitful soil<sup>x</sup>, lying along the sea-shore, was but thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty.

“וי”מ מקום קרוב לטברוא ויש בו גנות ופרדסים: And expositors say (they are the words of the Aruch<sup>y</sup>), that there is a place near to Tiberias, in which are gardens and paradises.” Let that be noted, ‘There is a place near to Tiberias.’

## CHAP. LXXX.

### *Capernaum.*

FROM the things last spoken, we gather no trifling conjecture concerning the situation of the town of Capernaum.

Josephus relates that the country of Gennesar, which we have described, was watered *Πηγή<sup>z</sup> γονιμωτάτη, Καφαρναούμ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσι* “with a spring of excellent water; the people thereabouts call it Capernaum.” From that either the city hath its name, or rather that hath its name from the city; and the city from the pleasantness of the place. The evangelists, compared together, do make it clear, that this city was seated in the land of Gennesaret. For when it is said by Matthew and Mark, that Christ, sailing over from the desert of Bethsaida, arrived at the country of Gennesaret, Matt. xiv. 34, Mark vi. 53, it is manifest from John that he arrived at Capernaum, John vi. 22, 24, 25. When, therefore, that most pleasant country lay near Tiberias, and that Caper-

<sup>s</sup> Id. Beracoth, fol. 44. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Maasarith, cap. 3. hal. 7.

<sup>u</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 72.

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. in the place before.

<sup>y</sup> Aruch in the place before.

<sup>z</sup> De Bello, lib. iii. cap. 35.

naum was in that country,—we must necessarily suppose that it was not very remote from Tiberias.

It was παραθαλασσία, ἐν ὁρίοις Ζαβουλὸν καὶ Νεφθαλεῖμ, “upon the sea-coasts, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali,” Matt. iv. 13:—not that it was the bounds of each, but because it was within the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali, they being put in opposition to the other parts of Galilee. So Μεθόρια Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, “the borders of Tyre and Sidon,” Mark vii. 24, denote not that very centre where the territories of Tyre are parted from those of Sidon; but the “bounds of Tyre and Sidon,” as distinguished from the bounds of Galilee. Nevertheless, neither was this city far distant from the very limits, where the bounds of Zabulon and Nephthali did touch upon one another,—namely, near the south coast of the sea of Gennesaret, which we observed before.

We suppose Capernaum seated between Tiberias and Tarichee. Whether Κεφαρνῶμη, *Cepharnome*, in Josephus<sup>a</sup>, be the same with this, we do inquire.

## CHAP. LXXXI.

*Some history of Tiberias. The Jerusalem Talmud was written there: and when.*

TIBERIAS<sup>b</sup> was built by Herod the tetrarch in honour of Tiberius: and that in a common burying-place, or in a place where many sepulchres had been. Hence it was that the founder was fain to use all manner of persuasion, enticements, and liberality, to invite inhabitants. The very delightful situation of the place seemed to put him on to wrestle with such a difficulty and inconvenience, rather than not to enjoy so pleasant a soil and seat. For on this side, the sea washing upon it,—on that side, within a little way, Jordan gliding by it,—on the other side, the hot baths of Chammath,—and on another, the most fruitful country Gennesaret adjacent,—did every way begird this city, when it was built<sup>c</sup>, with pleasure and delight.

It did every day increase in splendour, and became at last the chief city not only of Galilee but of the whole land of

<sup>a</sup> In his own life, p. 654. [c. 72.] [Hudson, p. 795. l. 26.] [xviii. 2. 3.]

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3. <sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 228.

Israel. It obtained this honour, by reason of the university translated thither by Rabbi Judah, and there continued for many ages. It was ennobled by thirteen<sup>d</sup> synagogues: among which כְּנִישְׁתָּא עֲתִיקָתָא דְסֶרוֹנְגִין “the<sup>e</sup> ancient Serongian synagogue was one.” It was famous also for the Sanhedrim sitting there; for the Talmudic Misna, perhaps, collected here by R. Judah; and for the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>f</sup>, written there for certain. That very volume does openly speak the place where it was published: in which the words הֵנָּה *here*, and לְהֵנָּה *hither*, do most plainly design Tiberias, almost in infinite places. But there is a greater controversy about the time: it is agreed upon, by very many learned men, that this Talmud was written about the year of Christ 230: which I do indeed wonder at, when the mention of the emperor Diocletian, unless I am very much mistaken, does occur in it. Let us note the places:—

כַּד סָלִיק דּוּקְלִיטִינוּס מֶלְכָּא לְהֵנָּה<sup>g</sup> “When the king Docletinus came hither [to Tiberias], they saw R. Chaija Bar Abba climbing a sepulchre to see him.” This story is repeated in Nazir<sup>h</sup>, and he is there called דּוּקְלִינּוּס *Doclinus*, by an error, as it seems, of the copiers.

דִּיקְלִיטִינוּס הִקְוָה נְהָרוֹת וַעֲשָׂאוּ וְכוּ<sup>i</sup> “Dicletinus gathered the rivers together, and made the sea of Apamia.” And this story is recited in Chetuboth<sup>k</sup>, and there he is called דּוּקְלִיטִיאָנוּס *Docletianus*.

דּוּקְלִיטִינוּס הָיָה לוֹ מִשְׁקַל דִּינָר<sup>l</sup> גּוֹרְדָנוֹן had most fine gold, even to the weight of a Gordian penny.”

כַּד דּוּקְלִיטִיאָנוּס כָּד נָחַת תַּמָּן<sup>m</sup> וְכוּ<sup>n</sup> “When Docletianus came thither, he came with a hundred and twenty myriads.”

דִּיקְלוֹט חֲזִירָא מַחֲוִיָּה טַלְיֵי דַר<sup>n</sup> יוֹרָה “The boys of R. Judah, the prince, bruised Diclot, the keeper of hogs, with blows. That king at length escaped, and coming to Paneas, sent for the Rabbins, &c. He said to them, Therefore, because your Creator worketh miracles for you, you

<sup>d</sup> Bab. Berac. fol. 30. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Kilaim, fol. 32. 3.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 73.

<sup>g</sup> Beracoth, fol. 6. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Naz. fol. 56. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Kilaim, fol. 32. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Chetubh. fol. 35. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Joma, fol. 41. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Shevuoth, fol. 34. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Trumoth, fol. 46. 2. 3.



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years, returned to their own place.” Consider, that thirty years passed from this action of Diocletian, which if you compute even from his first year, and suppose that this story was writ in the last year of those thirty, you come as far as the ninth or tenth year of Constantine.

Mention also of king Sapor occurs, if I do not fail of the true reading. *והא חויה בשבור מלכא בלע גמלין*: “A serpent<sup>r</sup>, under Sapor the king, devoured camels.” Yea, I have I know not what suspicion, that *לוליינוס מלכא* “Lulianus the king,” of whom there is mention in that very same place, does denote Julianus the emperor. “When Lulianus the king (say they) came thither, a hundred and twenty myriads accompanied him.” But enough of this.

There are some who believe the holy Bible was pointed by the wise men of Tiberias. I do not wonder at the impudence of the Jews, who invented the story; but I wonder at the credulity of Christians, who applaud it. Recollect, I beseech you, the names of the Rabbins of Tiberias, from the first situation of the university<sup>s</sup> there, to the time that it expired: and what at length do you find, but a kind of men mad with Pharisaism, bewitching with traditions and bewitched; blind, guileful, doting; they must pardon me, if I say magical and monstrous? Men, how unfit, how unable, how foolish, for the undertaking<sup>t</sup> so divine a work! Read over the Jerusalem Talmud, and see there how R. Judah, R. Chaninah, R. Judan, R. Hoshaiia, R. Chaija Rubba, R. Chaija Bar Ba, R. Jochanan, R. Jonathan, and the rest of the grand doctors among the Rabbins of Tiberias, behave themselves! how earnestly they do nothing! how childishly they handle serious matters! how much of sophistry, froth, poison, smoke, nothing at all, there is in their disputes! And if you can believe the Bible was pointed in such a school, believe also all that the Talmudists write. The pointing of the Bible savours of the work of the Holy Spirit, not the work of lost, blinded, besotted, men.

R. Judah, who first removed the university to Tiberias, sat also in Zippor for many years, and there died: so that in both places were very famous schools. He composed and

<sup>r</sup> Nedarim, fol. 37. 4.

<sup>t</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii.

<sup>s</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. i. p. 229. p. 74.

digested the Mishnaioth into one volume. “For when he saw the captivity was prolonged” (they are the words of Tsemach David, translated by Vorstius), “and the scholars to become faint-hearted, and the strength of wisdom and the cabala to fail, and the oral law to be much diminished,—he gathered and scraped up together all the decrees, statutes, and sayings of the wise men; of which he wrote every one apart, which the house of the Sanhedrim had taught, &c. And he disposed it into six classes; which are Zeraim, Moed, Nezikin, Nashim, Kedoshim, Tahoroth.” And a little after; “All the Israelites ratified the body of Mishnaioth, and obliged themselves to it: and in it, during the life of Rabbi, his two sons, Rabban Gamaliel and R. Simeon, employed themselves, in the school of the land of Israel: and R. Chaija, R. Hoshaiia, R. Chaninah, and R. John, and their companions. And in the school of Babylon, Rabh and Samuel exercised themselves in it,” &c.

Therefore it is worthy of examination, whence those differences should arise between the Jerusalem Misna, and the Babylonian, — differences in words, without number, — in things, in great number; which he that compares them will meet with every where. You have a remarkable example in the very entrance<sup>u</sup> of the Jerusalem Misna, where the story of R. Tarphon’s danger among thieves is wanting, which is in that of Babylon.

Whether R. Judah composed that system in Tiberias or in Zippor, we are not solicitous to inquire: he sat in both, and enriched both with famed schools; and Tiberias was the more eminent. For ישיבת טבריא גדולה משל צפורי “The<sup>x</sup> university of Tiberias was greater than that of Zippor.”

## CHAP. LXXXII.

### צפורי *Tsippor*.

Σεπφώρις μεγίστη τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλις, ἐρυμνοτάτῳ δὲ ἐπεκτισμένη χωρίῳ. “Tsippory<sup>y</sup> is the greatest city of Galilee, and built in a very strong place.”

<sup>u</sup> Berac. cap. i. hal. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Glossa in Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 32.

[Hudson, p. 1120. l. 10.] [iii. 2. 4.]



“Kitron<sup>z</sup> (Judg. i. 29, 30) is Tsippor: and why is it called *צפור* *Tsippor*? Because it is seated upon a mountain *כצפור* as *Tsippor*, a bird.”

“Sixteen<sup>a</sup> miles on all sides from Tsippor was a land flowing with milk and honey.”

This city is noted in Josephus for its warlike affairs; but most noted in the Talmudists for the university fixed there, and for the learning, which Rabbi Judah the Holy brought hither, as we have said before. He<sup>b</sup> sat in this place seventeen years, and used most frequently to say this of himself, “Jacob lived in Egypt seventeen years, and Judah lived in Tsippor seventeen years.”

He<sup>c</sup> sat also in Beth-Shaarim, as also in Tiberias, but he ended his life in Tsippor. There is this story of his death; “The<sup>d</sup> men of Tsippor said, Whosoever shall tell us that Rabbi is dead, we will kill him. Bar Kaphra, having his head veiled, looked upon them and said, ‘Holy men and angels both took hold of the tables of the covenant, and the hand of the angels prevailed, and they snatched away the tables.’ They said to him, ‘Is Rabbi dead?’ He said, ‘Ye have said.’ They rent their garments after that manner, that the voice of the renting came as far as Papath, that is, the space of three miles. R. Nachman in the name of R. Mena said, ‘Miracles were done on that day.’ When all cities were gathered together to lament him, and that on the eve of the sabbath, the day did not waste, until every one was gone home, had filled a bottle with water, and had lighted up a sabbath-candle. The Bath Kol pronounced blessedness upon those that lamented him, excepting only one; who knowing himself excepted, threw himself headlong from the roof, and died.

“R. Judah<sup>e</sup> died in Tsippor, but his burial was in Beth-Shaarim: dying, he gave in command to his son, ‘When ye carry me to my burial, do not lament me in the small cities through which<sup>f</sup> ye shall pass, but in the great,’” &c. What

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 6. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Bicurim, fol. 64. 2.  
Bab. Megill. in the place above.

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Kilaim, fol. 32. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Juchasin, fol. 2. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. in the place above.

<sup>e</sup> Gloss. in Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 47. 1.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 75.



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going up into the roof, he fell down thence and died. The dogs came and licked his blood. R. Chaninah being asked, Whether they should drive away the dogs? 'By no means,' said he, 'for they eat of their own.'"

בולוטייא ופגנייא בצפורין "Counsellors<sup>t</sup> and pagans in Tsippor" are mentioned.

And also בני קצירה של צפורין "The<sup>u</sup> sons of Ketzirah, (or the harvest), of Tsippor."

Tsippor was distant from Tiberias, as R. Benjamin tells us in his Itinerary, ה" פרסאות "twenty miles."

צִפּוֹרִין *Zipporin* with ז (Zain) is once writ in the Jerusalem Talmud; one would suspect it to be this city: 'כשהלך ר' עקיבה לציפורין "When R. Akibah went to Zippor, they came to him, and asked, Are the jugs of the Gentiles clean?" A story worthy of consideration; if that צִפּוֹרִין *Zipporin* denote ours, was R. Akibah in Tsippor? He died almost forty years before the university was translated thither. But schools haply were there before a university.

In the Talmud, the story of "Ben Elam<sup>y</sup> מציפורין of Tsippor" (once it is written, בצפורין<sup>z</sup> "in Tsippor") is thrice repeated; who, when the high priest, by reason of some uncleanness contracted on the day of expiation, could not perform the office of that day, went in, and officiated.

### CHAP. LXXXIII.

*Some Places bordering upon Tsippor.* ישנה *Jeshanah.*

קצרה *Ketsarah.* שיהין *Shihin.*

I. In the place, noted<sup>a</sup> in the margin, discourse is had of the legitimate mothers of the priests: among other things it is said, that no further inquiry be made, "If his father be enrolled בצפורין של ישנה *in the catalogue of Jeshanah of Tsippor.*" The Gloss is, "There was a neighbour city to Tsippor, whose name was Jeshanah; and it was customary to enrol them who were fit to judge," &c. So that this 'Jeshanah' seems to be so near to Tsippor, that the records of Tsippor were laid up there.

<sup>t</sup> Id. Horaioth, fol. 48. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Id. Nedarim, fol. 38. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Hieros. Avod. Zarah, fol. 41. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Joma, fol. 38.4. Megill. fol. 72.1.

<sup>z</sup> Horaioth, fol. 47. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Kiddushin, chap. 4. hal. 5.

II. “ Towns<sup>b</sup> fortified from the days of Joshua: Old Ketsarah, which belongs to Tsippor; and Chakrah, which belongs to Gush; Calab; and Jodapath the old [Jotopata]; and Gamala<sup>c</sup>,” &c. The Gloss is, “ Ketsarah is the name of a little city without Tsippor.” Perhaps that which we cited above relates to this, בני קצירה של צפורין “ The sons of Ketzirah (or the harvest), of Tsippor.”

III. “ Sometime<sup>d</sup> a fire happened in the court of Josi Ben Simai in Shihin, and the inhabitants of Ketsarah, which belongs to Tsippor, came down to quench it; but he permitted them not, saying, ‘ Let the exactor exact his debt.’ Presently a cloud gathered together above the fire; and rains fell, and put it out. The sabbath being finished, he sent money to every one of them.”

Josephus<sup>e</sup> mentions also Γαρεισίμης, *Garisimes*, distant twenty furlongs from Tsippor.

In like manner, Ἄσαμων, τὸ μεσαίτατον Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, ὃ κεῖται ἀντικρυσ τῆς Σεπφώρεως “ Asamon<sup>f</sup>, a mountain in the middle of Galilee, which lies over against Tsippor.”

## CHAP. LXXXIV.<sup>g</sup>

### אושא Usha.

“ THE<sup>h</sup> Sanhedrim went לְאוּשָׁא וּמֵאוּשָׁא לְשִׁפְרָעָם *from Jabneh to Usha, and from Usha to Shepharaam.*” The Gloss is, “ To Jabneh in the days of Rabban Jochanan (Ben Zaccai); to Usha in the days of Rabban Gamaliel: but they went back from Usha to Jabneh: but in the days of Rabban Simeon they returned.”

We do not apprehend the reason why Rabban Gamaliel went thither; whatsoever it were, either some disturbance raised by the Romans, or indignation that R. Eleazer Ben Azariah should be president with him, or some other reason, —certainly the abode there was but small, either Gamaliel himself returning to Jabneh after some time, or R. Akibah, who succeeded in his chair.

<sup>b</sup> Erachin, cap. 9. hal. 6.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 76.

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Nedarim, fol. 38.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. in his own Life, p. 653. [c. 71.]

<sup>f</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 37.

[Hudson, p. 1100. l. 35.] [ii. 18. 11.]

<sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 231.

<sup>h</sup> Bab. Rosh bashanah, f. 31. 2. Juchas. fol. 21. 2.

But after the war of Adrian, and the death of R. Akibah in that war, when Judea was now in disturbance by the Romans, Rabban Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, succeeding in the presidentship after Akibah, went with the Sanhedrim from Jafne to Usha, nor was there ever after any return to Jafne.

The Talmudists<sup>i</sup> remember us of very many things transacted at Usha. “When they intercalated the year in Usha, the first day, R. Ismael, the son of R. Jochanan Ben Brucha, stood forth, and said according to the words of R. Jochanan Ben Nuri. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, ‘We were not wont to do so in Jafne.’ On the second day, Ananias, the son of Josi the Galilean, said according to the words of R. Akibah. R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, ‘So we were wont to do in Jafne.’” This story is repeated in Rosh hashanah<sup>k</sup>, and Nedarim<sup>l</sup>.

“In<sup>m</sup> Usha it was decreed that a man should nourish his little children; that if a man make over his goods to his children, he and his wife be maintained out of them,” &c.

It<sup>n</sup> was determined also in Usha concerning the burning the Truma, in some doubtful cases: of which see the place quoted.

But that we be not more tedious, let this story be for a conclusion: “The<sup>o</sup> wicked kingdom [of Rome] did sometime decree a persecution against Israel: namely, that every one preferring any to be an elder should be killed; and that every one that was preferred should be killed; and that the city in which any is preferred to eldership should be laid waste; and that the borders within which any such promotion is made, should be rooted out. What did Baba Ben Judah do? He went out, and sat between two great mountains, and between two great cities, and between two sabbath bounds, *בין אושא לשפרעם* *between Usha and Shapharaam*, and ordained five elders, namely, R. Meir, R. Judah, R. Simeon, R. Josi, and R. Eliezer Ben Simeon. Rabh Oia added also R. Nehemiah. When this came to be known to their enemies, he said to the scholars, ‘Fly, O my sons:’ they said to him, ‘Rabbi, what will you do?’ He said to them, ‘Behold, I am

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 39. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Rosh hash. fol. 58. 3. 59. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Nedar. fol. 40. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Chetubh. fol. 28. 4.

See also Peah, fol. 15. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Bab. Shabb. fol. 15. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Id. Sanhedr. fol. 14. 1.



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תַּרְנֵגוֹלָא עַד קִיסָרִין “Tarnegola at Cæsarea.” And the Targum of Jerusalem there reads תַּרְנֵגוֹלָא דְקִיסָרִין “Tornegola of Cæsarion.” Now that Cæsarea which they mean is ‘Cæsarea Philippi,’ which is at the fountain of Jordan: and that Gabara is called תַּרְנֵגוֹלָא עֵילָאָה “Gabara the upper,” for distinction’s sake, from other cities of the same name. Josephus calleth “Tiberias<sup>z</sup>, Sippchor, and Gabara,” the three greatest cities of Galilee. He mentions also Γαβαρῶθ κώμη, the town Gabaroth<sup>a</sup>, and Γαβαργαγαίους, Gabaraganeis<sup>b</sup>, which are reckoned with the Gadarenes and Tyrians by him.

מִתַּרְנֵגוֹלָא קִיסָרִין “From<sup>c</sup> Gabara of Cæsarea and downwards is as the land of Israel,” in respect of the *Demai*, or tithing.

#### CHAP. LXXXVI.

*The difference of some customs of the Galileans from those of Judea.*

It is not impertinently questioned, with what inhabitants Galilee and Perea were first planted after the return out of Babylon, when you scarce find any mention of them in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but of those only who inhabited Judea and the land of Benjamin. But whosoever they were, whether pure Israelites, or those that were more mixed, or some of the ten tribes, it is certain those that inhabited Galilee differed much from those that dwelt in Judea, in certain rites, and not a little in the dialect of their speech.

The Jewish pandects observe a various difference between them: out of which we produce these few instances instead of more:—

In the place noted<sup>d</sup> in the margin, it is discoursed concerning the form and manner of writing the donation of the marriage dowry. “So and so (say they) the people of Jerusalem writ, and the Galileans writ as those of Jerusalem: but the inhabitants of Judea something varied,” &c. Where

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden’s edit.*, vol. ii. p. 232.

<sup>z</sup> In his own *Life*, p. 634. 640. [c. 25. 45.]

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 642. [c. 45.]

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 628. [c. 10. v. 1. Γαβαργαγοί.]

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. *Demai*, 22. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. *Chetubh.* fol. 29. 2.

the Gemarists thus; “The Galileans’ care was of reputation, not<sup>e</sup> of money; the inhabitants of Judea, their care was of money, not of reputation,” &c.

“The<sup>f</sup> wise men say, In Judea they did servile works on the Passover-eves, until noon; in Galilee, not at all.”

“הא” סתם תרומה ביהודה אסורה ובגליל מותרת” The<sup>g</sup> wise men say, That the Trumah taken generally is bound in Judea, in Galilee is loosed. שאין אנשי גליל מכירין תרומת הלשכה For the Galileans know not the Trumah of the Temple-chamber.” The sense of the tradition is this, When any one pronounced a vow in general terms,—for example, saying thus, ‘Let this be to me as the Trumah,’ not naming what kind of Trumah,—a Galilean, so speaking, was loosed from his vow, because he, by reason of the distance of the place (as the Gloss tells us), knew not the Trumah of the holy treasury: but he that inhabited Judea, and spoke thus, was bound by his vow.

And in the same text is added, סתם חרמים ביהודה מותרין ובגליל אסורין “If any vows generally by curses, he is loosed in Judea; he is bound in Galilee, because the Galileans do not know the curses of the priests.” Where the Gloss is this; “There were no priests among the Galileans: therefore, when they cursed, they cursed to none but to God.” And the Gemara of Jerusalem thus; “Because they were fastened to the curse of Achan, it is said, that they are bound: but in Judea, because they are not fastened to the curse of Achan, it is said that they are loosed.”

“Rabbi Judah<sup>b</sup> saith, In Judea they made inquiry concerning the bridegroom and bride three days before the wedding: but in Galilee they did not so. In Judea they allowed the bridegroom and bride private company one hour before the wedding; but they did not so in Galilee. It was a custom in Judea that the married persons should have two שושבינין *friends*, one of the family of the bridegroom, and the other of the family of the bride: but it was not so in Galilee. In Judea those friends slept in the same place where the bridegroom and bride slept: but in Galilee it was not so,” &c.

<sup>e</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 78.

<sup>f</sup> Pesachin, cap. 4. hal. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Nedarim, cap. 2. hal. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Tosaphta ad Chetubh. cap. 1.



## CHAP. LXXXVII.

*The dialect of the Galileans, differing from the Jewish.*

Ἀληθῶς καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλία σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ· “Surely thou also art one of them, for thy speech bewrayeth thee,” Matt. xxvi. 73. Let these passages, which are delivered by the masters, be instead of a comment:—

“To<sup>i</sup> the men of Judea who were exact in their language, their law is established in their hands. To the men of Galilee, who were not exact in their language, their law is not established in their hands.”—The Gloss is, “They [the men of Judea] were exact in their language: so that their speech was pure, not corrupt.”

“To the men of Judea, who are exact about their language, and appoint to themselves certain signs, their law is established in their hands: to the men of Galilee, who are not exact about their language, nor appoint to themselves signs, their law is not established in their hands.” The Gloss is; “They were exact about their language, namely, in rendering the same words which they had heard from their masters. And because they were taught orally, by hearing after hearing, they appointed to themselves from them sign after sign. And because they were exact about their language, they knew how to appoint to themselves fit signs that they might not forget.”

“The men of Judea learn from one master, and their law is established in their hands: the Galileans learn not from one master, and their law is not established in their hands.” The Gloss writes, “The Galileans heard one master in one language, and another in another; and the diversity of the language, or pronunciation, confounded them so that they forgot.” And a little after,

“R. Abba said, If any ask the men of Judea, who are exact about their language, מעברין תנן אן מאברין תנן Whether they say מעברין *Maabrin* with ע (Ain), or מאברין *Maabrin* with א (Aleph)? Whether they say עכוזו *Acuzo* (with Ain), or אכוזו *Acuzo* (with Aleph)? They<sup>k</sup> will answer, There are some who pronounce it מאברין (with Aleph), and there are others who pronounce it מעברין (with Ain). There

<sup>i</sup> Bab. Erubhin. fol. 5. 5.

<sup>k</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 233.



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these also are the words of those of Babylon<sup>n</sup>; “The schools of R. Eleazar Ben Jacob pronounced Aleph Ain, and Ain Aleph.”

We observed before<sup>o</sup> one example of such confusion of letters, when one teaching thus, מִי בַעֲעִים אֵין מַכְשִׁירִין “The waters of the marshes are not to be reckoned among those waters” (that make unclean), he meant to have it understood of מִי בִיעִים *the water of eggs*: but he deceived his hearers by an uncertain pronounciation.

You have another place noted in the margin<sup>p</sup>: “Rabh said, עִידִיהֶן (with Ain): Samuel said, אִידִיהֶן (with Aleph). Rabh said, מַאֲבֵרִין (with Aleph): Samuel said, מַעֲבֵרִין (with Ain). Rabh said יֵאוֹרְתוֹ (with Aleph): Samuel said, יַעוֹרְתוֹ (with Ain).”

If you read the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, you will find so frequent a changing of the gutturals, that you could not easily get a more ready key of that language than by observing that variation.

#### CHAP. LXXXVIII.

גִּלְגָּל *Gilgal*, in Deut. xi. 30: *what that place was.*

THAT which is said by Moses, that “Gerizim and Ebal were מִן הַגְּלְגָל *over-against Gilgal*,” Deut. xi. 30, is so obscure, that it is rendered into contrary significations by interpreters. Some take it in that sense, as if it were סְמוּךְ לַגְּלָל *near<sup>q</sup> to Gilgal*: some רְחוֹק מִן הַגְּלָל *far off from Gilgal*: the Targumists read, “before Gilgal:” while, as I think, they do not touch the difficulty; which lies not so much in the signification of the word מוֹל *Mul*, as in the ambiguity of the word גִּלְגָּל *Gilgal*. These do all seem to understand that Gilgal which the people of Israel took the first night after their passage over Jordan, Josh. iv. 19; which, as Josephus relates, was distant only fifty furlongs from Jordan<sup>s</sup>; but which the Gemarists guess to be fifty miles and more. For<sup>t</sup> “they say, the journey of that day was more than sixty miles, to wit, from Jordan to Gilgal.” And this they say,

<sup>n</sup> Bab. Berac. fol. 32. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. lxiii.

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Avod. Zar. fol. 39. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Bab. Sotah, fol. 33. 2.

<sup>r</sup> R. Sol. in Deut. xi.

<sup>s</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [v.

4. 1.]

<sup>t</sup> Kimch. in Josh. iv.

that they may fix Gilgal near Gerizim and Ebal; where they think the people encamped the first night after their entrance into the land of Canaan, from those words of Moses, Deut. xxvii. 2, “In the day, wherein thou shalt pass over Jordan, thou shalt set thee up great stones, and shalt plaster them with plaster,” &c. Now those stones, say they, are set up in Gerizim and Ebal. Hence is that of the Gemarists <sup>u</sup>, “The Lord said, I said, When ye shall pass Jordan, ye shall set up stones; but<sup>x</sup> you have spread yourselves as far as sixty miles.” And <sup>y</sup>, “Gerizim and Ebal were sixty miles distant from Jordan.”

But certainly by that Gilgal, of which Moses<sup>z</sup> in those words speaks, “Are not Gerizim and Ebal מִן הַגְּלִגָּל *over-against Gilgal?*” is to be understood some other than that which Joshua named by that name, Josh. v. 9. For when Moses spoke those words, the name of that Gilgal, near Jericho, was not at all: nor can that which is spoke in the book of Joshua concerning לְגוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל *the nations of Gilgal*, Josh. xii. 23, be applied to that Gilgal, when it had obtained that name. Therefore, in both places, by *Gilgal* seems to be understood Galilee; and that as well from the nearness of the words,—for גִּלְגָּל *Gilgal*, and גַּלִּיל *Galil*, are of the same root and etymology,—as from the very sense of the places. For when, in Joshua, some kings of certain particular cities in Galilee—Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor, &c.—are reckoned up, the king of the nations of Gilgal, or Galilee<sup>z</sup>, is also added, who ruled over many cities and countries in Galilee.

So also the words of Moses may very well be rendered in the like sense, ‘Are not those mountains Gerizim and Ebal, beyond Jordan, over-against Gilgal, or Galilee?’

These things following strengthen our conjecture:—I. The version of the LXX, who render לְגוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל *The nations of Gilgal*, by Γεῖ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, *Gei of Galilee*. II. The comparing Josephus with the book of the Maccabees, in the story of Demetrius. “He pitched his tent (saith Josephus<sup>a</sup>) ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ‘in Arbel, a city of Galilee;’”

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 44. 1. in the Gloss.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 80.

<sup>y</sup> Bab. Sotah, fol. 36. 1.

<sup>z</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 234.

<sup>a</sup> [Antiq. xii. 11. 1.]

but, 1 Mac. ix. 2, Ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Γάλγαλα, καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ Μεσαλῶθ τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. “ They went forth the way that leadeth to Galgala, and pitched their tents before Mesaloth, which is in Arbel.” In one Arbel is in Galgala or Gilgal, in the other it is in Galilee.

## CHAP. LXXXIX.

*Divers towns called by the name of צור Tyre.*

BESIDES Tyre, the noble mart of Phœnicia, we meet with various places of the same name, both in the Talmudists and in Josephus.

In<sup>b</sup> the place noted in the margin, they mention צור, one *Tyre*, in the very borders of the land, which was bound to pay tithes; and another, in like manner in the borders, which was not bound: we shall hereafter produce their words. And in these examples which follow, and in very many others, which might be produced,—they leave it undecided, whether the discourse is of Tyre of Phœnicia, or of some other place of that name.

“ Jacob Navoriensis travelled to *Tyre* (צור) and there taught some things, for which R. Chaggai would have him beaten<sup>c</sup>.”

“ R. Mena went to *Tyre* (צור): whom R. Chaija Bar Ba found there; and going forward, he told R. Jochanan those things which he had taught<sup>d</sup>.”

“ R. Issa went to *Tyre* (צור), and saw them drinking wine<sup>e</sup>,” &c.

Josephus thus writes of Hyrcanus, the brother of Simon the high priest:—“ He built a strong place between Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan<sup>f</sup>: καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τόπον Τύρον ὠνόμασεν and called it *Tyre*.”

The same author, of John Ben Levi thus: When he had endeavoured to retain the Giscalites, now attempting to shake off the Roman yoke, it was to no purpose: Τὰ γὰρ περίξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ, καὶ Γαβαραγανοῖσι, καὶ Τύριοι. “ for the bordering people, the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganeans, and the

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Demai, fol. 22. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Id. Kiddushin, fol. 64. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Id. Avod. Zar. fol. 42. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. fol. 44. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 5. [xii. 4. 11.]

<sup>g</sup> Jos. in his own Life. [c. 10.]



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tha (of which afterward), which was seated on the further bank of Jordan, there where it is now ready to flow into the sea of Gennesaret. Therefore, Cana seems, on the contrary, to lie on this side Jordan; how far removed from it we say not, but we guess not far; and it was distant such a space from Tiberias as the whole length of the sea of Gennesaret doth contain.

## CHAP. XCI.

### *Perea.* עבר הירדן *Beyond Jordan.*

“THE length<sup>l</sup> of Perea was from Macherus to Pella: the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan.”

“The<sup>m</sup> mountainous part of it was mount Macvar, and Gedor,” &c. “The plain of it was Heshbon, with all its cities, which are in the plain, Dibon, and Bamoth-Baal, and Beth-Baal-Meon<sup>n</sup>,” &c. “The valley of it is Beth-Haran, and Beth-Nimrah, and Succoth,” &c.

The mention of the mountains of Macvar occurs in that hyperbolical tradition of R. Eleazar Ben Diglai, saying<sup>o</sup>, “The goats מכוור בהרי מצוור *in the mountains of Macvar* sneezed at the smell of the perfume of the incense in the Temple.” The word Macherus is derived from מכוור *Macvar*.

The whole country, indeed, which was beyond Jordan, was called Perea: but it was so divided, that the southern part of it was particularly called Perea; the other part was called Batanea, Auranitis, Trachonitis. So it is called by Josephus<sup>p</sup>, because, by the donation of Augustus, ἦτε Περαιά, καὶ Γαλιλαία, “Perea and Galilee came into the possession of Herod Antipas: and Βαταναία τε, καὶ Τράχων, καὶ Αὐρανίτις, Batanea, and Trachon, and Auranitis, into that of Philip.”

בשן *Bashan* passed into Batanea, according to the Syriac idiom, that changeth ש (Shin) into ת (Thau): בתנין *Batanin*, in the Samaritan interpreter; מתנין *Matanin*, in the Targumists, by the alternate use of מ (Mem) and ב (Beth), which is not unusual with them.

Golan was the chief city of this country, Josh. xx. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 4. [iii. 3. 3.]

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.

<sup>n</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 235.

<sup>o</sup> Tamid, cap. 3. hal. 8. Bab. Joma, fol. 39. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9. [ii. 6. 3.]

Whence is Gaulonitis, and that Γαυλονιτικὴ ἄνω and κάτω<sup>q</sup>, “Upper and Nether Gaulonitis.”

Τράχων, *Trachon*. In the Jews we read<sup>r</sup>, שְׂרֵנוּנָא דְמַתְחָם לְבוּצְרָה “Trachon, which is bounded at Bozra.” Not Bozrah of Edom, Isa. lxiii. 1; nor Bezer of the Reubenites, Josh. xx. 8; but another, to wit, Bosorra, or Bosor, in the land of Gilead. Concerning<sup>s</sup> which, see Josephus<sup>t</sup>, and the First Book of Maccabees, v. 26.

While we speak of the difference between Bezer and Bozrah, we cannot pass by a simple example of this thing, propounded by the Babylonian Talmudists. “The<sup>u</sup> prince of Rome” [viz. Samael, the angel of death, as the Gloss tells us] “did formerly commit a threefold error; as it is written, ‘Who comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?’ In this matter he errs, because there is no refuge but in Bezer, and he betook himself to Bozrah,” &c.

Βαταναία ὠρίζετο τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι; “Batanea is bounded by Trachonitis<sup>x</sup>.”

Auranitis.—Josephus<sup>y</sup> sometimes calls it ‘Abranitis.’—“Cæsar (saith he) gave to Herod [the Great] Τράχωνα, καὶ Βαταναίαν, καὶ Ἀβρανίτιν Trachon, and Batanea, and Abranitis;” and that, that he should restrain and subdue the robbers, who most miserably vexed those countries, &c.

## CHAP. XCII.

### *Adam and Zaretan*, Josh. iii.

I SUSPECT a double error in some maps, while they place these two towns in Perea; much more, while they place them at so little a distance.

We do not deny, indeed, that the city Adam was in Perea; but Zaretan was not so. Of Adam is mention, Josh. iii. 16; where discourse is had of the cutting-off, or cutting in two, the waters of Jordan, that they might afford a passage to Israel; קָמוּ גֵד אֶחָד הַרְחֵק מְאֹד בְּאָדָם *The waters rose up upon a heap afar off in Adam*. For the textual reading

<sup>q</sup> See Jos. in the place above, cap. 13. [ii. 9. 1.]

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>t</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 12. [xii. 8. 3.]

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Maccoth, fol. 12. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 2. [xvii. 2. 1.]

<sup>y</sup> Id. ibid. lib. xv. cap. 13. [xv. 10. 1.]



בְּאָדָם “*In Adam*,” the marginal hath מֵאָדָם “*From Adam*.” You may very fitly apply both readings.

Adam was the centre, where the waters parted: here was the station of the ark of the covenant, now ready to enter Jordan. Hence the Psalmist, אֹהֶל שֵׁן בְּאָדָם *The tabernacle which he had fixed in Adam*, Psalm lxxviii. 60. Therefore, the textual reading בְּאָדָם “*in Adam*,” holds well; because there was the centre of the cutting in two of the waters: but the marginal reading מֵאָדָם “*from Adam*,” does moreover add light, because the gathering those waters together on a heap was far above it.

“R. Jochanan saith  $\gamma$ , Adam is a city, and Zaretan is a city, and they are distant from one another twelve miles.” From Adam to Zaretan, were the waters dried up; from Zaretan and upwards, they stood on a heap. Adam was in Perea, over-against Jericho; Zaretan was in the land of Manasseh on this side Jordan. It is called Zarthanah, 1 Kings iv. 12, and is defined to be near Beth-shean, which was the furthest bounds of the land of Manasseh northward. The brazen vessels of the Temple are said to be cast in the plain of Jordan, in the clay ground between Zaretan (on this side Jordan) and Succoth (beyond it), 1 Kings vii. 45. Therefore, the words cited in Joshua, הַרְיֵק מְאֹד בְּאָדָם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צָרְתָן *far off from Adam, which is beside Zaretan*, are so to be understood, as not so much to denote the nearness of Adam and Zaretan, as to intimate that the heaping up of the waters was by Zaretan. They are to be rendered in this sense, “And the waters that came down from above stood together; they rose up into one heap, in a very long distance from the city Adam,” namely, to that distance, which is by Zaretan.

Adam and Zaretan, on this and the other side, were both something removed from Jordan: but they are named in that story, because there the discourse is of the time, when Jordan contained not itself within its own channel, but had overflowed its banks.

## CHAP. XCIII.<sup>z</sup>

### *Julias-Bethsaida.*

THERE were two Juliases, both in Perea, one built by

$\gamma$  Hieros. Sotah, fol. 21. 4.

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 83.



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Julias-Bethsaida was not seated in Galilee, as it is in the maps, but beyond the sea of Galilee in Perea. This we say upon the credit of Josephus: “Philip (saith he<sup>f</sup>) built Cæsarea in Paneas, καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ Ἰουλιάδα [mark that]: and Julias [which before-time was Bethsaida] in Nether Gaulonitis.” But now, there is nobody but knows that Gaulonitis was in Perea. This certainly is that Julias which Pliny<sup>g</sup> placeth eastward of the lake of Gennesaret (for the other Julias was scarcely near the sea at all); and that Julias of which Josephus speaks, when he saith<sup>h</sup>, “that a certain mountainous country beyond Jordan runs out from Julias to Somorrha.”

## CHAP. XCIV.

### *Gamala. Chorazin.*

THESE things determine the situation of Gamala:—1. It was ἐνὶ κάτω Γαυλανᾷ, “in lower Gaulon,” in which, as we have seen, Bethsaida was. 2. It was ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην [Γεννησαρίτιδα]. “upon the lake [of Gennesaret].” 3. It was Ταριχαιῶν ἀντικρὺς, “over-against Tarichee.” Compare the maps, whether in their placing of it they agree with these passages. Here<sup>k</sup> was Judas born, commonly called ‘Gaulanites,’ and as commonly also, the ‘Galilean.’ So Peter and Andrew and Philip were Gaulanites; of Bethsaida, John i. 44; and yet they were called ‘Galileans.’

While we are speaking of Bethsaida, Chorazin comes into our mind, which is joined with it, in the words of Christ, Matt. xi. 21, as partaking with it in his miracles, and being guilty of equal ingratitude. If you seek for the situation of this place, where will you find it? Some maps place it on this side Jordan, and others beyond Jordan: but on what authority do both depend? It is mere conjecture, unless I am deceived. Let me also conjecture.

The<sup>l</sup> word *חורשין* *Chorashin*, denotes *woody places*, both in the Holy Bible and in the Rabbinical writings. Hence we suppose the Chorazin that is now before us is called,

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 13. [ii. 9. 1.]

<sup>g</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 15.

<sup>h</sup> De Bello, lib. iv. cap. 27. [iv. 8. 2.]

<sup>i</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 1. [iv. 1. 1.]

<sup>k</sup> Id. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. [xviii. 1. 1.]

<sup>l</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 84.

namely, because it was seated in some *woody place*. For such places the land of Nephthali was famous above the other tribes: to which the words of Jacob have regard, “Nephthali is a hind let loose,” Gen. xlix. [21]; that is, Nephthali shall abound with venison; as Asher (of whom mention is made in the words going before) shall abound in bread, and royal dishes. Those words also of the Talmudists refer to this, “It<sup>m</sup> is lawful for cattle to feed in common, *בחורשין אפילו שבט יהודה בשבט נפתלי* *in the woods, yea, for the tribe of Judah [to feed] in the tribe of Nephthali.*” Hence ‘Harosheth of the Gentiles’ hath its name, Judg. iv. 2, which was in that tribe. Led by these reasons, I suppose our Chorazin to have been in Galilee, rather than in Perea, where most maps place it.

But when this place seems to have been so famous for the frequent presence and miracles of Christ, it is a wonder that it hath nowhere else so much as a mention in the gospel-story, but in the bare remembrance of it in those words of Christ, “Woe to thee, Chorazin,” &c.; whereas Bethsaida and Capernaum, places that he mentioneth with it, are spoken of elsewhere. What if, under this name, Cana be concluded, and some small country adjacent, which, from its situation in a wood, might be named ‘Chorazin,’ that is, ‘the woody country?’ Cana is famous for the frequent presence and miracles of Christ. But away with conjecture, when it grows too bold.

## CHAP. XCV.

*Some towns upon the very limits of the land. Out of the Jerusalem Talmud, Demai, fol. 22. 4.*

IN the place cited, discourse is had about the tithing of some herbs and seeds, namely, of rice, nuts, onions, Egyptian beans, &c.; and inquiry is made, what is to be resolved of tithing them, if they grow in places which seem to be without the land; and these words are presently after brought in:—

“ונרכה אילו עיירות אסורות בתחום וכו’” These cities are forbid in the borders, Tsur, Sezeth, and Bezeth, Pi Mazobah, upper<sup>n</sup> and lower Canothah, Beth Badia, Rosh

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Bava Bathra, fol. 15. 1.    <sup>n</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. ii. p. 237.

Maja, Amon, and Mazi (R. Mena saith, So it was called anciently, but now Susitha): Ainosh, En Teraa, Ras, Berin, Jion, Jadot, Caphar, Charob, Chaspia, and Caphar Tsemach. These cities are permitted in the borders, Nebi, *Tsur*, Tsijar, Gasmi, Zivian, Jagdi, Chatam, Debab, Charbatha, and Cheraccab” (or “*Debab, and its wilderness, and its fortification*”).

You see the name צור *Tsur*, here once and again, of which we have spoken before: let us add these words elsewhere: “I<sup>o</sup> will walk before the Lord in the land of the living: and are there not other lands of the living besides Tsur and her companions, — and Cæsarea and her companions?”

Of כפר צמח *Caphar Tsemach*, there is mention also in the place first cited, col. 3, in these words: “Rabbi looseth Bethshan. Rabbi looseth Cæsarea. R. looseth Beth-Gubrim. Rabbi looseth Caphar Tsemach” (from the obligation, as it seemeth, of the Demai). “Rabbi permitted to take herbs, in the end of the seventh year: but all were against him. He said to them, Come, and let us judge of the matter. ‘It is written’ (concerning Hezekiah) ‘And he beat in pieces the brazen serpent.’ What! was not any one righteous from Moses unto his times, who did this? But God reserved that crown for him, that he might be crowned with it: and God hath reserved this crown for us, that we may be crowned with it.” *Egregium vero factum et spolia ampla, &c.*<sup>p</sup>

## CHAP. XCVI.<sup>q</sup>

*The consistories of more note: out of the Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedr. fol. 32. 2.*

“THE Rabbins deliver, Follow after righteousness, follow after righteousness. Go to (Beth-Din) the famous consistory, to R. Eleazar to Lydda, to Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, לברור חיל. A tradition; The sound of mills בבורני *Burni*. The sons’ week, the sons’ week. A candle in ברור חיל *Beror Chel*. A feast is there, a feast is there.”

These things are something obscure, and do require light.

<sup>o</sup> Hieros. Kilaim, fol. 22. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Virg. *Æn.* iv. 93.

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 85.



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לפקיעין *to Pekiin.*” In the Jerusalem Talmudists it is בקיעין *Bekiin*, in this story that follows :

“ R. Jochanan Ben Bruchah<sup>t</sup>, and R. Eliezer the blind, travelled from Jabneh to Lydda, and received R. Josua בבקיעין *in Bekiin*.

“ Go to Rabban Gamaliel to Jabneh.

“ Go to Rabbi Akiba to Bene Barak.

“ Go to R. Mathia to Roma.

“ Go to R. Chananiah Ben Teradion to Sieni.

“ To R. Jose to Zippor.

“ To R. Judah Ben Betirah to Nisibin.

“ To R. Josua to the captivity (viz. to Pumbeditha.)

“ To Rabbi to Beth-Shaaraim.

“ To the Wise men in the chamber Gazith.”

## CHAP. XCVII.<sup>u</sup>

### *The cities of the Levites.*

CONCERNING them, see Numbers, chap. xxxv. and Joshua chap. xxi.

“ The<sup>x</sup> suburbs of the cities of the Levites were three thousand cubits on every side ; viz. from the walls of the city, and outwards ; as it is said, ‘ From the walls of the city and outwards a thousand cubits : and thou shalt measure from without the city two thousand cubits’ (Numb. xxxv. 4, 5). The former thousand were the suburbs, and the latter two thousand were for fields and vineyards. They appointed the place of burial to every one of those<sup>y</sup> cities to be without these bounds ; for within them it was not lawful to bury a dead corpse.” Do you ask the reason ? It was not so much for the avoiding pollution, which might be contracted from a sepulchre, as by reason of the scribes’ curious interpretation of the law, that saith, The suburban lands of these cities were given to the Levites for their cattle and oxen, וְלִכְלֵ חַיָּתָם “ and for all their living” (creatures), Numb. xxxv. 3 :— therefore, say they, not for the dead or for burial.

All<sup>z</sup> the cities of the Levites were cities of refuge ; but

<sup>t</sup> Chagigah, fol. 75. 4.

<sup>u</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 86.

<sup>x</sup> Maimon. in Shemittah Vejobel,

cap. 13.

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 238.

<sup>z</sup> *Id.* in Rotzeah, cap. 8.

with this distinction from those six which were properly so called; that those six afforded refuge to every one that dwelt in them, whether he betook himself thither for that end or no: but the other Levitical cities were not so. And also, that the unwitting manslayer, flying to those six cities, dwelt there at free cost, without paying any rent for his house; but in the other Levitical cities he lived not at free cost.

Those forty-eight cities of the Levites were so many universities, where the ministerial tribe, distributed in companies, studied the law, became learned; and thence scattered through the whole nation, dispersed learning and the knowledge of the law in all the synagogues.

Two things are, not without good reason, to be observed here, which, perhaps, are not seriously enough observed by all.

I. The settled ministry of the church of Israel was not prophets, but priests and Levites, Mal. ii. 7. For it was not seldom when there were no prophets; and the prophets send the people to the priests for instruction, Hag. ii. 11, and Malachi, in the place mentioned already.

II. That tithes were granted to the priests and Levites, not only when they ministered at the altar or in the Temple, but when they studied in the universities and preached in the synagogues.

Behold the method of God's own institution. God chooseth Israel to be a peculiar people to himself: to this chosen people he gives a law and a clergy: on the clergy he enjoins the study of the law: to their studies he suits academical societies: on the universities he bestows lands and tithes: on the synagogues he bestows tithes and university-men.

And the schools of the prophets were little universities, and colleges of students. For their governor they had some venerable prophet, inspired with the Holy Spirit, and that partook of divine revelations. The scholars were not inspired indeed with the same prophetic spirit, but received prophecies from the mouth of their master. He revealed to them those things that were revealed to him, of the will of God and the state of the people, of the times and events of



Israel, and above all, of the mysteries of the gospel; of the Messiah, of his coming, times, death, resurrection, and those things that were to be done by him.

In these small universities, “the prophets, who prophesied of the grace that should come (as the apostle Peter speaks)<sup>a</sup>, inquired diligently of salvation; searching what, or what manner of time that was, which was pointed out by the Spirit of Christ that was in them, when he foretold the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow.” These things, not to be fetched out by the mere and bare study of the law, were here taught; and so the studies of the law and gospel together rendered the minister of the divine word complete.

## CHAP. XCVIII.<sup>b</sup>

*Some miscellaneous matters respecting the face of the land.*

I. LET us begin with that canon concerning reading the Book of Esther in the feast of Purim. כרכים המוקפין חומה “Townsc<sup>c</sup> that were begirt with walls from the days of Joshua read it on the fifteenth day” of the month Adar: כפרים ועיירות גדולות “Villages and great cities read it the fourteenth day:” אלא שהכפרים מקדימין ליום “Unless that the villages anticipate it, to the day of the congregation.”

You see a threefold distinction of cities and towns:

1. כרכים *Fortifications*, or towns girt with walls from the days of Joshua. But whence shall we know them? They are those which are mentioned in the Book of Joshua; “which<sup>d</sup>, however in after-times they were not begirt with walls, are nevertheless reckoned under the catalogue of them, as to the reading of that book.”

2. עיירות גדולות *Great cities*. That was called a great city in which was a synagogue. So it is defined by the Piske Tosaphoth, עיר גדולה היא שיש בה י' בטלנין “That is a great city, in which are ten men at leisure to pray and read the law.” See what we say concerning these things on Matt. iv. 23, when we speak of synagogues.

<sup>a</sup> [1 Pet. i. 10, 11.]

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 87.

<sup>c</sup> Megill. cap. i. hal. 1.

<sup>d</sup> פסקי הראש artic. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Piske Tosaph. artic. 2.



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(because of the stink). “Nor did they allow a tanner’s workshop at all, but on the east side of the city. R. Akiba saith, On any side, except the west, but at the distance of fifty cubits.”

III. From the cities let us walk forth into their ploughed grounds and fields.

Here you might see, in some places, certain<sup>h</sup> tokens hung upon some fig-trees, to show of what year the fruit that grew there was. See what we say on Matt. xxi. 19. In other places, you might see barren trees stigmatized with some mark of infamy. “A<sup>i</sup> tree which shook off its fruits before they were ripe, סוקרין אותן בסיקרא *they mark with red*, and load it with stones.”

You might see the ploughing and mowing of their fields, the dressing of their vines, and their vintage, to be done by the rules of the scribes, as well as by the art of the husbandman, or the vine-dresser. For such was the care and diligence of the Fathers of the Traditions, concerning tithing corn and fruits, concerning leaving a corner for the poor, concerning the avoiding of sowing different seeds, and of not transgressing the law concerning the seventh year; that they might not plough, nor sow, nor reap, but according<sup>k</sup> to the traditional rule. Hence are those infinite disputes in the books Peah, Demai, Kilaim, Sheviith, of<sup>l</sup> the corner of the field to be left, what and how much the portion of it was, and of what things such corners ought to consist? Of<sup>m</sup> those that divide the field so that a double corner of it is due to the poor: Whether<sup>n</sup> a corner is due from beds of corn that grow among olive trees? Whether from a field whose sowing and reaping is various? What<sup>o</sup> are the trees whose fruits are Demai? Of<sup>p</sup> what things is the tithing of the Demai? How<sup>q</sup> long the same plot of ground may be sown with different seeds, so as not to offend against the law? Of sowing different seeds:—How<sup>r</sup> many vines make a vineyard? Of their rows, of the beds of the vineyard, of sowing within the press, &c. and innumerable decisions of that nature, which did so keep

<sup>h</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 35. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. col. 3.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 88.

<sup>l</sup> Peah, cap. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Id. cap. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Id. cap. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Demai, cap. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. cap. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Kilaim, cap. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. cap. 4. and 5.

the countryman within bounds, that he could not plough nor mow his land according to his own will, but according to the rule of tradition.

“The<sup>s</sup> inhabitants of Beth-Namer measured out a corner for the poor with a line, and they gave a corner out of every row. Abba Saul saith, They make mention of them to their praise, and to their dispraise: to their dispraise, because they gave one part out of a hundred; to their praise, because, measuring with a line, they collected and gave a corner out of every row:” that is, meeting with a measuring line, they yielded the hundredth part of the field to the poor, and that out of every row of sheaves.

## CHAP. XCIX.

### *Subterraneous places. Mines. Caves.*

Thus having taken some notice of the superficies of the land, let us a little search into its bowels. You may divide the subterraneous country into three parts: the metal mines, the caves, and the places of burial.

This land was eminently noted for metal mines, so that “its stones,” in very many places, “were iron, and out of its hills was digged brass,” Deut. viii. 9. From these gain accrued to the Jews; but to the Christians, not seldom slavery and misery; being frequently condemned hither by tyrants. So Eusebius of Edesius, Τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην δέδοται μεταλλοῖς<sup>t</sup>, “He was condemned to the metal mines of Palestine.” And again, concerning others, Εἶτ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μεταβὰς ὁμολογητὰς, τοῖς κατὰ Φαινὸν τῆς Παλαιστίνης χαλκοῦ μετάλλοις τοὺς πάντα παραδίδωσιν. “Then<sup>u</sup> passing to the other confessors of Christ, he condemns them all to the brass mines, which were in Pheno of Palestine.”

On the north part of the land, in the country of Asher, were mines of metal. Hence is that in Deut. xxxiii. 25, “Thy shoes shall be iron and brass.” On the south, in the desert of Sin, the utmost bounds of Judea, were mines also: hence זִינָה וְעָבֵר — *and shall pass to Zin*, as our translation reads, Num. xxxiv. 4,—in the Jerusalem Targumist, is עָבֵר

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Peah, fol. 18. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 18.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. cap. 17.

פרולה *over-against the mountain of iron*: and in Jonathan, לציני טיור פרולא *unto the palm-trees of the mountain of iron*: and in the Talmudists, ציני הר ברזל כשרות <sup>x</sup> *the palm-trees of the mountain of iron are fit to make a small bundle to carry in the hand in the feast of Tabernacles* *y*. On the east coast of Perea was also Σιδηροῦν ὄρος, “an iron mountain,”—witness Josephus <sup>z</sup>. And without doubt there were other such-like mines, scattered here and there in other parts of that land, though of them we have no mention.

You will not at all wonder at these underminings of the earth, seeing they brought so much profit and gain with them, and were so necessary to the life of man. But what shall we say of those dens and caves in rocks and mountains, whence no gain seemed to be digged, but rather danger arose to the neighbouring places oftentimes? For what were these, but lurking-places for wild beasts and robbers? There is infinite mention of these caves both in the Holy Scriptures and in other writings, especially in Josephus, where ὑπόνομοι, and σπήλαια, *subterraneous passages, and dens*, are mentioned a thousand times. And many of these were of a vast largeness, scarcely to be credited; those especially in the Talmudists, which are called “The dens of Zedekiah,” not a few miles in distance.

But were those hollows the work of nature, or of the hands and industry of man? By one example, taken out of Josephus, the thing may be determined. Relating the story of a castle built by Hyrcanus in Perea, among other things he speaks thus: Ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατ' ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας διατεμὼν αὐτῆς τὸ προέχον, σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν. “Out <sup>a</sup> of the rock against the mountain, having cut in two the prominent parts of it, he made dens of many furlongs long.” And a little after, Τὰ μέντοι στόμια τῶν σπηλαίων, ὥστε <sup>b</sup> ἓνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσιέναι, καὶ μὴ πλείους, βραχύτερα ἤνοιξε. “He made the mouths that opened into these dens to be strait, that but one might go in at a time, and no more:” καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπίτηδες, ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεῖς

<sup>x</sup> Succah, cap. 3. hal. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 240.

<sup>z</sup> De Bello, lib. iv. cap. 27. [Hudson, p. 1193. l. 37.] [iv. 8. 2.]

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 5.

[Huds., p. 530. l. 36.] [xii. 4. 11.]

<sup>b</sup> English folio edit., vol. ii. p. 89.



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the inner parts of the cave four cubits, and six cubits ; and let him open within it *ח' כוכין* eight sepulchres." They were not wont, say the Glosses, to bury men of the same family here and there, scatteringly, and by themselves, but altogether in one cave : whence, if any one sells his neighbour a place of burial, he sells him room for two caves, or hollows on both sides, and a floor in the middle. *כוד* is the very place where the dead corpse is laid.

The tradition goes on : *ג' כוכין מכאן* " *Three sepulchres are on this side, and three on that, and two near them. And those sepulchres are four cubits long, seven high, and six broad.*"

To those that entered into the sepulchral cave, and carried the bier, there was first a floor, where they stood, and set down the bier, in order to their letting it down into the sepulchre : on this and the other side, there was a cave, or a hollowed place, deeper than the floor by four cubits, into which they let down the corpse, divers coffins being there prepared for divers corpses. " R. Simeon saith, The hollow of the cave consists of six cubits, and eight cubits, and it opens thirteen sepulchres within it, four on this side and four on that, and three before them, and one on the right hand of the door, and another on the left. And the floor within the entrance into the cave consists of a square, according to the dimensions of the bier, and of them that bear it : and from it, it opens two caves, one on this side, and another on that. R. Simeon saith, Four at the four sides of it. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, The whole is made according to the condition of the ground."

These things are handled by the Gemarists and Glossers very curiously and very largely, whom you may consult. From these things now spoken, you may more plainly understand many matters which are related of the sepulchre of our Saviour. Such as these :

Mark xvi. 5 : "The women, entering into the sepulchre, saw a young man sitting on the right hand : " in the very floor, immediately after the entrance into the sepulchre.

Luke ̄ xxiv. 3 : " Going in they found not his body," &c. Ver. 5 : " While they bowed down their faces to the earth

[ver. 12], Peter ran to the sepulchre<sup>h</sup>, and, when he had stooped down, he saw the linen-clothes ;” that is, the women, and Peter after them, standing in the floor (בהצר), bow down their faces, and look downward into the place where the sepulchres themselves were למערת הכוכין *the cave of the graves*), which, as we said before, was four cubits deeper than the floor.

John xx. 5: “The disciple whom Jesus loved came first to the sepulchre ; and when he had stooped down” (standing in the floor, that he might look into the burying-place), “saw the linen clothes lie ; yet went he not in. But Peter went in,” &c. ; that is, from the floor he went down into the cave itself, where the rows of *the graves* (כוכין) were (in which, nevertheless, no corpses had been as yet laid, besides the body of Jesus) : thither also after Peter, John goes down. And ver. 11 : “But Mary, weeping, stood at the sepulchre without : and while she wept, she stooped down to the sepulchre, and saw two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and another at the feet, where the body of Christ had lain.”

“She stood at the sepulchre without ;” that is, within the cave, on the floor, but without that deeper cave, where the very graves were, or כוכין *the places for the bodies* : bowing herself, to look down thither, she saw two angels at the head and foot of that כוד *coffin* wherein the body of Christ had been laid.

<sup>h</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 239.







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## CHOROGRAPHICAL DECAD,

&c. &c.<sup>a</sup>

WHEN this our evangelist, whom we have undertaken to handle, makes mention of some places in the land of Canaan, whose situation is somewhat obscure and more remote from vulgar knowledge; I might seem to be wanting to my task, if I should pass them over unsaluted, and not clear them, as much as lies in me, with some illustration: which I thought very convenient to do here in the very entrance; partly, lest, by the thrusting-in of these discourses into the body of this comment, whatsoever it be, the order of it might be too much broken; and partly, because I would do the same here that I did before my animadversions on St. Matthew.

The places which here are handled are these:

- I. Idumea, Mark iii. 8.
- II. Ἐρημος, 'The wilderness;' chap. i. 4.
- III. Γαζοφυλάκιον, 'The treasury;' chap. xii. 41.
- IV. Ἡ κώμη ἢ κατέναντι, 'The village over-against;' chap. xi. 2.
- V. Dalmanutha; chap. viii. 10.
- VI. Ὅρια Τύρου, καὶ Σιδῶνος, 'The borders of Tyre and Sidon;' chap. vii. 24.
- VII. The coasts of Decapolis; chap. vii. 31. And to complete the Decad, are added,
- VIII. Some measurings.
- IX. Some places here and there noted.
- X. Concerning some inhabitants of the land.

That I have enlarged upon some places, besides those in

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 289.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 397.



the evangelists, I have done it for the reader's sake; to whom, I hope, it will not be unacceptable to hear such things, which do either bring with them profit or pleasure,—or, at least, such as are not commonly heard of.

## CHAP. I.<sup>b</sup>

I. *Idumea*. II. *A few things of Pelusium*. III. *Casiotis*: כַּסְיָה *Cas-jah*: Exod. xvii. 16. IV. *Rhinocorura*. *The Arabic Interpreter noted*. V. *The country of the Avites, a part of New Idumea*. VI. *The whole land of Simeon within Idumea*. VII. *The whole southern country of Judea, within Idumea*. VIII. *Concerning Healthful Palestine*.

### SECT. I.—*Idumea*: Mark iii. 8.

THERE was a time when the land of Israel and Idumea were not only distinct countries, but separated with an iron wall, as it were, of arms and hostility: but, I know not how, Idumea at last crept into Judea; and scarcely left its name at home, being swallowed up in Arabia.

They were truths, which Pliny speaks, in that time, when he spake them; “Arabia<sup>c</sup> is bounded by Pelusium sixty-five miles. Then Idumea begins, and Palestine, at the rising up of the Sirbon lake.” But “thou art deceived, O Pliny,” would the ancients have said; for Idumea is bounded by Pelusium sixty-five miles: then begins Palestine, at the rising up of the Sirbon.

We are beholden to Strabo<sup>d</sup>, that we know the reason of the transmigration of that people and of the name. For thus he writes: Τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὰ μὲν ἐσπέρια ἄκρα, τὰ πρὸς τῷ Κασίῳ, κατέχουσιν Ἰδουμαῖοί τε καὶ λίμνη. Ναβαταῖοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι κατὰ στάσιν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες, &c. “The Idumeans and the lake [of Sirbon] take up the farthest western parts of Judea, next to Casius. The Idumeans are Nabateans: but being cast out thence by a sedition, they joined themselves to the Jews, and embraced their laws.”

Every one knows what the land of Edom, or Idumea, in the Old Testament<sup>e</sup>, was: but it is not the same in the New; and if that old Idumea retained its name (which it scarcely

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 290.

<sup>c</sup> *Nat. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 12.

<sup>d</sup> *Strab. Geog.* lib. xvi. [c. 2.]

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 398.



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padocia, let him give her the money of Cappadocia” But hear Rambam upon the place; קפוטקיא saith he, “is Caphtor, and is called by the Arabians דמיאטי *Damiata*: which all know is the same with Pelusium.

Hence the Targums of Jerusalem and Jonathan, and the Syriac interpreter upon Gen. x. 14, for כפתורים *Caphtorim*, read קפודקאי *Cappadokia*; but the Arabic reads Damiatenos; and the Seventy, upon Deut. ii. 23, for “The Caphtorim going out of Caphtor,” read Οἱ Καππάδοκες ἐξελθόντες ἐκ Καππαδοκίας, “The Cappadocians going out of Cappadocia.”

The Targum upon Jer. xlvii. 4, for שְׂאֵרֵי אֶרֶץ כַּפְתּוֹר “The remnant of the country of Caphtor,” hath שאר נגות קפוטקאי “of Kapotokia.” Where Kimchi saith, “R. Saadiah interprets Caphtor דמיאטי *Damiata*.”

: כתיב אפיתהא דקפוטקיא אנפק אנבג אנטל: “These words were written upon the gate of Pelusium; ‘Anpak, Anbag, Antal.’” Which were the names of some measures, that it might be known to all, that they were to buy and sell according to that measure.

### SECT. III.—*Casiotis*.

WE now go on from Pelusium to mount Casius: so Pliny; “From Pelusium, the trenches of Chabrias<sup>k</sup>. Mount Casius, the temple of Jupiter Casius. The tomb of Pompey the Great,” &c.

Casius<sup>l</sup> was distant about three hundred furlongs from Pelusium (in Antoninus it is forty miles), and the lake of Sirbon was twenty-eight miles from Casius. Thus Pliny’s sixty-five miles arise from ‘Pelusium to the ending of Arabia.’

Casius, in Ptolemy, is written Κάσσιον, ‘Cassion,’ and Κασσιώτις, ‘Cassiotis,’ with a double s; and so also it is in Dion Cassius, who adds this story:—

“Pompey<sup>m</sup> died at mount Cassius, on that very day whereon formerly he had triumphed over Mithridates and the pirates. Καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίουσ υἱὸν χρησμοῦ τινὸς ὑποπτεύσας, &c. “And when, from a certain oracle, he had suspicion of the Cassian nation, no Cassian

<sup>i</sup> Bab. Bathr. 58. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Of Chabrias, see Diod. Sic. c. 5. pag. (mihi) 347.

<sup>l</sup> Strab. ubi ante. Tab. Asiæ,

<sup>m</sup> Dion. Cas. lib. xlii.

laid wait for him, but he was slain and buried at the mountain of that name.”

Those words of Moses do rack interpreters, Exod. xvii. 16: *יָד עַל כַּסֵּי יְהוָה* *Jad Al Cas-jah*. The Seventy render it, 'Εν χειρὶ κρυφαία πολεμεῖ Κύριος, “The Lord wars with a secret hand.” All other versions almost render it to this sense, “The hand upon the throne of the Lord.” So the Samaritan, Syrian, Arabic, Vulgar, and the Rabbins,—that is, ‘God hath sworn.’

What if *כַּסֵּי* *Cas-jah* be Casiotis? For that country was the country of the Edomites, but especially of the Amalekites, concerning whom Moses treats in that history. We will not too boldly depart from the common consent of all, and we do modestly and humbly propound this conjecture: which if it may take any place, the words may there be rendered, without any scruple or knot, to this sense, “The hand of the Lord is against Cassiotis,” (the country of the Amalekites; for) “the Lord hath war with Amalek from generation to generation.”

SECT. IV.—*Rhinocorura*. *The Arabic Interpreter noted.*

WE are now come to the river Sichor; called ‘the river of Egypt;’ not because it was within the Egyptian territories, but because it was the Jews’ limits towards Egypt. There, heretofore, was ‘*Rhinocorura*.’ Whence the Seventy, in Isa. xxvii. 12, render *עַד-נְהַל מִצְרַיִם* “Unto the river of Egypt,” ‘Εως ‘Ρινοκορούρων, “Unto the Rhinocoruri.” I suppose the Arabic interpreter imitated them, and writ first *כּוֹרַר* *Corura*; but that at last a little point<sup>n</sup> crept in into the last letter, and so it was changed from *r* into *n*. So that now we read *כּוֹרַן*, which is sounded *Coronis*, in the Latin interpreter.

SECT. V.<sup>o</sup>—*The country of the Avites: a part of the new Idumea.*

PASSING the river, we enter into new Idumea, anciently the region of the Avites; in the Holy Scripture called Hazerim, Deut. ii. 23: in the eastern interpreters, Raphia: in Pliny,

<sup>n</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 399.    <sup>o</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 292.

Rhinocorura, and Raphia Inwards. Sometimes also in the Holy Scripture it is called Shur; and instead of it, in those interpreters, it is called 'Chagra.' Whence is the name of mount Angaris concerning which Pliny speaks,—“Gaza, and inwards Anthedon, mount Angaris.” For when the Syrians pronounced 'Chaggara,' the Greeks would sound a double Gamma by *n* and *g*, and would say 'Angara.'

Shur also is sometimes rendered by the eastern interpreters חֲלוּצָה *Chaluzzah*, as the Jerusalem Targum upon Gen. xvi. 7; and Jonathan upon Exod. xv. 22. The Arabic so renders *Gerarim*, Gen. xx. 1; and Jonathan, *Bared*, Gen. xvi. 14. *Bared* indeed, which signifies *hail*, you call in Greek χάλαζα: and whether the Targumists use the Greek word, when they render it *Chaluzah*, let the reader judge.

*Shur*, sometimes in the Syriac interpreter, is שׁוּר *Sud*, as Exod. xv. 22; the point for difference in the last letter being placed amiss. In Gen. xvi. 7, 14, *Shur* and *Bared* are rendered by them *Gedar*, instead of *Gerar*, by the same error. *Bared* in the Arabic is *Jared* there, with two points placed under the first letter instead of one.

The country of the Avites, call it by what name you will, ended at Gaza, being stretched out thither in length, from the river of Egypt, forty-four miles. But the Idumea which we seek ended not there, but extended itself farther into Judea, swallowing up, under the name, that whole breadth of the land, from the Mediterranean sea to the sea of Sodom, according to the length of it.

SECT. VI.—*The whole portion of Simeon within Idumea.*

IT swallowed up, first, the whole portion of Simeon, a great part of which was contained within the country of the Avites; but not a small part also extended itself farther into Judea. Mention is made of his 'fourteen cities,' Josh. xix. if you tell them one by one; but they are said to be only *thirteen*, ver. 6; where the LXX make an even number, while they take שָׂרְוֵהָן *Sharuhen*, not for a city, but render it, Οἱ ἀγροὶ αὐτῶν, as if they had read שָׂרְוֵהָן 'their fields.' But Sheba seems rather to be one and the same with Beersheba; and so the number is made equal.



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tine; and, while I think upon it, I doubt again of the division of Palestine into two parts, in the code of Justinian and Theodosius; and into three parts in the Notitia.

In <sup>t</sup> the edict of Theodosius and Valentinian are these words; “Judæorum Primate, qui in utriusque Palæstinæ Synhedriis dominantur, vel in aliis provinciis degunt, periculo suo anniversarium canonem de synagogis omnibus, Palatinis compellentibus, exigant ad eam formam, quam patriarchæ quondam, coronarii auri nomine, postulabant,” &c. “The chief of the Jews, who were over the Sanhedrims in both Palestines, or live in other provinces,” &c.

The mention of ‘both Palestines’ seems plainly to exclude a threefold division; or at least to conclude, that there were no Sanhedrims in the third part. For without all scruple, the ‘Notitia Imperii’ gives us a ‘third part,’ in which are ranked, “Under the disposition of the worthy man, the Earl of the East, these provinces underwritten:

Palestine.

Phœnice.

Syria.

Cyprus.

Palestine the second<sup>u</sup>.

Palestine the Healthful.

Phœnice of Libanus.”

And Justinian<sup>x</sup> hath these words; “When all Palestine formerly was one, it was afterward divided into three parts.”

The head of the first the same emperor assigns to be Cæsarea; Gulielmus Tyrius<sup>y</sup> to be Jerusalem: and concerning the second and third, he and Pancirolus do not agree. For the metropolis of the second, according to Tyrius, is Cæsarea,—and Scythopolis of the third:—according to Pancirolus, Samaria is the metropolis of the second,—and Jerusalem of the third.

On the credit of Justinian, you may with good reason suppose the first to be that, whose head is Cæsarea; the second, reason itself will persuade us to have been that of Jerusalem; and where you will go to seek the third, I, for my part,

<sup>t</sup> Cod. lib. i. tit. de Jud. et cælic. §. 17.

<sup>x</sup> Novel. 103.

<sup>y</sup> De Bell. Sacr. lib. xiii. cap. 2.

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 400.

know not, if not in this our Idumea. It is not indeed to be dissembled, that, in the *Notitia Imperii*, in the scheme adorned with the pictures of the Roman garrisons, Jordan is painted running between them, five being placed on this side, and eight on that. So that it may seem that the country beyond Jordan was the *third* part. But I shall not dispute here, whether that be not in part to be disposed under the governor of Syria or Arabia; but there are some things which seem to favour such an opinion, partly in the *Notitia* itself, but especially in the authors alleged.

If, therefore, I may be allowed my conjecture concerning this New Idumea, then some answer may be given about the Sanhedrims of both Palestines, in the meantime not denying the threefold division of it. We must consider, indeed, that there were councils or Sanhedrims in the times of Theodosius and Valentinian, &c. They were, in times past, in that Palestine whose head was Cæsarea, and in that Palestine whose head was Jerusalem: but not in that Idumea concerning which we speak, whose head, whether ye state it to be Gaza or Ascalon, or Eleutheropolis, concerning which Jerome so often speaks, and perhaps *Bereshith Rabba*<sup>z</sup>, we do not define.

Mention indeed occurs in the Talmudists of *זקני דרום* and *דרומאי* “The southern Rabbins;” but not so called, because they dwelt in the furthest southern parts of Judea, for those of Jafne and Lydda had that name, but because Judea was south of Galilee. For the Rabbins of Tiberias give them that title.

But, whatsoever at last that ‘Third Palestine’ was, no less scruple arises why it was called ‘Salutaris,’ the ‘Healthful.’ Pancirolus will have it to be from the wholesome waters: and he learned from Sozomen<sup>a</sup>, that they ran from Emmaus into Judea, namely, that fountain where Christ washed his disciples’ feet: “from whence the water (to use his words), *facta est diversarum medicamen passionum*, became medicinal for divers distempers.”

But besides that that story savours enough of fable, the word *Emmaus*, if I may be judge, deceived its first author, which indeed sometimes is written for *Ammaus*, denoting

<sup>z</sup> In sect. 42.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. v. c. 21.



“hot baths,” and translates the word Chammath into Greek pronunciation; but he, whosoever was the first author of it, had scarcely found that town of Judea called Emmaus, written by the Jews חמת *Chammath*, but עמאוס or אמאוס *Ammaus*, very far from the signification of ‘warm baths.’

To<sup>b</sup> this add also, that mention is made in the same Notitia, of Galatia Salutaris, or the ‘Healthful;’ and there is a distinction between Macedonia and Macedonia the Healthful; Phrygia Pacatiana, and Phrygia the Healthful; Syria of Euphrates, and Syria the Healthful. In all which it will be somewhat hard to find medicinal waters: and the examples which the author alleged produceth concerning some of them are so incredulous, that I would be ashamed to relate them after him.

I should rather think these countries so called from the companies and wings of the Roman army, called ‘Salutares:’ for mention is made, in the same Notitia, of ‘Ala Salutis,’ ‘the wing of health,’ or safety; as ‘Ala secunda Salutis,’ ‘the second wing of safety,’ under the duke of Phœnice; or perhaps the best appointed and strongest garrisons of the Romans, and such as conduced most to the safety and peace of the whole country, had their stations there. And in this our Idumea, which we suppose to be the Third Palestine, or Salutaris, were placed, and that out of the greater muster-roll,—

“The Dalmatian horse of Illyria, at Berosaba,” or in Beersheba.

“The shield-bearing horse of Illyria, at Chermula,” or in Carmel, where Nabal dwelt.

“The promoted horse, inhabitants at Zodecath;” which I suspect to be the cave of Zedekiah, concerning which the Talmudists speak.

“The javelin-bearing horse, inhabitants at Zoar.” But let these things be left in suspense.

And now to return thither whence this whole dispute was raised, when it is said by St. Mark, that “a great multitude followed Jesus from Galilee and Judea, and Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and from beyond Jordan;” he retains the known and common division of the land of Israel at that

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 294.



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II. The word מדבר “the wilderness,” denotes a champaign country, where one man’s ground is not distinguished from another’s by fences.

“They<sup>e</sup> do not breed up smaller cattle in the land of Israel, but in Syria they do. “ובמדברות של א”י And in the wildernesses of the land of Israel<sup>f</sup>.” Where the Gloss thus: “They do not breed such cattle in the land of Israel, that they feed not down the fields: now the fields in the land of Israel do belong, without doubt, to some Israelite.” But they fed in the deserts; that is, where field was not distinguished from field, but all was common. Hence you may understand what is signified by the desert of Ziph, of Maon, of Tekoah, &c.; namely, a region or country near to cities, where also were scattered houses; but especially, either *champaign*, where no fences were to make distinction of lands; or *mountainous*, and that which was barren and without improvement.

III. There is no need to speak of the deserts that were altogether desolate and without inhabitant; such as the deserts of Arabia, of Libya, &c.

SECT. II.—מדבר יהודה *The wilderness of Judah.*

PERHAPS I shall be laughed at if I distinguish between the wilderness of Judah and the wilderness of Judea. And formerly such a distinction did deserve laughter; but when the name of Idumea, as I have shewed, swallowed up a great part of Judea, then it was not only to be borne with, but necessary also, to distinguish between the wilderness of Judah, of which Josh. xv. 61, and the title of Psal. lxxiii, and the wilderness of Judea where John baptized.

The title of that Psalm in the original Hebrew is thus, מזמור לדוד בהיותו במדבר יהודה “A Psalm of David when he was in the desert of Judah.” But the Greek interpreters render it, “A Psalm of David when he was ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, *in the wilderness of Idumea.*” And the Vulgar, “A Psalm of David when he was in the desert of Idumea:” acting the part of no good interpreters, but of no ill paraphrasts. So Jer ix. 26; עַל יְהוּדָה וְעַל אֲדוֹם Ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἐδώμ. “Upon Idumea, and upon Edom.”

<sup>e</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 295.

<sup>f</sup> *Bava Kama*, fol. 79. 2.

If you ask where David was when he composed that Psalm, it is answered (1 Sam. xxiv. 1), “In the wilderness of En-gedi:” and if you search further for the precise place, it was there where the castle Masada was afterward built. For I doubt not at all, that that place, as Josephus<sup>g</sup> describes it, was the same with צִיְרֵי הַיַּעְלִים “the rocks of the wild goats.” [1 Sam. xxiv. 3.]

I appeal here to the maps and their authors, in whom ‘En-gedi’ and ‘Masada’ (and ‘Lot’s cave’) are placed not very far from the utmost north coast of Asphaltites: let them say whether Idumea stretched out itself so far. If not, let them correct the interpreters whom we have named; and though it be so, they might show by what authority they place those places there, and let them friendly correct me putting them far elsewhere.

SECT. III.—*A scheme of Asphaltites, and of the wilderness of Judah, or Idumea adjacent.*

WE<sup>h</sup> are now indeed out of our bounds; but we hope not out of the bounds of truth. Therefore, in one or two words, we thus confirm the situation that we have assigned to these places:

I. In Gen. x. 19, Gaza and Sodom are made to lie in a parallel line.

II. Lasha is Callirrhoe. So Jonathan renders עַד לַשָּׁע ‘unto Lasha,’ עַד קַלְרֹהַי ‘unto Callirrhoe.’ So also Bere-shith Rabbah<sup>i</sup>, and the Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>k</sup>, in the places cited at the margin.

You have the situation of it in Pliny, on the same coast with Macherus. “Arabia<sup>l</sup> of the Nomades looks upon Asphaltites on the east,—Macherus, on the south. On the same side is Callirrhoe, a warm spring, of a medicinal wholesomeness.”

And now let it be observed, from the place alleged out of Genesis, that, after the same manner as Sidon and Gaza, the limits on the west part, are placed, so are Sodom and Lasha seated on the east, one on the south, and the other

<sup>g</sup> De Bell. lib. vii. cap. 13.

<sup>h</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 296.  
—*Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 402.

<sup>i</sup> Sect. 37.

<sup>k</sup> Megill. fol. 71. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 16.

on the north; and the other cities stood in this order: from Lasha, southward, Zeboim; after it, Admah; after it, Gomorrah; and after it, on the utmost southern coast, Sodom.

III. The Asphaltites, saith Josephus<sup>m</sup>, is extended in length, Μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας, “unto Zoar of Arabia;” and, Deut. xxxiv. 3, Moses, from mount Nebo, beheld Zoar from the utmost bounds of the land on that side, as he had beheld the utmost bounds of it from other sides.

IV. En-gedi is Hazezon-tamar; so the Targum of Onkelos in Gen. xiv. 7: see 2 Chron. xx. 2; and Tamar was the utmost south border: Ezek. xlvii. 19; עֵין גְּדִי תַמְרֵייהָ<sup>n</sup>.

V. “The border of Judea (saith Solinus<sup>o</sup>) was the castle Masada. And that not far from Asphaltites<sup>p</sup>.”

Josephus<sup>q</sup> indeed saith, that this castle was οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων, “not far from Jerusalem;” which seems to thwart me in placing it as I have done. But, besides that we might contend about that reading, when it is very usual with historians to use the words οὐ πόρρω, and ἐγγὺς, ‘not far off,’ and ‘near,’ in a very wide and loose sense,—one can hardly build any thing upon this. So Solinus<sup>r</sup>; “Callirrhoe is a fountain very near Jerusalem;” when yet how far off was it! And in Strabo<sup>s</sup>, Lebens is λιμὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐγγὺς, “a port near Italy;” when yet it was distant many hundreds of miles.

Masada in Hebrew is מַצְדָּה *Matsadah*, which implies <sup>t</sup> *fortification*: and that with good reason, when that castle was fortified even to a miracle. The name is taken from 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. 19; [בַּמְצָדוֹת] where the Seventy, the Syriac, and Arabic seem to have read מַצְרָה with ר (Resh), and not with ד (Daleth). For they read in the former place, ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, “in the strait places;” and in the latter, ἐν Μασερῆμ, “in Maserem” (otherwise Μασερῆθ, *Masereth*), ἐν τοῖς στένοῖς, “in the strait places.” The Syriac and Arabic read *Masroth*; as though they had read in the original בַּמְצָרוֹת בַּמְצָרוֹת. So Josephus<sup>u</sup>; Αὐτὸς (Δαβίδης) μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ

<sup>m</sup> De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 27.

<sup>n</sup> Bereshith Rabba, sect. 26.

<sup>o</sup> Solin. cap. 38.

<sup>p</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 17.

<sup>q</sup> De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 24. [iv. 7. 2.]

<sup>r</sup> Solin. in the place above.

<sup>s</sup> Geogr. lib. 8.

<sup>t</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 403.

<sup>u</sup> Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 264. l. 47.] [vi. 13. 4.]



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bed, and a fountain running by; which we leave to such as are easy of belief: the wilderness certainly where he preached and baptized is to be sought for far elsewhere.

III. Luke saith, that “the word of the Lord came to John in the wilderness, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, and he went into all the country about Jordan.” He sojourned from wilderness to wilderness. In the wilderness, in the hill-country of Judea, he passed his youth as a private man; not as an eremite, but employed in some work or study; and assumed nothing of austerity, besides Nazarethship, before the thirtieth year of his age. Then the Spirit of prophecy came upon him, and “the word of the Lord came unto him,” teaching him concerning his function and office, instructing him about his food and clothing, and directing him to the place where he should begin his ministry.

The region about Jericho was that place, or that country, that lay betwixt that city and Jordan, and so on this side of it and on that about the same space; also on this side Jericho, towards Jerusalem. A country very agreeable to the title which the evangelists give it, and very fit for John’s ministry. For,

I. It was sufficiently desert, according to what is said, “John came preaching in the wilderness.”

“The space (saith Josephus <sup>a</sup>) from Jericho to Jerusalem, is desert and rocky; but towards Jordan and the Asphaltites, more level, but as desert and barren.” And Saligniac writes; “The <sup>b</sup> journey from Jerusalem is very difficult, stony, and very rough; the like to which I do not remember I have seen. Jericho is distant from Jordan almost ten miles,” &c.

II. This country might, for distinction, be called ‘the wilderness of Judea,’ because other regions of Judea had other names: as, ‘The King’s mountain,’ ‘The plain of the South,’ ‘The plain of Lydda,’ ‘The valley from En-gedi,’ ‘The region about Betharon <sup>c</sup>,” &c.

III. Although that country were so desert, yet it abounded very much with people. For, besides that abundance of villages were scattered here and there in it, 1. Jericho itself was the next city to Jerusalem in dignity. 2. There were

<sup>a</sup> De Bello, lib. iv. cap. 27. [iv. 8. 3 ]

<sup>b</sup> Tom. ix. cap. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Sheviith. fol. 38. 4.

always twelve thousand men in it, of the courses of the priests. 3. That way was daily trodden by a very numerous multitude, partly of such who travelled between those cities, partly of such who went out of other parts of Judea, and likewise out of the land of Ephraim into Perea, and of them who went out of Perea into those countries. 4. John began his ministry about the time of the Passover, when a far greater company flocked that way.

IV. This country was very convenient for food and provision, in regard of its wild honey; of which let me say a few things.

SECT. V.—*Μέλι ἄγριον* wild honey; Mark i. 6.

WHEN it is so often repeated in the Holy Scripture, that God gave to his people Israel “a land flowing with milk and honey,” hence, 1. One would conclude that the whole land flowed with it; and, 2. Hence one would expect infinite hives of bees. But hear what the Talmudists say of these things:

“R. Jonah<sup>d</sup> saith<sup>e</sup>, The land flowing with milk and honey is the land, some part of which flows with milk and honey.” And that part, they say, is in Galilee: for thus they speak; “For sixteen miles every way from Zippor is a land flowing with milk and honey:” of which thing and country we shall speak elsewhere.

“R. Jose<sup>f</sup> of Galilee saith, They bring not the first-fruits out of the country which is beyond Jordan, because that is not the land flowing with milk and honey.” And he that brought the first-fruits was to say, “The Lord gave us this land flowing with milk and honey; and now I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me.” Deut. xxvi. 9, 10.

But that part that flowed, how did it flow with honey? Learn that from Rambam upon the place: “When he saith ‘and honey,’ he understands *דבש של תמרים* *the honey of palms*. For the palm trees, which are in the plain and in the valleys, abound very much with honey.”

There was honey also distilling from the fig-trees. “R.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 404.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Biccurem, fol. 64. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Biccurem, cap. i. hal. 15.



Jacob & Ben יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *Dositheus* saith, I went on a certain time from Lydda to Ono before day-break, up to the ancles in the honey of figs.”

This is the μέλι ἄγριον, ‘the wild honey,’ of which the evangelists speak, as of the Baptist’s food. And how convenient for this the region about Jericho was, which was called<sup>h</sup> ‘The country of palm-trees,’ is clear to every eye. Diodorus Siculus<sup>i</sup> hath these words of a certain nation of Arabians: Φύεται αὐτοῖς τὸ πέπερι ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ μέλι πολὺ τὸ καλούμενον ἄγριον, ᾧ χρῶνται ποτῶ μὲν ὕδατος. “They have pepper from the trees, and much honey, called wild honey, which they use to drink with water.” Whether it were also as plentiful in locusts we do not say; certainly, in this also it gave place to no country, if either barrenness or fruitfulness served for the breeding them: for Jericho and the adjacent parts was like a garden of pleasure in the midst of a desert. Certainly, the place was very convenient for that great work to be performed by the Baptist; that is, baptizing in Jordan.

SECT. VI.—Περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. “*The region round about Jordan.*” Matt. iii. 5.

HERE that of Borchard is not unuseful: “Know<sup>k</sup>, that from the rise of Jordan under Libanus, unto the desert of Pharan, almost a hundred miles, Jordan itself, on both shores, hath spacious and pleasant fields, which are compassed behind with very high mountains.” The truth of which, if his eyes had not experienced it, he might have learned from Josephus, who speaks thus:

“Over<sup>l</sup> Jericho hangs a mountain stretched forth northward, even to the country of Scythopolis; and southward to the country of Sodom, and the utmost borders of the Asphaltites. It is craggy, and not habitable by reason of barrenness. Against it runs out a mountain near Jordan, beginning at Julias, and the north country, and stretched out southward unto Gomorrah, where it bounds the rock of Arabia. The middle between these two mountainous regions is called

<sup>g</sup> Chetub. fol. III. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 298.

<sup>i</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. xix.

<sup>k</sup> Borch. cap. 7. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. iv. cap. 27. [Hudson, p. 1193.] [iv. 8. 2.]



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אין ירדן אלא מבית ירחו ולמטה *Jordan is not, but inwards from Jericho, and beneath it.*” You would think me more skilful than a diver, to fetch this secret from the bottom. ‘Jordan is not Jordan above Jericho,’ is a paradox that vexes the Glossers themselves, much more therefore may it me. One understands the thing according to the bare letter; for “he that voweth (saith he) that he will not drink of Jordan, may drink above Jericho.” Another understands it of Jericho, as being a bounds, yea, as the bounds named below Jericho only; Josh. xviii. 20. We make no tarrying upon the business. But if Jordan had such a limitation, that Jordan was not above<sup>p</sup> Jericho, ἡ περίχωρος Ἰορδάνου, ‘The region about Jordan,’ is to be understood in the same limitation, namely, that it is only below Jericho. See the Seventy on Gen. xiii. 10, 12.

The masters, sifting this business, out of one scruple move another; for they speak these words; “Jordan floweth out of the cave of Paneas, goes along by the Sibbechean sea, by the sea of Tiberias, by the sea of Sodom, והולך ונופל לים *and passeth on, and glides into the Great sea; ואין ירדן אלא מבית ירחו ולמטה but Jordan is not but inwards from Jericho, and below it.*” Let any shew me where Jordan flows out of the sea of Sodom into the Mediterranean. The river Shihor, carrying *blackness* in its name, may<sup>q</sup> be taken for it, if it be any other; but neither does this appear concerning it.

While you see multitudes gathered together to John, and gladly baptized in Jordan, without fear, without danger, alas, how much was Jordan changed from that Jordan in that story of Saligniac! “Jordan (saith he<sup>r</sup>), in which place Christ was baptized, is famous for a ruinous building. Here, therefore, all we pilgrims went into the holy river, and washed our bodies and our souls; those from filth, and these from sin; a matter of very great joy and health, had not an unhappy accident disturbed our joys. For a certain physician, a Frenchman, of our company, an honest man, going something further into the river, was caught with a crocodile

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 405.

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 299.

<sup>r</sup> Salign. tom. ix. cap. 6.

(whether one should call it a dragon or a beast, it is uncertain), and swallowed him up, not without the common grief of our brethren.”

The wilderness also, where our Saviour underwent his forty days' temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus, being now baptized, *ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, “returned from Jordan,” namely, from the same tract whereby he came thither.

## CHAP. HI.

I. *Various Corbans.* II. *שופרות Corban Chests.* III. *The Corban לשכה Chamber.* IV. *Where the Γαζοφυλάκιον, the Treasury, was.* V. *גד יון Gad Javan in the Temple.* VI. *Jerusalem, in Herodotus, is Cadytis.* VII. *The streets of Jerusalem.* VIII. *The street leading from the Temple towards the Mount of Olivet.*

SECT. I.—*Γαζοφυλάκιον the Treasury; Mark xii. 41.*

THAT which the Talmudists say of some other things, *שתיים שהן ארבע* that<sup>s</sup> “they were two, which at last became four,” may have place as to the Corbans, or holy treasures. They<sup>t</sup> were *two*, as to their end; but *four*, as to the despatch of them to that end.

There<sup>u</sup> was a Corban *לבדק הבית* for the repair of the building of the Temple; and there was a Corban *לעבודת המקדש* for the preparing such things as were necessary for the divine service in the Temple. And both were two. The duplicity of the former you have in this tradition:

: *שתי לשכות היו במקדש: There were two chambers in the Temple. לשכת חשאים The chamber of the silent [or of the private]; where pious men offered privately; whence the children of pious parents were nourished also privately;”* that is, they did their charity secretly for this pious use, that it might not be known who did it. There are some who think these *חשאים silent ones*, were the same with the Essenes; of which we will not dispute: nor do we number this charitable treasury among the Corbans, concerning

<sup>s</sup> Shevuoth, cap. i. hal. i.

<sup>t</sup> Zevachin, fol. 54. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Shekalim, cap. 5. hal. 6.

which we are now treating; because it conferred nothing to the business of the Temple. But the tradition goes forward;

ולשנת הכלים : “ And there was *the chamber of the vessels*, where whosoever offered any vessel laid it. And after thirty days the treasurers opened the chambers; and whatsoever vessel was found in it, which was useful to the repairing of the building, was laid up for that use. And whatsoever was not useful was sold; and the price of it went ללשנת בדק הבית *to the chamber for the repairing of the house.*”

You observe, how there was a ‘Corban of vessels,’ or instruments of iron, brass, silver, &c.; and a ‘Corban of money;’ both for the same end, that is, for the repair of the building and structure of the Temple and courts, if by some means or other they might fall down, or might receive damage by the injury of time, of tempests, or rains.

Maimonides adds, פרוכת של היכל *The<sup>x</sup> veils of the Temple* also come out of the chamber for the repair of the building; but the veils of the doors out of the Corban לשכה *chamber*: of which afterward.

#### SECT. II.<sup>y</sup>—שופרות *The Corban chests.*

THERE was also a double Corban, whence the charges of things necessary for the divine worship were defrayed. The first was שופרות, or certain *chests*, of which thus the masters:

׃ יג' שופרות היו במקדש : “ *There<sup>z</sup> were thirteen chests in the Temple*, in which was written, תקלין חדתין *New shekels* [that is, of the present year], תקלין עתיקין *Old shekels* [or, shekels of the year past], קינין *Turtles, &c.*

Maimonides<sup>a</sup> still more largely and plainly: “In the Temple were thirteen chests formed like trumpets;” that is, narrower below, and more broad above.

“The first was for the shekels of the present year.

“The second<sup>b</sup> was for the shekels of the year past.

“The third, for those who were to bring an oblation of

<sup>x</sup> In Shekalim, cap. 4.

<sup>y</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 300.

<sup>z</sup> Shekalim, cap. 6. hal. 5. Joma,

fol. 55. 2.

<sup>a</sup> In the place above, cap. 2.

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 406.



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ג' א' ב'. And why, saith R. Jose, was Aleph, Beth, Gimel, written upon them? namely, that it might be known which of them was filled first, that it might first be emptied. R. Ishmael saith, The inscription was in Greek, Alpha, Beta, Gamma<sup>d</sup>."

The chests which are here spoken of were those into which the three greater were emptied, which always stood unmovable in the chamber. The manner of the emptying of which take from the words of the Gloss in the place alleged: "Those chests in which the money was laid-up did contain twenty seven seahs [*each nine*]; and they were covered with a linen cloth. He who was to empty entered with three chests containing nine seahs. He first filled the chest marked א, out of the first of the three great chests; and then covered it with the linen cloth. Then he uncovered the second of the great chests; and out of it he filled the second chest, marked with ב; and covered it again. Then he uncovered the third of the great chests, and filled the third chest, marked ג; but covered not the other again," &c.

Moreover, of the manner and time of this emptying, thus the masters speak: "Thrice<sup>e</sup> in a year תורמין את הלשכה *they take care about the chamber*" (for let me render it thus in this place); that is, as the Gloss writes [out of the thirteen chests they transferred whatsoever had been collected in them into these three great ones, which were in this chamber, and in like manner they emptied them into three less, of which before], מפרוס הפסח "About the space of half a month before Passover, before Pentecost, and before the Feast of Tabernacles: or, in the beginning of the month Nisan, and of the month Tisri, and fifteen days before Pentecost."

And<sup>f</sup> here I cannot but transcribe the words of the Glosser in that place of the Talmud, which we are now upon, as not a little illustrating the place in the Evangelists.

"They published (saith he) and made known that they should bring the oblation of the Lord (*the half-shekel*), they that were near (to Jerusalem), at the Passover; and they that were further off, at Pentecost; and they that were most

<sup>d</sup> Shekalim, cap. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 301.

remote, at the Feast of Tabernacles.” הלין דקריבין בפרוס פסח והלין דרחיקין בפרוס עצרת והלין דרחיקין מנהון : These words serve for a light to the story in St. Matthew, chap. xvii., of the collectors of the Didrachm, or half-shekel, requiring it of Christ at Capernaum, when the feast of the Passover was now past a great while ago. But we go on.

“ He who went into the chamber to empty the chest, went not in with a folded garment, nor with shoes, nor with sandals, nor with phylacteries, nor with charms,” &c. And the reason was, that there might be no opportunity, and all suspicion might be removed, of stealing and hiding any of the money under them.

The money taken thence served to buy the daily sacrifice, and the drink-offerings, salt, wood, frankincense, the show-bread, the garments of the priests, and, in a word, whatsoever was needful for the worship and service of the Temple.

Yea, “ Rabh ḡ Asa saith, גוזרי גזירות בירושלם *the judges of things stolen, who were at Jerusalem*, received as their stipend ninety-nine manas מתרומת הלשנה *out of the rent of the chamber.*”

#### SECT. IV.—Where the Γαζοφυλάκιον, *treasury*, was.

WE have searched out the things ; now let us inquire after the places.

I. Those thirteen chests, which were called שופרות or *trumpets*, we have fixed, without<sup>h</sup> all doubt, in the court of the women : and that upon the credit of Josephus ; Αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων, σφόδρα μὲν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀνείχοντο κίοσιν. “The<sup>i</sup> walks (saith he, speaking of that court), running along between the gates, extended inwardly from the wall before the treasuries, were borne up with fair and great columns.” To this let us add the words of the evangelist John, viii. 20 : “ These words spake Jesus ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ, *in the treasury* :”—if it had been said, κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου, *over-against the treasury*, which Mark saith, it might be under-

ḡ Chetubh. fol. 105. 1.

<sup>i</sup> De Beil. lib. v. cap. 14. [Huds.,

<sup>h</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 407. p. 1226. l. 39.] [v. 5. 2.]



stood of one of the chambers of which we have spoken : which sense the Arabic interpreter seems to follow ; who renders it, that “ Jesus sat *باب عند* *at the gate* of the treasury.” But when it is said that he spake those words *ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ*, *in the treasury*, those chambers are wholly excluded, into which it would be ridiculous to think that they permitted Christ to enter.

But note, the word *Γαζοφυλακιών*, *traesuries*, in Josephus, is the plural number, and that he speaks of the court of the women, and you will be past doubting that he respected these chests under the word *traesuries* : and you will doubt as little that Mark looked the same way when you shall have observed that his speech is of the woman, how both she and others cast money *εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον*, *into the treasury* ; which, as appears from those things we have produced out of the Talmudists, was neither customary, nor allowed to do into other Corbans.

This court, indeed, is commonly called in the Jewish writers, *עזרת נשים* *the court of the women* ; not that women only entered in there, but because women might not go further ; in the same sense as the outward court is called ‘ the court of the Gentiles,’ not that heathens only might enter there, but because they might not go further. That court was also most ordinarily called *הר הבית* *the Mountain of the Temple* ; so this also whereof we are treating was called *Γαζοφυλάκιον*, *the treasury*.

When, therefore, it is said by St. Mark that Jesus sat *κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου*, *over-against the treasury*, it comes to this, that he sat under the walk before which those chests were placed. And when John saith, “ Jesus spake these words in the treasury,” it is all one as if he had said, ‘ He spake these words in the court of the women ;’ yea, in that place where those chests were, that that place might be distinguished from others which were in that court ; for in every corner of that court there was a little court, each one called by its own name, as appears in the places written in the margin<sup>k</sup>.

II. To trace the situation of the rest of the Corbans, concerning which we have made mention, is not now the busi-

<sup>k</sup> Middoth, cap. 7. hal. 5. Joma, fol. 16. 1.



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kings of Græcia erected an idol: as it is said in the book Avodah Zarah, In the corner looking north-east the Asmoneaus hid the stones of the altar, which the Greeks had profaned with their idols.”

But whether these our interpreters suppose *Gad Javan* to be that chamber where those stones lay hid, laid up there by the Asmoneans when they repaired the altar, concerning which place see if you please the place in the margin<sup>o</sup>; or whether they suppose it to be the place itself where the idol stood, inquire. But how much space it was thence, and what way they went from thence to Siloam, I heartily wish they had told us. They say only thus much of that matter, that “it was so much space as one might walk while a man twice bathed, and twice dried himself.”

Being now in the Temple we cannot but take notice of a name of it usual <sup>p</sup> among the masters, namely, בירה *Birah*, that is, as the Aruch explains it, *a palace*. “If<sup>q</sup> a mischance in the night [or a gonorrhœa] happened to any Levite going forth, הולך לו במסיבה ההולכת תחת הבירה *he went down into a secret walk which led away under Birah*, or the sanctuary, to a bath,” &c. These things are related of the second Temple. But elsewhere, when it is disputed ‘Whether men were better under the first Temple or the second,’ Rabba determines it, בירה שחזרה לראשונים ולא בירה שחזרה לאחרונים *Birah may teach this which they had that lived before; but they had not that lived after*. If by בירה *Birah*, is to be understood the Temple itself, both they that lived before and they that lived after had it; if some particular part of the Temple, they that lived after had that also, as appears from the places alleged. But by the thread of the discourse in the place quoted, it seems, that by בירה *Birah*, Rabbah understood not the Temple itself, but the glory of the Temple, and those divine endowments of it, “The heavenly fire, the ark, Urim,” &c. which were present to the first Temple, but absent from the second. For presently they slip into discourse concerning the ceasing of prophecy under the second Temple, and the Bath Kol’s succeeding in its places. The word בִּירָה is in David’s mouth, 1 Chron. xxix.

<sup>o</sup> Middoth, cap. i. hal. 6.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 408.

<sup>q</sup> Middoth, cap. i. hal. 8.

19; לְבָנוֹת הַבֵּיָרָה אֲשֶׁר הֵכִינוֹתִי “to build the palace for which I have made provision.”

SECT. VI.—*Jerusalem, in Herodotus, is Cadytis.*

LET us also salute Jerusalem, and that under its most glorious name, ‘The Holy City.’ Herodotus points it out, if we are not much mistaken, under the name of *Cadytis*. Ἀπὸ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὐρίων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἣ ἐστὶ Συρίων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν καλεομένων. “From<sup>r</sup> Phœnice unto the mountains of *Cadytis*, which is the city of those Syrians who are called Palestines.” That Jerusalem is pointed out by him under this name, these things following persuade me :

I. It<sup>s</sup> was commonly called קְדוֹשָׁה *Kedoshah, Holy*. The Jewish money, wheresoever dispersed, spoke out this title of the city<sup>t</sup>. But now when it was very common in the Syrian dialect to change ψ (*Schin*) into τ (*Thau*), how easy was it among them, and among other nations imitating them, that Cadysha should pass into Cadyta and Caditis; as חַדָּשָׁה *Chadasha, New*, passed into חַדָּתָה *Chadatha*.

II. He compareth *Cadytis* to the great city of Sardis. For Ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος εὐούσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει) Σαρδίῳ οὐ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονος. “From the city *Cadytis*,” as he goes on, “not much less than Sardis, as I think.” But now there was no city at all within Palestine worthy to be compared with Sardis, a most famous metropolis in times past, except Jerusalem.

III. These things also he speaks of Nechoh king of Egypt : Καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εὐούσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. “But<sup>u</sup> Necns joining in a foot battle with the Syrians in Magdolus, obtained the victory: and after that, took Cadytis the great city of Syria.”

Which passage, if it be compared with the holy story of Pharaoh Nechoh overcoming Josiah in the battle in the vale of Megiddo, and disposing of the Jewish throne, 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 34, it fixeth the thing beyond all controversy.

<sup>r</sup> Herodot. in Thalia, [III.] cap. 5.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 303.

<sup>t</sup> [It is still called *El Kods* by

the Arabs.]

<sup>u</sup> Herodot. in Euterpe, [ii.] cap.

159.

Herodotus<sup>x</sup> goes forward; Ἀπὸ ταύτης (Καδύτιος) τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὐτὶς Συρίων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης. “From Cadytis, the sea mart towns as far as Jenysus, belong to Arabia; from Jenysus onward to the Serbou lake belong to the Syrians.” Words obscure enough; especially which was the city *Jenysus*<sup>y</sup>: the Talmudists<sup>z</sup> indeed mention עיינוש *Jenush* among the towns which they say are בתחום *in the confines*; but the situation does not agree. But we will not pursue the matter in this place.

SECT. VII.—*The streets of Jerusalem.*

“TUE<sup>a</sup> streets of Jerusalem were swept every day,” שוקי ירושלם עשויין להתכבד בכל יום. Hence, “The moneys that were found in Jerusalem before those that bought cattle are always tenths. The moneys found in the mount of the Temple are הולין *profane* or *common*. In Jerusalem on other days of the year they are common; but in the time of the feasts they are all tenths. But, saith R. Shemaia, Upon what reason is this? when the streets of Jerusalem are swept every day.”

The Gloss writes thus; “They are always tenths: both in the time of the feasts, and in the time when there are no feasts. But moneys found in the mount of the Temple were common, even in the time of the feasts. For it is supposed, those moneys fell from them [*or were lost*], in the mount of the Temple; and thereupon they are common. But why were they tenths in Jerusalem in the time of the feasts? And why is it not said, That they had fallen from them there before the feast, as we say of the mount of the Temple? Because the streets of Jerusalem were swept every day; and if moneys had been lost there before the feast, they who swept the street had found them before. But the mount of the Temple had no need to be swept every day: for dirt and dust remained not there; because the mount was shelving: and moreover, it was not lawful for any to enter there with his shoes, or with dust on his feet.”

<sup>x</sup> [iii. 5.]

<sup>y</sup> [See Bähr's note.]

<sup>z</sup> Hieros. Demai, fol. 22. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Pesachin, fol. 7. 1. and Mezia, fol. 26. 1.



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So also Luke: when, according to the order of the story, one would think it should rather be said, εἰς Βηθανίαν καὶ Βηθφαγή, ‘To Bethany and Bethphage.’ For Christ, in his travelling, came to Bethany, and there lodged, John xii. [1.]; and from that city went forward by the space almost of a mile, before he came as far as Bethphage. And yet it is named by them in this order, “To Bethphage and Bethany;” that it might be shewn that the story is to be understood of the place where Bethany and Bethphage touch upon one another: Matthew therefore names Bethphage alone.

We have elsewhere shewn more at large these two things out of the Talmudists, which do not a little tend to the clearing of this matter:

I. That a tract, or one part of mount Olivet, was called Bethany, not from the town of that name, where Lazarus dwelt, but the town was so called from that tract; and that tract from the dates or palm trees growing there, בֵּית הַיְּנִי *Beth Hene, the place of dates.*

II. That there was no town at all named Bethphage, but another tract of Olivet was so called, for *green figs* growing there; that is the meaning of בֵּית פְּגִי *Beth-phagi*, ‘The place of green figs;’ and that the village, or outmost street of Jerusalem, lying next it, was called by the same name.

We observed, also, that that place in mount Olivet, where these two tracts Bethany and Bethphage touched on one another, was a sabbath-day’s journey from the city, or thereabouts. Which how it may be applied to illustrate the present business we are upon, let us say a few things concerning such a journey.

How far the bounds of a sabbath-day’s journey reached, every one knows: and every one knows that that space was measured out every way without the cities, that the certain bounds might be fixed, and that there might be no mistake; and that, by some evident mark, the limits might be known, that they might not remain doubtful in a thing wherein they placed so much religion.

These are the rules of the masters concerning measuring two thousand cubits from every side of the city:

“A city<sup>e</sup> which is long or square, when it hath four just

<sup>e</sup> Maimon. in Schab. cap. 28.

corners, they let be as it is; and they measure two thousand cubits for it on every side. If it be round, they frame it into a square, and they measure from the sides of that square. If it be triangular, they frame it into a square, and measure from the sides of the square," &c. And after, "They measure only with a line of fifty cubits, and that of flax."

An intimation is given concerning the marks of those bounds by that canon; "They<sup>f</sup> do not ride upon a beast" (on the sabbath, and on a holy-day), "that they go not forth beyond the bounds." Where the Gloss is, "Because he that walketh not on foot אין רואה את סומני תחומין *seeth not the marks of the bounds.*"

It<sup>g</sup> is said by St. Mark, that the two disciples sent by Christ εὔρον τὸν πῶλον δεδεμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου, "found the colt tied where two ways met." Let me pass my conjecture, —that it was in such a place where a mark was set up of a sabbath-day's journey from the city; where the sabbath-way from the city, and the common way thence into the country, touched on one another.

#### SECT. II.—Shops in mount Olivet.

"The shops<sup>h</sup> of the children of Chanan, חניות בני חנן were laid waste three years before the destruction of the Temple." "And<sup>i</sup> why were the shops of Beth Heno חניות של חינו laid waste three years before the destruction of the Temple? Because they established their doings upon the words of the law," &c. The Gloss<sup>k</sup> is, "That which was forbidden by the words of the wise men, they found allowed by the words of the law."

The story is the same in both places. In the former place the shopkeepers are named; in the latter, the place of the shops. The shopkeepers were בני חנן *the sons of Chanan* or *Jochanan*; for, in the Jerusalem language, *Chanan* and *Jochanan* are the same. The place was בית חינו *Beth Heno*; which I fear not to assert to be the same with Bethany. The reason of my confidence is twofold: 1. Because

<sup>f</sup> Beza, fol. 36. 2.

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 305.

<sup>h</sup> Hieros. Berac. fol. 16. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Bab. Mezia, fol. 88. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 410.



the Talmudists call Bethany בית היני *Beth Hene*; to which how near does *Beth Heno* come! 2. Because in them there is open mention of shops in mount Olivet.

“There<sup>1</sup> were two cedars (say they) in mount Olivet: under one of them there were four shops, where all things needful for purification were sold. From one of them they produced forty seahs of pigeons every month, whence women to be purified were supplied.” Four sheps were under one; and how many were there under another, whence so many pigeons should come? Therefore, either shew me some other village between the town of Bethany and the first skirt of Bethphage; or else allow me to believe that this was that to which the two disciples were sent, and which, then when they were sent, was κώμη ἢ κατέναντι ὑμῶν, “the village over-against you:” namely, either a village consisting of those various shops only, or a village, a part of which those shops were.

SECT. III.—מרחץ בית היני *The lavatory of Bethany.*

PARDON the word which I am forced to frame, lest, if I had said *the bath*, or *the laver*, they might straiten the sense of the thing too much. That place whereof we are now speaking was a pool, or a collection of waters, where people were wont to wash; and it agreeth very well with those things that were spoken before concerning purifications. Here either unclean men or unclean women might wash themselves; and presently buying in the neighbouring shops what was needful for purification, they betook themselves to Jerusalem, and were purified in the Temple.

Of this place of washing, whatsoever it was, the Gemarists speak in that story, דרם שועל רחל במרחץ בית היני “*A fox<sup>m</sup> rent a sheep at the lavatory of Beth Hene*: and the cause was brought before the wise men, and they said, אין דריסה *It is not a rending.*” We doubt not that *Beth Hene* is *Bethany*: and this cause was brought thence before the wise men of Jerusalem, that they might instruct them whether it were lawful to eat of the carcase of that sheep, when the eating of a beast that was torn was forbidden. See, if you

<sup>1</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Bab. Cholin, fol. 53. 1.



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a very little space from Jerusalem, and that it was situate on the south side of the city: I say, “a little space from Jerusalem;” for it had been a burden to the inhabitants dwelling about the city not to be borne, if their oxen or smaller cattle, upon any occasion straying away and taken in stray, should immediately become consecrated, and that the proper owner should no longer have any right in them. But this tower seems to be situate so near the city, that there was no town round about within that space. We say also, that that tower was on the south side of the city; and that upon the credit, (shall I say?) or mistake of the Seventy interpreters.

SECT. V.<sup>r</sup>—*The Seventy Interpreters noted.*

HERE, reader, I will resolve you a riddle in the Seventy, in Gen. xxxv. [16.] In Moses the story of Jacob in that place is thus: “They went from Beth-el; and when it was but a little space to Ephrath, Rachel travailed,” &c. And afterward [21]; “Israel went on and pitched his tabernacle beyond the tower Eder.”

The Seventy invert the order of the history, and they make the encamping of Jacob beyond Migdal Eder to be before his coming to the place where Rachel died. For thus they write: Ἀπάρas δὲ Ἰακὼβ ἐκ Βαιθῆλ, ἔπηξε τὴν σκηυὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡνίκα ἤγγισεν εἰς Χαβραθὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἐφραθὰ, ἔτεκε Ῥαχὴλ, &c. “And Jacob, departing from Beth-el, pitched his tent over-against the tower Gader. And it came to pass when he approached to Chabratha to come to Ephratha, Rachel travailed,” &c.

I suspect, unless I fail in my conjecture, that they inverted the order of the history, fixing their eyes upon that Migdal Eder which was very near Jerusalem. For when Jacob travelled from Beth-el to the place of Rachel’s sepulchre, that tower was first to be passed by, before one could come to the place; and when Jacob in his journey travelled southward, it is very probable that tower was on that quarter of the city.

There was, indeed, a Migdal Eder near Beth-lehem, and

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 411.

this was near Jerusalem; and perhaps there were more places of that name in the land of Israel. For as that word denotes *the Tower of a Flock*, so those towers seem to have been built for the keeping of flocks; that shepherds might be there ready also a-nights; and that they might have weapons in a readiness to defend their flocks, not only from wild beasts, but from robbers also. And to this sense we suppose that expression, מגדל נוצרים 'the Tower of the Keepers,' is to be taken in that saying, מִמִּגְדַל נֹזְעִים עַד-עִיר מְבֻצָּר "From the Tower of the Keepers to the strong city," 2 Kings xvii. 9, xviii. 8.

Hence the Targumist Jonathan, to distinguish Migdal Eder of Beth-lehem from all others, thus paraphraseth Moses's words: "And Israel went forward, and pitched his tabernacle beyond Migdal Eder, the place whence the Messiah is to be revealed in the end of days." Which very well agree with the history, Luke ii. 8. Whether Micah, chap. iv. 8, speak of the same, inquire.

SECT. VI.—*The pomp of those that offered the first-fruits.*

WE have spoken of the places nearest the city, the mention of them taking its rise from the triumph of Christ sitting upon the ass, and the people making their acclamations: and this awakens the remembrance of that pomp which accompanied the bringing of the first-fruits from places also near the city. Take it in the words of the masters, in the place cited<sup>s</sup> in the margin:

"After<sup>t</sup> what manner did they bring their first-fruits? All the cities שבמעמד *which were of one station*" (that is, out of which one course of priests proceeded) "were gathered together into a stationary city, and lodged in the streets. In the morning, he who was the first among them said, Arise, let us go up to Zion, to the house of the Lord our God."

"An ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown upon his head" (the Gloss is, that ox was for a peace-offering); "and the pipe played before them until they approached near to Jerusalem. When then they came to Jerusalem, they crowned their first-fruits" (that is, they exposed

<sup>s</sup> Biccuring, c. 3.

<sup>t</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 307.

them to sight in as much glory as they could), “and the chief men, and the high officers, and treasurers of the Temple came to meet them, and that to do the more honour to them that were coming; *וכל בעלי אומניות* and all the workmen in Jerusalem rose up to them” (as they were in their shops), “and saluted them in this manner, ‘O our brethren, inhabitants of the city N, ye are welcome.’ ”

“The pipe played before them till they came to the Mount of the Temple. When they came to the Mount of the Temple, *אגריפס המלך* even king Agrippa himself took the basket upon his shoulder, and went forward till he came to the court; the Levites sang, ‘I will exalt thee, O Lord, because thou hast exalted me, and hast not made mine enemies to rejoice over me’ (Psalm xxx. 1). While the basket is yet upon his shoulder, he recites that passage (Deut. xxvi. 3), ‘I profess this day to the Lord my God,’ &c. R. Judah saith, When he recites these words, ‘A Syrian ready to perish was my father,’ &c. ver. 5, he casts down the basket from his shoulders, and holds its lips while the priest waves it hither and thither. The whole passage being recited to ver. 10, he placeth the basket before the altar, and adores, and goes out.”

## CHAP. V.

*Dalmanutha.* Mark viii. 10.

- I. *A scheme of the sea of Gennesaret, and the places adjacent.*
- II. *בית דאלמנותא* The house of widowhood, Zalmon. Thence *Dalmanutha*.

MATT. xv. 39 : Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια Μαγδαλά. “And came to the coasts of *Magdala*.”—Mark viii. 10 : Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά. “came into the parts of *Dalmanutha*.”

The story is one and the same; and that country is one and the same: but the names *Magdala* and *Dalmanutha* are not so to be confounded, as if the city ‘Magdala’ was also called *Dalmanutha*: but *Dalmanutha* is to be supposed to be some<sup>u</sup> particular place within the bounds of *Magdala*. I observe the Arabic interpreter in the London Polyglott Bible. for *Dalmanutha*, in Mark, reads *Maḡdala*, as it is in Matthew; in no false sense, but in no true inter-

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 412.



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Tiberias stood touching on the sea; “for<sup>z</sup> on one side it had the sea for a wall.”

“Gennesaret was a place near Tiberias, where were gardens and paradises.” They are the words of the Aruch.

Capernaum we place within the country of Gennesaret upon the credit of the evangelists, Matt. xiv. 34, and Mark vi. 53, compared with John vi. 22, 24.

Taricha<sup>a</sup> was distant from Tiberias thirty furlongs<sup>b</sup>: Bethmaus, four furlongs.

Magdala was beyond Jordan; for it is called מגדל גדר *Magdala of Gadara*: and that which is said by the Talmudists, “The<sup>c</sup> Gadarenes might, by the permission of R. Juda Nasi, come down to Chammath on the sabbath, and walk through it, unto the furthest street, even to the bridge,” is expressed and expounded by them in the same place, “That the people of Magdala, by the permission of R. Judah Nasi, went up to Chammath,” &c. From which single tradition one may infer, 1. That Magdala was on the bank of Gadara. 2. That it was not distant from Chammath above a sabbath-day’s journey. 3. That it was on that side of Chammath, which was built on the same bank of Gadara by which it reached to the bridge above Jordan, which joined it to the other side on the bank of Galilee.

“Hippo<sup>d</sup> was<sup>e</sup> distant from Tiberias thirty furlongs.” With which measure compare these words, which are spoken of Susitha; which that it was the same with Hippo, both the derivation of the words and other things do evince:

“R. Juda saith, The<sup>f</sup> monoceros entered not into Noah’s ark, but his whelps entered. R. Nehemiah saith, Neither he nor his whelps entered, but Noah tied him to the ark. והיה כמין מתלים תלמיות *And he made furrows in the waves,* לסוסיתא *for as much space as is from Tiberias to Susitha.*” And again, “The<sup>g</sup> ark of Noah swam upon the waters as upon two rafters, כמין טבריה לסוסיתא *as much space as is from Tiberias to Susitha.*”

<sup>z</sup> Megill. in the place above.

<sup>a</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. ii. p. 413.

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. in his own Life. [c. 32.]

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. in Erubh. in the place above.

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. in his own Life. [c. 65.]

<sup>f</sup> Bereshith Rab. sect. 31.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. sect. 32.

Gadara <sup>g</sup> was distant sixty furlongs from Tiberias.

“Bethsaida <sup>h</sup> was in τῆ κάτω Γαυλαντικῆ, *lower Gaulonitis*,” beyond Jordan in Batanea. It is shown to pilgrims on the shore of the sea of Gennesaret in Galilee; and thence the error of the maps was taken. Hear our countryman Bid-dulph <sup>i</sup>, who saw those places about the year 1600:

“March the twenty-fourth, we rode by the sea of Galilee, which hath two names, John vi. 1, ‘The sea of Galilee,’ and ‘Tiberias of Galilee,’ because it is in Galilee; and ‘of Tiberias,’ because the city of Tiberias was built near it: also Bethsaida, another ancient city. We saw some ruins of the walls of both. But it is said in that chapter, John vi. 1, that Jesus sailed over the sea of Galilee. And elsewhere, that he went over the lake; and Luke ix. 10, it is said that he departed into a desert place near the city Bethsaida. Which text of John I learned better to understand by seeing, than ever I could by reading. For when Tiberias and Bethsaida were both on the same shore of the sea, and Christ went from Tiberias to, or near, Bethsaida; hence I gather, that our Saviour Christ sailed not over the length or breadth of the sea, but that he passed some bay, as much as Tiberias was distant from Bethsaida. Which is proved thence, in that it is said elsewhere, That a great multitude followed him thither on foot; which they could not do if he had sailed over the whole sea, to that shore among the Gergasenes which is without the holy land.” These are his words.

But take heed, sir, that your guides, who show those places under those names, do not impose upon you. If you will take Josephus for a guide, he will teach, that “Philip <sup>k</sup> repaired the town Bethsaida; and he called it Julias, from Julias the daughter of Cæsar:” and, that “that <sup>l</sup> Julias was ἐν τῆ κάτω Γαυλαντικῆ, *in lower Gaulonitis*.” Nor is the argument good, “otherwise they would not follow him a-foot;” for, from Capernaum and Tiberias, there was a very beaten and common way by the bridge of Chammath into the country of the Gadarenes, and so to Bethsaida.

<sup>g</sup> Joseph. in the place above.

<sup>h</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 13. [ii. 9. 1.]

<sup>i</sup> [Travels, p. 103. (ed. Lond.

1609.) not quoted verbatim.]

<sup>k</sup> Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3. [xviii. 2. 1.]

<sup>l</sup> Id. in the place above.



Cana was a great way distant from Tiberias: Josephus<sup>m</sup> spent a whole night travelling from this town to that with his army. It was situate against Julias of Betharamphtha, as may be gathered from the same author in the place quoted<sup>n</sup> in the margin. Now that Julias was situate at the very influx of Jordan into the sea of Gennesaret.

These things might be more largely explained and illustrated, but we are afraid of being too long; and so much the more, because we have treated copiously of them elsewhere. This will be enough to an unbiassed reader, to whose judgment we leave it; and now go on to Dalmanutha.

SECT. II.—בית דאלמנותא *Zalmon. Thence Dalmanutha.*

IF we may play a little with the name Dalmanutha, hear a Talmudical tradition. “He<sup>o</sup> that sells a farm to his neighbour, or that receives a place from his neighbour, לעשות לו בית חתנות לבנו ובית אלמנות לבתו *to make him a house of betrothing for his son, or a house of widowhood for his daughter;* let him build it four cubits this way, and six that.” Where the Gloss, בית אלמנות לבתו “*A house of widowhood for his daughter, whose husband is dead, and she now returns to the house of her father.*”

The meaning of this tradition is, ‘When the son of any one had married a wife, he did not use to dwell with his father-in-law; but it was more customary for his father to build him a little house near his own house.’ So also when the husband was dead, and the daughter, now being a widow, returned to her father, it was also customary for the father to build her a little house; in which she dwelt, indeed, alone, but very near her father.

But<sup>p</sup> now from some such house of more note than ordinary, built for some eminent widow; or from many such houses standing thick together, this place, perhaps, might be called דאלמנותא *Dalmanutha*, that is, “The place of widowhood.” And if some more probable derivation of the name occurred not, it might, not without reason, have had respect to this.

<sup>m</sup> In his own Life, p. 631. [c. 17.]

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 653. [c. 72.]

<sup>o</sup> Bava Bathra, fol. 98. 2.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 414.



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where mentioned but in these authors; but in them of very noted name. Of this number we suppose this Zalmon was, a place so near to Tiberias, and so known, that it was enough to name it only. But now, when any that spake Hebrew would pronounce it Zalmon and Zalmanutha, he that spake Syriac would pronounce it Dalmon and Dalmanutha.

## CHAP. VI.

*Ὅρια Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος* *The coasts of Tyre and Sidon* ;  
Mark vii. 24.

I. *The maps too officious.* II. כְּבוֹל "Ὀριον" *A coast.* III. *The Greek Interpreters noted.* IV. *Midland Phœnicia.* V. *Of the Sabbatic River.*

### SECT. I.—*The maps too officious.*

You will see, in some maps, the Syrophœnician woman pictured, making her supplication to our Saviour for her possessed daughter, almost at the gates of Sidon. But by what right, I fear the authors will not tell me with solidity enough.

In one of Adrichomius's the woman is pictured and no inscription added: but in the Dutch one of Doet she is pictured with this inscription; "Hier badt de Cananeische Urou voor haer dochter," "Here the Canaanitish woman prayed for her daughter," Matt. xv. In that of Geilkirch, with these words written at it, "Porta Sidonis, ante quam mulier Canaanæa filiæ suæ dæmoniacæ a Domino salutem obtinuit:" "The gate of Sidon, before which the Canaanitish woman obtained health for her daughter possessed with a devil," Matt. xv.

"Before the gate of Sidon (saith Borchard the monk) eastward, there is a chapel, built in the place where the Canaanitish woman prayed our Saviour for her demoniacal daughter: concerning whom we read thus Matt. xv, that 'going out of the coasts of Tyre and Sidon she came to Jesus.'"

There are two things which plainly disagree with that situation and opinion:—

I. That it is not credible that Christ ever passed the bounds of the land of Israel. For when he said of himself,

“I am not sent but to the lost sheep of Israel only;” and to his disciples, “Go not into the way of the Gentiles;” and, “If these wonderful works had been done in Tyre and Sidon;”—you will never persuade me that he ever went as far as the gates of Sidon.

II. It is said by St. Mark, that after that maid was healed, Christ came “from the coast of Tyre and Sidon to the sea of Galilee, through the middle of the coasts of Decapolis.” What! from the gate of Sidon to the sea of Galilee, through the midst of Decapolis? It would have been more properly said, “Through the midst of Galilee:” and hence, as it seems, some have been moved to place Decapolis within Galilee, with no reason at all. We shall meet with it in another place, in the following chapter, and in such a place, that it is not easy to conceive how Christ could pass through it from the gate of Sidon to the sea of Galilee.

SECT. II.—כְּבוֹל "Oριον" A coast.

To determine concerning *ὁρίους Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος*, “the coasts of Tyre and Sidon;” in this story, we first propound this to the reader: It is said, 1 Kings ix. 11, 12, that “Solomon gave to Hiram, the king of the Tyrians, twenty cities<sup>z</sup> in Galilee:” which when he had seen and liked them not, “he called the land כְּבוֹל *Chabul* unto this day.” The LXX render it, *ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὰς "Oριον*, “he called them the border or coast.” Now let any one, I beseech you, skilled in the tongues, tell me what kin there is between כְּבוֹל and "Oριον, a bound, or coast, that moved the LXX so to render it<sup>a</sup>.

The Talmudists speak various things of the word כְּבוֹל *Chabul*: but the sense and signification of the word "Oριον, a coast, is very far distant from their meaning. The Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>b</sup> speak thus; כְּבוֹל אֶרֶץ שְׂאִינָה עוֹשֶׂה פִירוֹת “Chabul signifies a land which bears not fruit.” The Babylonian<sup>c</sup> thus; “What is the meaning of the land Chabul? Rabba Honna saith, Because its inhabitants מְכוֹבְלִין בְּכֶסֶף

<sup>y</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 311.

<sup>z</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 415.

<sup>a</sup> [Nescio an כְּבוֹל idem sit quod

כְּבוֹל, *finis, terminus*. Gesen. sub v.]

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Schab. fol. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Bab. Schab. fol. 54. 1.

וּבֹדֵב *were wrapped up in silver and gold.* Abba saith to him, Is it so? Behold, it is written, ‘That the cities pleased him not.’ Should they displease him because they were wrapped up in silver and gold?—He saith to him, Yea, because they were wealthy and delicate, they were not fit for the king’s works. Rabh Nachman Bar Isaac saith, חֹמְטוֹן הִיְתָה *It was a salt land, and gaping with clefts.* Why is it called Chabul? דְּמִשְׁתַּגְּדָא בַּה כְּרַעָה עַד כְּבִלָּא *Because the leg is plunged in it up to the garters<sup>d</sup>.* Josephus<sup>e</sup> thus, “Ἐκ τότε προσηγορεύθησαν Χαβαλῶν γῆ· Μεθερμηνευόμενον γὰρ τὸ Χαβαλῶν, κατὰ Φοινίκων γλῶτταν, οὐκ ἀρέσκον σημαίνει· “Outwards they called it the land of *Chabal*: for this word *Chabal*, being interpreted, signifies in the Phœnician tongue, *that which pleaseth not.*”

These things they speak, tracing the sense of the word as well as they can; but of the sense of ὄριον, a *bound* or *coast*, they did not so much as dream.

I cannot pass away without taking notice of the Glosser at the place cited out of the Babylonian Talmudists, having these words; בעשרים ושתים עיר שנתן שלמה לחירם *“The text alleged speaks of twenty-two cities, which Solomon gave to Hiram:”* he reckons ‘two-and twenty,’ when in the Hebrew original and in all versions, ‘twenty cities’ only are mentioned. Whether it be a failing of the memory, or whether he speaks it on purpose, who is able to define? Much less are those words of the Holy Ghost to be passed over, 2 Chron. viii. 2: וְהָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן חִירָם לְשֹׁלֹמֹה *The grammatical interpretation is very easy, “And the cities which Hiram gave to Solomon, Solomon built them:”* but the historical interpretation is not so easy. For it is demanded, Whether did Hiram give those cities of his own? or did he restore them, which Solomon gave to him, when they pleased him not? And there are some versions which render the word נָתַן not, he *gave*, but he *restored* or *gave back* again; and in this sense, Solomon built the cities which Hiram had *restored* back to Solomon. As if Hiram would not keep those twenty cities in the land Cha-

<sup>d</sup> [ער כבלא is rendered by Buxtorf *usque ad talum.*]

<sup>e</sup> [Antiq. viii. 5. 3.]



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קטת קטונית “*Kattath<sup>h</sup> is Katonith.*” The LXX render it *Karavàθ, Katanath.*

נהלל מהלול “*Nahalal is Mahalol.*”

שמרון סימונייה “*Shimron is Simoniah.*” The LXX render it *Συμοών, Symoon.*

יראלה חירייה “*Irala is Chiriah.*” The LXX render it *Ἰεριχὼ, Jericho.*

He that observes, shall meet with very many such. And from this very thing you may perhaps suspect that that version savours not of the antiquity of the times of Ptolemeus Philadelphius.

The same that they are wont to do elsewhere, we suppose, is done by them here: and rejecting the former name, whereby that region of Galilee was called in the more ancient ages, namely Chabul, they gave it the name and title whereby it now ordinarily went, that is, *Ὀριον*, the *bound* or the *coast*.

תחום I suspect denotes the very same thing in that tradition in the Jerusalem writers<sup>i</sup>; אילו עיירות אסורות “*Those<sup>k</sup> cities are forbidden in the border, or coast, (ἐν τῷ ὄριῳ), Tzur, Shezeth, and Bezeth, &c.; and אילו עיירות אלו מותרות בתחום those cities are permitted in the border, or coast, (ἐν τῷ ὄριῳ), Nebi Tsur, Tsiar,*” &c. The permission or prohibition here spoke of—as much as we may, by guess, fetch from the scope of the place—is in respect of tithing; and the determination is, from which of those cities tithes were to be required and taken, and from which not. They were to be required of the Israelites, not from the heathen: which thing agrees very well with the land of Chabul, where cities of this and that jurisdiction seem to have been mixed, and, as it were, interwoven.

#### SECT. IV.—*Midland Phœnicia.*

THERE was a Midland Phœnicia, as well as a Phœnicia on the sea coast. That on the sea coast all know: of the Midland, thus Ptolemy; *Φοινίκης μεσόγειοι πόλεις Ἄρκα, &c.* “The<sup>l</sup> midland cities of Phœnicia are Arca, Palæobiblus, Gabala, Cæsarea of Paneas.”

Whether Midland Phœnicia and Syrophœnicia be to be

<sup>h</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 70. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Hieros. Demai, fol. 22. 4.

<sup>i</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 416.

<sup>l</sup> *Tabb. Asiæ*, p. 139.

reckoned all one, I am in doubt. I had rather divide Phœnicia into three parts, namely, into Phœnicia on the sea coast, Midland Phœnicia, and Syrophœnicia. And the reason is, because I ask whether all Midland Phœnicia might be called Syrophœnicia: and I ask, moreover, whether all Syrophœnicia were to be reckoned within the bounds of Tyre and Sidon? Certainly Nicetas Choniates mentions the Syrophœnician cities as far as Antioch. For he, in the story of John Comenius, hath these words, \*Ἐγὼ προσβαλεῖν ταῖς παρὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου ἰδρυμέναις, καὶ Ἀγαρηῶν κατεχομέναις Συροφονίσσαις πόλεσι\* “He resolved to set upon the Syrophœnician cities bordering upon Antioch, which were possessed by the Agarenes.” But now, will you reckon those cities as far as Antioch to be within the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon? But certainly there is nothing hinders but you may reckon those to be so which Ptolemy esteems to belong to Midland Phœnicia; only the scruple is about Cæsarea of Paneas, which is Cæsarea Philippi: and that, we shall see, belonged to the Decapolitan cities, and may be determined, without any absurdity, to be within that jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon, as also Leshem of old, which was the same city, Judges xviii. 28.

Let one clause of the Talmudists be added; and then those things which are spoken may be reduced into a narrower compass. They, reducing the bounds of the land under the second Temple, fix for a bound תרנגולה עילאה דלמעלה מן קיסרין “Tarnegola<sup>m</sup> the Upper, which is above Cæsarea.” Observe, that Cæsarea is a city of Midland Phœnicia, according to Ptolemy; and yet Tarnegola, which bends more northward, is within the land of Israel, according to the Hebrews.

So<sup>n</sup> that in this sense, Christ might be within “the coasts of Tyre and Sidon,” and yet be within the limits of the land of Israel. We must therefore suppose, and that not without reason, that he, when he healed the possessed maid, was, 1. in that country, in the outermost coasts of Galilee, which formerly was called Chabul, in the Seventy called \*Ὀριον\*, the *coast*; in the Talmudists, תחום the *border*; which anciently was given by Solomon to the king of Tyre; and from

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

<sup>n</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 213.



that grant in the following ages it belonged to the right and jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon; however it were within those boundaries, wherein the land of Israel was circumscribed from the beginning; yea, wherein it was circumscribed under the second Temple. 2. We suppose him to have been not far from the springs or stream of Jordan, which being passed over, he could not come to the sea of Galilee, but by the country of Decapolis.

SECT. V.—*Of the Sabbatic river.*

WHEN we are speaking of Syrophœnicia, we are not far off from a place where the sabbatic river either was, or was feigned to be: and I hope the reader will pardon me, if I now wander a little out of my bounds, going to see a river that kept the sabbath: for who would not go out of his way to see so astonishing a thing?

And yet, if we believe Pliny, we are not without our bounds, for he fixeth this river within Judea. “In Judea (saith he<sup>o</sup>) a river every sabbath day is dry.”—Josephus otherwise; “Titus (saith he<sup>p</sup>, going to Antioch) saw in the way a river very well worthy to be taken notice of, between the cities of Arca and Raphana, cities of the kingdom of Agrippa. Now it hath a peculiar nature. For, when it is of that nature, that it flows freely, and does not sluggishly glide away; yet it wholly fails from its springs for six days, and the place of it appears dry. And then, as if no change at all were made, on the seventh day the like river ariseth. And it is by certain experience found that it always keeps this order. Whence it is called the ‘Sabbatic river,’ from the holy seventh day of the Jews.”

Whether of the two do you believe, reader? Pliny saith, That river is in Judea: Josephus saith, No. Pliny saith, It is dry on sabbath days: Josephus saith, It flows then. The Talmudists agree with Pliny; and Josephus agrees not with his own countrymen.

In the Babylonian tract Sanhedrim<sup>q</sup>, Turnus Rufus is brought in, asking this of R. Akibah, מִי יִמַר דֵּהֶאֱיִדְנָא שַׁבָּתָא *Who will prove that this is the sabbath-day?* [The Gloss,

<sup>o</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Jos. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 1303.] [vii. 5. 1.] <sup>q</sup> Fol. 56. 2.



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Galilee through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis." The difficulty lies in this; that supposing by the 'coasts of Tyre and Sidon,' a place near the gates of Sidon is to be understood, of which before, it can scarcely be conceived how Christ went through the middle of Decapolis to the sea of Galilee, unless it be supposed that Decapolis was within Galilee.

Hence Borchard<sup>t</sup> certainly, and others that follow him, seem to be induced to number these towns of Galilee for Decapolitan towns; Tiberias; Sephet, Kedesh-Naphtali, Hazor, Capernaum, Cæsarea Philippi, Jotopata, Bethsaida, Chorazin, Scythopolis. Upon whose credit Baronius<sup>u</sup> writes thus: "The province of Decapolis (saith he) was placed in the same Galilee; so called, because there were ten cities in it, among which one was reckoned Capernaum." Confidently enough indeed, but without any ground. Pliny much otherwise: "There is joined to it (saith he<sup>x</sup>), on the side of Syria, the region of Decapolis, from the number of the towns, in which region all do not keep the same towns. Yet most do. Damascus and Opoto, watered with the river Chrysorrhoea, fruitful Philadelphia, Raphana, all lying backwards towards Arabia: Scythopolis (heretofore called Nysa, from father Bacchus's nurse being there buried), from Scythians drawn down [*and planted*] there: Gaddara, [*the river*] Hieromiæ gliding by it, and that which is now called Hippondion, Pella rich in waters, Galasa, Canatha. The tetrarchies run between these cities, and compass them about, which are like to kingdoms, and are divided into kingdoms, namely, Trachonitis, Paneas, in which is Cæsarea, with the fountain before spoke of, Abila, Arca, Ampeloessa."

Whom should we believe? Borchard and his followers place all Decapolis within Galilee, being extended the whole length of Galilee, and adjacent to Jordan, and on the shore of the sea of Gennesaret. Pliny and his followers place it all in the country beyond Jordan, except only Scythopolis.

In Scythopolis both parties agree, and I, in this, with both: but in others I agree with Borchardus hardly in any, and not with Pliny in all. In them, it is absurd to reckon the most

<sup>t</sup> Borchard. cap. 6. §. 6. Saligniac, tom. 9. cap. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Ad annum Christi 31.

<sup>x</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 18.

famed cities of Galilee for cities of Decapolis, when, both in sacred and profane authors, Galilee is plainly distinguished from Decapolis. In Pliny, it seems an unequal match to join Damascus and Philadelphia, formerly the two metropolises of Syria and the kingdom of Ammon, with the small cities of Gadara and Hippos.

With Pliny and his followers Josephus also consents, in reckoning up some cities of Decapolis. For severely chiding Justus of Tiberias, he has these words: *Σὺ καὶ πάντες Τιβεριοῦς, οὐ μόνον ἀνείληφατε τὰ ὄπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμεῖτε*. “You also and all the men of Tiberias have not only taken up arms, but have fought against the cities of Decapolis in Syria.” Observe that: The cities of Decapolis ἐν Συρίᾳ, in *Syria*, not in *Galilee*. *Σὺ γοῦν τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας*. “Thou hast set their cities on fire.” And a little after, “After that Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας Δέκα πόλεων, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria sharply accused Justus of Tiberias, ὅτι τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησεν, that he had fired their towns.” But what those towns of Decapolis were<sup>z</sup>, he hints elsewhere in these words: “Then<sup>a</sup> Justus persuading his fellow-citizens to take arms, and compelling those that would not, and going forth with all these, ἐμπύμπρησι τὰς τε Γαδαρηῶν καὶ Ἰππηνῶν κώμας, he<sup>b</sup> fires the villages of the Gadarenes and the Hippens.”

You see how, with Pliny, Josephus joins the region of Decapolis to the side of Syria, and how he reckons Gadara and Hippos for Decapolitan towns with him. And yet, as we said, Pliny doth not please us in all: but that which in him might seem most ridiculous and absurd, namely, that he reckons Scythopolis, which is beyond Jordan, with the other cities pleaseth me most of all. For from that very city we are certified what were the other cities, and why they were of such singular name and note: having first taken notice of the condition of Scythopolis, it will be more easy to judge of the rest.

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. in his own Life, pag. mihi 650. [Hudson. p. 937.] [c. 65.]

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 315.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. pag. 618. [c. 9.]

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 418.

SECT. II.—*Scythopolis, heretofore בית שאן Beth-shean, one of the Decapolitan cities.*

THE Talmudists very frequently propound the particular example of the city Beth-shean, which is also called Scythopolis, (see the LXX in Judg. i. 27), and do always resolve it to stand in a different condition from the other cities of the land of Israel.

“ Rabbi<sup>c</sup> (say they) looseth Beth-shean, Rabbi looseth Cæsarea, Rabbi looseth Beth Gubriu, Rabbi looseth Caphar Tsemach from the Demai;” that is, from the tithing of things doubtful. Jarchi citing these words addeth these moreover; “ For<sup>d</sup> all those places were like to Beth-shean, which the Israelites subdued coming up out of Egypt; but they subdued it not when they came out of Babylon.”

“ R. Meir<sup>e</sup> (say they) ate the leaves of herbs [*not tithed*] in Beth-shean, and thenceforth Rabbi Meir loosed all Beth-shean from tithing.” Upon which story thus Jarchi again; “ R. Meri ate leaves in Beth-shean not tithed, because tithing is not used out of the land of Israel.” Note this well, I pray; that Beth-shean, which plainly was within the land of Israel, yet is reckoned for a city which is out of the land of Israel, and for a heathen city: and the reason is given, because, although it were within the land, and came into the possession of the Israelites in the first conquest of it, yet it came not into their possession in their second conquest, but was always inhabited by heathens. The same, with good grounds, we judge of the rest of the cities of Decapolis, which were indeed within the limits of Israelitic land, but which the Syrians or heathens had usurped, and until then possessed. After we have numbered some of those cities, the thing will appear the more clearly.

But if you ask, by the way, who the inhabitants of Beth-shean were when the Jews came up out of Babylon; and who would not, could not be subdued by the Jews, is a matter of more obscure search: you would guess them to be Scythians from the derivation of the word, and from the words of Pliny: “ Scythopolis, heretofore Nysa, from Scythians

<sup>c</sup> Hieros. Demai, fol. 22. 3.

<sup>d</sup> R. Sol. in Demai, c. 1. hal. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Cholin, f. 6. 2.



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SECT. IV.—*Pella, a city of Decapolis.*

PLINY numbers Pella also among the Decapoltan cities: and so also doth Epiphanius<sup>k</sup>: and that it was of the same condition under which, we suppose, the other Decapoltan cities were put, namely, that it was inhabited by heathens, the words of Josephus make plain: “The<sup>l</sup> Jews recovered these cities of the Moabites from the enemy, Essebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oronas, Telithon, Zara, Cilicium Aulon, Pella. Ταύτην δὲ κατέσκαψαν, &c. But this (Pella) they overthrew, because the inhabitants would not endure to be brought over unto the customs of the country.” Behold the citizens of Pella vigorously heathen, so that their city underwent a kind of martyrdom, if I may so call it, for retaining their heathenism. And when it was restored under Pompey, it was rendered back to the same citizens<sup>m</sup>, the same Josephus bearing witness<sup>n</sup>.

But take heed, reader, that his words do not deceive you concerning its situation; who writes thus of Perea, Μῆκος μὲν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Μαχαιροῦντος εἰς Πέλλαν, “The<sup>o</sup> length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and the northern coasts are bounded at Pella:” that is, of Perea, as distinct from Trachonitis and Batanea. For Pella was the furthest northern coast of Perea, and the south coast of Trachonitis. Hence Josephus reckons and ranks it together with Hippo, Dio, Scythopolis, in the place before cited p.

There is no need to name more cities of Decapolis beyond Jordan; these things which have been said make sufficiently for our opinion, both concerning the situation of the places, and the nature of them. Let us only add this, while we are conversant beyond Jordan, and about Pella: “Ammon and Moab (say the Gemarists<sup>q</sup>) tithe the tithe of the poor in the seventh year,” &c. Where the Gloss thus; “Ammon and Moab are Israelites who dwell in the land of Ammon and Moab, which Moses took from Sichon. And that land was holy, according to the holiness of the land of Israel: but

<sup>k</sup> Epiphan. de mensur. et ponder. cap. 15.

<sup>l</sup> Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 23. [Hudson, p. 599.] [xiii. 15. 4.]

<sup>m</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 419.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. lib. xiv. cap. 8. [xiv. 4. 4.]

<sup>o</sup> Id. de Bello, lib. iii. cap. 4. [iii. 3. 3.]

<sup>p</sup> Antiq. [xiv. 4. 4.]

<sup>q</sup> Jevamoth, fol. 16. 1.

under the second Temple its holiness ceased. They sow it, therefore, the seventh year; and they appoint thence the first tithe, and the poor's tithe the seventh year, for the maintenance of the poor; who have not a corner of the field left, nor a gleaning that year: thither therefore the poor betake themselves, and have there a corner left, and a gleaning, and the poor's tithe."

We produce this, for the sake of that story which relates how the Christians fled from the siege and slaughter of Jerusalem to Pella. And why to Pella? Certainly if that be true which obtains among the Jews, that the destruction of Jerusalem was בשביעית 'in the seventh year,' which was the year of release, when on this side Jordan they neither ploughed nor sowed, but beyond Jordan there was a harvest, and a tithing for the poor, &c.; hence one may fetch a more probable reason of that story than the historians themselves give; namely, that those poor Christians resorted thither for food and sustenance, when husbandry had ceased that year in Judea and Galilee. But we admire the story, rather than acquiesce in this reason.

SECT. V.—*Caphar Tsemach. Beth Gubrin. Caphar Carnaim.*

WE neither dare, nor indeed can, number up all the cities of Decapolis of the same condition with Beth-shean: yet the Jerusalem Talmudists fix and rank these three under the same condition with it, in those words which were alleged before, Caphar Carnaim excepted, of which afterward.

I. כפר צמח *Caphar Tsemach*. Let something be observed of its name out of R. Solomon.

1. In the Jerusalem Talmudists it is כפר צמח *Caphar Tsemach*; but R. Solomon citing them reads כפר עמס *Caphar Amas*; which one would wonder at. But this is not so strange to the Chaldee and Syriac dialect, with which it is very usual to change צ (Tsade) into ע (Ain). So that the Rabbin in the pronouncing of this word עמס *Amas*, plays the Syrian in the first letter, and the Grecian in the last, ending the word in ס (Samech) for ח (Cheth).

2. We<sup>r</sup> dare pronounce nothing confidently of the situa-

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 317.



tion of the place : we have only said this of it before, that it is reckoned by the Jerusalem writers among עיירות אסורות “the cities forbidden in the borders ;” perhaps, ἐν ὄριω *in the coast*, of which before : but I resolve nothing.

II. בית גוברין *Beth Gubrin*. The situation of this place also is unknown. There was a Gabara about Cæsarea Philippi, called by the Rabbins תרנגולה עילאה ‘Tarnegola the Upper.’ But we dare not confound words and places. It is famous for R. Jochanan<sup>s</sup> of Beth Gubrin, who said, “There are four noble tongues,” &c.

III. כפר קרנים נבית שאן “Caphar Karnaim (say<sup>t</sup> the Jerusalem Talmudists) is of the same condition with Bethshean ;” that is, of heathen jurisdiction.

And now let the reader judge whether these were some of the Decapolitan cities. Whether they were or no, we neither determine, nor are we much solicitous about it : that which we chiefly urge is, that, by the places before mentioned, it appears, as I suppose, that the cities of Decapolis were indeed within the limits of the land of Israel, but inhabited by Gentiles. Jews indeed dwelt with them, but fewer in number, inferior in power, and not so free both in their possessions and privileges. And if you ask the reason why they would dwell in such an inferiority with the heathens, take this : “The<sup>u</sup> Rabbins deliver. Let one always live in the land of Israel, though it be in a city the greatest part of which are heathens. And let not a man dwell without the land, yea, not in a city the greatest part of which are Israelites. For he that lives in the land of Israel hath God ; but he that lives without the land is as if he had not God ; as it is said, ‘To give you the land of Canaan, that God may be with you,’” &c. Would you have more reasons ? “Whosoever<sup>x</sup> lives within the land of Israel is absolved from iniquity. And whosoever is buried within the land of Israel is as if he were buried under the altar.” Take one for all : “The<sup>y</sup> men of Israel are very wise ; for the very climate makes wise.” O most wise Rabbins !

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Megil. 71. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Id. Demai, fol. 22. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Chetub. fol. 110. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. f. 111. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Gloss. in Bab. Sanhedr. f. 5. 1.



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מְעַרְבֵי ' The men of Orbo of thy merchandise,' Ezek. xxvii. 27. Hence you may smell the reason why the Arabic renders it *Orabimos* [عُورِيْمِمْ]. To which sense our R. Judah, who thinks that they were not *rarens*, but the *inhabitants of the city of Orbo*, that ministered to Elias. But here the objection of Kimchi holds: "God commanded Elias (saith he), that he should hide himself, that none should know that<sup>b</sup> he was there. And we see that Ahab sought him every where," &c.

But omitting the triflingness of the dream, we are searching after the chorographical concern: and if there be any truth in the words of R. Judah, that there was a city עֲרְבוֹ *Orbo* by name near Beth-shean, we find the situation of the brook Cherith,—or, at least, where he thought it ran. 'That brook had for ever laid hid in obscurity, had not Elias lay hid near it; but the place of it as yet lies hid. There are some maps which fix it beyond Jordan, and there are others fix it on this side; some in one place, and some in another, uncertainly, without any settled place. But I especially wonder at Josephus, who saith, that ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη, ποιούμενος παρὰ χειμάρρῳ τινὶ τὴν διατριβήν. "he<sup>c</sup> went away towards the north, and dwelt near a certain brook;" when God in plain words saith, *And thou shalt turn thee, or go towards the east, וּפְנִיתָ לָהּ קְדָמָה*: for he was now in Samaria. God adds, "Hide thee at the brook Cherith, אֲשֶׁר עַל פְּנֵי-הַיַּרְדֵּן *which is before Jordan.*" So, you will say, was every brook that flowed into Jordan. But the sense of those words, "which is before Jordan," is this, "which (brook), as thou goest to Jordan, is flowing into it on this side Jordan." So that although the Rabbin mistakes concerning the creatures that fed Elias, yet perhaps he does not so mistake concerning the place where the brook was.

The story of the Syrophœnician woman, beseeching our Saviour for her possessed daughter, and of his return thence by Decapolis to the sea of Galilee, hath occasioned a discourse of 'the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and the region of Decapolis.' And now, having finished the search after the places, let us speak one word of the woman herself. She is

<sup>b</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 318.

<sup>c</sup> *Antiq. lib. viii.* [viii. 13. 2.]

called by Mark Ἑλληνὶς Συροφοίνισσα, ‘a Syrophœnician Greek,’ which is without all scruple; but when she is called Χανααία, ‘a Canaanitish woman,’ by Matthew, that is somewhat obscure. If those things which in our animadversions upon Matthew we have said upon that place do not please any, let these things be added: 1. That Canaan and Phœnicia are sometimes convertible terms in the Seventy, Joshua iv. 1, 12, &c. 2. If I should say that Ἑλληνὶς, a Greek woman, and Χανααία, a Canaanitish woman, were also convertible terms, perhaps it may be laughed at; but it would not be so among the Jews, who call all men-servants and women-servants, not of Hebrew blood, Canaanites. It is a common distinction, עבד עברי a Hebrew servant, and עבד כנעני a Canaanite servant; and so in the feminine sex. But now a Canaanite servant, say they, is a servant of any nation besides the Hebrew nation. Imagine this woman to be such, and there is nothing obscure in her name: because she was a servant-woman of a heathen stock, and thence commonly known among the Jews under the title שפחה כנענית of a Canaanite woman-servant.

## CHAP. VIII. <sup>c</sup>

### *Some measurings.*

I. *The measures of the Jews.* II. *Their measuring of the land by diets.* III. *And the measuring of the length of the land within Jordan.* IV. *Ptolemy consulted and amended.* V. *Pliny to be corrected.* VI. *The length of the land out of Antoninus.* VII. *The breadth of the ways.* VIII. *The distance of the sepulchres from the cities.*

### SECT. I.—*The measures of the Jews.*

It obtained among the Jews, “That<sup>d</sup> the land of Israel contained the square of four hundred parsæ.” And they are delighted, I know not how nor why, with this number and measure. “Jonathan Ben Uzziel<sup>e</sup> interpreted from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and the land of Israel was moved four hundred parsæ every way. וְנוֹדְעוּעָה אֵי ד' מֵאוֹת פֵּרְסָה עַל ד' מֵאוֹת פֵּרְסָה” “When<sup>f</sup> a hog was drawn up upon the walls of Jerusalem, and fixed his hoofs

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 421.

<sup>d</sup> Gloss. in *Bava Mezia*, fol. 28. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Megill.* f. 3. 1.

<sup>f</sup> *Bava Kama*, fol. 82. 2.

upon them, the land of Israel shook four hundred parsæ every way.”

פרסה<sup>g</sup> A *parsa* contains in it four miles. “Ten parsæ<sup>h</sup> (saith the Gloss at the place in the margin) are forty miles:” which might be proved largely elsewhere, if need were. So that four hundred parsæ (or so many thirty furlongs), made a thousand six hundred miles. Which measure why they ascribed it to the land of Israel on every side of the square of it, whether from the measurings of Ezekiel, or from somewhat else, we do not here inquire. But we cannot but observe this, that the same number is mentioned, and perhaps the same measure understood, Rev. xiv. 20: “Blood issued out of the lake to the horses’ bridles, for a thousand six hundred furlongs.” Where the Arabic reads, “for the space of a thousand six hundred miles.”

The Talmudists measure sometimes by *miles*, sometimes by *parses*, sometimes by *diets*. Every one of these you will meet with in them very frequently.

Of the Talmudic mile, take this admonition of theirs: אחד : משבע ומחצה במיל וזה הוא רים : namely, that “it consisted<sup>i</sup>” (not of eight, as the Greek and Roman did, but) “of seven furlongs and a half.” For by what other word to render רים I know not; nor do I think it to be rendered by any other.

And of the *diet*, take this: “R. Jochanan<sup>k</sup> saith, כמה משהלך אדם ביום משהלך אדם ביום? How much is a man’s journey in one day? ten parses. From the first dawning of the morning to sun-rise, five miles. From sun-set until stars appear, five miles. פשו לה תלתין חמיסר מצפרא לפלגא יומא : וחמיסר וחמיסר. Fifteen from morning to noon. Fifteen from noon till even.” Behold a day’s journey of forty miles in one sense, that is, as much as may be despatched in one day; and of thirty in another, that is, as much as most usually was wont to be despatched. Where you are admonished by them also, that these are computed כיום בינוני “according to the equinoctial day.”

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 319.

<sup>h</sup> Gloss. in Pesach. fol. 93. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Bava Mezia, fol. 33. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Pesachin, fol. 93. 2.



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came short of it is left in doubt. It is not my purpose to determine of that business in this place: that which we pursue is, to measure out the breadth of the land within Jordan.

SECT. III.—*The Talmudists' measuring the breadth of the land within Jordan.*

THERE was a tradition and national custom famous among them, concerning which we have mention somewhere, כרם רבעי היה עולה לירושלם מהלך יום אחד לכל צד "That<sup>q</sup> a vineyard of four years old, should go up to Jerusalem in a day's journey on every side." The sense of the tradition is this; the second tithes were either to be eaten at Jerusalem, or, being sold at home, the money was to be brought to Jerusalem, whence some things were bought to be eaten there. Now provision is made by this canon<sup>r</sup>, that the tithes of vineyards which were within a diet of the city, should not be sold, but that they should be brought to Jerusalem and eaten there.

But אי זו היא תחומה "What are the bounds, say they, of that day's journey?"

אילת מן הדרום: 'Elath on the south.'

עקרבת מן הצפון: 'Acrabat on the north.'

לוד מן המערב: 'Lydda on the west.'

ירדן מן המזרח: 'Jordan on the east.' "

So both Misnas. But the Babylonian Gemara, in the places<sup>s</sup> noted in the margin, reads אילת מן הצפון "Elath on the north, Acrabat on the south." By what reason, and in what sense, these words agree, commentators endeavour to resolve obscurely enough; but it is not of so much moment to detain us.

Elath recalls to my mind some things which are spoken by the Notitia of the eastern empire. Where, "under the disposition of the honourable man, the duke of Palestine," is substituted, among others, "Præfectus legionis decimæ Fretensis Ailæ, The lieutenant of the tenth Fretensian legion at Aila." Where Pancirolus writes, that "Aila was seated on the shore of the Red sea." St. Jerome, upon Ezek. xlvii. writes thus; "the tongue of the Red sea, on the shore of

<sup>q</sup> Maasar Sheni, cap. 5. hal. 2.

<sup>r</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 320.

<sup>s</sup> Bezah, fol. 5. 1. Rosh Hashanah, fol. 31. 2.

which Aila is seated, where a Roman legion and garrison is now quartered." And the same father elsewhere<sup>t</sup>; "Aila (saith he) is in the utmost borders of Palestine, joined to the south desert, and the Red sea, whence men sail out of Egypt into India, and thence into Egypt. And there also is a Roman legion called Decima," *the tenth*.

We dare not contradict so great an oracle; otherwise my thoughts would run back to this our Elath: and that upon this reason especially, because it seems somewhat hard to substitute a garrison at the Red sea "under the duke of Palestine," when that was so far distant from Palestine, and since there was a 'duke of Arabia' (in which Elath at the Red sea was) as well as of Palestine.

You see the Fathers of the traditions measuring from Lydda by Jerusalem to Jordan in a double diary: but here also they leave us again at uncertainties of the breadth of the land; because Lydda was not upon the utmost coast of the land on that side. Unless, perhaps, you might say, that whatsoever space went between Lydda and the sea was מדינת הים "the region of the sea," esteemed as heathen land; when Caphar Lodim, which was seated in that interval, and not far from Lydda, was of no better account<sup>u</sup>. Let us get therefore, if we can, more certain accounts, and more faithful direction.

SECT. IV.—*Ptolemy consulted and amended.*

It would be ridiculous so much as to dream, that the breadth of this land is every where the same: since the seas bounding on all sides, here the Mediterranean, there that of Sodom, the sea of Gennesaret, the sea of Samochonitis, and Jordan gliding between them, cannot but make the space very unequal by their various windings.

Take a proof of this from Ptolemy in the Mediterranean shore<sup>x</sup>:—

Thus he:

Καισάρεια Στρατώνος	. . . . .	ξς' δ'
Ἰόππη	. . . . .	ξέ γ'
Ἰαμνειῶν λιμῆν	. . . . .	ξέ
Γαζαιῶν λιμῆν	. . . . .	ξέ σ'
Γάζα	. . . . .	ξέ γ' ἰβ

<sup>t</sup> De loc. Hebr.

<sup>u</sup> Gittin. cap. 1. hal. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Tabb. Asiæ, cap. 6.



Thus the Latin version of him :

Cæsarea Stratonis . . . . .	66. 15.
Joppa . . . . .	65. 40.
Jamnætorum portus. The haven of the Jamnites .	65.
Gazæorum portus. The haven of the Gazites . .	64. 45.
Gaza . . . . .	65. 26.

And more of the like variation.

Of the last, namely, of ‘the haven of the Gazites,’ and Gaza itself, we may justly be at some stand. In Ptolemy himself, as you see, ‘the haven of the Gazites’ is in ξέ 5’ 65. 45. But the Latin interpreter hath 64. 45:—nor indeed without reason, when Gaza itself is only in 65. 26. But indeed, on the contrary, it is more probable that the haven of the Gazites should be placed in 65. 26, and Gaza itself in 65. 45; where, by the *haven* is by no means to be understood that place where shipsy put in and unladed, but the whole bay, comprehended within the promontories that thrust themselves out into the sea; the very last point of which thrusting forth you may conceive to be in deg. 65. and 26: from the city 19 minutes.

If, therefore, you are minded to follow Ptolemy with this amendment, in measuring out the breadth of the land between Gaza and Asphaltites, take it thus. Let Gaza be in<sup>z</sup> deg. 65. 45. And in him also, Ἀσφαλτίτιδος τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας ξ5’ ν’. The Latin version is, “Asphaltitis medium continet gradus 66. 50. The middle of Asphaltites contains degrees 66. 50.” From Gaza, therefore, to the middle of the Dead sea, will be a whole degree and έστ minutes; to which 65 miles, 5 minutes, do answer: whence if you withdraw the half of the Asphaltites, there will remain 65 miles, or thereabouts, from the shore of it to Gaza.

#### SECT. V.—*Pliny to be corrected.*

AND here I cannot but amend the reading of Pliny, or at least shew that it wants mending; in whom we read thus; “Deinde<sup>a</sup> Nabatæi oppidum,” &c. “Thence the Nabateans inhabit the town called Petra, the Rock, in a valley little less than two miles in bigness, surrounded with inaccessible mountains, a river running between. It is distant from Gaza, a

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 423.

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 321.

<sup>a</sup> *Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 28.*



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not only straitened according as they are enlarged ; but it is straitened also by the territories of Tyre and Sidon running between it and the sea.

So that it would be in vain to trace out an exact *breadth* of the land every where ; and it would be ridiculous to measure it by any one measure or extension. It is well enough, if one come near the thing by some convenient guess here and there, or err not much of it.

The determination of the *length* of the land seems more sure, while it is measured out by towns and cities, from Sidon to the river of Egypt : but here also is not the same space to all ; and in some places the measuring is very uncertain.

SECT. VI.<sup>c</sup>—*The length of the land, out of Antoninus.*

Thus the Itinerary of Antoninus :—

From Sidon to Tyre (Phœnicia)	24 miles.
To Ptolemais . . . . .	32
Sicamina . . . . .	24
Cæsarea . . . . .	20
Betaro (Palestine) . . . . .	18
Diospoli . . . . .	22
Liannia . . . . .	12
Ascalon . . . . .	20
Gaza . . . . .	16
Papa . . . . .	22
Rhinocolura . . . . .	22

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We have elsewhere measured out this space by the cords of Pliny and Strabo, less than this number by thirteen miles : where if some mistake hath crept into the computation, let Gulielmus Tyrius bear the blame, who stretched the bounds of Phœnicia four or five miles only from Tyre southward.

But what shall we say of another Itinerary? Which whether it be Antoninus's I dare not define; where it is thus,

From Cæsarea to Betaron 31 miles :

To Diospolis . . . . . 38 miles :

exceeding the former computation nine-and-twenty miles.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 322.*

There is somewhat there also, which how to reconcile with Josephus, it is not easy to shew: for it is said,

From <sup>d</sup> Neapolis to Ælia	30 miles,
To Eleutheropolis . . . .	20 miles,
To Ascalon . . . . .	24 miles.

Where from Ælia or Jerusalem to Ascalon run out only 44 miles; whereas Josephus saith of Ascalon, that it was τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἀπέχουσα σταδίου, “distant<sup>e</sup> from Jerusalem 520 furlongs,” or 65 miles. This breach is a little filled up by this; that New Ascalon was nearer to Jerusalem than the old by sixteen miles, as Benjamin relates.

Whether Betaron were the same with ביתר *Betar*, where that horrible slaughter was under Ben Cozba, we will not dispute here: there is no doubt to be made but Liamnia is illy writ for Jamnia. And now let us follow Antoninus to Pelusium:—

Rhinocolura	
Ostracena . . . .	24 miles,
Cassio . . . . .	26 miles,
Pentascino . . . .	20 miles,
Pelusio . . . . .	20 miles.

Which how they agree with Pliny, who numbers only sixty-five miles from Pelusium to the ending of Arabia, viz. to the Sirbon, on which Rhinocolura borders, I shall not take upon me to say. This I have said elsewhere, that it is a wonder that some maps should place the Sirbon between Cassius and Pelusium, when the contrary manifestly appears both here and in Pliny and Strabo. Perhaps they took the error from Ptolemy, or at least from his interpreter, in whom Cassius is in latitude, degr. 31. 15: but the breaking out of the Sirbon in 31. 10.

#### SECT. VII.<sup>f</sup>—*The breadth of the ways.*

“THE<sup>g</sup> Rabbins deliver. *A private way* (דרך היחיד) is four cubits. *A way from a city to a city* is eight cubits. *A public way* (דרך הרבים) is sixteen cubits. The way to the

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 424.

<sup>e</sup> *De Bell.* lib. iii. c. 2. [iii. 2. 1.]

<sup>f</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 323.

<sup>g</sup> *Bav. Bathra*, fol. 100.

cities of refuge is two-and-thirty cubits. The king's way hath no measure: for the king may break down hedges to make himself a way. And the way to a sepulchre hath no measure, **מִשּׁוֹם יִקְרָא דְשֵׁנִיבָא** *for the honour of the dead.*" Compare Matt. vii. 13, 14.

There was this difference between *a way* from a city to a city, and **דֶּרֶךְ הָרַבִּים** *a public way*; that a *public way* was that along which all cities passed; *a way* from a city to a city was that along which this city passed to that, and that to this, but no other city passed that way.

"That way from a city to a city was eight cubits (saith the Gloss), that if haply two chariots met, there might be space to pass."

The way to a sepulchre had no measure, that those that attended the corpse might not be separated by reason of the straitness of the way. They add, **הַמַּעֲמָד דִּינֵי צְפוּרֵי אַמְרוּ** "A station, as the judges of Zippor say, is as much as contains four cabs." By *station*, they understand the place where those that return from the sepulchre stand about the mourner to comfort him. **עֲבָדִים וְשִׁפְחוֹת אֵין** "Fer<sup>h</sup> men-servants and women-servants they do not stand, nor for them do they say the blessing of the mourners." The Gloss is, "When they returned from the sepulchre, **הָיוּ עוֹשִׂים שׂוֹרוֹת** they stood in rows comforting him. And that row consisted not of less than ten. They made him sit, and they stood about him<sup>i</sup>."

**בֵּית ד' קַבִּין** "A piece of ground containing four cabs of seed (saith the Gloss), is thirty-three cubits and two hand-breadths broad, and fifty long."

#### SECT. VIII.—*The distance of sepulchres from cities.*

BURYING-PLACES<sup>k</sup> "were not near the cities," **לֹא הָיוּ בְּתֵי** **קְבוּרוֹת סְמוּכִין לְעִיר**. They are the words of the Glosser upon Kiddushin in the place quoted; and that upon this tradition: "For all the thirty days he is carried in his mother's bosom, and is buried by one woman and two men; but not by one man and two women." The sense is this, An infant

<sup>h</sup> Beracoth, fol. 16. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Gloss. in Chetubh. fol. 8. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Gloss. in Kiddush. fol. 80. 2.



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Equites Scutarü Illyriciani Chermulæ.

Equites Mauri Illyriciani Æliæ.

Equites Thamudeni Illyriciani Bitsanæ.

Equites Promoti Indigenæ Sabaiaæ.

Equites Promoti Indigenæ Zodocathæ.

Equites Sagittarii Indigenæ Havanæ.

Equites Sagittarii Indigenæ Zoaræ.

Equites primi Felices Sagittarii Indigenæ Palæstinæ Saburæ,  
sive Veterocariæ.

Equites Sagittarii Indigenæ Mohaile.

Præfectus Legionis Decimæ Fretensis Ailæ.

*And those that are taken out of the lesser Muster-roll.*

Ala prima miliaria Sebastena Asuadæ.

Ala Antana Dromedariorum Admathæ.

Ala Constantiniana Tolohæ.

Ala secunda Felix Valentiniana apud Præsidium.

Ala Prima miliaria hastæ.

Ala Idiota constitutæ.

Cohors Duodecima Valeria Afro.

Cohors Decima Carthaginiensis Carthæ.

Cohors Prima Centenaria Tarbæ.

Cohors Quarta Phrygum Præsidio.

Cohors Secunda Gratiana Jehybo.

Cohors Prima equitata Calamonæ.

Cohors Secunda Galatarum Arieldelæ.

Cohors Prima Flavia Moleahæ.

Cohors Secunda Cretensis juxta Jordanem fluvium.

Cohors Prima Salutaria inter Æliam et Hierichunta.

*The Office stands thus:—*

Principem de Schola Agentium in rebus.

Numerarios et Adjutores eorum.

Commentariensem.

Adjutorem.

A libellis, sive subscribendarium.

Exceptores, et cæteros Officiales.

All this out of Notitia.

SECT. II.<sup>m</sup>—Zin צין. Cadesh רקם.

THESE places are named in the line bounding the land southward. Numb. xxxiv. and Josh. xv.

The Jews teach us, that it was called the ‘Desert of Zin’ from a mountain of that name, and that the mountain was so called from the groves of *palm-trees*; and that it was famous for iron mines. For those words, Numb. xxxiv. 4, וְעָבַר עֲנָה “And pass on to Zin,” are rendered by the Jerusalem Targumist, וְעָבַר טוֹר פְּרוּלָא “And the border passed on to the mountain of Iron.” By Jonathan, יוֹעָבַר לְצִינֵי, “And passed on to the palms of the mountain of Iron.”—צִינֵי, in the Talmudists, are *lesser palms*.—Rabh<sup>n</sup> Judah saith, He that sells a farm to his neighbour, must write, Possess to thyself, וְהוּצִין וְצִינֵין “Let the Aruch be an interpreter for us:—

“דְּקָלִין are loftier palm-trees.

“תְּאֵלִין are the rest of the greater trees.

“הוּצִין are the rest of the smaller trees.

“צִינֵין are the smaller palm-trees.”

And the Talmudists again צִינֵי הַר בְּרוּל כְּשֵׁרוֹת “The ° palms of the mountain of Iron are fit,” to make a bunch to hold in the hand in the feast of Tabernacles. Where the Gloss,—צִינֵי are *smaller palms*.

It seems, therefore, to be some mountainous tract, very near to the borders of the land of Israel, famous for palms of a lower size, and iron-mines, called, from its palm-trees, צִין *Tsin*, and from that name giving a denomination to the adjacent country, which was desert.

Cadesh, in the eastern interpreters רֶקֶם *Rekam*, was a bound of the land; yet Cadesh itself was, in effect, without the land. Hence those words, “He<sup>p</sup> that brings a bill from a heathen place, &c.; yea, that brings it from Rekam.” And, “All<sup>q</sup> the spots that come from Rekam are clean.” The Gloss is, “Some spots in the garments” (namely, of a profuse woman) “which came from Rekam were clean, because they determined not of the spots of strangers.” Another

<sup>m</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p.

325.

<sup>n</sup> Bava Bathra, fol. 69. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Succah, cap. 3. hal. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Gittin, cap. 1. hal. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Jevam. fol. 16. 1.



Gloss thus: "In Rekam were Israelites; and yet spots coming from Rekam are clean, because they belong to Israelites, and the Israelites hide their spots," &c.

Cades, as Bridenbachius relates, is called Cawatha by the Arabians: for thus he writes; "At length we came into a certain country, which, in the Arabian tongue, is called Cawatha, but in the Latin<sup>r</sup> Cades." Which while we read, those things come into my mind which the eminent Edward Pocock, a man of admirable learning, discourseth concerning the word *Kawa* [كوي], in his very learned *Miscellaneous Notes*<sup>s</sup>, that it should signify *crying aloud, an outcry, &c.* To which whether the word גועה *Gole* and גיעה (whereby Rekam is also called), that denotes *bellowing*, may any way answer, it is more fit for that great oracle of tongues to judge than for so mean a man as I am.

### SECT. III.—אונו Ono.

"Ono was<sup>t</sup> distant three miles from Lydda. R. Jacob<sup>u</sup> Ben דוסתאי *Dositheus* said, From Lydda to Ono are three miles; and I, on a certain time, went thither before day-break, up to the ankles in honey of figs." R. Simai<sup>x</sup> and R. Zadok went to intercalate the year in Lydda, and kept the Sabbath in Ono."

The Talmudists suppose this city was walled down from the days of Joshua; but fired in the war of Gibeah: because it is said, "All the cities also, to which they came, they set on fire," Judg. xx. 48; but that it was rebuilt by Elpaal, a Benjamite, 1 Chron. viii. 12; "R. Lazar Ben R. Josah saith, It was destroyed in the days of the concubine in Gibeah; but Elpaal stood forth and repaired it."

With Lod and Ono is also joined גיא החרשים or, "The valley of craftsmen," Neh. xi. 35; which some of the Jews suppose to be a particular city; and that it was walled from the days of Joshua. "But saith R. Chananiah, in the name of R. Phineas, Lod and Ono הן גיא החרשים *themselves are the valley of craftsmen.*" That R. Chananiah<sup>y</sup> was איש אונו *a*

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 426.

<sup>s</sup> Pag. 48. 49, &c. [*Works*, vol. i. p. 146. ed. 1740.]

<sup>t</sup> *Juchas*, fol. 39. 2.

<sup>u</sup> *Bab. Chetub.* fol. 3. 2.

<sup>x</sup> *Cholin*, fol. 56. 2. *Hieros. Megill.* fol. 70. 5.

<sup>y</sup> *Juchas*. in the place above.



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whether it refers to the same place, and be to be rendered “The Sandal of Lydda,” doth not appear. With it is mentioned also סנדל עמקי “The Emkean Sandal,” so called from עמקי *Caphar Imki*: the mention of which place is in the tract Taanith, where it is said ג, “The city out of which are five hundred footmen, as Caphar Imki,” &c. So the Aruch and R. Solomon cite the place, and pronounce the name of the city עמקי *Caphar Imki*; but in the Talmudie text it is עמיקי *Caphar Imiki*. About which we shall not contend.

## CHAP. X.

*Of the various inhabitants of the land.*

- I. *It was the land of the Hebrews before it was the Canaanites’.*
- II. *Whence it came to pass that Canaan was only a part of Canaan, Judges iv. 1.*
- III. *Who the Perizzites were.*
- IV. *The Kenites.*
- V. *Rephaim.*

SECT. I.—*It was the land of the Hebrews before it was the Canaanites’.*

ABRAHAM is called עברי *Hebrew*, then only when the difference between him and the Elamites was to be decided by war. And the reason of the surname is to be fetched from the thing itself which then was transacted.

I. The<sup>h</sup> hereditary right of the Holy Land, which, by divine disposal, was Sem’s land, Elam, the first-born of Sem, did deservedly claim; nor was there any of the sons of Sem upon whom, in human judgment, it was more equally and justly devolved. But the divine counsel and judgment had designed it another way; namely, that it should come to the family of Arphaxad, and Heber, of which family Abraham was. Him, therefore, God strengtheneth against the army of Elam, and declares him heir by a stupendous victory; which Sem himself likewise does, blessing him, although he had overthrown in battle his sons the Elamites, born of his first-born Elam. For that most holy man, and a very great and noble prophet withal, acknowledged the counsel of God; whom he is so far from opposing for the slaughter of his sons,

g Taanith, fol. 21. 2.

h *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 427.

that, on the contrary, he blesseth the conqueror, and yields him the choicest fruits of his land, bread and wine, not only for refreshment to him and his soldiers, but also, perhaps, for a sign rather of resignation, and investing him with the hereditary right of it, whom God, by so signal a mark, had shown to be the heir. Upon very good reason, therefore, Abraham is called *Hebrew*, to point as it were with the finger, that God would derive the inheritance of that land from the family of Elam to the family of Heber, from the first-born to him that was born after; which was also done afterward with Reuben and Joseph.

II. It<sup>i</sup> neither ought, nor indeed can be passed over without observation, that the country of Pentapolis, and the countries adjacent, were subjects and tributaries to Chedorlaomer king of Elam. What! was there any part of the land of Canaan subject to the king of the Persians, when so many kings and countries lay between it and Persia? No idle scruple and difficulty, I assure you; nor, as far as I can see, any otherwise to be resolved, than that Elam, the first-born of Sem, or Melchisedek, by his birthright, was heir of that land, which his father Sem possessed by divine right and patent; and the sons of Elam also held after him, and his grandsons, unto Chedorlaomer. For when it is said that those cities and countries had served Chedorlaomer *twelve years*, the times of his reign seem rather to be reckoned than the years of the reign of the Elamites. Not that those nations were subject to the sceptre of the Elamites twelve years only, but that that year was only the twelfth of Chedorlaomer. But now God translates the inheritance to the family of Heber, called Hebrew before, but now more particularly, and more honourably, since, of all the families of Sem, that was now most eminent. עֵבֶר *Heber* denotes Hebrews, as אַשּׁוּר *Assur* denotes Assyrians, in those words of Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 24, וְעַנִּי אֲשׁוּר וְעַנִּי עֵבֶר “and shall afflict *Assur*, and shall afflict *Heber*.”

It is a dream of somebody among the Rabbins, “That<sup>k</sup>, when the whole land was divided among the seventy nations at the confusion of tongues, the land of Canaan came to

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 327.

<sup>k</sup> Shem tobh in Ps. xlviij.

none : therefore the Canaanites betook themselves thither ; and being found not only empty, but conferred by lot upon none, they usurped it for their own."

But what then shall we say of Melchizedek, whom now all acknowledge for Shem ? Which is more probable, that he intruded among the Canaanites, now inhabiting the land, or that they intruded upon him ? Was not that land hereditary to him and his, rather than usurped by wrong and intrusion ? And did not he, by the direction of the Spirit of God, betake himself thither, rather than either that he, wandering about uncertainly, lighted upon that land by chance, or, acted by a spirit of ambition or usurpation, violently possessed himself of it ? For my part, I scarcely believe, either that the Canaanites went thither before the confusion of tongues, or that Shem, at that time, was not there : but that he had long and fully inhabited the land of *Canaan* (as it was afterward called), before the entrance of the Canaanites into it : and that by the privilege of a divine grant, which had destined him and his posterity hither : and that afterward the Canaanites crept in here ; and were first subjects to the family of Shem, whose first-born was Elam, but at length shook off the yoke.

When, therefore, all those original nations, from the confusion of tongues, partook of their names immediately from the fathers of their stock ; as, the Assyrians from Assur, the Elamites from Elam, &c. ; the same we must hold of the Hebrew nation, namely, that it, from that time, was called Hebrew from Heber : and that it was called the land of the Hebrews, before it was called the land of the Canaanites. For I can neither think that the stock of the Hebrews had no name for almost three hundred years after the confusion of tongues, until the passing of Abraham out of Chaldea found a name for it, which some would have ; nor methinks is it agreeable that Abraham was therefore called *Hebrew*, because, travelling out of Chaldea into the land of Canaan, he *passed* [עָבַר] Euphrates ; when, upon the same reason, both Canaan himself, and the fathers of all the western nations almost, should be called *Hebrews* ; for they passed over Euphrates, travelling out of Chaldea. And when the patriarch Joseph himself is called by his mistress a " Hebrew



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*the Tyrians*, he saw men labouring in digging their grounds, in gathering their vintage, and in husbandry: and then he said, Let my portion be in this land.”

Note, how Abraham coming into the land of Canaan is first brought into the north part of it; for there was ‘Scala Tyrriorum,’ ‘The ladder of the Tyrians.’ Canaan, in like manner with his sons, travelling from Babylon went the same way, and possesseth first the north parts, both those that were without the land of Canaan, and those that were parts of the land of Canaan itself.

First, let the seats of these his four sons without the land of Canaan be observed.

I. אַרְוָדִי *Arvadi*, the Arvadites. Which word in all versions almost is read as *Aradi*, the Aradites. And their seats are easily discovered in Arad and Antarad. Jonathan for אַרְוָדִי *Arvadi*, the Arvadites, reads לוֹטְסָאִי [*Lutasi*] the Lutasites. Which people in what part of the world were they? When I search in the Aruch what the word לוֹטְסָאִי *Lutas* means, he cites these words out of Bereshith Rabba; “A certain woman of the family of טַבְרִינוֹס *Tiberinus* was married לְלוֹטְסָאִי *to one Lutas* :” and when, accordingly, I search Bereshith Rabba, I find it there written, “She was married לְלִסְטָאִים *to a certain robber* .”

If it were written in Jonathan לוֹטְסָאִי, instead of לוֹטְסָאִי I should suspect his eye was bent upon *Latavis*, a place of Phœnicia: concerning which mention is made in the Notitia Imperii; where the Roman garrisons under the duke of Phœnicia are, “Otthara, Euhara, Saltacha, Latavis,” &c.

II. צַמְרִי *Zemari*, the Zemarites. In the Targumists, both that of Jerusalem and of Jonathan, it is חַמְצִי *Chamatsi*. So it is in the Arabic, and in the Jerusalem Gemarists<sup>p</sup>; and also in Bereshith Rabba<sup>q</sup>; which either supposeth them called צַמְרִי *Zemarites*, or alludes to the word שְׁעוֹשֵׁין בְּצִמְרָא *because they wrought in צִמְרָא Zemer, woollen manufacture* .” But ‘Chamats’ and ‘Apamia’ are convertible terms in the Jerusalem Talmudists: יַמָּא דַּאֲפַמְיָא יַמָּא דַּחַמְצִי “The sea of Apamia (say they) is the sea of Chamats<sup>r</sup> .” But now that Apamia we show elsewhere is the same with Sepham;

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 71. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Beresh. Rabb. §. 37.

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. Chetubh. fol. 35. 2.

on the utmost coast of the land of Israel, north and north-east.

III. אַרְקִי אַרְקָס דְּלִיבָנָן *Arki*, the Arkites. “Arki is Arcas of Libanus.” Pliny writes thus<sup>t</sup>; “Paneas, in which is Cæsarea with the spring before spoken, Abila, Arca,” &c. Borchard thus, “*In terminos [read inter] Libani et Antilibani offendimus castrum Arachas,*” &c. “*On [or rather between] the borders of Libanus and Antilibanus, we found the strong-hold Arachas, and built by Aracheus the son of Canaan, when the deluge was over.*”

IV. חַמְתֵּי *Hamathi*, the Hamathites. In the Jerusalem Targum it is Antioch. And Bereshith Rabba not much from that sense, though in very different words, סִינֵי אַרְתוּסִיָּה “*A Sinite (saith he) and Arethusia ; חַמְתֵּי פִיפְנִיָּה Chathamathi is Epiphania.*” Thus Pliny; “The rest of Syria hath these people, except what shall be said with Euphrates, the Arethusians, the Bereans, and the Epiphanians.”

You see the Antiochian and Syrophœnician Syria possessed by the Canaanites; and yet we are not come as far as the land of Canaan.

Let us therefore proceed onwards with Canaan and the rest of his sons. The borders of the Canaanites, saith the Holy Scripture, “were from Sidon to Gerar, even unto Gaza,” Gen. x. 19. You will say they were from Antioch, and utmost Phœnicia, and a great part of Syria. True, indeed, those countries, as we have seen, were planted by the sons of Canaan, but the Scripture doth not call them Canaanites; but where their coasts end towards the south, there the Canaanites’ begin. The tract therefore, or region first possessed by them, is called by a peculiar name *Canaan*, as distinct from the rest of the land of Canaan, Judg. iv. 2; where “Jabin the king of Hazor” is called “the king of Canaan,” that is, of the northern coast of the land of Canaan. And among the seven nations devoted by God himself to a curse and cutting-off, the Canaanites are always numbered, when all indeed were Canaanites: and that, as it seems, upon a double reason; partly, because that country was distinctly so called, as another country, and was of a peculiar differ-

<sup>s</sup> Beresh. Rab. in the place before.

<sup>t</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. 19.



ence<sup>u</sup> from those countries inhabited by the sons of Canaan, of whom we have spoke : partly<sup>x</sup>, because Canaan the father probably fixed his seat there himself ; and thence both that country was called Canaan, and the whole land moreover called “ The land of Canaan.”

SECT. III.—*The Perizzites, who.*

RECKON the sons of Canaan in Gen. x ; and where do you find the Perizzites ? And yet, a matter to be wondered at, they are always numbered in that black catalogue of the seven nations to be cut off.

I know it is supposed by some that they are called *Perizzites*, as much as to say *villagers*, because they dwelt in *villages*, and small towns unfortified : which, indeed, varies not much from the derivation of the word : but certainly it is needless, when all the Canaanitish families are reckoned up, which possessed the whole land, to add *the villagers* over and above, who were sufficiently included in the aforesaid reckoning.

But that which we know was done by the Israelites, we justly suppose was done by the Canaanites also ; namely, that some families of the Canaanite stock were denominated, not from the very immediate son of Canaan, from whom they derived their original, but from some famous and memorable man of that stock. Nor do we say this upon conjecture alone, but by very many examples among the Israelites ; and, indeed, among other nations, and this in that very nation of which we are speaking. In Gen. xxxvi, Zibeon was the son of Seir, ver. 20 ; and the whole nation and land was called, “ The nation and land of the sons of Seir.” But now that that Seir was of the Canaanite pedigree, appears sufficiently hence, that his son Zibeon was called a Hivite, ver. 2. After the same manner therefore as the Seirites, who were of Canaanite blood, were so named, I make no doubt the Perizzites were named from one Perez, a man of great name in some Canaanite stock.

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edit.*, vol. ii. p. 429.    <sup>x</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 329.



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little, the whole land of Canaan within Jordan. Then they spread themselves into the land which afterwards belonged to the Edomites, and there they were called Horites from mount Hor; and the children of Seir, from Seir the father of those families, he himself being a Canaanite. On the east, they spread themselves into those countries which afterward belonged to the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Midianites; and they were called Kenites, Kenizzites, Cadmonites, from one Cain, one Kenaz, and perhaps one Cadmen, the fathers of those families; if so be the Cadmonites were not so called from the aforesaid causes.

The<sup>c</sup> mention of a certain Cain calls to my mind the town or city Cain, which you see in the maps placed not far from Carmel: in that of Doet, adorned (shall I say?) or disfigured with a Dutch picture of one man shooting another, with this inscription, “Cain wert geschoten van Lamech;” “Cain was shot by Lamech,” Gen. iv. A famous monument forsooth! That place, indeed, is obscure, Gen. iv: and made more obscure by the various opinions of interpreters: and you, Doet, have chosen the worst of all. If the words of Lamech may be cleared from the text, (and if you clear it not from the context, whence will you clear it?) they carry this plain and smooth sense with them: He had brought in bigamy: that also had laid waste the whole world, Gen. vi. For so wretched a wickedness, and which, by his example, was the destruction of infinite numbers of men, divine justice and vengeance strikes and wounds him with the horror and sting of conscience; so that, groaning and howling before his two bigamous wives, Adah and Zillah, he complains and confesseth that he is a much more bloody murderer than Cain, for he had only slain Abel; but he, an infinite<sup>d</sup> number of young and old by his wicked example.

#### SECT. V.—רפאים *Rephaim*.

THE Samaritan interpreter always renders these, Aseans; —in Gen. xv. 20, written with [ח] Cheth, but in Deut. ii. 20, with [א] Aleph. If they were called Aseans, as they were by him, so by all other speaking Syriac and Chaldee; I know

<sup>c</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 330.    <sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 430.

not whence the word Asia may more fitly be derived, than from the memory of this gigantic race, living almost in the middle of Asia, and monstrous and astonishing above all other Asiatics. The LXX call them *Tirávas*, *Titans*, 2 Sam. v. 18, 22. The word used by the Samaritan denotes *Physicians*<sup>e</sup>, and so it is rendered by me in the Polyglott Bible, lately published at London, Deut. ñ, partly, that it might be rendered word for word, but especially, that it might be observed by what sound, and in what kind of pronunciation he read the word רפאים *Rephaim*. So the LXX render it Ἴατροὶ, *Physicians*, Isa. xxvi. 14, &c.

<sup>e</sup> [From רפא, *sanavit*. In the same sense נסא is used in Chaldee and Syriac.]





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Of the various inhabitants of the land. I. It was the land of the Hebrews before it was the Canaanites'. II. Whence it came to pass, that Canaan was only a part of Canaan, Judges iv. 2. III. Who the Perizzites were. IV. The Kenites. V. Rephaim.

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A FEW  
CHOROGRAPHICAL NOTES,  
&c. &c.

---

CHAP. I.<sup>a</sup>

*Of the places mentioned in Luke iii.*

I. *Some historical passages concerning the territories of Herod, and the tetrarchies of his sons.* II. *Whether Perea was not also called Galilee.* III. *Some things in general concerning the country beyond Jordan.* IV. *Trachonitis.* V. *Auranitis.* VI. *Iturea.* VII. *Abilene.* VIII. *2 Sam. xx. 18 discussed.*

SECT. I.—*Some historical passages concerning the territories of Herod, &c.*

BEFORE we make any particular inquiries into the countries mentioned Luke iii. 1, it will not be amiss to dip into history a little more generally.

“Augustus Cæsar<sup>b</sup> received Herod’s sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, upon their arrival at Rome, with all the kindness imaginable, καὶ δίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ὅτῳ βούλεται βεβαιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων: *granting a power to Herod to establish the kingdom in which of his sons he pleased:* καὶ χώραν ἔτι τὸν τε Τράχωνα, καὶ Βαταναίαν, καὶ Ἀβρανίτιν<sup>c</sup>: *yea, and moreover, gave him the region of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Abranitis.*” We find Perea (peculiarly so called) not mentioned in this place, when yet it was most assuredly under Herod’s jurisdiction: how else could he have built Herodium, which was in the extreme confines of Perea southward, where he himself was buried?

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 361.—*Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 471.

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 696. l. 6. [xv. 10. 1.]

<sup>c</sup> Ἀβρανίτιν Hudson.

Neither, indeed, doth St. Luke say any thing of Perea, even then when he mentions the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, under whose jurisdiction, Josephus tells us, were both Perea and Galilee. Ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τούτῳ [Ἀντίπα] ἢ τε Περαιά καὶ Γαλιλαία. “Perea<sup>d</sup> and Galilee were both under Antipas.”

Why Josephus should not mention Perea, when he is speaking of the father's kingdom, or why St. Luke should omit it, when he instances the tetrarchy of the son, that being so unquestionably within his jurisdiction, I confess is something strange to me; nor could I pass it without some remark.

The same Josephus tells us this of the tetrarchy of Philip: Βαταναία τε καὶ Τράχων, &c. “Batanea<sup>e</sup>, also, and Trachonitis, Auranitis, and some parts of Zeno's house, about Jamnia, yielding the profits of one hundred talents, were under Philip's government.” And again, Τότε δὴ καὶ Φίλιππος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς. “Then<sup>f</sup> died Philip, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, when he himself had governed for seven-and-thirty years over Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and the country of the Bataneans.” Here we see Auranitis is not mentioned, but Gaulonitis is; and in St. Luke, neither Batanea, nor Gaulonitis, nor Auranitis; but, instead of them, Iturea. There is a chronological difficulty<sup>g</sup> in these words of Josephus, which is not easily solved; but this is not the business of this treatise.

It is hard to say whether this Ζήνωνος οἶκος, *house of Zenon*, have any relation with Zenodorus, the robber. Josephus, in the place above quoted<sup>h</sup>, mentions him, saying, that Augustus was the more willing to put Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, under the government of Herod the Great, that he might the more effectually suppress the thefts and rapines committed by one Zenodorus and the Trachonites. Strabo<sup>i</sup> also speaks of this Zenodorus, telling us, that “there were few robberies committed now; καταλυθέντων τῶν περὶ Ζηνόδωρον τῶν ληστῶν, *the robbers of Zenodorus's party being cut off.*”

<sup>d</sup> De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9. [ii. 6. 3.]

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. [xviii. 4. 6.]

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 362.

<sup>h</sup> [Antiq. xv. 10. 1.]

<sup>i</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi. [p. 756.]



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is, by Gamaliel, called ‘Judas of Galilee,’ Acts v. 37,—who yet, by Josephus, is called Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ, ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γαμάλα, “A<sup>k</sup> Gaulonite of the city of Gamala.” Now it is well enough known that Gaulona and Gamala were beyond Jordan.

II. I suppose Perea, properly so called, to have gone also under the name of Galilee, for these reasons:

1. The whole land of Canaan, both that beyond and that on this side Jordan, was under the jurisdiction of Herod the Great. So that divide this whole country into four tetrarchies, the first Judea; the second Samaria; both which were under the government of Pilate; the third, Iturca and Trachonitis, under Philip; the fourth will be Galilee on this side, and Perea beyond Jordan. Whereas, therefore, St. Luke, in the division of the tetrarchies, names only Galilee, as that which belonged to Herod, it is manifest he includes Perea under that of Galilee, and speaks of it as a known and commonly-received thing.

2. In Luke xvii. 11, it is said of Jesus, that “as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.” One would have thought it had been proper to have said, “through the midst of Galilee and Samaria.” For when he went from Jerusalem to his own country, he then passed through Samaria, and so into Galilee; but going from home to Jerusalem, he in his passage went through Galilee, and then through Samaria: but now it is very certain, that in that journey he did pass through Perea, having first gone through the Samaritan country. Whence it is very probable that Perea is called, by our evangelist in this place, Galilee; in the very same manner as he had also included it in the mention of Galilee, Luke iii. 1.

3. In that tragical feast, wherein the last mess was the head of John Baptist, those who<sup>l</sup> then were treated by Herod are called the “great estates of Galilee,” Mark vi. 21. Now, that supper was kept in the palace Herodium, which was in the very extreme parts of Perea towards the south; and, therefore, surely those “great estates of Galilee,” that were with him, must be no other than the great estates of Perea.

<sup>k</sup> Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. [xviii. 1. 1.] <sup>l</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 363.

4. There is mention of גְּלִילוֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן *Geliloth of Jordan*, Joshua xxii. 11, when the passage was concerning Perea: whence that country might well take its name of Galilee.

SECT. III—*Some things in general concerning the country beyond Jordan.*

As to the tetrarchies of Herod and Philip, this, I suppose, we may determine without prejudice or question, that nothing was within their jurisdiction but what was within the confines of the land of Israel, properly so called. As to what may be objected concerning Iturea, we shall consider in its own place. Whilst we are, therefore, looking into these countries, our main business will be with what was beyond Jordan; for that on this side the river was only Galilee, about which we shall not much trouble ourselves, because there is no difficulty concerning it.

The Transjordanine country, if I mistake not, from greatest antiquity, is divided in that story, Gen. xiv. 5: “Chedor-laomer, and the kings that were with him, smote the Rephaims in Ashtaroth-karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh-kiriathaim, and the Horites in mount Seir.”

These two things we may apprehend from this passage: 1. That the country of Bashan was inhabited by the Rephaims; Perea (another part of the land beyond Jordan), by the Zuzims, Moab by the Emims. 2. That Ashtaroth-karnaim, Ham, and Shaveh-kiriathaim are not every one the names of whole countries, but particular places in those countries; perhaps where the several fights were, or where the people of that country had been subdued.

As to Ashtaroth-karnaim, there is little doubt but that was in the kingdom of Bashan; the larger region being called Ashtaroth, Karnaim is added in a distinguishing limited sense: Deut. i. 4, “Og, the king of Bashan, which dwelt at Ashtaroth in Edrei.”

Of the place itself, the Jewish doctors thus<sup>m</sup>: עַד כ' אַמָּה “At twenty cubits, a man sits in the shadow of his tent” (viz. in the feast of Tabernacles); “he

<sup>m</sup> Succah, fol. 2. 1.



does not sit in the shadow of his tabernacle beyond twenty cubits, but in the shadow of its sides" [that is, if the roof or cover of his tabernacle be above twenty cubits high]. "Abai saith unto him, If, therefore, any one<sup>n</sup> shall pitch a tabernacle in Ashtaroth-karnaim, is not the tabernacle so also?" Gloss: "Ashtaroth-karnaim were two great mountains, with a valley between; and, by reason of the height and shadow of those mountains, the sun never shone upon the valley."

Why the Samaritan copy should use here עפינית קרנייה *Aphinith Karnaiyah*, instead of 'Ashtaroth-karnaim,' especially when it retains the word Ashtaroth elsewhere, is not easy to say, unless it should have some relation to עפין *boughs*; as a place thick and shady with boughs. But such is the confusion of the guttural letters in the Samaritan language, that we can determine nothing positively.

That the Zuzims inhabited Perea, as it is distinguished from the country of Bashan, may be evident from the progress of the conqueror; for whereas it is plain that the Rephaims dwelt in Bashan, and the Emims in the country of Moab, Deut. ii. 10, 11, it is manifest that the Zuzims, who were conquered after the Rephaims, and before the Emims, lay in a country between both, and that was Perea.

And hence are those to be corrected that would correct the reading here [Gen. xiv. 5.], and instead of הַזּוּזִים בְּהָם *the Zuzims in Ham*, would render it, "the Zuzims with them [בְּהָם]." So the Greek, Vulgar, &c: as if the Zuzims were amongst the Rephaims, when they were distinguished both in nation and dwelling. The Samaritan, we may be sure, took בְּהָם for no other than a place, when it renders בלישה *in Lishah*.

When the Israelites went out of Egypt into that land, the whole Transjordanine region was divided into these two seigniories,—the kingdom of Sehon, and the kingdom of Og. That of Sehon was Perea, strictly so called now; that of Og, was all the rest under the name of Bashan. But after the return of Israel from Babylon, Bashan was so subdivided, that Batanea, or Bashan, was only a part of it, the rest going under the name of Trachonitis, Auranitis. and, if you will,

<sup>n</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 473.



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last I presume most probable; and so we place Trachonitis in the extreme parts of the Transjordanine country towards the east. And both which, upon these reasons taken together:

1. The Gemarists, describing the circumference of the land from the north, do mention תרנגולה עילאה דלמעלה מן קיסרין וטרנונא דמתחם לבוצרה “Tarnegola [or Gabara] the upper, which is above Cæsarea [Philippi], and Trachona, which extends to Bozrah<sup>t</sup>” where the extension of Trachona must not be understood of its reaching to some Bozrah in those northern borders; but to some Bozrah or Bosorrah in the confines of Perea<sup>u</sup>: and so it supposes the country extending itself from the north towards the south.

2. *Batanaías*<sup>x</sup> χώρας, “Of the province of Batanea; east of which is Saccea, and here, under the hill Alsadamus, are the Trachonite Arabians.” Behold here the Trachonites living east of Batanea.

3. Ἡ τε γὰρ Γαμαλιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανίτις, Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχωνίτις. “The country of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis.” But were not Gamalitica itself and Gaulonitis within Batanea? Right: but by this distinction he divides between that Batanea that was nearer Galilee, and that that was farther off. That country that lay nearest, from those noted towns of Gaulan and Gamala, he calls Gaulonitis and Gamalitica; and that which was farther off, he calls by its own name of Batanea; and what lies still beyond that, Trachonitis.

There was a time when all that whole country, which now is distinguished into these severals, had one general name of *Bashan*; which word, how it came to change into Bathan, or Batanea,—as also, with the Targumists and Samaritans, into Bathnin and Mathnin,—any one, indifferently skilled in the Syrian tongue, will easily discern.

#### SECT. V.—*Auranitis*.

THAT Auranitis took its denomination from Hauran, hardly

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 12. [xii. 8. 3.]

<sup>x</sup> Ptol. cap. 15, towards the end.

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 4. [Hudson, p. 1121.] [iii. 3. 5.]

any one will question, especially that observes אֲשֶׁר אֶל גְּבוּל חוֹרֵן Ezek. xlvii. 16, to be rendered by the Greek interpreters, Ἄ ἐῖσω ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρίων Αὐρανίτιδος, “which are upon the borders of Auranitis.”

Hauran is reckoned up amongst those hills, at the top of which, by lifting up some flaming torches, they were wont to give notice of the new year.

“Where<sup>z</sup> did they hold up those lights? מהר המשחה ומסרטבא לגרופינא *From mount Olivet to Sartaba.* ומסרטבא לגרופינא *And from Sartaba to Gryphena.* ומגרופינא לחורן *And from Gryphena to Hauran.* ומחורן לבית בלתין *And from Hauran to Beth Baltin.* And from Beth Baltin, he that held up the light there, did not depart, but waved it hither and thither, up and down, till he saw the lights kindled throughout the whole captivity.”

The<sup>a</sup> Gemarist queries, “What is Beth-Baltin? Rabh saith, It is Biram. What is the captivity? Rabh Joseph saith, It is Pumbeditha.” Gloss: “The sense of it is this: That Biram is in the land of Israel.” How! is Biram the same with Beth Baltin, and yet is Biram within the land of Israel? when, in the Jerusalem Gemara, “Rabh Honna saith, When we came hither, we went up to the top of Beth Baltin, and discerned the palm trees in Babylon.” If this be true, the geographers are to consider whether there can be any prospect of Babylon from the land of Israel. In their sense it may be true enough, who commonly by the name of Babylon understand all those countries into which the Babylonish captivity were carried; not only Chaldea, but Mesopotamia also, and Assyria. So that bounding the land of Israel with the river Euphrates (which, indeed, the Holy Scriptures themselves do), they make it contiguous with Mesopotamia, the river only between; and they place Beth Baltin not far from the bank on this side the river.

The Gemarists acknowledge that lights were lifted up upon some hills between those which they had mentioned; but these were the most known and celebrated, and therefore they named them only. Now it is probable enough that mount Hauran gave the denomination to the whole country Auran-

<sup>z</sup> Rosh Hashanah, cap. ii. hal. 2.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 365.

itis, which we are now upon. Perhaps there might be some part of Antilibanus called Hauran, either from the Syriac word *חור* *Havar*, which signifies *white*; or from the Hebrew word *חור* *Hor*, a *cave*. It may well enough agree either way, the hill being *white* with snow, and *hollow with the subterranean passages* that were there.

However, it is plain enough, from the place in Ezekiel before quoted, that Hauran was situated in the very extreme parts of the land towards the north, and from thence the country, as it had its situation there, so had its name Auranitis. Gul. Tyrius<sup>b</sup> (by what authority I cannot tell) placeth it near the sea of Gennesaret: “Subito enim transcurſa regione Auranitide, quæ ſecus mare Tiberiadis eſt,” &c. “The country of Auranitis being ſuddenly run through, which is by the ſea of Tiberias,” &c.

And that the river Orontes [ſpringing between Libanus and Antilibanus near Heliopolis, as Pliny<sup>c</sup> hath it] took its name from Hauran, the word itſelf ſeems to aſſure us. Although ſome, quoted by Euaſtathius in Dionys. Περιηγ., do apprehend it to be a Latin name. “Ἄλλοι δὲ φάσιν (ſaith he) ὅτι Καῖſαρ Τιβέριος ἐκ Δράκοντος αὐτὸν Ὀρόντην μετωνόμαſεν, ὃ ſημαίνει Ἀνατολικόν· As if ‘Orontes’ were the ſame with ‘Orientalis,’ ‘the Eaſtern.’ But what that ἐκ Δράκοντος ſhould mean is a little difficult. Orontes was of old called Typhon, as Strabo<sup>d</sup> tells us.

#### SECT. VI.—*Iturea*.

THE reader muſt excuſe me if I make a narrower ſearch into the ſituation of Iturea, although Barradius may confidently enough have told him (upon his own truſt merely, as far as I can learn), that “the country is in the tribe of Nephthali, at the foot of mount Libanus.” Perhaps he hath followed Borchard, who himſelf writes only upon the credit of Jacobus de Vitriaco: “Scias regionem Decapolin quam varie in Scripturis denominari,” &c. “You muſt know, the region of Decapolis hath ſeveral names in Scripture. Sometimes it is called Iturca; ſometimes, Trachonitis; ſometimes, the plain of Libanus; ſometimes, the land of Moab; in one

<sup>b</sup> Lib. xxii. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. v. cap. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. xvi. [c. 2.]



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But long before that, viz. in the days of the kings of Israel, it was called the Grove of Libanus.”

Where at length shall we find this Iturea? Had Philip any part of his tetrarchy within Cyrrhestica, or Chalcis of Syria? And yet, if you believe either Pliny or Strabo, there were the Itureans. I suspect there is something couched in the etymology of the word, that may as much puzzle as the situation of the place.

If Bacar, as it is described by Tyrius, be indeed Iturea, it may be derived from עִתּוּר *Hittur*, which signifies *wealth*; or from עִשׂוּר, which denotes *crowning*, especially when the country itself is crowned with so much plenty. It is a notion familiar enough amongst the Talmudic authors.

Indeed, if I could believe that Iturea were the same with Decapolis, then I would suppose the word עֶשֶׂר *ten* might have been altered by the change of ש (Shin) into ת (Thau), according to the Syriac manner: but I neither can believe that, nor have I ever met with such a change made in that word, but rather that it would go into ס (Samech).

May it not, therefore, be derived from חִיתּוּרִי *Chitture*, *diggings*, because of the caves and hollows underground? So that the Iturei might signify the same with Troglodytæ, “those that dwell in caverns and holes.” And so the Troglodytes, which were on the north of Israel, are distinguished from those on the south, viz. the Horites in Edom. Now that these countries, of which we are treating, were peculiarly noted for caves and dens; and they not only numerous, but some very strange and wonderful, Strabo, Josephus, Tyrius, and others, do abundantly testify.

Ἐπέκκεινται<sup>m</sup> δὲ αὐτῆς [Δαμάσκου] δύο λεγόμενοι Τράχωνες. “There are, beyond Damascus, two mountains called Trachones.” Afterward; “Towards Arabia and Iturea, there are some cragged hills, famous for large and deep caves; one of which was capable of receiving four thousand men in it.” But that was a prodigious cave of Zedekiah’s, wherever it was, that was eighteen miles’ space; at least, if those things be true which are related concerning it<sup>n</sup>.

There was a cave beyond Jordan, about sixteen miles from

<sup>m</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi. [c. 2.]

<sup>n</sup> Bemidbar Rab. fol. 211. 2.

Tiberias, that was three stories high ; had a lower, a middle, and an upper dining-room<sup>o</sup>. Which, indeed, was fortified, and held a garrison of soldiers in it.

So that we may, not without reason, conjecture the Iturea of which we now speak might be so called from חִיתוּרִי *Chitture*, such kind of *diggings* under-ground : and that Pliny and Strabo, when they talk of the “ nation of the Itureans in Cyrrhestica and Chalcis,” do not place the country of Iturea there ; only hinted that the Troglodytes, who dwelt in dens and caves, were there.

Iturea therefore, mentioned by our evangelists, was in the country beyond Jordan, viz. Batanea and Auranitis, or Auranitis alone, as may appear out of Josephus, compared with this our evangelist. For St. Luke saith, that “ Philip was tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis :” Josephus, that he was tetrarch of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis. Either, therefore, Auranitis and Batanea in Josephus is the Iturea in St. Luke, or else Batanea in Josephus is confounded with Trachonitis mentioned in St. Luke, and Auranitis alone is Iturea. For that passage in Josephus<sup>p</sup> ought to be taken notice of : Δωρείται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, καὶ Βαταναίᾳ, προσθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν Τραχωνίτιν σὺν Ἀβέλλᾳ. “ Cæsar invests Agrippa with the tetrarchy that Philip had, and Batanea, adding moreover Trachonitis with Abella.” Where it is observable, that there is mention of the tetrarchy of Philip, distinct from Batanea and Trachonitis. And what is that ? certainly Auranitis in Josephus, and perhaps Iturea in St. Luke.

#### SECT. VII.—*Abilene*.

JOSEPHUS, in the words before quoted, speaking of Abella, adds this passage ; Λυσανία δὲ αὕτη ἐγεγόνει τετραρχία, “ that had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias.” So also Ptolemy ; Ἀβίλα ἐπικληθεῖσα Λυσανίου, “ Abila, that bore the name of Lysanias :” and he reckons this up among the cities of Cœlo-syria, under these degrees :—

Heliopolis 68. 40. 33. 40.

Abila . . 68. 45. 33. 20.

Pliny<sup>q</sup> speaks of Abila in that country : “ Paneas, in qua Cæ-

<sup>o</sup> Gul. Tyr. lib. xxxiii. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. [Huds.

p. 890. l. 28. Ἀβίλα.] [xx. 7. 1.]

<sup>q</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 18.







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CHAP. II.<sup>z</sup>*Sarepta.*

- I. *Zarephath*, Obadiah, ver. 20, *where*. II. *Sepharad*, *where*.  
 III. *The situation of Sarepta.*

SECT. I.—*Zarephath*, Obad. ver. 20, *where*.

SAREPTA, in the story of Elijah, 1 Kings xvii, is written in Hebrew צֶרְפַּת *Tzarephath*, and with the same letters in Obad. ver. 20: and therefore it may be reasonably inquired, whether it be one and the same place. Indeed, there would hardly be any doubt in it, but that the Jews ordinarily by צֶרְפַּת, understand *France*; and by סְפָרַד *Sepharad*, which by the prophet is used in the very same verse, *Spain*. The words of the prophet are very variously rendered; and yet in all that variety, nothing hinders but that *Zarephath* there may be understood of the *Zarephath* mentioned in the *Kings*. For whether the passage concern the captivity's being detained in *Zarephath*, or the captivity's possessing the land to *Zarephath* (for in that variety chiefly the words are expounded), in either sense it may well enough be, that the 'Sarepta that belongs to *Zidon*' may be the scene of the affair. As to the former, if we compare but that passage concerning *Tyre*, the sister of *Sidon*, Amos i. 9, and withal the potency and dominion of the *Sidonians*, it may not be improbable but that the *Israelites* might be captived in *Sarepta* of *Sidon*. And as to the latter, whereas in the verse immediately before, the discourse is of the possession of the mount of *Esau*, of the fields of *Ephraim*, *Samaria*, and *Gilead*, and then there is mention of possessing the land of *Canaan* as far as *Zarephath*, who would seek *Zarephath* in *France*, and not in some neighbouring place, according to all the rest of the places there named, which were all very near? Let me add moreover, that whereas there is mention of possessing the land of the *Canaanites* "even unto *Zarephath*," the *Greek interpreters* will tell you who those *Canaanites* were that are distinguished from the rest of the nations in the land of *Canaan*; viz. the *Phœnicians*, Josh. v. 1. And by the 'kings

<sup>z</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 368.

of the Hittites,' mentioned 1 Kings x. 29 and 2 Kings vii. 6, I would likewise suppose the βασιλεῖς τῆς Φοινίκης *Phœnician kings*.

SECT. II.<sup>a</sup>—*Sepharad, where.*

THE Italian interpreter for Sepharad retains Zarphath: for so he; “Et i transferiti de questo esercito de figlioli de Israel, che sono de Chenahanei, in fino a Zarphath, et i transferiti di Jerusalem, che sono in Zarphath,” &c. Whether too warily or too unwarily he hath thus done, let him look to that himself.

The Greek hath Ἐφραθὰ, *Ephratha*, with which the Arabian interpreter agrees. But the Syriac with the Targumist, *Spain*. The Vulgar, *Bosphorus*, confusedly; besides that it makes the preposition ζ a radical letter. And yet Nobilius hath this passage: “St. Jerome tells us, the other interpreters agreed with the Hebrew word Sepharad, which he rendered Bosphorus.” If he means that all agreed in acknowledging the word Sepharad, he tells us no news; but who agreed with his word Bosphorus?

I must confess, Sepharad is not a place so obvious as Zarephath, nor can any thing be offered in it but conjecture only: and if I might be allowed my guess, I would look for Sepharad in Edom rather than in Spain: and that because Obadiah prophesies against the Edomites properly so called. Whereas, therefore, he tells us, That the captivity of Israel, in Sarepta of the Phœnicians, shall possess the land of the Canaanites, it is probable he means, by the captivity in Sepharad, those captives in Edom who shall possess the cities of the south. The Zarphathani, or Sareptani were of the north, the Sepharadani of the south, amongst the Ἐρεμβοὶ<sup>b</sup>, *Erembi*. Οὓς εἰκὸς λέγειν τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας Ἀραβας. “whom you may rightly call the Troglodyte Arabs,” saith Strabo<sup>c</sup>; that is, probably, the Horims in mount Seir; for I suspect Horim, by ill use, might form itself into *Eremb*.

If<sup>d</sup> we consider that the Jews do generally by Edom understand the Roman empire, and indeed all the Christian nations in the west, we shall easily perceive why they fix

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 477.

<sup>b</sup> Hom. *Odyss.* δ. [84.]

<sup>c</sup> Strab. lib. i. [c. 2.] [Ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔραν ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς Ἐρέμβους ἐτυ-

μολογοῦσιν οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ οὓς μεταλαμβάνοντες οἱ ὕστερον, ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον, Τρωγλοδύτας ἐκάλεσαν.]

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 369.

these places, Zarephath and Sepharad, so far from Palestine. For Obadiah prophesying against the Edomites, properly so called, the Jews change the scene and persons according to the vulgar construction of Edom, which they had received amongst themselves.

SECT. III.—*The situation of Sarepta.*

“INDE<sup>e</sup> [à Tyro] Sarepta, et Ornithon oppida; et Sidon artifex vitri, Thebarumque Bœotiarum parens:” “From Tyre is Sarepta and Ornithon, certain towns so called: Sidon where glass is made, and from whence sprang the Bœotian Thebes.”

Borchard: “A Tyro ad tres leucas admodum breves,” &c. “About three very short leagues from Tyre, the river Elen-therns runs into the sea: about two leagues from that river is Sarepta: about two leagues from Sarepta is Sidon. Sarepta, at this time, doth not consist of above eight houses, though the ruins do still say it was once a brave town.”

Some would have Zarephath signify as much as *a place of melting*; from boiling and melting metals, but especially glass<sup>f</sup>.

“Between g Acon and Tyre there is a shore all spread over with little hillocks of sand; φέρων τὴν ὑαλίτιν ἄμμον, *that bears a glassy sand*: the glass indeed is not cast here, but being carried to Sidon, there it is made fusile,” &c.

CHAP. III.

*Nain.* Luke vii. 11.

I. *Concerning Nain near Tabor, shewn to strangers.* II. *Concerning Nain in Josephus and the Rabbins.* III. *The Greek version of עין גנים Engannim.*

SECT. I.—*Concerning Nain near Tabor, shewn to strangers.*

IN the Alexandrian copy עֵיִן *Ijon* is *Näiv, Nain*, 1 Kings xv. 20: in the Roman it is *'Aiv Ain*. So Hazar-enan, Numb. xxxiv. 9, in the Roman copy is *'Aρσενäv Arsenain*; in the Alexandrian, *'Aσερäv, Asernain*. Neither of them agrees

<sup>e</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 19.

<sup>f</sup> [צָרָף] *liquavit metallum spec. aurum argentumve, igne purgavit et*

a scoriis separavit. Gesen. sub v.]

g Strabo, lib. xvi. [c. 2.]



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The Persian interpreter, instead of *Nain*, hath נַאבִּילִים *Nabelis*, that is, Neapolis, which is also Sychem: but for what reason, I know not. Nor do I suppose that it was conceived by any one expositor, that the widow's son, whom Christ raised from death, was a Samaritan; he was indeed upon the borders of Samaria, but a great distance from Sychar.

SECT. II.—*Concerning the Nain or Naim in Josephus and the Rabbins.*

THE Darshanim [*expositors*] upon Bereshith Rabba<sup>m</sup> speak of a certain place called נַעִים *Naim*, upon this occasion: “Issachar is a bony [or strong] ass, Gen. xlix. 14. It is spoken of Issachar's country; for as an ass is low before and behind, and high in the middle, so is it in the tribe of Issachar; it is a valley here and a valley there, and hilly elsewhere; it couches between two borders. These are the two valleys, בְּקַעַת פִּסְלֵן *the valley of Pislun*, and the valley of Jezreel. And he saw that rest was good, זֶר תִּנְעָם *this is Tinaam*: and the land that it was pleasant, זֶר נַעִים *this is Naim.*”

We have here, by the way, a taste of those allegorical and far-fetched ways of expounding the Scriptures, wherein these egregious commentators do so much please and value themselves. However, we are thus far beholding to them, that they have given us to understand that there was a Nain in the tribe of Issachar, called so from the *pleasantness* of its situation (as indeed תִּנְעָם *Tinaam* bears the same derivation), which we have some reason to judge was the same Nain with ours in the evangelist, and that in Josephus.

“It<sup>n</sup> was usual for the Galileans, coming up to the holy city to the feasts, to take their journey through the Samaritans' country, καὶ τότε καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης τῆς Νᾱῖς λεγομένης. “And then their way lay through a town called Nais.” I confess the Greek expressions are something perplexed; but it is no great matter. “It happened that some of the Samaritans and inhabitants of the great plain fought with them, and killed a great number.”

You may think he repeats the very same story, though

<sup>m</sup> Sect. 98.

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. [xx. 6. 1. Γιναιίας, Hudson.]

differing in some circumstances. “There<sup>o</sup> was another fight betwixt the Galileans and Samaritans; κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Γήμαν καλουμένην κώμην, ἣτις ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κείται τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος. For hard by a town called Gema, situated in the great plain of Samaria, multitudes of Jews going up to the feast, there was a certain Galilean slain.”

It is not much worth our examining whether this be one and the same story with the other, or whether this Gema be the same town with Nain: but this we may gather hence, that Nain was in the extreme borders of Issachar, touching upon the Samaritan country, and Gema in the extreme borders of Samaria that were next adjoining to Issachar. And when the Galileans went down from Nain, a town in Issachar, into the great plain of Samaria, the first town in their way is Gema, there the enemy meets and fights them: if at least Gema and Nain be not one and the same place.

### SECT. III.—*Engannim*.

THERE is a great inclination in me to believe that Naim is the same with Engannim, mentioned Josh. xix. 21, xxi. 29. For, 1. Both of them were within the tribe of Issachar; Engannim, as the Holy Scriptures, and Nain, as the Jewish doctors tell us; and why we should not take their word in such a thing as this, I know no reason. 2. Both of them signify *pleasantness*: Naim, in the very etymon, implies *pleasantness*: and Engannim, *a fountain of gardens*. 3. The Engannim, mentioned Josh. xxi. 29, in 1 Chron. vi. 73, is עַנִּים *Anem*. Now if you transpose the letters (as is done in סַרְתָּ and סַרְתָּ) <sup>q</sup>, it will be נַעִם *Naim*. 4. Let me add that Engannim (if there be any credit to those guides that commonly shew these places to travellers) lies directly in the way going from Galilee to Jerusalem; and so, as is very evident, was our Naim. Of this place, thus our countryman Biddulph p. “a town, commonly called Jenine, of old Engannim: exceedingly pleasant, abounding with waters and gardens, and delightful walks.”

Why<sup>r</sup> the Seventy should render עֵין גַּנִּים *Engannim* by

<sup>o</sup> De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 21. [ii. 12. 3.]

p [Travels, pp. 102, 103.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Joshua xix. 50; xxiv. 30;

and Judges ii. 9, in Hebrew. Compare p. 319.]

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 371.



πηγὴ γραμμάτων, *a fountain of letters*, Josh. xxi. 29, let those that are more learned, search out. It is true, the children of Issachar are celebrated for their skill in computing the times, 1 Chron. xii. 32; where the Targumist, “They were skilled in calculating the beginnings of the years, the calends of the months, and the intercalation both of years and months; סופיסטין במולדא דסידהרא, *sophists [skilful] in new moons*, איצרולוגין במזליא וכוכביא *astrologers [conversant] about planets and stars*,” &c.

If we would include the Levites, that dwelt amongst the tribe of Issachar, under the general name of Issachar, then might Engannim, being a Levitical city, be an academy for that kind of mathematical learning; but in both we are very uncertain. Nor is it less obscure, that the same Greek interpreter hath, instead of Remeth, Engannim<sup>q</sup>, Enhaddah, and Bethpazes, rendered, Ῥεμμὰς, καὶ Ἰεὼν, καὶ Τομμὰν, καὶ Αἶμαρὲκ, καὶ Βηρσάφης. “*Remmas, and Jeon, and Tomman, and Æmarec, and Bersaphes*,” Josh. xix. 21.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Emmaus.* Luke xxiv.

I. *Several things about its name and place.* II. *Its situation.*  
III. *Some story of it. Also of Timnath and mount Gilead,* Judg. vii. 3.

SECT. I.—*Several things about its name and place.*

WE have spoken something already concerning Emmaus in our Chorographical Century, chap. xlv; let us add some few things in this place.

I. It was distant from Jerusalem, as appears both from our evangelist and Josephus<sup>r</sup>, about threescore furlongs. By account of common furlongs, seven miles and a half, eight of the Jewish. What copy, therefore, of Josephus must the learned Beza have by him, who thus speaks upon the place? Ἐξήκοντα, “sixty; so the Syriac hath it, and indeed all copies: so that here is either a mistake in the number, or else it is ill written in Josephus, thirty furlongs.” Our Josephus plainly hath it, χώριον ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοὺς ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίου ἐξήκοντα. “A town called Emmaus, distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs.”

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 479.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. de Bell. 7. cap. 27. [Hudson, p. 1311. l. 17.] [vii. 6. 6.]



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the event of that war, gave this town the name of Nicopolis. Before the city near the road (where our Saviour, after he had arisen from the dead, walking with Cleophas, made as if he was hastening to another town), there is a certain medicinal spring, wherein not only men that are sick, being washed, are cured, but other sort of animals also, of whatsoever diseases they are afflicted with. The report is, that Christ, as he was once going that way with his disciples, turned aside to that fountain; and having washed his feet in it, the waters have ever since retained a healing quality and virtue in them."

We leave the credit of the story to the relater of it: only one thing we may observe from the hint he gives us, that it is no wonder if, in the evangelist's time, Emmaus was but a little village, when as, not long before it, it had been burnt and destroyed by Varus<sup>x</sup>. Nor is it more strange, that its ancient name Emmaus should change into Nicopolis, when the place itself became a Roman colony<sup>y</sup>.

#### SECT. II.—*Its situation.*

PTOLEMY tells us something of its situation by its degrees, saying, "Emmaus, 65. 45. 31. 45."

As to the vicinage of countries or places adjacent, thus the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>z</sup>: *מבית חורון ועד אמאוס הר* *From Beth-horon to Emmaus it is hilly.* *מאמאוס ועד לוד שפלה* *From Emmaus to Lydda it is champaign;* and from Lydda to the sea is valley."

If you would hear Ptolemy more largely, thus he writes:

Jamnia	.	65.	40.	32.	0.
Lydda	.	66.	0.	32.	0.
Antipatris		66.	20.	32.	0.
Emmaus <sup>a</sup>		65.	45.	31.	45.
Jerusalem		66.	0.	31.	40.

Although this account of the distance betwixt Jerusalem and Emmaus doth not very well agree with what our evangelist and Josephus have said, yet may we learn from the

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 12. [xvii. 10. 9.] and de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 7. [ii. 5. 1.]

[vii. 6. 6.]

<sup>z</sup> Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.]

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p.

<sup>y</sup> Id. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 27. 480.

places named along with it, in what quarter of the heaven it was situated. To all which we may add that of Josephus, *Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 11. [xii. 7. 4.]* and *1 Macc. iv*: Judas Maccabeus engages with Gorgias near Emmaus: the Gorgians fly, and the Maccabeans pursue, *μέχρι Γαδάρων, καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, καὶ Ἀζώτου, καὶ Ἰαμνείας*, “as far as Gádaron (Gezer) to the plains of Idumea, Azotus, and Jamnia.”

I therefore recite this passage, that it may appear that Emmaus lay towards Galilee, although from Jerusalem it inclined also westward. For whereas, concerning the latitude of Galilee extending itself from west to east, there must of necessity be several roads from Jerusalem to this or that part of it; so this through Emmaus was one, through Beth-horon another, through Antipatris a third; if, at least, this last did not fall in with that of Emmaus. That passage in *Gul. Tyrius*<sup>b</sup> makes me think it might; who, describing the encampings and journeyings of the crusade army, tells us, “Leaving the maritime towns, Antipatris and Joppa on the right, they passed through Eleutheria, and came to Lydda, which is Diospolis.” And *cap. 24*, “From whence, taking guides along with them, persons well skilled in those places, they came to Nicopolis:” which is the same with Emmaus.

From all which we may reasonably presume that the two disciples were going to Emmaus, not as to the utmost limit of their journey, but as that lay in their way towards Galilee.

SECT. III.—*Some story of it. Also of Timnath and mount Gilead, Judg. vii. 3.*

To what tribe Emmaus belonged would be something hard to determine, because of the situation of Beth-horon, which was in Ephraim, *Josh. xvi*; but that the Talmudists do clearly enough say, it was not in the Samaritan country.

“They<sup>c</sup> were servants of the priests, saith R. Meir. But R. Jose saith, They were of the family of Beth Pagarim, and Beth Zippory, in Emmaus, who had placed their daughters in marriage with the priests.”

The<sup>d</sup> discourse is about the musicians in the Temple; and

<sup>b</sup> *Lib. ii. cap. 22.*

<sup>c</sup> *Erachin, fol. 10. 1. Succah, fol. 51. 1.*

<sup>d</sup> *English folio edit., vol. ii. p. 373.*

the dispute is, whether they were Levites or Israelites, particularly natives of Emmaus, the natives of those two families, who, for their purity, were thought worthy to be taken into the affinity and blood of the priests themselves. And this passage, indeed, puts it out of all question, that Emmaus was not within the tribe of Ephraim; because it would be ridiculous to suppose that either Samaritan women should be joined in marriage with the priests, or that Samaritan men should be permitted to play on the instruments in the Temple. Emmaus, therefore, must be placed in the tribe of Benjamin, which what it was called before is not easy to guess.

I conceive there is mention made of this place in Siphra<sup>e</sup>: “R. Akibah said; I asked Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua באטלם של אמאוס *in the shambles of Emmaus*, when they went to receive the beast to make a feast for their son,” &c. Now Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua were both of Jabneh; so that, by considering the situation of Jabneh, we may more confidently believe that they were in the Emmaus we are speaking of. We have the same passage in Maccoth, fol. 14. 1.

It was one of the larger cities: for so Josephus speaks of it; Καὶ<sup>f</sup> τέσσαρας πόλεις ἐξανδραποδίζεται Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατόταται Γόφνα τε καὶ Ἐμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ Θαμνά. “Cassius disfranchized four cities, the greatest of which was Gophna and Emmaus; and next to these was Lydda and Thamna.”

Under g the disposition of the duke of Palestine amongst the rest, was “Ala Antala of the dromedaries of Admatha;” where Pancirole notes, that Admatha in St. Jerome, in his Hebrew Places, is called ‘Ammata.’ This, by the agreeableness of sound, may seem to be our Emmaus; unless, more probably, at this time it bore the name of Nicopolis.

When I take notice that *Chammath* תמח or the ‘Baths of Tiberias,’ are commonly in the Greek rendered Ἀμμαοῦς, and withal, that our Emmaus was much celebrated for famous waters; I cannot forget the ‘waters of Nephtoah,’ or the ‘Fountain of Etam,’ from whence water was conveyed by

<sup>e</sup> Fol. 9. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 18. [Hud-

son, p. 637. l. 18.] [xiv. 11. 2.]

<sup>g</sup> Notitia Imper. Orient.



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remembrance of the sun's miraculous standing still by his word. This is like them. Nor, indeed, is that of a much better mould, which the Seventy add, ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ μνημα, &c. "There they put into the monument with him the stone-knives, with which he circumcised the children of Israel in Gilgal, when he brought them out of Egypt, as the Lord had commanded them." Were these, think you, in the Hebrew text once, and have they slipped out since? Do they not rather savour of the Samaritan Gloss, or the Jewish tradition?

They recede from the Hebrew text in the same story, but something more tolerably, when they render מִצְפוֹן לְהַר גַּעַשׁ "on the north side of the hill Gaash," Ἀπὸ Βορρᾶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Γαλαὰδ, "from the north side of the hill Galaad:" where, as far as I am able to judge, they do not paraphrase ill, though they do not render it to the letter. Let us consider that obscure passage which hath so much vexed interpreters, in Judges vii. 3; "Proclaim now in the ears of the people, saying, Whosoever is fearful and afraid, יָשָׁב וַיֵּצֵא מִהָר הַגִּלְעָד, *let<sup>i</sup> him return and depart early from mount Gilead.* The place where this thing was acted was either in or very near the vale of Jezreel, distant from mount Gilead beyond Jordan, twenty or thirty miles; and therefore how could these Gideonites depart from mount Gilead? I am not ignorant what some do allege towards the untying this knot, viz. that it should be taken thus, "Whoever be of mount Gilead, let them return." The Targumist to this sense; "Whosoever is fearful, let him return, וַיִּתְבַּחַר מִטּוֹרָא דְגִלְעָד, *and let choice be made out of mount Gilead*; i. e. 'Let the Gileadites be chosen.' But whether his meaning was that the Gileadites should be chosen to remain because they are not afraid, or be chosen to return because they were; I shall not reckon it worth the while to inquire.

But may not mount Gilead in this place be understood of the hill Gaash? It is certain the situation agrees well enough; and perhaps there is no great difference in the name.

Whence that mount Gilead beyond Jordan first had its name, is not unknown; namely, from that *heap of stones*,

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 374.

set up by Jacob for a witness of the covenant betwixt him and Laban. (Gen. xxxi.)

We read of something not unlike it set up by Joshua near Shechem, in testimony of the covenant betwixt the people and God, Josh. xxiv. 26. Now, therefore, who can doubt but that Joshua was buried near Shechem? For when that place was particularly bequeathed and set out by Jacob for his son Joseph, who, of the whole stock and lineage of Joseph, could justlier inherit that part of the country than Joshua?

He was buried on the north side of the hill Gaash, in his own ground. Might not that hill be also called Gilead, upon the account of that pillar of witness that was built there a little from Sychem? whence the foot of the hill, and the hill itself beginning to rise (if it were northward, which we suppose), then it might very well reach not far from that place where this matter of Gideon was transacted. For, whereas the field wherein the battle was, was within the tribe of Manasseh, contiguous to mount Ephraim, and Gideon proclaims that whosoever were afraid should depart from mount Gilead; we can, perhaps, think of no more proper sense wherein this mount Gilead can be taken, than that that part of mount Ephraim was so called from the pillar of testimony placed on the south side of it, when the common name for it was the hill Gaash.



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A  
CHOROGRAPHICAL INQUIRY  
INTO  
SOME PLACES OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL,  
PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH WE FIND MENTIONED  
IN THE  
EVANGELIST ST. JOHN.





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Nor<sup>c</sup> indeed is it much wonder, that *Bethamara* should change into *Bethania*, since *Bethamara* being writ בית עמרָא, signifies *a place of wool*; and *Bethania*, being writ בית עאניָא, signifies *a place of sheep*.

But it seems very strange how *Bethabara* should ever change into *Bethany*, unless upon some such occasion as these:

Either that *Bethabara* might be taken for the same with בית הברה, i. e. *the house of exposition, or the school* (in which sense we meet with ברייָא and ברייָתָא); whence for explanation it is annexed, by some hand or other in the margin<sup>d</sup>, בית תניָא *the house of tradition, or doctrine*: as if the evangelist were to be understood in this manner; “These things were done or disputed in a certain school beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.” And so that word<sup>e</sup> בית תניָא being so very known and obnoxious, might steal from the margin into the text and common use.

Or perhaps, secondly, upon the suspicion of a tautology, if *Bethabara* and Πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου should be found together, בית עברה עבר הירדן: because בית עברה may be looked upon as the same thing with “a place beyond Jordan:” therefore, they might substitute the word *Bethany* as signifying ‘Batanea’ or ‘Bashan’ to some such sense as this; “These things were done in Batanea beyond Jordan,” &c. But it is our province at present to inquire rather into the situation of *Bethabara*, than into the original and derivation of *Bethany*.

## SECT. II.—*The noted passages over Jordan.*

AMONG the various ways of writing Βηθαβαρά in Hebrew, these two especially deserve our consideration at present: ‘Beth-barah,’ which we meet with in Judg. vii., and *Bethabara*, or a *place of passage*, where they passed over Jordan. They must both come under our inquiry, whiles we are seeking the place in hand; and, first, of the latter.

Doubtless there was no part of Jordan but might be passed by boat from one side to the other, as men’s different occasions might call them; but we are now considering the public

<sup>c</sup> *English folio edit.* vol. ii. p. 492.

<sup>d</sup> בי תניָא

<sup>e</sup> בי תניָא

and common passages that led over that river from one country into another.

I. There is a bridge over Jordan<sup>f</sup>, betwixt the lake of Samochon and Gennesaret in the way that leadeth to Damascus, which hath the name of “Jacob’s bridge;” of which our countryman Biddulph, who hath himself travelled over it, speaks to this purpose :

“ At the foot of this rocky mountain runs a pleasant river called Jordan, which divideth Syria from Galilee. Over this river is built a goodly bridge, which bears the name of ‘Jacob’s bridge,’ upon this twofold account: 1. Because in this place Jacob met with his brother Esau; 2. Because here he wrestled with the angel.”

As to matter of fact, that there is and was such a bridge, I do not much question; but for the reasons why it is so called, as it is not much to our purpose to examine, so they seem to have little else but conjecture in them.

II. Jordan also had a bridge over it at Chammath, near Tiberias, at the very efflux of the river out of the sea of Gennesaret; as we have elsewhere shewn from the Talmudic authors, against the mistake of the tables, which place Tiberias at a great distance thence. “ Tam § Dominus Rex quam Principes omnes, Tiberiadem usque perveniunt, ubi circa pontem, unde ex mari Jordanis fluenta se dividunt, castrametatur :” i. e. “ As well the lord the king, as all the princes, come even unto Tiberias, and pitch their tents near the bridge, where the streams of Jordan from the sea do divide themselves.”

“ Juxta<sup>h</sup> Tiberiadem secus pontem, unde de lacu Genezar, Jordanis fluenta se dividunt, cum exercitu sua castra locavit :” i. e. “ With his army he pitched his tents near Tiberias, by the bridge, from whence the streams of Jordan, from the lake of Gennesaret, do divide themselves.” Read this, and view the situation of Tiberias in the tables, and correct the mistake.

III. That was a most known and frequent passage from Jericho, which we so often read of in the Holy Scriptures ;

<sup>f</sup> *Leusden’s edit.*, vol. ii. p. 576.      § *Gul. Tyr. de Bell. Sacr.* l. xvii. c. 8.  
<sup>h</sup> And lib. xviii. cap. 21.



which yet seems rather to have been by boat than bridge. See 2 Sam. xix. 18, and 2 Kings ii. 8.

SECT. III.—*The Scythopolitan country.*

THERE was a fourth, and that the greatest, passage betwixt Chammath and Jericho, but at a great distance from either; for the finding out of which, we are to consider what is intimated, 1 Kings iv. 12: “And all Beth-shean, which is by Zartanah beneath Jezreel.” And again, 1 Kings vii. 46: “In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay-ground, between Succoth and Zarthan.” We will begin with Beth-shean.

I. Beth-shean<sup>i</sup>, or Scythopolis, was in the lot of Manasseh, Judg. i. 27. Greek, *Καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆρε Μανασσῆ τὴν Βαιθσὰν, ἣ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις*. “Neither did Manasses drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean, which is Scythopolis.” So that it was within the limits of Samaria, though indeed one of the Decapolitan cities, and within the jurisdiction of the Gentiles, as we have shewed elsewhere.

II. It was the utmost bound of Samaria towards Galilee. “The<sup>k</sup> bounds of Galilee on the south is *Σαμαρίς τε καὶ Σκυθόπολις μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ρείθρων*. Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan.”

III. The city was half a league’s distance from Jordan, saith Borchard, and yet extends its jurisdiction beyond Jordan. That of Æthicus, in his *Cosmography*, is well known: “The river Jordan hath its head in mount Libanus, runs about the lake of Tiberias; from whence going out, hath its current through the midst of Scythopolis, and issues in the Dead Sea.” Jordan divided Scythopolis in the midst; not the city (for that was at some considerable distance from the river), but the country itself; so that part of the country was on this, and part on the other side Jordan.

It was a noble city of the Syro-Grecians, and had considerable jurisdiction, not only within the confines of Manasses, but extended itself beyond, even to Perea.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 493.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. iii. cap. 4. [iii. 3. 1.]



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Jordan to that beyond, but those also of Samaria, and those of the Lower Galilee, passed over here to Perea.

Here would I seek for Jacob's Bridge, where he passed over "Jordan with his staff," when he went into Mesopotamia, and returned back with a family; and not where it is commonly now shewn. At least, the mention of Succoth, Gen. xxxiii. 17, which had its situation on the bank of Jordan, exactly opposite to Zartanah, a town near Beth-shean, puts it out of all question that Jacob returned that way. And, indeed, whether Scythopolis might not derive something of its appellation from the word *Succoth* [סְכוּת], I cannot well tell: methinks the name of 'Scythians' hath some smack of such a kind of original, *Σκύθαι*, quasi *Σύκκοθαι* for they always dwelt, and removed from one place to another, in *tents*.

SECT. V.—*Beth-barah*, Judg. vii. 24.

NEITHER was this Beth-barah at any very great distance from this passage. For so we have it, Judg. vii. 24: "Gideon sent messengers throughout all mount Ephraim, saying, Come down against the Midianites, and take before them the waters unto Beth-barah and Jordan." And this they did.

It<sup>o</sup> is hard to say whether Kimchi with more reason said, that "these waters were not the waters of Jordan;" or Jarchi, more absurdly, that "they divided Syria from Canaan." There were, no doubt, some waters in the valley of Jezreel: for there the battle was,—at least, if that may be called a battle, where there was not one sword unsheathed by the conqueror. See Judg. vi. 33.—When the Midianites fled, Gideon summons the Ephraimites by messengers, that they would take those waters beforehand, which the routed enemy in their flight must necessarily pass through before they could arrive at the bridge or ferry over Jordan (spoken of even now), that lay in their way home. When both armies had pitched the field, the Midianites lay on the north, towards Galilee, and the Gideonites on the south, near mount Ephraim, chap. vii. 1. There was a river in the vale, (at which waters, probably, Gideon distinguished betwixt his followers, that lapped like a dog, and those that did not).

<sup>o</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 494.

This river at length discharged itself into Jordan, above the bridge or passage that led into Perea. When, therefore, the Midianites lay on the northern bank of this river, and so were not capable of attaining the passage over Jordan, till they had made through these waters first, it was the Ephraimites' care and business to maintain the opposite bank, and that indeed all the whole space from the place where the fight began, to Beth-barah and Jordan, that the enemy might be blocked up from all possibility of escape or retiring.

Whether, therefore, this passage, of which we have spoken, was called *Beth-barah* from that place so near Jordan, or *Beth-abara*, from the etymology before mentioned, it is no absurdity for the further bank of Jordan, which lay contiguous to the bridge or passage over it, to be called "Beth-barah beyond Jordan," either upon the one or the other account. For (however the learned Beza comes to question it) the Lexicons will tell you, that *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* signifieth *beyond Jordan*: especially that common three-fold division, *יהודה וגליל ועבר הירדן* "Judea, Galilee, and beyond Jordan." *Ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου* "On the east of the river Jordan;" as Ptolemy expresseth it: and Beza himself confesseth, that *trans Jordanem, beyond Jordan*, is the proper signification of the Greek word *πέραν, beyond*, Matt. iv. 15.

Let us, therefore, place the Beth-abara we are seeking for, where John was baptizing, on the further side of Jordan, in the Scythopolitan country, where the Jews dwelt amongst the Syro-Grecians, as in all the Decapolitan regions, where Christ might something more safely converse, from the vexations of the scribes and Pharisees, John x. 40, being, as it were, out of their reach and jurisdiction there. And so we find John baptizing, first, at the passage of Jericho, because, through the greatness of the road, there was always a considerable concourse of people; and next, at the passage of Scythopolis, for the same reason.

Further, had I either leisure or will to play any longer about the word *Βηθανία*, we might suppose it written *בית עאניא* *Bethaania*, which, in the Syriac idiom (amongst whom it is no unusual thing to change *ש* into *ע*), agrees with *בית שאניא* *Bethshaniah*.

## CHAP. II.

*Nazareth, John i. 45.*

- I. *A legend not much unlike that of the chapel of Loretto.*  
 II. *The situation of Nazareth.* III. *בן נצר Ben Nezer.*  
 IV. *Certain horrid practices in כפר נחום Capharnachum.*  
 V. *Some short remarks upon Cana. John ii. 2.*

SECT. I.—*A legend not much unlike that of the  
 Chapel of Loretto.*

FORASMUCH as our evangelist makes only a transient mention of Nazareth in this place, not relating any thing that our Saviour did there, we shall take as transient notice of it at this time; by the by, only inquiring into its situation, as what we may have occasion to discourse more largely upon in another place.

But <sup>p</sup> what, indeed, need we be very solicitous about the situation of this town, when the place we would especially look for there, that is, the house of the blessed Virgin, hath taken its leave of Nazareth, and, by the conveyance of angels, hath seated itself in Loretto in Italy. Of which thing, amongst many others, cardinal Baronius <sup>q</sup> gives us this grave relation :

“ That house wherein the most holy Virgin received the heavenly message about the Word being made flesh, doth not only by a wondrous miracle stand to this day entire; but, by the ministry of angels, was retrieved from the hands of infidels, and translated, first into Dalmatia, thence into Italy, to Loretto in the province of Picenum ”

Let <sup>r</sup> us repay one legend with another.

“ They <sup>s</sup> say of R. Chanina, saith he, seeing once his fellow-citizens carrying their sacrifices to Jerusalem, crieth out: ‘ Alas! they every one are carrying their sacrifices, and for my part I have nothing to carry; what shall I do?’ Straightway he betaketh himself into the wilderness of the city, and finding a stone he cuts it, squares, and artificially formeth it; and saith, ‘ What would I give that this stone might be conveyed into Jerusalem!’ Away he goeth to hire some that should do it; they ask him a hundred pieces of gold, and

<sup>p</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 495.

<sup>q</sup> *Ad An. Dom. ix.*

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 578.

<sup>s</sup> *Midras Schir. fol. 2. 2.*



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ὄρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμονα, τὸ δ' Ἰταβύριον ὄρος τοῦ πλάτους· i. e. “Next to Manasseh is Issachar, having for its bounds of longitude mount Carmel and the river [*Jordan*], and of latitude mount Tabor.” That is, the latitude of Issachar is from Manasseh to mount Tabor, as Josephus plainly makes out in that place. Mount Tabor, therefore, lay as it were in the midst, betwixt the coasts of Samaria and Upper Galilee: having on this side Issachar towards Samaria, and on that side Zabulon towards the aforesaid Galilee.

Josephus<sup>y</sup> describes mount Tabor, where these things seem something obscure; τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος, ὃ ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου καὶ Σκυθοπόλεως μέσον. We have already seen where Scythopolis lay; and where the μέγα πεδίου, *the great plain*, near Scythopolis. But what should that μέγα πεδίου, *great plain* be, that lieth so behind Tabor towards the north, that Tabor should be betwixt it and Scythopolis? Is not Zabulon so called in Josephus? yea, and Issachar too, at least a great part of it, if we consult the same Josephus<sup>z</sup>. So that the μέγα πεδίου of Scythopolis or Manasseh, is distinctly called by him μέγα πεδίου Σαμαρείτιδος, “the great plain of Samaria<sup>a</sup>.”

And the Lower Galilee is described by the Talmudists by this character, “That it produceth sycamines, which the Upper Galilee doth not<sup>b</sup>.” Now the sycamine trees were ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ, *in the vale*, 1 Kings x. 27. And hence seems to arise the distinction between<sup>c</sup> the Upper and the Lower Galilee; the Lower so called because more plain and champaign, the Upper because more hilly and mountainous.

I am deceived if the Upper Galilee be not sometimes by way of emphasis called ‘Galilee;’ nor without cause, when as the Lower might be called μέγα πεδίου, or *the great plain*. So Cana had the adjunct of ‘Cana of Galilee,’ perhaps that it might distinguish that Cana which bounds both the Galilees; of which more in its proper place. That passage which we meet with in our evangelist, chap. iv. 43, 44, “He departed from thence [*from Samaria*] and went into Galilee;

<sup>y</sup> De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 6. [Hudson, p. 1163.] [iv. 1. 8.]

<sup>z</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 4. [iii. 3. 1.]

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 21. [ii. 12. 3.]

<sup>b</sup> Sheviith, cap. 9. hal. 2.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 496.

for Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his country:" it looks this way; that is, he would not go into Nazareth, but into Galilee, viz. the Upper; and so came to Cana.

Nazareth, therefore, was in the Lower Galilee, in the very confines of Issachar and Zabulon, and is commonly received within Zabulon, itself being distant sixteen miles or more from Capernaum; for from Capernaum, mount Tabor is distant ten miles; or thereabouts.

SECT. III.—בן נצר *Ben Nezer*.

I AM not abundantly satisfied with the common writing of the word 'Nazareth,' by נצר; much less that 'Nazareus' should be expressed by נוצרי, i. e. *Nōzapariōs*, when the sacred Ammanuenses write it *Naζωpαιōs*. But I can hardly suppress a just indignation, when I read what the Jews scribble about בן נצר *Ben Nezer*.

"The<sup>c</sup> Rabbins have a tradition: Those that are taken out of the kingdom, behold they are properly captives; but those that are taken by thieves, they are not to be called captives."

"The tradition is to be distinguished. מלכות אמלכות. As to kingdom and kingdom, there is no<sup>d</sup> difficulty:" that is, as to kingdoms, which are equal. "But between the kingdom of Ahasuerus, and the kingdom of Ben Nezer, there is. Between thieves and thieves there is no difficulty; but between Ben Nezer and ליסטים עלמא *the thieves of the world viz. common thieves*, there is. There [in Palestine] Ben Nezer is called a king: here [in Babylon] *he is called a robber*, "קרי ליה ליסטים. Gloss: "Ben Nezer was a thief, and took cities, and ruled over them; and became the captain of robbers."

It is very suspicious to what purpose they have invented that name for the most infamous robber, to call him the "son of Nezer." By those very letters נצר they write the city 'Nazareth.' Read on, and the suspicion will increase.

"I<sup>e</sup> considered the horns; and behold, there came up

<sup>c</sup> Chetubh. fol. 51. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 579.

<sup>e</sup> Beresh. Rabb. sect. 76.



among them another little horn [Dan. vii. 8], *זה בן נצר* *This is Ben Nezer.*" Aruch quoteth this passage under the word *קר* in this manner: "There came up among them another little horn: *זו מלכות כותיים* *This is the kingdom of the Cuthites.* Now what they meant by *the kingdom of the Cuthites*, may be conjectured from "The<sup>f</sup> winter is past [Cant. ii. 11]; *זו מלכות כותיים* *This is the kingdom of the Cuthites.*" And a little after: "The time is coming when the kingdom of Cuth shall be destroyed, and the kingdom of heaven shall be revealed."

It is easy imagining what they would point at by the *kingdom of the Cuthites*; the Christians no doubt (unless they will pretend to some Samaritan kingdom): and if so, it is as obvious whom they design by "Ben Nezer." Let them shew whence came the name of the tetrarchy of the Nazarenes in Cœlosyria; of which Pliny<sup>g</sup>; "Cœlosyria habet Apamiam Marsya amne divisam. A Nazerinorum tetrarchia Bambycen, quæ alio nomine 'Hierapolis' vocatur, Syris vero 'Magog.'" "

SECT. IV.—*Certain horrid practices in נהרום*  
*Capharnachum.*

HAVING spoken of Nazareth, it will not be amiss to make some mention of Capernaum, which, however distant many miles, yet was it the place where our Saviour dwelt, as Nazareth was his native soil. We have considered its situation in another treatise, being in the country of Gennesaret, a little distance from Tiberias. There is another Capernaum mentioned by Gulielmus Tyrius<sup>h</sup>, that lay upon the coast of the Mediterranean, as this did upon the coast of Gennesaret: "In loco quæ dicitur Petra Incisa, juxta antiquam Tyrum, inter Capharnaum et Doram, oppida maritima:" "In a place called Petra Incisa, near old Tyre, betwixt Capernaum and Dor, two sea-coast towns."

It is uncertain whether the name be derived from נערום or from נהרום: the former denotes *pleasantness*; the latter, *comfort*. And though our Capernaum might justly enough

<sup>f</sup> Midras Schir. fol. 17. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. v. cap. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. x. cap. 26.



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worthy our observation with respect to heresies of this kind. Should this Capernaum be the same (as probably it is) with that Capernaum which we meet with so frequently in the evangelists, it is something observable what is said of it, “Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell.”

SECT. V.—*Some short remarks upon Cana, John ii. 2.*

It is very disputable which should be the first letter of the word Cana, whether [כ] Caph or [ק] Koph, for we find both.

I. קנה *Kanah*, with the initial letter Koph [ק], is a city in the tribe of Asher, Josh. xix. 28; where the Greek for *Kanah*, have *Κανθάν* and MS. Alex. *Κανά*.

II. קיני *Kene*, a word not very much differing in the sound, occurs amongst the Talmudists<sup>1</sup>, רבי ובית דינו נמנו על קיני, וטהרוהו<sup>m</sup> “Rabbi and his Sanhedrim, having numbered votes, pronounced Keni, clean.”—Gloss: “Keni was a place of doubtful esteem, reckoned amongst the unclean” [that is, a place of the Gentiles]; “but in the days of R. Judah Haccodesh, it came under trial, and they pronounced it clean.”

III. We find *Κανὰ κώμη* in Josephus, but the situation not mentioned: Antiochus<sup>n</sup> being slain” [viz. when he fought with the Arabian king], τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει εἰς Κανὰ κώμην, “his army fled to the town Kana.” This is hardly our Cana, as may in some measure appear in Josephus’s context.

IV. But further he speaks in ‘His Own Life<sup>o</sup>,’ of κώμη τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἣ προσαγορεύεται Κανά. “Cana in Galilee.” As for its situation, as far as can be collected from Josephus, we discuss that in another treatise, and shew that it is not far from that place where the river Jordan dischargeth itself into the sea of Gennesaret; so that between this Cana and Capernaum, there seems to be almost the whole length of that sea.

V. But it must not be forgotten that כנה *Canah*, beginning with the letter Caph, is met with in Juchasin<sup>p</sup>; the words these: השוכר את הפועלים “In the end of the chapter” [it is the seventh chapter of Bavah Mezia] “there is a

<sup>1</sup> In Ohaloth, cap. 18. hal. ult.

<sup>m</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 580.

<sup>n</sup> *Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 23.* [Hud-

son, p. 599. l. 8.] [xiii. 15. 1.]

<sup>o</sup> [c. 16.]

<sup>p</sup> Fol. 57. 2.

tradition. Abba Chalaphtha of Caphar Hananiah, in the name of R. Meir, saith," [they are in Bavah Mezia, where he is brought in, and what he said<sup>q</sup>], ונ"ל כי כפר הננייה היא כפר, כנה "It seems to me" (they are the words of the author of Juchasin) "that Caphar Hananiah is Caphar Cana; as may be proved out of the ninth chapter of the book Sheviith: for there was the entrance of the Lower Galilee."

From that place, quoted in Sheviith, which is Hal. 2, it plainly appears that Caphar Hananiah was in the very outmost border that divided the Upper and the Lower Galilee. From whence it is evident, that the entrance of the Lower Galilee, according to our author, was not as we go from Samaria to Galilee, but from the Upper Galilee into the Lower. And whether our Cana of Galilee be so called to distinguish it from that Cana that so divides between the two Galilees, or from that Cana that was in the tribe of Asher (which may not unfitly be called 'Cana of the Sidonians'), it is at the reader's choice to determine<sup>r</sup>. As also, why the Syriac interpreter should in this place write קטנא *Katna*, instead of 'Cana.' Whether he had in his eye or mind קטת *Kattath*, Josh. xix. 15, which, in the vulgar dialect, was called Κατανάθ, *Katanath*, as the Seventy render it, and the Jerusalem 'Talmudists affirm<sup>s</sup>; or whether by a diminutive kind of word קטנא *Katanah*, he would intimate the smallness of the town: q. d. "Cana the Less."

### CHAP. III.

Αἰνὼν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλεῖμ, "Ænon near Salim,"

John iii. 23.

- I. *Certain names and places of near sound with Σαλεῖμ, Salim.*
- II. שלמא a 'Salmean,' or a 'Salamean,' used amongst the Targumists instead of קיני a 'Kenite.' III. Αἰνὼν, 'Ænon,' in the Greek interpreters, Josh. xv. 61. IV. *The Syriac remarked; and a passage of Eustathius upon Dionysius.*
- V. *Herodium, a palace.* VI. *Machærus, a castle.* VII. הר מצער *The 'hill Mizar,' Psalm xlii. 6.* VIII. עגלת שלישיה *'Eglath Shelishijah,' Isa. xv. 5.*

<sup>q</sup> Fol. 94. 1.

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 498.*

<sup>s</sup> Megill. fol. 70. 1.

SECT. I.—*Certain names and places of near sound  
with Σαλείμ, 'Salim.'*

LET us begin with Σαλείμ, *Salim*, and thence look after its neighbour 'Ænon.' We may be a little helped in our inquiry by that passage in Genesis xxxiii. 18: וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֵם עִיר וַיָּבֹא שָׁלֵם “And came to Shalem, a city of Sychem.” There are some versions, and the authors of the tables, have upon these words built I know not what city Salem near Sychem. But neither the Jews nor Samaritans acknowledge any such thing. For the Jews render it. and that not without reason, “And Jacob came safe into the city of Shechem.” The Samaritan text hath שָׁלוֹם, instead of שָׁלֵם “he came *in peace* :” and certainly there is no part of mankind could be more likely to judge than the Samaritans, whether שָׁלֵם, in that place, were the name of any city, yea or no.

II. Σαλείμ, *Salim*, in the Greek interpreter, according to the Roman copy is the name of a place, Josh. xix. 22; where the Hebrew runs thus, וּפְנֵי הַגְּבוּל בְּתַבּוֹר וְשַׁחְזִמָּה וּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ “And the coast [of *Issachar*] reacheth to Tabor, and Shahazimah, and Beth-shemesh.” But the Greek, Καὶ συνάψει τὰ ὄρια ἐπὶ Γαιθβὼρ, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαλίμ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ Βαιθσαμῶς. “And the confines touched upon Gethbor, and upon Salim near the sea, and Bethsamosh.”

The Masorets observe that Shahazimah, which is written with a Vau [ו], should be written by a Jod [י]; which also these interpreters acknowledge (which is worthy our taking notice of); but then they divide the word into two parts, and write it יַמָּה שַׁחז i. e. *Shahaz*, κατὰ θάλασσαν, *Shahaz at the sea*: but why they should turn *Shahaz* into *Salim*, it is something difficult to guess.

It seems probable that Σελάμη, *Selame*, which Josephus <sup>u</sup>, in the account of his own life, makes mention of, as fortified by himself, amongst other towns in Galilee, is the same with this Σαλίμ, *Salim*, mentioned by the Seventy; and that the rather, because there it is reckoned up with mount Tabor.

III. Σααλείμ, *Saalim*, in the Alexandrian copy, answers to

<sup>t</sup> Onkelos, Jonathan, Bereshith Rabba. sect. 79. Schab. fol. 33, 2, &c.

<sup>u</sup> [c. 37. Σελαμίς, Hudson.]



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מֵעֲנָתִי the ‘Maachathites’ are by them called עִפְיָקְרִים the ‘Epikerites,’ Dent. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 13. And this, probably, from the place or country where the Maachathites of old dwelt, which, in the time of the Targumists, was called Ἐπίκαιρος, ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου, “Epicærus on the east of the river Jordan,” deg. 67. 31. 0<sup>a</sup>. Whether indeed the situation doth fall out right, I shall not at present discourse.

But the ‘Kenite’ is not termed a ‘Salmean’ from any place or country where he dwelt. For the Kenites in the southern part of Judea are called ‘Salameans,’ Judg. i. [16.] So also Heber the Kenite in Galilee, Judg. iv. [11.] And there were Kenites amongst the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. [6]; and there were of the Kenites beyond Jordan, Gen. xv. [19]: whence so called is not to our purpose. It sufficeth, that they were vulgarly known by the name of שַׁלְמֵי Salame; which, how near akin it is to Σαλεῖμ, *Salim*, let the unbiassed reader judge. Who knoweth, therefore, but the evangelist should mean thus; “John was baptizing in Ænon, near the Salamean, ‘or Kenite;’” giving that name to that people, which, at that time, they were commonly called by? But supposing this should be granted us, what Kenite should we understand here? either those that were in the wilderness of Judah, or those on the other side of the salt sea?

SECT. III.—*Αἰνὼν in the Greek Interpreter,*

Joshua xv. 62.

IF the ‘Essene’ might be called שַׁלְמֵי *Salmean*, as well as Kenite (and certainly he seems to have as much claim to it, if the word denote *perfection*, or *austerity* of life). then I could more confidently place our Σαλεῖμ, *Salim*, in the wilderness of Judah; because there I find Ænon mentioned in the Greek version, Josh. xv. 61, 62: where the Hebrew hath it thus: “In the wilderness, Beth-araba, Middin, and Secacah, and Nishban, and the city of Salt, and En-gedi, six cities:” but the Greek, καὶ Βαδδαργεῖς, καὶ Θαραβαὰμ, καὶ Αἰνὼν, &c. “And *Baddargis*, and *Tharabaam*, and *Ænon*.” &c. Where it is plain that Αἰνὼν, *Ænon*, is put for *Middin*; but why it should be so, is more difficult to tell. This only

<sup>a</sup> Ptol. Tab. Asiae 4.

we may remark, that the word *Middin* occurs Judges v. 10: יוֹשְׁבֵי עַל מִדְּיִן which if I should render, “ye that dwell by *Middin*,” I should have Kimchi to warrant me, who, in his notes upon this place, tells us, that “*Middin* is the name of a city mentioned in Joshua, *Middin* and Secacah.” But now, when Αἰνὼν, *Ænon*, signifies a *place of springs* or *waters*, see what follows; מְקוֹל מַחְצִיִּים בֵּין מִשְׁאֲבִים “from the noise of archers among the places of drawing waters.” The Greek is ἀνὰ μέσον ὑδρευομένων, “Among those that draw water.” So that if you ask the Greek interpreter why he should render *Middin* by Αἰνὼν, *Ænon*, a *place of springs*, he will tell you, because *Middin* was a place ὑδρευομένων, “of those that draw waters.”

The Essenes succeeded the Kenites in their dwelling in the wilderness of Judah<sup>b</sup>: and not only so, but in strictness and austerity of life, as Josephus and others assure us. Now if we will but allow the ‘Essenes’ to be called שלמאה *Salmeans*, as the Kenites were, then the words of the evangelist might bear such sense as this;—“John was baptizing in *Ænon* near the Essenes.” And it may be supposed, that as the Baptist had already conversed with two of the Jewish sects, the Pharisees and Sadducees, and had baptized some of each<sup>c</sup>, so he would now apply himself to a third sect amongst them, viz. the Essenes, and baptize some of them too. But herein I will not be positive.

SECT. IV.—*The Syriac remarked. And Eustathius upon Dionysius.*

WHILST we are treating upon the word Αἰνὼν, *Ænon*, I cannot but observe that the word is divided both in the Syriac and Arabic version: Syriac, בעין יון “In the fountain Jon:” Arabic פי עין נון “In the fountain Nun.” The words of the evangelist seem to discover the signification of the name.

“Ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, “Because there was much water there.” For we could not have rendered the word more significantly, than a *place of springs*, or a *watery place*. So Nonnus;

Ὑδατι βαπτίζων βαθύμονος ἔγγυθι Σαλήμ.

Baptizing near the waters of deep-waved Salem.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. lib. v. cap. 17. Solin. cap. 38. <sup>c</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 500.



Why<sup>d</sup>, therefore, did those interpreters take the word in two, when it was plain and etymological enough of itself?

The Syriac *Jon* brings to mind a passage of Eustathius upon this verse of Dionysius :

“Ἦν τε καὶ Ἰονίην περιναίεται, ἠὲ δάξαντο.

“Some say, saith he, that that whole sea from Gaza as far as Egypt, is called the Ionian sea, from Io.” Καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ δὲ Γάζαν Ἰόνην καλοῦσιν τινες· ἐνθα βοῦς ἦν ἐν ἀγάλματι τῆς Ἰοῦς, ἥτοι τῆς Σελήνης· “Indeed, some call even Gaza itself *Ione*, where there is a heifer in the image of Io, or the moon.”

That Gaza was ever called *Ione*, is not commonly known; but grant it was, and the sea, from that place even as far as Egypt, to have been called the Ionian sea; yet should not I have derived its name from ‘Io,’ but rather from the ‘Iones,’ those brassy robust men, of whose coming into Egypt, and fixing their seats there by the sea, Herodotus<sup>e</sup> gives us a famous relation.

But must we seek for יון יָוֵן *ein Jon* (or *Javan*, as some would have it) hereabout? To seek John about Gaza, would be to seek him out of the land of Israel; at least, as the bounds of that land were at that time determined.

#### SEET. V.—*Herodium, a palace.*

IF Ænon was the place where John baptized last, immediately before his imprisonment, then we must look for it either in Galilee or Perea: for in one of those places it was where he began his acquaintance with Herod. For however St. Luke, speaking of Herod, mentions Galilee only within his tetrarchy, Luke iii. 1, yet Josephus tells us<sup>f</sup>, that Ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τούτῳ [Ἀντιπά] ἢ τε Περαιία καὶ Γαλιλαία, “both Perea and Galilee were under his jurisdiction” Where then shall we begin his first acquaintance with the Baptist? I had once inclination to have fixed it in Galilee; but whilst I consider better that Herodium was in Perea, and very near Machærus, John’s prison, that seems the more probable.

Josephus<sup>g</sup>, speaking of Herod the Great and his stately buildings, hath this amongst other things: Φρούριον ἐπιτε-  
χίσας τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβίαν ὄρει προσηγόρευσεν Ἡρώδιον ἀφ’ ἐαυ-

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 582.

<sup>e</sup> *Euterpe*, [ii.] cap. 152, 154.

<sup>f</sup> *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9.* [ii. 6. 3.]

<sup>g</sup> [*De Bell. i. 21. 10.*]



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Asphaltites, fronts it on the west, and Machærus situated on the north, fronts it on the south;" otherwise, you would remove Machærus a great way from its proper situation.

We meet with it in the Talmudists under the name of Macvar.

"The mountainous country of Perea was the hill Macvar and Gedor." The Jerusalem Targum<sup>n</sup>, and Jonathan upon Numb. xxxii. 35, instead of "Atroth, Shopan, and Jaazer," have **מכור וית מכללתא דשופן** "Maclelta of Shopan and Macvar:" to which Jonathan adds **מכור גרמתא** "Macvar of Garamatha."

It is obvious enough how they came to render **עטרות** *Atroth* by **מכללתא** *Maclelta*, (as also Onkelos hath done); viz. because they translated the Hebrew word, which denotes a *crow*n, by the Chaldee word, which is of the same signification. But why *Jaazer* by **מכור** *Macvar*? Onkelos upon the third verse of the same chapter, renders 'Jaazer' and 'Nimrah' by **בומרין דבית נמרין**, which I should translate, "the *Atrati* or *denigrati* of the house of Nimrin." And Ptolemy comments thus in Arabia Petræa: Διατείνει δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὰ καλούμενα μέλανα ὄρη, &c. "There are all along that country certain mountains called the Black Mountains, namely, from the bay which is near Pharan, to Judea." But whether **מכור** *Macvar* hath any relation with *blackness* from **כור** a *dish* or *furnace*, I leave it to others to inquire.

So that we see Herodium and Machærus are situated on the outermost coast of Perea towards the south, or the land of Moab, near the shore of Asphaltites, or the Dead sea.

The nature of the place we have described by Josephus, **ῥέουσι δὲ καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγαὶ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ρ**, &c. "There spring out, near this place, certain fountains of hot waters, of a very different taste, some bitter some sweet; there are also many springs of cold waters," &c. Compare the *bitter* waters with the waters of Nimrin, Isa. xv. 6, and the other with those of Dimon, ver. 9; where, query whether *Dimon* be not the same with *Dibon* [Beth (ב) and Mem (מ) being alternately used]; that by that pronounciation it might

<sup>n</sup> Hierosol. Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.      <sup>o</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 583.

<sup>p</sup> Dé Bell. lib. vii. cap. 21. [vii. 6. 3.]

agree more with דָּם *blood*; מֵי דִּימוֹן מְלֵאוּ דָּם “The waters of *Dimon* are full of blood.”

Whilst we are in this watery country, are we not got amongst the rivers of Arnon? The learned Beza commenting upon those words of St. John iii. 23, ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, “for there was much water there,” affirms it, commenting thus: “Multi videlicet rivi, quorum etiam in eo tractu circa Aroer fit mentio in libris Mosis;” “namely, many rivers, of which also in that tract about Aroer there is mention in the books of Moses.” And the situation of the place confirms it; when as Machærus was the very utmost bounds of the ‘land of Israel’ towards Moab, according to Josephus, as also was Arnon according to Moses.

But here we find no place that is called either *Ænon* or *Salim*. True, indeed; but the place, for the very *wateriness* of it, deserves to be called *Ænon*, that is, a *place of springs*; and if *Salim* may be the same with *Salamean*, here we have also the Kenite or *Salamean*, Gen. xv. [19.] and Numb. xxiv. [22.] However, in a thing so very obscure, it is safest not to be positive; and the reader’s candour is begged in this modest way of conjecturing. The way we tread is unbeaten, and deserves a guide, which as yet we have not obtained.

SECT. VII.—*The hill Mizaar.* הַר מִצְעָר Psalm xlii. 6.

LET us now (however something beyond our bounds) pass from the first entering of the coasts of Moab towards the north, to the utmost limits of it southward.

“I will remember thee (saith the Psalmist) from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, מִהַר מִצְעָר *from the hill Mizar.*” Where is this *hill Mizar*? not to take any notice of what we meet with in Borchard and others, concerning Hermon near Thabor (by what authority I cannot tell), as also that הַר מִצְעָר *the hill Mizaar*, is rendered almost by all, a *little hill*; or, in a word, that the Targumist and R. Solomon tell us, it is mount Sinai; Apollinarius, that it is mount Hermon: it seems plainly to be the ‘hilly part of Zoar,’ whither Lot would have fled, if the straitness of time might have permitted him, Gen. xix. 20; “O<sup>q</sup> let me

<sup>q</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 502.

escape to this city; הֲלֵא מִצְעָר הוּא is it not Mizar, or a little one? so that הַר מִצְעָר the hill Mizar may be the same, as if it had been said הַר עִיר מִצְעָר the hilly part of the little city Zoar.

The reasons of the conjecture, besides the agreeableness of the name, may be especially these two :

I. As Hermonium, or Hermon, was near the springs of Jordan, so the hilly part of Zoar lay hard by the extreme parts of Jordan in Asphaltites; and the Psalmist, speaking of the land of Jordan, or of the land on the other side of Jordan, seems to measure out all Jordan from one end to the other, from the very spring-head to the furthestmost part where the stream ends.

II. As David betook himself to the country on the other side of Jordan towards Hermon, in his flight from his son Absalom, so was it with him, when flying from Saul he betook himself to Zoar in the land of Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3. And so bewails his deplorable condition so much the more bitterly, that both those times he was banished to the very utmost countries, north and south, that the river Jordan washed.

SECT. VIII.—עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה *Eglath Shelishijah*,  
Isa. xv. 5.

WITH the mention of Zoar is this clause subjoined in Isaiah, עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה *Eglath Shelishijah*, or “a heifer of three years old.” So with the mention of Zoar and Horonaim, the same clause is also subjoined in Jeremiah.

Isa. xv. 5 : בְּרִיחָהּ עַד-צוּעַר עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה “His fugitives unto Zoar, a heifer of three years old.”

Greek; Ἐν αὐτῇ ἕως Σεγώρ. Δάμαλις γάρ ἐστι τριετής. “In it unto Segor. For it is a heifer of three years.”

Vulgar; “Vectes ejus usque ad Segor: vitulam conternantem.” “Its bars were unto Segor: a heifer in his third year.”

Targum; “Ut fugiant usque ad Zoar, vitulam trimam magnam:” “That they should fly as far as Zoar, a great heifer of three years old.”

English; “His fugitives shall flee unto Zoar: a heifer of three years old.”



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nameth Ἄγαλλα, Ἀθώνη, Ζώρα, Ὀρώναι, *Agalla, Athone, Zoar, Horonæ*†. Of Zoar there can be no scruple; and as little of Ὀρώναι, *Horonæ*; but, by that must be meant *Horonaim*. Ἀθώνη, *Athone*, seems to bear a like sound with Ptolemy's Θεάνα, *Thoana*; and Ἄγαλλα, *Agalla*, with his 'Necla,' and that with our 'Eglah.'

## CHAP. IV.

Σιχάρ. John iv. 5.

I. *A few remarks upon the Samaritan affairs.* II. *The Samaritan version of the Pentateuch.* III. *The situation of mount Gerizim and Ebal. The Samaritan text on Deut. xxvii. 4, noted.* IV. *Why written Sychar, and not Sychem.* V. עין סוכר *in the Talmudists.*

SECT. I.—*A few remarks upon the Samaritan affairs.*

1. *Of the name of the Cuthites.*

THAT the 'Samaritans' are called 'Cuthites' by the Jews is unquestionable; Οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρεῖται, "Those<sup>u</sup> that in the Hebrew tongue are called Cuthæans, in the language of the Greeks are Samaritans."

But why Cuthites rather than Babylonians, Hamathites, Avites, &c., is uncertain: for thence, as well as from Cutha, were colonies transplanted into Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24: nay, they were called Cuthites even at that time, when a great part of the Samaritan nation consisted of Jews.

I am apt to apprehend there was some virulent design even in the very name. The name of Cushites amongst the Jews was most loathsome and infamous; as they were not only a hostile country, but a people accursed, and, for their black hue, even horrid to the very sight. Perhaps in the title of the seventh Psalm there is no little severity of reproach hinted in the name *Cush*. Something of the like nature may be couched in the word *Cuthim*. For whereas כּוּתִים may be the same with כּוּשִׁים, the letter ש being changed into ט in the Syriac dialect: it may be an easy conjecture, that the Jews, calling the Samaritans (a nation

† *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 503.

<sup>u</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 429. l. 20.] [ix. 14. 3.]

peculiarly abominated by them) *Cuthites*, might tacitly reproach them with the odious name of *Cushites*.

## 2. Josephus mistaken.

Rabbi Ismail saith<sup>x</sup>, כּוּתִים גִּירֵי אַרְיֹת הֵם “that the Cuthites are proselytes of lions.” R. Akiba saith, גִּירֵי אֵמֶת הֵן “that they are true proselytes.” The story of the lions, 2 Kings xvii. 26, is well enough known; which Josephus<sup>y</sup>, faltering very lamely, reports in this manner; Ἐκαστοὶ κατὰ ἔθνος ἴδιον Θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες, πέντε δ’ ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις, καθὼς ἦν πατριον αὐτοῖς, σεβόμενοι, παροξύνουσι τὸν μέγιστον Θεὸν εἰς ὄργην καὶ χόλον. Αἰμὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκεψεν, ὑφ’ οὗ φθειρόμενοι, &c. He tells us that as every one brought their several gods into Samaria, and worshipped them accordingly, so the great and true God was infinitely displeased with them, and brought a destructive plague amongst them. He makes no mention of lions being sent amongst them, according to what the sacred history relates. Probably the story of that horrible destruction upon Sennacherib’s army by a wasting plague, gave the first rise to Josephus’s fancy of a plague amongst the Samaritans; though it is very odd that he should have no touch of the lions, being so remarkable a judgment as that was.

## 3. Samaria planted with colonies two several times.

There are the colonies which Asnapper is said to have brought into Samaria, Ezra iv. 10, as well as those by Esarhaddon, ver. 2.

The Jews do judge<sup>z</sup> this ‘Asnapper’ to be the same with ‘Sennacherib,’ and that he had eight names. The first syllables of the names, indeed, agree pretty well, Sena and Asna; but whether they denote the same persons, I leave undetermined.

However<sup>a</sup>, whether this Asnapper was the same with Sennacherib, or Shalmaneser, or some great minister, or the king’s commander-in-chief, in the transplanting of a colony, it seems evident that Samaria was planted with colonies two

<sup>x</sup> Kiddushim, fol. 75. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 429. l. 8.] [ix. 14. 3.]

<sup>z</sup> In Sanhedr. fol. 94. 1.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 504.



several times. The first, immediately after the taking of the city, being then furnished with Cuthites, Avites, Sepharvaites, &c., under Asnapper; be he king, or only chief commander in the action. And when multitudes of them had been devoured by lions, then was it afresh planted by the Shushan-chites, Tarpelites, &c., in the days of Esar-haddon, with whom a priest went up to instruct them in the worship of the true God. How greatly Epiphanius confounds these things may be seen in his Hæres. viii. cap. 9.

4. *Of Dosthai, the pseud-apostle of the Samaritans.*

“When<sup>b</sup> the lions had devoured the Samaritans, the Assyrian king, hearing the news, calls to him the elders of Israel, and asks them, Did the wild beasts ever use to tear and mangle any of your people in your own land, when you dwelt there? Therefore, how comes it to pass that they do so<sup>c</sup> now? They answer him, Our own land bears no nation, that is not conversant in the law, or will not be circumcised. Send, therefore, saith he, two, that may go and instruct the people. So they sent ר' דוסתאי בר ינאי *R. Dosthai the son of Jannai*, and ר' שבייה *R. Sabia*, who taught them the book of the written law.”

But is this likely? that Dosthai, the Samaritans' oracle, should be in the times of the Assyrian empire? whence then had he that Greek name of his? and the name of his father Janneus was Greekish too. It is much more probable, what Eulogius hath in Photius<sup>d</sup>; “The Samaritan people, having divided into various factions, disagreed amongst themselves, and brought in foreign opinions. Some were of opinion that Joshua was he of whom Moses spoke, when he tells them, ‘A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you from among your brethren, like unto me.’ Οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρεγράφοντο, Δοσθὴν δὲ τίνα τοῦνομα ἢ Δοσίθεον ἀνεκήρυττον, Σαμαρείτην μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ γένος, συνακμήσαντα δὲ κατὰ τε τοὺς χρόνους Σίμωνι τῷ Μάγῳ. Others, rejecting this opinion, cried up one Dosthai, or Dositheus, a native Samaritan, and contemporary with Simon Magus.

From Dosthai and Sabia, the Dostheni and Sebuei, two Samaritan sects, originally sprang<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Tanchum, fol. 17.4.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 585.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. 230.

<sup>e</sup> Epiph. Hæres. xi., &c.



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names, which, as they are there rendered, are still more perplexed and unknown. Consult the names used there for the rivers<sup>g</sup> of Eden, and the countries which those rivers ran into, and you will see how difficult it is any where else to meet with the least footstep or track of those names, except *Cophin* only, which seems indeed to agree something with *Cophen* mentioned by Pliny<sup>h</sup>.

II. Places of themselves pretty well known are there called by names absolutely unknown. Such are חצפון *Chatsphu*, for Assyria, Gen. ii. 14 : לילק *Lilak*, for Babel, Gen. x. 9 : שלמאה *Salmaah* for Euphrates, Gen. xv. 18 : נפיק *Naphik* for Egypt, Gen. xxvi. 2.

III. Sometimes there are names of a later date used, and such as were most familiarly known in those days. Such are בניאס *Banias* for Dan, Gen. xiv. 14, that is, Pnias, the spring of Jordan : גינסר *Gennesar* for Chinneroth, Numb. xxxiv. 11, Deut. iii. 17 : not to mention Bathnau and Apamia for Bashan and Shepham, which are so near akin with the Syriac pronunciation : and Gebalah, or Gablah, for Seir, according to the Arabic idiom.

Such names as these make me suspect the Samaritan version not to be of that antiquity which some would claim for it, making it almost as ancient as the days of Ezra.

IV. I suspect too, when we meet with places pretty well known of themselves, obscured by names most unknown, that, sometimes, the whole country is not to be understood, but some particular place of that country only.

The suspicion is grounded on the word *Naphik* for *Egypt*, and *Salmaah* for *Euphrates*. By *Naphik*, probably, they understood, not the whole land of Egypt, but *Pelusium* only, which is the very first entry into Egypt from Canaan. The reason of this conjecture is this : the word אנפק *Anpak* (as we have elsewhere observed) was writ over the gates of that city ; and how near that word comes to *Naphik*, is obvious enough to any one.

It is possible, also, that the mention of the *Kinites*, immediately following, might bring *Salmaah* to mind ; and so they might not call 'Euphrates' itself 'Salmaah,' but speaking of

<sup>g</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 505.

<sup>h</sup> *Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23. Strabo lib. xv. [c. 1.]*

‘Euphrates’ as washing some place called ‘Salmaah.’ Ptolemy, in his chapter concerning the situation of Arabia Deserta, mentions Salma<sup>i</sup>, in degr. 78. 20. 28. 30: and it is numbered amongst six-and-twenty other cities, which he saith are ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, which the Latin interpreter translates ‘Juxta Mesopotamiam,’ ‘near Mesopotamia.’ If this be true, the Samaritan version hath something by which it may defend itself: for if those cities mentioned by Ptolemy were indeed ‘Juxta Mesopotamiam,’ ‘near Mesopotamia’ (the river Euphrates only running between), then may the Samaritan version be warranted while it renders “even to the river Euphrates,” “even to the river of Salmaah,” that is, “to the river Euphrates in that place where it washeth the sides of Salma.”

SECT. III.—*The situation of the mounts Gerizim and Ebal.*

*The Samaritan text upon Deut. xxvii. 4 noted.*

THAT Sychar is the same place with Sychem, seems beyond doubt; which, indeed, the mount Gerizim pointed to by the Samaritan woman, sufficiently confirms. A wily argument, perhaps, in Epiphanius’s esteem, who, in his Samaritan heresy, gives us this account:

Τῶ γὰρ βουλομένῳ ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ ὄρους Γαριζεῖν ἐρευνᾶσθαι, ἰστέον ὅτι πρὸς τῇ Ἰεριχῶ κεῖνται τὰ δύο ὄρη, τό τε τοῦ Γαριζεῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γεβὰλ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ τῆς Ἰεριχῶ, ὡς ἔχει τὸ Δευτερονόμιον, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ ἡ βίβλος. “There are two mounts near Jericho beyond Jordan, Gerizim and Ebal, which look towards Jericho on the east,” &c. So that, we see, he tells us Gerizim and Ebal were near Jericho, not near Sychem. So also before him, Eusebius ‘de Locis Hebraicis,’ at least, if he be the author of that book, as Petavius noteth.

That clause גִּלְגָּל מִן “over-against Gilgal,” Deut. xi. 30, hath deceived these authors in that manner, that they have removed the mounts Gerizim and Ebal to Gilgal by Jericho: and it hath, on the other hand, deceived some in that manner, that they have brought Gilgal by Jericho to Sychem, misunderstanding the word *Gilgal* for that place mentioned in

<sup>i</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. ii. p. 586.

Josh. v, when this which Moses speaks of is really Galilee ; as I have proved elsewhere.

On these two mounts (it is well known) were pronounced the blessings and the curses, Dent. xi. 29, and xxvii. 12, 13 ; Josh. viii. 33. But mark the impudence of the Samaritans, who, in their text, Deut. xxvii. 4, instead of “ Ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day בְּהַר עֵבֶל *on mount Ebal*,” they have put “ Ye shall set up these stones, &c. בְּהַר גְּרִיזִים *on mount Gerizim*.”

Compare, with this falsification of theirs, that in Sotah<sup>k</sup>, “ R. Eliezer Ben Jose saith, I have said to you, O Samaritans, Ye have falsified your law ; for ye say, אֶלֹנֵי מוֹרֵה שָׁכֵם *the plain of Moreh, which is Shechem*, Dent. xi. 30 [they add Shechem of their own] : we ourselves indeed confess that the plain of Moreh is Shechem,” &c.

Seeing he blames the Samaritans for falsifying their text in so little a matter, wherein the truth is not injured, namely, in adding Shechem, why did he not object to them that greater<sup>l</sup> fault of suborning *Gerizim* for mount *Ebal*. The truth is, this very thing giveth me reason enough to suspect that this bold and wicked interpolation of the word *Gerizim* for *Ebal* hath stolen into the Samaritan text since the time that this Rabbin wrote. The thing is not unworthy our considering.

#### SECT. IV.—*Why it is written Sychar, and not Sychem.*

IF Sychem and Sychar be one and the same city, why should not the name be the same ?

I. This may happen from the common dialect, wherein it is very usual to change the letters. So *Reuben* in the Syriac version is *Reubil*, and Πούβηλος, *Rubelus*, in Josephus ; by what etymology let him tell, and explain it if you can. Speaking of Leah bringing forth Reuben, he thus expresseth himself<sup>m</sup> ; Καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρρενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστρεμμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, Πούβηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν υἱὸν, διότι κατ’ ἔλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένοιτο. Τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. “ And having brought forth a male child, and obtaining favour from her husband by it, she called his name Rubel, because it

<sup>k</sup> Fol. 33. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Antiq. lib. i. cap. 19. [Hudson, p. 41. l. 32.] [i. 19. 7.]

<sup>l</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 506.



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hood of Jerusalem ; but now, the fruits having been destroyed by war, they were fain to fetch it afar off."

Take, if you will, the whole story : " It is a tradition among the Rabbins, that when the Asmonean family mutually besieged one another, Aristobulus without, and Hyrcanns within, every day they that were besieged within let down their money by the wall in a little box, which those that were without received, and sent them back their daily sacrifice. It came to pass that there was an old man amongst them skilled in the wisdom of the Greeks, that told them, ' So long as they within perform their worship, you will never be able to subdue them.' Upon this, the next day they let down their money, and the besiegers sent them back a hog ; when the hog had got half up the wall, fixing his feet upon it, the land of Israel shook four hundred leagues round about. From that time they said, ' Cursed be he that breedeth swine : cursed be he that teacheth his son the wisdom of the Greeks.' From that time the sheaf of the first-fruits was fetched from Gaggoth Zeriphin, and the two loaves from the valley Ein Sychar."

This story is told, with another annexed, in Menachoth 9 : " When the time came about that the sheaf should be brought, nobody knew from whence to fetch it. They made inquiry, therefore, by a public crier. There came a certain dumb man, *וְאוֹתֵיב הָדָא יָדָא אַאיגְרָא* and stretched forth one hand towards a roof, *וְחֻדָּא יָדִיהָ אַצְרִיפָה* and the other hand<sup>r</sup> towards a cottage. Mordecai saith to them, ' Is there any place that is called Gaggoth Zeriphin, or Zeriphin Gaggoth ?' They sent and found there was. When they would have offered the two loaves, but knew not where to get them, they made inquiry again by a public crier ; the same dumb man comes again, *אוֹתוֹב יָדִיהָ אַעִינִיהָ* and he puts one hand to his eye, *וְחֻדָּא יָדָא אַסִּינְרָא* and another hand to the hole of the doorpost where they put in the bolt. Quoth Mordecai to them, ' Is there such a place as Ein Sychar, or Sychar Ein ?' They inquired, and found there was."

But what had Mordecai to do with the times of the Asmoneans ? One of the Glossators upon this place makes this objection ; and the answer is, That whoever were skilled

9 Menach. fol. 64. 2.

<sup>r</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 507.

either in signs or languages had this name given them from Mordecai, who, in the days of Ahasuerus, was so skilled.

And now let the reader give us his judgment as to name and place; whether it doth not seem to have some relation with our *well of Sychar*. It may be disputed on either side. I shall only say these things :

Menachoth, as before; “ It is commanded that the sheaf be brought from some neighbouring place, **לא ביכ' דוקרוב** *but if it ripen not in any place near Jerusalem, let them fetch it elsewhere.*” Gloss: “ Gaggoth Zeriphin and Ein Sychar were at a great distance from Jerusalem.” So is our Sychar distant far enough indeed.

“ **צריפה** *Zariph*, and **צריפה** *Zeripha*, denotes a little cottage, **קלון של שומרי שדות** *where the keeper of fields lodged*.” It is described by Aruch in the word **צריף**, that “ it was covered over with osier twigs, the tops of which were bound together, and it was drawn at pleasure from one place to another,” &c.

Gloss. in Erubhin: **יושבי צריפין** “ *They that dwelt in those cottages were keepers of sheep; they abode in them for a month or two, so long as the pasture lasted, and then they removed to another place.*” Gaggoth Zeriphin, therefore, signifies *the roofs of little cottages*: and the place seems to be so called either from the number of such lodges in that place, or from some hills there, that represented and seemed to have the shape of such kind of cottages.

Such cottages may come to mind when we read, Luke ii. 8, of the shepherds watching their flocks by night. But this is out of our way.

## CHAP. V.

### *Bethesda, John v. 2.*

- I. *The situation of the Probatice.*
- II. *The fountain of Siloam, and its streams.*
- III. *The pool שלח Shelahh, and the pool שלוח Shiloahh.*
- IV. *The Targumist on Eccles. ii. 5 noted.*
- V. *The fountain of Etam. The Water-gate.*

### SECT. I.—*The situation of the Probatice.*

It is commonly said that the Προβατικὴ πύλη, the *Probatice*, or *the Sheep-gate* (for let us annex the word *gate*

<sup>t</sup> Erubhin, fol. 65. 2.



to it, out of Neh. iii. 1), or, at least, Bethesda, was near the Temple. Consult the commentators, and they almost all agree in this opinion. With their good leave, let it not be amiss to interpose these two or three things :

I. That no part of the outward wall of the city (which this *Sheep-gate* was) could be so near the Temple, but that some part of the city must needs lie between. Betwixt the north gates and the Temple, Zion was situated ; on the west, was part of Zion and Millo ; on the south, Jerusalem, as it is distinguished from Zion ; on the east, the east street, whose gate is not the *Sheep-gate*, but the *Water-gate*.

II. The Προβατικὴ πύλη, *the Sheep-gate*, according to Nehemiah's description, should be situated on the south<sup>u</sup> wall of the city, not far from the corner that pointed south-east ; so that a considerable part of Jerusalem lay betwixt the Temple and this gate.

We have elsewhere made it plain that Sion was situated on the north part of the city, contrary to the mistake of the tables, which place it on the south. Now, therefore, consider to how great an extent the wall must run before it can come to any part of Zion ; to wit, to the stairs that go down from the city of David, ver. 15, which were on the west ; and thence proceed to the sepulchres of David, ver. 16 ; till it come at length to the<sup>x</sup> *Water-gate*, and Ophel towards the east, ver. 26 : and thence to the corner near which is the *Sheep-gate*, ver. 31, 32 ; and this will plainly evince that the description and progress in Nehemiah is, first, of the south wall, from the *Sheep-gate* to the west corner ; then of the west wall ; and so to the northern and the eastern ; which makes it evident that the *Sheep-gate* is on the south wall, a little distant from the corner which looks south-east, which could not but be a considerable distance from the Temple, because no small part of Jerusalem, as it was distinguished from Zion, laid between.

SECT. II.—*The fountain of Siloam, and its streams.*

Our inquiry into Bethesda (if I be not greatly mistaken) must take its rise from the fountain of Siloam.

I. The proper and ancient name for the fountain of Si-

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 588.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 508.



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Ἐνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνου πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν. “The wall again inclined eastward, even to Solomon’s fish-pond, and going on to the place called Ophel, it came over-against the eastern porch of the Temple.” From whence we may gather that Solomon’s fish-pool was within, hard by the east wall of the city, and on this side the place they called Ophel: which does so well agree with the situation of Bethesda within the sheep-gate, that it seems to me beyond all doubt or question, that Solomon’s pool and the pool of Bethesda were one and the same.

SECT. III.—The pool שלח Shelahh, and the pool שלוח Shiloah.

By another stream the waters of Siloam are derived into another pool, which is called the Lower Pool, Isa. xxii. 9, and the King’s Pool, Neh. ii. 14; near the west wall of Sion.

We have the mention of it also in Neh. iii. 15: בְּרֵכַת הַמַּלְכֵי הַשְּׁלֵחַ the pool of Siloam by the king’s garden. Where we may observe that it is here written שְׁלַח Shelahh, different from שְׁלֹחַ Shiloahh, Isa. viii. 6; by a difference hardly visible in Bibles not pointed: indeed, sometimes overlooked by myself, and so, as is evident, by others. For שְׁלַח is rendered in the very same sound with Shiloahh, in the Complutensian, Vulgar, English, and French Bibles. And, in St. John ix. 7, where there is mention of the pool Siloam, some commentators refer you to that text in Nehemiah.

The Greek interpreters did, indeed, observe the difference, and thus render the words of Nehemiah, Κολυμβήθρας τῶν κωδίων τῇ κουρᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως. “The pool of skins by the king’s wool<sup>b</sup>.” Nor doth the Italian overlook it; for that renders it thus: “La Piscina di Selac presso al orto del Re:” “The Fish-pond of Selac hard by the garden of the king.”

It is observable in the Greek version, that whereas they render the word by τῇ κουρᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως, the king’s wool, or hair, they may seem to have read ἴα a fleece of wool for ἴα a garden. And whereas they translate בְּרֵכַת הַשְּׁלֵחַ by κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων, the pool of skins, they follow the signification of the word as it is frequently used amongst the Talmudists.

<sup>b</sup> English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 509.

Now, therefore, here ariseth a question, whether that pool be the pool of Siloam or no: which as yet hath hardly been questioned<sup>c</sup> by any, and, for some time, not by myself. But I am now apt to think that it was so distinguished betwixt the two pools, that the lower pool retaining its name of the 'Pool of Shelahh,' the upper pool obtained that of 'Siloahh.'

For,

I. How otherwise should that distinction of the Greek version arise, but that the interpreters followed the common pronunciation of the word Shelahh, when they render it τῶν κωδίων, of *skins*.

II. Those words of St. John ix. 7, Εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ Σιλωὰμ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ἀπεσταλμένος, "in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation, Sent," seem to intimate that there were two pools of a very near sound, whereof one signified Ἀπεσταλμένος, *Sent*, the other not.

III. The Jerusalem Talmudists seem to say that the upper pool was called the 'Pool of Siloam' in these words: "He<sup>d</sup> that is unclean by a dead body doth not enter into the mount of the Temple. It is said that they appear only in the court. Whence do you measure? from the wall, or from the houses? It is Samuel's tradition, מְשִׁילוֹהּ *from Siloam*: now Siloam was in the midst of the city."

The question here propounded is, whether he that is unclean by a dead body may be permitted to enter the Temple: and the stating of it comes to this, that inquiry be made within what measure he is to be admitted; whether within the wall of the Temple, or at that distance where the houses next to the Temple end; especially where the houses of Siloam end.

Now, whereas they say שְׁלוֹהּ הִיא בְּאִמְצַע הַמְּדִינָה *that Siloam is in the midst of the city*, it must by no means be understood of the fountain itself, for that was plainly without the city; nor yet of the lower pool Shelahh, for that also was without the city, or scarce within it. There is, therefore, no third, unless that this upper pool be called 'the pool of Siloam,' and that it give denomination to the adjacent part of the city, to wit, to the five porches and the buildings about it: which though they were not in the very centre of the city,

<sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. ii. p. 589.

<sup>d</sup> Chagigah, fol. 76. 1.

yet they might properly enough be said to be in the *middle* of it, because they were situated a good way within the walls. 'Ο πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ, Luke xiii. 4, "the tower of Siloam," was amongst these buildings.

SECT. IV.—*The Targumist on Eccles. ii. 5 noted.*

It is an even lay, whether the Targumist on this place deal more cunningly or more obscurely. The passage is about the king's gardens: and he, "I planted me all trees of spice, דאיתארו לוחי טלני ומזיקי מן הנדקא *which the goblins and the demons brought me out of India:*" and then goes on, ותחומיה מן שור קרתא דבירושלים על כיה מיה דשילוח *and the bound of it was from the wall that is in Jerusalem, by the bank of the waters of Siloam.* Render על כיה *juxta ripam, by the bank* for illustration's sake; for *ad ripam, to the bank* (as the Latin interpreter renders it), although it might signify the same, yet it may also signify something else, and so become a difficulty not to be resolved. Besides, it is to be observed, that it is על *upon, or above*, not עד *unto*.

The meaning of the Targumist seemeth to be this; that the king's gardens were bounded in this manner. They extended from the descent of Zion, until they came over-against Shelahh, or the lower pool; even to the beginning of the wall of the city, which is in Jerusalem: which wall runs near to the bank of the waters of Siloam.

'That passage in Neh. iii. 15 illustrates this; "the gate of the fountain repaired Shallum, and the wall of the pool of Shelahh by the king's gardens." 'The gate of the fountain,' whether that was called so from the pool of Siloam, or otherwise, was at some distance from the king's pool, Neh. ii. 14: and by the wall of the city, that ran between the gate and the pool, there was a rivulet, drawn from the fountain into that pool.

The words of the Targumist, therefore, are to be so rendered as that the king's gardens may not be said to extend themselves to the bank of the waters of Siloam; but that the wall of Jerusalem ran along by the bank of those waters, and the garden to the first part of<sup>e</sup> that wall. So that he does not call the lower pool by the name of שלוח Siloahh; but by

<sup>e</sup> *English folio edition, vol. ii. p. 510.*



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the city ; and it is plain enough in Holy Writ that the aqueduct into the sheep-pool was from the fountain of Siloam : which also from that spring, from whence it was derived, is called the ‘ Pool of Siloam ;’ and from him that first made it, the ‘ Pool of Solomon ;’ and from the miraculous medicinal virtue in it, ‘ the Pool of Bethesda.’

As to the Water-gate, we find it mentioned Neh. iii. 26, situated on the east wall of the city ; called the ‘ Water-gate’ because through that the waters flowed out of the Temple ; and perhaps those also out of Bethesda. For, whereas the waters ran incessantly out of Etam into the Temple, and those that were more than needed flowed out of the Temple, they all fell down into the valley that lay between the Temple and Jerusalem, and emptied themselves by that gate which bore the name of the ‘ Water-gate’ upon that account. And it is probable that the pool of Bethesda, which also had its constant supply by the aqueduct from the spring of Siloam, did also continually empty itself along the descent of the hill Acra, through the same gate, and so into the brook Kedron.

## CHAP. VI.<sup>h</sup>

Στοὰ τοῦ Σολομῶντος. *Solomon's Porch*, John x. 23.

I. *Some obscure hints about the Gate of Huldah and the Priest's Gate.* II. *Solomon's Porch ; which it was, and where.* III. *The Gate of Shushan, or Susan. The Bench of the Twenty-three there. Shops there.* IV. *Short hints of the condition of the Second Temple.*

SECT. I.—*Some obscure hints of the Gate of Huldah, and the Priest's Gate.*

FROM Solomon's Pool proceed we to Solomon's Porch ; which we have also recorded, Acts v. 12. Possibly it is the Στοὰ Βασιλική, ‘ the King's Gate ;’ both the title and the magnificence of it make it probable. For, as Josephus tells us, it was ἔργον ἀξιαφηγητοτάτων τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ, “ one of the most memorable works under the sun<sup>i</sup>.”

That king's porch was situated on the south side of the Temple, having under it on the wall שני שערי הולדה *the*

<sup>h</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 511.

<sup>i</sup> *Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 14.* [Hudson, p. 703. l. 21.] [xv. 11. 5.]

*two gates of Huldah*<sup>k</sup>. At which gates I rather admire than believe or understand what I meet with concerning them; "Behold<sup>l</sup>, he stands behind our wall, that is, behind the west wall of the Temple; because the Holy Blessed One hath sworn that it shall never be destroyed. ושער הכהן ושער הולדה לא חרבו לעולם *The Priest's gate also, and Huldah's gate, were never to be destroyed till God shall renew them.*"

What gate that of *the priest's* should be, I am absolutely ignorant; unless it should be that over which was לשנת בלווטיא "the conclave of the βουλευτῶν, *the counsellors*," where was the bench and the consistory of the priests.

But be it this, or be it that, how do these and the rest agree with what Josephus relateth?

"Cæsar<sup>m</sup> commanded that the whole city and Temple should be destroyed, saving only those towers which were above the rest; viz. Phasaelus, the Hippic, and Mariamne, and the west wall. The wall, that it might be for the garrison soldiers; the towers, as a testimony how large and how fortified a city the Roman valour had subdued. Τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδὲ πρόποιτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι πάρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι. "But as to all the rest of the city and its whole compass, they so defaced and demolished it, that posterity or strangers will hardly believe there was ever any inhabited city there." Which all agrees well enough with what we frequently meet with in the Jewish writers; that Turnus Rufus drew a plough over the city and Temple. He is called in Josephus Terentius Rufus, Ἀρχων τῆς στρατιᾶς<sup>n</sup>.

## SECT. II.—*Solomon's Porch; which it was, and where.*

THROUGH the 'Gate of Huldah' you enter into the Court of the Gentiles, and that under the Στοὰ Βασιλική, *the King's Gallery*; which, from the name itself and gallantness of the structure, might seem worthy of such a founder as Solomon. But this is not the porch or gallery which we seek for, nor had it the name of *royal* from king Solomon, but from king Herod.

<sup>k</sup> Middoth, cap. 1.

<sup>l</sup> In Schir Rabba, fol. 16. 4.

<sup>m</sup> De Bell. lib. vii. cap. 1. [Hud-

son, p. 1295. l. 15.] [vii. 1. 1.]

<sup>n</sup> De Bell. lib. vii. cap. 1. [vii. 2. 2.]



Josephus, in this inquiry of ours, will lead us elsewhere ; who thus tells us °, Ἡδὴ δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐτετέλεστο, “ At this time was the Temple finished ” [i. e. under Gessius Florus, the procurator of Judea about the eleventh or twelfth year of Nero] ; “ the people, therefore, seeing the workmen were at leisure ” [the work of the Temple being now wholly finished], “ being in number more than eighteen thousand, importune the king ” [Agrippa] τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγεῖραι, “ that he would repair the eastern porch.” Here are some things not unworthy our observation ; partly, that the Temple itself was not finished till this time ; and then, that the eastern porch was neither then finished, nor, indeed, was there any at all ; for Agrippa, considering both how great a sum of money, and how long a space of time would be requisite for so great a work, rejected their suit. Herod, as it should seem from P Josephus, finished the Temple, and the Pronaon, *the porch* before it, and the Στοὰν Βασιλικὴν, *the Royal Gallery*. But what he finished further, about the courts and cloister-walks, it does not appear. It is manifest, indeed, that there was a great<sup>q</sup> deal left unperfected by him ; when the whole was not finished till the very latter end of Nero’s reign, and scarcely before that fatal war in which the Temple was burnt and buried in its own ruins : which observation will be of use when we come to John ii. 20, “ Forty and six years was this Temple in building.”

Josephus proceeds, as to the eastern gallery : Ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ. *Now that was the gallery of the outward Temple*, overlooking a deep valley, supported by walls of four hundred cubits, made of great square stone, very white : the length of each stone was twenty cubits, and the breadth six. Ἔργον Σολομῶνος τοῦ Βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. “ The work of king Solomon, who first founded the whole Temple.” There needs no commentary upon these words ; the ἀνατολικὴ στοὰ, *the east gallery* was first ἔργον Σολομῶνος, *Solomon’s work* : which plainly points which and where was Solomon’s Porch ; namely, upon the outer wall of the Temple, towards the east, as *the Royal Gallery* was upon the south wall.

° Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8. [Hudson, p. 898. l. 44.] [xx. 9. 7.]

p *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 512.  
q *Leusden’s edit.*, vol. ii. p. 591.



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לחנוות *to the shops*, and from the shops into Jerusalem." Not that the Sanhedrim could sit in the shops where such things were sold; but the lower part of that was all called by the common name of the Tabernæ, or *shops*.

SECT. IV.—*Short hints of the condition of the second Temple.*

THE Jews, upon their return from Babylon, at first made use of an altar without a Temple, till the Temple was finished under Darius the Second. And then they made use of the Temple without the ark, a priesthood without the Urim and Thummim, and sacrifices without fire from heaven. In some of these things they were necessitated by present circumstances; in other things they were directed by the prophets, that flourished at that time.

Under the Persian empire, they went on quietly with the Temple, little or nothing molested or incommoded by them, unless in that affair under Bagos, mentioned by Josephus<sup>z</sup>.

But under the Greeks happened the calamity of the Temple and nation; and all those dreadful things which are spoken concerning God by Ezekiel the prophet, were fulfilled in the tyranny of this empire. For Gog, in that prophet, was no other than the Grecian<sup>a</sup> empire warring against the people and sanctuary, and true worship of God. It was a long time that the Jewish nation suffered very hard things from that kingdom; the relation of which we have, both in Josephus and the books of the Maccabees. The chief actor in those tragedies was Antiochus Epiphanes, the bloodiest enemy that the people and religion of the Jews ever had: who, besides other horrid things he acted against their law and religion, profaned the Temple and the altar, and made the daily sacrifice to cease for "a thousand and three hundred days," Dan. viii. 14, or 'one thousand two hundred and ninety days,' chap. xii. 11: a round number for "a time, and times, and half a time," chap. vii. 25, xii. 7; that is, "three years and a half."

Of the insolences of the Greeks against the Temple, we

<sup>z</sup> Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 7. [Hudson, p. 500.] [xi. 7. 1.]

<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 513.

read in Middoth: “In<sup>b</sup> the railed place” [that divided the Chel from the court of the Gentiles] ג' פרצות היו בו שפרצו there were thirteen breaches which the kings of Greece made upon it, &c. And that of the impudent woman; “Mary<sup>c</sup>, the daughter of Bilgah, apostatized, and married a certain Greek soldier. She came, and struck upon the top of the altar, crying out, לוקום לוקום O wolf, wolf! thou that devourest the wealth of Israel; and yet in the time of her extremity canst not help her.” The same things are told of Titus<sup>d</sup>.

But<sup>e</sup> the heaviest thing of all was, when Antiochus profaned the Temple and the altar, nor would allow any sacrifices to be offered there but heathenish and idolatrous. Of which persecution consult 1 Macc. i. and Josephus, Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 7. [xii. 5.] Indeed, this waste and profanation of sacred things lasting for three years and a half, so stuck in the stomachs of the Jews, that they retained that very number as famous and remarkable; insomuch that they often make use of it when they would express any thing very sad and afflictive.

“There<sup>f</sup> came one from Athens to Jerusalem, and stayed there three years and a half, to have learnt the language of wisdom, but could not learn it. Vespasian<sup>g</sup> besieged Jerusalem for three years and a half; and with him were the princes of Arabia, Africa, Alexandria, and Palestine, &c. Three<sup>h</sup> years and a half did Hadrian besiege Betar. The<sup>i</sup> judgment of the generation of the deluge was twelve months: the judgment of the Egyptians twelve months: the judgment of Job was twelve months: the judgment of Gog and Magog was twelve months: the judgment of the wicked in hell twelve months. But the judgment of Nebuchadnezzar was three years and a half: and the judgment of Vespasian three years and a half. Nebuchadnezzar<sup>k</sup> stayed in Daphne of Antioch, and sent Nebuzar-adan to destroy Jerusalem. He continued there for three years and a half.”

There are many other passages of that kind, wherein they do not so much design to point out a determinate space of

<sup>b</sup> Middoth, cap. 2. hal. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Jerus. Succah, fol. 55. 4.

<sup>d</sup> In Avoth R. Nathan. cap. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. ii. p. 592.

<sup>f</sup> Echah Rabbathi, fol. 60. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. f. 64. 1. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. f. 71. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. fol. 66. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. fol. 79. 2.

time, as to allude to that miserable state of affairs they were in under Antiochus. And perhaps it had been much more for the reputation of the Christian commentators upon the Book of the Revelations, if they had looked upon that number, and the “forty-and-two months,” and the “thousand two hundred and sixty days,” as spoken allusively, and not applied it to any precise or determinate time.

By the way, whilst we are speaking of the persecution under the Greeks, we cannot but call to mind the story in the Second Book of Maccab. vii, of the mother and her seven sons, that underwent so cruel a martyrdom: because we meet with one very like it, if not the same, only the name changed.

“ ‘We<sup>l</sup> are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter,’ Psalm xliv. 22. Rab. Judah saith, This may be understood of the woman and her seven sons. They brought forth the first before Cæsar, and they said unto him, Worship idols. He answered and said to them, It is written in our law, I am the Lord thy God. Then they carried him out and slew him. They brought the second before Cæsar,” &c. Which things are more largely related in Echah Rabbathi<sup>m</sup>, where the very name of the woman is expressed: עם שבעה בניה מרים בת נחתום שנשבית  
 “*Mary, the daughter of Nachton, who was taken captive with her seven sons. Cæsar took them and shut them up within seven gates. He brought forth the first and commanded, saying, Worship idols,*” &c.

The story seems wholly the same, only the names of Antiochus and Cæsar changed; of which the reader, having consulted both, may give his own judgment. And because we are now fallen into a comparing of the story in the Maccabees with the Talmudists, let us compare one more in Josephus with one in the same authors.

Josephus tells us, that he foretold it to Vespasian, that he should be emperor<sup>n</sup>. Vespasian commanded that Josephus should be kept with all the diligence imaginable, that he might be conveyed safely to Nero; which when Josephus understood, he requested that he might be permitted to

<sup>l</sup> Gittin, fol. 57. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Fol. 67. 4. and 68. 1.

<sup>n</sup> De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 27.  
 [Hudson, p. 1146. l. 44.] [iii. 8. 9.]



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Temple, making up the breaches; and, as Middoth in the place above speaks, “Those thirteen breaches, which the Grecians had made, חזרו וגדרום וגזרו כנגדן יג' השתחווינת, they repaired; and, according to the number of those breaches, they instituted thirteen adorations.”

The altar, because it had been profaned by Gentile sacrifices, they pull it wholly down, and lay up the stones in a certain chamber near the court.

“Towards<sup>s</sup> the north-east there was a certain chamber where the sons of the Asmoneans laid up the stones of that altar, which the Grecian kings had profaned:” and that (as the Book of the Maccabees hath it) μέχρι τοῦ παραγεννηθῆναι προφήτην, τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν: “till there might come a prophet that should direct them what to do with them.”

Nor did it seem without reason: for, whereas those stones had once been consecrated, they would by no means put them to any common use; and since they had been profaned, they durst not put them to any holy use.

The rest of the Temple they restored, purged, repaired, as may be seen in the places above quoted; and, on the five-and-twentieth of the month Cisleu, they celebrated the feast of the Dedication, and established it for an anniversary solemnity, to be kept eight days together. Of the rites of that feast I shall say more in its proper place; and, for the sake of it, I have been the larger in these things.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Various things.*

I. Ἐφραῖμ, — *Ephraim*, John xi. 54. II. בית מרון *Beth Maron*, and מרוני *A Maronite*. III. Chalamish, Naveh, and other obscure places. IV. Χαφεναθὰ, *Chaphenatha*, 1 Macc. xii. 37. V. *The Targum of Jonathan upon Numb. xxxiv. 8, noted.*

SECT. I.—Ἐφραῖμ, *Ephraim*, John xi. 54.

BETH-EL, and Jeshauah, and עפראים *Ephraim*, are mentioned together, 2 Chron. xiii. 19; and Beth-el and Ephraim in Josephus: “Vespasian<sup>t</sup> subdued two toparchies or lordships, the Gophnitic and Acrabatene, μεθ' ἃς Βηθηλᾶ τε καὶ Ἐφραῖμ

<sup>s</sup> Middoth, cap. i. hal. 6.

<sup>t</sup> De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 33. [Hudson, p. 1200. l. 24.] [iv. 9. 9.]

πολίχνια· after which he took Beth-el and Ephraim, two little cities.”

In the Targumist it is written עפרון with a Vau, and is thus pointed עֶפְרוֹן, and rendered by the Greek interpreters Ἐφρών, *Ephron*. But the Masorah tells us it must be read by Jod, עֶפְרַיִם *Ephraim*. Nor do I question but that it is the same with Josephus's Ephraim, and the עֶפְרַיִם *Ephraim* of the Talmudists<sup>u</sup>, of which we have discoursed in our Chorographical Century, chap. liii.

It is probable it was a city in the land of Benjamin, as also was Beth-el, which is mentioned at the same time with it. Now Beth-el was the utmost border of the tribe of Benjamin<sup>x</sup>, as it lay towards the tribe of Ephraim<sup>y</sup>. But where this Ephraim should lie, it is not so plain. Only this our evangelist speaks of it,—that it was “near the wilderness;” that is (as it should seem), near the wilderness of Judea, in the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.

SECT. II.—בית מרון ‘*Beth Maron,*’ and מרוני ‘*A Maronite.*’

“THERE<sup>z</sup> goes a story of a brother and a sister: he was in גוש חלב *Gush Halab*; she in בית מרון *Beth Maron*. There happened a fire in his house, that was in Gush Halab; his sister comes from Beth Maron, and embraced and kissed him.”

Now גוש חלב *Gush Halab* was in the tribe of Asher, as appears in Menacoth<sup>a</sup>: where there is a story of a most precious oil bought in Gush Halab, in the tribe of Asher, such as could not be bought in any other place.

And so perhaps that may be understood of בית מרון *Beth Maron*, being so near to Gush Halab, which we meet with in Jerusalem Kiddushin<sup>b</sup>; מעשה במרוני אחד שהיה דר “*There goes a story of a certain Maronite*” [for so let us render it], “*who lodged in Jerusalem. He was a very wealthy man; and, when he would have parted his riches amongst his kindred, they told him it was not lawful for him to do it, unless he would buy some land,*” &c.

<sup>u</sup> In Menacoth, cap. 9.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio edit.*, vol. ii. p. 515.

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. [v. 1. 22.]

<sup>z</sup> Shemoth Rabba, § 5.

<sup>a</sup> Fol. 85. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Fol. 6. 3. et Bava Bathra, fol.



מַרוֹנִי may not unfitly be rendered a *Maronite*, though not in the same sense wherein it is now commonly understood; but as signifying ‘one coming from the town Maron, or Beth Maron.’ Render it *Maronensian*, and then there is no difficulty.

And to this, perhaps, may refer that passage in Rosh Hashanah<sup>c</sup>: In the beginning of the year, כָּל בְּאֵי עוֹלָם עוֹבְרִין לְפָנָיו כְּבָנֵי מָרוֹן *All that come into the world pass before God, as the sons of Maron.* Gemara Resh Lachish saith, כְּמַעְלֹת בֵּית מָרוֹן *As the ascents of Beth Maron.* Gloss: “Where the way was so narrow, that two could not walk abreast together, for there was a deep vale on each side of the way.” There are almost the same things in Erubhin<sup>d</sup>.

SECT. III.—*Chalamish, Naveh, and other obscure places.*

Let us take in these also for novelty’s sake.

“God<sup>e</sup> commanded concerning Jacob, that his enemies should be about him:

כְּגוֹן חֲלָמִישׁ לְנוּוֹה, *As Chalamish is to Naveh.*

יְרִיחוֹ לְנוֹעָרָן, *Jericho to Noaran.*

סוּסִיתָא לְטִבֵּרְיָא, *Susitha to Tiberias.*

קַסְטָרָא לְחִיפָר, *Castara to Chephar.*

לֹוד לְאוֹנוֹ, *Lydda to Ono.*”

Gloss: “In Chalamish dwelt the enemies of Israel; and in Naveh, a town near it, dwelt Jews<sup>f</sup>; and these were afflicted by them.” And elsewhere, “These are the names of places where the sinners of the Gentiles, of Moab and Ammon, &c., did dwell.”

By the way, it is to be observed that the word, which in other places is written חִיפָר *Chephar*, or חִיפָרָא *Chippar*, in Sehir Rabbathi is written חִיפָה *Chephah*. Whence in Shemoth Rabba<sup>g</sup> ר’ אַבְדִּימִי דְמֵן חִיפָה *R. Abdimi of Chephah*, or *Chippah*; the same in Eehah Rabbathi<sup>h</sup>.

If the distance of the other places might be determined by the distance of Susitha from Tiberias, and Lydda from Ono, it will be the space of three miles, or thereabouts; for so far were they from one another, as I have shewn in another

<sup>c</sup> Fol. 16. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Fol. 22. 2.

Vajikra Rabba, § 23.

<sup>e</sup> Midrash Rabba in Schir. cap.

<sup>f</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. ii. p. 594.

2. 2. Eehah Rabbathi in cap. 1. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Sect. 29.

<sup>h</sup> Fol. 64. 1, &c.



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Talmudists for the *dates* of palm-trees, that never come to their full maturity: מִין תְּמָרִים רַעִים *A sort of ill palm-trees*, as the Gloss in Beracoth<sup>1</sup>; “the fruit of the palm that never ripens.” So Aruch in כַּפְנֵת *Caphnith*. By a signification near akin to הֵנֶה *Hene*, and אֵהֵנִי *Ahene*, which denotes the *unripe dates* of palms; from whence, I suppose, *Bethany*, in the mount of Olives, is derived. So that some outmost part of the city and wall towards mount Olivet was called *Bethphage* from the *figs* that grew there, and another part of it *Chaphenatha* from the *dates*.

SECT. V.—*The Targum of Jonathan upon*  
Numb. xxxiv. 8, noted.

MOSES hath it thus; מִהוֹר חָקֵר תְּתָאוּ לְבֵנָה חֶמֶת “*From mount Hor, ye shall point out (the border), unto the entrance of Hamath, and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad.*”

But the Targumist thus; מִטוֹרוֹס אֹמְנוֹס “*From the mount Umanus you shall point out your border to מעלך the entrance of Tiberias, and the goings out of that border, לְכַדְכוֹר דְּבַר מִן תְּרִין צַמְרוֹי tending from the two sides, וְלְכַדְכוֹי דְּבַר סִינִיגוֹרָא and to Codcor Bar Zaamah, וְדִיוֹקְנוֹס וְתַרְנְגוֹלָא and Divachenus and Tarnegola, unto Cæsarea, by which thou enterest into Abela of the Cilicians.*”

Every word almost in this place must be considered; as, indeed, almost every word of it is obscure.

I. טוֹרוֹס *Taurus*:] This, indeed, is not so obscure, but that every one knows mount Taurus, so noted by geographers and historians, derived its name ἐμφατικότηρως, more emphatically thence, since טוֹר *Taur* both in the Chaldee and Syriac signifies a *mountain*.

II. אֹמְנוֹס *Umanus*:] Neither is this so very obscure, but that all who have turned over the Jewish writings do acknowledge it to be the mountain אַמְנָה *Amana*, and who have turned over other books, *Amanus*. But in the mean time, I doubt they, as well as myself, cannot tell why the same Targumist should call mount Hor, where Aaron died, by the same name of טוֹרוֹס אֹמְנוֹס *Taurus Umanus*, Num. xx. [23.]

III. מעלך *To the entrance of Tiberias*:] It is a

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 57. 2.

strange thing the Targumist should be no better read in chography, than to mistake the reading of this word חמת in this place. For it is plain he read חמת *Chammoth*, or the “warm baths of Tiberias,” when it is really *Hamath*, or ‘Antioch.’ He is a blind geographer that brings down the borders of the land of Israel to Tiberias, unless he means something beyond our capacity to apprehend.

IV. מן תרין צדדין *From the two sides:*] It is plain here also, that he took צדדה *Zedad*, appellatively for צד *a side*.

V. לכוור דבר זעמה *To Codcor Bar Zaamah:*] If he doth not blunder, we do. We only take notice, that זעמה *Zaamah*, and סניגורא *Sinegora*, do signify *indignation*, and *advocate*, perhaps in the same sense that סניגור and קטיגור are often used, in the Rabbinical writers, for *accuser* and *advocate*: but what it should signify in him, he must shew himself an *Ædipus*, or somebody else.

VI. דיוקנוס *Divachenus:*] I suspect this to be Greek, viz. Διαυχένιος. By which is intimated some back of a mountain, either lifting itself up, or stretching itself out. And this I suspect the more by the Jerusalem version upon ver. 15:

תחומא לדיוקינוס טור תלגא<sup>m</sup> דקיסרין: which I would thus render, “The borders shall be to the Διαυχένιος of the snowy mountain of Cæsarea.” Where by Cæsarea, is to be understood Cæsarea Philippi; where indeed the border of the north part of the land did not end, but extended higher and beyond, לתרגולא עילאה די למעלה מן קיסרין “even to uppèr Tarnegola, which is above Cæsarea;” i. e. πρὸς αὐχένα *to the neck* of the mount Antilibanus.

The *whiteness* [לָבָן] of Libanus gave it its name, both of *Libanus* and the ‘Mountain of snow,’ because its *whiteness* was occasioned by the snows upon it. [But by what derivation ‘Cyndus’ should, in the Syrian language, denote *whiteness*, I confess it is beyond my skill in that tongue to know; which yet Solinus affirms<sup>n</sup> it doth; “Whatever is white (saith he), the Syrians, in their language, called Cydnus; whence the name given to the river Cydnus.”] And it is worthy noting, that Lebanon, in the Hebrew text, is often, by the Greek interpreters, rendered Ἀντιλίβανος, ‘Antilibanus.’ So Deut. xi. 24, Josh. i. 4, &c.; and sometimes by the Talmudists, באלא *Bala*.

<sup>m</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. ii. p. 517.

<sup>n</sup> Cap. 41.

עזי דבאלא *The she-goats of Bala*, are, in the Gloss, עזי דלבנון *The she-goats of Lebanon*. And תור באלא, in the Glosser, is, שור הלבנון *A bull of Lebanon*. For באלא saith he, “signifies a *grove*.”

Let me conclude the whole with a conjecture something extravagant, which the mention of Lebanon gives rise to. I suspect our Europe did first derive its name from *cold*; as that mountain did, from the *snows*. The Phoenicians, sailing to Hercules’s Pillars (of which see the learned Bochart), had, on their left hand, the land of חם *Cham, heat or burning*, i. e. Africa: on the right hand, the land of חורף *Choreph, winter or cold*, especially compared with the other’s heat, from which word *Choreph*, probably, our word *Europe* takes its original. That very learned man derives it otherwise; and let him enjoy his sense, whilst I beg leave to enjoy my conjecture.

° Cholin, fol. 80. 1.

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