ia

A LARGE

COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies

To the TRUTH of the

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

VOL. I.

Containing the JEWISH TESTIMONIES, and the TESTIMONIES of HEATHEN AUTHORS of the Firſt Century.

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PREFACE.

IT is well known, that I have long ſince intended a Collection of Paſſages of Jewiſh and Heathen Authors, who bear Teſtimonie to the Books, or Facts of the New Teſtament, or the Affairs of Chriſtians in their own Times. I have alſo intimated, that I had by me large materials for that purpoſe: at the ſame time expreſſing my doubts, whether I ever ſhould be able to put thoſe materials into * order. But God, in his good providence, has prolonged my life. And having compleated the Supplement to the Second Part of the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, I have now put my collections of Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies into ſuch order, that it has been judged not improper to begin the publication.

This part of my deſign has been long deferred. But I hope, it is not the worſe for that.

 Many

* *See the Preface to the 12th Volume of the Second Part of the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, near the end, publiſhed in the year* 1755.

Many others of late times have made collections of this kind.

This Argument was not omitted by Mr. *Addison*, in his *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, who has insisted, though briefly, upon the Testimonies of *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Phlegon*, *Dion*, *Celsus*, *Macrobius*, and other Heathen Authors, and made good remarks upon them: intending likewise to add the Testimonies of Jewish Writers, but was prevented by death.

In the year 1733. was published a book with this title: *An Appeal to the genuine Records and Testimonies of Heathen and Jewish Writers, in Defense of Christianity: By Thomas Dawson. D. D. Vicar of New Windsor, some time Member of Convocation.* †

That work has a pompous title, from which a great deal might be expected: but it is little more than an angry declamation against Dr. *Sykes*, for not shewing due respect to *Phlegon*, and *Dionysius the Areopagite*. I have made no use of that work. Nor do I know, that I shall have occasion to take any farther notice of it.

An Argument in Defense of Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries, Jews, and Pagans, Philosophers and Historians. By Gregory Sharpe, L. L. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquarians. ⁂ I am indebted to this learned Author, and shall quote him sometimes.

In 1725. J. A. Fabricius published a volume in Quarto concerning *the Truth of the Christian Religion.* ‖ In the 32. Chapter of which volume

† *It is in two parts: 201 pages for the first part, and 112 for the second, in octavo.*

⁂ *A small volume of 166 pages, published in 1755.*

‖ Delectus argumentorum, et Syllabus Scriptorum, qui veritatem Religionis Christianae adversus Atheos, Deistas, . . . lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt. *Hamb.* 1725.

volume is a Catalogue of Authors, who have ſupported the evidence of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion by Teſtimonies of Heathen writers. ++ Where are mentioned many Authors, with whom I am unacquainted, as well as others, whom I have ſeen, and of whom I ſhall take notice preſently.

Le Clerc, who in the year 1727. reviſed that work of Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne*, obſerves, that +* *there are in Pagan Authors, ſtill remaining, Teſtimonies and Events, which may be of*

++ Cap. xxxii. Ethnicorum Teſtimonia, veritatis Religionis Naturalis, Judaicae, et Chriſtianae ſuffragantia. *Ibid. p.* 634. . . . 643.

+* Il y a dans les Auteurs Payens, qui nous reſtent, des temoignages et des evenemens, qui peuvent beaucoup ſervir à confirmer la verite de la Religion Chretienne. C' étoit le ſentiment d' Herman Conringius, qui étoit, comme l'on ſait, un tres-ſavant homme. *Bib. A. et M. T.* 27. *P. i. p.* 71.

Le Clerc here follows the modern way of ſpeaking. Which indeed is now in uſe with all learned men in general. But Heathen people were not called *Pagans*, Pagani, before the year of Chriſt 365. about which time, and afterwards, that denomination became common in Latin Authors, as *Prudentius*, *Salvian*, *Oroſius*, *Auguſtin*. That denomination is ſuppoſed to have had it's riſe from the ſtate of things at that time. Sacrifices were prohibited by Chriſtian Emperours in cities, but allowed of for a while in villages and countrey-places. But I do not recollect, that this way of ſpeaking is adopted by the Greek eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret: though they wrote after this ſtile was common in Latin authors. To me it ſeems not quite proper, to call thoſe writers *Pagans*, who lived before the times of the Chriſtian Emperours. I therefore generally ſay, *Heathens*, *Gentils*, *Greeks* : *Heatheniſm*, *Gentiliſm*, *Helleniſm*.

Haec omnia, ut in *Urbibus* primo ſublata, ſic permiſſa ad tempus in *Pagis* et vicis, ubi templa aliquamdiu Gentilibus patuêre. . . . Unde Paganorum nomen enatum eſt, primum auditum ſub Imperatoribus Chriſtianis, primaque Pagnorum mentio exſtat in L. xviii. Cod. Theod. *De Epiſcopis*, &c. Valentiniano et Valente. A. A. Coſſ. *Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. Sec. iv. T. i. p.* 836. *Vid. et Jac. Gothofred. in notis in Tit. de Paganis. Et Conf. Pagi ann.* 351. *num. v.*

Praeceperas mihi, ut ſcriberem adverſus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum, qui alieni a Civitate Dei, ex locorum agreſtium compitis et pagis, Pagani vocantur, ſive Gentiles. *Oroſ. Hiſt. l.* 1. *cap.* 1.

of great use to confirm the Truth of the Christian Religion. The same is said by Herman Conringius, who, as is well known, was a very learned man.

Unquestionably, Conringius, of Brunswick, was a very learned man, Author of many valuable works, and in great esteem with divers Princes ⁂ of Germanie. But I wish, that Le Clerc had quoted his words at length, or referred to the work, in which Conringius delivered his judgement upon this point, and where, possibly, he so enlarged upon it, as to afford us some instruction.

Houtteville, in his work, entitled, *The Christian Religion proved by Facts*, and in his *Historical and Critical Discourse*, prefixed to it, ‡ has alleged the testimonies of many Jewish and Heathen Writers, *Celsus, the Emperour Julian, Porphyrie, Jamblichus, the Talmud and the Rabbins.* Fabricius, in the forecited volume, has given a large account of this performance.

I may not omit *Tobias Eckhard*, who has published a learned and useful work, entitled, †* *The Testimonies of such as are not Christians, collected from ancient Monuments.* Of which there have been two editions, both in my hands: and from which I have reaped benefit. This Author also is in the forementioned catalogue of Fabricius.

The ⁂ Christian Religion confirmed by the Testimonies of ancient Pagan

⁂ *See the Dictionarie and Supplement of Moreri.*

‡ *A large volume in Quarto, at Paris, in* 1722.

†* Non-Christianorum de Christo Testimonia, ex Antiquis Monumentis proposita et dijudicata. Quarto. 1725. et 1736.

⁂ La Religion Chrêtienne autorisée par le temoignage des anciens Auteurs Payens. Par le P. Dominique de Colonia, de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Lyon. 1718.

Pagan Authors, by Dominique Colonia, of the Society of Jesus. This Author likewise is in the catalogue of Fabricius, who ‡ calls him a polite and eloquent writer.

This work has a nearer resemblance with mine, than any other, which I have met with. Many Authors are here ††* quoted. And Colonia gives some account of them, for shewing the value of their testimonie. I shall often quote him, or refer to him. Whereby the character of the work, and the judgement of the Author, will be apparent to my readers. Undoubtedly, he has learning, and zeal. But some allowances must be made for the credulity of his Church.

However, it can little become me to pass censures upon others, who am as liable to be censured: and may fall into mistakes, notwithstanding my best care to avoid them.

One fault in my work may be reckoned to be very obvious, which is the prolixity of it. In regard to which, I beg leave to say beforehand, that I aim to be distinct and particular. These things have been already slightly touched upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a fuller light. I allege passages of ancient authors at length. I settle their time: I distinguish their works, and endeavour to shew the value of their testimonies. I intend likewise to allege

‡ . . . elegans ac disertus scriptor. *Fabr. ubi supra. p.* 635.

††* Tom. 1. ch. I. Phlegon, et Thallus. ch. II. Ammianus Marcellinus. III. Mark Antonin. Dion. Capitolinus. Claudian. Themistius. IV. Plutarch. *Where comes in the pilot Thamus.* Strabo. Lucan. Juvenal. V. Claudian. *again.* VI. Chalcidius. Amelius. and Macrobius. VII. Cornelius Tacitus. VIII. Celsus, the Epicurean IX. The Philosopher Porphyrie. . . . Tom. 2. ch. I. Lampridius. II. The Younger Pliny. III. The Sophist Libanius. IV. The Emperour Julian, the Apostate. V. Lucian, of Samosata. VI. Rutilius Claudius Numatianus. VII. The Emperour Antonin the Pious. VIII. The Emperour Mark Antonin. *again.* IX. The false Prophet Mahomet. X. Josephus the Historian. XI. The true Acts of Pilate.

allege the judgements of divers learned moderns who have gone before me in this ſervice. All the perſecutions of this time are a part of my ſubject, as they were appointed by Edicts of Heathen Emperours, and were carried on by Heathen Governours of provinces, and officers under them. I ſhall have an opportunity to ſhew the patience and fortitude of the primitive Chriſtians: and the ſtate of Judaiſm, Gentiliſm, and Chriſtianity, in the firſt four centuries. As moſt of the Authors to be quoted by me are men of great diſtinction in the Republick of Letters, ſome occaſions will offer for critical obſervations, which cannot be all declined. But nice and intricate queſtions will be carefully avoided, that the whole may be upon the level with the capacities of all, who are inquiſitive, and diſpoſed to read with attention.

In the firſt volume are the Jewiſh Teſtimonies, and the Teſtimonies of Heathen Authors, who lived in the firſt centurie.

In the ſecond Volume are Heathen writings of the ſecond centurie. Among which are the Letter, of the Younger Pliny to Trajan, and that Emperour's Reſcript: which will give occaſion for many obſervations concerning the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at that time, and afterwards: and the remains of the work of Celſus againſt the Chriſtians, preſerved in Origen. Which afford an early, and very valuable teſtimonie to the genuinneſſe of the books of the New Teſtament, and to the truth of the evangelical hiſtorie.

In the third Volume will be Ulpian, Dion Caſſius, Porphyrie, Hierocles, and other Heathen Writers, and a hiſtorie of the ſeveral perſecutions of the Chriſtians in the third centurie, concluding with that of the Emperour Diocletian.

The

The fourth and laſt Volume, (not ††† yet finiſhed,) in which will be the Emperour Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and other Heathen Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, may be as entertaining, as any of the reſt. But it cannot be ſo important. Julian, in his work againſt the Chriſtians, may mention the names of the Evangeliſts, and of the other writers of the New Teſtament, and quote the books more diſtinctly than Celſus. But his teſtimonie to the Scriptures in the fourth centurie, cannot be ſo valuable, as that of Celſus in the ſecond. However, theſe alſo deſerve to be collected, and put together in their proper order. We ſhall there ſee the laſt ſtruggles of expiring Gentiliſm, and ſome attempts to reſtore it, after it had been for a while exploded with ſcorn and diſdain. And we may meet with more than a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were ſtill tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables, upon which they were founded, and by which they had been long upheld and encouraged.

The Author profeſſes great impartiality. For which reaſon he is not without hopes, that his work, notwithſtanding ſome imperfections, may be approved by the candid of every denomination. If it ſhall be of ſome uſe to promote good learning, and true religion, he will have great reaſon to be well pleaſed.

††† Divers chapters of the fourth volume are compoſed. But ſome others are ſtill wanting.

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JEWISH

JEWISH

TESTIMONIES.

CHAP. I.

The Faith of many Jewiſh Believers in early Times, a valuable Teſtimonie to the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

I. *That many of the Jewiſh People believed in Jeſus as the Chriſt, ſhewn from the Books of the New Teſtament.* II. *From other ancient Writings.* III. *Their Faith a valuable Teſtimonie.*

I. THE Lord JESUS was born at Bethlehem, and brought up at Nazareth, and in Judea, (underſtanding thereby the land of Iſrael,) he fulfilled his miniſtrie. At Jeruſalem he was crucified. There he aroſe from the dead, and thence he aſcended to heaven.

That many Jews believed in Jeſus as the Chriſt, ſhewn from N. T.

A ſhort time before his appearance in the world, John, called the Baptiſt, a man of an auſtere character, and acknowledged by all to be a Prophet, who acted with a divine commiſſion, preached to the people, ſaying: *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* " Be perſuaded by me, to reform your lives, and break off every evil

courſe by repentance. For the kingdom of God by the Meſſiah, long ſince promiſed by God, and foretold by the Prophets, is now about to be erected among you, which is a diſpenſation of the greateſt purity and perfection, the privileges of which are appropriated to ſincere penitents only, and really good men." He alſo pointed to Jeſus, as the perſon, who was to ſet up that kingdom, and was much greater than himſelf.

Soon after which Jeſus alſo appeared preaching the like doctrine in the name of God: recommending the practiſe of ſtrict and ſublime virtue in heart and life, with a view, not to honour from men, or any other worldly advantages: but with an eye to the favour and approbation of God, who knows all things. Theſe were the general terms propoſed by him: forgiveneſſe of paſt ſins upon repentance, and eternal life to perſeverance in the profeſſion of the truth, and the practiſe of virtue: without any aſſurances of worldly riches, honour or preferment, and with frequent intimations of many difficulties, and external diſcouragements.

As he went about preaching that doctrine, he wrought many miracles, healing all men who came to him, of the diſeaſes they labored under: and raiſing to life, ſome who had died. And twice he miraculouſly fed in deſert places with a few loaves and ſmall fiſhes great numbers of men, who had long attended upon his diſcourſes. At the begining of his miniſtrie, and during the time of it, there were ſome extraordinarie manifeſtations from heaven, bearing teſtimonie to him, as the *beloved Son of God*, or the Meſſiah, the great and extraordinarie perſon, who had been long ſince foretold, and promiſed, as the *ſeed of the woman, that ſhould bruiſe the head of the ſerpent, the ſeed of Abraham, in whom all the families of the earth ſhould be bleſſed*, and *the Son of David*, in whom the promiſe of an extenſive and everlaſting kingdom was to be fulfilled. Of all which things the bleſſed Jeſus ſometimes, in the later part of his miniſtrie, reminded the Jewiſh people, his hearers, to induce them to act according to evidence, and to emprove the preſent opportunity, and accept

accept the bleſſings offered to them, leaſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the divine diſpleaſure and reſentment. But, as before hinted, he never invited any with aſſurances of worldly advantages from him. And all were at liberty to act according to their own judgement, and to *go away*, or ſtay with him. John vi. 66. . . 71.

Wherever he went, preaching that excellent and heavenly doctrine, he was attended by many: who plainly diſcerned it to be ſuperior to that of their ordinarie teachers, the ſcribes and phariſees, and that he ſpoke and acted, as a Prophet, with divine illumination and authority. The people in general were ſo well ſatisfied of his great character, that they could not help wondring, that their ſcribes and rulers, for whom they had a great reſpect, did not publicly acknowledge him to be the Meſſiah. *And many of the people believed on him, and ſaid: When the Chriſt cometh, will he do more miracles, than theſe which this man has done?* Again. *And many reſorted unto him, and ſaid: John did no miracle. But all things that John ſpake of this man were true. And many believed on him there.* John vii. 31. and ſee ch. ix. 20. 34. John x. 40. . 42.

Nevertheleſs among the chief rulers alſo many believed on him: but becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs him, leaſt they ſhould be put out of the ſynagogue. For they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God. But *Nicodemus*, a Phariſee, and a Ruler, and in the very early part of our Lord's miniſtrie, came to him of his own accord, and acknowledged him to be a *teacher come from God.* And it is very likely, that he went away fully convinced, that he was the Chriſt. And when the Jewiſh Council reproved their officers for not having apprehended Jeſus, and brought him before them, Nicodemus, *being one of them*, pleaded his cauſe, ſaying: *Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and knows what he doeth?* For which he was reviled, as very ignorant, and greatly miſtaken. However, he afterwards attended the burial of Jeſus, together with *Joſeph of Arimathea*, another *diſciple of Jeſus, but ſecretly, for fear of the Jews. He was a rich man, and an honourable Counſellor. Who* John xii. 42, 43. John iii. ch. vii. 45. . 51. John xix. 38. 42.

went

Matth. xxvi. xxvii. Mark xv. Lu. xviii. Mat. ix. Mark v. Luk. viii. John iv. Mat. viii. Luke vii.

went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and wrapt it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, hewen out of a rock.

Beside them, *Jairus*, ruler of a synagogue, and a *Nobleman* of Capernaum, were disciples of some distinction. And there may have been some others in like stations, who paid their respects to Jesus, though they are not named. The centurion at Capernaum had such faith in Jesus, as to believe him able to heal his sick servant at a distance, by speaking a word only. He was a Gentil, but he was in esteem with *the Elders of the Jews*, who lived in that city. And they also joyned with him in the request to Jesus to heal his sick servant, *saying, that he was worthy, for whom he should do this.* So that they also were persuaded in their minds, that Jesus had power to perform so great a miracle. Not now to take any notice of our Saviour's female disciples, though they also were, some of them, respectable for their outward condition, as well as for their eminent virtue.

Luke viii.

Out of the number of his disciples Jesus chose twelve, to be generally with him, and to be employed by him, whom he named *Apostles*. Who, notwithstanding some imperfections, and failings, owing to the prevailing prejudices of the Jewish people, all continued faithfull to him, excepting only Judas the traitor, a man of a worldly and covetous disposition. And though the miscarriage and losse of Judas could not but be a great grief and discouragement to them, the other eleven kept together, even after the death of their Lord.

When he was risen from the dead, he came again among them, and shewed himself to them. And though they were not to be persuaded without good proof, in the end they were all satisfied, that it was he.

Acts i.

Having in the space of forty days been often seen by them, and having frequently conversed with them, *speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God*, he was in their sight taken up into heaven.

Soon

Soon after which, when they were assembled together, to the number of *about one hundred and twenty*, another, named *Matthias*, was chosen in the room of Judas, to be a witness with the rest of the things concerning the Lord Jesus, and particularly his resurrection from the dead.

At the next following Pentecost the Holy Ghost in a remarkable manner came down upon the Apostles and their companie, agreeably the promise, which Jesus had made to them. And hence forward the Apostles, being fully qualified, preached to all men in the name of Christ, exhorting them to repentance, with the promise of the remission of sins, and everlasting salvation. *Acts ii.*

Such was the effect of St. Peter's first discourse at Jerusalem, after our Lord's ascension, that *there were added to them about three thousand souls.* And afterwards such accessions were made, that their number was *about five thousand.* *Acts ii. 41.* *Acts iv 4.*

But though many miracles were done by the hands of the Apostles, and the whole company of the believers behaved in a very becoming manner: insomuch that it is said, *they had favour with all the people*, and again, that *the whole multitude of them that believed, was of one heart, and of one soul: neither said any of them, that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common:* yet they met with many difficulties, and were ill-treated by the Jewish rulers. Peter and John were apprehended and brought before the Council, and examined, and were then commanded, *not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus:* And they were farther threatened, if they transgressed that order. But they, nevertheless, thinking themselves obliged to persist in their work, and *to obey God, rather than men*; in a short time afterwards, all the Apostles were taken up, and put *in the common prison*, and then brought before the Council. And having been *beaten*, and again *commanded, not to speak in the name of Jesus*, they were dismissed. Soon after this, *Stephen*, a man of great eminence, and usefulnesse, among the disciples, was stoned. And *James*, brother of John, one of the chief Apostles *Acts ii. 49. .. iv. 32.* *Acts iv.* *ch. v.* *ch. vi. vii.*

Acts xii. Apostles of Jesus, was beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, then King in the land of Judea. *And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also, and put him in prison, intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people.* But now Divine Providence interposed: *Peter* was miraculously delivered out of prison. And Herod died under tokens of divine displeasure. What is added is well worthie of observation. *But the word of God grew, and multiplied.*

And gradually the Apostles and their fellow-laborers, with divine approbation and encouragement, enlarged their views, and preached the Gospel to *Samaritans*, and then to *Gentils*. But wherever they went, they first addressed themselves to the Jewish inhabitants, and particularly, in their synagogues, which there were at that time in many cities of Greece, and elsewhere, and usually had some converts among them. The evidences of the Christian religion were fairly and openly proposed, and to many they appeared sufficient, and satisfactorie. The whole argument is briefly summed up in those words of St. Paul before the Governour Festus, and King Agrippa, and the rest of that great audience. *Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue to this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things, than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: That the Christ should be liable to sufferings, and that being the first who rose from the dead*, to dye no more, *he should shew light unto the People, and to the Gentils.* Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Thus, at Antioch in Pisidia, it is said of Paul and Barnabas, *they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day.* Where Paul made a long discourse. . . . *Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews, and religious*, or worshiping *proselytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God.* Afterwards, at Iconium, *they went both into the synagogue, and so spake, that a great multitude of the Jews, and also of the Greeks believed.* And in like manner at other places. And particularly, at Thessalonica. Acts xvii. 1. and at Beroea. ver. 10. At Athens,

Acts xiii. 14. ver. 43.

. . xiv. 1, 2.

ver.

ver. 17. At Corinth. xviii. 4. At Ephesus. xviii. 19. and 26. When Paul came to Rome, he was a prisoner. He therefore could not go to any Jewish synagogue. But being *suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him, he called the chief of the Jews together... And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging: to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law and the prophets, from morning to evening. And some believed, and some believed not.* *Acts xxviii. 16. . 24.*

As for the Jews at Jerusalem, we know from the historie of the Council held there in the year of Christ 50. about the terms, upon which the Gentils should be received, that the believers were then numerous there, and greatly concerned for the establishment and propagation of the gospel. And when St. Paul came thither again, at the Pentecost of the year 58. as we compute, the believers there were still steady and numerous. And St. *James*, the Apostle who presided there, and the Elders, reminded him, saying: *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe.* By which I suppose to be intended chiefly the church at Jerusalem: though some others may be included, who were come up thither upon occasion of the feast. And about four years after this, near the end of his imprisonment at Rome, or soon after it, Paul wrote his epistle to *the Hebrews*, or the believers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, not excluding such as lived elsewhere, to confirm and strengthen them, and fortify them against discouragements. *Acts xv.* *ch. xxi. 20.*

Indeed, it should be particularly observed by us, that there were societies of believers in other parts of Judea, beside Jerusalem. For in the account of things about the year of Christ 40. it is said: *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified: and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* And St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of his being *unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which are in Christ.* See likewise 1 Thess. ii. 14. *Acts ix. 31.* *Gal. i. 22.*

Nor were all these men of the lowest rank and condition. For in the general account of the early progresse of the gospel, we are told: *And the word of God encreased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly. And a great companie of the priests were obedient to the faith.* And we can reckon up some by name, who upon several accounts were men of eminence. *Nicolas*, a proselyte of Antioch, then residing at Jerusalem, who generously undertook a share in providing for the poor of the church: a man of substance, undoubtedly, and probably a man of good understanding, and great probity. *Barnabas*, a Levite: a native of Cyprus, where he had an estate in land, which he sold for the relief of those believers in Jesus, who were poor and indigent. *Paul*, a Pharisee, son of a Pharisee, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, educated in Jewish learning at Jerusalem, under *Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, and had in reputation among all the people*, and not unacquainted with Greek literature, and a person of uncommon acutenesse, who of a violent persecutor, became a sincere convert to the faith, and a zealous preacher of the gospel. In which service he labored as fervently, and as successfully, as any other of the Apostles: shewing therein great fidelity, and self-denial. Whose disinterestednesse had been so conspicuous, that he could openly appeal to the world, and say: *Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more.*

Acts vi. 7.

ch. iv. 36, 37.

ch. v. 34. and xxii. 3.

1 Cor. ix. 19.

The character of this person is so extraordinarie, that I must enlarge somewhat in his historie: notwithstanding the brevity, which I have prescribed to myself in this article. By the special choice and designation of Jesus Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, he was added to the other twelve Apostles, *that he might bear his name before the Gentils, and kings, and the children of Israel:* though it was foreseen, that he would *suffer many things* in that service. In the course of his ministrie he preached, and asserted the Christian doctrine to the Jewish people in general, and before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem. He pleaded also, and preached the doctrine of Christ before *Felix* and *Festus*, Roman Governours of Judea, and before King

Acts ix. 15, 16. and xxvi. 16. . . 20.

Acts xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi.

King *Agrippa*, and his sisters *Drusilla*, and *Bernice*, who were Jews by religion, and in the presence of many other personages of great distinction at Cesarea, the residence of the Roman Governour. He also pleaded *(a)* before the Emperour *Nero* himself at Rome: by whom was signed the order of his confinement in that city, which was a kind of free custodie. *Where he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence*, and with great successe, *no man forbidding him.* At the end of which period he was discharged, and set at liberty, by the same authority by which he had been confined. And then he went abroad again, preaching the gospel as he had done before, and visiting and confirming the Christian Churches in several places. Afterwards, as we have reason to believe, he came to *Rome* again. And there, in the year 64. or 65. in the persecution of the christians ordered by the same Emperour, he suffered martyrdom, being beheaded, as a Roman citizen: so bearing his final testimonie to the truth of that doctrine, which he had long preached with great zeal and diligence: I now proceed.

Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

The Chamberlain and Treasurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, a Jewish proselyte, *who had come up to Jerusalem to worship.* His high station, and the great trust reposed in him, are arguments of his ability and fidelity. His journey to Jerusalem indicates his zeal for the religion, which he had embraced. And his reading the Jewish sacred scriptures, as he was returning in his chariot, shews his studiousnesse to understand them. His discourse with Philip, a disciple of Jesus, who drew near to him, manifests inquisitivenesse, and opennesse to conviction, which are laudable dispositions. And his conversion to the faith of Jesus is therefore a testimonie to the truth of the Christian Religion, which cannot be slighted.

Acts viii. 36. 40.

(a) See the second vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 250. &c.

Acts xv. 22. xvi. 37. xviii. 2. xvi 2 Tim. i.

Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren at Jerusalem: and the later of them, as it seems, a Roman Citizen. *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, Jews of Pontus, persons of good understanding, and uncommon piety. *Timothie*, a young man of good understanding at Lystra, who from his childhood had been instructed in the scriptures of the Old Testament, being the son of a Jewesse. His mother *Eunice*, and his grandmother *Lois* also were believers. *John Mark*, an Evangelist, son of *Marie*, a woman of great zeal and courage in the profession of the Christian religion, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and nephew to Barnabas. *Luke*, another Evangelist, by some thought to be the same as *Lucius of Cyrene*. Acts xiii. 1. If so, he was a Jew by birth. If he was not that *Lucius*, yet very probably he was a Jewish proselyte, before he became a Christian. With that Lucius of Cyrene is mentioned, in the place just referred to, *Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch.* A *(b)* person, undoubtedly, of a liberal education.

Acts xii. 12. Col. iv. 10.

Acts xviii. 24. ch. xviii. 8. . . 17. 1 Cor. i. 1. and 24. Tit. iii. 13.

Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an *eloquent*, or learned *man*, and *mighty in the Scriptures*, of the old Testament. *Crispus*, and *Sosthenes*, rulers in the Jewish synagogue at Corinth: and *Zenas*, a Jewish Lawyer.

All these I have reckoned up briefly, and imperfectly, (*) among the

(b) Μαναήντε Ἡρώδε τȣ̃ τετράρχȣ σύντροφος. *Herodis Tetrarchae collactaneus.* Vulg. "At vocabulum συντρόφȣ latius patet, significatque *cum, qui a prima aetate cum altero educatus est. Grot. in loc.*

(*) I say *imperfectly.* For I have not rehearsed all the Jewish believers, who are expresly mentioned, and by name. I have omitted several: as *Jason*, who was so friendly to St. *Paul*, at *Thessalonica*, as related, Acts xvii. 5. . . 9. *Sopater* of *Berea*, Acts xx. 4. These two seem to be the same, who are mentioned again. Rom. xvi. 21. where they appear to have been the Apostle's *kinsmen.* And therefore must have been Jews. *Aristarchus* a *Thessalonian.* Acts xx. 4. who is mentioned again in the epistle to the Colossians. iv. 10. 11. writ during the Apostle's imprisonment at Rome, or near the end of it, in the year 62. Where St. Paul calls him *his fellow-prisoner.* And reckons him among those *of the circumcision, who had been his fellow-workers unto the*

the Jewiſh believers: deſignedly omitting converts from among the Gentils. All theſe Jews by their faith and profeſſion bore a teſtimonie to Jeſus, well deſerving our regard. For they muſt have acted under as great diſcouragements, as can be conceived. They underwent the keeneſt reproaches from the unbelieving Jews their neighbours: for receiving a perſon as the Meſſiah, who inſtead of working out a great deliverance for their nation, as was generally expected, and earneſtly deſired, had himſelf undergone an ignominious death. For my own part, I always think of theſe early Jewiſh believers with peculiar reſpect. I am not able to celebrate all the virtues of their willing and ſteady faith under the many difficulties which they met with. But I am perſuaded, that when the Lord Jeſus ſhall come again, he will beſtow marks of diſtinction upon thoſe who extricated themſelves out of the ſnares, in which their cloſe connexions with others had involved them. And as *they were not aſhamed of him, and his words, but confeſſed his name in the midſt of an adulterous and ſinful generation: he will not be aſhamed of them, but will confeſs them,* and own them for his, *when he ſhall come in the glorie of his Father, with the holy angels.* *Mark viii. 38. Mat. x. 32.*

For certain, I apprehend, that the faith of the Jewiſh believers is of greater importance, than the unbelief of other Jews in the time of Jeſus, and his Apoſtles.

II. What has been hitherto alleged, we know from the books of the New Teſtament. It will be worth while to attend alſo to the informations of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. *The ſame ſhewn from other ancient writers.*

There is good reaſon to believe, that no Chriſtians were involved in the miſeries of the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem. They are ſuppoſed to have left it, before the ſiege began. Some went to Pella, as mentioned

the kingdom of God. Mnaſon of Cyprus, an old diſciple. Acts xxi. 16. And there are divers others, who may be obſerved by attentive readers of the Acts, and St. Paul's Epiſtles.

tioned by Eusebius, *(c)* a city on the other side Jordan. Others might go elsewhere, into *(d)* Asia, or *(e)* other remote countreys, where they could get a settlement. St. *John*, *(f)* as I suppose, left Judea, and went to Ephesus in the year 66. or thereabout, a short time, before the war commenced. Some Jews of Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea, might go with him, or follow him afterwards. And under his direction and assistance, they might procure a comfortable settlement in some places not far from him.

After the war was over in Judea, it is supposed, that the believers, who had retired into the countrey beyond Jordan, returned to Jerusalem, and formed a church there.

James, the Lord's brother, who had presided in the church of Jerusalem, died, as we suppose, in the year of Christ 62. who was succeded by *Simeon*. In his ecclesiastical Historie *(g)* Eusebius placeth his election after the destruction of Jerusalem. But in his Chronicle *(h)* it is so expressed, as if it had been done immediatly after the death of James. That is no very material circumstance. Nor are we able to determine, which is right, for want of sufficient evidence. By Hegesippus he is *(i)* said to have been son of Cleophas, brother of Joseph: and therefore was our Lord's cousin-german. But Eusebius mentions that in a doubtfull manner. We should therefore, as I apprehend, be cautious of being too particular in our decisions about

(c) H. E. l. 3. cap. 5. p. 75. A. Vid. et Epiph. H. 29. vii. H. 30. n. ii.

(d) See the Supplement, Vol. i. p. 346. 347. Ch. ix. §. iii. and Vol. iii. Ch. xx. p. 311. 312.

(e) Credibile est, Judaeae Christianos, non tantum Pellae, ad ortum Jordanis, commoratos esse, sed et per vicinas, immo et remotiores Romani Imperii provincias, in quibus tutiores esse poterant, sparsos esse: &c. *Cleric. H. E. Ann. 71. num. i.*

(f) See the Supplement to the Credib. Vol. i. p. 346. . . 349.

(g) H. E. L. 3. cap. xi.

(h) Jacobus frater Domini, quem omnes Justum appellabant, a Judaeis lapidibus opprimitur: in cujus thronum Symeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur. *Chr. p. 161.*

(i) . . . Ανέψιον ὥς γε φασὶ γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος. Τὸν γὰρ ἓν Κλωπᾶν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ υπάρχειν Ηγησίππος ἱστορεῖ. *H. E. l. 3. c. xi. p. 87. Conf. l. 4. cap. 22. p. 142. C.*

about it. However, Eusebius *(k)* justly reckons him among the eye and ear-witnesses of the Lord. And according *(l)* to Hegesippus, whose Ecclesiastical Historie Eusebius had before him, he suffered martyrdom in Trajan's persecution. We therefore without hesitation place his death at the year of our Lord 107. where also it is placed by Eusebius in *(m)* his Chronicle. *Simeon* was then 120 years old. By order of Atticus, President of Syria, he was crucified. He must therefore have been born several years before our Lord. And supposing him chosen Bishop of Jerusalem in the year 62. he presided in that church more than 40 years.

He was succeded by *Justus*, a Jew. And, as Eusebius adds, "there *(n)* were then many believers of the circumcision." "The *(o)* times of the ensuing successions of Bishops at Jerusalem, Eusebius says, he could never learn. But it was said they had sat in the See for a short time only. This he had learned from ancient writers, that to the war in Adrian's time, (about the year 132.) there had been fifteen successions, who were all Hebrews by birth, and had held the genuine doctrine of Christ." Whose names are all put down by him. In this catalogue of fifteen Eusebius reckons *James* the first, *Simeon* the second: after which there follow thirteen more. Why their times were so short, we cannot say. There is no reason to think, that any of them were taken off by persecution. But possibly they were all in years, seniority being esteemed a ground of preference. After *(p)* their defeat by Adrian, the Jews were forbid to

(k) Λογισμῷ δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκόων ὅσοι ἄντες γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου. *L.* 3. *c.* 32. *p.* 104. *B.*

(l) *Apud Euseb. H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 32. *p.* 104. *C.*

(m) Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon filius Cleopae, qui in Jerosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur. Cui succedit Justus. Ignatius quoque Antiochenae ecclesiae episcopus Romam perductus bestiis traditur. *Chr. p.* 165.

(n) . . Τῆς ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρονον Ιοῦδᾶιός τις ὄνομα Ἰοῦστος, μυρίων ὅσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἐπ' αὐτὸς ὢν, διαδέχεται. *l.* 3. *c.* 35. *p.* 106.

(o) *L.* 4. *cap.* v.

(p) *Ib. l.* 4. *cap.* 6. *Vid. et Chron. p.* 167.

to come to Jerusalem. From that time the church there consisted of Gentils, whose first Bishop was named *Mark*.

That there were Jews who believed in Jesus, we are assured even by *Celsus*, the Epicurean, who wrote against the Christians about the midle of the second centurie. In divers parts of his work he personates a Jew. It is likely, that he had conversed with divers unbelievers of that nation. He consulted them, that they might assist him in his argument against the Christians, and likewise furnish him with scandal against them, if they could. "In (*q*) this manner, says Origen, this personated Jew addresseth those who had believed from among the Jews. What ailed you, fellow-citizens, that you forsook the law of your countrey, to follow him, whom we mentioned just now, by whom you have been miserably deceived, leaving us, and going over to another name, and another way of living?"

And Origen, in his books against Celsus, says, "that (*r*) the "Messiah had been foretold so long, and by so many, that the whole "nation of the Jews were in earnest expectation of his coming. But "since the birth of Jesus, they have been divided in their opinion. "For many of them have believed, that Jesus is the person, whom "the Prophets foretold. But others rejected him, despising him, be-"cause of the meanness of his outward character."

Irenaeus says, "there (*s*) were many of the circumcision, who believed in Jesus, who rose from the dead, hearkening to Moses and the Prophets, who before hand preached the coming of the Son of God."

Among

(*q*) *Contr. Cels. l.* 2. §. 1. *p.* 57. *Cons.* §. 3. *p.* 58. 59.

(*r*) . . "Ωσε τὸ Ιυδάιων ὅλον ἔθνος ἠρτημένον τῆς περὶ τȣ ἐλπιζομένȣ ἐπιδημήσειν προσδοκίας, εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλȣς ζήτησιν ἐληλυθέναι, τȣ Ιησȣ ἐπιδημήσαντος· καὶ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡμολογηκέναι χρηστόν, καὶ πεπιστευκέναι αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν προφητευόμενον· τȣς δὲ μὴ πιστεύοντας, κ. λ. *Contr. Cels. l.* 3. *n.* 28. *p.* 127.

(*s*) —— etiam ipsum Dominum, qui resurrexit a mortuis, in quem et credunt multi, qui sunt ex circumcisione, qui et Moysem et Prophetas audiunt praedicantes adventum Filii Dei. *Iren. l.* 4. *cap. ii.* §. 4.

Among these Jewish believers there were different sentiments. Origen says, "there (*t*) were two sorts of Ebionites: some, "who believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, as we do. Some, "who supposed Jesus to be born, as other men are." Origen speaks of both sorts of these men, as fond of the Jewish observances. Afterwards, (*u*) in the same book against Celsus, he says, that both sorts of the Ebionites, like the Encratites, rejected St. Paul's Epistles. Nor did they consider him, as a wise, or good man.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, in a chapter, entitled *Of the Heresie of the Ebionites*, speaks to the like purpose. "Some, (*x*) "says he, who are not to be moved by any means from their respect "for the Christ of God, are in some respects very infirm. They "are called by the ancients Ebionites, because they have but a low "opinion of Christ, thinking him to be a mere man, born of Joseph "and Marie, honoured for his advancement in virtue: and esteem-"ing the ritual ordinances of the law necessarie to be observed by them, "as if they could not be justified by faith in Christ only. Others "of them do not deny, that Jesus was born of a virgin by the Holy "Ghost. Nevertheless they do not acknowledge his pre-existence "as God the Word. And like the others, they are fond of the "external observances of the law of Moses. They also reject Paul's "epistles, and call him an apostate from the law."

(*t*) ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πλήθη βιῶν ἐθέλοντες. Οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ δίττοι Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἤτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγεννῆσθαι ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς λοιπούς, ἀνθρώπους. *Contr. Cels. l.* 5. §. 61. *p.* 272.

(*u*) Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αἱρέσεις, τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἀποστόλου μὴ προσιέμεναι, ὥσπερ Ἐβιωναῖοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ἐγκρατηταί. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν οἱ μὴ χρώμενοι τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὡς μακαρίῳ τινὶ καὶ σοφῷ. *Ib. n.* 65. *p.* 274.

(*x*) Ἀλλὰς δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, θατεραλήπτους εὑρὼν, ἐσφετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναῖοι τούτους οἰκείως ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχοὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας· λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἤθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον ... Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτοις τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνέμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν κύριον, ὁ μὴν ἐθ' ὁμοίως καὶ ἔτοι προϋπάρχειν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογοῦντες, κ. λ. *L.* 3. *cap.* 27. *p.* 99.

Thefe two learned ancient authors fpeak of two forts of *Ebionites*, therein, as (*y*) may be fuppofed, including thofe who are fometimes called *Nazareans*, and were the defcendents of the Jewifh believers at Jerufalem.

It may be alfo here obferved by us, that many learned men are now of opinion, that there never was any man named *Ebion*, the leader of a fect: but that the Ebionites were fo called from their low opinion concerning the perfon of Chrift, and their attachment to the external rites of the law of Mofes. And that opinion, as I apprehend, is much countenanced by the paffages, which have been juft quoted.

We cannot deny, that there were fome believers, who fuppofed Jefus to have been born, as other men. But I apprehend, that the number of thefe was very fmall. Nor do I recollect any Chriftian writing now exftant, where that opinion is maintained.

We muft alfo allow, that there were fome, who (*z*) rejected the Apoftle Paul, whilft they received the other Apoftles. Thefe likewife I fuppofe to have been few in number. I know no work of any ancient author now remaining, who fpeaks difrefpectfully of him, excepting only (*a*) *the Recognitions*, or *Clementin Homilies*, of which we formerly took particular notice.

As for the other *Ebionites*, called alfo *Nazareans*, it is allowed, as we have juft feen, that they believed Jefus to be born of a Virgin, by an efpecial Interpofition of the power of God, or by the Holy Ghoft. Thefe alfo received the Apoftle Paul. The Teftaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were writ by a Jewifh believer of this character

(*y*) Et Origines, cum duplices facit Ebionaeos in difputatione contra Celfum, Ebionaeorum nomine abutens, fub priore illa nota Nazaraeos, ut credibile eft, defcribat. *Grot. Prol. in Matt. p.* 5.

(*z*) Nota, quod primi Apoftoli Salvatoris literam Sabbathi deftruunt adverfus Ebionitas, qui quum ceteros recipiant Apoftolos, Paulum quafi tranfgreffor em legis repudiant. *Hieron. in Matt. xii.* 2. *T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 46.

(*a*) *See the Credib. P. ii. Vol. ii. p.* 787. 788. *and p.* 794. . . 796.

character in the second centurie. He plainly received Paul, and his Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, as was shewn (*b*) formerly. It is a very curious work. When it came in my way, I enlarged in my extracts of it. Nor do I now repent of that labour.

That the *Nazareans*, called also believers from among the Hebrews, received Paul, is apparent from Jerome's commentarie upon Is. ix. 1. . . 3. quoted Matt. iv. 15, 16. "The (*c*) Nazareans, says "he, whom I before mentioned, endeavor to explain this text after "this manner. When Christ came, and began to enlighten the "world with his doctrine, the land of Zabulon and Naphtali was "first delivered from the errours of the Scribes and Pharisees, and "shook off from their necks the heavie yoke of Jewish traditions. "Afterwards by the preaching of the Apostle Paul, who was the "last of all the Apostles, the preaching was encreased, and even "multiplied: and the gospel of Christ shone out among the Gen-"tils, and by *the way of the sea.* At length the whole world, that "had walked, or *sat in darknesse*, and had been held in the chains "of idolatrie and death, saw the clear light of the gospel." So, he says, that text was explained by the *Nazareans*, whom just before he called *the Hebrews that believed in Christ.*

That the Nazareans received all Christ's Apostles, is evident from the passage just transcribed. It is also manifest from Jerome's commentarie upon Is. xxxi. 6. . . 9. "The (*d*) Nazareans, says he, un-

derstand

(*b*) *See the Credib. P.* 2. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 760. . . . 764.

(*c*) Hebraei credentes in Christum hunc locum ita edisserunt. . . Nazaraei, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explicare conantur. Adveniente Christo, ac praedicatione illius coruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephtali Scribarum et Pharisaeorum est erroribus liberata, et gravissimam traditionum Judaicarum jugum excussit de cervicibus suis. Postea autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus omnium apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est, multiplicata praedicatio: et in terminos gentium, et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat, vel sedebat in tenebris, et idolatriae ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, claram evangelii lucem aspexit. *In Is. cap. ix. T.* 3. *p.* 83.

(*d*) Nazaraei locum istum sic intelligunt.

" derſtand this place after this manner. O ye children of Iſrael, " who under the worſt direction denied the Son of God, return to " him, and to his Apoſtles. For, if you do that, you will then " caſt away your idols, which have been a ſin to you: and the de- " vil ſhall fall before you, not by your own power, but by the mer- " cy of God: and his young men, who before fought for him, " ſhall be tributary to the church, and all his ſtrength and power " ſhall be ſubdued."

The Ebionites (*e*) are ſaid to have adhered to the injunctions of the law of Moſes, after they had received the goſpel of Chriſt. " Some of them, as (*f*) Jerome intimates, were for impoſing the " legal obſervances upon all men, as neceſſarie to ſalvation. But the " other Ebionites, (or *Nazareans*) as the ſame ancient and learned " writer owns, obſerved thoſe appointments themſelves, as being of " the ſeed of Iſrael, without impoſing them upon others." Theſe were evidently of the ſame opinion with the believers in the church of Jeruſalem. See the Acts of the Apoſtles, ch. xxi. And divers learned moderns (*g*) are now convinced of this, and readily allow, that the Jewiſh believers, who were called *Nazareans*, did not impoſe

gunt. O filii Iſrael, qui conſilio peſſimo Dei Filium denegaſtis, revertimini ad eum, et ad Apoſtolos ejus. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abjicietis idola, quae vobis prius fuerant in peccatum: et cadet vobis diabolus, non veſtris viribus, ſed miſericordia Dei, et juvenes ejus, qui quondam pro illo pugnaverant, erunt Eccleſiae vectigales, omniſque fortitudo et petra illius pertranſibit. *In Iſ. cap. xxxi. T.* 3. *p.* 267.

(*e*) Simul arat in bove et aſino Ebion, dignus pro humilitate ſenſus paupertate nominis ſui, qui ſic recipit evangelium, ut Judaicarum ſuperſtitionum, quae in umbra et imagine praeceſſerunt, caeremonias non relinquat. *Hieron. in Iſ. cap. i. T.* 3. *p.* 9.

(*f*) Audiant Ebionaei, qui poſt paſſionem abolitam legem putant eſſe ſervandam. Audiant Ebionitarum ſocii, qui Judaeis tantum, et de ſtirpe Iſraelitici generis haec cuſtodienda decernunt. *Id. in Iſ. cap. i. T.* 3. *p.* 15.

(*g*) Ego ad eos accedere non vereor, qui ſtatuunt, Nazaraeos, nullos Chriſtianorum, niſi Judaeos, et Abrahae poſteros, legi Moſaicae allegare voluiſſe, &c. *Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſt. ante C. M. p.* 330.

poſe the ordinances of the law upon others, though they obſerved them, as deſcendents of Iſrael, and Abraham.

The Ebionites, or ſome, who went under that denomination, muſt have received the Acts of the Apoſtles. " For, as (*b*) we learn " from Epiphanius, they ſaid, they were called Ebionites, or poor, " becauſe in the times of the Apoſtles they *ſold their goods, and laid* " *them at the Apoſtles feet:* and by that means they had voluntarily " reduced themſelves to poverty. For that reaſon men called them " poor, but they gloried in the name." Manifeſtly referring to the hiſtorie in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts. They who received that book, muſt have received Paul, and all the Apoſtles of Jeſus, and, very probably, all their writings, which were received by other chriſtians.

I ſuppoſe likewiſe, that all the Jewiſh believers in general received the goſpel of St. Matthew entire, with the genealogie, at the begining. The teſtimonie of Irenaeus, as ſeems to me, without ſearching for any other authority, is ſufficient to put it out of queſtion. " The (*i*) goſpel according to Matthew, he ſays, was writ to the " Jews. For they earneſtly deſired a Meſſiah of the ſeed of David. " And Matthew having the ſame deſire to a yet greater degree, " ſtrove by all means to give them full ſatisfaction, that Chriſt was " of the ſeed of David. Wherefore he began with his genealo- " gie." (A)

Euſebius,

(*b*) Αυτοὶ δὲ δῆθεν σεμνύνονται, ἑαυτοὺς φάσκοντες πτωχὸς διὰ τὸ φασιν ἐν χρόνοις τῶν ἀποσόλων πωλεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ τιθέναι παρὰ τὰς πόδας τῶν ἀποσόλων, καὶ εἰς πτωχείαν καὶ ἀποταξίαν μεταληλυθέναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων, φασὶ, πτωχοί. *H.* 30. *n. xiii. p.* 141. *A.*

(*i*) *Iren. p.* 347. *Maſſ. and ſee the Credib. P.* 2. *Vol. i. p.* 356.

(A) As many miſtakes have been entertained about *the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, it may not be unſeaſonable to obſerve here, that probably it was an Hebrew tranſlation of St. Matthew's original Greek Goſpel, with additions from the other Goſpels. To which, poſſibly, might be added, ſome few particulars received by tradition from the early Jewiſh Believers. *See Credibility. P.* 2. *ch. v. Vol. i. p.* 185. *and Vol.* 2. *ch. xxix. p.* 804. 805.

Eusebius, in a place above cited, says, *that even those Ebionites*, (or Nazareans,) *who believed Jesus to be born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, did not acknowledge his pre-existence, as God the Word.* Nevertheless, I presume, they did believe Jesus Christ to be *the Word, and Wisdom, and Power of God.* But they did not believe the pre-existence of the Word, as a distinct person, and separate from God the Father: as Eusebius, and some Arianizing Christians of his time did. That I take to be the truth, and the ground and reason, why Eusebius expresseth himself, as he does. And it might be easily shewn, that *(k)* the Nazarean Christians did not reject St. John's Gospel, nor held any principles, that obliged them to reject or dislike it.

Finally, we are assured by St. Jerome, "that *(l)* in his time, there "were many all over the East, called *Nazareans*, upon whom the "Jews pronounced their curses, as heretics. They profess, says Je-"rome, that they believe in Christ, the Son of God, born of the vir-"gin Marie, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again from "the dead, the same, in whom we also believe."

I shall proceed no farther, in this argument, nor go any lower. There were, for the first four centuries, many Jews, who professed faith in Jesus as the Christ, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements, to which they were exposed. For they were in an

805. Epiphanius therefore says, *that the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, used by the Nazareans, was a full Gospel.* Ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον ἑβραϊστί. *H.* 29. *num. ix. p.* 124. The Nazareans therefore did not reject the authority of the other Evangelists, but owned, and acknowledged it. That St. Matthew wrote in Greek, see the *Supplement, Vol. i. p.* 118. 119. 120. Says Lampe. *Synops. H. E. p.* 73. Graeca vero lingua omnes, ne Matthaeo quidem excepto, usi sunt, ut a Judaeis et Gentibus uterentur.

(k) Vid. Lampe Prolegom. in Joh. Evang. l. 2. *cap. i.* §. 1. 2. 3. *et cap. iii. num.* 38. . . . 43.

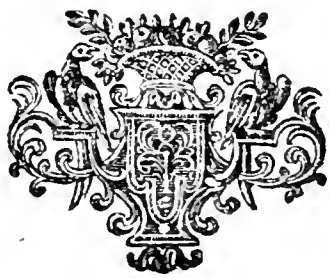
(l) Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas, inter Judaeos haeresis est, quae dicitur minaeonem, et a Pharisaeis nunc usque damnatur: quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum Filium Dei, natum ex virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus. &c. *Hieron. ad August. ep.* 74. *al.* 89. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 623.

an eſpecial manner the object of the ſpight and enmity of the unbelieving part of their nation: and beſides, they *(m)* were too much ſlighted and diſregarded by the Gentil Chriſtians.

III. I now leave it to my readers to judge, whether the faith of ſo many Jewiſh believers, in the early days of the goſpel, be not a valuable teſtimonie to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. *Their Faith a valuable Teſtimonie.*

Some Jews have all along, in every age ſince, embraced the Chriſtian Religion, who have joyned themſelves to the Gentil believers, and have been incorporated with them. Theſe are not now the ſubjects of my hiſtorie.

(m) *See W. Wall in the Preface to his Notes upon the O. T. p. xi. xii.*



CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Treatment given to the primitive Christians by the unbelieving Jews.

JUSTIN, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, *(a)* speaks to this purpose. "For ye have killed the Just, and his Prophets before "Him. And now you despise, and as much as in you lyes, disparage "them who hope in Him, and in God Almighty, Lord of the "whole world, who sent Him, cursing in your synagogues those who "believe in Christ. For it is not now in your power to lay hands "upon us, being hindred by them, who have the chief government "of things. But whenever you have had it in your power, you "have done that also. . . . For no other people are so averse to us, and "Christ, as you: who are the authors of all the prejudices, which "others have against Him, and us. For after that you had crucified
1 Pet ii. 24. "Him, that one unblamable and righteous man, *by whose stripes they* "*are healed*, who come to the Father through Him: and, when "ye knew, that he was risen from the dead, and was ascended into "heaven, as the Prophets had foretold, you not only did not repent "of the evil that you had done, but you sent out chosen men from "Jerusalem into all the earth, saying, that an atheistical sect, called "Christians, had arisen among you: thus spreading abroad all those "evil reports concerning us, which all who are ignorant of us, now "believe. So that you have been the causes not only of your own "wickedness, but likewise of the wickedness of others."

Eusebius *(b)* rehearsing the works of Justin, has transcribed this passage from his Dialogue with Trypho.

And

(*a*) *Justin. M. Dialog. p.* 234. 235. *Paris.* §. 16. *et* 17. *p.* 117. *Bened.*
(*b*) *H. E. l.* 4. *cap.* 18.

And afterwards, in the ſame Dialogue, or the ſecond part of it: "Notwithſtanding *(c)* all that Chriſt ſaid to you, you did not repent. "So far from it, that after he was riſen from the dead, you ſent forth "choſen men into all the world, giving out, that a wicked and athe-"iſtical ſect was ariſen, the author of which was one Jeſus of Gali-"lee, an impoſtor: whom, when you had crucified, his diſciples "ſtole out of the ſepulchre by night, where he had been laid after "his crucifixion: and that they deceived men, ſaying, that he was "riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven. Moreover you "gave out, that he taught thoſe wicked and impure and abominable "things, which you every where charge upon all thoſe who confeſs "Him to be the Chriſt, and their maſter, and the Son of God. And "though your city has been taken, and your countrey laid waſte, you "do not repent: but ſtill pronounce curſes upon Him, and upon all "who believe in Him."

He has ſomewhat to the like purpoſe, once more afterwards, in the ſame *(d)* Dialogue: where he chargeth them with hating all who believed in God through Chriſt, and killing them, when they had power, and ſtill continually devoting Him and them to deſtruction.

Tertullian does not expreſsly ſay all this. But *(e)* he often intimates,

(c) Dial. p. 335. *Par.* §. 108. *p.* 202. *Bened.*

(d) Dial. p. 363. *Pariſ.* §. 133. *p.* 225. *Bened*

(e) Novo jam de Deo noſtro fama ſuggiſſit. Adeo nuper quidam perditiſſimus in iſta civitate, etiam ſuae religionis deſertor, ſolo detrimento cutis, Judaeus . . . picturam in nos propoſuit ſub iſta proſcriptione, Onochoëtes. Is erat auribus canteriorum, et in togâ, cum libro, altero pede ungulato. Et credidit vulgus Judaeo. Quod enim aliud genus ſeminarium eſt infamiae noſtrae? Itaque in tota civitate Onochoëtes praedicatur. *Adv. Nat. l. i. cap.* 14. *p.* 59. *Vid. et Ap. cap.* 16. *p.* 17. *D. et conf. Minuc. Fel. cap. ix. et xxviii.*

Dehinc, cum ex perſeverantiâ furoris, et nomen Domini per ipſos blaſphemaretur, ſicut ſcriptum eſt: *Propter vos blaſphematur nomen meum in nationibus:* (ab illis enim coepit infamia:) et tempus medium a Tiberio uſque ad Veſpaſianum, non poenitentiam intellexiſſent, facta eſt terra eorum deſerta, civitates eorum exuſtae

mates, that the Jews were the principal authors of the reproaches cast upon the Christians. And he speaks of one calumnie in particular, which had been then lately forged by them, in his own time.

Origen says much the same that Justin does. Having taken notice of some things in Celsus, he says, "that *(e)* therein he acted much "like the Jews of old, who at the rise of the Christian religion, "spread abroad calumnies against it: as if the Christians killed a "child, and ate it, and putting out the lights practised promiscuous "lewdnesse. Which calumnies, though very absurd, were in for-"mer times believed by many."

And Eusebius, in his commentarie upon Is. xviii. 1. 2. "We *(f)* "find in the writings of the ancients, says he, that the Priests and "Elders of the Jewish nation, who dwelt at Jerusalem, wrote let-"ters which they sent to the Jews abroad in all countreys, tradu-"cing the doctrine of Christ, as a new and strange heresie, and ex-"horting them not to embrace it."

Whether the Jews did send out men in this manner, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to asperse the followers of Jesus, is not quite certain. The question is particularly considered by the Benedictins *(g)* in their Preface to Justin Martyr. The origin of the early calumnies upon the Christians is somewhat doubtfull. Some have supposed them to have been occasioned by the absurd doctrines, and vicious lives of those called heretics. However, I formerly

ustae igni, regionem eorum sub eorum conspectu extranei devorant. *Adv. Marcion. l. iii. cap.* 23. *p.* 498. *B.*

(e) Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι παραπλήσιον Ιουδαίοις πεποιηκέναι, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ διδασκαλίας κατασκευάσασι δυσφημίαν τοῦ λόγου· ὡς ἄρα καταθύσαντες παιδίον, μεταλαμβάνουσι αὐτοῦ τῶν σαρκῶν· καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὰ τοῦ σκότους πράττειν βουλόμενοι, σβεννύουσι μὲν τὸ φῶς, ἕκαστος δὲ τῇ παρατυχούσῃ μίγνυται. *Contr. Cels. l.* 6. *num.* 27. *p.* 293.

(f) Εὕρομεν ἐν τοῖς παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν, ὡς οἱ τὴν Ιερουσαλὴμ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τῶν Ιουδαίων ἔθνους ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γράμματα διαχαράξαντες εἰς πάντα διεπέμψαντο τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὁπανταχοῦ Ιουδαίοις διαβάλλοντες τὴν χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν, ὡς αἵρεσιν καινὴν καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, παραγγέλλοντες δὶ ἐπιστολῶν μὴ παραδέξασθαι αὐτήν. *Euseb. in Es. cap. xviii. p.* 424.

(g) Pr. Part 3. *cap. iv. p.* 76. *&c.*

merly (*h*) propoſed ſome obſervations, tending to ſhew, that they are not to be accounted for in that way.

It is certain, that the Chriſtians were very early aſperſed with crimes, of which they were not guilty. When St. Paul was come a priſoner to Rome, he ſent for the chief of the Jews of that city to come to him, who ſay to him: *As for this ſect, we know, that every where it is ſpoken againſt.* Acts xxviii. 22. Thoſe words might be ſpoken in the year of Chriſt 61. and not far from the begining of it. And Tacitus giving an account of Nero's perſecution of the Chriſtians, which ſeems to have begun in the year 64. intimates, "that (*i*) the Chriſtians were generally hated for the crimes imputed to them."

Whether the Jewiſh Rulers did before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem ſend abroad meſſengers and letters on purpoſe to deſame the doctrine of Chriſt and his followers, or not: it muſt be allowed to be true, which Juſtin ſays, *that no other people were ſo averſe to Chriſt and his followers, as the Jews.* It muſt alſo be allowed to be very true, which he likewiſe ſays of them, that *they continued to anathematize Jeſus Chriſt, and his followers.*

In the authentic account of the martyrdom of *Polycarp* at Smyrna, when he was condemned to be burnt, it is ſaid, "that (*k*) pre-"ſently the people brought together dried wood, and branches of "trees from their ſhops, and from the baths: in which the Jews "eſpecially, as is uſual with them, readily aſſiſted."

We are aſſured by Jerome that the Jews anathematized the Chriſtians under the name of Nazareans in their ſynagogues, thrice every day. So he writes in (*l*) his commentarie upon *Iſ.* v. 18. 19.

 And

(*h*) *Credib. P.* 2. *ch. xxix. p.* 712. 713.

(*i*) Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et quaeſitiſſimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. *Tac. Ann. l.* 15. *cap.* 44.

(*k*) . . . μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς τοῦτο ὑπεργόντων. *Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 4. *cap.* 15. *p.* 133. *A.*

(*l*) Dicuntur autem haec ad principes Ju-

And again *(m)* in like manner upon Is. xlix. 7. and *(n)* upon the first chapter of the prophecie of Amos.

Epiphanius says, "that *(o)* the Jews three times every day anathematized the Nazareans in their synagogues. For they were "more especially displeased with them, because though they were "Jews, they believed in Jesus as the Christ."

All which may be very true. The Jews, as Jerome says, anathematized in their synagogues all Christians under the denomination of Nazareans: and yet, as Epiphanius says, they were more especially displeased with those believers, who were of the seed of Israel.

These passages of ancient Christian writers do sufficiently attest the early, and continued enmity of the unbelieving Jews, to all Christians of every denomination.

There are still some other things to be here taken notice of. For some time after our Saviour's ascension, they aspersed the character of Marie, our Lord's mother, and reproached Him with a spurious nativity. When these aspersions were first given out, we cannot say exactly. But they are in *(p)* Celsus, who wrote against the Christians about the midle of the second centurie. And doubtless he had them

Judaeorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritia et luxuria: quod provocati a Domino ad poenitentiam, et postea ab Apostolis ejus usque hodie perseverant in blasphemiis: et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. *In Is. cap. v. T. 3. p. 53.*

(*m*) Ipse enim bonus pastor posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis, et contemsit eam: qui abominationi est genti Judaeorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. *Id. in Is. cap. xlix. T. 3. p. 353.*

(*n*) ——— antiquumque furorem et iracundiam tenentes, usque hodie in synagogis suis sub nomine Nazarenorum blasphemant populum Christianum, et dummodo nos interficiant, volunt igne comburi. *In Amos. cap. i. p. 1378. fin.*

(*o*) Ὀυ μόνον γὰρ ὅι τῶν Ιυδάιων παῖδες πρὸς τέτυς κέκτηνται μῖσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνιτάμενοι ἕωθεν, καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν, τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε ἐυχὰς ἐπιτελῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀυτῶν συναγωγαῖς, ἐπαρῶνται ἀυτοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματίζυσι, φάσκοντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὸς Ναζωραίυς. Καὶ γὰρ τέτοις περισσότερον ἐνέχυσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ιυδάιων ἀυτὸς ὀντας, Ιησῦν κηρύσσειν ἶναι χρισόν. κ. λ. *Epiph. H. 29. §. ix. p. 124.*

(*p*) *Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. num. 28. et 32. p. 22. et 26.*

them from the Jews. They are alſo in the Talmudical writings, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

In order to diſparage our Lord's miracles, they gave out, that they were performed by magical arts, ſuch as he had learned in Egypt. This Calumnie alſo is in *(q)* Celſus. And doubtleſs he had it from the Jews. It is alſo in the Talmudical writers, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

In the time of the Emperour Adrian, about the year of Chriſt 132. the Jews rebelled under the conduct of the impoſtor *Barchochebas*, who ſet up himſelf for the Meſſiah, "who *(r)* inflicted heavie penalties upon the Chriſtians, to induce them to deny and blaſpheme Jeſus Chriſt. And if they did not, he ordered them to be put to death." So writes Juſtin Martyr, who lived at that time. Some have cenſured Juſtin for ſaying that Barchochebas tortured Chriſtians only. But without reaſon, as ſeems to me. For certain, the Chriſtians were above all men objects of his, and his followers enmity. Nor could any be called upon to deny Jeſus Chriſt, but ſuch as had received him for the Meſſiah. Of the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at that time Euſebius ſpeaks in *(s)* his Chronicle, and in *(t)* his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie: not now to refer to any *(u)* others.

(*q*) *Vid. Orig. Contr. Celſ. l. i.* §. 28. *p.* 22.

(*r*) Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολεμῷ, βαρχοχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδάων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, χριστιανὸς μόνους ἐς τιμωρίας δεινὰς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστὸν, καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκελεύσατο ἀπάγεσθαι. *Ap. i. p.* 72. *E. Par. p.* 62. *Bened.*

(*s*) Cochebas dux Judaicae factionis nolentes Chriſtianos adverſum Romanum militem ferre ſubſidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat. *Chron. p.* 167.

(*t*) *H. E. l.* 4. *cap.* 6.

(*u*) *Vid. Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtianor. ante Conſt. p.* 238. 239.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

JOSEPHUS, with his Testimonie at large to the Fulfilment of our Saviour's Predictions concerning the Destruction of the Temple, and the City of Jerusalem, and the Miseries coming upon the Jewish People.

I. *His Time, Works, and Character.* II. *The State of Things in Judea, in the Time of our Saviour, and some while before.* III. *Our Lord's Predictions concerning the Destruction of the Temple, and the City of Jerusalem, and the Miseries to be endured by the Jewish People: with the several Signs, preceding those Calamities, as recorded in the Gospels.* IV. *The Dates of several Events:* vid. *the Commencement, and the Duration of the War, and the Siege of Jerusalem: when the Temple was burnt, and the City taken.* V. *Of the Abomination of Desolation standing in the holy Place.* VI. *The actual Accomplishment of our Saviour's Predictions concerning divers Events, that should precede the great Calamities coming upon the Jewish People: the Gospel preached all over the World: the Disciples of Christ persecuted in many places: Declensions among his Followers: Famines, Pestilences, and Earthquakes, in divers Places: Wars and Commotions.* VII.

VII. *The Occasion of the Jewish War with the Romans, as represented by Josephus.* VIII. *The Historie of the Jewish War from Josephus, with his Account of the Siege of Jerusalem, and the Miseries endured therein, and the Demolition of the Temple, and City of Jerusalem, and the Desolation of the Land of Judea, being his Testimonie to the Fulfilment of our Lord's Predictions of those Events.* IX. *Reflexions upon the preceding Historie, and the Value of the Testimonie of Josephus.* X. *Other ancient Writers, who have born Witnesse to the Accomplishment of our Lord's Predictions in the Conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus: Justus of Tiberias: Pausanias: Antonius Julianus: Suetonius: Tacitus: Dion Cassius: Philostratus: The Arch of Titus.*

His Time, Works, and Character.

I. *JOSEPHUS*, son of *Matthias*, of the race of the Jewish Priests, and of the first course of the four and twenty, by his mother descended from the Asmonean familie, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born in the first year of the reign of *Caligula*, of our Lord *(a)* 37.

He was educated together *(b)* with *Matthias*, who was his own brother by father and mother, and made such proficience in knowledge, that when *(c)* he was about fourteen years of age, the High-Priests, and some of the principal men of the city came frequently to him to consult him about the right interpretation of things in the law. In the sixteenth year of his age, he retired into the wildernesse,

(a) *Joseph. in Vita sua. cap. i.*
(b) *Cap.* 2.
(c) Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὢν, περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος... συνιόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γνῶναι. *Cap.* 2.

neſſe, where he lived three years an abſtemious courſe of life in the companie of *Banus*. Having fully acquainted himſelf with the principles of the three ſects, the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſens, he determined to follow the rule of the Phariſees. And being now nineteen years of age, he began to act in public life.

Felix, when Procurator of Judea, ſent ſome Prieſts of his acquaintance for a trifling offenſe to Rome, to be tried before Ceſar. Joſephus, hearing that they behaved well, reſolved to go to Rome, to plead their cauſe. But he had a bad voyage. The ſhip was wrecked. And out of 600 perſons, not more than eighty were ſaved. Soon after his arrival at Rome, he became acquainted with Aliturius, a Jew by birth, but a ſtage-player, in favour with Nero. By him he was introduced to Poppéa, the Emperour's wife: by whoſe intereſt he procured, that the prieſts ſhould be ſet at liberty. Joſephus, who never omits what may be to his own honour, adds, that (*d*) beſide that favour, he alſo received from Poppéa many valuable preſents. And then he returned home. This voyage was made, as (*e*) he ſays, in the 26. year of his age, which muſt have been in the 62. or 63. year of (*f*) Chriſt.

Upon his return to Judea he found things in great confuſion, many (*g*) being elevated with hopes of advantage by a revolt from the Romans. He ſays, he did what lay in his power to prevent it, though in vain.

Soon after the begining of the war, in the year of Chriſt 66. (when he muſt have been himſelf about thirty years of age,) he was ſent

(*d*) . . . μεγάλων δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῇ ἐυεργεσίᾳ τέυτῃ τυχὼν παρὰ Ποππαίας. *Cap.* 3.

(*e*) Μετ' εἴκοσὶν καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ρώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι. *Ib.*

(*f*) Felix muſt have been removed from his government ſome while before that. Which may be thought to create a difficulty in this account. But it may be obſerved, that Joſephus had heard of the good behaviour of thoſe Prieſts at Rome, before he left Judea. Conſequently, they had been ſome while at Rome, before he ſet out on his journey.

(*g*) . . καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Ρωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονοῦντας. *Vit.* c. 4.

ſent from Jeruſalem, to command in *(h)* Galilee. Where, having ordered matters as well as he could, and made the beſt preparations for war by fortifying the cities, in caſe of an attack from the Romans, he was at length ſhut up in the city of *Jotapata:* which, after a vigorous defenſe, and a ſiege of ſeven and forty days, was taken by Veſpaſian, *(i)* on the firſt day of July, in the 13. year of Nero, and the 67. of our Lord.

When that city was taken, by Veſpaſian's order, ſtrict ſearch was made for *Joſephus.* For, if *(k)* that General was once taken, he reckoned, that the greateſt part of the war would be over. However, he had hid himſelf in a deep cavern, the opening of which was not eaſily diſcerned above ground. Here he met with forty perſons of eminence, who had concealed themſelves, and had with them proviſions enough for ſeveral days. On the third day the Roman ſoldiers ſeiſed a woman, that had been with them. She made a diſcoverie of the place, where they were. Whereupon Veſpaſian ſent two tribunes, inviting him to come up, with aſſurances, that his life ſhould be preſerved. Joſephus however refuſed. Veſpaſian therefore ſent a third tribune, named Nicanor, well known to Joſephus, with the like aſſurances. Joſephus, after ſome heſitation, was then willing to ſurrender himſelf. But the men, who were with him, exclaimed againſt it, and were for killing him and themſelves, rather than come alive into the hands of the Romans. Hereupon he made a long ſpeech to them, ſhewing, that it was not lawful for men to kill themſelves, and that it was rather a proof of puſillanimity, than courage. But all without effect. He then propoſed an expedient, which was, that they ſhould caſt lots, two by two, who ſhould die firſt. He who had the ſecond lot, ſhould kill the firſt, and the next him, and ſo on, and the laſt ſhould kill himſelf. It happened, that Joſephus and another were preſerved to the laſt lot.

(h) Vit. cap. 7. 8. *De B. J. l.* 2. *c.* 20.
(i) De B. J. l. 3. *cap.* 7. *Conf. cap.* 8. §. 9.
(k) μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τοῦ πολέμου ληφθείς. *De B. J. l.* 3. *c.* 8. *in.*

When all the reſt were killed, he without much difficulty perſuaded that other perſon to yield up himſelf to the Romans. So they they two eſcaped with their *(l)* lives.

This *(m)* has been judged to be a remarkable providence, by which Joſephus was preſerved to write the hiſtorie, of which we are now able to make ſo good uſe.

When *(n)* Joſephus had ſurrendered, Veſpaſian gave ſtrict orders, that he ſhould be kept carefully, as if he had intended to ſend him to Nero. Joſephus then preſented a requeſt, that he might ſpeak to Veſpaſian in private. Which was granted. When all were diſmiſſed, except Titus, and two friends; he ſpoke to Veſpaſian after this manner. " You *(o)* think, Veſpaſian, that you have in Jo-
" ſephus a mere priſoner. But I am come to you as a meſſenger of
" great tidings. Had I not been ſent to you by God, I *(p)* know
" what the law of the Jews is, and how it becomes a General to
" dye. Do you intend to ſend me to Nero? Are they, who are to
" ſucceed Nero before you, to continue? You, Veſpaſian, will be
" Ceſar: You will be Emperour. So will likewiſe this your Son.
" Bind me therefore ſtill faſter, and reſerve me for yourſelf. For
" you are Lord not of me only, but of the earth, and the ſea, and
" all mankind. And I for puniſhment deſerve a cloſer confinement,
" if I ſpeak falſhood to you in the name of *(q)* God." Veſpaſian, as he ſays, at firſt paid little regard to all this. But afterwards his expectations of empire were raiſed. " Beſides, as he goes on to ſay,
" he

(*l*) *De B. J. l.* 3. *c.* 8. §. 1. . . 7.

(*m*) *See Tilletſon's Serm. numb.* 186. *vol.* 2. *p.* 564.

(*n*) *De B. l.* 3. *c.* 8. §. 8.

(*o*) *Ibid.* §. 9.

(*p*) That is, that a Jewiſh General ſhould make away with himſelf, rather than be taken priſoner alive by heathen people. We know not of any ſuch law in the books of the Old Teſtament. And it ſeems to be a manifeſt contradiction to what he ſays in the ſpeech before referred to.

(*q*) Joſephus's addreſſe to Veſpaſian is very preciſe and formal, predicting things then future. Poſſibly, this ſpeech was improved afterwards, and at the time of writing this hiſtorie made more clear, and expreſs, and more agreeable to the event, than when firſt ſpoken.

" he found Josephus to have spoken truth upon other occasions. " For when one of his friends, who were admitted to be present at " that interview, said, It appeared strange to him, that Josephus " should not have foretold to the people of Jotapata, the event of " the siege, nor have foreseen his own captivity, if all he now said, " was not invention to save his own life: Josephus answered, that he " had foretold to the people of Jotapata, that the place would be " taken upon the forty-seventh day of the siege, and that himself " should be taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian having privatly " inquired of the prisoners concerning these predictions, found the " truth of *(r)* them."

All these things I have inserted here for shewing the character of this writer: though the prolixity of my narration be thereby encreased.

It is very likely, that he (*s*) often thought of *Joseph* in Egypt, and of *Daniel* at Babylon: and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose, it may be no disparagement to Josephus, to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity. And the circumstances of things were much altered. The promised Messiah was come. And the Jewish people were no longer entitled to such special regard, as had been shewn them in times past. Nor was it then a day of favour and mercie for them, but the day of the Lord's vengeance against them, as Josephus himself saw. And they were entering into a long captivity, of which they have not yet seen the end, after a period of almost seventeen hundred years, though they are still wonderfully preserved.

 Josephus

(*r*) Among other presages of Vespasian's Empire *Suetonius* has mentioned this of Josephus. Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit, fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore. *Sueton. Vespas. cap.* 5.

(*s*) Josephus has several times spoken of his having had prophetic dreams, and of his ability to interpret dreams that were ambiguous. *Vid. De B. J. l.* 3. *viii.* 3. *et* 9. *et de Vit.* §. 42.

Josephus was still a prisoner. But, when Vespasian had been proclaimed Emperour, he ordered his iron chain to be cut *(t)* asunder. When Vespasian went to Rome, Josephus continued to be with Titus, and was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and countrey.

After the war was over, when Titus went to Rome, he went with him. And Vespasian allotted him an apartment in the same house, in which himself had lived, before he came to the empire. He also made him a Citizen of Rome, and gave him an annual pension, and continued to shew him great respect, so long as he lived. His son Titus, who succeded him, shewed him the like regard. And afterwards Domitian, and his wife Domitia, did him many kind *(u)* offices.

Josephus, however, does not deny, that *(x)* he had many enemies. But the Emperours, in whose times he lived, protected him. Indeed, it is very likely, that the Jews should have little regard for a man, who was with the Romans in their camp, during the siege of their city. He particularly says, that *(y)* upon the first tidings of the taking of Jotapata, the people at Jerusalem made great and public lamentations for him, supposing, that he had been killed in the siege. But when they heard, that he had escaped, and was with the Romans, and was well used by them, they loaded him with all manner of reproaches, not excepting treacherie itself. Nor do we find, that *(z)* the Jewish people ever had any great respect for his writings: though they have been much esteemed, and often quoted by Christian, and *(a)* other writers in early and later times.

Of

(t) *De B. J. l.* 4. *cap. x.* §. 7.

(u) *Vit. cap.* 76.

(x) *Ibid.*

(y) *De B. J. l.* 3. *cap. ix.* §. 7.

(z) Quamvis enim ejus scripta apud Judaeos in nullo pretio fuerint. . . Gentiles tamen pariter et Christiani Josephum, licet Judaeum, ejusque opera, magni aestimarunt. *Itrig. Proleg. pag.* 88. *ap. Havercamp.*

(a) Josephus is quoted by *Porphyrie*, not in his books against the Christians, but elsewhere. See the Testimonies prefixed to the works of Josephus.

Of them *(b)* we are now to take ſome Notice.

The *firſt* is *the Hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War,* and the taking of Jeruſalem, in ſeven books. In which work he goes back to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Maccabees. In the preface he ſays, that he (*c*) firſt wrote it in the language of his own countrey, for the ſake of ſuch as lived in Parthia, Babylonia, Arabia, and other parts, and afterwards publiſhed it in Greek for the benefit of others: which is what we have. It is generally ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed by him in the 75. year of Chriſt, and the 38. year of his own age. He profeſſeth to have writ with great *(d)* fidelity. And for the truth of his hiſtorie appeals to Veſpaſian, and Titus, and King Agrippa, then (*e*) living. He *(f)* preſented it to Veſpaſian and Titus. Which laſt *(g)* not only deſired the publication of it, but with his own hand ſigned the book, that ſhould be reckoned authentic.

2. *The Jewiſh Antiquities,* in twenty books, or the Hiſtorie of the Jews from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of Nero, in which the war began. This work was finiſhed by him *(h)* in the 56. year of his own life, in the third year of the reign of Domitian, and the year of Chriſt 93.

3. To this work is ſubjoyned, as a part of it, or an appendix to it, *His Life,* writ by himſelf ſome while afterwards.

4. After the ſeveral above-mentioned works, he publiſhed another work, in two books, entitled Of *the Antiquity of the Jews, againſt Apion:* being a vindication of the Jewiſh People againſt the calumnies of that Egyptian author.

5. To

(*b*) *Particular accounts of them are to be ſeen in Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 6. Tom. 3. p. 228. &c. Tillemont La Ruine des Juifs. art. 79. &c. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. i.*

(*c*) *De B. J. l. i. in Pro.* §. 2.

(*d*) *In Pr.* §. 5. *&c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.*

(*e*) *In Vit. cap.* 65. *Adv. Ap. l. i. c.* 9.

(*f*) Αλλ' ἐυτοῖς ἀπέδωκα τοῖς ἀυτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία. *Vit.* §. 65. *Conf. Adv. Ap. ut ſupr.*

(*g*) ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτȣ̃ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιέυσεσθαι προσέταξεν. *Vit.* §. 65.

(*h*) *Ant. l.* 20. *cap. ult. fin.*

5. To Josephus likewise is generally ascribed a book, entitled *A Discourse of the Maccabees.* But, as (*i*) *Cave* says, there is good reason to doubt of it's genuinnesse. And (*k*) Mr. *Whiston*, who made an English Translation of all the above named works of this writer, declined to translate this, and would not publish it among the rest.

The works of Josephus, notwithstanding many things in them liable to exception, which may be observed by careful and impartial readers, are very valuable. In his larger work, the *Jewish Antiquities*, he confirms the truth of the historie of the Old Testament. And, as in several of the last books of that work he has brought down the Jewish historie from the ceasing of prophecie among them to the twelfth of Nero, he has let us know the state of affairs in Judea, during the time of the evangelical historie. And he had before done the like in the first two books of the *Jewish War.* What he has therein said of Herod, and his Sons, of the Roman Governours in Judea, the Jewish sects, and their principles, the manners of the Jewish people, and likewise concerning the Samaritans, greatly confirms, and illustrates the historie of our Evangelists. As was formerly shewn in the first part of this work, the *Credibility of the Gospel-Historie:* the design of which was to confirm the facts *occasionally* mentioned in the New Testament by passages of ancient (*l*) authors.

We are now to consider, whether there is any thing in the works this Jewish author more directly confirming the *principal* facts of the of New Testament: particularly, whether he affords any evidences of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people: and whether he has said any thing of *John the*

(*i*) Nihilominus an genuinum sit Josephi opus, justa est dubitandi ratio. *Cav. H. L. de Josepho. p.* 35.

(*k*) *See his note at the end of his translation of Josephus.*

(*l*) Quam in multis capitibus Evangelistarum narrationi suffragetur Josephus, erudite nuper demonstravit Nathanael Lardnerus in opere Anglice edito, de Fide Historiae Evangelicae. *Lond.* 1727. 8*vo.* 2 *volum.* *J. A. Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p.* 16. *not.* (*a*).

the Baptist, our Lord's fore-runner, or of our Lord himself, or of any of his Apostles. A. D. 76.

I shall begin with the first article. For it is very likely, that in his *historie of the Jewish war*, we should find many things giving credit to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the Jewish people.

The State of Judea, in our Saviour's Time, and before.

II. Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by *Pompey*. Who after a siege of three months took Jerusalem in the year 63. before the Christian aera, about the time of our (*m*) midsummer. Josephus always dates (*n*) the losse of their liberty at that time. The same is said by (*o*) Tacitus.

But though the Jewish People then became subject to the Romans: and it may be said, that from that time forward the rod of heaven hung over them; they enjoyed many privileges, and the freedom of their worship, under the mild government of those masters: as appears both from Josephus, and from the historical books of the New Testament.

When Pompey became master of Jerusalem, he *(p)* and some of his officers entred into the temple, and the most holy places of it. But he took nothing away. There were then in it the table, the candlestick, with it's lamps, the pouring vessels, and the censers, all of gold, and great quantities of spices, and two thousand talents in money. All which he left untouched. And the day after he gave orders, that they who had the charge of the temple should cleanse

(*m*) *See Prideaux, in the year before Christ.* 63. *p.* 439. *And Joseph. Antiq. l.* 14. *cap. iv.* 4. *De B. J. l. i. cap. vii.* §. 6.

(*n*) Τὰ τὰ πάθη τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβολος πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζοντες. Τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν, καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ρωμαίων κατέστημεν. *Antiq. l.* 14. *iv.* 5. And compare what Agrippa says to the Jews at Jerusalem. *De B J. l.* 2. *cap. xvi.* 4. *p.* 187.

(*o*) Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judaeos domuit, templumque jure victoriae ingressus est. *Tacit. H. E.* 5. *c.* 9.

(*p*) *De B. J. l.* 1. *cap. vii.* 6. *Conf. Antiq. l.* 14. *cap. iv.*

A. D. 76. cleanse it, and perform the accustomed sacrifices. And he restored the priesthood to Hyrcanus.

And that after this the Jewish People were, sometimes at lest, in a flourishing condition, appears from many considerations. It was during this period, that *(q)* Herod repaired the temple. Excepting the cloud of glorie, with which the first temple had been favoured: that erected by Herod may be reckoned to have been equal to it in the splendour and magnificence of the building, and in rich and costly presents, and other ornaments.

When the Jewish People, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, laid the foundation of the new house, *many of the Priests, and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, wept with a loud voice.* Ezr. iii. 12. But God encouraged them by the Prophet Haggai, in this manner. ch. ii. 3. *Who is left among you, that saw this house in it's first glorie? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, o Zerubbabel, saith the Lord. . . . and be strong all ye people of the land, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts. . . For thus saith the Lord of hosts, . . I will shake all nations. And the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glorie, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glorie of this later house shall be greater than that of the former, saith the Lord of hosts. And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.*

Here is, undoubtedly, a renewal of the great promise concerning the coming of the Messiah, the true *Shechinah*, whose presence would make this second temple more glorious than the first. But here is also a gracious assurance of external grandeur and splendour. "Silver and gold, and all the riches of the world, says God, are mine, "to bestow on whom I please. And notwithstanding the present "mean and despicable appearance of the building before your eyes; "I will

(q) *Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. 1. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.*

"I will fill it with glorie, and will cause it to equal, or even surpass the former in splendour and magnificence... *For in this place will I give peace.* My purpose is to bless you abundantly, and to give you great prosperity." Which gracious declaration was fulfilled. A. D. 76.

That they were in flourishing circumstances at the time of our Lord's preaching among them, is apparent: though they were uneasie under subjection to the Romans. Josephus continually speaks of the temple, as very grand and magnificent. And it appears to be so from his large and particular description of it in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Jewish War, just before it's final ruin. And when Titus, upon the fire having seised the temple, entred it, with some of his officers, he says, "that (*r*) Titus saw it to be far superior to the report of strangers, and not inferior to our boastings concerning it." And having related, how it was burnt, he says, it might be justly lamented: "since (*s*) it was the most admirable of all the works, which we have seen, or heard of, for it's curious structure, and magnitude, and for all the wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the reputation of it's sanctity." And he expressly calls it (*t*) the temple, that was built, or begun to be built, in the second year of Cyrus, under the direction of the prophet Haggai. And our Lord's disciples bear witnesse to the same in some passages, that will come before us in reciting his predictions, of which we are now to take notice, and then observe the fulfillment of them.

III. We find our Lord's disciples speaking of the magnificence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii... 10. *And as he* *Our Lord's predicti-*

(*r*) ... παρελθὼν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο τὸν ναὸν τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις φήμης ἀμείνω, τῶν δὲ κόμπων καὶ τῆς παρὰ οἰκείοις δόξης ἐλάττω. *De B. J. l.* 6. *cap. iv.* 7.

(*s*) *L.* 6. *iv.* 8. *Conf. l.* 6. *x. fin.*

(*t*) ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑστέρου, ἣν ἔτει δευτέρῳ Κύρου βασιλεύοντος ἐποιήσατο Ἀγγαῖος. *L.* 6. *c. iv.* 8.

 went

A. D. 76.

ons concerning the calamities, coming upon the Jewish People.

went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him: Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here! And Jesus answering said unto him: seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privatly: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled? And Jesus answering them began to say: Take heed, least any man deceive you. For many will come in my name, and say: I am Christ. And will deceive many. And when ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled. For such things must needs be. But the end shall not be yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be earthquakes in divers places. And there shall be famines and troubles. These are the beginings of sorrows.... And the gospel must first be published among all nations. And ver. 14...20. *But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand:) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains. And let him that is on the house-top, not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field, not turn back again for to take up his garment. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. And pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter. For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the begining of the creation, which God created, unto this time. Neither shall be.*

The like things are in St. Matthew xxiv. 1...35. *And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple. And his disciples came to him, for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them: See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privatly, saying: Tell us, when these things shall be, and what will be the sign of*

of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered, and said unto them: Take heed, that no man deceive you. For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ. And will deceive many. And ye will hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For all these things must come to pass. But the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there will be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginings of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you. And ye will be hated of all nations for my name sake. And then will many be offended, and will betray one another, and will hate one another. And many false prophets will arise, and will deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many will wax cold. But he that shall endure to the end, shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witnesse unto all nations. And then shall the end come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand:) then let them which are in Judea, flee to the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him that is in the field return back, to take his cloths. And woe unto them which are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the begining of the world to this time: no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved. But for the elects sake those days shall be shortened. Then, if any say unto you: Lo, here is Christ, or there: believe it not. For there will arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible,) they should deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth: Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightening cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the com-

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ing of the son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together. . . . Verily, I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away. But my words shall not pass away.

Those inquiries of the disciples, and our Lord's answers to them, are made in private. But they plainly refer to things said by our Lord publicly in the courts of the temple. We may do well therefore to look back to what precedes, as related in St. Matthew's Gospel, especially. Where are recorded the many woes pronounced by our Lord upon the Scribes and Pharisees, and the people in general, who were under their influence and direction. Matt. xxiii. 29. . . 39. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. And ye say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the bloud of the Prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them that killed the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell! Wherefore behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify: and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous bloud, shed upon the earth, from the bloud of righteous Abel, unto the bloud of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee: how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings! And ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

Compare Luke xi. 47. . 51.

The like things are recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxi. 5 . . . 28. A part of which I shall also transcribe here. *And as some spake of the temple, how*

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how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts, he said: As for these things, which ye behold, the days will come, in the which shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? and what signs will there be when these things shall come to pass? And he said: Take heed, that ye be not deceived. For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draws near. Go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified. For these things must first come to pass. But the end is not by and by. Then said he unto them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and fearfull sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven. But before all these things they shall lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before Kings and Rulers for my name sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimonie. . . . And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolke, and friends. And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies; then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains: and let them which are in the midst of it, depart out. And let not them that are in the countrey, enter thereinto. For these are the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. For there will be great distresse in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentils, untill the times of the Gentils be fulfilled.

And before this, when he was making his public entrance into Jerusalem. Says St. Luke xix. 41. . . 44. *And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known,*

even

A. D. 76. *even thou, at left in this thy day the things, which belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thy eyes! For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and will lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee. And they will not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

And afterwards, when they were leading him away to be crucified. Luke xxiii. 25.... 31. *And there followed him a great companie of people, and of women: which also bewailed, and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold the days are coming, in the which they will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do such things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry!*

Our Lord delivers these predictions, of which he had the foresight, with marks of great and undissembled compassion and tenderness. If all these desolations and calamities had been now present, and before his eyes: and if they had been the calamities of his best friends, he could not have been more affected. He is particularly touched with the foresight of the difficulties of such as are most helpless, the distresses of women with child, or who have infants at their breasts. This is true compassion, the effect of the sensibility of the human nature: which he is not ashamed of, and does not dissemble. And that the apprehension of these calamities impending on the Jewish people, lay much upon his mind, is manifest from his so often speaking of them.

And there are references likewise to the calamities coming upon the Jewish People in divers parables. Luke xiii. 6... 9. Matt. xxii. 1. ..7. Luke xiv. 17...24... Matt. xxi. 33...46. Mark xii. 1... 12. Luke xx. 9..19. ...Luke xix. 11..27. Compare Matt. xxv. 14...30. and also in the miracle upon the barren fig-tree. Matt. xxi. 18. 19. Mark xi. 12. 13. and 20. 21.

In

In what has been just transcribed from the Evangelists, are observable these several things. A. D. 76.

1. Our Lord foretells the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.

2. He speaks of great and extraordinarie afflictions and distresses, which the Jewish people would suffer at that time.

3. He says, that the doctrine of the gospel should be preached in all the world, or all over the Roman Empire, before the final ruin and overthrow of the Jewish Nation.

4. He foretells, that his disciples and followers would be brought before Kings and Governours for his name sake, and would suffer many hardships, and that some of them would be put to death.

5. He intimates, that among his followers there would be great declensions, and that they would betray each other.

6. He foretells, that there would be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.

7. He speaks of wars and tumults in many places, preceding the final ruin of the Jewish nation, and as preludes of it.

8. He likewise says, that at that time, and before it, would appear many false-prophets, and impostors, by whom many would be deceived, and he warns men against hearkening to them.

9. He declares, that all these things would come to pass, before the end of that age, or generation of men.

10. He forewarns and advises those who regarded their own welfare, to flee out of Judea and Jerusalem, when they perceived the near approach of the calamities, which had been spoken of by him. Which they might know, when they should see the Roman armies with their idolatrous ensigns, standing where they ought not, that is, near Jerusalem, or in the land of Judea.

Of all these several things I propose to shew the fulfillment: though not exactly in the order, in which they have been just now mentioned.

IV. Be-

A. D. 76.

The Dates of some Events, vid. the Commencement and Duration of the War, and of the Siege of Jerusalem, &c.

IV. Before I enter upon the historie of the fulfillment of these predictions, it may be of use to observe, in general, the dates of some events.

The war began, as (*u*) Josephus says, in the second year of the government of *Gessius Florus*, who succeeded *Albinus*, successor of *Porcius Festus*, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the Emperour *Nero*, and the seventeenth year of the reign of *Agrippa*, mentioned Acts xxv. and xxvii. that is, in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 66.

" The (*x*) Temple was burnt on the tenth day of the month of " August, [in the year of Christ 70.] the same day and month, on " which it had been burnt by the King of Babylon." Which (*y*) Josephus repeats again afterwards.

The (*z*) City was taken on the eighth day of September, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, or the year of Christ 70.

That was the end of the siege of Jerusalem, which began, as the same author (*a*) observes several times, about the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, or our April.

The war therefore lasted four years and four months, computing from May 66. to September in the year 70. And the siege lasted about five months, computing from the 14. day of April to the eighth of

(*u*) Καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου, δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. *Ant. l.* 20. *xi.* 1.

Καὶ προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. xiv.* 4.

(*x*) Παρῆν δ' ἡ ἐμαρμένη χρόνων περίοδος ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λάου μηνὸς, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἐνεπρήσθη. *De B. J. l.* 6. *iv.* 5.

(*y*) Θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· καὶ μῆνα γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐπετήρησε τὴν αὐτὴν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη. . . . ἡ γέγονεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας. *Ib.* §. 8.

(*z*) Ἑαλῶ μὲν ἕτως Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας, Γορπιάου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ. *Ib. l.* 6. *cap. x. in.*

(*a*) *De B. J. l.* 5. *cap. iii.* 1. *cap. xiii.* 7. *L.* 6. *cap. ix.* 3.

of September, in the year 70. If we carry on our computation to the taking of the castle of *Massada*, which happened in the year 73. (as we shall see hereafter:) the war lasted seven years. A. D. 76.

V. I think it proper here also to take notice of our Lord's expressions concerning the sign, whereby the approach of these calamities might be discerned. Matt. xxiv. 15. 16. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, . . . stand in the holy place; then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains.* Mark xiii. 14. *When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not . . . then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains.* Luke xxi. 20. *And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh.* *The Abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.*

By *the abomination of desolation, or the abomination that maketh desolate*, therefore is intended the Roman Armies, with their ensigns. As the Roman ensigns, especially the eagle, which was carried at the head of every legion, were objects of worship; they are, according to the usual stile of scripture, called *an abomination.*

By *standing in the holy place*, or *where it ought not*, needs not to be understood the temple only, but Jerusalem also, and any part of the land of Israel.

There are several things in Josephus, which will confirm this interpretation. "*Pilate (y)* says he, the prefect of Judea, sending his "armie from Cesarea, and putting them into winter-quarters at Je-"rusalem, brought the carved images of Cesar, which are in the en-"signs, into the city, in violation of the Jewish laws: since our "law forbids the making of images. For which reason the former "governours were wont to come into the city with ensigns destitute "of these ornaments. Pilate was the first, who set up images in "Jerusalem. And he did it privatly, the armie making their en-"trance in the night-time. But as soon as the people knew it, they

H "went

(y) *Antiq. l.* 18. *cap. iii.* §. 1.

A. D. 76. "went in a large body to Cesarea, making earnest supplications, "that the images might be removed.... And at length Pilate gave "orders, for bringing back the images from Jerusalem to Cesarea."

And not long after that, *Vitellius*, President of Syria, received orders from Tiberius to attack Aretas, King of Petra. Whereupon he was going to march through Judea. "But (z) some of their chief "men waited on him, and entreated him, not to lead his armie "through their countrey, because it was contrarie to their laws, that "any images should be brought into it, whereas there were a great "many in his armie. And he hearkened to them, altered his inten-"tion, and marched his troops another way."

Our Lord's disciples and followers therefore might well be alarmed, as soon as they saw Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, appear in an hostile manner in any part of the land of Israel: But as they approached to Jerusalem, the danger would be more imminent and pressing.

And as men unwillingly leave their native countrey, and their accustomed habitations: and removals are always attended with dangers and difficulties: our Lord recommends flight in very urgent terms, least any of those who loved him, and respected his doctrine, should partake in the dreadful calamities of the siege.

How the several Events, foretold to precede the Destruction of Jerusalem, came to pass.

VI. We now observe some events spoken of by our Lord, which would precede the great calamity coming upon the Jewish nation.

1. One is, that the *doctrine of the gospel* should be preached throughout the Roman Empire, and in other places adjoyning to it.

The Gospel preached all over the world.

And this gospel of the kingdom, says he, *shall be preached in all the world, for a witnesse to all nations. And then shall the end come.* Matt. xxiv. 14. *And the gospel must first be published to all nations.* Mark xiii. 10.

And however unlikely that might seem, when those words were spoken by our Lord, they were verified. The Epistles of the New Testament,

(z) *Ant. l.* 18. *cap. v.* 3.

Testament, still exstant, and writ to Christians in divers cities and countreys, are a standing monument of it. For they are sent to believers at *Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica*, and the *Hebrews*. All writ by St. Paul. And the epistles of the Apostle Peter are directed to Christians, residing in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia* and *Bithynia*. And the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles afford evidence, that there were numerous converts to the faith of Jesus. For they were writ for the use of such. St. Paul says Rom. xv. 19. that *from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, he had fully preached the gospel of Christ*. He reminds the Romans, i. 18. *that their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*. To the Colossians he observes, *that the gospel had been preached to every creature under heaven*. ch. i. 23. and see ver. 6. The prediction therefore of that great event had been accomplished within the limits of the time assigned for it. A. D. 76.

And *Tacitus* (*a*) bears witnesse, that the Christian Religion, which had it's rise in Judea, had spread into many parts, and had reached *Rome* itself, where the professors of it were numerous, and many of them underwent grievous torments in the reign of Nero, about the year of our Lord 64. and afterwards.

Christ's Disciples persecuted in many Places.

2. Our Lord also says to his disciples in his prophetical discourses concerning the coming calamities upon Judea: *Before all these things they will lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake. . . . And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name sake.* Luke xxi. 12. and 16. 17. And to the like purpose in the other Evangelists.

The full accomplishment of these things is well known to Christians from the book of the Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament. The Apostles of Jesus met with great difficulties in preaching the gospel. And the converts made by them were exposed to

(*a*) *Ann. l.* 15. *cap.* 44.

A. D. 76. many sufferings. *Peter* and *John*, and *all the Apostles*, were brought before the Jewish Council, and were imprisoned, and beaten, and farther threatened. Acts iv. Stephen, an eminent disciple, and Evangelist, suffered death by stoning. vi. vii. *James*, the brother of John, was beheaded by king *Agrippa*. Who also shut up *Peter* in prison, with intention to put him to death also. But he was miraculously delivered. ch. xii. Paul was kept in prison two years in Judea, and afterwards as long at Rome. He pleaded before Felix and Festus, Roman Governours in Judea, and king Agrippa the younger, as well as before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem. xxi... xxviii. And there is good reason to believe, that *(b)* he was brought before Nero himself. Many of his sufferings and dangers are enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 23...33.

They who received the doctrine taught by the Apostles, had also their share of afflictions and trials. Paul, whilst he was their enemie, *made havock of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison. And when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them:.. he punished them in every synagogue, and persecuted them even into strange cities.* Acts viii. 3. and xxvi. 10. 11. And in his epistle to the Hebrews he observes to them, that *they had endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions: and partly whilst they became companions of those who were so used: and that they had joyfully taken the spoiling of their goods.* ch. x. 32...34. And Agrippa before-mentioned began with *laying his hands upon certain of the church.* Acts xii. 1. And that the believers suffered afflictions in other places beside Judea, is manifest from 2 Thess. i. 3.....6. James ii. 5...7. 2 Pet. iv. 12...19. And the Jews at Rome, whom Paul sent for to come to him, say: *As concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.*

Tacitus

(b) See that fully proved in the second volume of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 250. &c.

Tacitus confirms the truth of these predictions of our Lord. He has given a particular account of the sufferings of many Christians at Rome, before the desolations of Judea. In the tenth year of Nero, the 64. of our Lord, there happened a great fire at Rome. Nero was suspected to have set it on fire himself. "For (*c*) suppressing that common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, "and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who were "in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the "name of Christians." And he says, "that they were condemned, "not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity "to mankind." Thus Tacitus bears witnesse, not only to their undeserved sufferings, but also to the reproaches they underwent, agreeably to what our blessed Lord had said, that *they would be hated of all men for his name sake.* However, these innocent sufferers had their supports. For their unerring Master, all whose words were true, has said: *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsly for my sake.* A. D. 76.

3. Farther, our Lord intimates, that before the full accomplishment of his predictions concerning the miseries coming upon the Jewish nation, there would be *declensions* of zeal among his own professed disciples and followers. *Declensions among his Followers.*

And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another.... and because iniquity will abound, the love of many will wax cold. Matt. xxiv. 10. 12. And see Mark xiii. 12. 13. and Luke xxi. 16.

What is said of this matter in the Gospels may be verified from the epistles of the New Testament. The whole epistle to the Hebrews is an argument to stedfastnesse, implying the great danger of apostasie from the faith, or of abatements of zeal for it: *Let us*, says he, *hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering... And let us*

(*c*) Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et exquisitissimis poenis affecit quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat.... Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. &c. *Ann.* 15. *c.* 44.

A. D. 76. *us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is.* Heb. x. 23...25. and onwards to ver. 39. And ch. xii. 12. *Wherefore lift up the hands, which hang down, and the feeble knees.* In ch. vi. 4...9. he shews the great guilt, and the deplorable condition of such as apostatize. In his second epistle to Timothie ch. i. 15. *This thou knowest*, says he, *that all they which are of Asia* [probably meaning such as were then at Rome] *are turned away from me: of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* And afterwards ch iv. 16. he complains of other Christians at Rome, who deserted him, when he made his appearance there before Nero. *At my first answer*, or apologie, *no man stood with me: but all men forsook me.* And again, in the same epistle, ch. ii. 17. he speaks of Hymeneus and Philetus: *who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past, and overthrow the faith of some.* And see 1 Tim. i. 19. 20. I allege nothing more from the books of the New Testament.

Tacitus, in his account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, already quoted more than once, does also confirm the truth of this prediction of our Lord. Who says, "that *(d)* at first they only were "apprehended, who confessed themselves to be of that sect. After-"wards, many more were taken up, whom they discovered to be "of their number."

Nor ought this to be thought exceeding strange, notwithstanding the perfection of the christian doctrine, and the evidences of it's truth. For in a great number of men it is very likely, that some should be overcome by the difficulties and dangers attending the profession of it. So says the chief sower of his heavenly doctrine. Some *seed fell in stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it. Yet hath he not root in himself, but endureth for a while. For when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.*

4. Our

(*d*) Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur: deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, &c. *Ann.* 15. *c.* 44.

A. D. 76. *Famines in divers Places.*

4. Our bleſſed Lord ſaid, that before the great calamity predicted by him, there would be *famines, and peſtilences, and earthquakes in divers places.*

We know from the hiſtorie in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that there was a famine in Judea, in the time of the Emperour Claudius. Ch. xi. 25...30. It was not an accidental ſcarcity at Jeruſalem only, but it was a famine all over that countrey. It began in the fourth year of that Emperour, and laſted ſeveral years. We have a particular account of it in (*e*) Joſephus. He alſo ſays, it was a very ſevere (*f*) famine. And in another place (*g*) he mentions the high price of corn at that ſeaſon: and ſays, that this famine happened in the reign of Claudius, not long before the war.

That famine is alſo taken notice of by Euſebius in (*h*) his Chronicle, and (*i*) in his Hiſtorie, and by (*k*) Oroſius.

There was alſo a famine at Rome, and in Italie, mentioned (*l*) by Dion Caſſius, which began in the firſt year of Claudius, and continued in the next year.

There was another famine in the ſame reign, mentioned (*m*) by Tacitus, and (*n*) Euſebius. Which ſeems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that Emperour.

To all theſe (*o*) Suetonius ſeems to refer, though he does not mention the years, in which they happened.

Con-

(*e*) *Ant. l.* 20. *ii.* 6.

(*f*) Επὶ τούτοις δὴ καὶ μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ιουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. *Ib. cap. v.* 2.

(*g*) [illegible] ὁ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου Ρωμαίων ἀρχόντος, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσσαρῶνα. *Ant. l.* 3. *xv.* 3.

(*h*) *Chr. p.* 160.

(*i*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap. xii.*

(*k*) *Or. l.* 7. *cap.* 6.

(*l*) *Dio. l.* 60. *p.* 671. *al.* 949.

(*m*) Frugum quoque egeſtas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. *Tac. Ann. l.* 12. *c.* 43.

(*n*) Fames facta in Graecia. Modius ſex drachmis venundatus eſt. . . . Magna fames Romae. *Chr. p.* 160. *infr. m.*

(*o*) Arctiore autem annona propter aſſiduas ſterilitates, &c. *Suet. Claud. cap.* 18. *Vid. et cap.* 19. *et* 20.

A. D. 76.

Concerning the famines in the reign of the Emperour Claudius, ſome *(p)* modern hiſtorians and chronologers might be conſulted.

Peſtilences.

Our Lord ſpeaks alſo of *peſtilences.* By Joſephus we are informed, that about the year of Chriſt 40. there was *(q)* a peſtilence at Babylon, in which the Jews ſuffered.

In the *(r)* 65. year of the Chriſtian aera there was a great mortality at Rome. At the ſame time there were other calamities in divers parts of the Roman Empire, as we learn from *(s)* Tacitus, and *(t)* Suetonius, as well as from *(u)* Oroſius, who might tranſcribe from them.

Earthquakes.

. . . and *earthquakes.*

Tacitus *(x)* ſpeaks of an earthquake at Rome in the time of Claudius, and of another *(y)* at Apamea in the ſame reign.

In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, mentioned

(*p*) *Vid. Pagi. A. D.* 72. *n. vii. Reimariann. ad Dion Caſſ. p.* 948. *See alſo Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x.*

(*q*) . . . φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν. *Ant. l.* 18. *ix.* 8.

(*r*) *Vid. Pagi. A. D.* 67. *n. iii.*

(*s*) Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam Dii tempeſtatibus et morbis inſignivere. Vaſtata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbuſta, fruges paſſim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina Urbi. In qua omne mortalium genus vis peſtilentiae depopulabatur, nulla coeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non ſexus, non aetas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim exſtingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta: qui dum aſſident, dum deflent, ſaepe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum, Senatorumque interitus, quamvis promiſcui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate ſaevitiam principis praevenirent. *Tacit. Ann.* 16. *cap.* 13.

(*t*) Acceſſerunt tantis ex principe malis, probriſque, quaedam et fortuita: peſtilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerunt: clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida, magna civium ſociorumque caede direpta ſunt: ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armenia ſub jugum miſſis, aegreque ſyria retenta. *Sueton. Nero. cap.* 39.

(*u*) *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap. vii.*

(*x*) Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. Inſeſſum diris avibus Capitolium: crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus. *Ann.* 12. *cap.* 43.

(*y*) Tributumque Apamienſibus terrae motu convulſis, in quinquennium remiſſum. *Id. l.* 12. *cap.* 58.

tioned by (z) Tacitus: and likewise by (a) Eusebius in his Chronicle: who says, that in Asia three cities, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse, were overturned by an earthquake. And in like manner (b) Orosius. Possibly, the earthquake, which was most violent at Laodicea, was felt in the other cities likewise. A. D. 76.

In the same reign there was an earthquake in Campania, mentioned by (c) Tacitus, and (d) Seneca. By the former it seems to be placed in the year of Christ 62. by the later in the year 63.

And there may have been other earthquakes in the time of the just mentioned Emperours.

5. Our Lord foretells *wars and commotions*, preceding the final ruin. Matt. xxiv. 6. Mark xiii. 7. Luke xxi. 9. *Wars, and Rumours of Wars.*

Josephus (e) has a long storie of a disturbance in Mesopotamia, occasioned by the ambition and indiscretion of two Jews, who were brothers. It seems to have happened (f) about the year of Christ 40. Josephus says, it (g) was not inferior to any calamity, which the

(z) Eodem anno ex illustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea, tremore prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. *Ib. l.* 14. *c.* 27.

(a) In Asia tres urbes terrae motu conciderunt. Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossae. *Eus. Chr. p.* 161.

(b) *Oros. l.* 7. *cap. vii.*

(c) Iisdemque Consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. Et motu terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompeii magna ex parte proruit. *Ann. l.* 15. *c.* 22.

(d) Pompeios, celebrem Campaniae urbem ... desedisse terrae motu, vexatis quacumque adjacentibus regionibus, Lucili virorum optime, audivimus: et quidem diebus hibernis, quos vacare a tali periculo majores nostri solebant promittere. Nonis Febr. fuit motus hic, Regulo et Virginio Consulibus, qui Campaniam nunquam securam hujus mali, indemnem tamen, et totiens defunctam motu, magna strage vastavit. Nam et Herculensis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quae relicta sunt. Et Nucirinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita non sine querela est. Neapolis quoque privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leviter ingenti malo perstricta. Villae vero praeruptae passim sine injuria tremuere. Adjiciunt his sexcentarum ovium gregem exanimatum, et divisas statuas, &c. *Sem. Nat. Qu. l.* 6. *c.* 1.

(e) *Antiq. l.* 18. *cap. ix.*

(f) *Vid. Usser. A. P. J.* 4753 *p.* 864. *Basnag. ann.* 40. *n. xiii. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs. art. xxviii.*

(g) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποτα-

μίᾳ

A. D. 76. the Jews had suffered hitherto: and that *(h)* it occasioned the death of more than fifty thousand people.

When *Cuspius Fadus* came Procurator into Judea, in the reign of Claudius, in the year of Christ 44. or 45. as *(i)* Josephus says, "he "found the Jews in Peréa in a riot, fighting with the Philadelphi- "ans about the limits of the village Mia. And indeed the people of "Peréa had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, "and had killed a good number of the Philadelphians. When *Fa-* "*dus* heard of it, he was much displeased, that they had taken up "arms, and had not left the decision of the dispute to him, if they "thought the Philadelphians had done them any injurie. Three of "the principal men, who were the causes of the sedition, were appre- "hended, and put in prison: one of whom was afterwards put to "death, and the two others banished."

Afterwards, in the year of our Lord 49. whilst *Cumanus* was Procurator of Judea, there *(k)* happened a tumult at Jerusalem, at the time of Passover. The number of Jews that perished in it, was not less than twenty thousand: as it is in his Antiquities: but in the Jewish War the number is *more than ten thousand.*

Whilst *Cumanus* was yet in Judea, there *(l)* happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which many were killed on both sides.

Josephus also says, that *(m)* under *Cumanus* the troubles of the Jewish people began, and that in his time they suffered very much.

These disturbances went on encreasing. At Cesarea there had long been contentions between the Jewish people and the other inhabitants.

μίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλῶνα οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους σύμφορα δεινὴ, καὶ ἐδεμιᾶς ἧς τίνος ἐλάσσων, φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς, καὶ ὁπόσος οὐχ ἱστορημένος πρότερον. *Ib.* §. 1.

(*h*) *Ib.* §. 9.

(*i*) *Ant. l.* 20. *cap. i.* 1.

(*k*) *Antiq. l.* 20. *cap. v.* 3. *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. xii.* 1.

(*l*) *Antiq. l.* 20. *vi.* 1. *De B. J. l.* 2. *xii.* 3.

(*m*) . . . ἐφ' οὗ θορυβοί τε ἤρξαντο, καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο. *De B. J. l.* 2. *c. xii.* 1.

habitants. "And, as (*n*) Josephus says, in one hour's time more "than twenty thousand Jews were destroyed, and all Cesarea was "at once emptied of it's Jewish inhabitants. Some fled, whom Flo- "rus caught, and sent them bound to the galleys. At which the "whole nation was enraged. They therefore divided themselves "into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and "their neighboring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and "Scythopolis: and after them Gadara and Hippos. And falling "upon Gaulanitis, some cities they demolished there, others they set "on fire. Then they went to Kedasa, belonging to the Syrians, and "to Ptolemais, and Gaba, and Cesarea. Nor was Sebaste, or Ash- "kalon able to withstand the violence, with which they were at- "tacked. When they had burnt these to the ground, they demo- "lished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the villages round a- "bout these cities were plundered. And an immense slaughter was "made of the men found in them."

A. D. 76.

"The (*o*) Syrians destroyed not a less number of the Jews.... So "that the disorders all over Syria were terrible. For every city was "divided into parties, armed against each other. And the safety "of the one, depended upon the destruction of the other. The "days were spent in slaughter, and the nights in terrours, which were "the worst of the two... It was common to see cities filled with "dead bodies, lying unburied, those of old men mixed with in- "fants, all dead, and scattered about promiscuously, and women "without covering for their nakedness."

"At (*p*) Scythopolis the contention was carried so far, that above "thirteen thousand Jews were killed."

"After that (*q*) other cities also rose up against the Jews that were

 "among

(*n*) Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας, ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας, ἀνῄρουν οἱ Καισαρεῖς τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀποσφαγῆναι μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους, κινωθῆναι δὲ πᾶσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Καισάρειαν. *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. xviii.* 1.

(*o*) *Ibid.* §. 2.

(*p*) *Ib.* §. 3.

(*q*) *Ib.* §. 5.

A. D. 76. "among them. They of Ashkalon slew two thousand, and five "hundred, they of Ptolemais two thousand, and put many others "into prison. The Tyrians acted in the like manner: as did also "Hippos and Gadara, and divers other cities of Syria."

"At (r) Alexandria fifty thousand lay dead in heaps. Nor would "the remainder have been spared, if they had not petitioned for "mercie."

Not long after that, the (s) men of Damascus having got the Jewish inhabitants into the place of exercise, ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, they came upon them unarmed and slew ten thousand in an hour's time.

These are what our Lord calls *the begining of sorrows:* when there were *wars and rumours of wars, one people and nation rising up against another. The end was not yet.* Jerusalem was not yet besieged, nor the people in it shut up, for universal destruction. But that period was nigh. See Matt. xxiv. 6... 8. Mark xiii. 7. 8. Luke xxi. 9. 10.

The Occasion of the Jewish War, from Josephus.

VII. And now I think, it may not be improper for us to take notice of Josephus's accounts of the occasion of the war.

Giving an account of the contentions between the Jews and Greeks, or Syrians, at Cesarea, where the later obtained a decree from Nero, that the government of the city belonged to them, he says: "And (t) this occasioned the war, which began in the twelfth year of Nero." Soon after which, the Jews at Cesarea were treated very contemptuously, and injuriously, till they were all destroyed, as he there proceeds to relate: and we have already, in part, transcribed from him.

In the last chapter of the Jewish Antiquities he complains much of *Albinus*, and still more of *Florus*, who succeeded him, and exceeded him in avarice and cruelty: insomuch, that the Jews were ready

(r) *Ibid.* §. 7. 8.

(s) *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. xx.* §. 2.

(t) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Καισαρέων Ἕλληνες νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν, τὰ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκέμισαν γράμματα. Καὶ προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. *De B. J. l.* 2. *c. xiv.* 4.

ready to consider Albinus, as a benefactor. "Finally (*u*) says he, "without adding any thing more, it was *Florus*, who compelled us "to take up arms against the Romans, thinking it better to be de- "stroyed all at once, than by little and little." A. D. 76.

In his own Life he says: "I (*x*) have mentioned all these things "to shew, that the Jews war with the Romans was not their own "choice, but rather that they were compelled by necessity."

In another place he says: "And (*y*) at the temple Eleazar, son of "Ananias the High-Priest, a young man of a daring temper, and "then Governour, persuaded those who officiated in the divine "service, not to accept of the gift or sacrifice of a foreigner. That "was the origin of the war with the Romans. For thus they re- "jected the sacrifice of Cesar for them. [*That is, as I apprehend, "they refused to offer prayers and sacrifices, as subjects ought to do, for "the Emperour, and for the prosperity of the Roman Empire.*] And "though many of the High-Priests, and of the principal men of "the nation earnestly entreated them, not to omit the customarie re- "spect for their Governours, they could not prevail."

Afterwards, near the conclusion of his historie of the Jewish War, when the city was actually taken, he says: "But (*z*) that which "principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, "found also in their sacred writings, that about this time some one "from their countrey should obtain the empire of the world. This "they understood to belong to themselves. And many of the wise "men were mistaken in their judgement about it. For the oracle "intended the government of Vespasian, who was proclaimed Em- "rour in Judea."

That

(*u*) Καὶ τί δεῖ πλέω λέγειν; Τὸν γὰρ πρὸς Ρωμάιους πόλεμον ὁ κατεναγκάσας ἡμᾶς ἄρασθαι, Φλῶρος ἦν, κρεῖττον ἡγουμένους ἀθρόους, ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπολέσθαι. *Antiq. l.* 20. *xi.* 1.

(*x*) ... ὅτι ὁ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τῦ πολέμυ πρὸς Ρωμάιους Ιουδάιοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη. *Vit.* §. 6.

(*y*) ... ἀναπείθει, μηδενὸς ἀλλοφύλυ δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. Τῦτο δὲ ἦν τῦ πρὸς Ρωμάιους πολέμυ καταβολή. Τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῦτων θυσίαν Κάισαρος ἀπέρριψαν. *De B. l.* 2. *xvii.* 2.

(*z*) *De B. J. l.* 6. *cap. v.* 4.

A. D. 76. That is very a remarkable paſſage. Some farther notice ſhall be taken of it by and by.

That the Jewiſh people were uneaſie under ſubjection to the Romans, even in our Saviour's time, long before the war broke out, appears from many things recorded in the Goſpels: as their great averſion to the Publicans, though Jews, who were employed in collecting the Roman tribute: from the queſtion brought to our Saviour, *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Ceſar or not.* Matt. xxii. 15...22. Mark xiii. 13...17. Luke xx. 19...26. from the attempt of ſome, who followed our Lord for a time, to make him a King. John vi. 15. from their frequent and importunate demands, that he would *ſhew them a ſign from heaven*, meaning ſome token, that he intended to work out for them a temporal deliverance, *that they might believe in him*, and have full aſſurance of his being the Chriſt. Matt. xii. 38. xvi. 1...4. and elſewhere: and from divers other things, which muſt be obvious to all, who have read the Goſpels with attention.

This uneaſineſſe under the Roman yoke continued and encreaſed. Obſervable here is the anſwer, which was made by Titus, after the temple was burnt, to the petition of Simon and John, the two great leaders of the factions in Jeruſalem. "You (*a*) have never ceaſed "rebelling, ſince Pompey firſt made a conqueſt of your countrey. "And at length you have declared open war againſt the Romans. "...Our kindneſſe to you has encouraged your enmity againſt us: "who have let you live in your countrey in peace and quietneſſe. In "the firſt place we gave you your own countrey to live in, and ſet "over you kings of your own nation, and farther we preſerved to you "your own laws: and withall we have permitted you to live either "by yourſelves, or among others, as you liked beſt. And which is "the greateſt favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up "that tribute, which you pay to God, together with all ſuch other "gifts

(*a*) *De B. J. l.* 6. *cap. vi.* 2.

"gifts as are dedicated to him. Nor have we called those to account, "who carried such donations, nor given them any obstruction: till "at length you became richer than ourselves, even when you were "our enemies, and you have made preparations for the war against "us with our own money." A. D. 76.

There are other things likewise in Josephus, which deserve to be taken notice of in this place. Giving an account of the assessment made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, he says: "At *(b)* "the persuasion of Joazar the High-Priest, the Jews did generally "acquiesce. However, Judas the Gaulanite, of the town called Ga-"mala, associating to himself Sadduc a Pharisee, excited the people "to rebellion, telling them, that an assessment would bring in down-"right slaverie, and exhorting the whole nation to assert their liber-"ty. The whole nation heard their discourses with incredible plea-"sure. And it is impossible to represent the evils the nation has "suffered, which were owing to these men... For Judas and Sad-"duc brought in among us this fourth sect. And there being ma-"ny, who embraced their sentiments, they not only caused distur-"bances in the government at that time, but laid the foundation of "those evils that followed. Which indeed are owing to this prin-"ciple, till then unknown among us."

He then delivers the character and principles of the three chief and more ancient sects of the Jews, as he calls them. And after that returns again to the men, of whom he had been speaking before. "Judas *(c)* the Galilean, was the leader of the fourth sect. In all "other points they hold the same sentiments with the Pharisees. "but they have an invincible affection for liberty, and acknowledge "God alone their Lord and Governour... From that time the na-"tion became infected with this principle. And Florus, by abusing "his power when he was Governour, threw them into despair, and "provoked them to rebel against the Romans."

Those

(b) *Antiq. l.* 18. *cap. i.* §. 1. (c) *Ibid.* §. 6.

A. D. 76.

Those two passages were cited by me *(d)* formerly. And divers observations were made upon them. Which still appear to me not impertinent. But I am unwilling to repeat them here. And I think, that in the connexion, in which they are now cited by me, it must be apparent from them, without farther remarks, that the nation in general was infected with the doctrine of Judas of Galilee. They had an invincible zeal for liberty, scorned subjection to the Romans, their masters, and took up arms against them. As Cappellus says, "Florus (*e*) by his exactions forced them against their consent, or "rather drove them who were already disposed to it, and wanted "no incitement to rebel against the Romans."

I would now take farther notice of the passage above cited, wherein our Jewish historian says, *what principally encouraged them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, found in their sacred writings, that about that time some one from their own countrey should obtain the empire of the world.*

False Prophets and false Christians in Judea, as our Lord had foretold.

The truth and importance of that observation, as I apprehend, may be confirmed and illustrated by the accounts, which Josephus has given of numerous impostors, or false-prophets, which arose among them about this time, agreeably to our Lord's predictions, as I shall now shew.

"Whilst *(f) Fadus* was Procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, "called (*) *Theudas*, persuaded a very great multitude, taking their ef-"fects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan: assuring them, "that he was a Prophet, and that causing the river to divide at his "command, he would give them an easie passage over: By such "speeches

(*d*) *Credibility. Part i. B. i. ch. 9. p.* 486. *&c.*

(*e*) Florus, pessimus homo, qui modis omnibus Judaeos cum vexaret et opprimeret, cogit vel invitos, aut potius ultro ruentes impulit, adversus Romanos rebellare. *L. Capp. Hist. Jud. p.* 121.

(*f*) *Ant. l.* 20. *cap. v.* 1.

(*) *That Theudas is different from him, mentioned by Gamaliel, Acts v.* 36. *as was shewn formerly. Credib. P. i. B.* 2. *ch. vii. p.* 921. *&c.*

"speeches he deceived many. But Fadus was far from suffering "them to go on in their madnesse. For he sent out a troop of horse, "who coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took ma-"ny prisoners. *Theudas* himself was among the last mentioned. "They cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. These things "happened in Judea, whilst Cuspius Fadus was Procurator." A. D. 76.

Fadus was sent into Judea by the Emperour Claudius, after the death of Herod Agrippa. This affair of Theudas therefore must be rightly placed in the year of Christ 45. or 46.

That is transcribed from the 20. and last book of the Antiquities. In the same book, afterwards, in another chapter, in the historie of transactions in the time of Nero, Josephus says. "But *(g)* affairs in "Judea went on continually growing worse and worse. The countrey "was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deceived the peo-"ple. But *Felix* time after time apprehended, and put to death many "of them." A little lower. "And *(h)* indeed by means of the crimes "committed by the robbers, the city was filled with all sorts of im-"piety. And impostors and deceivers persuaded the people to follow "them into the wildernesse: where, as they said, they should see ma-"nifest wonders and signs, performed by the providence of God. "And many hearkening unto them at length suffered the punishment "of their folly. For Felix fetched them back, and punished them. "About the same time there came a man out of Egypt to Jerusalem, "who said, he was a Prophet: and having persuaded a good number "of the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of Olives, "he told them, that thence they should see the walls of Jerusalem "fall down at his command, and promised through them to give "them entrance into the city. But Felix being informed of these "things, ordered his soldiers to their arms. And marching out of "Jerusalem with a large body of horse and foot, he fell upon the "Egyptian: and killed four hundred of them, and took two hun-

(g) *Antiq l.* 20. *cap. viii.* 5. (h) *Ib.* §. 6.

A D. 76. "dred prisoners. But the Egyptian getting out of the fight escaped."

This same storie is also in the War, with some differences in the numbers, which were considered (*i*) formerly.

There the account concludes in this manner. "When (*k*) they "came to engage, the *Egyptian* fled, followed by a few only. A "large part of those who were with him, were either slain, or ta-"ken prisoners. The rest of the multitude being scattered, shifted "for themselves, as they could."

This is supposed to have happened in the year of Christ 55.

In the War, in the paragraph preceding his account of the Egyptian impostor, having just before related, how Judea then abounded with robbers, called Sicarii, he says: "Beside (*l*) them, there was "another body of wicked men, whose hands indeed were cleaner, "but their intentions were as impious: who disturbed the happy "state of the city no less than those murderers. For deceivers and "impostors, under a pretense of divine inspiration, aiming at changes "and innovations, made the people mad. And induced them to "follow them into the wilderness, pretending, that God would "there give them signs and wonders. Felix judging these proceed-"ings to be no less than the begining of a revolt, sent out his sol-"diers, both horse and foot, and destroyed great numbers of them."

In the forecited chapter of the 20. book of the Antiquities, speaking of the Robbers in the time of *Porcius Festus*, about the year of Christ 60. he says, "that (*m*) he also sent out both horse and foot "to fall upon those, who had been seduced by a certain impostor, "who had promised them deliverance, and freedom from the mi-"series, under which they labored, if they would but follow him "into the wilderness. The forces destroyed both him that had de-"ceived them, and those that followed him."

Josephus speaks of six thousand, who perished in the outer courts

(*i*) *Credib. Part i. B. 2. ch. viii.*
(*k*) *De B. J. l. 2. c. xiii. 5.*
(*l*) *Ibid.* §. 4.
(*m*) *Ant. l. 20. cap. viii.* §. 10.

courts of the temple, after it had been set on fire. "The (*n*) soldi- A. D. 76.
"ers, says he, set fire to the portico. Whereupon some threw them-
"selves headlong down the precipice, others perished in the flames.
"And not one out of so great a number escaped. A false Prophet
"was the occasion of the ruin of those people, who on that very
"day had made proclamation in the city, assuring them, that God
"commanded them to go up to the temple, where they would re-
"ceive signs of deliverance. And indeed there were then many
"prophets, suborned by the tyrants, to impose upon the people, and
"telling them, that they ought to wait for help from God."

And presently after, proceeding to relate the omens and prodigies foresignifying the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, and the city of Jerusalem, which shall be recited by and by, he says: "Impostors (*o*) who spake lies in the name of God, deceived
"this miserable people. They neither attended to, nor believed
"the manifest signs, foresignifying the coming desolation. But like
"infatuated men, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to per-
"ceive, they neglected the divine denunciations."

So truly did our Lord say: *I am come in my Father's name. And ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* John v. 43.

Our blessed Lord says, Matt. xxiv. 24. *For there will arise false Christs, and false prophets, and will shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that, (if it were possible) they will deceive the very elect.* But our Lord does not intend to say, that any of those false prophets would exhibit or perform great wonders. The original word is δώσουσι *they will give:* the same word that is in the septuagint version of Deut. xiii. 1. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth thee a sign, or a wonder.* καὶ δῶ σοι σημεῖον ἢ τέρας, that is, shall propose, or promise some sign or wonder, as the sequel shews. Parallel with the text just cited from St. Matthew

 is

(*n*) *De B. J. l.* 6. *cap. v.* §. 2. (*o*) *Ibid.* §. 3.

A. D. 76. is Mark xiii. 22. *For false Christs and false prophets will arise, and will shew signs and wonders*, the same word again, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, *in order to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.*

The accounts, which Josephus has given of the impostors in his time, shew the exact accomplishment of these predictions of our Lord. *They persuaded the people to follow them, into the wilderness, where, as they said, they would see manifest signs and wonders performed by the power of God:* or, assuring them, *that God would there give them signs, and wonders:* or, that *they should there receive signs of deliverance*, and the like.

The passages of Josephus bear witness to the fulfillment of our Lord's prediction, *that many false prophets would arise, and deceive many.* Matt. xxiv. 11.

Our Lord does also say there, at ver. 5. *And many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ. And will deceive many.* And it is easie to believe, that *(p)* some of the many false-prophets did expressly take to themselves that title, though Josephus does not say it. But whether they did, or not, our Saviour's predictions are verified in the appearance of those false-prophets. "Josephus, says *(q)* ABp. *Tillotson*, mentions several of these: of whom, though he does not "expressly say, that they called themselves the Messias: yet he says "that, which is equivalent: that they undertook to rescue the people from the Roman yoke. Which was the thing, which the "Jews expected the Messias would do for them. And therefore we "find, that the disciples who were going to Emmaus, and knew "not that Christ was risen, and were doubtful what to think of him, "say: *We hoped, this had been he that should have redeemed Israel:* "that is, they hoped, this had been the Messias, that being, it seems, "a common periphrasis of the Messias, that he was *he that was to* "*deliver Israel.*" Which is agreeable to a note of *(r)* Grotius, upon

(p) See Tillemont Ruine des Juifs, art. 36. *A. D.* 52.

(q) Vol. 3. *p.* 552.

(r) Christi nomine populus Judaicus intel-

on the place. All they therefore, who pretended, that they were inspired, and sent by God to deliver the Jewish people, were indeed *false-christs.* They took upon themselves the character of the Messiah. A. D. 76.

We may now readily admit the truth of what Josephus says in the passage transcribed not long ago. "That what principally excited the Jewish people, the wise men, as he calls them, as well as others, to the war with the Romans was the expectation of a great deliverer to arise among them, who should obtain the empire of the world." This great deliverer was the Messiah. The numerous *false-prophets* and *false-christs*, of whom Josephus speaks so frequently, and so distinctly, are full proofs of it.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some (s) while. But with the idea of a prophet, or extraordinarie teacher of religion, they had joyned also that of a worldly king and conquerour, who should deliver the Jewish People from the burdens under which they laboured, raise them to a state of independence, and bring the nations of the earth into subjection to them, to be ruled and tyrannised over by them. And because our Lord did not perform, nor attempt this, they rejected and crucified him. If he would but have assumed the state and character of an earthly prince, Scribes and Pharisees, Priests and People, would all have joyned themselves to him, and have put themselves under his banner. Of this we see many proofs in the Gospels. This disposition prevailed to the last. The people therefore, though they had already met with many disappointments, when our Lord entred into Jerusalem, in no greater

intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλπίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, descriptio est nominis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi Judaici dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur, et erant ψευδόχριστοι. &c. *Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 5.*

(s) *Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be seen in Credib. Part i. B. i. ch. v. p.* 289. *&c.*

A. D. 79. greater ſtate than riding upon an aſſe, accompanied him with loud acclamations, and other tokens of reſpect, ſaying: *Hoſanna to the Son of David. Bleſſed is the King, that cometh in the name of the Lord.* And Jeſus, our Lord, not aſſuming then the character of an earthly prince was a freſh diſappointment, and left deep reſentments. Which rendered them ſuſceptible of the worſt impreſſions from the chief prieſts, and their other rulers. And at their inſtigation they deſired Pilate the Roman Governour, to ſet Barabbas at liberty, and crucify Jeſus. With which clamorous, and importunate demand, he at length complied, ſtill bearing teſtimonie to the innocence of him, whom he unwillingly condemned. The account of St. Matthew alone, without any other, will ſuffice for ſhewing this amazing tranſaction. *Pilate ſaith unto them: What ſhall I do then with Jeſus, who is called Chriſt? They all ſay unto him: Let him be crucified. The Governour ſaid: Why! what evil has he done? But they cried out the more, ſaying: Let him be crucified. When Pilate ſaw, that he prevailed nothing, and that rather a tumult was made, he took water and waſhed his hands before the multitude, ſaying: I am innocent from the bloud of this juſt perſon. See ye to it. Then anſwered all the people: His bloud be upon us, and upon our children. Then releaſed he Barabbas unto them. And when he had ſcourged Jeſus, he delivered him to be crucified.* Matt. xxvii. 22. . . 26.

The continued expectation of the Meſſiah, as a worldly King and Conquerour, as we have juſt ſeen in Joſephus, and their uneaſineſſe under the Roman yoke, were the immediate occaſions of their rebelling againſt the authority, to which they were then ſubject. And the ſame principles, that induced them to reject, and crucify Jeſus, brought upon them their utter and final ruin.

As the ſin of the Jewiſh People in rejecting and crucifying Jeſus, after a life of perfect innocence, and conſummate virtue, after ſpeaking as no man had done before, and doing works, which no other man had done, at Jeruſalem, and in every part of the land of Iſrael, after ſuch preparations as had been made for his reception by the Pro-

Prophets, and by the testimonie of John the Baptist, his forerunner, was (*) very great and aggravated. And as they rejected the renewed offers of mercie, and repeated and earnest calls to repentance, made by Christ's Apostles, and went on encreasing in wickednesse: God at length suffered the Romans to come upon them with an armed force, demolished their temple, and made desolate their city, and their whole countrey, with many circumstances of uncommon and even unparalleled distresse. All which having been foreseen, and often foretold, by the Lord Jesus, in his public discourses: the accomplishment of these predictions, in the event, is an argument of great force in favour of his divine mission, and of his being indeed the Messiah, additional to the excellent doctrine, and wonderfull works of his ministrie. A. D. 76.

The Historie of the Jewish War, and of the Siege of Jerusalem, from Josephus.

VIII. Having shewn the occasion and causes of the war, and having also observed the several things foretold by the Lord Jesus, as preceding it. I now proceed to the historie of the war itself, collecting it from Josephus, and making my extracts in his own words.

The disturbances still encreasing at Jerusalem, and the animosity against Florus being very great, "*Cestius Gallus* (*t*) President of Syria, judged it not proper for him to lie still any longer. He therefore determined to march into Judea. Whereupon he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of the rest two thousand chosen men, with six cohorts of foot, and four troops of horse, beside the auxiliaries, which were sent by the Kings. Of which *Antiochus* sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers. *Agrippa* sent a thousand horse, and two thousand foot.

(*) *If ye were blind, ye should have no sin. But now you say, we see: therefore your sin remaineth.* John ix. 41. *If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin. But now they have no cloake for their sin. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen, and hated, both me and my Father.* John xv. 22. . . 24.

(*t*) *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. xviii.* §. 9.

A. D. 76. "foot. *Sohemus* followed with four thousand. He then marched "to Ptolemais. Agrippa accompanied Cestius, as a guide in the "journey, and as capable of being usefull to him in other respects. "After he was come thither, Cestius took a part of his armie, and "marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which sepa- "rates the countrey of Ptolemais from our nation. That he found "destitute of it's men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, "but full of all good things, which he allowed the soldiers to seize "as plunder. And he set fire to the city, though it's buildings were "very beautiful, resembling those of Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. "After that he overran the neighboring countrey, seising whatever "came in his way, and setting fire to the villages. And then re- "turned to Ptolemais." At this very time, as Josephus adds in the same paragraph, the Jews found means to destroy about two thousand Syrians at Berytus, and near it, Cestius being at a distance.

"Now (*u*) Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to "Cesarea. And then sent part of his armie before him to *Joppa*. "Who coming suddenly upon that people, who were prepared nei- "ther for flight, nor for their own defense, slew them all with their "families, and then plundered, and burnt the city. The number "of the slain were eight thousand and four hundred. In like manner "he sent a number of horse into the toparchie of *Narbata*, not far "from Cesarea, who slew many of the inhabitants, plundered their "goods, and set fire to the villages."

"Now (*x*) also Cestius sent Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion into Galilee, where he slew more than two thousand."

"Gallus (*y*) then returned to Cesarea, and Cestius moved with "his whole armie, and came to *Antipatris*. Thence he set forward "to *Lydda*, where he found the place empty of men, the people "being gone up to Jerusalem upon account of the feast of Taberna- "cles. However, he found there fifty men, whom he slew, and "burnt

(*u*) §. 10. (*x*) *Ib.* §. 11. (*y*) *Ib. cap. xix.* §. 1.

"burnt the city. And then marched onward. and going up by "Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty furlongs from Jeru- "salem." A. D. 76.

"The (z) Jews seeing the war approaching to their metropolis, "relying upon their numbers, went out to fight in a hastie and dis- "orderly manner, even in the time of the festival. But the rage, "which made them forget their religion, did also make them su- "perior to their enemies. Cestius with his whole armie was in "danger. Five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, "whilst the Jews lost only two and twenty. The most valiant of "the Jews were Monobazus, and Kenedaeus, related to Monobazus "King of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of Peréa, "and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from King Agrippa to the "Jews, and Simon son of Gioras, to be hereafter often mentioned. "After that the Jews retired into the city. Cestius stayed there "three days."

"At (*a*) this time Agrippa with the consent of Cestius sent to the "Jews two ambassadours, *Borcaeus* and *Phoebus*, men well known "to them, with assurances of plenarie forgiveneſſe from Cestius, if "they would lay down their arms, and submit. But the Jews would "not so much as receive the ambassadours. *Phoebus* they fell upon, "and slew him, before he had spoken a word. *Borcaeus* too was "wounded. But he retreated, and escaped."

"Soon *(b)* after that Cestius moved forward with his whole ar- "mie, and encamped upon an elevated spot of ground called Scopos "[signifying the Prospect, or Watch-tower.] Here he rested three "days. On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October, he "brought his armie into the city. The seditious, as Josephus calls "them, were much terrified, and retired from the suburbs to the "inner part of the city, and the temple. Cestius soon set fire to the "place called Bezetha, or the new city, and to the wood-market. "After which he came forward to the upper part of the city, and

(z) *Ib.* §. 2. (*a*) *Ib.* §. 3. (*b*) *Ib.* §. 4.

 "pitched

A. D. 76. "pitched his camp over against the Royal Palace. And if at that "time he had attempted to make his way within the walls by force, "he would have won the city presently, and put an end to the war "at once. But Tyrannus Priscus, a General in the armie, and ma-"ny officers of the horse, who had been corrupted by Florus, di-"verted him from that design. Which was the occasion, that this "war lasted so long, and the Jews were involved in such grievous "calamities."

N. B. So writes Josephus. And afterwards he says: "If (c) Cestius had "continued the siege a little longer, he had certainly taken the city. "But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people, abhorring "his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at "that time."

"Cestius (d) then withdrew from the city. The Jews resumed "courage, and went after him. And coming upon his rear, de-"stroyed a good number both of horse and foot. That night Cesti-"us lay at his former camp, Scopos. As he went farther off the "the next day, he even invited his enemies to pursue him. The "Romans suffered greatly. Among the slain were Priscus, com-"mander of the sixth legion, Longinus a tribune, and Aemilius "Secundus, commander of a troop of horse. It was not without "a great deal of difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former "camp, and leaving behind their baggage. There Cestius stayed two "days, and was in great perplexity, how to proceed. On the third "day he judged it expedient to move."

"That (e) he might march on with the greater expedition, he "threw away every thing that might retard his march. He killed "the mules, and the other beasts, excepting only such as carried "weapons of war: which the Romans kept for their own use, and "that they might not fall into the hands of the Jews, to be after-"wards employed against them. In that march they met with such "difficul-

(c) §. 6. (d) §. 7. (e) §. 8.

A. D. 76.

" difficulties, that the Jews were near taking the whole armie of " Cestius prisoners. And would have effected it, if night had not " come on."

" In *(f)* their flight they left behind them many engines for sieges, " and for throwing stones, and a great part of their other instru- " ments of war. The Jews pursued them, as far as Antipatris, and " then returned, taking up the engines, spoiling the dead bodies, " and gathering up the prey, which the Romans had left behind " them. So they came back to their metropolis with great rejoy- " cings. They lost but a few men themselves. But they had slain " of the Romans and their auxiliaries five thousand and three hun- " dred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. These things " happened on the eighth day of November, in the twelfth year " of the reign of Nero."

" After *(g)* that calamity had befallen Cestius, says Josephus, ma- " ny of the most considerable of the Jewish people forsook the city " as men do a sinking ship."

And it is very likely, that at this time many of the Christians also withdrew from Jerusalem, and Judea. Eusebius says, that *(h)* before the war began, the Christians left Jerusalem, and went to a place beyond Jordan, called Pella. Epiphanius *(i)* speaks to the like purpose. Eusebius does not quote any ancient author for what he says. But it might be founded upon tradition, and such as could be relied upon. As he resided near the place, he might have satisfactorie information of it, and receive the account from the descendents of those Jewish believers.

However, some of them may have gone abroad into the other countreys. St. John, as is well known, lived for some time in A-

(f) Ib. §. 9.

(g) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφορὰν, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νεὼς, ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. *De. B. J. l.* 2. *c.* xx. §. 1.

(h) . . . πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, μετοικῆναι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τίνα τῆς Περαίας πόλιν οἰκεῖν. . . . Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* v. *p.* 75. A.

(i) H. 29. §. *vii.*

A. D. 76. ſia. When he came thither, we cannot ſay exactly: but probably, in the year of Chriſt 66. or ſooner. Some of the Jewiſh believers might go with him out of Judea, or come to him into Aſia afterwards. St. John in his third epiſtle, ver. 6. ſpeaks of *ſtrangers*, who were under difficulties. Some learned men have ſuppoſed, that *(k)* thereby are meant Jewiſh believers, who had been driven out of Paleſtine, or had fled from it, induced thereto by the neceſſity of the times, and their fidelity to Chriſt, and had left their ſubſtance behind them.

I think, we may reckon it to be certain, or at leſt highly probable, that none of the faithful diſciples of Jeſus were ſhut up in Jeruſalem at the ſiege: and that moſt of them left it ſome while before it began, in the year of Chriſt 66. or thereabout, or ſooner.

Our bleſſed Lord ſpeaking of the difficulties of theſe times, and of the declenſions of ſome of his followers, encourages faithfulneſſe in ſtrong terms. Mark xiii. 13... *And ye ſhall be hated of all men for my name ſake. But he that ſhall endure unto the end, ſhall be ſaved.* And Luke xxi. 17... 19. *And ye ſhall be hated of all men for my name ſake. But there ſhall not an hair of your head periſh. In your patience poſſeſs ye your ſouls.* And compare Matt. x. 21. 22. Theſe gracious aſſurances were now fulfilled. The difficulties, which the followers of Jeſus met with, were very great. And the *love of many waxed cold*, and ſome apoſtatized to Judaiſm, to avoid ſufferings. Nevertheleſſe they gained nothing by it. They joyned themſelves to the unbelieving part of the nation, and had part with them in the heavie calamities, which befell them. But the faithfull followers of Jeſus, who were ſteadie to their profeſſion, and attended to his predictions concerning coming calamities, and obſerved the ſigns of their near approach, eſcaped, and obtained ſafety, with only the leſſer difficulties of a flight, which was neceſſarie in the time of a general calamity.

The

(k) *See the Supplement to the Credib. vol.* 3. *p.* 311.

The *(l)* Jews who had defeated Cestius, upon their return to Jerusalem appointed governours and commanders for several places. *Joseph son of Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Priest, were chosen to govern the city, and to repair the walls. *Josephus son of Matthias*, our historian, was made governour of both the *Galilees*. Others were sent to other places. A. D. 76.

Cestius *(m)* sent messengers to Nero in Achaia, to give him an account of what had happened, and of the state of affairs in Judea, and to lay the blame of all the disturbances upon Florus.

Nero *(n)* as Josephus says, was not a little moved at these things, though he dissembled his concern. However, he chose for a General a man of known valour, and experience in war, several of whose important services are here mentioned by Josephus, agreeably to the testimonie of the *(o)* Roman authors. Who represent Vespasian

(l) *Ib. cap. xx.* §. 3. 4.

(m) *Ib. cap. xx.* §. 1.

(n) *De B. J. l.* 3. *cap. i.* §. 1. 2.

(o) Missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna, famaque, et egregiis ministris, &c. *Tacit. Hist. L. v. cap.* 10.

Claudio principe, Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germania missus est. Inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. . . . Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo discederet saepius, aut praesens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam. Prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judaeâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea praedictum patuit. Judaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt: caesoque Praepositio, Legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem, raptâ Aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est: et ut industriae expertae, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter Legatos majore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum disciplina: uno quoque et altero proelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit. *Sueton. Vespasian. cap. iv.*

A. D. 76. ſian to have been choſen for this ſervice out of regard to his merit, when upon ſome accounts he was diſagreeable to Nero.

Veſpaſian *(p)* ſent his own ſon Titus from Achaia, where he then was, to Alexandria, to fetch thence the fifth and tenth legions. Himſelf, having croſſed the Helleſpont, went by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, and a good number of auxiliaries from the neighboring princes.

The *(q)* Jews elevated by the advantages, which they had gained over Ceſtius, determined to carry the war to a greater diſtance. Accordingly they marched to Aſhkalon, a city always at enmity with them, diſtant from Jeruſalem 550 furlongs. [*more than* 60 *miles.*] Here the Jewiſh people were defeated in two attacks, loſing more than eighteen thouſand men, and two of their Generals, *John the Eſſen*, and *Silas* the Babylonian. *Niger* the Peraite the third General, narrowly eſcaped with his life.

Veſpaſian (*r*) when he arrived at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, reckoned the third city of the Roman Empire for magnitude and dignity, found there Agrippa waiting for him. And taking the whole armie with him, he ſoon marched forward to Ptolemais.

Titus (*s*) making great expedition than could have been expected, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, came to his father at Ptolemais, bringing with him the fifth and tenth legions. To which were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were alſo five cohorts from Ceſarea, with one troop of horſe, and alſo five other troops from Syria. There was alſo a conſiderable number of auxiliaries from the Kings *Antiochus* [of Comagene] and *Agrippa*, and *Seleucus*, and *Malchus* the Arabian. So that the whole armie of Romans and auxiliaries, horſe and foot, amounted to about ſixty thouſand men, beſide ſervants, whom Joſephus repreſents as far from being uſeleſs, according to the Roman diſcipline.

Thus we have purſued the hiſtorie to the end of the year 66. and into the begining of the year 67.

Veſ-

(*p*) *De B. J. l.* 3. *cap. i.* §. 3.
(*q*) *Ib. cap. ii.* §. 1. 2. 3.
(*r*) *Ibid.* §. 4.
(*s*) *Ib. cap. iv. n.* 2.

Vespasian (*t*) stayed some while at Ptolemais. However Placidus, who was before sent into Galilee, destroyed many, whom he met with in the open countreys. He also made an attack upon Jotapata, but was repulsed. A.D. 76.

Vespasian (*u*) leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his armie in great order into Galilee.

The (*x*) first place taken by Vespasian was *Gadara*, which at that time had in it few men of a militarie age. But he slew all the young people: the Romans, from hatred of the Jews, and resenting the defeat of Cestius, having no mercie on any age. He also set fire to the city, and burnt all the villages, and smaller towns, round about: making some totally desolate, in others taking some captives.

Josephus (*y*) leaves Tiberias, and enters *Jotapata* on the 21. day of May.

The (*z*) next day Vespasian marches to Jotapata, at (*a*) the siege of which he received a slight wound in one of his feet.

" Whilst (*b*) Vespasian lay with his armie before Jotapata, he " sent Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, to *Japha*, not far " off. The place was strong, and surrounded by a double wall. A " large number made a salley upon the Romans. Being beaten back " they retired within the outer wall. But when they came to the " inner wall, their fellow-citizens refused to admit them, least the " Romans should also force their way in with them. And (*c*) now, N. B. " says Josephus, it might be seen, that God had given up the Ga- " lileans to the Romans, to be destroyed by their cruel enemies. " The number of the slain in the distresse between the two walls " was twelve thousand. Of this Trajan gave information to Vespa- " sian,

(*t*) *L.* 3. *cap. vi.* 1.
(*u*) *Ib. n.* 2. 3.
(*x*) *Cap. vii.* 1.
(*y*) §. 3.
(*z*) *Ib.* 4.
(*a*) *Ib.* §. 22.
(*b*) *Ib.* §. 31.
(*c*) Θεὸς δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὁ Ρωμαίοις τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη χαριζόμενος. κ. λ. *Ibid.*

A. D. 76. "ſian, deſiring him to ſend his ſon Titus thither, that he might "have the honour of compleating the conqueſt."

"Veſpaſian ſuſpecting there might ſtill be ſome difficulty, ſent "Titus with five hundred horſe, and a thouſand foot. When the "place was taken, all the people, young and old, were deſtroyed. "None were ſaved, excepting the male infants, and the women, "who were made ſlaves. The number of thoſe, who were ſlain "now, and in the former attack, were fifteen thouſand. The pri-"ſoners were two thouſand a hundred and thirty. This calamity "befell the Galileans on the five and twentieth day of May."

At *(d)* the ſame time the *Samaritans* got together in a riotous manner at mount Garizim. Whereupon Veſpaſian ſent againſt them Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion, with ſix hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot. Who ſlew them all, to the number of eleven thouſand and ſix hundred. This happened on the 25 day of the month of June.

Now *(e)* the final attack was made upon Jotapata, which was taken after a ſiege of forty ſeven days. All of every age were ſlain, except infants and women. The captives were a thouſand and two hundred. The number of ſlain in the laſt attack, and in the former encounters was forty thouſand. Veſpaſian ordered the city to be demoliſhed, and ſet fire to all the caſtles. Thus Jotapata was taken on the firſt day of July, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

I think it may be worth the while to obſerve here, for ſhewing the violent and deſperate diſpoſition of the Jewiſh people at this time: "that *(f)* in the diſtreſſe of the laſt attack, when the Romans were "got within the walls of Jotapata, many of the people made away "with themſelves, rather than come into the hands of the Romans. "Joſephus calls them choſen men, who were near his perſon. They "could

(*d*) *Ibid. p.* 32.

(*e*) §. 33. . . . 35.

(*f*) Τῦτο πολλὰς καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἰόσηπον ἐπιλεκτῶν, ἐπ' αὐτοχειρίαν παρέξενε. Κατιδόντες γὰρ, ὡς ἑδένα τῶν Ρωμάιων ἀνελεῖν δύνανται, τόγε μὴ πεσεῖν αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ρωμάιων προέλαβον, καὶ συναθροισθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφᾶς αὐτὰς ἀνεῖλον. §. 34.

"could not kill the Romans. And they resolved not to be killed "by them." A. D. 76.

Undoubtedly, my readers recollect here what was taken notice of *(g)* formerly, which happened presently afterwards, in the cave, where *(h)* Josephus and forty other persons of distinction had hid themselves. And several other like instances may appear hereafter, as we proceed in this historie, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

Josephus (*i*) now came into the hands of the Roman General. He was still a prisoner, and carried a chain. But he had change of apparel given him, and was otherwise well used.

The *(k)* siege of Jotapata being over, on the fourth of July Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Thence he went to Cesarea by the sea-side. Here he put two legions, for some while, for their refreshment: but sent the tenth and fifth to Scythopolis, that Cesarea might not be overburdened.

"In *(l)* the mean time he sent some of his soldiers, both horse "and foot, to *Joppa*. Which though it had been demolished not "long since by Cestius, was repeopled by men who had escaped from "other cities. Here they built many ships, and exercised a kind "of piracie. Upon the approach of the Romans they betook them-"selves to their ships, which met with a violent storm, and were "cast away. The number that perished was computed to be four "thousand and two hundred. Here (*m*) also some rather than be "drowned, or be cast on the shore, and then be killed by the Romans, "put an end to their own lives. The place was now entirely demo-"lished. However, by Vespasian's direction, a number of horse and "foot were left here, with orders to destroy the neighboring villa-"ges. So those troops overrun the countrey, as they were ordered, "and laid waste the whole region."

(*g*) *See p.* 33.

(*h*) . . . ἔνθα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπισήμων ἄνδρας καταλαμβάνει λανθάνοντας. *Ib. cap. viii.* 1.

(*i*) *Ib.* §. 9.

(*k*) *Ibid. cap.* 9. §. 1.

(*l*) §. 2. 3. 4.

(*m*) Τινὲς δὲ ὡς κερδαλεώτερον τὴν θάλασσαν ἔσθανον, τῷ σιδήρῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῦντες. *Ib.* §. 3.

A. D. 76. In (n) a ſhort time Veſpaſian went from Ceſarea before mentioned to Ceſarea Philippi, to pay a compliment to King Agrippa, by whom he had been invited, and by whom he was now entertained twenty days.

Hearing (o) of the revolt of *Taricheas* Veſpaſian ſent thither his ſon Titus. Taricheas *(p)* was a ſtrong place, and had been fortified by Joſephus. The number of people who periſhed in the ſeveral attacks, and in taking the city, was ſix thouſand and five hundred.

After *(q)* which Veſpaſian ſat upon his tribunal, to conſider what ſhould be done with the people that remained. And at length by his order all the old men and other uſeleſs people, to the number of twelve hundred, were ſlain. Out of the young men he choſe ſix thouſand of the ſtrongeſt, whom he ſent to Nero to work at the Iſthmus. The reſt he ſold for ſlaves, who were in number thirty thouſand and four hundred. This was done on the eighth day of September.

The place *(r)* to which Veſpaſian went next was *Gamala*. Where he met with great difficulties, and many of the Romans were ſlain. It was taken at laſt on the 23. day of October. When there was no way of eſcaping left, many Jews threw their children, their wives, and themſelves from the hill on which the citadel was built into the deep valley below. The number of thoſe who thus precipitated themſelves was computed to be five thouſand. The reſt amounted to four thouſand. For here the Romans ſpared none, not even infants. None eſcaped, except two women.

To *Giſchala* (s) Veſpaſian ſent Titus. Here about ſix thouſand were ſlain. But *John*, ſon of Levi, who had commanded in the place, eſcaped, and got to Jeruſalem, with ſome others. Which as

(n) *Ibid.* §. 7.
(o) *Ib.* §. 7.
(p) . . . *Cap.* x. 1. . . 10.
(q) §. 10.
(r) *De B. J. l.* 4. *cap.* 1. §. 1. . . 10.
(s) *Ibid. cap. ii. n.* 1. . . 5.

(*t*) as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem. A. D. 76. N. B.

"Thus says (*u*) Josephus, was all *Galilee* subdued, after it had "cost the Romans much labour."

The (*x*) next chapter of our Author contains an account of the state of things in Jerusalem, after John came into it. Where he likewise says: "At *(y)* the same time there were disturbances, and "civil wars in every city. And all they who were quiet from the "Romans, turned their hands one against another. At this time "Robbers, and others of the worst characters, came into the city, "where it had been long usual to receive all who came. But their "numbers consumed those provisions, which might have been of "use in a siege."

They (*z*) now exercised tyrannie over the most considerable men. *Antipas*, a man of royal linage, the most potent man in the city, to whom the care of the public treasure had been committed, they laid hold of, and sent to prison: and after him *Levias*, a man of great distinction, and *Sophas*, son of Raguel, a man of like eminence, and both of royal linage. And (*a*) not thinking themselves safe, whilst they were living, they sent some men of desperate characters, to put them to death in the prison.

Dissensions *(b)* encreasing, there were slain (*c*) in one night eight thousand and five hundred, and afterwards *(d)* twelve thousand of the better sort, beside many others. Here also are mentioned by name, as put to death by the zealots, or others, divers men of great eminence, whose deaths our historian laments in pathetic terms: *Ana-*

(*t*) Θεῷ δὲ ἦν τὸ ἔργον, ὅρα τὸ σάζοντος τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὄλεθρον. §. 3.

(*u*) Γαλιλαῖα μὲν ὧν ἔτως ἑάλω πᾶσα, πολλοῖς ἱδρῶσι προγυμνάσασα Ρωμαίους. §. 5.

(*x*) *Ib. cap.* 3.

(*y*) *Ib.* §. 2. 3.

(*z*) §. 4.

(*a*) §. 5.

(*b*) *L.* 4. *cap. v. Et Conf. cap. iii.* §. 7.

(*c*) *Cap. v.* §. 1.

(*d*) Μύριοι δὲ καὶ δισχίλιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν ἔτω διέφθαρησαν. §. 3.

A. D. 76. *nus* (*e*) the most ancient of the High-Priests, *Jesus* also High-Priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great eminence, and *Zacharias* son of Baruch, different from *Zacharias*, mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35. and Luke xi. 51. as was shewn in another (*f*) place.

Soon (*g*) after this was put to death by the zealots *Gorion*, a man of great eminence for his own virtues, as well as upon account of his familie. Nor did *Niger* the Peraite escape their hands, though he had been so serviceable to them in this war. "When (*h*) they "were killing him, he uttered this imprecation upon them, that "beside the war, they might undergo famine and pestilence, and "after that come to the mutual slaughter of each other. All which "imprecations God ratified against those wicked men. And most "justly did they soon after reap the fruit of their madnesse in their "mutual dissensions."

These (*i*) things being heard of in the Roman camp, the commanders were for hastening the attack upon the city. But Vespasian, as Josephus says, answered them, that the Jews were not now making armour, nor building walls: but they are every day tearing themselves to pieces by intestin wars and dissensions: and suffer greater miseries, than could be inflicted upon them by us, if they were in our hands. And it was the best way to let the Jews destroy one another.

These things we suppose to have happened at the end of the year 67. and the begining of 68.

"However, Vespasian was not inattentive to affairs, and took care "to reduce other places, before he went to Jerusalem. He then left "Cesarea for a while, and marched to *Gadara*, the metropolis of "Perea, as Josephus says, and entred it on the fourth day of March.

"After which he returned to Cesarea, and left Placidus to carry "on the war in those parts. Who (*k*) took *Abila*, *Julias*, and *Be-*

"*semoth*,

(*e*) §. 2. *et* 4.
(*f*) *See Credibility. P. i. B.* 2. *ch.* 6. *p.* 903. *&c.*
(*g*) *Ib. cap. vi.* §. 1.
(*h*) *Ib.* §. 1.
(*i*) *Ib.* §. 2.
(*k*) *L.* 4. *cap. vii.*

"*Semoth*, and other smaller cities and villages, as far as the lake Asphaltites. Insomuch that now all *Perea* was in the hands of the Romans, excepting *Macherus*. This expedition was very fatal to the Jews. Many of the Jewish people were slain by the sword, others were driven into the river Jordan. The number of the slain was not less than fifteen thousand, beside two thousand and two hundred, which were made captives. And Placidus had a rich booty of asses, and sheep, camels, and oxen. This disaster was equal to any that had yet befallen the Jews." A. D. 76.

In the mean time *(l)* Vespasian with a part of his armie went from Cesarea to *Antipatris:* where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying waste and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchie of *Thamnas*, he passed on to *Lydda* and *Jamnia*. And then came to *Ammaus*. Thence he went to the toparchie of *Bethleptephon*. And destroying that and other neighboring places, he slew more than ten thousand, and made captives more than a thousand. And on the second day of the month of July he pitched his camp at *Corea*, not far from *Neapolis*, called by the people of the countrey *Mabortha*. And then went to *Jericho*.

Not long afterwards he returned to Cesarea. And (*m*) now, when he was getting ready all his forces for the siege of Jerusalem, he hears of the death of Nero, which happened on the tenth of June, in the year of our Lord 68. Wherefore Vespasian for a while put off his intended expedition against Jerusalem: waiting to see to whom this Empire would be transferred, and expecting to receive orders from him.

During the remaining part of the year 68. and the year 69. little (*n*) was done by the Romans in the war against the Jews. They kept garrisons in the places already conquered, and fortified some places. But they N. B.

(*l*) *Ib. Cap. viii.* 1.

(*m*) *Ib. cap. ix.* 1. 2.

(*n*) Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judaea gestum. *Pagi ann.* 69. *n. xiii.*

A. D. 76. they made little progreſſe, and the ſiege of Jeruſalem was deferred. This delay was a favourable opportunity for the Jewiſh people to conſider and relent, and make peace with the Romans their enemies, having firſt repented of their ſins, and humbled themſelves before God. But nothing of that kind came to paſſe. They went on in their old way, quarrelling among themſelves, and forming parties, weakening themſelves by diviſions and contentions, and thereby haſtening their ruin.

Our Lord foreſaw this, as appears from the terms of all his predictions concerning them. He foreſaw, that nothing would reclaim them, after his own teachings had failed of the effect. *When he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, ſaying: If thou hadſt known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace. But now they are hid from thy eyes. For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies ſhall compaſs thee round, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, becauſe thou kneweſt not the time of thy viſitation.* Luke xix. 41. . . 44. He would ſtill ſend among them prophets, wiſe men, and ſcribes, his Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. But they would not hearken to them. They would reject their meſſage, and abuſe them. Matt. xxiii. 34.

At *(d)* this time, ſays Joſephus, a new war began at Jeruſalem. And *Simon, ſon of Gioras*, who for a while had been troubleſome to the people there by his furious attacks upon the place, was admitted (*e*) into the city, in the month of April, near the end of the third year of the war.

On the third day of July in the year of our Lord 69. Veſpaſian was proclaimed Emperour *(f)* by the Roman armie in Judea: as *(g)* he

(*d*) Ἐπαυίσεται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πόλεμος. *L. 4. c. ix. §. 3. in.*

(*e*) *Cap. ix. §. 12.*

(*f*) *Ib. cap. x.*

(*g*) Initium ferendi ad Veſpaſianum Imperii Alexandriae coeptum, feſtinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal Jul. ſacramento ejus legiones adegit. Iſque primus principatus dies in poſterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. nonas Jul. apud ipſum juraſſet, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius exſpectaretur, Syriâ remeans,

he had been proclaimed on the first day of the same month at Alexandria, which day was reckoned the begining of his reign. A. D. 76.

And may we not be allowed to suppose, that *Vespasian* and *Titus* were thus advanced by way of recompense for their services, as instruments in the hand of providence for inflicting that punishment upon the Jewish people, which their crying sins deserved, and thus accomplishing the predictions concerning it. We cannot say, that they were truly virtuous. But they were persons of great eminence, and many abilities. And they had a more social and benevolent disposition, than many others. Titus in particular is represented by Roman authors, as a man of a very amiable *(h)* character. And Josephus, who was present with him in the war, often says, that he unwillingly treated the Jewish people so severely, as he did, and that he often made them offers of mercie, if they would lay down their arms, and accept of reasonable terms.

Vespasian *(i)* not long after this, went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, leaving his son Titus, to carry on the war in Judea.

Vespasian stayed some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind, and good weather, or upon account of some political views and considerations. Several extraordinarie things are related to have happened, during his stay there: Which are related very briefly by *(k) Dion Cassius*, more particularly by *(l) Suetonius*, and still more prolixly by (*m*) *Tacitus*. " Two

et consiliorum inter Municianum et patrem nuntius. *Tacit. Hist.* 2. *cap.* 79. *Conf. Sueton. Vespasian. cap.* 6. *Vid. et Pagi ann.* 69. *n. vii. et Basnag. ann.* 69. *n. xxi.*

(*h*) Titus, cognomento paterno, amor ac deliciae humani generis. *Sueton. Tit. cap. i.*

(*i*) *Jos. De B. J. l.* 4. *cap. xi.*

(*k*) *Dio. l.* 66. *n.* 8. *p.* 1082.

(*l*) Auctoritas et quasi majestas quaedam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo Principi, deerat: haec quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restiturum oculos, si inspuisset: confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo successuram, idcoque ne experiri quidem auderet: extremo hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumque tentavit, nec eventus defuit. *Sueton. Vespasi. cap. vii.*

(*m*) Per eos menses, qui Vespasianus Alex-

A. D. 76.

"Two men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind, the "other lame in one of his hands, came both together to him in a "humble manner, saying, that they had been in dream admonish-"ed by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their disor-"ders. Which they were assured might be done for the one, if he "would be pleased to anoint his eyes and face with his spittle, and "for the other, if he would vouchsafe to tread upon his hand. Ves-"pasian, as is said, hesitated for a while. However, the Physicians "having been consulted, they gave their opinion, that the organs of "sight were not destroyed in the blind man, and that sight might "be restored, if obstacles were removed: and that the other's hand "was only disjointed, and with proper remedies might be set right "again. At length, moved by the entreaties of the distempered "persons, and encouraged by the flatteries of those about him, Ves-"pasian performed what had been desired. And the effect was an-"swerable. One of them presently recovered the use of his hands, "and the other his sight."

I do not see reason to believe, that any miracle was now wrought. It was a contrivance between Vespasian and his friends and favorites. Nor

Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies, et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere quis coelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium coecitatis exposcens gemitu: monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabaturque principem, ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu aeger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspernari: atque illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere, obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulantium, in spem induci: postremo aestimari a medicis jubet, an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie differere: Huic non exesam vim luminis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia: illi illapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari . . Igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae parere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, laeto ipse vultu, erecta quae astabat multitudine, jussa exsequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac coeco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. *Tacit. Hist.* 4. *cap.* 81.

Nor (*n*) could it be safe for any to examine and make remarks upon an event, which an Emperour and his favorites recommended to public belief. A. D. 76.

Suetonius has accounted for these stories in the introduction to his narration, saying, that *somewhat was wanting to give dignity and authority to a new chosen Emperour.* And at the begining of his life of Vespasian, he observes, " that (*o*) the Flavian familie was not renowned for it's antiquity." And it is easie for any to discern from several things said by Suetonius and Tacitus, that Vespasian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinarie things concerning himself.

I think, that what Spartian *(p)* writes of some miracles ascribed to Adrian, may illustrate this historie. And therefore I have transcribed him below very largely. Spartian lets us know, that *Marius Maximus*, who before him had writ the Life of Adrian, and some other Emperours, said, those miracles were mere fictions. And says the learned and judicious *Reimar* in his notes upon Dion Cassius: " Nor *(q)* ought we to form any other judgement of the miracles ascribed to Vespasian." And perhaps it may deserve notice, that

(*n*) Ad rei ipsius veritatem quod adtinet, non facile adfirmantibus credere licet, cum vix tutum esset id negare, quo Imperatori obsequentiores Aegyptii, et quod proinde intererat Imperatoris, verum videri. Fraudes ejus retegere, qui fallere vult, et omnibus Reipublicae copiis instructus est, numquam tutum fuit. &c. *Cleric. Ann.* 138. *n. iii.*

(*o*) Imperium suscepit, firmavitque tandem gens Flavia: obscura illa quidem, ac sine majorum imaginibus. *Vespasian. cap. i.*

(*p*) Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam mulier, quae diceret, somnio se monitam, ut insinuaret Adriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus: quod cum non fecisset esse caecatam: Jussam tamen iterum Adriano eadem diceret, atque genua ejus oscularetur, receptura visum, si id fecisset. Quod cum insomnium implesset, oculos recepit, quum aqua quae in fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. Venit et de Pannonia quidam natus caecus ad febrientem Adrianum, eumque contigit: quo facto et ipse oculos recepit, et Adrianum febris reliquit: quamvis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemoret. *Spartian. Hadrian. cap.* 25.

(*q*) Sed Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemorat. Ita diserte Spartianus Hadr. c. 25. Nec aliter de Vespasiani miraculis existimandum. *Reimar. in Dion Cass. l.* 66. §. 50. *p.* 1083.

notwith-

A. D. 76. notwithſtanding ſuch fine things were aſcribed to Veſpaſian, Dion preſently afterwards ſays, " he (*r*) was not at all acceptable to the Alexandrians, but they hated him, and ridiculed and reproached him both in public and private."

However *Crevier's* obſervation is to this effect. " At (*s*) the ſame " time, we ought carefully to obſerve, that theſe diſorders, which " Veſpaſian cured, were not of an incurable nature. And conſe- " quently, we are at liberty to think, that the healing them did not " exceed the power of the demon." And, indeed, Popiſh ſaints and Heathen demons are much alike. Nor is there any great difference between Heathen and Popiſh credulity.

I cannot forbear to take notice of one remarkable hiſtorie in this (*t*) reign. *Sabinus* (*u*) in Gaul, engaged with ſome others in a revolt from the Romans, but was ſoon defeated. He might then have eſcaped into Germanie. But affection for his wife, the beſt of women, whom he could not carry with him, led him into another ſcheme, which he communicated to two only of his freedmen, in whom he could confide. His countrey-houſe was burnt down, and he was ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the flames. But really he retired into a large ſubterraneous cavern, which he had near it. It was univerſally believed, that he had made away with himſelf. And his wife *Epponnina* abandoned herſelf to all the exceſſes of grief, and for three days and three nights refuſed to take any ſuſtenance. Sabinus, hearing of it, and dreading the conſequences, ſent one of his freedmen to her, to aſſure her of his life, and to adviſe her to keep

(*r*) Τὸ μὲν θεῖον τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐσεμνυνεν. Ου μέντοι καὶ Αλεξανδρεῖς ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἤχθοντο. κ. λ. *Dio. p.* 1082.

(*s*) *Hiſt. of the Rom. Emp. Vol.* 6. *p.* 32.

(*t*) *See Tillem. Veſpaſian. art. vi. et xvii. Crevier's Hiſt. of the Roman Emperours, Vol. vi. p.* 103. 104.

(*u*) Fuſi Lingones. Sabinus feſtinatum temere proelium pari formidine deſeruit. Utque famam exitii ſui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit. Illic voluntaria morte interiiſſe creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebriſque vitam per novem annos traduxerit, ſimul amicorum ejus conſtantiam, inſigne Epponninae uxoris exemplum, ſuo loco reddemus. *Tacit. Hiſt.* 4. *cap.* 67.

keep up the appearance of a mourner, ſtill avoiding extremities. Afterwards ſhe had acceſs to him, and bore two children, of which ſhe delivered herſelf in the cavern. By various artfull pretenſes and the faithfulneſſe of friends, the truth was kept ſecret, and Sabinus lay concealed nine years. In which interval there were once ſome hopes of obtaining the Emperour's pardon, and Epponnina had Sabinus to Rome, ſo diſguiſed, that none knew him. But being diſappointed in thoſe expectations, they returned to the place of their retreat. At (*w*) length Sabinus was diſcovered. He, and Epponnina, and their two ſons were brought before Veſpaſian. She behaved with becoming firmneſſe, yet endeavoured to move the Emperour's pity. Preſenting her two ſons to him: "Theſe, ſays ſhe, Ceſar, I have brought forth, and nurſed in the cavern, that I might encreaſe the number of your ſupplicants." And, as is ſaid, neither the Emperour himſelf, nor any others with him, could refrain from tears. However, perceiving, that he did not yield, ſhe then upbraided him, and told him, ſhe had lived more happily in the darkneſſe of a cave, than he upon his throne. Sabinus and his wife were condemned, but the children were ſpared. Plutarch ſays, "that (*x*) thereby Veſpaſian provoked the vengeance of heaven, and brought upon himſelf the exſtinction of his familie. It was, ſays he, the moſt tragical action of that reign, a thing which neither gods nor demons could bear the ſight of." Indeed, not only he, but Tacitus and Dion, ſhew a diſlike of that action. But we have not Tacitus's concluſion of the ſtorie, he having deferred it to a following book, which is now wanting. It muſt appear not a little ſtrange, that a General and his wife, ſhould be put to death nine years after a diſturbance had been ſuppreſſed, and which had no bad conſequences. When likewiſe, of the two miſcreant rebels and tyrants at Jeruſalem, one only was condemned to death, and the other to perpetual impriſonment. Veſpaſian did not live long after this. We now proceed in our hiſtorie.

A. D. 76.

(*w*) *Dio. l.* 66. *p.* 1090. (*x*) *Erat. ſub fin.*

A. D. 76. About (y) this time the Jews became divided into three parties or factions: the leaders of which were *John*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon*: by whom the city, and every part of it, and the temple itself, were filled with slaughter and bloudshed. This happened, as (z) Josephus expressly says, whilst Titus was with his father at Alexandria: and must therefore be rightly placed by us in the year 69: and perhaps, N. B. not far from the end of it. "So, as the same writer says, one faction fought against the other. Which (a) partition in evil cases "may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice."

Eleazar (b) had the temple, *John* was below him in the city, *Simon* had the upper part of the city. *Simon* (c) had with him ten thousand, beside the Idumeans. His own men had fifty commanders, of which he was supreme. The Idumeans, that joyned with him, were five thousand, and had ten commanders. With *Eleazar* were two thousand and five hundred of the zealots. John had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders. But soon after the begining of the siege, these two parties united into one: after which there were but two factions, *John's* and *Simon's*.

"But before that union, whilst they were in three parties, out of "spight to each other, as it seems, they set fire *(d)* to several store-"houses, that were full of corn, and other provisions: as if they "had done it on purpose to serve the Romans: destroying what "would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they "were taken with the famine. Which could not have been, if they "had not by this means brought it upon themselves." So says our Jewish historian.

Titus

(y) *L. 5. cap. i. §. 1.*

(z) *Ibid.*

(a) ὅπερ ἄν τις ὡς ἐν κακοῖς ἀγαθὸν εἴποι, καὶ δίκης ἔργον. *Ibid.*

(b) *Ib. §. 2. 3.*

(c) *L. 5. cap. vi. 1. Vid. et cap. iii. 1.*

(d) ... ὑπεμπίπρα τὰς οἰκίας σίτου μεστὰς, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιτηδείων ... κατακαῦναι δὲ πολὺν ὀλίγου πάντα τὸν σῖτον, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγα διήρκεσεν ἤτη πολιορκεμένοις. Λιμῷ γὰρ ἑάλωσαν· ὅπερ ἥκισα δυνατὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς προπαρεσκεύασαν. *L. 5. cap. i. §. 4.*

Titus (*e*) now leaves Alexandria, and comes to Cesarea, designing to move forward to Jerusalem, and lay siege to it: having with him an armie of about sixty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries. He (*f*) pitcheth his camp at the place called Scopus, making however two other encampments at a small distance, one of which was on the mount of Olives. He (*g*) presented himself before the city about the time of Passover, which was on the fourteenth day of the month of April, in the year of Christ 70. Here he met with difficulties at the first, as the Jews made furious sallies upon his armie. Some of his soldiers were put by them into disorder, and suffered very considerably. A. D. 76.

The (*h*) city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where were deep vallies, which rendred the place inaccessible. There it had but one wall. On (*i*) the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of May, the Romans got possession of the first wall, and demolished a great part of it. Titus (*k*) then encamped within the city, in a place called *the Assyrians camp*. On (*l*) the fifth day after that he got possession of the second wall, but was repulsed, and beat out of it again. "Whereupon those Jews, who were armed, and were the fighting men, "as our historian says, were much elevated, persuading themselves, "that the Romans could never conquer the city. For (*m*) God had "blinded their minds for the transgressions, which they had been "guilty of, so that they did not consider the superior force of the "Romans, nor discern how the famine was creeping in upon them. "For hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public distresses, "and drunk the bloud of the city. But poverty was now become "the lot of many good men, and a great many had already perish-"ed N. B.

(*e*) *De B. J. l.* 4. *cap. xi. n.* 5. *L.* 5. *cap. i. et cap. ii.* 1.
(*f*) *Cap. ii.* §. 3.
(*g*) *Cap. iii.* 1.
(*h*) *L.* 5. *cap. iv.*
(*i*) . . . *cap. vii.* §. 2.
(*k*) . . . *ib.* §. 3.
(*l*) *cap viii.* §. 1. 2.
(*m*) Ἐτεσκότει γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις διὰ τὰς παρανομίας ὁ Θεός. κ. λ. *Ib.* §. 2.

A. D. 76. "ed for want of neceſſaries. But they ſuppoſed the deſtruction of "the meaner people to be a benefit to them." However Titus renewed the attack. The Jews defended themſelves reſolutly for three days. But on the fourth day he again became maſter of that wall. And then he demoliſhed all that part, which lay to the north, and fortified the ſouth ſide with towers, and placing ſoldiers in them. And then conſidered how he might attack the third and inmoſt wall.

Now (*n*) Titus thought fit to relax the ſiege for a while, in order to eaſe the ſoldiers, and to pay them ſubſiſtence-money, as alſo to ſee whether the Jews would relent, and make ſome propoſals for ſurrendring, that he might ſhew them mercie.

Moreover, Joſephus (*o*) by order of Titus, took this opportunity, to addreſs the Jews in a pathetic diſcourſe: having ſought out a place to ſtand in, where he might be heard, and be in ſafety. In that ſpeech he entreats the Jews to ſave themſelves, their temple, and their countrey, and tells them, that they were fighting againſt God.

"Moreover, ſays he, as for Titus, thoſe ſprings, which were al-
"moſt dried up, when they were in your power, ſince his coming,
"they run more plentifully, than they did before. Accordingly, you
"know, that Siloam, as well as all the other ſprings about the city, did
"ſo far fail, that water was ſold in pitchers: whereas they now have
"ſuch a quantity for your enemies, as is ſufficient for themſelves,
"and for their cattle, and for watering gardens. The ſame won-
"derfull ſign you had experience of formerly, when the afore-
"mentioned King of Babylon, made war againſt us, who took this
"city, and burnt the temple: though (*p*) the men of that time, I
"believe, were far from being ſuch tranſgreſſors, as you are."

With regard to that particular, the flowing of the ſprings without the city in the time of the King of Babylon, Mr. *Whiſton* ſays in a mar-

(*n*) *L.* 5. *cap. ix.* §. 1.

(*o*) §. 3. 4.

(*p*) . . . ἐδὲν δίμαι τῶν τότε ἠσεβηκότων τηλικούτων ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς. *Ib.* §. 4. *p.* 350. *Havere.*

marginal note upon the place. "The history of this is now wanting elsewhere." A. D. 76.

Four days were spent in that relaxation. On the fifth day, when no offers of peace came from the Jews, Titus began to raise new banks at several places.

"The *(q)* famine now began to be very severe. And with the "famine encreased also the madnesse of the seditious, [*as Josephus "calls them, meaning John and Simon, and the officers under them.*] "There could no corn appear publicly any where, but those rob- "bers came running for it. They also searched private houses. If "they found any corn, they tormented the people, because they had "denied it. If they found none, they tormented them nevertheless, "because they supposed, the people had concealed it."

Here *(r)* Josephus enlargeth upon the miseries of the people, and the great wickednesse of their present governours. "But, says he, N. B. "it is impossible to enumerate every instance of the iniquity of those "men. But, in a word, never did any city suffer so great calami- "ties. Nor was there ever from the begining of the world any "time more fruitfull of wickednesse, than that. . . These were the "men, who overthrew the city, and compelled the Romans un- "willingly, to gain a disagreeable victorie. They did little less than "throw fire upon the temple, and seemed to think it came too "slowly."

"At *(s)* this time many came out of the city, to seek for food, "or with a view of making an escape, who were apprehended by "the Romans, and crucified before the walls. And many of them "were scourged, before they were crucified. This seemed to Titus "very grievous. For five hundred Jews were taken in a day, and "sometimes more. Nevertheless he allowed of it. To dismiss them, "and let them go off, would not have been safe. Nor could he "spare men enough to keep guard upon so many. Moreover, he "hoped,

(q) L. 5. cap. x. §. 1. 2. *(r) cap x. §. 4. 5.* *(s) cap. xi. §. 1.*

76. A. D. "hoped, that the ſight of theſe miſerable objects might diſpoſe them "in the city to think of ſurrendring. The ſoldiers out of anger, and "hatred of the Jews, hung them upon the croſſes, ſome one way, "ſome another, as it were in jeſt. And ſo great was the number, "that room was wanting for croſſes, and croſſes were wanting for "bodies."

"Now (*t*) alſo Titus ordered the hands of ſome of them, who "had come out of the city to be cut off. And then he ſent them "back, to let the people within the city know, that henceforward "he ſhould carry on the ſiege with vigour: however ſtill wiſhing "them to repent, and not compell him to deſtroy their city, and "their admired temple. But they who ſtood upon the wall return-"ed reproaches upon him, and upon his father Veſpaſian, telling "him, that death was better than ſlaverie, and that ſo long as they "had breath, they would do the Romans all the harm, they could. "As for the temple, they believed it would be preſerved by him "who inhabited it. Having him for their helper, they deſpiſed all "his threatenings. For the event depended upon God only."

The (*u*) Romans were employed in raiſing batteries. But though they had begun to raiſe them on the 12. day of May, they had much ado to finiſh them by the 29. day of the ſame month, after having labored hard for ſeventeen days ſucceſſively. In which time, however, four batteries were compleated.

But John found means to undermine them, ſo that they fell down all at once, cauſing great confuſion among the Romans. And after that Simon and his men made a furious ſally upon the Romans.

The Roman armie was greatly diſcouraged, to ſee their batteries ruined in one hour, which had coſt them ſo much labour. And many deſpaired, thinking it impoſſible to take the city with the uſual engines of war.

Titus

(*t*) *Ib.* §. 5. (*u*) §. 4.

Titus (*x*) consulted with his officers what might be fit to be done. At length it was determined to encompass the city with a wall. Which was compleated in three days, with towers at proper distances, to place soldiers in as garrisons. A. D. 75.

Our blessed Lord says, Luke xix. 43. *For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Some think, that this prophecie was now particularly fulfilled in the building of the wall, here mentioned by Josephus. Others may suppose, that it had it's accomplishment, when the Romans laid siege to the city of Jerusalem, and encompassed it with an armie.

" The (*y*) famine now encreasing, it devoured whole houses. For " a while, they who had no relations to take care of them, were " buried at the public expense. Afterwards the dead were thrown " over the wall into the ditch.

" When (*z*) Titus, in going his rounds, near the valleys, below " the walls, saw the dead bodies, and the putrefaction issuing from " them, he fetched a deep sigh, and lifting up his hands to heaven, " called God to witnesse, that this was not his doing." However, he proposed erecting new platforms: which was a difficult work, as all the timber near the city was already consumed, and it was now to be fetched from a great distance. N. B.

In the next chapter (*a*) Josephus relates the death of *Matthias*, son of *Boëthus*, one of the High-Priests, and several other persons of eminence, and divers others, who were slaughtered by order of Simon in a most shamefull manner. *Matthias* was the person, who had advised the admitting of Simon into the city, contrarie to the inclinations of many others. Matthias had four sons, one of which had saved himself by getting away to Titus. The other three were all put to death together with their father: but with this express

(*x*) *cap. xii.* §. 1. 2.
(*y*) §. 3.
(*z*) §. 4.
(*a*) *cap. xiii.* §. 1.

A. D. 76. order from Simon, that the ſons ſhould be firſt ſlain before the eyes of their father. Nor was burial allowed to them. The execution was committed by Simon to *Ananus*, ſon of *Bamadus*, the moſt barbarous man of his guards. After them were ſlain *Ananias* a Prieſt, and *Ariſteas*, ſcribe of the Sanhedrim, and fifteen other men of eminence among the people. They alſo ſlew ſuch as made lamentation for theſe perſons, without farther examination.

" Many *(b)* did ſtill find means to get out of the city. Some leaped " down from the wall. Others went out of the city with ſtones in " their hands, as if they were going to fight with the Romans. But " moſt of them died miſerably. Some periſhed by exceſſive eating " upon empty ſtomachs. Moreover ſome of them had ſwallowed gold, " and were detected afterwards in ſearching for it in their excre- " ments. This having been obſerved in a few inſtances excited the " avarice of the ſoldiers, who concluded that all the deſerters were " full of gold. They therefore cut up their bellies, and ſearched " their entrails. In this way, as Joſephus ſays, there periſhed two " thouſand in one night. Nor does it ſeem to me, that any miſe- " rie befell the Jews more terrible than this."

" When Titus heard of it, he was greatly diſpleaſed, eſpecially " when he found, that not only the *Syrians* and *Arabians* had prac- " tiſed this cruelty, but the *Romans* likewiſe. He therefore gave " orders, that all who for the future acted in that manner ſhould be " put to death. But the love of money prevailed againſt the dread " of puniſhment. And indeed it was God who had condemned the N. B. " whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preſer- " vation."

About *(c)* this time John melted down many of the ſacred utenſils, in the temple, to make uſe of them as inſtruments of war. He alſo diſtributed the ſacred wine and oyl for common uſe to perſons, who

(b) §. 4. 5. *(c)* §. 6.

who in drinking, and anointing themselves, wasted them in a profuse manner. A. D. 76.

"But *(d)* why do I stay to relate particularly these several calamities? For at this time *Mannaeus*, son of *Lazarus*, fled out of "the city, and came to Titus, and told him, that through the one "gate, which had been entrusted to his care, there had been carried "out no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred "and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans encamped "near the city, the fourteenth day of the month of April to the first "day of July. That was a prodigious number. The man was not "a governour at the gate. But he was appointed to pay the public allowance for carrying the bodies out. And therefore was obliged to number them. Others were buried by their relations: "though their burial was no other than to bring them, and cast "them out of the city. After that man there came to Titus several other deserters of good condition, who told him, that the "whole number of the poor, who had been thrown out at the gates "was not less than six hundred thousand. The number of the rest "could not be exactly known. They farther told him, that when "they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the "poor, they laid them in heaps in large houses, and then shut them "up. They likewise said, that a measure of wheat had been sold "for a talent. And that afterwards, when it had been impossible to "come out to gather herbs, because the city was encompassed with "a wall, some were driven to such distresse, as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which "they found there: and that what they could not before endure to "see, they now made use of for food. When the Romans heard of "these things, they commiserated their case. But the seditious, "who saw them, did not repent, till the same distresse reached them-

(d) §. 7.

A. D. 76. N. B. "themſelves. For *(e)* they were blinded by that fate, which was "coming upon the city and themſelves."

There ends the fifth book of our Author's hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War. The ſixth book contains the progreſſe of the ſiege, and the miſeries of the people, till the city was taken by Titus.

The *(f)* Roman batteries are now raiſed at the end of one and twenty days hard labour, and the miſeries of the city encreaſe. The Romans begin to batter upon the walls of the tower called *Antonia*. The Jews make a vigorous defenſe. But the Romans gained poſſeſſion of it about the midle of July.

"Titus *(g)* thereupon ordered his ſoldiers to dig up the founda-
"tions of the tower Antonia, to make way for him to come up
"with his whole armie. And being informed, that on that very
"day, the ſeventeenth of July, the daily ſacrifice had failed, and
"that it had not been offered up for want of men, and that the
"people were greatly concerned at it, he ſent for Joſephus, and
"commanded him to ſay to John the ſame things that had been ſaid
"before. Accordingly Joſephus ſought for a proper place to ſtand
"in, and in the name of Titus himſelf, earneſtly exhorted John,
N. B. "and thoſe that were with him, to ſpare their own countrey, and to
"prevent that fire which was ready to ſeize upon the temple, and
"to offer to God therein their uſual ſacrifices." But John caſt ma-
"ny reproaches upon Joſephus, with imprecations, adding withall,
"that *(h)* he did not fear the city ſhould ever be taken, which was
"God's own city: After which Joſephus went on with a pathetic
"ſpeech. Which though it did not perſuade John, and his adhe-
"rents, was not altogether without effect."

And *(i)* ſome watching for an opportunity, fled to the Romans.

Of

(e) Πεπήρωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς χρεὼν, ὁ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη παρῆν.

(f) *L.* 6. *cap. i.* §. 1. . . . 8.

(g) *cap. ii.* §. 1.

(h) . . . ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε δέοιτο ἁλῶσιν, Θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν.

(i) *Ibid. cap. ii.* §. 2.

Of whom were the High-Priests *Joseph*, and *Jesus*, and of sons of High-Priests three, and four sons of *Matthias*, as well as one son of the other *Matthias*, formerly mentioned, who with three of his sons had been killed by order of Simon, son of Gioras. And many others of the nobility. All whom Titus received very kindly, and sent them to *Gophna*, a small city, where they might live quietly, following their own customs. Which offer they chearfully accepted. But as they did not appear, the seditious within the city gave out, that those men had been slain by the Romans. It was in vain therefore, they said, for any to go over to the Romans, unless they were willing to be put to death. A. D. 76.

Titus *(k)* therefore sent for those men from Gophna, and let them go round near the wall, with Josephus, to assure people, that they might come over to him with safety.

If all this be true, as Josephus writes, it is a proof of the good temper of Titus. Moreover, the Romans were now pushing their conquests upon the Temple itself, which Titus seems unwilling to have destroyed.

" And *(l)* as Josephus adds, Titus was much affected with the " present state of things, and reproached John and those with him. " Reminding them of the regard, which had been shewn to the tem- " ple by the Romans, who had allowed them to erect in the courts " of it a partition wall, with inscriptions in Greek, forbidding all " foreigners to enter within those limits, and allowing them to kill " such as did so, though they were Romans. I call to witnesse, says N. B. " he, the Gods of the countrey, and every God, who ever had a " regard to this place: (for I do not now suppose it to be regarded by " any of them:) I also call to witnesse my own armie, and the Jews " who are with me, and your own selves, that I do not compell you " to pollute your sanctuarie. And if you will change the place of " combat, no Roman shall come near it. For I will endeavour to " preserve your temple, whether you will or not."

Such

(k) *Ib.* §. 3. (l) §. 4.

A. D. 76.

Such (*m*) things were ſpoken by Titus, and by Joſephus after him in Hebrew, to John and the reſt with him. But they perverted it, as if all theſe fine offers proceeded from fearfulneſſe, and not from any good will to them.

Titus (*n*) therefore proceeded in his attacks. His ſoldiers fought with the Jews at the temple, whilſt he continued on the higher ground in Antonia, to obſerve their conduct.

They (*o*) had now made a broad way from the tower Antonia to the Temple, and began to play on the temple with their battering engines.

The (*p*) fight was very deſperate. A cloyſter near Antonia was ſet on fire. On the 24. day of July the Romans ſet fire to another cloyſter, when the fire proceeded fifteen cubits farther.

" Whilſt (*q*) the Jews and Romans were thus fighting at the tem-
" ple, the famine prevailed in the city, till at length, they did not ab-
" ſtain from girdles and ſhoes. The very leather that belonged to
" ſhields, they took off, and gnawed. Wiſps of old ſtraw became
" food to them."

At (*r*) this time, a woman named *Marie*, of a good familie, beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Jeruſalem, to avoid the inconveniences of the war in the open countrey, when all ſhe had brought with her was conſumed, or taken from her by the rapaciouſneſſe of the tyrants, and their adherents, was reduced to ſuch extremity, that ſhe killed her ſucking child, and dreſſed it for food.

On (*s*) the eighth day of the month of Auguſt the Roman batteries were compleated, and Titus ordered the batteries to play upon the Temple. The battle between the Jews and Romans was very deſperate.

" Titus

(*m*) §. 5.
(*n*) §. 5. 6.
(*o*) §. 7.
(*p*) §. 8. 9.
(*q*) *cap. iii.* §. 3.
(*r*) §. 4.
(*s*) *cap. iv.* §. 1.

" Titus *(t)* retired to the tower of Antonia. And resolved the " next day early in the morning to storm the temple with his whole " armie, and to encamp about it. But certainly the divine sentence " had long since condemned it to the fire. And now the fatal day " was come, according to the revolution of ages. It was the tenth " day of the month August, the same day, upon which it had been " formerly burnt by the King of Babylon." A. D. 76. N. B.

" The *(u)* temple was now on fire. Nevertheless Titus still de- " sirous to save it, if possible, came near, and went into the sanctua- " rie of the temple with his commanders, and saw it, with what " was in it. Which he found to be far superior to the accounts of " foreigners, and not inferior to our boastings and persuasion con- " cerning it."

As *(x)* the fire had not yet reached the inner parts of the temple, Titus gave fresh orders for exstinguishing the fire, and preserving the temple. But to no purpose. Such was the enmity of the soldiers against the Jews, filled also with the hopes of plunder, and now animated with the rage of war.

" Nor *(y)* can we forbear to wonder at the accuracie of the period. " For this happened, as before said, in the same month, and day of " the month, in which the temple had been burnt by the Babyloni- " ans. And the number of years from it's first foundation by King " Solomon, to this it's destruction in the second year of Vespasian, " are collected to be one thousand and thirty, and seven months, and " fifteen days. And from it's second building by Haggai in the se- " cond year of King Cyrus, to it's destruction by Vespasian, there " were six hundred, and thirty nine years, and forty five days."

Whilst *(z)* the temple was burning, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those who were caught, were slain. Nor was there any regard had to age, or condition. But children

(t) § 5.
(u) §. 7.
(x) *Ibid.*
(y) §. 8.
(z) *cap. v.* §. 1.

A. D. 76. dren and old men, profane persons and priests, were all slain in the same manner.

"At *(a)* this time the treasurie-chambers were burnt, where was "an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of gar-"ments, with other precious things. For there it was, that the "riches of the Jews were heaped up. . . The soldiers also came to "the rest of the cloysters in the outer court, where were women, and "children, and a mixed multitude of people, to the number of six "thousand. And before Cesar had given any orders about it, the "soldiers in a rage set fire to the cloyster. Nor did any one of that "multitude escape with his life. A false-prophet was the occasion "of their destruction. Who that very day had made proclamation "in the city, that God commanded them to go up to the temple, "where they would receive signs of deliverance. And indeed there "was then a great number of false-prophets suborned by the leaders "of the factions to impose upon the people, who told them, that they "should wait for deliverance from God."

"Thus *(b)* as our Author goes on, in the words next following, "was this miserable people deceived by impostors, who spoke lies in
N. B. "the name of God. But they did not attend, nor give credit to "those prodigies, which evidently foretold their future desolation. "But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds "to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations. There *(c)* "was a star, a comet, resembling a sword, which stood over the ci-"ty, and continued for a year. And before the rebellion, and be-"fore the war broke out, when the people were come together in "great

(*a*) §. 2.

(*b*) *ib.* §. 3.

(*c*) Τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ξιφοειδὲς παραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατείνας ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης.

Mr. Whiston's translation is: *Thus there was a star, resembling a sword, which stood over the city: and a comet that continued a whole year.* And he has a note to this purpose. "Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet, which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favor their being different one from another."

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" great multitudes, to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth " day of the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night, so " great a light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed " to be bright day. Which light continued for half an hour. This " to the unskilfull seemed to be a good sign: but by the sacred scribes " it was judged to portend what has since happened. And at the " same festival a heifer, as she was led by the High-Priest to be sacri- " ficed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. More- " over the eastern gate of the inner court of the temple, which was " of brasse, and very heavie, which was not without difficulty shut " in the evening by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with " iron, and was fastened with bolts that went deep into the floor, " which was made of one entire stone, was seen to open of it's own " accord at the sixth hour of the night. Whereupon they who kept " watch at the temple, went to the captain, and told him of it. He " then came up thither, and not without difficulty had it shut again. " This also appeared to the vulgar a good sign: as if thereby God " thereby opened to them the gate of happinesse. But the wiser " men concluded, that the security of the temple was gone, and that " the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. And they " said, it was a signal of the desolation that was coming upon them. " Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the one and twenti- " eth day of the month of May, there appeared a wonderfull pheno- " menon almost exceeding belief. And the account of it might seem " fabulous, if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the " following events had not been answerable to such signs. For be- " fore sun-set chariots and troops in armour were seen carried upon " the clouds, and surrounding cities. And at the festival, which " we call the Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the " inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their mi- " nistrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied " with a noise, and after that a sound, as of a multitude, saying: " Let us remove hence. But, which is still more awfull, there was

A. D. 76. "one *Jesus*, son of *Ananus*, of a low condition, and a countreyman, "who four years before the war began, when the city enjoyed pro- "found peace, and flowing prosperity, came up to the festival, in "which it is the custom for us all to make tabernacles, who on a "sudden began to cry out in the temple: *A voice from the east, a "voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Je- "rusalem, and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the "brides, a voice against the whole people.* This was his cry, as he "went about, both by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. "Some of the chief men were offended at this ill-boding sound, and "taking him up, laid many stripes upon him, and had him beaten se- "verely. Yet he said not a word for himself, nor made any pecu- "liar complaint to them that beat him: but went on repeating the "same words that he had said before. Hereupon the magistrates, "thinking it to be somewhat more than ordinarie, as indeed it was, "bring him before the Roman Governour: where he was whipped, "till his bones were laid bare. All which he bore, without shed- "ding any tears, or making any supplications. But with a mourn- "full voice, at every stripe, cried out: *Woe to Jerusalem.* Albinus, "the Governour, asked him, Who he was, and whence he came, "and why he uttered those words. To all which he made no an- "swer, but continued making his mournfull denunciations to the "city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, dismissed him. And "thence forward, to the time of the war, he did not go to any of the "citizens: nor was he seen speaking to any: but only went on "with his mournfull denunciation, as if it had been his premedita- "ted vow: *Woe, woe to Jerusalem.* He did not give ill language to "those who beat him, as many did frequently. Nor did he thank "those, who gave him food: but went on repeating to all the dole- "full presage. But especially at festivals his cry was the loudest. "And so it continued for seven years and five months, without his "growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, till he saw his presage "fulfilled in the siege. Then he ceased. For going round upon

"the

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" the wall, with his utmost force he cried out: *Woe, woe, once more,* " *to the city, and to the people, and to the temple.* And then at last " he added: *Woe, woe to my-self also.* At which instant, there came " a stone out of one of the engines, that smote him, and killed him " immediatly. And whilst he was uttering these mournfull presa- " ges, he gave up the ghost."

" If *(d)* any one considers these things, adds Josephus, he will " be convinced, that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways " possible foreshews to our race what is for their benefit: and that " men perish by those miseries, which they madly and voluntarily " bring upon themselves."

Thus I have transcribed this whole article of Josephus at length, and in the place and order, in which it stands in his own work. I must be so candid as to take notice of the reflexions, which some learned men have made upon it.

To this purpose speaks Dr. *Willes*, in his first *(e)* discourse upon Josephus: " The prodigies, that he saith happened before the de- " struction of Jerusalem, would agree better to Livy or Tacitus, " than to a Jewish historian. . . . The flying open of the great brazen " gate of the temple, is the same as happened at Thebes just before " the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great " gates of the temple of Hercules opened of themselves, without any " one's touching them. I omit many other things of the like na- " ture: whence it is evident, that Josephus endeavored to Grecise " and shape the historie of the Jews, as like as he could to those of " the Greeks and Romans." So Dr. *Willes*. And I shall transcribe below the passage of *Cicero de Divinatione*, *(f)* to which he refers.

(d) §. 4.

(e) Prefixed to L'estrange's edition of Josephus. p. 3. 4. 8*vo*.

(f) Quid? Lacedaemoniis paullo ante Leuctricam calamitatem, quae significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, Herculisque simulachrum multo sudore manavit? At eodem tempore Thebis,

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Basnage (g) in his Historie of the Jews speaks after this manner. "Besides, deception was easie in many of the things related by him. "The bright light round the altar in the night-time: the cow that "brought forth a lamb, as she was led to the altar: the chariots of "fire that were seen in the air, and passed over the city with a "frightfull noise are very liable to suspicion: The opening of the "temple seems to be rather better attested than the others, because it is "said, that the magistrate came to shut it. But the meaning was "doubtfull. To some it seemed to be an assurance, that God had "opened the treasures of his benediction: whilst others concluded, "that he had abandoned the protection of his temple. But it is "not easie to deny the truth of the historie of the man, that cried, "*A voice from the East, a voice from the West*, and every day pre-"dicted the ruin of the city. For this man was brought before Al-"binus, who examined him. He was severely scourged, and he "was often beaten by the people, who could not endure so dismal a "noise, but he was all along unmoved. His cry continued for the "space of seven years. At length he was killed upon the walls of "the city, at the begining of the siege. This is not a thing, about "which men might be deceived. Josephus, who relates it, was at "Jerusalem, when this preacher, who was treated as a mad man, "denounced it's desolation. And he might inform himself con-"cerning his death. So that, if there are any things, to which we "ought to attend, it is this, in which we must acknowledge some-"what extraordinarie." So says *Basnage*.

I am inclined to go over, and examine every one of these prodigies.

There (h) was a star, a comet, resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and continued for a year.

How

bis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvae clausae repagulis, subito se ipsae aperuerunt: armaque, quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa. *De Divin. l.* 1. *cap.* 24. *n.* 74.

(g) *L. i. ch. viii.* §. 3. *p.* 224.

(h) Τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαίᾳ παραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης.

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How Mr. *Whiston* understood this, has been seen already. *L'Estrange* translates thus: *What shall we say to the comet, that hung over Jerusalem, for one whole year together, in the figure of a sword?* Archbp. Tillotson (*i*) in this manner. *A little before their destruction*, he tells us, *there hung over their city a fiery sword, which continued for a year together. A little before their rebellion against the Romans, there appeared a comet, which shined so clear in the temple, and about the altar, as if it had been day.* It must be confessed, that is not exact. Tillemont: *There (k) was also a comet which appeared for a year, and over Jerusalem an extraordinarie star, which seemed to be a sword. But Josephus does not say the time.* Neither is this very exact. However, I have also transcribed below the words of Josephus himself.

This is the first prodigie. And indeed it is a wonderfull, and very awfull thing. A star, resembling a sword, hanging over a city, for a whole year... Upon this we cannot forbear to observe, that Josephus has not told us the time, when this star, or comet appeared. He says, *it continued for a year.* But does not say when. A very strange omission. I must take the liberty, to add, that, if about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, or some period, within a few years before; there had been a star, resembling a sword, which hung over that city for a year together: I should expect to find it in some author, beside Josephus, and an author, that does not depend upon him, or borrow from him.

Tacitus (*l*) has mentioned several of the prodigies preceding the ruin

(*i*) *As before. p.* 554.

(*k*) Il parut aussi une comete pendant un an, et sur Jerusalem un astre extraordinaire, qui sembloit être une epée. Joseph n'en marque pas le temps. *Ruine des Juifs. art.* 41.

(*l*) Evenerunt prodigia, quae neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassae repente templi fores, et audita major humanâ vox, *Excedere Deos:* simul ingens motus excedentium. *Tacit. Hist. l.* 5. *cap.* 13.

A. D. 76. ruin of the Jewiſh people. But he does not mention this. However, it muſt be owned, that his omitting it is of no great importance, as he does not appear to have been carefull to put down every thing of this kind.

2. It follows. *And before the rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people were come together in great multitudes to the feaſt of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month of April at the ninth hour of the night*, [or three hours after midnight,] *ſo great a light ſhone round the altar, and the temple, that it ſeemed to be bright day. Which light continued for half an hour.* This prodigie is related by Joſephus, ſo particularly, and circumſtantially, as happening too at the time of Paſſover, when Jeruſalem was full of people, and in the year 65. as it ſeems, that I am not at all diſpoſed to conteſt the truth of it. I think it muſt have ſo happened. But the deſign of this appearance is ambiguous. And, as Joſephus ſays, ſome thought it to portend good, others bad things. But that does not affect the truth of the fact.

3. *And at the ſame feſtival, a heifer, as ſhe was led by the High-Prieſt to be ſacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midſt of the temple.* Here again, I heſitate. I am ſurprized to ſee ſo trifling a ſtorie in a grave writer. I think, Joſephus inſerted this to gratify his Greek readers.

4. The next prodigie is the opening of the *eaſtern gate of the inner court of the temple at midnight:* which, as before obſerved by Dr. *Willes*, has ſuch a reſemblance with like ſtories, told by credulous heathen people, that it ſeems to be only an imitation of them, and has therefore the appearance of a fiction, by way of accommodation to the judgement of Heathen readers.

5. *Beſide theſe, a few days after that feſtival, on the one and twentieth day of the month of May there appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almoſt exceeding belief. And the account of it might ſeem fabulous, if it had not been related by thoſe who ſaw it, and if the following events had not been anſwerable to ſuch ſigns. For before ſun-ſet, chariots and troops*

troops of soldiers in armour, were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding cities. A. D. 76.

Such seeming appearances have often been the effect only of imagination, without any reality. But this is related by Josephus so particularly, and with so much solemnity, that it is hard to contest the truth. And if it be true, this, and the *light surrounding the altar and the temple*, before mentioned, may be some of those things intended by our Saviour, when he said: *And fearfull sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven.* Luke xxi. 11. Of this (*m*) *Crevier* speaks in this manner. "I say nothing of the armed "chariots and troops of warriors, that were seen fighting in the air. "That might be the natural effect of a phenomenon, then not un-"derstood, but which we are now well acquainted with, and call "the *Aurora Borealis*, or northern light." A wise observation truly! Who ever before saw, or heard of an *Aurora borealis* in the day time? Josephus expressly says, that these chariots and warriors were seen *before sun-setting*.

6. *And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as the Priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and then a sound, as of a multitude, saying, Let us remove hence.*

This passage is quoted by (*n*) Eusebius, and this particular is taken notice of by (*o*) divers ancient Christian writers. But they do not always quote so accuratly, as might be wished.

I beg

(*m*) *History of the Rom. Emp. vol. vi. p.* 240.

(*n*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap. viii. et Dem. Ev. l.* 8. *p.* 402. *And see the Credib. vol.* 8. *p.* 60.

(*o*) Καὶ Ἰάσηπος δὲ μετὰ βραχὺν γενόμενος χρόνου, ἔφη, τινὰς ἀγγέλους τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ παραμένοντας, εἰ μὴ βεληθεῖεν ἐκεῖθεν μεταναστῆναι, καταλιπεῖν αὐτούς. *Chr. in Jo. Hom.* 64. *al.* 65. *p.* 390. *T.* 8.

Josephus quoque refert, virtutes angelicas, praesides quondam templi, tunc pariter conclamasse: Transeamus ex his sedibus. *Hieron. in Matt. xxvii.* 51. *T.* 4. *p.* 139. *Conf. ep. ad Iiedib. §. viii. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 176.

Unde

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I beg leave to obſerve upon it, *firſt of all*, this is ſaid to have happened in the *night-time*, and therefore deſerves the leſs regard. *Secondly*, I do not know what miniſtrations the Prieſts had to perform in the inner temple, in the night. Doubtleſs they kept watch at the temple by night as well as by day. But, ſo far as I can recollect, the miniſtrations at the temple, which were of divine appointment, were performed by day-light. *Thirdly, the ſound of a multitude, ſaying, Let us go hence*, has much of an Heatheniſh air.

All theſe ſigns, or prodigies, juſt mentioned, (excepting *the ſtar like a ſword*, of which before,) ſeem to be placed by Joſephus in the year of Chriſt 65. the year before the war commenced.

7. The ſeventh and laſt is that of *Jeſus, ſon of Ananus, who four years before the war began, came up to the feſtival, which we call the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and on a ſudden began to cry out: A voice from the Eaſt . . a voice againſt Jeruſalem and the temple. . . And ſo it continued for ſeven years and five months, till he ſaw his preſage fulfilled in the ſiege.* He therefore began this cry near the end of the year 62. This laſt Joſephus calls *more awful than the reſt*, τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερώτατον. And as Le Clerc *(p)* obſerves, "if it be true, Joſephus rightly ſays, it was ſomewhat divine." I hope, we may depend upon the truth of this hiſtorie, which is related with ſo many particulars and circumſtances.

All theſe things Joſephus has recorded, as affecting ſigns, warnings, and preſages of great calamities coming upon the Jewiſh nation: omitting, entirely, the warnings, and predictions, and admonitions of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles after him, and alſo the three-hours darkneſſe over the whole land of Judea, and the rending

Unde et Joſephus in ſua narrat hiſtoria, quod poſtquam Dominus crucifixus eſt, et velum templi ſciſſum eſt, ſive liminare templi fractum corruit, audita ſit vox in adytis Templi Virtutum coeleſtium, Transeamus ex his ſedibus. *Id. in Ezech. cap.* 47. *p.* 1058.

(*p*) Quae ſi vera ſunt, non immerito Joſephus rem divinitus contigiſſe cenſuit. *Cleric. H. E. An.* 62. *n. v.*

ing the veil of the temple, and the earthquake near Jerusalem, at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. And though all these signs and warnings related by himself, are considered by him as very affecting, he acknowledgeth, that they made not any great impression upon his nation. And says: *But they did not attend, or give credit to those prodigies, which evidently foretold their desolation. But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.* And his historie verifies the truth and justnesse of this observation.

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" Now *(q)* the Romans brought their ensigns to the temple, and " set them over against the eastern gate. There they offered sacrifi- " ces to them, and there they made Titus Emperour, with the great- " est acclamations of joy. And all the soldiers had such vast quan- " tities of spoils, which they got by plunder, that in Syria a pound " weight of gold was sold for half it's former value."

There *(r)* were some priests as Josephus says, sitting upon the wall of the temple, who continued there, till they were pined with hunger. Then they came down, and surrendered themselves. When they were brought by the guards to Titus, they begged for their lives. But Titus answered: That the time of pardon was over, as to them, that being destroyed, for the sake of which alone he should have saved them: And that it was very fit, that priests should perish with their temple. Whereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

Now *(s)* *Simon* and *John*, and they that were with them, desire a conference with Titus. Which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple, and there was a bridge, that parted them. There were great numbers of Jews waiting with those two tyrants, and there were also many Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to refrain their rage, and

 appointed

(q) *L.* 6. *cap. vi.* §. 1. (r) *Ibid.* (s) §. 2.

A. D. 76. appointed an interpreter. And being conquerour, he ſpoke firſt. He then reproached them in very bitter terms, and very juſtly. And then concluded. However, I will not imitate your madneſſe. "If "you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to "me, I grant you your lives. I will act like a mild father of a fa- "milie. What cannot be healed ſhall be deſtroyed. The reſt I "will reſerve for my own uſe."

"They anſwered, they could not conſent to that, becauſe they "had ſworn never to do it. They aſked leave to go through the "wall that ſurrounded them, with their wives and children. So "they would go into the deſert, and leave the city to him. At which "Titus was greatly provoked, that when they were now already in "the caſe of men taken captives, they ſhould pretend to make their "own terms with him, as if they were conquerours. He then gave "orders, that proclamation ſhould be made to them, that hencefor- "ward none ſhould be allowed to come over to him, as deſerters, "nor hope for ſecurity. For that now he would ſpare no body, "but fight them with his whole armie. He therefore gave orders "to the ſoldiers both to burn and to plunder the city. On that day "however they did nothing. But the day following they ſet fire to "the repoſitorie of the archives, to the council-houſes, to *Acra*, "and to the place called *Ophilas:* at which time the fire proceeded "as far as to the palace of Queen *Helena*, which was in the mid- "dle of *Acra*. The lanes alſo were burnt down, as were all the "houſes that were full of the dead bodies of ſuch as had died by "the famine."

"On (*t*) the ſame day the ſons and brothers of King *Izates*, "and (*u*) with them many other eminent men, of the city, got "together, and beſought Titus to give them his right hand for their "ſecurity. Whereupon, though he was now very angrie, and much "dif-

(*t*) §. 4.

(*u*) ... πρὸς οὓς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνη- μοτῶν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντες, ἱκέτευσαν Καίσαρα, κ. λ.

"displeased with all who were still remaining, he did not depart from "his wonted moderation, but received them. However, he kept "them all in custodie. And having bound the King's sons and kins-"men, he took them with him to Rome, to be kept there as hos-"tages for the fidelity of their countrey." A. D. 76.

Here, as I apprehend, we see a proof of the zeal of the Jewish proselytes at this time. For such were the relations of King *Izates*. These persons had chosen to reside much in the holy city of Jerusalem. Or they had come up thither to the feast of the Passover this year, notwithstanding the danger it was in from the approaches of the Roman armie. And it was, as seems to me, a remarkable instance of the moderation of this Prince, that he now shewed mercie to these persons, who might have come over to him long before, and did not surrender themselves till matters were brought to the utmost extremity, and after he had publicly declared, that he would spare none.

Titus (*x*) still had difficulties remaining in taking the rest of the city.

"Some (*y*) there were who deserted to Titus, notwithstanding the care of the tyrants to prevent it. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the soldiers were wearie of killing, and because they hoped to gain money by sparing them. They therefore sold them with their wives and children, though at a very low price. For there were many to be sold, and but a few purchasers. Indeed the number of those who were sold was prodigious. And (*z*) yet there were forty thousand of the people saved, whom Titus permitted to go where they pleased."

(*x*) *Cap. vii. et viii.*

(*y*) *Cap. viii.* §. 2.

(*z*) Ὁι δημοτικοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τε τρακισμυρίους, ὃς διαρῆκε Καῖσαρ, εἴ φίλον εἶν ἑκάςῳ. *Ibid.*

A. D. 76. And now were fulfilled those words of Moses. *And ye shall be sold for bond-men, and bond-women. And no man shall buy you.* Deut. xxviii. 68. And likewise those words of our Lord, Luke xxi. 24. *And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentils, untill the times of the Gentils be fulfilled.*

"At (*a*) this time one of the priests, son of *Thebuthus*, whose "name was *Joshua*, upon his having security given him by the oath "of Cesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should "deliver to him certain of the precious things, deposited in the tem-"ple, came out, and delivered to him from the wall of the temple "two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the temple, together "with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all of solid gold, and very hea-"vie. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments of the "High-Priests, with the precious stones, and many other vessels be-"longing to the sacred ministrations. And now was seized the trea-"surer of the temple, whose name was *Phineas*, who discovered to "him the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of "purple and scarlet, which were reposited for the use of the veil: "as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and other sweet spices, "which used to be mixed, and offered to God as incense, every day. "A great many other precious things and ornaments of the temple "were delivered by the same person. Which things so delivered to "Titus, obtained for that man the same pardon that was allowed to "such as deserted of their own accord."

"At (*b*) length after great labour, and against a furious oppositi-"on, the Romans became masters of the rest of the city, and set "their ensigns upon the walls in triumph, and with great joy. They "then plundered the houses, and killed every one whom they met "with in the streets. They set fire to the city, and made the streets "run with bloud, to such a degree, that the fire of many houses "was

(*a*) *viii.* §. 3. (*b*) §. 4. 5.

" was quenched with mens bloud. However it so happened, that when A. D. 76.
" the slayers had left off in the evening, the fire greatly prevailed
" in the night. As all was burning, came on to Jerusalem the eighth
" day of the month of September, a city, which had suffered so N. B.
" many calamities during the siege, of which it was upon no other
" account so deserving, as upon account of it's producing such a
" generation of men, as occasioned it's overthrow.

" When (*c*) Titus was come into this upper city, he admired
" some places of strength in it, and particularly those strong tow-
" ers, which the tyrants in their madnesse had relinquished. And
" he expressed himself in the following manner. We (*d*) have cer-
" tainly had God for our helper in this war. It is God, who has
" ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could the
" hands of men, or any machines do, toward throwing down such
" (*) fortifications? At which time he had many like discourses
" with

(*c*) *Cap. ix.* §. 1.

(*d*) Σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσομεν . . . κ. λ. *ib.*

(*) Undoubtedly Titus, upon entering into that part of the city, which was now taken, and so becoming master of the whole city of Jerusalem, had some discourses with his Generals, suitable to the occasion. But Josephus, in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, who made speeches for their Generals, embellisheth here. And he makes Titus say some things, which he did not say. The tyrants, as Josephus calls them, were guilty of mad conduct in their divisions, in destroying, as they had done, many stores proper for sieges, and in other respects. But Titus could not charge them with folly and madnesse in relinquishing the three towers here referred to. Josephus has given a particular description of them. *De B. J. l.* 5. *cap. iv.* §. 3. They were strong and lofty buildings, raised upon the north wall of the city. *Herod* had displayed his magnificence in them. But they were not fit for garrisons, or to be made places of defense. They were rather summer-palaces, fitted for diversion and entertainment, with splendid apartments and sumptuous furniture. The Jews did not relinquish any places of defense. They vigorously defended their several walls, and the tower Antonia, and the Temple. They had fully exercised all the militarie skill and courage of Titus, and his many Generals, and tired his soldiers: and induced them more than once to despair of victorie, as our historian himself

A. D. 76.

"with his friends. He alſo ſet at liberty ſuch as had been bound "by the tyrants, and were ſtill in the priſons. And when he en- "tirely demoliſhed the reſt of the city, and overthrew it's (*e*) walls, "he left thoſe towers to be monuments of his fortune, which had "fought with him, and had enabled him to take what otherwiſe "would have been impregnable."

"The (*f*) ſoldiers were wearie of killing. But there were many "ſtill alive. Titus therefore gave orders, that none ſhould be kil- "led, but ſuch as were in arms, or made reſiſtance, and to take the "reſt captive. Nevertheleſs the ſoldiers ſlew the aged and the in- "firm. But for thoſe who were in their flouriſhing age, and might "be uſefull to them, they drove them together into the temple, "and ſhut them up within the walls of the court of the women. "Over whom Titus ſet one of his freed-men, and *Fronto*, one of "his friends, who was to determine the fate of each one according "to his deſert. Many were ordered to be ſlain. But of the young "men he choſe out the talleſt, and the moſt beautifull, and re- "ſerved them for the triumph. Such as were above ſeventeen years "of age, he bound, and ſent them to work in the mines in E- "gypt. Titus alſo ſent a great many into the provinces, as pre- "ſents to them, that they might be deſtroyed in their theatres, ei- "ther by the ſword, or by wild-beaſts. They who were under "ſeventeen years of age, were ſold for ſlaves. And during the "time that *Fronto* was determining the fate of theſe men, there "periſhed eleven thouſand for want of food. Some of them had "no food, through the ill-will of thoſe who guarded them. O- "thers would not take what was given them. And indeed there "were ſo many, that there was not food for them."

Joſe-

himſelf has informed us. It appears however from Joſephus, that *Simon* made uſe of the tower *Phaſaelus* for his own habitation, during a good part of the ſiege. Τηνικαῦτα γεμὴν τυραννεῖον ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ Σίμωνος. *Ib.* §. 3. *p.* 330. *in.*

(*e*) Αὖθις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀφανίζων πόλιν, καὶ τεῖχη κατασκάπτων, τέτους τοὺς πύργους κατέλιπε μνημεῖον εἶναι τῆς ἀυτοῦ τυχῆς, ἣ συστρατιώτιδι χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἁλῶναι μὴ δυναμένων. *L.* 7. *cap. ix.* §. 1.

(*f*) *Cap. ix.* §. 2.

Josephus does not here speak of any Jews being crucified at this time. Nevertheless, I apprehend, that many now suffered in that manner. For in *(g)* one of the last sections of his Life, giving an account of things, presently after the city was taken, he says, he was sent by Titus, with *Cerealis*, one of his Generals, and a thousand horse, to a village called *Thekoa*, to see whether it was a place fit for a camp. " As I came back, says he, I saw many of the cap-
" tives crucified. Among them I discerned three of my former ac-
" quaintance, which gave me great concern. I thereupon went to
" Titus with tears in my eyes, and spoke to him. Who immediatly
" gave orders to have them taken down, and that the best care should
" be taken of them for their recoverie. However two of them di-
" ed under cure. The third survived."

" The *(h)* number of those who were taken captive, during the
" whole war, was computed to be ninety and seven thousand. And
" the number of those who perished during the siege eleven hundred
" thousand. The greater part of them were indeed of the same na-
" tion, but not inhabitants of the city. For they were come up
" from all the countrey to the festival of unleavened bread, and were
" on a sudden shut in by the armie. Which *(i)* occasioned so great
" a straitnesse, that there came on a pestilential disorder, and then a
" famine, which was more severe."

And presently afterwards, " This *(k)* great multitude was collected
" from other places. The whole nation was shut up as in a prison.
" And the Roman armie encompassed the city, when it was croud- N. B.
" ed with inhabitants. Accordingly *(l)* the multitude of those who
" perished therein exceeded all the destructions, that men or God
" ever brought on the world."

" As

(*g*) *De Vit.* §. 75.

(*h*) §. 3.

(*i*) ὥστε τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐνδεχαρίαν γενέσθαι λοιμώδη φθορὰν, αὖθις δὲ καὶ λιμὸν ἀκύτερον. *Ib.*

(*k*) §. 4.

(*l*) Πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δαιμόνιον φθορὰν ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων. *Ib.*

A. D. 76.

"As *(m)* many were hid in caverns, the Romans made searches "after them. If any were found alive, they were presently slain. "But beside them they found there more than two thousand, "some killed by themselves, and by one another, and more destroy-"ed by famine. The ill savour of the dead bodies was offensive. "Nevertheless for the sake of gain many of the soldiers ventured "into the caverns, where was found much treasure."

"*John (n)* and his brethren, who were with him in a cavern, "wanted food. Now therefore he begged, that the Romans would "give him the right hand for security, which he had often rejected "before. But *Simon* struggled hard with the distresse he was in, "'till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereaf-"ter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain. "*John* was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And *(o)* now "the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt "them down, and demolished the walls to the foundation."

"Thus *(p)* was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign "of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month of September. It "had been taken five times before. This is the second time of it's "desolation." Josephus then enumerates these several times, and computes how many years it was from the time of it's being first built. And then adds. "But neither it's antiquity, nor it's im-"mense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated through-"out the whole world, nor the great glorie of it's religion, has been "sufficient to preserve it from destruction. Such was the end of "the siege of Jerusalem."

These are the last words of his sixth book of the Jewish War.

Then, at the begining of the seventh book, he says:

"And

(*m*) § 4.

(*n*) *Ibid.* §. 4.

(*o*) Ρωμαῖοι τάς τε ἐσχατιὰς τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τὰ τέιχη κατέσκαψαν. *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Cap. x. ibid.*

"And *(q)* now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any "more plunder remained for the soldiers; Cesar gave orders, that "they should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the "temple: leaving only the fore-mentioned towers *Phasaelus*, *Hip-* "*picus*, and *Mariamne*, and so much of the wall, as was on the west "side of the city. That was spared, in order to afford a camp for "those who were to lye in garrison. But *(r)* as for all the rest "of the whole circumference of the city, it was so thoroughly "laid even with the ground, by those who dug it up to the foun-"dation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thi-"ther to believe, it had ever been inhabited."

A. D. 76.

N. B.

So said our Lord. Luke xix. 44. *And they shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee. And they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

The soldiers who were left in garrison near the city, must have been instruments in digging up every part of it to the foundation. For Josephus afterwards describing the journey of Titus through Palestine to Alexandria, and observing how Titus was affected at the sight of the deplorable condition of the place, has these expressions. "And *(s)* no small part of it's riches had been found in it's ruins. This "the Romans dug up. They found a great deal of gold and silver, "and other precious things, which the owners had treasured up un-"der ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war. And they were "assisted by the captives in the discoverie of such things."

And *Eleazar*, in one of his speeches at *Massada*, to be farther taken notice of hereafter, where he persuades the people with him to consent to be put to death, has these expressions. "Where *(t)* is now "that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation? . . . "Where is that city, which we believed to have God inhabiting in

(q) *L. 7. cap. i. §. 1.*

(r) Αλλου ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ὅ-τως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες . . . κ. λ. *ib.*

(s) *L. 7. cap. v. §. 2. p. 412. Hav. Et Conf. l. 6. cap. ix. §. 4.*

(t) *L. 7. cap. viii. §. 7. p. 430. Hav.*

A. D. 76. "it? It (*u*) is rooted up to the foundation, and has no other monu-
"ment left, but the armie of those who have destroyed it, encamping
N. B. "upon it's ruins... Who can consider these things, and not be sorry,
"that he is still alive? I cannot but wish, that we had all died, be-
"fore we had seen that holy city overthrown by it's enemies, and (*x*)
"the holy temple so profanely dug up to the foundation."

And *Whitby* in his notes upon Matt. xxiv. 2. says: "The Jewish Talmud and Maimonides add, that Turnus [*i. e. Terentius Rufus*] captain of the armie of Titus, did with a plow-share tear up the foundations of the temple, and thereby signally fulfill those words in Micah iii. 12. *Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.*"

Grotius has well observed upon Matt. xxiv. 1. "that the temple, "which had been repaired, or rebuilt by *Herod*, was rightly esteem-"ed to be the same temple that had been built by *Zorubabel.* So "therefore Josephus says, that the temple had been twice destroy-"ed, once by the Chaldeans, a second time by Titus. And the Jew-"ish Masters call the destruction made by Titus, *the destruction of* "*the second temple.* Whilst this temple stood, the Messiah was to "be expected, not only according to the prophecie of Daniel, but "likewise of Haggai. ch. ii. 8. and Malachi ch. iii. 1.

"Cesar (*y*) determined to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, "with some troops of horse and companies of foot. Having now "compleated the war, he returned thanks to his whole armie, and "distributed rewards among them. For this purpose he had a large "tribunal erected for him in the place, where he formerly encamp-"ed. That was a work of three days"

"The (*z*) rest of the armie was sent away to several places. But "he permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard upon Jerusalem.

"Then

(*u*) Πρόῤῥιζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνῄρπασται...

(*x*) ... πρὶν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἔτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωρυγμένον. *Ibid.*

(*y*) *L.* 7. *cap. i.* §. 1.

(*z*) §. 2.

"Then he went to Cesarea by the sea-side, taking with him two "legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to attend him, 'till he should "go to Egypt. At Cesarea he laid-up the spoils in great quantities, "and gave orders, that the captives should be kept there." A. D. 76.

"From (*a*) that *Cesarea* Titus went to *Cesarea Philippi*, where he "stayed some while, and exhibited all sorts of shews. Here many "of the captives were destroyed. Some were thrown to wild-beasts. "Others in great numbers, were compelled to fight with each other. "Whilst he was there, he heard of the seizure of *Simon son of Gio-* "*ras*, who during the siege had commanded in the upper city, and "who had concealed himself under ground as long as he could. "But now fell into the hands of *Terentius Rufus*, who had been "left to keep guard at the ruins of Jerusalem. When Titus was "returned to Cesarea by the sea-side, Simon was brought bound be- "fore him, who ordered him to be kept for the triumph at Rome."

"At (*b*) Cesarea Titus solemnized the birth-day of his brother "*Domitian*, on (*c*) the 24. day of October, in a splendid manner, "doing honour to him in the punishment of the Jews. For the "number of those who were now slain, in fighting with beasts, or "were burnt to death, or fought with one another, exceeded two "thousand and five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, "though they were destroyed ten thousand ways, beneath their de- "serts. Afterwards Titus went to *Berytus*, a city in Phenicia, and "a Roman colonie. There he stayed a longer time, and exhibited "a more pompous solemnity, on his Father's birth-day. [Nov. 17.] "Here a great number of the captives were destroyed in the like "manner as before."

"Having (*d*) staid some while at *Berytus*, he set forward to *An-* "*tioch*. And as he went, exhibited magnificent shews in all the

 "cities

(*a*) *cap. ii.* §. 1.
(*b*) *cap. iii.* §. 1.
(*c*) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 70. *n. iii. et Basnag. ann.* 70. *n. xviii.*
(*d*) *cap. v.* §. 1.

A. D. 76. "cities of Syria, making uſe of the captives, as public inſtances of "the overthrow of the Jewiſh nation."

At (*e*) *Antioch* he was received with loud acclamations. Thence he went to *Zeugma*, which lies upon the Euphrates. Whither came to him meſſengers from Vologeſus, King of Parthia, who brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his victorie over the Jews, which he accepted. There he feaſted the King's meſſengers, and then returned to Antioch.

It does not appear, that Titus celebrated any ſhews there. And when the people of that place requeſted him to expell the Jews out of their city, he refuſed to comply with them, and confirmed to them all the privileges, which they had hitherto enjoyed there.

Having *(f)* ſent away the two before mentioned legions, by which he had been attended, one to *Myſia*, the other to *Pannonia:* and having given orders for ſending *Simon* and *John*, and ſeven hundred of the talleſt and handſomeſt of the captives, to appear in the triumph at Rome, he went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome. And paſſing through *Paleſtine*, in his way to Egypt, he was much moved as Joſephus ſays, at the ſight of the deſolations of that countrey.

When *(g)* Titus came near Rome, he was received with great rejoycings by the people, who came out to meet him, as alſo by his father Veſpaſian. And though the ſenate had decreed to them two ſeveral triumphs, they choſe to have but one. Joſephus has not informed us exactly concerning the time of it. And learned critics are now of different opinions. Some *(h)* place it near the end of the month of April, in 71. Others *(i)* argue, that it muſt have been later.

"Many *(k)* other ſpoils, ſays Joſephus, were carried in great a-"bundance. But the moſt conſiderable of all were thoſe taken out "of the temple at *Jeruſalem.* There was the golden table, of many "talents.

(*e*) .. §. 2.
(*f*) §. 2. 3.
(*g*) §. 3. 4.
(*h*) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 70. *n. vi.*
(*i*) *Baſnag.* 71. *n. iii.*
(*k*) §. 5.

A. D. 76.

" talents. And the candleſtick, likewiſe of gold, with it's ſeven " lamps, a number much reſpected by the Jews. The laſt of all " the ſpoils was the Law of the Jews. After which were carried " images of Victorie, made of gold, or ivorie. After which came " *Veſpaſian* firſt, on horſe-back, then *Titus*. *Domitian* alſo was there, " ſplendidly attired, and riding upon a beautifull horſe."

" The (*l*) end of this pompous ſhew was at the temple of *Jupi-* " *ter Capitolinus*. When they came thither, they ſtood ſtill. For " it was the ancient cuſtom of the Romans, to ſtay, till word was " brought, that the General of the enemie was ſlain. This was *Si-* " *mon the ſon of Gioras*, who had been led in the triumph among " the captives. A rope was put about his neck, and he was led to a " proper place in the Forum, where malefactors were put to death. " When tidings of his death were brought, all the people ſet up the " ſhout of Joy. And ſacrifices were offered up, with the accuſtom- " ed prayers. The Emperour then went to his palace, and feaſt- " ings were made every where."

" And (*m*) now Veſpaſian determined to build a temple to Peace, " which was finiſhed in a ſhort time, and in a ſplendid manner. " Here he laid up thoſe golden veſſels and inſtruments, that were " taken out of the Jewiſh temple, as enſigns of his glorie. But their " law, and the purple veils of the holy place he ordered to be de- " poſited in his palace."

" That (*n*) temple was adorned with paintings and ſtatues. In " it were collected and repoſited all ſuch curioſities, as men are wont " to wander all over the world to obtain a ſight of."

The book of the Law does not now appear in what is called the triumphal arch of Titus, though the Table and the candleſtick are very viſible.

Joſephus in his Life ſays, that when the city was taken, Titus gave him leave to aſk what he pleaſed. One (*o*) of his requeſts was to

(*l*) §. 6.
(*m*) §. 7.
(*n*) *Ib.* §. 7.
(*o*) ... καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν ἔλαβον χαρισαμένου Τίτου. *Vit.* §. 75.

A. D. 76.

to have the ſacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the hiſtorie of the war, he ſeems to ſay, they *(p)* were depoſited in the Emperour's palace. Poſſibly, they were placed there. But Joſephus was allowed to have the uſe of them, when he deſired it.

The temple of Peace according to the deſcription which Joſephus has given of it, appears to have reſembled our *Britiſh Muſeum*, and other like rich cabinets of Princes in ſeveral parts of Europe.

The temple of Peace was burnt down in the reign of Commodus. But it is likely, that many of the curioſities depoſited in it, were preſerved from the flames. And the Jewiſh ſpoils were in being in the fifth centurie, and afterwards, though not at Rome, as we learn from *(q) Adrian Reland.*

We have ſeen the overthrow of the city and temple of Jeruſalem. But there ſtill remained ſome ſtrong places in Judea, not yet taken by the Romans. Of which Joſephus has given an account. And it is fit we ſhould trace him to the end of his hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War. For, as our Lord ſaid, *Wherefoever the carcaſe is, there will the eagles be gathered together*. Matt. xxiv. 28. And ſee Luke xvii. 37.

Lucilius Baſſus (r) was ſent into Judea by Veſpaſian as Lieutenant, where he received a ſufficient armie from *Cerealis Vitellianus*. He ſoon took *Herodion*, and made the garriſon priſoners.

He (*s*) then determined to go to *Machaerus*. By means of an accident, well emproved, he became maſter of it, without much loſſe on either ſide.

" Having (*t*) ſettled affairs there, he marched haſtily to the fo-
" reſt

(*p*) Τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν, . . . προστέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν. *L.* 7. *c. v.* §. 7.

(*q*) Imperante Commodo deflagravit hoc templum Pacis, teſte Herodiano L. 1. cap. 14. ſed cum eo non periiſſe ſpolia Hieroſolymitana certum eſt, quoniam ſeculo quinto a Chriſto nato ea in Africam delata ſunt, ut mox videbimus. &c. *Reland. De Spoliis Templ. Hieros. cap.* 13. *p.* 133.

(*r*) *L.* 7. *cap. vi.* 1.

(*s*) *Ib.* §. 1. . . 4.

(*t*) *Ib.* §. 5.

"reſt of *Jardes*. Where, as he was informed, many were gather- A. D.
"ed together, who during the ſiege had eſcaped from *Jeruſalem*, 76.
"and *Macherus*. When they engaged, the battle was fierce and
"obſtinate on both ſides. Nevertheleſs of the Romans there were
"not more than twelve killed, and not many wounded. But of the
"Jews not one eſcaped out of the battle, but they were all killed,
"being not fewer in number than three thouſand, and with them
"their General, *Judas*, the ſon of *Jaïrus*, who had been captain of
"a band in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and by getting out through a
"vault under ground had privatly eſcaped."

"About (*u*) this time the Emperour ſent orders to *Lucilius Baſſus*, and *Liberius Maximus*, that all Judea ſhould be expoſed to ſale. For he founded not any city there, but reſerved the countrey to himſelf. However he aſſigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he diſmiſſed from the armie, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called *Ammaus*, and is diſtant from Jeruſalem ſixty furlongs. He alſo laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they were, requiring that every one of them ſhould bring two drachmas [*half a ſhekel*] every year to the Capitol, the ſame that they had been uſed to pay to the temple at Jeruſalem."

Baſſus (*x*) having died in Judea, *Flavius Silva* was ſent to ſucceed him in the government of that countrey. Who ſoon made an expedition againſt *Maſſada*, the only remaining fortreſſe. It was in the poſſeſſion of *Eleazar* a commander of the Sicarii. He was a deſcendent of *Judas*, who had perſuaded many of the Jews, as formerly related, not to ſubmit to the aſſeſſment made by Cyrenius, when he came into Judea after the removal of Archelaus.

When (*a*) there was no room left for eſcaping, *Eleazar* called together the principal perſons, and conſulted with them what might be beſt to be done. At which time he made an oration to them, to

(*u*) §. 6. (*x*) *Cap. viii.* §. 1. (*a*) §. 6.

A. D. 76. to induce them to kill themſelves, rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

That *(b)* oration had great effect upon many. Some however there were, who heſitated. He therefore went on, and made another oration to the like purpoſe. All now were perſuaded.

" They (*c*) then choſe ten men of the number by lot, to ſlay all the " reſt. When theſe ten men had without fear ſlain all the reſt, men, " women, and children, as determined, they caſt lots upon them- " ſelves. And he who had the firſt lot killed the other nine, and " then himſelf. Theſe people ſo died, with the intention, that they " might not leave ſo much as one man among them to be ſubject " to the Romans. However, there was one ancient woman, and " another woman, related to *Eleazar*, who exceeded moſt women " in knowledge and prudence, and five children, who had hid them- " ſelves in a cavern under ground. They had carried water with " them for their drink, and lay quiet there, whilſt the reſt were in- " tent upon the ſlaughter of each other. The whole number of " theſe people, including the juſt mentioned women and children, " was nine hundred and ſixty. This ſlaughter was made on the " fifteenth day of the month of April in the year 73. as may be " computed."

When the Romans entred the place the next morning their ſurpriſe was very great, as may be well ſuppoſed.

Soon *(d)* after this ſome turbulent Jews were the occaſion of diſturbances at *Alexandria*, where ſix hundred were ſlain, and after that in *Cyrene*, where more than three thouſand ſuffered. The diſturbance there was occaſioned by the impoſture of *Jonathan*, a weaver, who (*e*) perſuaded many people of the meaner ſort to follow

(*b*) *Ib.* §. 7.
(*c*) *Cap. ix.* §. 1. 2.
(*d*) *Cap. x. et xi.*
(*e*) . . . ἐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς ἔρημον, σημεῖα καὶ φάσματα, δείξειν ὑποσχόμενος. *cap. xi.* §. 1.

low him into the wilderneſſe, where he promiſed to ſhew them ſigns and wonders. Moreover Veſpaſian ſent expreſs orders, that the Jewiſh temple of *Onias*, as it was called, built in the prefecture of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, ſhould be demoliſhed. Which was done in the year of Chriſt 74. about two hundred and twenty four years after it had been firſt built, as *(f) Prideaux* computes. A. D. 76.

We before ſaw, what was the number of thoſe, who were computed to have periſhed in the ſiege of Jeruſalem. *But taking in alſo thoſe who had ſuffered in other places out of Jeruſalem, theſe, added to the eleven hundred thouſand that periſhed in the ſiege, make the whole number thirteen hundred and thirty ſeven thouſand four hundred and ninety, an innumerable companie ſtill being omitted, that periſhed through famine, baniſhment, and other (g) miſeries.* Which I think to be no aggravation at all.

IX. Let us now reflect.

Reflexions upon the preceding Hiſtorie.

1. All theſe things have we ſeen in Joſephus, who at the begining of his work ſays: "I *(h)* Joſephus ſon of Matthias, by birth a "Hebrew of Jeruſalem, and a Prieſt, who my-ſelf at firſt fought "againſt the Romans, and was afterwards forced to be preſent at "the things that were done, have writ this hiſtorie."

The concluſion of the whole work, at the end of the ſeventh and laſt book of the Jewiſh War, is to this effect. "Here *(i)* we put "an end to our hiſtorie, which we promiſed to deliver with all ac-"curacie to thoſe who are deſirous to know, how this war of the "Romans with the Jews was managed. Concerning the ſtile, let "the readers judge. Concerning the truth, I may boldly ſay, that "only has been aimed at throughout the whole work."

(f) See his Connexion, &c. year before Chriſt 149. *p.* 266.

(g) See Uſher's Annals, p. 907. *in Engliſh, Lond.* 1658.

(h) De B. Jud. in Pr. §. 1.

(i) L. 7. *cap. xi.* §. 5.

A. D 76.

Perhaps likewise it may not be amiss to observe what he says of this work in his first book against Appion, writ long afterwards, near the period of his life.

"As *(k)* for my-self I have composed a true historie of that war, "and of all the particulars that occurred therein: as having been "concerned in all it's transactions. For I acted as General among "those among us, who are called *Galilcans*, as long as it was pos-"sible for us to make any opposition. And when I was taken cap-"tive by the Romans, Vespasian and Titus had me kept under a "guard. But obliged me to attend them continually. At first I "was in bonds, afterwards I was set at liberty, and was sent to ac-"company Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of "Jerusalem. During which time nothing was done, which escaped "my knowledge. What happened in the Roman camp I saw, and "wrote it down carefully. What information the deserters brought "out of the city, I was the only man that understood it. After-"wards I got leisure at Rome. And when all my materials were "prepared, I procured the help of one to assist me in writing Greek. "Thus I composed the historie of those transactions. And I was so "well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first appealed to "those who had the supreme command in that war, *Vespasian* and "*Titus*, as witnesses for me. For to them I first presented those "books, and after them to many of the Romans, who had been in "the war. I also communicated them to many of our own men, "who understood the Greek philosophy: among whom were *Ju-*"*lius Archelaus*, and *Herod*, a person of great gravity, and King "*Agrippa* himself, who deserved the greatest admiration. All these "bore testimonie to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth. "Who would not have dissembled the matter, nor have been silent, "if through ignorance, or out of favour to either side I had alter-"ed, or omitted any thing."

2. Jo-

(k) *Contr. Ap. l. i.* §. 9.

2. Josephus's historie of the Jewish War is an ample testimonie to the fulfilment of all the predictions of our Lord, concerning the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the nation, during the siege, which were such as had never before happened to any people, nor were likely to happen again. A. D. 76.

3. The sufferers in these calamities were, generally, men of the worst characters, Robbers and Sicarii, and others too much resembling them. It is reasonable to believe, that no Christians were then shut up in the city, nor many other good men, to partake in the miseries of that long and grievous siege. As St. Peter says, having instanced in the preservation of *Noah the eighth person, when God brought in the flood upon the world of the ungodly, and then delivering just Lot, when the cities of Sodom and Gomarrhah were turned into ashes,* adds, with a view to other like cases, and probably to the destruction of Jerusalem itself, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished.* 2 Pet. ii. 5. . . 9.

4. I think it ought to be observed by us, that there was not now any pestilence at Jerusalem, but the Jews perished by the calamities of war. It might have been expected, that the bad food, which they were forced to make use of in the streightnesse of the siege, and the noisome smell of so many dead bodies, lying in heaps, in the city itself, and in the valleys or ditches without the walls, should have produced a plague. But nothing of that kind appears (*) in the historie, which must have been owing to the special interposition of Divine Providence. Josephus *(l)* in some of the places, where he

 speaks

(*) Il est difficile que tant de peuples renformez dans une ville durant les chaleurs de l' été, de si mechants nourritures, et surtout la puanteur de tant de corps morts, n'aient joint la peste à la famine. Joseph n'en parle neanmoins qu'en un endroit, en passant. Ce qui marque qu'elle ne fut pas considerable. *Till. Ruine des Juifs. art.* 67. *p.* 960.

(l) Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5. *cap. xii.* §. 4.

A. D. 76. ſpeaks of the putrefaction of the dead bodies, may uſe expreſſions, equivalent to *peſtilential*. But he never ſhews, that there was an infection. If there had, it would have equally affected the Romans and the Jews, and the ſiege of the place muſt have been broke up, and the Romans would have gone off, as faſt as they could.

5. None can forbear to obſerve the time, when all theſe things came to paſs. Our Lord ſays, Matt. xxiii. 36. *Verily, I ſay unto you, all theſe things ſhall come upon this generation.* And xxiv. 34. *Verily I ſay unto you: This generation ſhall not paſs, till all theſe things ſhall be fulfilled.* So likewiſe Mark xiii. 30. and Luke xxi. 32. So it was. All theſe things foretold by our Lord came to paſs, before the end of that generation of men. Jeruſalem and the temple were no more, before the end of the year 70. of the chriſtian epoch, and within forty years after his crucifixion.

Concerning the time alſo our Lord ſaid: *And this goſpel of the kingdom ſhall be preached in all the world, for a witneſſe to all nations.* Matt. xxiv. 14. Comp. Mark xiii. 10.

This we know from Chriſtian writings, particularly the books of the New Teſtament, moſt of which were writ before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. They bear witneſſe, that the goſpel had been preached to Jews and Gentils, in *Judea, Syria, Aſia, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome*, and other places, and with great ſucceſſe. And the preaching of the goſpel throughout the world was a *teſtimonie to all nations*, that the calamities inflicted upon the Jewiſh people were juſt and fit. They bear witneſſe, that the Jewiſh nation had been called upon to repent, and were faithfully, and affectionatly, and earneſtly warned and admoniſhed, but they refuſed to hearken. See the Acts of the Apoſtles, and Mark xvi. 20. Rom. x. 18. Col. i. 6. and 23.

Says Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*. " We (*m*) have this matter related, not " by a Chriſtian, (who might be ſuſpected of partiality, and a de- " ſign

(*m*) *Vol.* 2. *p.* 563. *ſerm.* 186. *the ſeventh ſermon upon* 2 *Cor. iv.* 3. 4.

"sign to have paralleled the event with our Saviour's prediction:) "but by a Jew, both by nation and religion, who seems designedly "to have avoided, as much as possibly he could, the very mention "of the Christian name, and all particulars relating to our Saviour, "though no historian was ever more punctual in other things." A. D. 76.

Says Mr. *Tillemont (n)* "God has been pleased to choose for our "information in this historie, not an Apostle, nor any of the "chief men of the Church, but an obstinate Jew, whom neither "the view of the virtue and miracles of the Christians, nor the "knowledge of the Law, nor the ruin of his religion and countrey, "could induce to believe in and love the Messiah, who was all the "expectation of the nation. God has permitted it so to be, that the "testimonie, which this historian gave to an event, of which he did "not comprehend the mysterie, might not be rejected, neither by "Jews, nor Heathens, and that none might be able to say, that he "had altered the truth of things to favour Jesus Christ and his dis-"ciples."

Dr. W. *Wotton* says of Josephus: "He (*o*) is certainly an Author "very justly to be valued, notwithstanding all his faults. *His Histo-"rie of the Jewish War* is a noble demonstration of the truth of the "Christian Religion, by shewing in the most lively manner, how "the prophecies of our blessed Lord concerning the destruction of "Jerusalem were literally fulfilled in their fullest extent."

And Dr. *Doddridge* in his notes upon the xxiv chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, says: "Christian *(p)* writers have always with great "reason represented *Josephus's History of the Jewish War*, as the best "commentarie upon this chapter. And many have justly remarked "it, as a wonderful instance of the care of Providence for the Chri-"stian Church, that he, an eye-witnesse, and in these things, of so "great

(*n*) *Ruine des Juifs, art. i. p.* 722.

(*o*) *Preface to his Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees. p. xlix.* The *faults*, which he observes in Josephus, may be seen at p xxxiii &c.

(*p*) *The Family Expositor.* §. 160. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 373.

A. D. "great credit, ſhould, (eſpecially in ſo extraordinarie a manner,) be "preſerved, to tranſmit to us a collection of important facts, which "ſo exactly illuſtrate this noble prophecie, in almoſt every particu- "lar circumſtance. But as it would ſwell my notes too much to en- "ter into a particular detail of thoſe circumſtances, I muſt content "my-ſelf with referring to Dr. *Whitby*'s excellent notes upon the "xxiv. of Matthew, and to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s large and accurate "diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject in the ſecond volume of his poſtu- "mous works. Serm. 183. . . . 187."

Iſidore of Peluſium, who flouriſhed about the year 412. in one of his epiſtles, has theſe expreſſions: "If *(q)* you have a mind to "know, what puniſhment the wicked Jews underwent, who ill- "treated the Chriſt, read the hiſtorie of their deſtruction, writ by "*Joſephus*, a Jew indeed, but a lover of truth, that you may ſee the "wonderfull ſtorie, ſuch as no time ever ſaw before ſince the begin- "ing of the world, nor ever ſhall be. For that none might refuſe "to give credit to the hiſtorie of their incredible and unparalleled "ſufferings, truth found out not a ſtranger, but a native, and a man "fond of their inſtitutions, to relate them, in a dolefull ſtrain."

Euſebius often quotes Joſephus, and in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, has tranſcribed from him ſeveral articles at large. Having rehearſed from the Goſpels divers of our Lord's predictions of the evils then coming upon Jeruſalem, and the Jewiſh people, he adds: "Who- "ſoever *(r)* ſhall compare theſe words of our Saviour with the hi- "ſtorie of the whole war, publiſhed by the above mentioned wri- "ter, muſt admire our Lord's great wiſdom, and acknowledge that "his foreſight was divine."

In his Chronicle, as we have it from Jerome in Latin, Euſebius ſays: "In *(s)* ſubduing Judea, and overthrowing Jeruſalem, Titus "ſlew

(*q*) *Lib.* 4. *ep.* 75. *vid. et ep.* 74.

(*r*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 8. *p.* 81. *D.*

(*s*) Titus Judaeâ captâ, et Jeroſolymis ſubverſis, $\overline{\text{DC}}$ millia virorum interfecit. Joſephus vero ſcribit undecies centena millia fame et gladio periiſſe, et alia centum millia

" ſlew ſix hundred thouſand people. But Joſephus writes, that ele- A. D.
" ven hundred thouſand periſhed by famine and the ſword, and that 76.
" another hundred thouſand were publicly ſold and carried captives.
" And he ſays, that the occaſion of there being ſo great a multitude
" of people at Jeruſalem was this, that it was the time of Paſſover.
" For which reaſon the Jews having come up from all parts to wor-
" ſhip at the temple, they were ſhut up, in the city, as in a priſon.
" And indeed, it was fit they ſhould be ſlain at the ſame time, in
" which they crucified our Saviour."

It is certainly very fit, that Chriſtians ſhould attend to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions, relating to the Jewiſh people: which are ſo frequent, ſo ſolemn, and affectionate. The teſtimonie of Joſephus is the moſt conſiderable of all. It is the moſt full, and particular, and exact of any we have, or have the knowledge of. And he was an eye-witneſſe. And he was manifeſtly zealous for the honour of his countrey. He had a great reſpect for the temple, and it's worſhip, and for all the peculiarities of the Moſaic law. And he continued to have the ſame to the laſt, as appears from his own life, and his books againſt Apion.

Other ancient Writers bearing Witneſſe to the ſame Events.

X. Joſephus, in the preface to his own work, intimates, that ſome hiſtories of the war had been before written by others. But he repreſents them as partial, and defective, and compoſed by men, who were not well informed. Undoubtedly none of theſe remain now. They have been loſt long ſince.

Juſtus of Tiberias, contemporarie with Joſephus, between whom there were many differences, alſo wrote a hiſtorie of the war. Joſephus in his Life chargeth him with falſhood, and blames him for not

millia captivorum publice venundata. Ut autem tanta multitudo Jeroſolymis reperirentur, cauſſam Azymorum fuſſe refert: ob quam ex omni genere Judaei ad templum confluentes urbe quaſi carcere ſunt recluſi. Oportuit enim in iiſdem diebus eos interfici, in quibus ſalvatorem crucifixerant. *Chron p.* 162.

A. D. 76. not publishing his work untill after the death of *Vespasian and Titus and King Agrippa*. Josephus owns *(t)* that Justus was well skilled in Greek learning. And he plainly says, that he wrote of the war.

I do not clearly perceive *Eusebius (u)* to have known any thing of Justus, but what he learned from the testimonies of Josephus above referred to by me.

Justus (*x*) is in *Jerome*'s catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers. He seems to ascribe to him two books.

Photius (y) I think, speaks of but one work of this author, which he calls *a Chronicle*. He says, it began with Moses, and ended at the death of Agrippa. He also takes notice of Josephus's censures both of the author himself and his work.

Stephanus Byzantinus, in his article of Tiberias, says: "Of *(z)* "this city was *Justus*, who wrote of the Jewish War in the time "of Vespasian."

Diogenes Laertius (a) in his Life of Socrates, quotes a passage from Justus of Tiberias: and seems to quote the same book that was read by Photius.

Several learned moderns *(b)* are of opinion, that Justus like Josephus, wrote two books, one of the Jewish War, another of the Jewish Antiquities. *Menage* (*c*) in his notes upon Diogenes Laertius,

(*t*) Καὶ γὰρ ἐδ' ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἕλλησιν, ἢ θάῤῥων ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν. κ. λ. *Joseph. Vit.* §. 9. *Vid. et* § 65.

(*u*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap. x. p.* 86. *B.*

(*x*) Justus Tiberiensis de provincia Galilaea, conatus est et ipse Judaicarum rerum historiam texere, et quosdam commentariolos de Scripturis componere: &c. *De V. I. cap.* 14.

(*y*) Ἀνεγιώσθη Ἰέσου Τιβεριέως χρόνικον. κ. λ. *Cod.* 33 *p.* 20.

(*z*) Ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Ἰοῦστος, ὁ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον τὸν κατὰ Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἱστορήσας. *Steph. Byz.*

(*a*) Φησὶν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Τιβεριεὺς ἐν τῷ σέμματι. *Diog. La. l.* 2. §. 41.

(*b*) Unde colligo (*ex Hieronymi Catalogo*,) ut Josephus, ita et Justum, non modo de Antiquitatibus Judaicis, sed seorsum etiam de Bello Judaico scripsisse. *Voss. de H. Gr. Vid. et Valess. Ann. in Euseb. l.* 3. *cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs. art.* 82.

(*c*) Scripsit ille Historiam Judaicam, eodem

us, ascribes to Justus three books, that is, Memoirs, beside the two before mentioned. I rather think, there was but one: and that what Justus wrote of the war was comprised in the Chronicle. Menage's argument from Suidas is of no value. For Suidas expresseth himself inaccuratly. Nor does he mention more than two works. The Memoirs, ὑπομνήματα, are the same with Jerome's *Commentarioli de Scripturis.* Indeed, Suidas only transcribes Jerome, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccuratly. A. D. 76.

Some *(d)* learned men lament the losse of this work. Others (*e*) think it was of little value. I cannot but wish, that the work, which was in being in the time of Photius, had also reached us. It must have been of some use. Perhaps the censure passed upon it by Josephus, who was in great credit, has been a prejudice to it.

I have allowed my-self to enlarge in my notice of this writer, who lived at the time, and was an actor in the Jewish war with the Romans. Though his work is not exstant, he is a witnesse to that important transaction.

Pausanias, who *(f)* lived in the second centurie, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180. speaks *(g)* of a monument of Queen Helena at Jerusalem, which (*city*) an Emperour of the Romans had destroyed to the foundation.

dem tempore quo Josephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scripsit praeterea ὑπομνήματα, quorum meminit Suidas. Scripsit et Chronicon Regum Judaeorum, qui coronati fuere: Ut est apud Photium. Quod opus signat hic Laertius. *Menag. in loc. p.* 94.

(*d*) Josephus, in Vitâ suâ, et alibi, quasi parum fido scriptori convitiatur. Sed de inimico, non magis ei crediderim, quam Justo de Josepho crederem, si historia ejus exstaret, atque in ea aemulo ab eo detractum viderem. Utinam vero, quaecumque fuerit, ad nos usque pervenisset. *Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.*

(*e*) *Tillem. as above, art.* 80.

(*f*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. art. xxxii.*

(*g*) Ἑβραῖος δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεύς. *Pausan. l.* 8. *cap.* 16. *p.* 633.

A. D. 76.

"Minucius Felix refers *(h)* the Heathen people, not only to Josephus, but also to *Antonie Julian*, a Roman author, from whom they might learn, that the Jews had not been ruined, nor abandoned of God, till they had first abandoned him: and that their present low condition was owing to their wickedneſſe, and obſtinacie therein, and that nothing had happened to them, but what had been foretold."

Who that *Julian* was, cannot be ſaid. There have been ſeveral of that name, one *(i)* of whom was Procurator of Judea, and was preſent with Titus at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, as we know from Joſephus. Tillemont ſays, that *(k)* poſſibly he wrote a hiſtorie of the ſiege of Jeruſalem. G. Voſſius *(l)* upon the ground of this paſſage of Minucius, puts *Antonie Julian* among Latin Hiſtorians, who had writ a hiſtorie of the Jews.

Minucius reckons *Joſephus* among Roman writers. Dr. Davis ſuſpects it to be an interpolation, and aſſigns not improbable reaſons, in his notes upon the place.

Suetonius *(m)* has mentioned the occaſion of the war, the appointment of Veſpaſian to be General, his, and his ſon's triumph at *(n)* Rome, and ſeveral other material things, which have been already obſerved, or will in time be obſerved by us from him.

What

(*h*) Scripta eorum relege. Vel ſi Romanis magis gaudes, ut tranſeamus veteres, Flavii Joſephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judaeis require. Jam ſcies, nequitia ſuâ, hanc eos meruiſſe fortunam: nec quidquam accidiſſe, quod non ſit his, ſi in contumaciâ perſeverarent, ante praedictum. Ita prius eos deſeruiſſe comprehendes, quam eſſe deſertos: nec, ut impie loqueris, cum Deo ſuo eſſe captos, ſed a Deo, ut diſciplinae transfugas deditos. *Minuc. cap.* 33. *Conf. cap.* 10.

(*i*) Καὶ Μάρκος Αυτώνιος, ὁ τῆς Ιυδαίας ἐπίτροπος. *Joſ. de B. J. l.* 6. *cap. iv.* 3.

(*k*) *Ruine des Juifs, art.* 72.

(*l*) Antonius Julianus Judaicam videtur hiſtoriam conſignaſſe. &c. *De Hiſt. Lat. l.* 3. *De Hiſtoricis incertae aetatis.*

(*m*) *Sueton. Veſpaſ. cap.* 4. 5.

(*n*) —— ac triumphum utriuſque Judaicum, equo albo comitatus eſt. *Domit. cap.* 2.

What (o) *Tacitus* has writ upon this subject, so far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter. A. D. 76.

Dion Cassius (p) is another witnesse, whose testimonie also may be taken more at large hereafter.

Philostratus says, " that *(q)* when Titus had taken Jerusalem, and " filled all about it with dead bodies, and the neighboring nations of- " fered him crowns, he said, he was not worthie of such an honour, " nor had he himself, he said, done that great work. He had only " lent his hand in the service of God, when he was pleased to shew " his displeasure." Philostratus says, that *Apollonius* was much pleased with that token of wisdom and humanity. He likewise says, that *Apollonius* wrote a letter to Titus, and sent it by Damis, to this purpose. " *Apollonius* sendeth greeting to Titus Emperour of the Ro- " mans. Since you refuse to be applauded for bloud-shed and vic- " torie in war, I send you the crown of moderation. You know, for " what things crowns are due."

Hence divers learned men have argued, that Titus refused to be crowned for his victorie over the Jews. *Basnage (r)* and other learned men on the contrarie are of opinion, that we may relye upon the authority of Josephus, who tells us, " that he went from Antioch " to the Zeugma, whither came to him messengers from Vologe- " sus King of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold, upon the " victorie obtained by him over the Jews: which he accepted of, " and feasted the King's messengers, and then returned to Antioch." Moreover he accepted of a triumph for his victorie over the Jews, and

(o) *Vid. Tac. Hist. Lib. v.*

(p) *Dio. l.* 66. *sub in.*

(q) Ἐπὲι δὲ Τῖτος ᾑρέκει τὰ Σόλυμα, ᾗ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὅμορά τε ἐθνῶν ἐσε φέρεν ἐυτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἐκ ἠξίε ἑαυτὸν τότε· μὴ γὰρ ἀυτὸν ταῦτα ἐργάσθαι, θεῷ δὲ ὀργὴν φήσαυτι ἐπεδεδωκέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας. κ. λ. *Philos. de Vit. Apol. l.* 6. *cap.* 29.

(r) Modestiam Titi laudibus effert Baronius, quod *oblatâ sibi coronâ aureâ a provinciis, noluit coronari, testatus se prorsus indignum.* Usserius, aliique eruditi, illud et ipsum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philostrati. . . . *Basnag. Ann.* 70. *n.* xvi.

A. D. 76. and all other honours cuſtomarie upon the like occaſions. Nevertheleſs *Olearius*, in his notes upon the place, argues, that (*s*) Philoſtratus needs not to be underſtood to ſay, that Titus refuſed the crowns offered him, but only ſaid, that he was unworthie of that honour, he having been only an inſtrument in the hand of God for diſplaying his juſt vengeance againſt guilty men.

And it muſt be owned, that Olearius expreſſeth himſelf with great judgement and moderation. Either way, thoſe learned men are to be reckoned miſtaken, who have maintained that Titus refuſed to be crowned for his victorie over the Jews.

However, we are ſtill to reckon Philoſtratus, at the begining of the third centurie, a good witneſſe to the overthrow of Jeruſalem by Titus.

Theſe are early Heathen authors, who have related the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and thereby bore teſtimonie to the accompliſhment of our Lord's predictions concerning it.

Nor can any forget the triumphal arch of Titus, ſtill ſtanding at Rome, of which we before took notice.

There

(*s*) Quem tamen Joſephi locum immerito Philoſtrato opponi putem. . . . Neque enim Philoſtratus *repudiaſſe coronam* Titum ait, atque eâ non acceptâ legatos dimiſſiſſe, quod viro docto interpretes perſuaſere, ſed hoc tantum, quod eo honore ſe indignum dixerit: juſtitiae Dei vindicatricis inſtrumentum, cujus nullae fuerint in iſtis patrandis propriae vires, ſeſe exſtitiſſe agnoſcens. &c. *Olear. in loc.*

There (*t*) is also an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, *who by his Father's directions and counsels had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem, which had never been destroyed by any princes, or people before.* A. D. 76.

Which has occasioned some learned men to say, that even inscriptions are not free from flatterie. But then it must be owned, that (*u*) the genuinnesse and antiquity of this inscription have been called in question. And there are some reasons to doubt, whether this comes from the Senate of Rome itself, as is pretended.

(*t*) Imp. Tito. Caesari. Divi. Vespasiani. F.
Vespasiano. Aug. Pontifici. Maximo
Trib. Pot. x. Imp. xvii. Cos. viii. P. P.
Principi. suo. S. P. Q. R.
Quod. Praeceptis. Patris. Consiliisque. et
Auspiciis. Gentem. Judaeorum. Domuit. Et
Urbem. Hierosolymam. Omnibus. Ante. Se
Ducibus. Regibus. Gentibusque. aut. Frustra
Petitam. aut. omnino. Intentatam. Delevit

Ap. Gruter. p. 244.

(*u*) Ubi steterit, ignoratur. Scaliger vult ab Onufrio fictum. *Ap. Gruter. Ib.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Three Paragraphs in the Works of Josephus, concerning John the Baptist, our Saviour, and James, the Lord's Brother, and observations upon the writings of Josephus.

I. *Of John the Baptist.* II. *Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.* III. *Concerning James, the Lord's Brother.* IV. *Concluding Observations upon the Writings, and Testimonie of Josephus.*

Of John the Baptist.

I. "ABOUT this time, says (*a*) Josephus, there happened a "difference between Aretas King of Petraea, and Herod upon this occasion. Herod the Tetrarch had married the "daughter of Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But "in a journey he took to Rome, he made a visit to (*) Herod his "brother, though not by the same mother. .. Here falling in love "with Herodias, wife of the same Herod, daughter of their brother "Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa the Great, he ventured to make "to her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they agreed "together at that time, that when he was returned from Rome, she "should go and live with him. And it was one part of the contract,

(*a*) *Antiq. l.* 18. *cap. v.* §. 1.

(*) Our Evangelists call him *Philip.* Matt. xiv. 3. and elsewhere. That difficulty was considered formerly. Josephus and the Evangelists mean the same person: though they call him by different names. *See the Credibility, &c. Part i. B.* 2. *ch. v. p.* 884. *&c.*

A. D. 76.

"tract, that Aretas's daughter ſhould be put away... This *(b)* was "the begining of the difference, and there being alſo ſome diſputes "about the limits of their territories, a war aroſe between Aretas, "and Herod. And in a battle fought by them Herod's whole ar-"mie was defeated."

"But, ſays (*c*) Joſephus, ſome of the Jews were of opinion, that "God had ſuffered Herod's armie to be deſtroyed, as a juſt puniſh-"ment upon him, for the death of John, called the Baptiſt. For He-"rod had killed him, who was a juſt man, and had called upon the "Jews to be baptiſed, and to practiſe virtue, exerciſing both juſtice "toward men and piety toward God. For ſo would baptiſm be ac-"ceptable to God, if they made uſe of it, nor for the expiation of "their ſins, but for the purity of the body, the mind being firſt pu-"rified by righteouſneſſe. And many coming to him, (for they were "wonderfully taken with his diſcourſes:) Herod was ſeiſed with ap-"prehenſions, leaſt by his authority they ſhould be led into ſedition "againſt him. For they ſeemed capable of undertaking any thing "by his direction. Herod therefore thought it better to take him "off, before any diſturbance happened, than to run the riſk of a "change of affairs, and of repenting, when it ſhould be too late to "remedy diſorders. Being taken up upon this ſuſpicion of Herod, "and

(*b*) Ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος, περί τε ὅρων ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Γαμαλίτιδι, καὶ δυνάμεως ἑκατέρῳ συλλεγείσης, εἰς πόλεμον καθίστανται· καὶ μάχης γενομένης, διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδου στρατὸς κ. λ. *ib.* §. 1.

(*c*) Τισὶ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει, ὅλα λέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαίως τιμωρούμενον κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Βαπτιστοῦ. Κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦντας, καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὸν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπί τινων ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἁγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συρρεφομένων· καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων· δείσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσοῦδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐῴεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοιτες. πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται, πρίν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης, εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψίᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μακαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, τούτῳ κτίνυται. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν, ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι, τοῦ Θεοῦ κακῶς Ἡρώδῃ θέλοντος. *Ib.* §. 2.

A. D. 76. "and being sent bound to the castle of Machaerus just mentioned, "he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion, that the destruc- "tion of Herod's armie was a punishment upon him for that action, "God being displeased with him."

The genuinnesse of this passage is generally admitted by learned men: though *(d)* Blondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber (*e*) received it very readily.

The genuinnesse of this paragraph may be argued in the following manner.

It is quoted, or referred to, by Origen in his books against Celsus. "Besides *(f)* says that ancient writer, I would have Celsus, who per- "sonates a Jew, who after a sort admits John the Baptist, and that "he baptized Jesus, to consider, that an author, who wrote not long "after the time of John and Jesus, says, that John was a Baptist, "and that he baptised for the remission of sins. For in the eigh- "teenth book of his Jewish Antiquities Josephus bears witnesse to "John, that he was a Baptist, and promised purification to those "who were baptised."

Here it may be objected, that Origen supposes Josephus to say, that *John promised purification*, or forgivenesse of sins, to those who were baptized: whereas Josephus says of John, that he *taught the people to make use of baptism, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body.*

But I do not think that a sufficient reason, why we should hesitate to allow, that Origen refers to the passage, which we now have in Josephus. Certainly, Origen did not design to say, or intimate, that John promised to men the forgivenesse of their sins, barely upon

(*d*) *Des Sibylles. l.* 1. *ch. vii. p.* 28. 29.

(*e*) *Fab. ap. Haverc. p.* 269. 270.

(*f*) Ἐβελόμην δ' ἂν Κέλσῳ, προσωποιήσαντι τὸν Ἰεδαῖον παραδεξάμενον πῶς Ἰωάννην ὡς βαπτιστὴν, βαπτίζοντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰπεῖν· ὅτι τὸ Ἰωάννην γεγονέναι βαπτιστὴν, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων βαπτίζοντα, ἀνέγραψέ τις τῶν μετ' ὀλίγον τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γεγενημένων. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰεδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ὡς βαπτιστῇ γεγενομένῳ, καθάρσιον τοῖς βαπτισαμένοις ἐπαγγελλομένῳ. *Contr. Cels. l.* 1. §. 47. *p.* 35.

on their being baptized: but only upon the condition that they repented, or, as the phrase is in the Gospels, that *they brought forth fruits meet for repentance:* or, as in Josephus, *the mind being first purified by righteousnesse.* I therefore proceed. A. D. 76.

This passage of Josephus is distinctly, and largely quoted by *(g)* Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie.

Jerome *(h)* also must be allowed to refer to the same in his book of Illustrious Men: though he does it very inaccuratly.

This passage was read in Josephus by (*i*) Photius, as is apparent.

I do not think it needfull for me to refer to any more ancient authors. But I shall consider some difficulties.

Obj. 1. In the first place it has been said, that this passage interrupts the course of the narration.

In answer to which I must say, that I do not perceive it. The connexion is very good, in my opinion.

Obj. 2. Secondly, it is objected, that in the preceding section *Machaerus* is spoken of as subject to Aretas. Therefore John the Baptist could not be sent prisoner thither by Herod the Tetrarch.

To which I answer. It is there said to be *subject to Aretas, father of Herod's wife.* τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ. But it is also there said, *to be in the borders of the government of Aretas and Herod:* μεθόριον δὲ ἔστι τῆς τε Αρέτα καὶ Ηρώδε ἀρχῆς.

The historie in that very section does not lead us to think, that Machaerus was in the possession of Aretas, but of Herod. It is thus. "Herod's wife, daughter of Aretas, having discovered the agree-

(*g*) *H. E. l.* 1. *cap. xi.*

(*h*) Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifestissime confitetur, propter magnitudinem signorum Christum a Pharisaeis interfectum: et Johannem Baptistam vere prophetam fuisse. *De V. I. cap. xiii.*

(*i*) *Cod.* 238. *p.* 972.

A. D 76. "ment he had made with Herodias, to come and live with him, and "having discovered it before he had notice of her knowledge of the "design: she desired him to send her to Machaerus, a place in the "borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod: without inform-"ing him of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, "as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing of the affair."

By that means she got to her father. But hence, I think, it may be collected, that Machaerus was not then a part of her father's dominions. For, if it had, her request to be sent thither, would have occasioned suspicions in Herod's mind. Moreover it may be argued from many things in Josephus, that Machaerus was now in the possession of Herod the Tetrarch. It belonged to his father Herod the Great, who had both adorned it, and fortified it. And it was in the hands of the Jewish people during the time of the war, and was *(k)* one of the last places, that were taken by the Romans after the siege of Jerusalem was over.

Obj. 3. According to our Evangelists, the daughter of Herodias obtained the promise of John the Baptist's head at the time of a public entertainment. And it was delivered to her presently. But how could that be done, if John was imprisoned at Machaerus, at a great distance from Herod's court?

To which I answer, *first*, that Herod the Tetrarch may have kept his birth-day, and made that entertainment at *Machaerus*. For his father, Herod the Great, had built a palace there, with large and beautifull *(l)* apartments. Says Tillemont: "We (*m*) learn from "Josephus, that he was beheaded, at Machaerus, where it is easily "supposed, that Herod made his feast. [*Mald. in Matt. p.* 304. *a.*] "For it was a palace, as well as a citadel." *Secondly*, supposing the entertainment to have been made at the capital city of Galilee, the promise

(*k*) *Vid. De B. J. l.* 7. *cap. vi.*

(*l*) Μέσον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου βασίλειον ὠκοδόμήσατο, μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει τῶν οἰκήσεων πολυτελές. κ. λ. *De B. J. l.* 7. *c. vi.* §. 2.

(*m*) *S. Jean Baptiste, art. viii. p.* 101. *Mem. Ec. T. i.*

promise might be made at the time of the entertainment: but the execution might be deferred till the next day, or till several days after. A. D. 76.

Obj. 4. Still it may be said, that this paragraph contradicts our Evangelists. For, according to them, it was at the solicitation of Herodias, and her daughter, that John was beheaded. But here it is said, that Herod put John to death, because he feared, he might be the cause of a sedition.

But there is no inconsistence in these things. For Herod might, as is said in this paragraph, have apprehensions from John's popularity, and be disposed, upon that account, to take him off. Lesser differences there may be in several historians, who write of the same matter with different views. And some circumstances may be mentioned by one writer, which are omitted by others.

I shall give an instance from the writings of the New Testament. Acts ix. 22 . . 25. *But Saul encreased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving, that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. Bnt their lying in wait was known to Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.* So says St. Luke. Let us now observe St. Paul himself. 2 Cor. xi. 31. . . 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lye not. In Damascus the Governour under Aretas the King, guarded the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped him.* St. Luke and St. Paul write of the same thing, as is apparent, and is allowed by all Commentators and Ecclesiastical Historians. Nevertheless here is a very considerable difference of circumstances. St. Paul says nothing of *the Jews,* and St. Luke says nothing of *the Governour of Damascus.* But we can conclude from St. Paul, that the Jews had engaged the Governour in their interest, who with his sol-

A. D. 76. diers kept ſtrict guard at all the gates of the city. But there was a window, or opening, in ſome part of the wall, to which his friends had acceſſe: and through that they let him down by the ſide of the wall, in a baſket, held by a rope, and he eſcaped. The danger was very preſſing. And the Apoſtle was much affected with it.

So far from contradicting the Evangeliſts, this account in the paragraph greatly confirms them. In the preceding paragraph Joſephus aſſures us of the unlawfull contract made by Herod, that Herodias ſhould leave her firſt huſband, and come and live with him. In this paragraph he gives an account of John's doctrine very agreeable to that in the Goſpels: That he earneſtly recommended the practiſe of righteouſneſſe toward men, and piety toward God: that he taught men, not to relye on baptiſm, or any other external rites, for the forgiveneſſe of their ſins, unleſs their minds were alſo purified by righteouſneſſe. And he aſſures us, that John was in great eſteem with the Jewiſh people. The ſame is alſo ſaid by our Evangeliſts, who tell us, that *all men held John for a Prophet*. He likewiſe ſays, that John, called the Baptiſt, was impriſoned by Herod, and afterwards put to death by his order.

We may be the more induced to admit the genuinneſſe of this paragraph, becauſe there is nothing in it out of character. Joſephus did not receive our Jeſus as the Chriſt. Nor is there here any mention made of that part of John's character: that he was the forerunner of the Chriſt, or referred men to him.

There may have been many Jews, who had a great regard for John, and yet did not believe in Jeſus as the Chriſt. St. Paul met with twelve Jews of that ſort at Epheſus, about the year of our Lord 53. as appears from a hiſtorie at the begining of Acts xix. *He ſaid unto them: Have ye received the Holy Ghoſt, ſince ye believed? They ſaid unto him: We have not ſo much as heard, whether there be any Holy Ghoſt. And he ſaid unto them: Unto what then were ye baptiſed? And they ſaid: unto John's baptiſm. Then ſaid Paul: John verily baptiſed with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people, that*

that they should believe on him, which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. These men had received John's baptism, as the baptism of repentance, but they had not attended to that other part of his preaching, that *they should believe on him who came after him,* till they were reminded of it by St. Paul. And then they were presently satisfied. *When they heard this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus.* And what follows. A. D. 76.

Possibly those men, or most of them, had seen and heard John, and been baptised by him. And left Judea, before Jesus had begun his public ministrie. And being at a distance from the land of Judea, had never had any distinct account of the transactions there. But now, being informed of them, and being open to conviction, they became disciples of Jesus, and believed in him, as the Christ.

But many other Jews, not so well disposed, might stand out. They might retain a great respect for John, as we suppose Josephus to have done, as an holy man, of an austere character, who had recommended the practise of virtue, and had been put to death by the Tetrarch of Galilee, without believing in Jesus as the Christ.

Origen was well acquainted with the Jewish sentiments, having often conversed with their learned men. And in his answer to Celsus he puts him in mind, " that (*n*) the Jews always make a difference between John and Jesus, and between the death of each of them."

Indeed both were for a while in great repute with the Jewish people. But Jesus had greatly disappointed them, in not assuming the character of a temporal prince, as they expected the Messiah should do. And John was put to death by a prince, not much beloved. But Jesus was crucified at the importunate demand of the Jewish rulers and people in general.

Jo-

(*n*) . . . ἀναγκαῖον ἐυτῷ παρασῆσαι, ὅτι καὶ τȣ̃το ἐυκ ἐικέως τῶ Ἰȣδαϊκῶ πρόσωπῳ περιέθηκεν. Ὀυδὲ γὰρ συνάπτȣσι τὸν Ἰωάνην ὁι Ἰȣδαῖοι τῷ Ἰησȣ̃, καὶ τὴν Ἰωάνȣ τῆ τȣ̃ Ἰησȣ̃ κολάσει. *Contr. Cels. l. i. cap.* 48. *p.* 38.

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Josippon, in the ninth or tenth centurie, though he says nothing of *Jesus Christ*, or *James, the Lord's Brother*, mentions the death of *John the Baptist*, and more agreeably to the Evangelists, than this passage of Josephus, which we are considering. He represents the Tetrarch Herod as a very wicked prince. He says, "that (*o*) he "took to himself to be his own wife, the wife of his brother Phi-"lip, though his brother was still living, and she had children by "him. He killed many wise men in Israel. And he killed that "great priest John, the Baptizer, because he had said to him, It is "unlawfull for thee to have thy brother's wife." Many Jews, as it seems, have respected John the Baptist, as an eminently good man, without allowing him to have any connexions with Jesus Christ.

Concerning Jesus Christ.

II. In the same eighteenth book of Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, but in a chapter, preceding that, in which is the account of John the Baptist, just considered, is this paragraph.

"At (*p*) that time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called "a man. For he performed many wonderfull works. He was a "teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew "over to him many Jews, and Gentils. This was the Christ. And "when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had con-"demned

(*o*) Ipse accepit uxorem Philippi fratris sui adhuc viventis in uxorem, licet illa haberet filios ex fratre ejus: eam, inquam, accepit sibi in uxorem. Occidit autem multos sapientes Israel. Occidit etiam Jochanan Sacerdotem magnum ob id quod dixerat ei: Non licet tibi accipere uxorem fratris tui Philippi in uxorem. Occidit ergo Jochananem Baptistam. *Josipp. l.* 6. *cap.* 63. *p.* 274.

(*p*) Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. Ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴς, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων. Καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, σαυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ γε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. *Antiq. Jud. l.* 18. *cap. iii.* §. 3.

"demned him to the crosse; they who before had conceived an af- A. D.
"fection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third 76.
"day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having
"foretold these and many other wonderfull things concerning him.
"And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this
"time."

This passage is received by *(r)* many learned men, as genuine. By others (*s*) it is rejected, as an interpolation. It is allowed on all hands, that it is in all the copies of Josephus's Works, now exstant, both printed and manuscript. Nevertheless it may be for several reasons called in question. They are such as these.

1. This paragraph is not quoted, nor referred to by any Christian writers, before Eusebius, who flourished at the begining of the fourth centurie and afterwards.

If it had been originally in the works of Josephus, it would have been highly proper to produce it in their disputes with Jews and Gentils. But it is never quoted by *Justin Martyr*, or *Clement of Alexandria*, nor by *Tertullian*, or *Origen*, men of great learning, and well acquainted with the works of Josephus. It was certainly very proper to urge it against the Jews. It might also have been fitly alleged against Gentils. A testimonie so favorable to Jesus in the works of Josephus, who lived so soon after the time of our Saviour, who was so well acquainted with the transactions of his own countrey, who had received so many favours from Vespasian and Titus, could not be overlooked, or neglected by any Christian Apologist.

If

(r) *Cav. H. L. in Josepho. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iii. p.* 32. *&c. Fab. Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. vi. Tom.* 3. *Whiston in his first dissertation. Spanhem. Opp. T. i. p.* 531. *Tillem. Ruine des Juifs, art.* 81. *and note al. H. E. Tom. i.*

(s) *J. Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Havercamp: p.* 89. *Blondel des Sibylles. p.* 18. *Tan. Faber. ap. Havercamp. p.* 267. *&c. Cleric. H. E. An.* 25. *n. iv. et Ars Crit. P.* 3. *cap. xiv.*

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If this paſſage had related only to ſome one of the firſt followers of Jeſus, the omiſſion had not been ſo remarkable. But it relates to Jeſus himſelf. It declares his proper character, his miracles, his crucifixion, and reſurrection, and that all this was agreeable to the predictions of the Prophets.

This paſſage is not only not quoted by *Origen:* but we can perceive, that he had it not. For in the words next following the notice taken of John the Baptiſt, as mentioned by Joſephus, and before quoted by us, he adds: "The (*t*) ſame writer, though he did not "believe Jeſus to be the Chriſt, inquiring into the cauſe of the over-"throw of Jeruſalem, and the demolition of the temple, when he "ought to have ſaid, that their attempt upon Jeſus was the cauſe of "the ruin of that people, foraſmuch as they had put to death the "Chriſt before prophesied of: he, as it were unwillingly, and not "erring far from the truth ſays: Theſe things befell the Jews in "vindication of James called the Juſt, who was the brother of Jeſus "called the Chriſt: foraſmuch as they killed him who was a moſt "righteous man. That James is the ſame, whom Paul, that genuine "diſciple of Jeſus, ſays, he had ſeen, and calls the Lord's brother, "[Gal. i. 19.] not ſo much for the ſake of conſanguinity, as their "common education, and agreement in manners and doctrine. If "(*u*) therefore he ſays, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem had befallen the "Jews for the ſake of James; with how much more reaſon might "he have ſaid, that this had happened for the ſake of Jeſus, who "was the Chriſt, to whoſe divinity ſo many churches bear witneſſe: "who being now recovered from the pollutions of vice, have given "up themſelves to the Creator, and endeavour to pleaſe him in all "things."

Afterwards,

(*t*) Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς, καίτοιγε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ καθαιρέσεως· δέον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιβουλὴ τούτων αἰτία γέγονε τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν προφητευόμενον Χριστόν. κ. λ. *Contr. Celſ. l.* 1. *c.* 47. *p.* 35.

(*u*) Εἰ περ οὖν διὰ Ἰάκωβον συμβεβηκέναι λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῆς Ἱεροσαλὴμ, κ. λ. *ib.*

Afterwards, in his second book against Celsus, he argues our Saviour's knowledge of futurities from his predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which had not been effected till the times of Vespasian and Titus. "Which (*x*) as Josephus writes, happened upon account of James the Just, the brother of Jesus called the Christ: but in truth upon account of Jesus the Christ, the Son of God." A. D. 76.

Origen speaks again to the like purpose in his commentarie upon St. Matthew, and says, "that (*y*) this James, the same that is mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Galatians [i. 19.] was so respected by the people for his righteousnesse, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, being desirous to assign the cause, why that people suffered such things, so that even their temple was demolished to the foundations, says, that those things had happened, because of the anger of God against them for what they had done to James the brother of Jesus called the Christ. And it is wonderfull, that he who did not receive our Jesus as the Christ, should ascribe such righteousnesse to James. He says, that the people also were of opinion, that they suffered these things upon account of James."

After Origen, the same saying of Josephus concerning James is also alleged by (*z*) Eusebius, and (*a*) Jerome: but without saying, any more than Origen, what work of Josephus, or what book of his works, it was in.

There is not now any thing of that kind in any of his works. Nor is it easily conceivable, that (*b*) there ever was. But what I now

(*x*) ... ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος γράφει, διὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια παρίστησι, διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Contr. Cels. l.* 2. §. 13 *p.* 69.

(*y*) *Comm. in Matt. Tom. x.* §. 17. *p.* 463. *T.* 3. *Bened. T. i. p.* 223. *Huet.*

(*z*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap. xxiii. p.* 65.

(*a*) Tradit idem Josephus, tantae eum sanctitatis fuisse, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. *De V. I. cap.* 2. *vid. et cap.* 13.

(*b*) Quod vero attinet ad ista, ταῦτα συμ-

A. D. 76.

now allege these passages of Origen for, is to shew, that it may be hence evidently and certainly concluded, that Origen never read in Josephus that testimonie to Jesus, which we now have in his works.

I have above mentioned no other Latin author, but *Tertullian*, to *(c)* whom Josephus was well known. But I might have also insisted upon the silence of the other Latin Apologists for Christianity, of the first three centuries, as *Minucius Felix*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*. To whom so extraordinarie a testimonie to our Saviour, in so celebrated a Jewish writer, would not have been unknown, if it had been in him.

Eusebius, then, who flourished about the year of Christ 315. and afterwards, is the first Christian writer, in whom this paragraph is found. And by him *(d)* it is twice quoted at large. After him, as is well known, it is quoted by *(e) Jerome*, *(f) Sozomen*, and many other following writers.

But it is observable, that this paragraph is never quoted by *Chrysostom:* Whom I suspect to have had but little regard for Eusebius of Cesarea. He several times refers to Josephus, as a proper writer, from whom men might learn what miseries the Jewish people had undergone in their war with the Romans, *he (g) not being a believer, but a Jew, and zealous for the Jewish rites even after the rise of Christianity.*

συμβέβηκεν Ιουδαίοις κατὰ ἐκδίκησιν Ιακώβου τοῦ δικαίου. κ. λ. quae tanquam a Josepho probata in Antiquitatum libris, affert Origines, . . et ex eo, ut puto, Eusebius, alique, verisimile est, ea referri debere μνημονικῷ ἁμαρτήματι Origenis . . . Certe nullibi, quod sciam, haberi potuerunt in Antiquitatibus, ut quae non agant de Hierosolymorum excidio. *Hudson. annot. ad Jos. Antiq. l.* 20. *cap. ix.* §. 1. *p.* 976. *ed. Hav. Vid. et Cleric. Ars Crit. P.* 3. *cap. xiv.* §. 8. 9. 10.

(*c*) . . et qui istos aut probat aut revincit Judaeus Josephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex. *Tert. Ap. c.* 19. *p.* 19.

(*d*) *H. E. l.* 1. *cap. xi. Dem. Ev. l.* 3. *p.* 124.

(*e*) *De V. I. cap.* 13.

(*f*) *Soz. l.* 1. *cap. i. p.* 399.

(*g*) . . καὶ γὰρ Ιουδαῖος ἦν, καὶ σφόδρα Ιουδαῖος, καὶ ζηλωτής, καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν. *In Matt. hom.* 76. *al.* 77. *T.* 7. *p.* 732. *Vid. et in Matt. hom.* 75. *al.* 76. *p.* 727. *et in Jo. hom.* 64. *al.* 65. *T.* 8. *p.* 390.

stianity. He refers likewise *(h)* to what Josephus says of John the Baptist: though inaccuratly, as must be acknowledged. But he never takes any notice of this testimonie to JESUS. Which, surely, he would not have omitted, in his many arguments with the Jews, if he had been acquainted with it, and had supposed it to be genuine. A. D. 76.

Some have supposed, that this testimonie of Josephus was alleged by *Macarius* in the time of Diocletian. But Fabricius *(i)* has honestly, and judiciously observed, that there is no reason to take that passage of *Macarius* for genuine.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus, which were seen by *Photius* in the ninth centurie.

I make a distinct article of this writer, because he read, and revised the works of Josephus, as a critic. He has in his Bibliothëque *(k)* no less than three articles concerning Josephus, but takes no notice of this passage. Whence it may be concluded, that it was wanting in his copies, or that he did not think it genuine. But the former is the more likely. He refers to the passage concerning John the Baptist in this manner. "This *(l)* Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee and "Peroea, son of Herod the Great, is he who put to death the great "John, the fore-runner, because, as Josephus says, he was afraid, he

 "would

(*h*) *In Jo. hom.* 12. *al.* 13. *T.* 8. *p.* 73. *A.*

(*i*) Hoc Josephi loco non utuntur Justinus, Tertullianus, Chrysostomus, aliique complures, quando contra Judaos disputant. Non produxit Origenes, alia Josephi laudans in libris contra Celsum. Nec Photius quidem tanto junior meminit, in cujus Bibl. Antiquitates Josephi bis recensentur. cod. 76. et 238. Ante Eusebium tamen . . . allegaverit illum Macarius quidam cubiculi imperatorii praefectus, siquidem genuinus sit hujus ad Diocletianum sermo, qui refertur in Actis Sanctorum Macarii a Cl. viro W. E. Tenselio, primum in Dialogis menstruis Germanice editis, A. 1697. p. 556. Sed merito existimandum, haec Acta martyriis Macariani, si non longe post Diocletianum plane conficta, saltem interpolata, atque locum Josephi insertum a recentiore manu esse. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 3. *p.* 237.

(*k*) *Cod.* 48. 76. *et* 238.

(*l*) *Cod.* 238. *p.* 973.

A. D. 76. "would ſtirr up the people to rebellion. For all men paid great "regard to John upon account of his tranſcendent virtue. In his "time alſo our Saviour ſuffered." How fair an occaſion had Photius here to refer alſo to the teſtimonie given to Jeſus, which we now have, if he had ſeen it? Upon this article of Photius the very learned *Ittigius* in his Prolegomena to Joſephus (*m*) has juſt remarks, invincibly aſſerting the abſolute ſilence of this great critic concerning this paragraph of Joſephus.

And very obſervable is what Photius ſays in his article of Juſtus of Tiberias. "This (*n*) writer, laboring under the common preju-"dice of the Jews, and being himſelf a Jew, makes not any the "leſt mention of the coming of Chriſt, or the things concerning "him, or the miracles done by him." This is very remarkable. This ſilence of *Juſtus* concerning our Saviour was not peculiar to him, but was common to other Jewiſh writers with him, very probably intending Joſephus. If Joſephus had been an exception, he would not have been omitted, but would have been expreſsly mentioned.

3. This paragraph concerning Jeſus interrupts the courſe of the narration. And therefore is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

In the preceding paragraph Joſephus gives an account of an attempt of Pilate to bring water from a diſtant place to Jeruſalem with the ſacred money: Which occaſioned a diſturbance, in which many Jews were killed, and many others were wounded.

The paragraph next following this, about which we are now ſpeaking, begins thus. "And (*o*) about the ſame time another ſad calamity gave the Jews great uneaſineſſe." That calamity was no leſs

(*m*) *Ap. Havercamp. p.* 89.

(*n*) ὡς δὲ τὰ Ιουδάιων νοσῶν, Ιουδαῖος τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος, τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τελεσθέντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τερετουργηθέντων, οὐδενὸς ὅλως μνήμην ἐποιήσατο. *Cod.* 33. *p.* 20.

(*o*) Καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν ἐθορύβει τὸν Ιουδαίους. *L.* 18. *cap.* 3. §. 4.

less than banishing the Jews from Rome by order of the Emperour Tiberius: "occasioned *(p)* as he says, by the misconduct of some Jews in that city." A. D. 76.

This paragraph therefore was not originally in Josephus. It does not come from him. But it is an interpolation inserted by some body afterwards. This argument must be of great weight with all, who are well acquainted with the writings of Josephus, who is a cool and sedate writer, very exact in connecting his narrations, and never failing to make transitions, where they are proper, or needfull.

I believe, it is not easie to instance in another writer, who is so exact in all his pauses and transitions, or so punctual in the notice he gives, when he has done with one thing, and goes on to another. That must make this argument the stronger.

Tillemont was very sensible of this difficulty, though he thinks, that the writers, who maintain the genuinnesse of this passage, have made good their point. "It *(q)* must be owned, however, says he, "that there is one thing embarrassing in this passage, which is, that "it interrups the course of the narration in Josephus. For that "which immediatly follows begins in these terms. *About the same "time there happened another misfortune, which disturbed the Jews.* "For those words, *another misfortune*, have no connexion with what "was just said of Jesus Christ: which is not mentioned as an un-"happinesse. And on the contrarie, it has a very natural reference "to what precedes in that place: which is a sedition, in which ma-"ny Jews were killed, or wounded. Certainly it is not so easie to "answer to this difficulty, as to the others. I wish, that Mr. *Huet*, "and Mr. *Roie* had stated this objection, and given satisfaction upon "it. As for my-self, I know not what to say to it: but that Josephus "himself might insert this passage after his work was finished. And "he

(p) Καὶ ἐι μὲν διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλάνθανοντο τῆς πόλεως. §. 5. *fin.*

(q) *Ruine des Juifs. note xl. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.*

A. D. 76. "he did not then think of a more proper place for it, than this, "where he paſſed from what happened in Judea under Pilate to "ſomewhat that was done at the ſame time at Rome. And he for-"got to alter the tranſition, which he had made at firſt."

Undoubtedly, the difficulty preſſes very hard, which will allow of no better ſolution.

4. Let us now obſerve the paragraph itſelf, and conſider, whether it be ſuitable, or unſuitable, to the general character of Joſephus.

At the ſame time lived Jeſus, a wiſe man, if he may be called a man. For he performed many wonderfull works.

But, why *(r)* ſhould Joſephus ſcruple to call Jeſus *a man?* Were not Moſes, Elijah, Eliſha, and other prophets, men? The wonderfull works, done by them, were not done by their own power, but by the power of God, bearing teſtimonie to their commiſſion, or ſupporting them in the execution of it. Moreover Moſes himſelf, who *(s)* is ſo highly extolled and magnified by Joſephus, is *(t)* often called by him a man. Why then ſhould he ſcruple to ſay the ſame of Jeſus? However, it ſhould be owned, that he has this expreſſion concerning Moſes: "So *(u)* that his legiſlation, which was from "God, made this man to be thought ſuperior to his own nature."

He

(r) Sed quo judicio ſcriptum eſt quod ſequitur: εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. Quaenam, quaeſo, ratio eſt? Quia, inquit, παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής ἦν. Itaque adeo, quando ita vult, dubitabitur in poſterum a nobis, dii an homines appellandi ſint Moſes, Elias, Eliſaeus? Nam et illi fuerunt παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητάι. Deinde, cum ait εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή, quid, quaeſo, aliud innuere vult, niſi Jeſum Dominum eſſe Deum? In quo graviter errat hic pius impoſtor. Judaei enim ne ſuſpicabantur quidem, Meſſiam ſeu Chriſtum fore Deum, ſed praeſtantiſſimum aliquem principem ex femine Davidis. *Tan. Fab. ap. Havercamp. Joſeph. p.* 269.

(s) *Antiq. l.* 3. *cap. xv. l.* 4. *cap. viii. et alibi.*

(t) Θαυμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ. κ. λ. *Ant. l.* 3. *c. xv.* §. 3.

(u) Οὕτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ Θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. *Ibid.*

He was a teacher of such men, as received the truth with pleasure. A. D. 76.

Very honorable to Jesus, and his followers! But would Josephus say this of them? And would he call the Christian Religion *the truth?*

He drew over to him many Jews and Gentils.

That is not true of the Lord Jesus, if intended of his own personal preaching, before his crucifixion. It was done indeed afterwards. But this manner of speaking is more suitable to a writer of the second, or third centurie, than to Josephus.

This was the Christ.

Jerome in his article of Josephus, in his book of Illustrious Men, quoting this passage, puts it thus: *And (x) he was believed to be the Christ.* Which is a qualifying expression, for which there is no ground. Nor *(y)* did Sophronius, Jerome's Greek interpreter, follow that translation, but puts it, as it is in Eusebius, and other Greek *(z)* writers. *This was the Christ.* But it cannot be supposed, that Josephus either thought, or said, that Jesus was the Christ.

It follows: *And when Pilate at the instigation of the chief men among us had condemned him to the crosse: they who before had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderfull things concerning him.*

All must be sensible, that this could not be said by any man, but a professed Christian. Which Josephus was not. Therefore he could not write this.

And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this day.

Which Mr. *Whiston* translates in this manner. *And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.* But Mr. W... who thinks this passage to be Josephus's, should not have rendred

(x) et credebatur esse Christus.

(y) Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν.

(z) *See particularly Sozomen, l. 1. cap. i. p.* 399.

A. D. 76.

dred φυλον *tribe:* becauſe φυλη is the word always uſed by Joſephus for *tribe*. And φυλον, which we have here, always ſignifies *nation (a)* in Joſephus. Nor were the Chriſtians a *nation*, or political ſociety in the firſt three centuries.

Here it is put for *ſect*. It cannot ſignify any thing elſe in this place. Jeſus is called a *wiſe man*, and is ſaid to have been *a teacher of ſuch as received the truth with pleaſure*. And though he had been crucified, *they who had before conceived an affection for him, did not ceaſe to adhere to him, becauſe he appeared to them alive again.*

Here the word denotes *ſect*. But αἵρεσις *hereſie*, is the word generally uſed by Joſephus, in ſpeaking *(b)* of the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſens, the three prevailing ſects, or different ways of philoſophizing among the Jews.

The phraſe (c) χριςιανῶν φῦλον, here uſed, reſembles the phraſe χριςιανῶν ἔθνος, which was in uſe, in the time of Euſebius, at the begining of the fourth centurie, and denotes *the ſect of the Chriſtians.*

Moreover, the expreſſion, *ſubſiſts to this time*, or, *is not exſtinct at this day*, imports a conſiderable ſpace of time, ſince the crucifixion of Jeſus. And does very reaſonably lead us to think, that the compoſer of this paragraph lived later than Joſephus.

Theſe conſiderations, as ſeems to me, are ſufficient to determine the point in queſtion, and to ſatisfy all men, that Joſephus was not the author of this paragraph. However, I ſhall add one conſideration more.

5. If Joſephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reaſonable

(a) . . . ἔτι καὶ Πάρθοι, τὸ πολεμικώτατον φῦλον. *De B. J. l.* 2. *c.* 16. §. 4. *p.* 189. *Hav.* Πᾶν ὑμῶν τὸ φῦλον. *Ib. p.* 191. *et paſſim.*

(b) *Vid. De. B. J. l.* 2. *cap. viii. Ant. Jud. l.* 13. *cap. v.* §. 9. *cap. x.* §. 5. *l.* 14. *cap. i. Et paſſim.*

(c) . . . τῷ ἔθνει τῶν χριςιανῶν ἑαυτὸς συμμεμιχότας. *Maximin. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 9. *cap. ix. p.* 360. *C.* . . . ad Chriſtianorum ſectam ſe applicuiſſe cernerent. *Valeſ.*

reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles. Whereas, he is every where silent about them. A. D. 76.

Josephus was a Pharisee. He believed the miracles of Moses, and the Jewish Prophets. He believed a Divine Providence, superintending human affairs, the immortality of the soul, and the rewards of a future state. And he is willing enough to relate extraordinarie things, or such things as had an appearance of being so.

Therefore (*c*) he tells a storie of *Eleazar*'s dispossessing a demon by virtue of some incantations, and the use of a certain root called *Baanas.*

Therefore *(d)* he relates a dream of *Archelaus*, and then another of *Glaphyra*, as very extraordinarie, as (*e*) confirming the doctrine of the immortality of souls, and the belief of a Divine Providence, concerning itself about human affairs. Those dreams are related by him both in the historie of the Jewish War, and in his Antiquities. And yet that dream of *Glaphyra* is now considered *(f)* by divers learned men, as a mere fiction.

I might refer to another silly storie of the fulfilment of a prediction of *Judas*, an *Essen:* which *(g)* is related by him also in both those works, the War and the Antiquities.

Would any man please himself with such poor things as these, and relate them to the world, as matters of importance, if he had any respect for the doctrine and miracles of Jesus Christ? No. He was either unacquainted with them, or resolutly silent about them.

(*c*) *Vid. de B. J. l.* 7. *cap. vi. Ant. l.* 8. *cap. ii.* §. 5.

(*d*) *Antiq. l.* 17. *cap. xiii.* §. 3. 4. 5. *De B. Jud. l.* 2. *cap. vii.*

(*e*) ... τότε ἀμφὶ τὰς Ψυχὰς ἀθανασίας ἐμφερῶς, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προμηθείᾳ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα παρεκληρότος τῇ αὐτοῦ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισα εἰπεῖν. *Ant. l.* 17. *xiii.* 5.

(*f*) *Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss.* 2. *cap. xii. p.* 238. *et le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. iv. p.* 60.

(*g*) *De B. J. l.* 1. *cap. iii.* §. 4. 5. *Ant. l.* 13. *cap. xi.* §. 2.

A. D. 76. And never can be ſuppoſed author of the honorable teſtimonie here bore to Jeſus as the Chriſt.

Suppoſing theſe arguments to be of great weight, ſome may aſk, how this paragraph came to be in the works of Joſephus? In that caſe I ſhould anſwer, that probably ſome learned chriſtian, who had read the works of Joſephus, thinking it ſtrange, that this Jewiſh hiſtorian ſhould ſay nothing of Jeſus Chriſt, wrote this paragraph in the margin of his copie, and thence it came to be afterwards inſerted into many copies of the works of Joſephus. But for a good while it was not in all. And therefore *Photius* did not ſee it in that copie, which he made uſe of.

Who was the firſt author of this interpolation, cannot be ſaid. *Tanaquil Faber (h)* ſuſpected Euſebius. I do not charge it upon him. But I think it was firſt made about his time. For, if I am not miſtaken, we have ſeen ſufficient reaſon to believe, that this paragraph was not quoted by Origen, nor by any ancient Chriſtian writer before Euſebius, that we have any knowledge of.

Though many learned men have maintained the genuinneſſe of this paragraph, others have rejected it. And for avoiding the charge of ſingularity, and for giving ſatisfaction to ſome ſcrupulous perſons, I ſhall, beſide the authors (*i*) before referred to, tranſcribe at the bottom of the page *(k)* the obſervations of *Vitringa*. And I add the judgement

(*h*) Itaque conſtet neceſſe eſt, id intra illud tempus admiſſum fuiſſe, quod ab Origene ad Euſebium fluxit. Mihi autem inprimis credibile fit, auctorem hujus τεχνάσματος eſſe Euſebium. *Faber ap. Havercamp. p.* 272.

(*i*) *See p.* 151. *note* (*s*).

(*k*) Sed vehementer dubito, poſt doctiſſimas etiam Huetii curas, an non hic foetus Joſepho ſit ſuppoſitus, et ab aliena manu in textum intruſus. Utique pro certo et indubio habeo, totum locum, ut nunc apud Joſephum habetur, e calamo Joſephi non effluxiſſe: ſed ſi omnino Joſephus Chriſti Jeſu hoc in contextu meminerit, locum a manu Chriſtiana eſſe interpolatum mutatumque. Quod jam ſi dicamus, ne ſic quidem omnis ſublata erit diffi-

judgement of Dr. *Warburton*, now Bishop of Gloucester, who has expressed himself upon the subject in very clear and strong terms. "If a Jew, says *(l)* his Lordship, owned the truth of Christianity, "he must needs embrace it. We, therefore, certainly conclude, "that the passage, where Josephus, who was as much a Jew as the "religion of Moses could make him, is made to acknowledge, that "*Jesus is the Christ*, in as strong terms as words could do it, is a rank "forgerie, and a very stupid one too." A. D. 76.

III. There is yet one passage more in the works of Josephus, which ought to be here taken notice of. It is in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, and to this purpose. *Concerning James, the Lord's Brother.*

"The *(m)* Emperour having been informed of the death of Fes-"tus, sent Albinus to be prefect in Judea. And the King [*meaning* "*Agrippa the younger*,] took away the high-priesthood from Jo-"seph, and bestowed that dignity upon the son of Ananus, who al-"so was named Ananus... This younger Ananus, who, as we said "just now, was made High-Priest, was (*n*) haughty in his behavi-"our, and very enterprising. And moreover, he was of the sect of "the Sadducees, who, as we have also observed before, are above "all other Jews severe in their judicial sentences. This then being "the temper of Ananus, and he thinking he had a fit opportunity, "because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the road, calls

difficultas: sed restat longe maxima de cohaeretia horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus: *Circa eadem tempora aliud etiam Judaeos turbavit incommodum*, &c. Quae tamen verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustuleris, egregie cum praecedentibus conspirabunt. Ad quam difficultatem removendam nuper nihil aliud a doctissimo Tillemontio produci potuit, quam verba Josephi, quae de Christo agunt, contextui παρενθικῶς inserta esse. In quo tamen dubito, an docti acquieturi sint. *Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l.* 4. *cap.* 7. §. *xi. p.* 971.

(*l*) *See Divine Legation of Moses, B.* 2. *Sect.* 6. *p.* 295. *vol. i.*

(*m*) *L.* 20. *cap. ix.* §. 1.

(*n*) θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως.

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" (o) a council of judges. And bringing before them James the bro-
" ther of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them
" as transgressors of the laws, and had them stoned to death. But
" the most moderate men of the city, who also were reckoned most
" skilfull in the laws, were offended at this proceeding. They there-
" fore sent privatly to the King, [*Agrippa before mentioned,*] entreat-
" ing him to send orders to Ananus, no more to attempt such things.
" And some went away to meet Albinus, who was coming from
" Alexandria, and put him in mind, that Ananus had no right to
" call a Council without his leave. Albinus approving of what they
" said, wrote to Ananus in much anger, threatening to punish him
" for what he had done. And King Agrippa took away from him
" the high-priesthood, after he had enjoyed it three months, and
" put in Jesus, the son of Damnaeus."

This passage is cited from Josephus by *(p) Eusebius*, and from the 20. book of his Antiquities. It is also quoted by *(q) Jerome*, but very inaccuratly. We perceive likewise, that *(r)* it was in the copies of Josephus, in the time of *Photius*.

Nevertheless there are learned men of good judgement, who (s) think, that the words, which we now have in Josephus, concerning James, are an interpolation.

They were in Josephus in the time of Eusebius, and afterwards. But it does not follow, they were always there. Indeed, there is a good deal of reason to believe, that they were not originally in Josephus.

I have

(o) . . . καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν· καὶ παραγαγὼν ἐς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ιησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ιάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τίνας ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους.

(p) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 65. 66.

(q) *De V. I. cap. ii. De Jacobo fratre Domini.*

(r) . . . αὐθεντίσας καθίζει συνέδριον, καὶ Ιάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου, σὺν ἑτέροις, παρανομίαν αἰτιασάμενος, λίθοις ἀναιρεθῆναι παρασκευάζει. κ. λ. *Phot. cod.* 238. *p.* 977.

(s) Facile quidem crediderim, Jerosolymitanos proceres graviter tulisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate instituisset, cum dudum ius gladii a Romanis esset Judaeis ademtum:

I have elſewhere (*t*) carefully examined the moſt ancient accounts of the death of James, called the Juſt, and the brother of Jeſus. Thoſe diſquiſitions will be of uſe here. The perſons, of whom Joſephus ſpeaks, who were tried and condemned by the Jewiſh council, at the inſtigation of *Ananus*, were put to death by *ſtoning*, and probably without the city. But according to the hiſtorie of the death of James, given by *Hegeſippus*, a learned Jewiſh believer, and writer in the ſecond centurie, the death of James was effected in a tumultuous manner. The diſturbance began at the temple, and he died there, or near it. Some flung him down, and threw ſtones at him: but his death was compleated by a blow on the head with a long pole, ſuch as fullers make uſe of in beating wet cloths. This is ſaid by Clement of Alexandria, in his Inſtitutions, as cited by (*u*) Euſebius and by (*x*) Hegeſippus, as cited alſo by him. That therefore is the true and ancient account of the death of James, the Lord's brother. And the Chriſtians of the ſecond centurie knew nothing of

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ademtum: quod iterum inconſulto Caeſare ab Anano uſurpatum timebant, ne genti ſuae gravi fortaſſe poenâ luendum eſſet. Sed quae de *Jacobo, Jeſu, qui Chriſtus dicebatur, fratre*, habentur, merum adſumentum, male feriati Chriſtiani, eſſe videntur. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 62. *n. ii. p.* 415.

Sunt quoque rationes ſat graves, quae perſuadeant haec ſuiſſe interpolata, et ſcripſiſſe duntaxat Joſephum: καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτό τινας, καὶ ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος. κ. λ. Statutoſque coram eo nonnullos, et accuſatos perfractae legis, tradidit lapidibus obruendos. *Id. Ars Crit. P.* 3. *cap.* 14. §. 12. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 289.

Illa de Jacobo, *Jeſu, qui Chriſtus dicebatur, fratre.* (licet agnita ab Euſebio, aliiſque eum ſequutis, diſertimque a Photio.) pro mero adſumento male feriati Chriſtiani habentur a nonnullis: quam recte, κριτικωτέρων eſto judicium. *Hudſon. annot. ad Antiq. l.* 20. *c. ix.* §. 1.

(*t*) *See the third volume of the Supplement, &c. p.* 25. 26. 27. *and p.* 36. . . . 57.

(*u*) Δύο δὲ γεγόασιν Ἰάκωβοι· ἓς ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τὸ πτερυγίον βληθεὶς, καὶ ὑπὸ κναφέως ξύλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον. *Clem. A. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *c. i. p.* 38. *D. Conf. ib. cap.* 23. *p.* 63. *C. et* 65. *C. And ſee the third vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p.* 27.

(*x*) Καὶ λαβὼν τὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἓς τῶν γναφέων τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπίεζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ δικαίου. Καὶ ὅτως ἐμαρτύρησεν. *Hegeſipp. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 65. *B.*

A. D. 76. of that account of his death, which we now have in Josephus. Therefore, probably, there was then nothing in him about it. For if there had, they would not have been ignorant of it.

Moreover, it is very observable, that according to the long and particular historie of the death and martyrdom of *James*, which we have in *Hegesippus*, that Apostle suffered alone. There was no attempt made upon any others, as the passage, now in *Josephus*, intimates. And it is inconsistent with the whole narrative, that any others should be joyned with him.

And that James suffered martyrdom, not by order of Council, as now in Josephus, but in a tumultuous manner at the Temple, or near it, and by a blow on the head with a fuller's pole, appears to have been the general and prevailing opinion of Christians in the fourth centurie, as well as before. For it is mentioned by *(y)* Jerome, and *(z)* Epiphanius, very agreeably to Hegesippus.

In this place therefore Josephus gave an account of some, who were accused by *Ananus*, and condemned by his Council, as transgressors of the Jewish laws. And what Ananus did was upon several accounts disliked by many discreet and moderate men. But there is not sufficient reason to believe, that *James* was particularly mentioned by him, as one of them.

It is certain, we ought to be very cautious in admitting quotations from Josephus, by later Christian writers. For they had a great regard for him, and were fond of having his testimonie, whether there was ground for it, or not. Theophylact upon John xiii. 33. and referring

(*y*) Qui cum praecipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc semivivus . . . fullonis fuste quo uda vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interiit . . et juxta templum, ubi et praecipitatus fuerat, sepultus est. *Hier. de V. I. cap.* 2.

Qui et ipse postea de Templo a Judaeis praecipitatus successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. *Id. Comm. in ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T.* 4. *p.* 237.

(*z*) *Haer.* 78. *num. xiv. p.* 1046.

referring alſo to John vii. 34. ſays, " The (*a*) Jews ſought him, " when their city was taken, and the wrath of God fell upon them, " on all ſides: as alſo Joſephus teſtifies, that thoſe things happened " to them upon account of the death of Jeſus." A. D. 76.

So ſays Theophylact. But from Origen, as before ſeen, we have good Reaſon to believe, that there was no ſuch account in the works of Joſephus, and that he never ſaid any ſuch thing.

In Suidas is a long article at the word JESUS, where it is ſaid, " that *(b)* Joſephus, who is often quoted by Euſebius Pamphili in " his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, expreſsly ſays, in his hiſtorie of the " Jewiſh War, that Jeſus ſacrificed with the prieſts at the temple."

There is no ſuch thing there now. And probably never was in any good copies of the works of Joſephus. But as he was an author in great repute with Chriſtians, and he was often appealed to, and too often quoted inaccuratly, (of which Jerome, in his *(c)* article of St. James, is a remarkable inſtance,) his works were as likely to ſuffer ſome interpolations, as any writer's whatever.

Blondel ſuppoſed, that to this deſire of *making an advantage from Joſephus*, we owe the inſertion of the remarkable teſtimonie to Jeſus, which we have above ſo largely conſidered. What Blondel ſays, appears to me ſo judicious, and ſo appoſite to the purpoſe, that I ſhall tranſcribe him below in his own *(d)* words. And let his judgement

(*a*) . . . ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ, διὰ τὸν θανατὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. *In Ev. p.* 762. *A.*

(*b*) Εὕρομεν δὲ Ἰώσηπον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῆς ἁλώσεως Ἱεροσολύμων, (οὗ μνήμην πολλὴν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ ποιεῖται) φανερῶς λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀιχμαλωσίας αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήμασιν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἠγίαζε. *Suid. V.* Ἰησοῦς.

(*c*) *De V. I. cap. ii.* To *Jerome* might have been added Euſebius, and divers other Chriſtian Writers. Concerning Euſebius's inaccurate quotations of Joſephus ſomewhat was ſaid formerly. *Credib. P.* 2. *Vol. viii. p.* 59. 60. And they have been obſerved and cenſured by Scaliger, and other learned moderns.

(*d*) A meſme deſſein, de tirer avantage de Joſephe, quelque main hardie a inſeré dans ſes Antiquitez. lib. 18. c. 4. des paroles qui luy ſont d'autant moins convenables, qu'elles contiennent un teſmoignage

A. D. 76. ment be added to those of *Vitringa*, and the Bishop of *Gloucester* above quoted.

Concluding Observations upon the Writings and Testimonie of Josephus.

IV. Supposing Josephus not to have said any thing of Jesus Christ, some may ask: What could be the reason of it? And how can it be accounted for?

To which I might answer, that such a question is rather more curious, than judicious and important. And it may be difficult to propose a solution, that shall be generally approved of. However, I shall hazard a few observations upon the point.

It is easie to believe, that all Jews, who were contemporarie with Christ, or his Apostles, and did not receive Jesus as the Christ, must have been filled with much enmity against him and his followers. We are assured by early Christian writers, of good credit, such as *(e)* Justin Martyr, *(f)* Tertullian, and others, that the ruling part of the Jewish nation industriously spread abroad false and injurious reports among the nations concerning the followers of Jesus. But the polite and learned writers, such as *Justus of Tiberias*, and *Josephus*, might think it expedient to be silent. They had nothing to say against Jesus, or the Christians, with any appearance of truth and credibility. They therefore thought it better to be silent, and thereby, if possible, bury them in utter oblivion.

It is not easie to account for the silence of Josephus any other *(g)* way.

moignage honorable, tant de la personne de nostre Seigneur, que de la sainteté et verité du Christianisme, de la profession duquel cét Autheur a toujours esté tres eloigné: et d'ailleurs qu'elles sont notoirement une piece d'attache sans liaison avec le reste de son discours, tant precedant que suivant, et placée à l'endroit qu'elle occupe par affection de parti plustost que par raison. *Blondel Des Sibylles. p.* 28.

(e) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234 *D. Par.* §. 18. *p.* 102. *Bened.*

(f) Ad Nat. l. i. cap. 13. *p.* 59. *D. et adv. Marcion. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. *p.* 498.

(g) Le Cardinal Noris se fâche avec raison contre Joseph, de ce qu'il expedie en dix lines les neuf années du regne d' Archelaus . . . pour raconter au long les deux songes, dont on a parlé cidessus. Mais on a encore plus de sujet de se plaindre

way. Many things are omitted by him, of which he could not be ignorant. He muſt have known of the maſſacre of the infants at Bethlehem ſoon after the birth of Jeſus. The arrival of the Wiſe Men from the Eaſt, who were conducted by a ſtar, gave concern not only to Herod, but to all Jeruſalem. Matt. ii. 8. Joſephus was a Prieſt. He could not but have heard of the viſion of *Zacharias* the father of John the Baptiſt at the temple. Luke i. And it was a thing very proper to have had a place in his hiſtorie. The prophecies of *Simeon* and *Anna* at the temple, and other things that happened there about that time, as we may think, muſt have been well known to him. Then the preaching and miracles of our Saviour and his Apoſtles at Jeruſalem, and in Galilee, and all over Judea: the crucifixion of Jeſus at Jeruſalem, at the time of a Paſſover, the darkneſſe for three hours at Jeruſalem, and all over Judea, the death of James the brother of John, at Jeruſalem, by Herod Agrippa. All theſe things muſt have been well known to him.

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Moreover, before Joſephus had finiſhed his work of the Jewiſh Antiquities, or even the hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War, chriſtianity had ſpread very much in Aſia, and in other parts, and at Rome itſelf, where alſo many had ſuffered, and that ſeveral years before the final ruin of Jeruſalem, and the Jewiſh nation. The progreſſe of the Chriſtian Religion was a very conſiderable event. And it had it's riſe in Judea.

The ſect of the Chriſtians, which had it's riſe in Judea, and conſiſted partly of Jews, partly of men of other nations, was as numerous, or more numerous, in the time of Joſephus, than any of the

indre de la negligence, ou plutôt du ſilence affecté de cet Hiſtorien, touchant le denombrement, dont S. Luc parle, et touchant le meurtre des enfans de Bethlehem, du tems de la naiſſance de notre Seigneur: pour ne pas parler de ſa vie, et de ſa mort, dont il ne dit rien non plus: car on ne peut guere douter, que le paſſage, ou il en eſt parlé, ne ſoit fourré, par un Chrêtien mal-habile, dans Joſeph. S'il eut dit ſeulement un mot du de nombrement, et du maſſacre de Bethlehem, on n'auroit point la peine de chercher le tems de la naiſſance de Notre Seigneur. Mais ce Juif malicieux a voulu, autant qu'il étoit en lui, enſevebir cette hiſtoire dans un éternel oubli, en haine des Chrêtiens. *Le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T.* 4. *Art. i. p.* 74 75.

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Joſephus was well acquainted with affairs at Rome, and in all the ſettlements of the Jewiſh people in Aſia, and parts adjacent. He is as exact in the account of the ſeveral ſucceſſions in the Roman Empire, as any Roman Hiſtorian whatever. What *(h)* a long and particular account has he given of the conſpiracie againſt Caligula, and his death, and the ſucceſſion of Claudius?

I do not ſay, that Joſephus had read the books of the New Teſtament. He might have come to the knowledge of moſt of the things juſt mentioned another way. They are great and remarkable events, about which a contemporarie, and a man of good intelligence, engaged in public life, could not be ignorant. His ſilence therefore about Chriſtian affairs is willfull, and affected. It cannot be owing to ignorance. And muſt therefore be aſcribed to ſome other cauſe, whatever it may be.

His profound ſilence, however, concerning the affairs of the Chriſtians in his time, is no objection to their truth and reality. The hiſtorie of the new Teſtament has in it all the marks of credibility, that any hiſtorie can have. Heathen hiſtorians (*i*) of the beſt credit, have born witneſſe to the time of the riſe of the Chriſtian Religion,

(*) *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap. viii.*

(**) *Antiq. l.* 13. *cap. v. et l.* 18. *cap. i.*

(*h*) *Antiq. l.* 19. *cap. i. ii. iii.*

(*i*) . . . quos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor hujus nominis Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaque in praeſens extiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam originem ejus mali, ſed per Urbem etiam, &c. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 15. *cap.* 44.

ligion, the countrey, in which it had it's origin, and who was the Author of it, and it's ſwift and early progreſſe in the world. A. D. 76.

Of all thoſe things, which are recorded in the Goſpels, and of the progreſſe of Chriſtianity afterwards, we have unconteſted evidence, from the evangelical writers themſelves, and from ancient Chriſtian authors, ſtill exſtant, and from Heathen writers, concurring with them in many particulars.

And Joſephus, the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, who believed not in Jeſus, has recorded the hiſtorie of the Jewiſh people in Judea, and elſewhere: and particularly the ſtate of things in Judea, with the names of the Jewiſh Princes, and Roman Governours, during the miniſtrie of our Saviour, and his Apoſtles. Whereby as *(k)* formerly ſhewn at large, he has wonderfully confirmed, though without intending it, the veracity, and the ability, of the evangelical writers, and the truth of their hiſtorie. He has alſo, as we have now ſeen in this volume, bore teſtimonie to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the coming troubles and afflictions of that people: which is more credible, and more valuable, than if given by a believer in Jeſus, and a friend and favourer of him. So that though all the paſſages in his works, which have been doubted of, ſhould be rejected; he would be ſtill a very uſefull writer, and his *(l)* works very valuable.

Joſephus knew how to be ſilent, when he thought fit, and has omitted ſome things very true, and certain, and well known in the

(k) In the firſt Part of the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtorie.

(l) Evangelicam quoque et apoſtolicam hiſtoriam Joſephus confirmat in multis, etiamſi vel maxime ponamns dubitandum eſſe de γνησιότητι locorum de Chriſto Servatore lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 4. de Johanne Baptiſta lib. xviii. cap. 7. de Jacobo. l. xx. c. 8. et quae de dirutis propter Jacobi necem injuſtam Hieroſolymis . . ex iiſdem Joſephi libris laudant Origenes, 1. contr. Celſ. et l. 2. et in Matthaei cap. xiii. Euſebius. l. 2. c. 23. H. E. Hieronymus Catalogo Script. Ec. cap. 2. et 13. Suidas Ἰέσωπος, et Ἰωσῆς, hodie vero in Joſephi libris non reperiuntur. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. vi. T. 3. p. 237. 238.*

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world. In the preface to his Jewiſh Antiquities, he *(m)* engages to write of things, as he found them mentioned in the ſacred books, without adding any thing to them, or omitting any thing in them. And (*n*) yet he has ſaid nothing of the golden calf, made by the Jewiſh people in the wilderneſſe: thus dropping an important narrative, with a variety of incidents, recorded in one of the books of Moſes himſelf, the Jewiſh Lawgiver, the moſt ſacred of all their ſcriptures.

The ſin of the *Molten calf* is alſo mentioned in other books of the Old Teſtament in the confeſſions of pious Iſraelites: as Neh. ix. 18. and Pſ. cvi. 19. Nevertheleſs Joſephus choſe to obſerve total ſilence about it.

A learned critic obſerved ſome while ago, as ſomewhat very remarkable, that (*o*) Joſephus has never once mentioned the word *Sion*, or *Zion*, neither in his Antiquities, nor in his Jewiſh War: though there were ſo many occaſions for it: and though it is ſo often mentioned in the Old, as well as the New Teſtament. And he ſuſpects that omiſſion to be owing to deſign and ill-will to the Chriſtian cauſe.

And

(*m*) Τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τούτης ποιήσειν τῆς πραγματείας, ἠπηγγειλάμην, οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ' ἐν παραλιπών. *Antiq. Pr.* §. 3. *p.* 4.

(*n*) Eruditionem, diligentiam, prudentiam, fidem, omnes callaudant, praeterquam ubi nimio eſt in ſuam gentem affectu. v. gr. in rebus Moſis et Salomonis . . ſilentium nonnunquam affectatum, ut in iis quae probro cederent ſuae genti. Qualis ex. gr. fuit Vituli Aurei fabrica, et adoratio, tacita Joſepho: ita et in iis quae faverent Chriſtianae rei, eruditi paſſim notarunt, et nos ſubinde in locis ſuis. *F. Spanhem. H. E. T. i. p.* 258. *Conf. J. Otton. Animadverſiones in Joſeph.* §. *ii. p.* 305. *Havercamp.*

And by all means ſee Tillemont's Remarks upon this Author's Antiquities. Ruine des Juifs, art. 81.

(*o*) Sion, Tzion nomen, montem, munimentum ſemel iterumque apud Joſephum quaerens, nullibi inveni, neque iis etiam in locis, ubi expugnationem arcis Tzion expreſſe tractat: quum tamen centies et millies ipſi occaſio data fuerit, ita ut plane ſentiam ipſum ſtudio et datâ operâ hoc tam glorioſum pro Novo Teſtamento nomen preſſiſſe ſilentio &c. *J. B. Ottii Animadverſiones in Joſeph. ap. Havercamp. T.* 2. *p.* 305.

And if I was not afraid of offending by too great prolixity, I ſhould now remind my readers of a *(p)* long argument of old date, relating to the aſſeſſment made in Judea, by order of Auguſtus, at the time of our Saviour's nativity, near the end of Herod's reign, recorded by St. Luke ch. ii. I *(q)* then quoted a paſſage from the Antiquities of Joſephus, whence it appears, that there were then great diſturbances in Herod's familie. And there were ſome *Phariſees, who foretold*, or gave out, *that God had decreed to put an end to the government of Herod, and his race, and tranſfer the kingdom to another.* Joſephus here takes great liberties. And though he was himſelf a Phariſee, and at other times ſpeaks honorably of that ſect, he now ridicules them. He ſays *(r) they were men, who valued themſelves highly for their exact knowledge of the laws. And talking much of their intereſt with God, were greatly in favour with the women. Who had it in their power to controll Kings: extremely ſubtle, and ready to attempt any thing againſt thoſe whom they did not like.* But it appears, that the King, who was then talked of, and who was to be appointed, *according to the predictions of the Phariſees*, was a perſon of an extraordinarie character. For he ſays, that *Bagoas*, an eunuch in Herod's palace, *was elevated by them, with the proſpect of being a father and benefactor to his countrey, by receiving from him a capacity of marriage, and having children of his own* ***.

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All theſe particulars, though not expreſſed with ſuch gravity, as is becoming an hiſtorian, and is uſual in Joſephus, cannot but lead us to think, that he was not unacquainted with the things related in the ſecond chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel. Says the Evangeliſt: *Now when Jeſus was born in Bethleëm of Judea, in the days of Herod the King, behold there came wiſe-men from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem, ſaying: Where*

(p) *Credibility. P. i. B. 2. ch. i. Vol. 2. p.* 628. . . 645. *the third edition.*

(q) The quotation is, as above, p. 628. . . . 630. taken from the Antiquities. l. 17. cap. 2 § 4 p. 831. *Havercamp.*

(r) *P.* 629.

*** Whiſton tranſlates: *And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them. For that this King would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.*

A. D. 76. *Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him. When Herod the King had heard all these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.* The word rendred *troubled*, is of a midle meaning. How Herod was *moved*, may be easily guessed, and is well known. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were differently *moved* and agitated: partly with joyfull hopes of seeing their Messiah, *King of the Jews:* partly filled with apprehensions from Herod's jealousie, and the consequences of it.

It seems to me, that Josephus had then before him good evidences, that the Messiah was at that time born into the world. But he puts all off with a jest. Perhaps, there is not any other place in his works, where he is so ludicrous. We are not therefore to expect, that ever after he should take any notice of the Lord Jesus, or things concerning him, if he can avoid it.

And why should we be much concerned about any defects in this writer's regard for Jesus Christ, and his followers: who out of complaisance, or from self-interested views, or from a mistaken judgement, or some other cause, so deviated from the truth, as to ascribe the fulfilment of the Jewish ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah, to *Vespasian*, an idolatrous prince, who was not a Jew by descent, nor by religion: who was neither of the church, nor of the seed of Israel?

Josephus was a man of great eminence and distinction among his people. But we do not observe in him a seriousnesse of spirit, becoming a Christian: nor that sublimity of virtue, which is suited to the principles of the Christian Religion. Nor do we discern in him such qualities, as should induce us to think, he was one of those, who were well disposed, and were *not far from the kingdom of God.* He was a Priest by descent, and early in the magistracie, then a General, and a Courtier, and in all shewing a worldly mind, suited to such stations and employments. Insomuch that he appears to be one of those, of whom, and to whom, the best judge of men and things said: *How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only!*

Mark xii. 34.

John v. 44.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Mishnical, and Talmudical writers.

I. *The Age, and the Authors of the Mishna, and the Talmuds.* II. *Extracts from the Mishna, with Remarks.* III. *Extracts from the Talmuds,* 1. *of our Saviour's Nativity.* 2. *His journey into Egypt.* 3. *His Disciples.* 4. *James, in particular.* 5. *His last Sufferings.* 6. *The power of Miracles in Jesus, and his Disciples.* 7. *A Testimonie to the Destruction of the Temple by Vespasian and Titus, with Remarks.*

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The Time and Authors of the Mishna, and the Talmuds.

I. THE word *Talmud* is used in different senses. Sometimes it denotes the *Mishna*, which is the text. At other times it is used for the commentaries upon the *Mishna*. At other times it includes both. I shall generally use it, as distinct from the Mishna, denoting the commentaries upon it, of which there are two, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian. Of all which good accounts may be seen in Wagenseil's preface to his *Tela Ignea Satanae*, and in Dr. Wotton's *Discourses upon the Traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees*, and in many other writings. The most authentic account is that of M. Maimonides, in his preface to the Order of Seeds, which is the first of the six Orders, into which the whole work is divided. And may be seen in *Pocock's Porta Mosis*. As it is also prefixed to the first volume of Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna.

The

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The compiler of the Mishna is *Rabbi Jehudah Hakkadosch*, or the holy, upon whom the highest commendations are bestowed by Maimonides *(a)* as eminent for humility, temperance, and every branch of piety, as also for learning, and eloquence, and likewise for his riches: which are magnified by him, and other Jewish writers, beyond all reasonable bounds of probability.

But it may not be amiss for me to give my readers some farther insight into this work, by reciting an article of Dr. Prideaux in his Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament. He observes, how the number of Jewish traditions had encreased. " And " *(b)* thus, says he, it went on to the midle of the second centurie " after Christ, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman Empire, " by which time they found it necessarie to put all these traditions " into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, " and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of be- " ing any longer preserved by the memorie of men. And there- " fore there being danger, that under their disadvantages they might " be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof, it was re- " solved, that they should be all collected, aud put into a book. And " *Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon*, who from the reputed sanctity of " his life, was called *Hakkadosh*, that is, the Holy, and was then " Rector of the school, which they had at Tiberias in Galilee . . . " undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consist- " ing of several tracts, which all together make up the number of " sixty three. . . This is the book, called the *Mishnah*. Which book " was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration through- " out all their dispersions, and hath been ever since held in high " esteem among them. . . And therefore, as soon as it was publish- " ed, it became the object of the studies of all learned men. And " the chiefest of them employed themselves to make comments up- " on

(a) *Ap. Pocock. Port. Mosis. p.* 35. 36. (b) *The Year before Christ.* 446. *p.* 326. *&c. Vol. i.*

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"on it, and these with the Mishna make up both the Talmuds, "that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and the *Babylonish Talmud*. These "comments they call the *Gemara*, that is, the complement, because "by them the *Mishna* is fully explained, and the whole traditiona-"rie doctrine of their law and their religion compleated. For the "*Mishna* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both to-"gether is what they call *the Talmud*. That made by the Jews of "Judea is called *the Jerusalem Talmud*, and that made by the Jews "of Babylonia, the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was compleated "about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is published in one "large folio. The later was published about two hundred years "after, in the begining of the sixth centurie, and has had several e-"ditions since the invention of printing: the last published at Am-"sterdam, is in twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds is con-"tained the whole of the Jewish religion, that is now professed a-"mong them. But *(c)* the *Babylonish Talmud*, is that which they "chiefly follow."

The same learned author again, afterwards computes, that the *Mishna* was composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, about the three hundredth year, and the other *Talmud* about the five hundredth year of our Lord.

And *Wagenseil* observes, that *(d)* Rabbi Jehuda was contemporarie with Antonin the Pious. Mr. *Lampe (e)* speaking of several of

(c) Dr. *Wotton*, as above, p. 22. 23. says: "The Jerusalem Talmud wants "the impertinences, and, consequently, "the authority of the Babylonish Gema-"ra. . . It has little of that hyperbolical "and fabulous stuff, for which the other "is so highly valued by the modern Tal-"mudists."

(d) Rabbi Jehudam, qui Sancti cognomen inter suos meruit, et Antonini Pii Imperatoris aequalis fuit, metus invaserat, ne ob tantas gentis suae miserias, et in remotissimis terris deportationes, Oralis Lex plane in hominum animis obliteraretur. *Wagens. Pr. p.* 55.

(e) Sed praecipue eminuit R. Jehuda, quem Sanctum nominant, Mishnae auctor, qui circa annum 194. aut secundum alios 230 obiisse creditur. *Lampe Synops. H. E. P.* 111.

A. D. 180. the Jewiſh Rabbins celebrated about this time, ſays, that *R. Jehuda*, author of the Miſhna, died about the year of Chriſt 194. or according to others in the year 230.

Dr. Lightfoot, [*Fall of Jeruſalem* §. *vii. Vol. i. p.* 369.] ſays, "that "R. Judah outlived both the Antonins, and Commodus alſo." And afterwards, in the ſame page. "He compiled the Miſhnah "about the year of Chriſt 190. in the later end of the reign of Com-"modus: or, as ſome compute, in the year of Chriſt 220. an hun-"dred and fifty years after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem."

I do not take upon me to conteſt at all what *Prideaux* ſays of the times of the two Talmuds. But I muſt ſay a few things about the time of the *Miſhna*. I allow, that Rabbi Jehudah, the compoſer of it, was contemporarie with Antonin the Pious: though the ſtories told by the Jewiſh writers of the favours ſhewn him by that Emperour, muſt be reckoned partly fabulous. But allowing him to be contemporarie with *Antonin*, who died in the year 161. it does not follow, that the Miſhna was compoſed ſo ſoon, as the year of Chriſt 150. R. Jehuda is ſuppoſed to have had a long life. And the compiling the Miſhna, which muſt have been the work of many years, and much leiſure, and deliberate thought and conſideration, may not have been finiſhed before the year 190. or *(f)* later. If therefore I place this work at the year 180. I think, I place it ſoon enough. Beſides, it is ſaid, that R. Jehudah had ſeveral ſickneſſes, ſome of long continuance, which are particularly mentioned, both in the Jeruſalem and the Babylonian Talmud, though with ſome variations. Theſe muſt have been obſtructions to him in his ſtudies, and muſt have prolonged the labours of his work. The nature of the work alſo required time. It is not a ſpeculation, which might be

(f) Talmudici Operis fundamenta hoc ſeculo jacta, circa A. C. cxc. Magiſtri citius, imperante Antonino Pio. *Fred. Spanh. Opp. T. i. p.* 687. *Vid. et p.* 793.

be ſpun out of a man's head at once. But it is a collection *(g)* of traditions from all quarters, and from the contributions of other learned men of the nation, who had treaſured up theſe hitherto unwritten traditions in their memories. A. D. 180.

One thing more I may premize here, that *(h)* it is the opinion of divers learned men, well ſkilled in this part of learning, that in the *Miſhna*, which is a collection of Jewiſh traditions, there is little or nothing concerning our Saviour, or his followers. I allow alſo, that here are none of thoſe open blaſphemies, which may be found in ſome other Jewiſh writings.

II. I ſhall now make ſome extracts out of the *Miſhna*.

1. In the tract concerning *Faſts* are theſe words: "Five *(i)* heavie

"af-

(*g*) Quamobrem, adhibitis in conſilium auxiliumque ſapientiſſimis quibuſque, ſedulo ab iis, quibus licebat, Judaeis, voce ac per epiſtolas ſciſcitatus eſt, quaenam a parentibus oralis legis ſcita didiciſſent, quin et ſchedas undique conquiſivit, quibus hactenus memoriae cauſſa traditiones inſcriptae fuerant. Ea omnia, ſecundum certa doctrinae capita diſpoſuit, et in unum volumen redegit, cui nomen hoc *Miſhna*, hoc eſt, δευτέρωσις impoſuit. *Wagenſeil Pr. p.* 55.

(*h*) Scilicet, ſi per Talmud ſolam Miſhnam intelligam, vere affirmavero, nullam in toto Talmude reperiri blaſphemiam, nihil Chriſtianis adverſum, nullam fabulam quoque, immo nec quicquam quod valde a ratione ſit alienum. Continet enim meras tantum πατροπαραδόσεις, et eſt, ceu diximus, corpus juris Judaici olim non ſcripti. Rem ita ſe habere, teſtem idoneum ac locupletem ſiſtere poſſumus, virum harum rerum ſcientiſſimum, omnique dignum praeconio Joſephum de Voiſin. . . . *Wagenſeil. Praef. p.* 57.

Quippe, quod in praefatione hujus voluminis ſatis dixi, id tamen nunc iterum dico, in univerſa Miſhna, de Jeſu ſervatore, nec vola nec veſtigium ullum apparet, immo ne de Chriſtianis quidem, ejus nomen profitentibus. *Id. in Confut. Toldos Jeſchu. p.* 10. §. 4.

(*i*) Quinque res luctuoſae patribus noſtris acciderunt die ſeptimo decimo menſis Tammuz [ſc. *Junii.*] totidemque die nono menſis Abh [ſc. *Julii.*] Nam xvii. Tammuz fractae ſunt tabulae Legis: ceſſavit juge ſacrificium: Urbis moenia perrupta: Lex ab Appoſtemo combuſta, idolumque in templo ſtatutum. Nono autem die menſis Abh, decrevit Deus de patribus noſtris, non ingreſſuros eos in terram promiſſam: deſolatum eſt templum primum et ſecundum: capta eſt urbs Bither: diruta urbs ſancta. Unde ex quo

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"afflictions have befallen our ancestors on the seventeenth day of "the month Tammus [June] and as many on the ninth day of the "month Ab. [*July.*] For on the seventeenth day of Tammus, the "tables of the law were broken: the perpetual sacrifice ceased: the "walls of the city were broke open: the Law was burnt by *Apos-* "*temus*, and an idol was set up in the temple. On the ninth day of "the month Ab, God determined concerning our fathers, that they "should not enter into the promised land: the first and second tem-"ple was desolated: the city *Bither* was taken: the holy city was "destroyed. For which reason, as soon as the month Ab begins, re-"joycings are abated."***

Who

quo mensis Abh incipit. laetitiam imminuunt. *Tract. de Jejuniis cap.* 4. §. 7. *Pars.* 2. *p.* 382. *edit. Surenh.*

(****) I think it cannot be disagreeable to my readers, if I here transcribe some observations of Dr. Lightfoot, from what he calls a *Parergon. Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem.* Of his Works, Vol. i. p. 362. though they are long, "The temple was burnt down, as Josephus a spectator setteth the time, *on the tenth day of the month Lous.* Which he saith was a fatal day to the temple. For it had been burnt down by the Babylonians before, on that day. *De Bell. l.* 6. *cap. vii.* And yet his countreymen, who write in the Hebrew tongue, fix both these fatalities to the ninth day of that month, which they call the month Ab. And they account that day fatal for three other sad occurrences besides. *On the ninth day of the month Ab*, say they, *the decree came out against Israel in the wilderness, that they should not enter into the land. On it was the destruction of the first Temple, and on it was the destruction of the second. On it the great city Bither was taken, where there were thousands and ten thousands of Israel, who had a great King over them*, [Ben Cozba.] *whom all Israel, even their greatest wise men, thought to have been Messias. But he fell into the hands of the Heathen, and there was great affliction, as there was at the destruction of the Sanctuarie. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus ploughed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, Sion shall become a ploughed field.* Talm. in Taanith. per. 4. halac. 6. Maimon. in Taanith. per. 5."

"It is strange, that men of the same nation, and in a thing so signal, and of which both parties were spectators, should be at such a difference: and yet not a difference neither, if we take Josephus's report of the whole story, and the other Jews construction of the time. He records, that the Cloister walks, commonly called *the Porticoes of the Temple*, were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth: but that day Titus called a council of war, and carried it by three voices, that the temple should be spared. But a new bustling of the Jews caused it to be fired, though

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Who is meant by *Apostemus*, or *Appostomus*, is not very material. And therefore, I do not inquire. I allege this passage, as an early Jewish testimonie to the destruction of the holy city, or *Jerusalem*, and the *second temple*, as it is here called.

2. In the tract concerning *the Woman suspected of Adulterie*, are these words: "When *(k)* the war of *Vespasian* began, the coronets "and bells of bridegrooms were forbidden by a public decree. "When

though against his will, on the next day. *Joseph. ubi supr.* cap. 22. 23. 24. Now their Kalendar reckons, from the midle day of the three that fire was at it, as from a centre. And they state the time thus: *It was the time of the evening, when fire was put to the temple. And it burnt till the going down of the sun of the next day. And behold what Rabban Jochanan benzaccai saith: If I had not been in that generation, I should not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth, because the most of the temple was burnt that day. And in the Jerusalem Talmud it is related, that Rabbi, and Joshua ben Levi, fasted for it the ninth and tenth days both.* Gloss. in Maim. in Taanith. per. 8."

"Such another discrepancy about the time of the firing of the first temple by Nebuchadnezzar, may be observed in 2 Kings xxv. 8. 9. where it is said, that *in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, came Nebuzaradan, Captain of the guard, and burnt the House of the Lord.* And yet in Jer. lii. 12. it is said to have been *in the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month.* Which the Gemarists in the Babylon Talmud reconcile thus: *It cannot be said, on the seventh day, because it is said, On the tenth. Nor can it be said On the tenth, because it is said, On the seventh. How is it then? On the seventh day the aliens came into the Temple, and eat there, and defiled it, the seventh, eighth, and ninth days. And that day toward night, they set it on fire, and it burnt all the tenth day, as was the case also with the second Temple.* Taanith. fol. 29."

"The ninth and tenth days of the month Ab, on which the Temple was burnt down, was about the two and three and twentieth of our July. And the city was taken, and sacked, the eighth day of September following. Joseph. supr. cap. 47." So *Lightfoot.*

(k) Orto bello Vespasiani, decreto publico abrogatae sunt coronae sponsorum, et tympana. Orto bello Titi cautum est de coronis sponsarum, et ne quis filium in Graecanicis erudiret. Propter postremum belli impetum, prohibebatur sponsa in publicum prodire sub uranisco. Sed magistris nostris visum est, facultatem ejus rei indulgere. *Tractat. de Uxore Adulterii suspecta, num.* 14. *P.* 3. *p.* 304. *Edit. Surenh.*

A. D. 180. "When the war of *Titus* began, the coronets of brides were for-
"bidden, and that no man should educate his son in Greek learn-
"ing. Because of the final issue of that war, every bride was for-
"bid to come abroad under an umbrella. Nevertheless, our Ma-
"sters have [since] thought fit to allow of it."

This also is an early testimonie to the war, in which the Jewish people were subdued by those two great Generals, *Vespasian* and *Titus*.

3. I shall now transcribe below another long passage from the same tract. A part of which shall be translated.

"When *(l)* Rabbi *Meïr* died, there were none left to instruct "men in wise parables." . . .

". . . When

(l) Mortuo R. Meir defecere, qui homines erudiebant [*doctis*] parabolis. . . . Mortuo R. Simeone Filio Gamalielis, venerunt locustae, et auctae sunt calamitates. . . R. Ahiba mortuo decus legis evanuit. . . Mortuo R. Gamaliele Sene, evanuit honor legis, simulque mundities et sanctimonia, intermortuae. R. Ismaele filio Babi defuncto, occubuit splendor sacerdotii. Mortuo Rabbi [*Juda Sancto*] cessavit modestia, et timor peccati. R. Pinchas F. J. ait diruto templo pudore suffusi sunt Sapientes pariter et Nobiles: obnubuntque capita. Liberales ad pauperiem sunt redacti, contra invaluerunt violenti, et calumniatores: nec superest explicans, nec quaerens, nec interrogans. Cui ergo in nitendum est nobis? Patri nostro coelesti. R. Eliezer, cognomento Magnus, ait: Ex quo templum devastatum est, coepere Sapientes similes esse Scribis, Scribae Aedituis, Aeditui vulgo hominum. Vulgus autem hominum, in pejus in dies ruit: nec quis rogans, aut quaerens, superest. Cui ergo innitendum? Patri nostro coelesti. Paullo ante adventum Messiae impudentia augebitur, et magna erit annonae caritas. Vitis proferet fructum, sed vinum nihilominus care vendetur. Summum in orbe Imperium obruetur opinionibus pravis, et nulli locum habebit correptio. Synagogae convertentur in lupanaria, limites Judaeae desolabuntur, et regio quanta quanta est devastabitur. Viri insignes oppidatim circuibunt, nec ulla humanitatis officia experientur. Faetebit sapientia Magistrorum, a delictis sibi caventes spernentur, et Veritatis magnus erit defectus. Juvenes confundent ora Senum. Senes coram junioribus surgent. Filius irritabit patrem. Nata insurgat adversus matrem, nurusque contra socrum. Denique, suos quisque domesticos inimicos habebit. Scilicet seculo illo canina facies

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"...When *Simeon*, son of Gamaliel died, there came locusts, and "calamities were encreased... When R. *Akiba* died, the glorie of "the law vanished away. Upon the death of *Gamaliel*, the *aged*, "the honour of the law vanished, and there was an end to purity "and sanctimonie. When Rabbi *Ishmael*, son of Babi, died, the "splendour of the priesthood was tarnished. When *Rabbi* [Judah] "died, there was no more any modestie, or fear of transgression. "Rabbi *Pinchas*, son of Ishmael, said, when the temple was de-"stroyed, all men were covered with shame, both Wise men and "Nobles. And all now cover their heads. The bountifull are re-"duced to poverty, and the violent and slanderers prevail. Nor is "there any to explain the law, nor are there any who ask and in-"quire. What then shall we do? Let us trust in our heavenly Fa-"ther. R. *Eliezer*, surnamed the great, says: from the time that "the temple was destroyed, the Wise Men began to be like Scribes, "the Scribes like Sextons, and Sextons like the Vulgar. And the "Vulgar are continually degenerating from bad to worse. Nor are "there any who ask and inquire. What then shall we do? Let us "trust in our heavenly Father. A short time before the coming of "the Messiah, Impudence will be encreased: and great will be the "price of provisions. The vine will bear fruit. Nevertheless wine "will be sold at a high price. The suprem Empire of the world "will be overwhelmed with bad opinions. Nor will there be room "for any to correct them. Synagogues will be turned into brothel-"houses, and the whole land of Judea will be laid waste. Excel-"lent

facies erit, nec verebitur filius parentem. Cui ergo confidendum? Patri coelesti. ... R. Pinchas F. J ait: Providentia caussa alacritatis... Timor sceleris ducit ad pietatem. Pietas caussa est [*gratiae*] S. Spiritus. Spiritus S. [*fideles*] facit participes resurrectionis mortuorum. Resurrectio mortuorum obtinget interventu Eliae, cujus memoria sacra esto, et sancta... Deus aeternus benigne concedat ut adventu illius cito salvi sanique fruamur. Amen. *Tr. de uxore adulterii suspecta. num.* 15. *P.* 3. *p.* 308. 309. *Surenh.*

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"lent men will wander from town to town, and experience no offi-
"ces of humanity. The Wisdom of the Masters will be slighted,
"and all who strive to avoid transgression will be contemned, and
"great will be the dearth of truth. Young men will cover the faces
"of the aged with shame. And the aged will rise before the Young.
"The son will dishonour the father. And the daughter will rise
"up against her mother: and the daughter-in-law against her mo-
"ther-in-law. And a man's enemies will be they of his own hous-
"hold. In a word, that age will have a canine appearance. Nor
"will the son reverence the father. What then shall we do? Let
"us trust in our heavenly Father.... *May the coming of Elias be ha-*
"*stened. And may the eternal God graciously vouchsafe, that we may*
"*be preserved to that time.*"

This passage may deserve an attentive regard, and will require divers observations. But I shall take no particular notice of what is here said about *the coming of Elias*, that not being reckoned certainly genuine.

1. In the first place, this passage ought to be compared with *Jerome*'s commentarie upon Is. ch. viii. 14. where *(l)* he mentions divers of the Jewish Masters, who flourished, and were very eminent about the time of our Saviour, and some while after: *Sammai*, *Hillel*, *Meir*, *Akibas*, *Johanan*, the son of *Zachai*, and some others. In *(m)* ano-

(l) Duas domus Nazaraei . . duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hillel: ex quibus orti sunt Scribae et Pharisaei, quorum suscepit scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumant: et post eum Meir, cui successit Johanan filius Zachai: et post eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Delphon: et rursum Joseph Galilaeus: et usque ad captivitatem Jerusalem Josue. Sammai igitur et Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in Judaea, quorum prior *dissipator* interpretatur, sequens *prophanus*: eo quod per traditiones et δευτερώσεις suas legis praecepta dissipaverit, atque maculaverit. &c. *In Is. cap. viii. T. 3. p. 79.*

(m) another place he cenſures the numerous traditions, or ſecondarie laws of the Phariſees. Undoubtedly *Jerome* was not unacquainted with Jewiſh traditions. But I cannot ſay, that theſe paſſages amount to a proof, that he had ſeen the volume of the *Miſhna*. A. D. 180.

2. Here is another teſtimonie to the deſtruction of the Temple at Jeruſalem.

3. I ſuppoſe likewiſe, that here is a reference to the diſaſters of the Jews, occaſioned by the rebellion of *Barchochebas* in the time of Adrian. This I ſuppoſe to be intended in theſe words: *And the whole land of Judea will be laid waſte, and excellent men will wander from place to place, and experience no offices of humanity.* Moreover in the paſſage firſt cited, *the taking of the city Bither* is mentioned, as one of the moſt remarkable calamities that had befallen the Jewiſh people. It was the concluding event of the Jewiſh war with Adrian, about the year 136. Which ſhews, that the Miſhna was not compoſed, till ſome while afterwards.

4. *Meïr*, the firſt Rabbi here mentioned, is ſaid to have been *(n)* one of the principal of the Jewiſh doctors after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

5. Rabbi *Akibas (o)* is a man, upon whoſe praiſes the Jewiſh writers enlarge mightily. And his ſayings are often mentioned in the

(m) Quantae traditiones Phariſaeorum ſint, quas hodie vocant δευτερώσεις, et quam aniles fabulae, evolvere nequeo. Neque libri patitur magnitudo: et pleraque tam turpia ſunt, ut erubeſcam dicere. *Ad Algaſ. Qu. x. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 207.

(n) See Baſnag. Hiſt. des Juifs. l. 6. *ch. x.* §. *iv. &c.*

(o) Of Akibas may be ſeen Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs. liv. vi. ch. ix. §. 14. . . . 25. *Vid. et Baſnag. ann.* 134. *num. iii. Raymund. Martini Pug. Fidei. p.* 256. 257. . . . 264. *Edzardi Avodazara. Vol. i. p.* 162. 338. *Lightfoot, in the Fall of Jeruſalem.* §. *iv. vol. i. p.* 366. 367. *Dr. Sharpe's Argument for Chriſtianity. p.* 55.

A. D. 180. Mishna, and the Talmud. He was a zealous follower of the impostor *Barchochebas*, who took upon him the character of the Messiah, in the time of *Adrian*, about the year of Christ 132. And he perished with him. This shews the temper of *Akibas*. And we can hence conclude, how he stood affected to the Lord Jesus. The honorable mention here made of him shews also the temper of the compiler of this work, the *Mishna*.

6. *Gamaliel the aged* is supposed to be Gamaliel, St. Paul's master, mentioned by him Acts xxii. 3. and in ch. v. 34. to be *one of the Council, a Pharisee, and doctor of the law, had in reputation with all the people*. From what is here said of him, in the passage now before us, he appears to have been in great esteem with the Jewish people. And he is often mentioned in the Mishna. What is here said of him, therefore confirms the truth of what is said of him in the book of the Acts. Moreover, we are hereby assured, that *Gamaliel* never was converted to Christianity, as some Christians, especially of the Church of Rome, have fondly and weakly imagined. And indeed from what St. Paul says, in the text before quoted, it may be argued, that Gamaliel was still a firm Jew. Otherwise, it had not been to the purpose, to take notice of his education under him, in the critical circumstance, which he was then in.

7. Of *Rabbi*, [Jehudah,] the compiler of the Mishna, here, and elsewhere called *Rabbi*, or the *Master*, without any other distinction, so much has been said already, that little more needs to be added now. It is here said, *that when he died, there remained no longer any modestie, or fear of transgression*. Maimonides in his character of *Jehudah the Holy*, did not omit *(p)* this particular. But here is somewhat,

(*p*) In summo etiam pietatis, et humilitatis, et abstinentiae a voluptatibus gradu: uti etiam dixerunt: Ex quo mortuus est Rabbi, cessavit humilitas, et timor peccati. *Maim. Porta Mosis. p.* 35.

somewhat, which could not be said by himself. It must have been inserted after his death. *Wagenseil* therefore acknowledgeth, that *(q)* there were some additions made to the Mishna. But he says, they are not many, and they were soon made, and chiefly regard R. *Jehuda* himself, which I see no reason to contest. For I am willing to allow this volume to be a work of the second centurie. Nevertheless this manner of speaking, may perhaps induce us to think, that more hands than one were employed in compiling it. A. D. 180.

8. Once more, in the eighth place. *This whole passage appears to me to be a disguised, and invidious representation of the state of things, under the gospel-dispensation, since the appearance of Jesus, whom his disciples and followers have received as the Messiah: and especially, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when Christianity prevailed, and Judaism declined.*

For 1.) The destruction of the Jewish temple is acknowledged. Nevertheless here are no tokens of repentance and humiliation, but complaints and reflexions upon others. The times were bad. But the blame is all laid upon others.

2.) The *supreme Empire of the world,* he says, *will be,* or is *overwhelmed with bad opinions:* meaning, as I think, the Christian Religion, and the several sects and heresies, which arose in the second centurie, and some of them, not far from the begining of it.

3.) *Synagogues will be turned into brothel-houses.* He refers to the common reports among the vulgar, that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdnesse in their religious assemblies. And he adopts the calumnie.

4.) In what follows, the Author adopts the words of our Lord, recorded Matt. x. 35, 36. and Luke xii. 51...53. Which words are also

 in

(q) Accessisse post obitum R. Judaei, quasdam interpolationes, non negaverim: sed eae paucae sunt, ac mature fuerunt adjectae, ipsumque R. Judam potissimum respiciunt. *Wag. ib. p.* 55.

A. D. 180. in Micah vii. 6. concerning the dissensions that would be in families, some chearfully embracing his doctrine, whilst others obstinatly rejected it, and were bitter toward those who received it. Which the compiler of this work represents, as the utmost distresse and miserie, and as hitherto unknown and unparalleled wickednesse.

5.) And what do all the clamours of this paragraph mean concerning the *failure* or dearth *of truth, the multiplicity of bad opinions, whilst there was no room left for reproof or correction?* What is intended by the complaints, that *the wisdom of the masters was slighted, that there was an end to purity and sanctimonie, to modestie and the fear of transgression, and that the Young covered the faces of the aged with shame, and the aged rose up to the Young*, and the rest.

All these complaints, as seems to me, refer to the resolution and steadinesse of the converts to Christianity, from Judaism, and Gentilism, who judged for themselves, and admitted the evidences of the truth of the new religion, which overpowered their minds. Of which therefore they made an open profession, notwithstanding the sophistrie, the entreaties, and the menaces of the world about them: many of whom were their superiors in age, learning, and outward circumstance and condition. Of all this we have in this passage, as seems to me a graphical description.

I cannot but understand this passage after this manner. And I refer these thoughts to the consideration of my readers. This paragraph, if my interpretation be right, is very curious.

I am unwilling to enter into a controversie about the Mishnical tract *Avoda zara, de cultu peregrino*, of strange, or idolatous worship. I pay a great regard to the judgement of those learned men, who say, there is in it no reference to the Christians. Nevertheless there seems to me a defect in their reasonings upon that point. I think, that when the *Mishna* was compiled, the Christians were more numerous, more considerable, and of more consequence, than those learned men suppose in their argument concerning that tract.

III.

A. D. 500.

The Nativity of Jesus.

III. I have done with the *Mishna.* I proceed to the *Talmud.*

1. The first passage to be taken thence will relate to our Lord's nativity.

" Upon *(r)* a certain day, when several Masters were sitting at " the gate of the city, two boys passed by before them: one of " whom covered his head, the other had his head uncovered. " Concerning him, who contrarie to all the rules of modestie, had " boldly passed by with his head uncovered, *Eliezer* said, he believ- " ed he was spurious. R. *Joshua* said he believed he was the son " of a woman set apart. But R. *Akiba* said, he was both. The " others said to *Akiba,* Why do you differ from the rest of your bre- " thren?

(*r*) Juramentis vero illorum nihil prorsus est tribuendum, quia in ipso Talmude docentur, posse juramenta, dum praestantur, confestim in mente aboleri, ut non obligent. Exemplo est R. Akisa, de quo *Cod. Kalla fol.* 18. *col.* 2. *med.* sequens refertur historia. Cum aliquando Seniores sederent in porta [urbis] praeterierunt ante ipsos duo pueri, quorum alter caput texerat, alter retexerat. Et de eo quidem, qui caput [proterve, et contra bonos mores] retexerat, pronunciavit R. Eliezer, quod esset spurius. R. Josua autem dixit, eum esse a muliere menstruata conceptum. At R. Akisa subjecit, esse illum et spurium, et filium menstruatae. Unde ceteri interrogarunt R. Akisam, quomodo tam audacter collegis suis contradiceret. Sed ille regessit, se dicta sua esse confirmaturum. Abiit ergo ad matrem pueri istius, quam cum videret sedentem in foro, et vendentem legumina, dixit ad illam. Filia mea, si tu mihi ingenue indicaveris id quod sum interrogaturus, efficiam ut potiaris vita seculi futuri. Ipsa autem postulante, ut jurejurando assertum suum roboraret, juravit R. Akisa labiis suis, sed corde suo jusjurandum hoc statim reddidit irritum. Tum R. Akisa: Dic, inquit, mihi qualis sit hic filius tuus? Ad quae illa: Quando ego nuptias celebrarem, laborabam a menstruis. Ideoque secessit a me maritus, paranymphus autem meus [occasione arrepta] congressus mecum est. Atque ex eo concubitu exstitit mihi filius hic. Unde apparuit, puerum istum esse non modo spurium, sed et menstruatae filium. Cumque id percepissent ceteri assessores, dixerunt: Magnus est Akisa, quando correxit doctores suos. *Edzard. Avoda Sara. Tom. i. p.* 279. *Conf. Wagenseil. Confut. Tol. Jesebu. p.* 14. 15. *et Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. cap. vii. p.* 132, 133.

A. D. 500.

" thren? He answered, that he would prove the truth of what he " had said. Accordingly he went to the mother of the boy, whom " he found sitting in the market, and selling of herbs. He then says " to her, *My daughter, answer me a question, which I am going to* " *put to you, and I assure you of a portion of happiness in the world* " *to come.* She answered: *Confirm what you say with an oath. A-* " *kiba* then swore with his lips, but at the same time absolved him- " self in his mind. Then he said to her: *Tell me the origin of this* " *your son?* Which she did, and confessed, that it was as he had " said. When he returned to his collegues, and told them the dis- " coverie he had made, they said: Great is Akiba, who had cor- " rected the rest of the masters."

An absolute fiction, the fruit of deep-rooted malice! Though (*s*) no person is here named, there can be no doubt, who is intended. And it is adopted by (*t*) the author of Toldoth Jeschu.

Our Lord's Journey into Egypt

2. Upon Matt. ii. 14. *Lightfoot* observes as follows (*u*) " There " are some footsteps in the Talmudists of this journey of our Savi- " our into Egypt, but so corrupted with venomous blasphemie, (as " all their writings are,) that they seem only to have confessed the " truth, that they might have matter more liberally to reproach him. " For so they speak [Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 107. a.] *When Jannay the* " *King slew the Rabbins, R. Joshua Ben Perachiah and Jesus went a-* " *way unto Alexandria in Egypt. Simeon Ben Shelah sent thither, speak-* " *ing thus. From me Jerusalem the holy city, to thee, o Alexandria in* " *Egypt, my sister, health. My husband dwells with thee, while I in the* " *mean time sit alone. Therefore he rose up, and went. And a little after.* " *He*

(*s*) Haec historia tecte videtur loqui de Christo. *Buxtorf. ubi supr. p.* 133.

Ac de infantia quidem et natalibus Jeschu, credo ego, creduntque Judaei hoc mecum, sermonem esse, quamquam nomine penitus suppresso, in Massechet Calla, quam et ipsam allegare convenit. *Wagens. ut supr. p.* 14.

(*t*) *Apud Wagens. p.* 5.

(*u*) *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations. p.* 111. 112.

" *He brought forth four hundred trumpets and anathematised* [Jesus.] A. D. 500.
" And a little before that. *Elizaeus turned away Gehazi with both his* " *hands, and R. Joshua Ben Perachiah thrust away Jesus with both* " *his hands.*"

" And [Schabb. fol. 104. 2.] *Did not Ben Satda bring enchantments* " *out of Egypt in the cutting which was in his flesh?* Under *Ben* " *Satda* they wound our Jesus with their reproaches."

The storie of our Lord's journey to Alexandria with *Joshua Ben Perachia*, when King Jannay killed the Rabbins, may be seen more at large in some other authors (*x*) to whom I refer. And I shall transcribe it (*y*) below, though I do not translate it entire. It is obscure. Nevertheless, the folly, the malice, and the falshood of it are apparent.

It

(*x*) *Vide B. Scheidii. Loca Talmudica, in quibus Jesu et discipulorum ejus fit mentio. p.* 6. *et Wagenseil. Confutatio, libr. Toldos Jeschu. p.* 15. 16.

(*y*) *In Tr Sanhedrin f.* 107. 2. *et Sota f.* 47. 1. Quum Jannai Rex interficiebat Rabbinos, fugiebat R. Josua filius Parachiae et Jesus Alexandriam Aegypti. Pace reddita, in haec verba Simeon Seletachides R. Josuae Perachiae filio scribit. Hierosolymae civitas sancta, tibi Alexandriae Aegypti. O soror mea, maritus meus in medio tui degit, at ego sedeo desolata. Surgens ergo ille veniebat eo, et pervenit ad quandam hospitam, quae omnibus honoris officiis eum prosequebatur. Tum dicebat [Josua] Quam pulchrum est hoc hospitium Sed discipulus de hospita sermonem excipiens, dicebat ei: Mi magister, oculi ejus sunt teretes. Cui ille respondebat: Impie, taliane tu curas? atque feminas spectas intentius? Nec mora. Productis ergo 400 tubis, proclamari curabat eum [Jesum] esse excommunicatum. Saepenumero adibat [discipulus] magistrum, obsecrans, ut sese denuo reciperet. Verum ipse ejus nullam habuit rationem. Die quodam, cum recitasset [Josua Perachides] lectionem, Audi Israel, Deut. vi. 4 accedit [Jesus] Perachidem. Nam putabat se receptum iri. Indicabit ei R. Josua filius Perachiae manu sua, quod vellet recipere eum. Ipse [Jesus] putabat, quod repellendo repelleret se. Abibat ergo, et suspendens laterem, eam adorabat. Dicebat [Perachides] illi: Resipisce. Cui ille respondebat: Sic a te ipso didici: Quod nulli, qui peccavit, et ad peccandum multis fuit auctor, facultas agendi poenitentiam suppeditetur? Nam dixerat Mar [*doctor Talmudicus*] Jesus ad magiam seduxit, et crimen, Deut. xiii. 5. 6. impulsionis, vetitum commisit, et Israelitis ad peccandum auctor fuit. *Ergo, ceu Gemarici volunt, deserto Perachide praeceptore, Jesehu totum se deinde magicis artibus in Aegypto addixit: cumque has intus et in cute teneret in Judaeam se contulit.* Apud Scheid. et Wagens. ubi supra.

A. D. 500.

It ſhould be obſerved, that this ſtorie of our Lord's journey into Egypt, with *Joſhua Ben Perachiah*, has little agreement with the true hiſtorie in Matt. ii. 13...23. For according to the Evangeliſt, Jeſus was carried thither, when an infant, and was ſoon brought back again into Judea. But according to the *Talmudiſts*, Jeſus was a young man, when he went thither with *Joſhua Perachides*, who is ſuppoſed to have been his maſter or tutor. And according to them, when *Perachides* and *Jeſus* had been ſome while in Egypt, they were informed, that peace was reſtored in Judea. As they were returning back, they were well received at an inn. Here Perachides and Jeſus diſagreed, and parted aſunder. Nor could they ever be reconciled again, though ſome attempts on both ſides were made toward a reconciliation. After that Jeſus, as is ſaid, wholly gave up himſelf to magical practiſes, and was excommunicated.

If by *King Jannai* be intended *Alexander Jannaeus*, here is a great anachroniſm For he died fourſcore years (z) before the Chriſtian epoch. But I do not inſiſt upon that. For, perhaps, it is owing to deſign, and not to ignorance.

If in the diſcourſe between *Perachides* and *Jeſus*, at the inn, where they firſt diſagreed, there be an aſperſion of our Lord's moral character, as if he too attentively obſerved the faces of women: it is of a piece with another charge of theirs, that Jeſus endeavored to ſeduce men to idolatrie. Which we ſhall ſee preſently.

I do acknowledge, however, that when I firſt obſerved this paragraph, I was not a little ſurprized. For *Origen* ſays, "that *(a)* "though innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged againſt "the venerable Jeſus, none had dared to charge him with any in- "tem-

(z) *Prideaux's Connexion, year before Chriſt* 79. *p.* 396. 397.

(a) ...πρὸς τὸν σεμνὸν ἡμῶν Ιησοῦν, οὗ μηδὲ ἐν μύρια κατηγορήσαντες, καὶ ψευδῆ ὅσα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες, δεδύνηνται κατειπεῖν, ὡς κἂν τὸ τυχὸν ἀκολασίας κἂν ἐπ' ὀλίγον γευσαμένου. *Contr. Celſ. l.* 3. *num.* 36. *Bened. p.* 32. *Sperc.*

"temperance whatever." So ſays *Origen* about the midle of the third centurie. He ſpeaks confidently, with full aſſurance. If he had ever met with ſuch a calumnie, he would not have denied it. For he was perfectly honeſt and ſincere. And if ſuch a calumnie had appeared, he was as likely to know it, as any man. For he was acquainted with all ſorts of people. And he had often converſed with the learned men of the Jewiſh nation, as well as others. This ſtorie therefore was not in being in his time, not till after it. But reflexions upon a man's character unknown, till long after his departure out of the world, are deſtitute of authority, and deſerve no regard. They only ſhew the bad temper of thoſe who receive, or who invent and forge them.

A. D. 500.

Let me add one thought more here. We may reaſonably conclude, and reckon it certain from Origen's work, that *Celſus* knew nothing of this ſtorie. Conſequently, it was not yet invented. For he had converſed with Jews, and made uſe of them to aſſiſt him in his argument againſt the Chriſtians: and had picked up all the ſcandal he could get.

I muſt be allowed to obſerve yet farther. Celſus had made uſe of ſome diſparaging expreſſions concerning our Saviour. Whereupon Origen ſays: "If (**) Celſus had alleged any kind of infa-
"mous actions in the life of Jeſus, we would have done our beſt
"to anſwer to every thing that might appear ſo to him. As to the
"miſerable death of Jeſus, the ſame may be objected to *Socrates* and
"*Anaxarchus*, juſt mentioned." Celſus therefore knew not of any ſuch thing.

Finally, I do not recollect in the remains of Celſus, who wrote in the ſecond, nor in Origen, who wrote in the third centurie, any

(**) Εἰ γὰρ τὰ εἰδὴ τοῦ ἐπιῤῥητοτάτου βίου ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ φαινόμενα αὐτῷ ἐκτιθέμενος ἦν, κἂν ἠγωνισάμεθα πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐπιῤῥητοτάτων. *Contr. Celſ. l.* 7. §. 56. *Ben. p.* 369. *f. Sperc.*

A. D. 500. traces of this *journey of our Lord into Egypt with a tutor.* This ſtorie therefore is a late, as well as a malicious fiction without ground.

The ſecond quotation in *Lightfoot* ſhall now be more diſtinctly tranſcribed. "In *(b)* the Miſhnical tract, called *Schabbath*, it is ſaid: "If any one, eſpecially on the Sabbath, draws a line, or makes a "cut in his fleſh, he is obliged to bring a ſin-offering. But the "wiſe men abſolve him. Upon which words it is remarked in the "*Gemara.* A tradition. R. *Elieſer* ſaid to the wiſe men. But did "not the Son of Stada bring magical arts out of Egypt, in a cutting "in his fleſh? The *Gloſs* ſays: The reaſon of that was, that he "could not bring them away in writing, becauſe the Prieſts dili-"gently ſearched all at their going away, that they might not carry "out magical arts, to teach them to men dwelling in other coun-"treys."

This is ſaid, I ſuppoſe, to inſinuate, that all the great works, aſcribed to our Saviour, were performed by virtue of magical arts, which he had learned in Egypt. This inſinuation has been conſidered, and well confuted by Grotius (*c*) to whom I now refer. Hereafter I ſhall tranſcribe his words at length, in the chapter of *Celſus*, where this charge will come over again.

3. Let us now obſerve, whether Jeſus gained any diſciples.

Lightfoot

(*b*) In tractatu *Schabbath* fol. 104. 2. in *Miſhna* dicitur. Si quis [die Sabbathi] lineam ducat, ſeu inciſuram faciat ſuper carnem ſuam, R. Elieſer eum reum cenſet ſacrificii peccati. Sapientes autem abſolvunt. Poſtea in *Gemara*, ad haec verba notatur: Traditio. Dixit R. Elieſer ad Sapientes: At annon Filius Stadae extulit magicas artes ex Aegypto, in inciſurâ, quae erat ſuper carne ejus? *Gloſſa.* Quia non poterat eas efferre, vel educere, ſcriptas: quia Magi diligenter inquirebant in omnes qui exibant, ne efferrent artes magicas, ad docendum eas alios homines alibi terrarum habitantes. *Scheid. ib. p.* 1. *et Wagenſeil. Conſut. Told. Jeſchu. p.* 17.

(*c*) *De V. R. Chr. l.* 5. *cap. iii.*

A. D. 500. *Of Christ's Disciples.*

Lightfoot upon Mat. ix. 9. speaks to this purpose. "Five disci-
"ples of Christ are mentioned by the Talmudists. [Bab. Sanhe-
"drim. fol. 431.] Among whom Matthew seems to be named. *The Rabbins deliver, there were five disciples of Jesus, Mathai, Nahai,* "*Nezer, Boni, and Thodah.* These they relate, were led out, and
"killed. Perhaps five are only mentioned by them, because five
"of the disciples were chiefly employed among the Jews: namely
"Matthew, who wrote his Gospel in Judea, Peter, James, John,
"and Judas."

I shall now transcribe at length the passage of the Babylonian Talmud, to which Lightfoot refers: though it is so silly, that, when produced, some may think, it might have been omitted.

"The *(d)* Rabbins have taught, that there were five disciples

(d) Sanhedr. cap. vi. fol. 43. fin. Quinque tantum discipuli dicuntur fuisse Jesu Nazareno, quorum nomina, Matthai, sc. Matthaeus, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda, sc. Thaddaeus, qui alio nomine Lebbaeus fuit appellatus. Matt. x. 3. Verba integre ita habent... Rabbini docuerunt, quinque discipulos fuisse Jesu, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda. Cum adduxissent Matthai, [ut capitis ipsum damnarent,] dixit ille ad Judices: Num Matthai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est: Quando [Matai] veniam, ut compaream coram facie Dei? Ps. xlii. 2. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino, Matthai occidetur, quia scriptum est, Quando [Matai] morietur, ut pereat nomen ejus? Ps. xli. 5. Cum adduxissent Nakai, dixit ille: Num Nakai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Ex. xxiii. 7. Insontem [naki] et justum non occides. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino, Nakai occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ps. x. 8. In latibulis occidit insontem. [Naki]. Cum adduxissent Nezer, dixit ad illos: Num Nezer occidetur? Atqui scriptum est, Es. xi. 1. Nezer e radicibus ejus fructum feret. Sed illi reposuerunt. Omnino Nezer occidetur, quia scriptum est. Es. xiv. 9. Tu autem ejectus es e sepulchro tuo, ut surculus [nezer] abominabilis. Cum adduxerunt Boni, dixit ille: Num Boni occidetur? Atqui scriptum est Ex. iv. 22. Filius meus [Beni] primogenitus est Israel. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino Boni occidetur, sicut scriptum est Ex. iv. 23. Ecce ego occidam filium tuam [bincka.] primogenitum. Cum adduxissent Todam, dixit ad illos: Num Toda occidetur? Atqui scriptum exstat. Ps. c. 1. *Psalmus* [Lethoda] *eucharisticus.* Sed illi responderunt: Omnino Toda occidetur, quemadmodum scrip-

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"of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Toda. When "Matthai was brought forth [*to be condemned to death*] he said to "the Judges: Shall Matthai be slain? But it is written: *When shall* "*I come* [Matai] *and appear before God!* Ps. xlii. 2. But they an- "swered: Yes, Matthai shall be slain. For it is written: *When* "[Matai] *shall he die, and his name perish!* Ps. xli. 5. When Na- "kai was brought out, he said: Shall Nakai be slain? But it is "written: *Thou shalt not kill the innocent*, [Nakai] *and the just*. Ex. "xxiii. 7. But they said: Yes, Nakai shall be slain. For it is "written: *In the secret places does he murder the innocent*. [Naki.] "Ps. x. 8. When they brought forth Nezer, he said to them. And "shall Nezer be slain? But it is written, *A branch* [Nezer] *shall* "*grow out of his roots*. Is. xi. 1. But they answered: Yes, Nezer "shall be slain. For it is written: *Thou art cast out of thy grave, as* "*an abominable branch*. Is. xiv. 19. When they brought out Boni, "he said: And shall Boni be slain? But it is written: Israel is *my* "*son* [Beni] *even my first-born*. Ex. iv. 22. But they said: Yes, "Boni shall be slain. For it is written: *Behold, I will slay thy son*, "[bincka.] *thy first-born*. Ex. iv. 23. When they brought out "Toda, he said to them: *And shall Toda be slain?* It is written: "*A psalm to praise*. [Lethoda.] Ps. c. But they answered: Yes, "Toda shall be slain. For it is written: *Whoso offereth praise*, [To- "da] *glorifieth me*."

Here it may be asked: Why do the Talmudists speak only of five disciples of Jesus? *Lightfoot*, as before seen, supposeth it to be, that these five men were chiefly employed among the Jews. *Edzardus* says: "We *(e)* hence see, how false and fabulous every thing is,

scriptum est. Ps. l. 23. Qui sacrificat laudem [Toda] is honorabit me. *Ap. Edzard Avoda Sara. T. i. p.* 298. 299. *Conf. B. Scheidii Loca Talmudica de Jesu et Discipulis ejus et Wagensel. Confut. T. I. p.* 17.

(e) Quod si autem quinque tantum discipuli hi Jesu Nazareno fuerunt, unde ergo

is, which the Talmudists say of Christ, and his disciples." Which, surely is not amiss. However, to me it seems, that the Jewish Rabbins affected silence and reserve about Jesus, and his historie, and said little about it, the better to keep their own people in ignorance, and bondage. *Wagenseil*'s reflexions upon this passage, are somewhat different. I place them *(f)* below: though nothing material can be said upon what is so exceeding trifling. A. D. 500.

4. It may be questioned, whether *James* be one of the five disciples there named. I shall therefore allege a passage of the Talmud, where he is mentioned.

R. *Akiba* and Rabbi *Eliefer* are talking together. "Eliefer *(g)* "says, O Akiba, you have brought something to my mind. As I "was walking in the high street of Zipporis, I met one of the dis- "ciples of Jesus of Nazareth, whose name is James, a man of the "town of Shecaniah. He said to me: In your law it is written. "*Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot*. Deut. xxiii. 18. I did "not

go sextus, Jacobus Sechaniensis, cujus nomen inter quinque numeratos non apparet? Constat hinc, quam fabulosa sit Talmudistarum narratio de iis quae contra Christum atque discipulos ejus deblaterant. Ut alia confutatione non sit opus, cum seipsos suis contradictionibus jugulent. *Edz. ibid. p.* 299.

(f) Apparet, ista huc tendere, quasi in viros illos, quorum nomina exprimuntur, ultimis poenis fuerit animadversum: etsi magis est ut credamus, ab otioso aliquo, et scripturae dicta, in lusum et jocum sic detorquente, delirantis ingenioli ostentandi caussa, ineptias has esse confictas. *Wagens. ibid. p.* 18.

(g) In Tr. Avoda Sara. f. 16. 2. Tradiderunt Babbini. . . . Tum P. Eliazar. In memoriam mihi, o Akiba revocasti, aiebat: me aliquando spatiatum in foro superiori urbis Zipporis, obvium habuisse aliquem ex discipulis Jesu Nazareni, cui nomen erat Jacobus, civis Caphar, vel viri Saccaniensis, qui dicebat mihi. In Lege vestra scribitur; *Non afferes mercedem meretricis*. . . . Quo audito, nihil prorsus ei respondebam. Illo autem pergente mihi dicere. Sic docuit me Jesus Nazarenus. *Si ex mercede meretricia, meretrix quid colligat, usque ad mercedem meretricis revertetur.* Ex loco impuro si qua venerint, in locum impurum redibunt. Et profuit mihi verbum hoc opera hujus. . . . *ap. Scheid. Loca Talmud. p.* 5. 6. *Et Conf. Edzardi Avoda Sara. Vol. i. p.* 130.

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"not make him any answer. But he added, and said to me. Jesus "of Nazareth taught me the meaning. *She gathered it of the hire "of a harlot. And they shall return to the hire of a harlot.* Mic. i. 7. "*From an impure place they came. And to an impure place they shall "return.* Which interpretation, (says Eliezer,) did not displease "me."

5. We will now observe some passages concerning our Saviour's last sufferings.

Of the Death of Jesus.

Says *Lightfoot* upon Matt. xxvii. 31. "These things *(h)* are de- "livered in Sanhedrim [cap. vi. Hal. 4.] of one that is guilty of ston- "ing: *If there be no defense found for him, they lead him out to be "stoned, and a Cryer went out before him, saying aloud thus. N. N. "comes out to be stoned, because he has done so and so. The witnesses "against him are N. N. Whosoever can bring any thing in his de- "fense, let him come forth and produce it.* On which thus the Gema- "ra of Babylon. *The tradition is, that on the evening of the Pass- "over Jesus was hanged, and that a cryer went before him for forty "days, making this proclamation: This man comes forth to be stoned, "because he dealt in sorceries, and persuaded, and seduced Israel. Who- "soever*

(*h*) I shall put here an exact Latin version of the same. Tr. Sanhedrim. fol. 43. Mishna. Inventa reae partis innocentia, reus ille liber dimittitur. Sin minus, exit, ut lapidetur. Praeco autem exit ante eum, his verbis proclamans: Vir iste N. N. Filius alicujus N. N. exit, ut lapidetur, quia transgressus est talem transgressionem. Cujus rei testes sunt hi, N. N. et N. N. Quicunque noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Postea in Gemara ad verba Mishnae: *praeco autem exit ante eum, &c.* notatur. Atqui traditio est: Die Parasceves Sabbathi suspenderunt Jesum, et praeco exibat ante eum 40. diebus, his verbis prolatis proclamans: Exit ut lapidetur, quia magicas artes exercuit, seduxit, et impulit Israelitas. Quicunque ergo noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Cum autem nihil de ejus innocentia comprobanda inveniri potuisset, suspenderunt eum die Parasceves Paschatis. Dixit Ula: Et putetur, quod filius versorum seu contrariorum innocentiae ipse seductor est. Dixit autem Deus, Deut. xiii. 8. Non parces, neque teges super eo." Deut. xiii. 8. et Conf. 5. et 6. *Scheid. Loca Talmud. p.* 7. 8. *Conf. Wag. Confut. T. I. p.* 19.

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"*soever knows of any defense for him, let him come forth, and produce* "*it. But no defense could be found. Therefore they hanged him upon* "*the evening of the Passover. Ulla saith, his case seemed not to ad-* "*mit of any defense, since he was a seducer, and of such God has said:* "*Thou shalt not spare him, nor conceal him.*" Deut. xiii.

There is another place relating to the same event, the death of our Saviour, to be taken from the Babylonian Talmud. "The (*i*) "*Mishna* explaining Deut. xiii. and shewing, who is the seducer there "spoken of, says, Of all that are adjudged to die, to none of them "are snares to be laid, excepting a seducer. For, if he has at- "tempted two, and they bear testimonie against him, he is to be "stoned. Upon this it is said in the *Gemara*. Against none are "snares to be laid, except against a seducer of the people. [Mean- "ing one who seduces to idolatrie.] And that is done after this "manner. They light a candle in a closet or inner room, and "place witnesses in another room, so that they may see him, and "hear

(*i*) *Sanhedrim f.* 67. 1. *Mishna, de quo Deut. xiii.* 6. Ex omnibus qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiae collocantur, hoc excepto. . . . Postea, in Gemara notatur: Ex omnibus, qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiae collocantur, hoc excepto [*seductori, qui aliud ad idololatriam, et cultum alienum cupit seducere.*] Quomodo faciunt id ei? Accendunt illi candelam in conclavi interiori, et testes collocant in cubiculo exteriori, ut hi ipsum videre, et vocem ejus audire possint. Sed ipse non videt illos. Tum ille, quem antea conatus erat seducere, dicit ei, Repete, quaeso, id quod ante hac dixisti hic privatim. Tum, si id dicat, hic regerit ei: Quomodo relinquemus Deum nostrum in Coelis, et serviemus idolis? Ad hoc si convertatur, poenitentiâ actâ, bene est. Si vero dicat: Hoc est officium nostrum, atque ita omnino decet nos facere, testes exterius audientes, eum ad domum judicii abducunt, et lapidant. [Conf. Schabbath. f. 104. 2.] sic fecerunt filio Stadae, [vel Stadtae] in Lud, et suspenderunt eum in vespera Paschatis, seu pridie diei Paschatis. Filius Stadae filius Pandirae est. Dixit R. Chasda: Maritus seu procus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram. . . . Maritus Paphus filius Judae ipse est. mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria, plicatrix capillorum mulierum erat: sicut dicimus in Pompedita. Declinavit haec a marito suo. Glossa: Ideo quia scortata haec erat, vocabatur ita. *Schedii Loca Talmud. p.* 1. *et* 2.

A. D. 500. " hear his voice, but he does not see them. There he, whom some " time before he had endeavored to seduce, (*being with him*,) says to " him. Repeat to me now in private, what you before said to me. If " he then repeats it, the other says to him: How can we leave our " God who is in the heavens, and serve idols? If he then owns his " fault, and repents, all is well. But if he says: This is our duty, and so " we ought to do: the witnesses, who are in the outer room, carry him " to the house of judgement, and stone him. So they did to the son " of Stada in Lud, and hanged him on the evening of the Passover. " Rabbi Chasda said: the son of Stada is the son of Pandera.... " His mother was Stada. She was Mary the plaiter of womens " hair: as we say in Pompedita, she departed from her husband. In " the Gloss it is said: she was so called, because she transgressed " the laws of chastity."

This is translated by Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 56. p. 270. after this manner. *They stoned the son of Satda in Lydda, and hanged him up on the evening of the Passover. Now this son of Satda was son of Pandira. Indeed Rabbi Chasda said, the husband* [of his mother] *was Satda, her husband was Pandira, her husband was Papus, the son of Juda. But yet I say his mother was Satda, namely Mary the plaiter of womens hair: as they say in Pombeditha, she departed from her husband.*

In several other places of these Talmudical writers Mary is called a *plaiter of womens hair*, as may be seen in *Lightfoot*, p. 270. *(k)* And from some things alleged just now, it seems, that thereby they denote a transgressor of the laws of purity. And we are led to think, that by this description they intended to represent not her outward condition, but her moral character.

Upon the two foregoing passages relating to the event of our Saviour's death, we may now make some remarks.

First,

(k) Vid. et Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 3.

First, it is here acknowledged, that Jesus suffered death as a malefactor. And that he was put to death at the time of a Jewish Passover, or on the *evening* of it, as the expression is. A. D. 500.

Secondly, But here are many great and notorious falshoods. It is here said, that Jesus was put to death at *Lud*: whereas it is certain, that he suffered at *Jerusalem*. It is insinuated, that he endeavoured to persuade men to forsake the true God, and worship false gods, and idols. Another abominable falshood. It is also insinuated, that he carried on this evil design of seducing men from the worship of the true God in a *clandestine* manner: whereas nothing is more certain, than that Jesus lived, and acted, and taught publicly before all the world. Farther, it is intimated, that for many days before his death, proclamation was made, that any who could say any thing in his defense might appear and plead for him. But no defense was made. It is also said, that he was put to death by *stoning*, and then *hanged* up. Which indeed was the usual method among the Jews, first to put criminals to death, and then hang them up. But Jesus was *crucified*. And though the Jews were his prosecutors, he was condemned, and put to death by a Roman magistrate.

It is truly surprizing to see such falsities, contrarie to well known facts. For the sufferings of Jesus, and the circumstances of them, are recorded in the Gospels, well known histories, writ in a language, which was then almost universal in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Jesus was crucified at Jerusalem, when *Pontius Pilate* was Governour of Judea, under the Emperour *Tiberius*, was in all Christian Creeds, and attested by Roman Authors of good credit, and indeed was well known to all Greeks and Romans in general. How then was it possible for the Jewish Rabbins, whose testimonies are collected in their Talmuds, to speak in the manner, which we have now seen? Perhaps it is not easie to be accounted for. But I apprehend the Case to be this. The Rabbins taught and wrote in a language little known to any in the fourth and fifth centuries, but

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themſelves, and the men of their own nation. Their people were ignorant, and they endeavored to keep them ſo. Their people had a great reſpect for them, and ſo they preſumed to ſay whatever they pleaſed.

The power of Miracles in Jeſus, and his Diſciples.

6. There ſeems to be in theſe writings an acknowledgement of the power of miracles in Jeſus, and his diſciples. "In *(l)* the Gemara, "upon Avoda Sara, in Bareitha, it is ſaid: No man may converſe "with heretics, nor receive medicines from them, though the diſ-"eaſe be mortal and deſperate. Of this there is an example in the "ſon of Dama, nephew to R. Iſmael by his ſiſter. When he had "been bit by a ſerpent, James of Shechania [*a diſciple of Jeſus*] "came to heal him. But R. Iſmael did not allow it to be done. "The ſon of Dama ſaid to R. Iſmael: O Rabbi Iſmael, my uncle, "let me be healed by him. I will allege a text out of the Law, "which allows of it. But before he had finiſhed all he would ſay, "he expired. Then Iſhmael pronounced this ſpeech over him: "Thou art happy, o ſon of Dama. For thy body has remained pure, "and thy ſoul alſo has gone pure out of it. And thou haſt not "tranſgreſſed the words of thy brethren."

This

(l) Similis locus habetur infra in *Gemara fol.* 27. *col.* 2. *med.* Sed inſto ego. In Bareitha docemur. Non converſabitur quiſquam cum haereticis, neque licet medicinam ab illis admittere, etſi morbus videatur ita deſperatus, ut aegrotus non ſit ultra unius horae ſpatium ſuperſuturus. Eſtat quoque hujus rei exemplum in filio Damae, nepote R. Iſmaelis ex ſorore, quem cum momordiſſet ſerpens, venit Jacobus Secanienſis ad ſanandum ipſum. Sed non permiſit ei R. Iſmael. Dicebat quidem filius Damae ad R. Iſmaelum: O Rabbi Iſmael frater, [*i. e. cognate, avunculе,*] mi! Sine ipſum, ut ſaner ab ipſo. Afferam enim textum e Lege, qui id concedat. Sed nondum abſolverat omnia, quae conſtituerat dicere, cum jam efflaret animam, atque moreretur. Tum R. Iſmael ſequentem ſuper ipſum conciunculam habuit. Beatus es, o fili Damae! quod corpus tuum manſerit mundum, etiamque anima tuo corpore exierit munda, neque fueris tranſgreſſus verba Sociorum tuorum. &c. *Edzard. Avoda Sara. Vol. i. p.* 312. *Conf. Martini Pug. Fidei. P.* 2. *cap.* 8. *p.* 289.

This (*m*) is supposed to be an acknowledgement of the power of working miracles in the name of Jesus, at the same time that it shews the virulent temper of the Jewish Doctors against him and his disciples. A. D. 500.

There is another like instance alleged from the Jerusalem Talmud. "A (*n*) child of a son of Rabbi Joses, son of Levi, swallow-" ed somewhat poysonous. There came a man, who pronounced " some words to him in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, and he " was healed. When he was going away, R. Joses said to him: " What word did you use? He answered, such a word. R. Joses " said to him: Better had it been for him to die, than to hear such " a word. And so it happened, that is, he instantly died."

Another (*o*) proof this of the power of miracles inherent in the disciples of Jesus, and at the same time, a mark of the malignity of the Jewish Rabbins.

That passage I have transcribed, as it is in the *Pugio Fidei*. I shall now *(p)* put it down below, as it stands in *Edzardi Avoda Sara*.

(*m*) Memorabile hujus rei exemplum occurrit Cod. Abhoda zara f. 27. 2. de R. Ismaele vetante aliquem sanari in nomine Jesu . . . *Exemplo est B. Dama* . . . Insignis sane historia, et praeclarum veritatis Evangelicae testimonium, ab ipsis Judaeis dictum. *J. Rhenferd. Diss. de Redemtione Marcosiorum et Heracleonit.* §. L. *p.* 215.

(*n*) Item in lib. *Sabbat Jerosolymitana*, distinctione Shemona Scheratzin. . . . Filius filii R. Jose filii Levi glutiverat toxicum scilicet, vel aliud morbiferum. Venit itaque vir quidam et conjuravit ei in nomine Jesu Panderini, et sanatus est, sive quievit. Cumque exivissit, ait ei, quomodo conjurasti eum? Ait ei, tali verbo. Ait ei, tali verbo. Ait ei: Remissius fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, ut non audivisset verbum tale. Et factum est sic ei: id est, statim mortuus est. *Pug. Fid. ib. p.* 290.

(*o*) Si quis diligenter advertat has duas traditiones, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi fuisse facta miracula Judaicarum scripturarum testimonio comprobabit. *Raym. Martin. ib.*

(p) Similis textus est in Talmude Hierosolymitano Avoda S. Fol 40. 4. et Schabb. fol. 14. 4. med. . . . Nepos R. Josuae filii Levi laborabat ab absorpto. [id est, diglutiverat aliquid, quod ipsi in gutture haerebat, et suffocationem minabatur.] Venitque quidam, qui illi clam insusurravit, [id est, jussit ipsum convalescere.]

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Of the Destruction of Jerusalem.

7. It will certainly be worth the while, to take a testimonie from these writers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple there. I shall therefore transcribe and translate almost word for word a long passage out of the Babylonian Talmud, in the title *Gittin*, chapter *Hannisab*.

" This *(q)* is the tradition. Rabbi Eliaser said: Go, and see how " the

lescere.] in nomine Jesu filii Pandirae. Unde confestim respiravit. Quando autem egressus est inde, dixit ad eum R. Josua filius Levi. Quid insusurrasti ei? Respondit ille, vocem hanc [i. e. nomen Jesu.] Tum R. Josua: Praestitisset ipsum fuisse mortuum, et non audivisse nomen illud. Atque hoc ipsum etiam ei [haud longe post] contigit. *Edzard. Avoda zara Vol.* 2. *p.* 311. 312.

(*q*) Traditio est. Dixit R. Eleaser: Exi, et vide quanta est virtus pudoris, quia ecce Deus Sanctus et Benedictus juvit Bar-kamtza, et destruxit domum suam, et exussit templum suum, et desolavit Jerusalem. . . . Ivit Romam, et dixit Neroni Caesari: Judaei rebellarunt contra te. Dixit ei: Quis dicit? Dixit ei mitte illis sacrificium. Videbis, si illi offerent. Ivit filius Kamtza, et misit per manus ejus vitulam trimam. Ipse autem rediens impressit in ea maculam in ora labii ejus. Alii dicunt, quod in pupilla oculi ejus maculam impressit: secundum aliquorum opinionem est macula. et secundum opinionem aliorum non est macula. Rabbini censebant itaque illam sacrificandam propter pacem regni. Dixit eis R. Zacharias filius Onkelos: dicetur, Maculata offeruntur super altare. Voluerunt occidere eum ne iret, et diceret. Dixit eis R. Zacharias, dicent: Mittens maculam in Sanctuarium occidetur? Dixit R. Jochanan: Superstitio R. Zachariae destruxit domum nostram, et combussit templum nostrum, et urbem nostram evertit, et fecit ut nos e terra nostra captivi duceremur. Misit itaque Bar-Kamtza super his ad Neronem Caesarem. Quando venit, jecit sagittam ad orientem. Cecidit ad Jerusalem ad occidentem. . . Dixit puero. Lege mihi versum tuum. Dixit ei Ezech. xxv. 14. . . . Dixit Nero: Deus sanctus, benedictus, vult per me destruere domum suam. Misitque contra illos Vespasianum, qui venit, et obsedit Jerusalem tres annos, et dimidium. Interim venit nuncius ad eum, dicens illi: Surge, quia mortuus est Nero Caesar, et consenserunt tibi optimates Romanorum, ut te constituant principem. . . . Ivit, et misit Titum impium filium suum. . . . Hic est Titus impius, qui blasphemavit, et maledixit contra Justum, i. e. Deum. Quid fecit? Cepit meretricem in manu sua, et ingressus in Sancta Sanctorum stravit librum legis et transgressus est super illum transgressionem. Et accepit gladium, et dirupit vela, et factum est miraculum. Et fuit sanguis erumpens et exiens. Et putavit occidisse ipsam substantiam Dei sancti benedicti, i. e. ipsum Deum. . . . Quid fecit? Accepit vela, et fecit

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" the blessed and holy God helped Bar-kamtza, and he destoyed " his house, and burnt up his temple, and made Jerusalem deso- " late." [*Here is inserted an account of a trifling discourse and difference between some Rabbins.*] " Whereupon he [Bar-kamtza] went " to Rome, and said to the Emperour Nero, the Jews have re- " belled against thee. Who says this, said the Emperour? Kamtza " answered: Send to them a sacrifice. See if they will offer it. Bar- " kamtza returned. Nero sent by him a heifer three years old. As " he was going, he made a blemish in the mouth of it. Others say, " in the pupil of it's eye. According to the opinion of others, it " was no blemish. The Rabbins therefore thought it ought to be " offered for preserving the peace of the nation. But Rabbi Zacha- " rias, son of Onkelos, said: shall blemished sacrifices be offered " upon the altar? He that brings blemished sacrifices into the sanc- " tuarie, ought to be put to death. R. Jochanan said. The super- " stition of R. Zacharias has destroyed our house, and burnt up our " temple, and overthrown our city, and caused us to be led captive " out of our land. Bar-kamtza therefore sent an account of these " things to Nero.... Nero said: the great and blessed God has de- " termined, by me to destroy his house. And he sent against them " Vespasian, who came, and besieged Jerusalem three years and a " half. In the mean time there came a messenger to him, who " said: Arise, for the Emperour Nero is dead, and the Nobles of " the

fecit illa sicut saccum, et adduxit omnia vasa quae erant in Sanctuario, et posuit illa in illo. Et collocavit illa in navi, ut iret, et gloriaretur in urbe sua. . . . Stetit contra Draco, vel tempestas, in mari, ut demergeret illum in mari. Dixit: Puto ego, quod Deus horum nullam habet potentiam nisi in mari: Venit Pharao, et submersit eum in mari. Stat etiam contra me, ut me submergat. Si fortis est, ascendat in siccam, et faciat bellum mecum. Exivit filia vocis, et dixit ei, Impie fili impii, fili filii impii Esau: Creatura vilis est mihi in mundo meo, et culex est nomen ejus. Ascende in siccam, et bellum contra illam geres. Statim innuit Deus mari, et quievit. Ascendit in siccam, et venit culex, et ingressus est in nasum ejus, et perforavit illi cerebrum septem annis, et occidit illum. *Ex libro Gittin. capite Hannisakin. ap. R. Martin. Pug. Fid. P. 3. cap. xxi. p. 703. 704.*

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" the Romans have agreed to make thee Emperour. He went, and " ſent the impious Titus, his ſon. . . . This is the impious Titus, " who blaſphemed the Moſt High, even God himſelf. What did " he do? He took a harlot into the holy of holies, and there lay " with her. And he took a ſword, and cut the veils. At the ſame " time there was a miracle. For bloud burſt out. He thought he " had killed God himſelf. . . Well, what did he? He took the veils, " and made a ſack of them, and put into it all the veſſels of the " Sanctuarie. And then put them in a ſhip, that he might go and " triumph in his city. . . There ſtood againſt him a dragon, that he " might drown him in the ſea. He ſaid, I think the God of theſe " men has no power but in the ſea. Pharaoh aroſe, and he drowned " him in the ſea. He has a mind to deſtroy me in the like man- " ner. If he has power, let him come upon the dry land, and " make war with me. There went forth a voice, and ſaid to him: " O Impious ſon of the wicked man, o ſon of the impious ſon of " Eſau, there is a contemptible creature in my world, called a gnat. " Go upon the dry land, and you ſhall make war againſt it. God " preſently rebuked the ſea, and it was calm. He went out upon " the dry land, and the gnat came, and entered into his noſe, and " gnawed his brain ſeven years, and killed him."

J. De Voiſin, in his notes upon this paſſage, particularly the laſt words of it, quotes ſome Jewiſh authors, who ſay, " the (*r*) ſtorie of the fly is not to be underſtood literally, but myſtically, and allegorically, intending to inſinuate in men's minds a perſuaſion of the power of God, and that he is able to abaſe thoſe who riſe up againſt him, and to puniſh the proudeſt of men by very contemptible creatures."

(*r*) Alii afferunt illud de culice, ſive muſca ejuſmodi, non juxta literalem ſenſum intelligendum eſſe, ſed ſenſum habere myſticum. . . . Itaque poteris de hiſtoria Titi libere pronuntiare, quod narratio ejus nihil aliud ſit, quam inventio, ſive fabula, atque modus doctrinae uſitatus apud eruditos ad ſtabiliendum in corde plebis, quod magnus eſt Dominus noſter, et potentiſſimus, ad retribuendum illis qui contra ipſum inſurgunt: ſed in primis ad puniendum ſuperbos etiam per minimam creaturam. *Ap. Pugion. Fid. p.* 714.

tures." Nor is it any wonder, that some should be ashamed of this silly storie of the fly, getting up a man's nose, and dwelling there seven years. But men of true wisdom can find out more cleanly allegories than this, when they are disposed to make use of that kind of instruction. A. D. 500.

Nor has *Voisin* alleged any Jewish authors, who condemn the horrible storie of Titus defiling the sanctuarie of the temple with lewdnesse: though *Martini* has alleged another Jewish writing in great repute, where (*s*) the same storie is told, with all the same horrible, or yet more horrible circumstances of filthinesse, if such there can be. Nor is the concluding part of that narrative of the Talmud there omitted. But I presume, the Divine Being never arms his feeble creatures to destroy, or annoy men for no fault at all: for none, but such as are only imputed to them by those who give a loose to their tongues, to lye and calumniate, as they please. For Titus, when he went into the temple at Jerusalem all in flames, neither committed lewdnesse there, nor did he blaspheme the Deity.

Behold then the temper, the incorrigible temper of the Jewish people, and their Rabbins, the Talmudical writers. Their temple had been burnt up, their city destroyed, their land laid wast, and they carried into captivity. But instead of repenting, they revile him, who under God had been the instrument of their chastisement: a Prince, who, as good authority says, was as remarkable for the humanity,

(*s*) Hucusque Talmud. Legitur quoque in *Midrash Kohelet* super illud Ecclesf. cap. v. 8. . . . *Dixit Deus sanctus benedictus Prophetis: Quid vos putatis, quod si vos non eatis in missionem meam, non sit mihi alius nuncius? In omni ego do missionem vel legationem meam, etiam per serpentem, vel scorpium, vel culicem, vel ranam. Titus impius ingressus est in Sancta Sanctorum, quando destruxit domum Sanctuarii, et gladius ejus districtus in manu sua, et dirupit duo vela, et accepit duas meretrices in manu illarum, et coivit cum illis, cum una super altare, cum altera super librum legis, et exivit, et gladius ejus plenus sanguine. Et incepit blasphemare, et execrari. Quid fecit? Collegit omnia vasa Sanctuarii, et posuit illa in saccho, et descendit ad navem. Et reliqua, sicut modo ex Talmude citata sunt. Ibid. p. 704. 705.*

A. D 500. manity, the compaſſion, and equity, in his manner of ſubduing them, as for his militarie ſkill and courage. Who then, are the men, who exalt themſelves againſt God?

But I may no longer indulge myſelf in ſuch reflexions as theſe. Let us attend for our own benefit. Here is a teſtimonie to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem from Talmudical writers. They agree very much with *Joſephus*, in their account of the origin of the war. He ſays "that (*t*) Eleazar, then captain at the temple perſuaded thoſe "who officiated in ſacred things, not to accept the gift or ſacrifice "of a ſtranger. Which was the occaſion of the war." The Talmudiſts ſay the ſame thing, in different words, after their manner. According to this account alſo, the war broke out near the end of the reign of *Nero*, who ſent *Veſpaſian* General into Judea. Whilſt Veſpaſian was there, carrying on the war, Nero died, and he was choſen to ſucceed him. When he was choſen Emperour at Rome, he ſent *Titus* to carry on the war in Judea: The iſſue of which was, that the temple was burnt up, their city deſtroyed, and their whole government overthrown, and they carried into captivity. Moreover, as they here own, Titus was in poſſeſſion of the veils, and ſacred veſſels of the temple, which he took with him to adorn his triumph at Rome. All this, (though they relate not particularly the diſtreſſes of the ſiege of Jeruſalem) is ſaid, not very differently from *Joſephus*, and more agreeably to him, in ſome reſpects, than by *Joſippon*, who afterwards wrote at length the hiſtorie of the war: as we ſhall ſee by and by.

(*t*) *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap.* 17. §. 2. *p.* 192.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

JOSEPH BEN GORION, OR JOSIPPON.

I. *His Age, Work, and Character.* II. *Extracts from his Work, ſhewing his Hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War with the Romans, and the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.* III. *Concluding Remarks.*

I. WE are now coming to an Author of a very extraordinarie, or even a ſingular character, writer of *(a) the Jewiſh Hiſtorie* in ſix Books, who ſtiles himſelf JOSIPPON, or JOSEPH BEN GORION. A. D. 930. *His Time, and Work.*

He had a very high opinion of himſelf, and has now been for ſome while in great reputation with the learned men of the Jewiſh nation.

At the begining of the thirty ſixth chapter, which is the firſt chapter of the fifth book, he writes: " So *(b)* ſays *Joſeph Ben Go-* " *rion* the Prieſt, who has writ the things which have happened to

(*a*) Joſippon, ſive Joſephi Ben-Gorionis Hiſtoriae Judaicae libri ſex. Ex Hebraeo vertit, Praefatione et Notis illuſtravit Joannes Gagnier. A. M. Oxon. 1706. 4to.

(*b*) Sic ait Joſeph Ben Gorion Sacerdos, qui rerum hiſtoriam texuit, quae contigerunt Iſraeli, et calamitatem ejus, ut ſit memoria earum in documentum, et eruditionem poſteris ejus. . . .

Hic autem liber ab hac die, et deinceps futurus eſt in teſtimonium ceteris ſcriptoribus, qui poſt me venturi ſunt, et aggredientur ſcribere, et teſtimonia allegare. Dicent enim: " Sic et ſic memoriae prodidit Joſeph Sacerdos, qui eſt princeps ſcriptorum omnium, qui libros ediderunt quotquot reperti ſunt in Iſrael, exceptis quidem ſcriptoribus quatuor et viginti librorum Sanctorum. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 36. *p.* 170.

A. D. 930. "Israel, and his calamities, to be a memorial and instruction to his "posterity... From this day, and henceforward, this book is to be "a testimonie to other writers, who shall come after me, and at-"tempt to write of the same things, and shall allege proofs of what "they write. For they will say: So and so has recorded *Joseph* the "Priest, who is the prince of all writers, who have published books "among the people of Israel, excepting only the writers of the four "and twenty sacred books."

And indeed so it has happened. For Rabbi *Tham*, who published this work in the Hebrew original at Constantinople in the year 1510. and made another edition of it at Venice in 1544. says of it in his preface. "Although (*c*) this book resembles other books in some "respects, it is very different from them in others. The great dif-"ference between books consists in their truth, or their falshood. "The words of this book are all justice and truth, nor is there any "thing perverse in it. The evidence of it is this, that it approach-"eth nearer to prophecie, than any book writ since the sacred Scrip-"tures. For it was writ before the Mishna, and the Talmud. Up-"on that man was the hand of the Lord, when he wrote this book. "And it may be said, that his words are well-nigh equal to the "words of a man of God."

This work is not so ancient as the author and his admirers pretend, as will be shewn presently. But from the time that he has begun to be taken notice of, as Mr. *Gagnier* observes in the preface to his edition

(*c*) Quamvis autem hic liber cum ceteris libris in genere conveniat, tamen ratione argumenti plurimum ab eis differt. Differentia autem illa praecipue consistit in veritate aut in falsitate. Porro hujus libri verba omnia sunt justitia et veritas: neque perversitas ulla invenitur in eo. Cujus quidem rei signum est, quod propius accedat ad Prophetiam, quam ceteri omnes libri, qui post Scripturas sacras editi sunt. Siquidem ante Misnam et Talmud scriptus fuit. Adde quod super virum illum fuit manus Jehovae, dum hunc librum componeret: et parum abest, quin ejus verba sint verba viri Dei. *Praef. R. Tham. De Scopo Libri.*

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edition of this work, " all *(d)* Jewiſh writers, whether Commenta-
" tors, or Hiſtorians, or Philologers, continually allege it, and quote
" authorities and teſtimonies from it, as an authentic and funda-
" mental book... As for the Greek *Joſephus*, they have little re-
" gard for him, or rather none at all: but declaim againſt him as
" a lying hiſtorian, full of falſhoods and flatteries. But their *Joſip-*
" *pon* they extol and magnify as true, and almoſt divine."

But Chriſtian Critics, of the beſt credit, have argued, that the work is the production of a late age. They ſhew this from the work itſelf: in which, as *(e) Joſeph Scaliger* has obſerved, people and countreys are called by modern names, not in uſe till more than ſix hundred years after our Saviour's nativity. And he ſuppoſeth him to be a Jew, that lived in France. He therefore conſiders him as an Impoſtor.

Fabricius (f) has argued in the like manner. He ſuppoſeth him

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(*d*) Deinde omnes qui ſecuti ſunt Judaei Scriptores, ſive Commentatores, ſive Hiſtorici, ſive Philologi, ubique eum allegant, et tanquam ex libro fundamentali atque authentico teſtimonia et auctoritates depromunt. . . . Nam quod ad Joſephum, Graecum adtinet, illum non in magno ſolent habere pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et tanquam in Hiſtoricum mendacem et adulatorem adverſus illum acriter invehuntur. Suum vero Joſippon quaſi hominem veracem et pene divinum ſummis laudibus ad ſidera evehunt, extollunt, et praedicant. &c. *Gagnier in Praef. p. xxix.*

(e) De Joſepho Gorionide ſatis eſt, ſi oſtendero cujas fuit, quando vixit, cujuſmodi ſcriptor eſt. Gallum Judaeum fuiſſe ex agro Turononſi non difficile eſt colligere, ut qui plus de illis quam de aliis Galliae tractibus agat. Recentem admodum fuiſſe arguunt verba locorum recentia, quibus utitur, Tours, Amboiſe, Chinon. Quae loca poſt DC annos a natali Chriſti adhuc Turones, Ambaſia, Kainon Vocabantur. Quare cum Munſterus videret eum Francorum et Gothorum mentionem facere, et Francos interfuiſſe exequiis Herodis, quos Γαλάτας Joſephus vocarit, ex eo ſolo potuit edorari hunc ſcriptorem recentiſſimum eſſe, ac proinde planum, qui nomen Joſephi Hiſtorici ſibi vindicarit. *Jo. Scalig. in Elencho Trihaer. Vid. Gagnier. Praef. p. xlviii.*

(f) Ceterum eruditis hodie pleriſque dubium non eſt, Joſephum huncce Hebraicum ex Graeco, vel potius ex Latina Joſephi verſione eſſe expreſſum, vel exerp-
tum

A. D. 930.

to have been a Jew, who lived in Bretagne, in France, in the ninth or tenth centurie. The many modern names of people and countreys made use of by him, plainly declare his late age. His Hebrew historie is translated, or more properly extracted from the Greek of Josephus, or rather from a Latin translation of him: taking from him what he likes, omitting some things, and adding others.

To the like purpose *Gagnier*, in his preface, already cited more than once. Who also says, "that *(g)* Rabbi *Saadias Gaon*, who "wrote his commentarie upon the book of Daniel in the year of "Christ 936. is the first author who has mentioned *Josippon Ben* "*Gorion*. He does not expressly name his work, though probably "he refers to it." *Gagnier* adds: "The *(h)* first writer, who has "expressly mentioned this work, with the name of *Josippon Ben* "*Gorion*, and quoted authorities from it, is Rabbi *Solomon Jarchi*, "who flourished about the year of Christ 1140."

I refer likewise to *(i)* *Ittigius*, and *Basnage*, who in *(k)* his Historie of the Jews, has a long article concerning this writer and his work. He says, *Josippon* lived in the tenth or eleventh centurie. Which he argues after this manner. "*Solomon Jarchi (l)* who wrote "in

tum potius: nec Josephum ipsum auctorem, sed longe recentiorem aliquem, qui in Britannia Galliae Armorica non ante nonum vel decimum seculum vixit, et pro lubitu digessit, addidit, interpolavit, omisit quaecunque ipsi videbantur addenda esse vel omittenda. . . . Ita recentiora longe Josepho tempora arguit, quod memorat Francos, et Burgundiae populum, et Daniscos, ac Danemanam, et Anglicam gentem, et quae in Irlandia sive Hibernia. *Fab. Bib. Gr. lib.* 4. *cap.* 6. *T.* 3. *p.* 249. *et apud Havercamp. Joseph. T.* 2. *p.* 68.

(*g*) R. Saadias Gaon, qui scribebat circa annum 696. min. suppul. Christ. 936. in suo commentario in Danielem primus omnium Josephi Ben Gorionis meminit. . . . *Gagn. Pr. p. xxvii.*

(*h*) R. Salomo Jarchi, qui florebat circa annum Christi 1140. primus est, qui diserte citat hunc librum sub nomine Josippon, vel Josephi Ben Gorionis, et auctoritates ex eo adducit, quarum loca habes infra in Testimoniis. *Gagn. ib. p. xxviii.*

(*i*) *Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Joseph. Havercamp. Tom.* 2. *p.* 87.

(*k*) *Basnag. Hist. des Juifs. liv.* 7. *ch. vi. p.* 1539. . . . 1570.

(*l*) *Ib.* §. *xxv. p.* 1564.

" in the year 1140. is the first, who has quoted this Hebrew Joseph. " *Abraham Ezra*, and *Abraham Ben Dion*, who by their quotati- " ons gave the work credit, lived in the same age. It would be very " strange, that a work should be unknown for three or four hun- " dred years, to the nation for whose sake it was composed. But, " if it was writ near the end of the tenth, or the begining of the " eleventh centurie, it is not at all strange, that it did not begin to " be taken notice of till some while after." A. D. 930.

I say nothing more in the way of introduction. I shall now make such extracts out of this work, as may be sufficient to shew the writer's character, and his testimonie to the destruction of the temple, and Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. I have placed him in the tenth centurie, not very far from the begining of it, in the year of Christ 930.

II. The work is divided into six books, and 97 chapters. The sixth and last of which books consists of five and fifty chapters. *Extracts from this Work.*

The 43. chapter, which is the first of the sixth book, begins in this manner. " Thus (*m*) says Joseph Ben Gorion, the Priest, the " same who is also called Josippon. . . This is the book, which I have " entitled THE WARS OF JEHOVAH, because it contains the historie " of the calamities of the house of our sanctuarie, and of our land, " and our glorie."

My readers cannot but remember, that our Greek (*n*) *Josephus*, when

(*m*) Sic dicit Joseph Ben Gorion sacerdos. Ipse est Josippon, nomine quidem diminutivo Josippon. . . Hic est liber ille, quem appellavi titulo, BELLA JEHOVAE, eo quod continet historiam calamitatum desolationis Domus Sanctuarii nostri, et terrae nostrae, et gloriae nostrae. *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. *p.* 189.

(*n*) *De B. J. l.* 2. *cap.* 20.

A. D. 930.

when he gives an account of the determination of the Jewish people to go to war with the Romans, informs us, that they appointed *Joseph Ben Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Priest to preside at Jerusalem. Others were sent as Generals into several parts of the countrey: and himself, *Joseph son of Matthias*, was appointed Governour of the two Galilees, together with the prefecture of Gamala annexed to them.

Our author's account of the same determination is to this purpose: "The (*o*) Jews out of their Generals which were at Jerusalem chose "three princes valiant for war, Me *Joseph* the Priest, valiant for "war with the help of Jehovah, and *Ananus* the Priest, and *Elea-* "*zar* his son, Priests also, and by lot they divided to them the several "parts of the countrey, in which they should carry on the war. "The third part, which was the first lot, containing the land "of Galilee and Naphtali, came out to *Joseph Ben Gorion the* "*Priest*. And they called him *Josippon*, by way of praise and ho- "nour: forasmuch as he was then anointed with the militarie oint- "ment for the war. The second lot came out to *Ananus* the High- "Priest, to govern at Jerusalem and the adjoyning countrey. The "third lot came out to *Eleazar*, son of Ananus, and what follows." This should be compared with what is writ by (*p*) *Josephus*.

Thus he adopts the appellation of *Joseph son of Gorion* ***. But per-

(*o*) Quae omnia cum audissent Judaei, elegerunt e ducibus, qui erant in Juda et Jerusalem, tres principes fortissimos bello, Me scilicet, Joseph Sacerdotem fortissimum bello cum auxilio Jehovae, et Anani Sacerdotem, et Eleazar Sacerdotem filium ejus, et praefecerunt illos super terram, et partiti sunt terram Judae inter illos per sortem, dederuntque illis praesidio manum Judaeorum ad bellum gerendum. Et obtigit tertia pars terrae per primam sortem scilicet, omnis terra Galileae a terra Nephtali, et deinceps, Josepho filio Gorionis Sacerdoti, in honorem et gloriam. Et appellaverunt illum Josippon in titulum dignitatis et laudis: quia tunc unctus fuit unctione militari. Deinde sors secunda exiit pro Anano Sacerdote magno, Jerusalem scilicet, et omnia circum vicina loca, . . . Sors denique tertia egressa est Eleazaro filio Anani. &c. *Josipp. cap.* 67. *p.* 293.

(*p*) *De B. Jud. lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. §. 1. 2. 3.

(***) Gagnier in his notes upon this place, p. 293. assigns some reasons, why this

personates *Joseph son of Matthias.* And like him, he is appointed Governour of Galilee. And all along he will be Josephus in the main, and another person, when he pleaseth. He will also transcribe the Greek Josephus, and copy a large part of his historie of the Jewish war, without taking any notice of him. If he differs from him, and adds to him, it is not taken out of any other writers better informed, but from his own invention only. A. D. 930.

Being come into *Galilee*, he there orders things very agreeably to what we have formerly seen in our Greek Josephus. At length he *(q)* flyes from Vespasian and Titus, and the Roman armie, and shuts himself up in *Jotapata.* Vespasian *(r)* with his armie comes before Jotapata. The (*s*) city is taken after a siege of eight and forty days. *Joseph (t)* himself, and with him forty more, go out of the city, and hide themselves in a cave. Vespasian sends Nicanor to Joseph with offers of peace and safety, if he would surrender. But (*u*) the forty men, who were with him, choose rather to dye by their own hands. After long arguing Joseph proposeth, that they should cast lots, till they were all killed. Which being done, there were none left alive, but Joseph, and one more, who at length consented to

this writer chose to be thought *the son of Gorion*, rather than *the son of Matthias.* Cur autem hic noster Gorionis filius quam Matthiae esse voluerit, ratio videtur fuisse, quod cum nomen *Gorionis* cujusdam insignis viri mentio aliquando in Talmude occurrat, atque etiam *Nicodemi* filii Gorionis, in eam familiam ipsi se adoptare visum est, ut prodiret in lucem gratior contribulibus suis, eisque facilius imponeret. *Vid. reliqua ibid. Et Conf. not. (p) ap. J. J. Havercamp. p.* 207.

(*q*) At vero ut audivit Josephus, quod venit Vespasianus, et cum eo filius ejus Titus, omnisque exercitus ejus, ut praelium committeret, fugit Josephus a facie eorum in Jotapatam urbem magnam, quae est in Galilaea: et inclusit se Josephus et omnis exercitus intra illam. *cap.* 68. *p.* 299.

(*r*) *Cap.* 69. *p.* 300. *et cap.* 70. *p.* 301. *&c.*

(*s*) *Cap.* 71. *p.* 307.

(*t*) Tunc surrexit Josephus ipse, et quadraginta viri ex militibus, qui residui erant cum illo, et egressi sunt ex urbe, fugeruntque in sylvam, ubi inventa caverna illuc intraverunt, delitueruntque omnes in illa caverna. &c. *Cap.* 71. *p.* 307.

(*u*) *Cap.* 72. *p.* 315. . . . 319.

A. D. 930. to ſurrender. Joſeph (*x*) then calls to Nicanor, and they yield up themſelves to him. Veſpaſian, when Joſeph was brought before him, treated him kindly, and carried him about with him from place to place, together with *(y) Agrippa.*

So far there is a great agreement between our *Joſephus*, and *Joſeph Ben Gorion.* But now they differ. For Joſippon entirely omits the compliments, which our Joſephus paid to Veſpaſian.

Upon *(z)* the death of Nero, and after the ſhort reigns of Galba and Vitellius, Veſpaſian is declared Emperour by the ſoldiers in Judea, and after ſome heſitation he is perſuaded to accept of the diadem from them.

Some while *(a)* after that Veſpaſian takes part of the armie, and goes to Rome: but leaves the other part with Titus to carry on the ſiege of Jeruſalem. However, he orders Titus to ſtay at Alexandria, till he ſhall ſend to him from Rome.

"When *(b)* Veſpaſian left Judea to go to Rome, he took with him Agrippa, and his ſon Monbaz, leaſt they ſhould rebel againſt him. With himſelf, and them, he alſo took me Joſeph the prieſt, bound with iron chains." And when Veſpaſian was come to Rome, he ordered, that *(c)* Joſeph ſhould be ſent to priſon, and kept bound there.

Veſ-

(*x*) *Cap.* 73. *p.* 319. *&c.*

(*y*) Cum ergo audiviſſet Veſpaſianus Titum filium ſuum, recta viſa ſunt verba illius in oculis ejus, et clementia uſus eſt erga Joſephum ſacerdotem, et prohibuit, quo minus moreretur gladio, et conſtituit eum principem, et magnum inter principes ſuos, et ſecum ducebat de urbe in urbem cum Agrippa rege. *Cap.* 73. *p.* 321.

(*z*) *Cap.* 75. *p.* 333. 334.

(*a*) *Cap.* 77. *p.* 340.

(*b*) Abiit itaque Veſpaſianus Romam. Cumque pergeret, ut iterum acciperet illic coronam regni, duxit ſecum Agrippam regem, et Monbaz filium ejus. Dixerat enim, ne forte rebellent contra me. Duxit praeterea cum eis, et ſecum, meipſum Joſephum ſacerdotem vinctum catenis ferreis. *Cap* 77. *p.* 340.

(*c*) Tunc juſſit, et vinxerunt me in domo carceris. Agrippam vero et filium ejus ipſorum arbitrio reliquit. *Ib. p.* 341.

Vespasian upon his arrival at Rome was received joyfully by the Senators and all the people in general. And *(d)* in a short time he is inaugurated with great solemnity. Agrippa and his son are allowed to be with the Senators. And Joseph himself, though a prisoner, is allowed by the keeper of the prison, to have a place, where he may see all. A. D. 930.

The *(e)* coronation is then described by him, in a pompous manner, seven Electors of the Empire attending, agreeably to the coronations of the Emperours in late ages, a good while after the time of Charles the Great, as *(f)* *Gagnier* observes in a note, which I shall place below. *Basnage* thinks, that *(g)* this Hebrew Joseph intends the coronation of Otho the first, or his son Otho the second. And he considers this article, as a proof, that Josippon lived in the tenth, or rather in the eleventh centurie.

" Soon after his coronation, as this author says, Vespasian *(h)* was

(d) Postridie illius diei congregati sunt omnes Senatores Romani, ut Vespasianum Caesarem crearent, secundum jus Caesareae dignitatis pro consuetudine Romana. Porro Agrippa et filius ejus erant cum illis. At ego supplex rogavi principem domus carceris. . . . Et inveni gratiam in oculis ejus, et introduxit me in consessum regni, ubi fieri debebat Inauguratio Caesaris : attamen vinctum catenis ferreis, et collocavit juxta se in loco, unde vidi omnia quae facta sunt. *Ib. p.* 341.

(e) Cum itaque perventum est ad illum locum, accedunt ad eum septem Reges coronis suis insignes, quas acceperunt de manu Caesaris, Electi vero jussu Senatus Romani. &c. *Ibid.*

(f) Fingit hic fabulator Josephum, id est, seipsum a Vespasiano Romam perductum fuisse, ut ibi spectator adesset ejus coronationis, quam describit cum omni illa ceremonia inaugurationis Caesarum, qualis longe post tempora Caroli Magni, sub Romanis Pontificibus instituta fuit, praesentibus nempe et ministrantibus Septem Imperii Electoribus, cum toto illo apparatu, quem fuse et lepide narrat. *Gagn. p.* 341.

(g) Tous ces caracteres nous font croire, que le Josephe Hebreu n'a vêcu qu' à la fin de dixiéme, ou plutôt dans l'onziéme siécle, et que le couronnement, dont il a laissé la description, est celui d' Othon I. ou de son fils Othon II. *Basnag. ut supr.* §. *xxiv. p.* 1563.

(h) Post aliquot autem dies, ex quo Vespasianus Caesar factus fuit, indignatus est adversus Agrippam, quia calumniati sunt eum

A. D. 930. was offended with Agrippa upon account of ſome calumnies caſt upon him, which he had received from wicked men of the Jewiſh nation. Whereupon he ſlew Agrippa, and his ſon Monbaz with the ſword. Which was done three years and a half before the deſolation of the houſe."

So writes this author. Suppoſing Agrippa to have been put to death ar this time, I do not conceive, how it could be done, *three years and a half* before the deſtruction of the temple. Beſides, Agrippa ſurvived the Jewiſh war and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem many years: as is atteſted not only by Joſephus, but alſo by ancient medals (*i*) ſtill exſtant.

Rabbi Iſaac, in his *Munimen Fidei*, writ in the *(k)* ſixteenth centurie, has quoted this paſſage of our author. And I have put down his words in the margin: though, perhaps, they may be taken notice of again, hereafter.

In *(l)* the ſame year and month that Agrippa and his ſon were put to death, Veſpaſian ſent for Joſeph, and ſpake comfortably to him, and releaſed him from his bonds. Joſeph complained of the death of Agrippa. But Veſpaſian aſſured him, he had good reaſon for ſo doing. And now Veſpaſian ſent Joſeph to Titus at Alexandria, with a letter of recommendation. Joſeph goes to Alexandria. Titus

eum impii Iſrael, dicentes eum cogitaſſe perfide agere in illum, et idcirco miſiſſe literas in Jeruſalem ea de re. Interfecit itaque illum et filium ejus Monbaz gladio. Quod quidem contigit tribus annis cum dimidio ante deſolationem domus. &c. *Cap.* 77. *p.* 344.

(i) Vid. Gagnier in loc.

(k) Verba, *Vae paſtori meo nihili, derelinquenti gregem.* [Zach. xi. 17.] Agrippam reſpiciunt, qui Romam ſe contulit, atque inde evocavit Veſpaſianum, hujuſque privignum Titum, adverſus Hieroſolymas, tandem autem iraſci illi coepit Veſpaſianus, eumque una cum Monbaſo filio ſecuri percuſſit tribus et dimidio annis ante templi deſolationem. Ceterum ob illam, quae inter regem Agrippam et improbos duces factioſorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique deſolatum fuit templum, uti ex Joſepho conſtat. *Munimen Fidei. p.* 417.

(l) Cap. 78. *p.* 344.

Titus *(m)* and all his counsellors rejoyced at the arrival of Joseph. "For he was full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the "spirit of counsel and valour, the spirit of knowledge, and of the "fear of the Lord." After *(n)* some consultation, it was determined to go up to Jerusalem, and besiege it. "For Joseph knew that it was of the Lord, and that it was not possible, that the word of the Lord should be turned back." Titus therefore went from Alexandria to Judea.

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Isa. xi. 1. 2.

In *(o)* the first year of the reign of Vespasian, in the tenth month, and the seventh day of the month, came Titus with Joseph, and all his forces, and his armie, to the delightfull city of Cesarea. Where he was employed in collecting his forces from all parts, till he had compleated his armie for besieging Jerusalem. There *(p)* he stayed all the winter, till the month of Abib, or March. During this whole

 year,

(m) Postea profectus Josephus Româ venit Alexandriam. Cumque audisset Titus de adventu Josephi, laetatus est plurimum ipse, et omnes seniores et sapientes, qui cum illo erant. Josephus enim plenus erat spiritu sapientiae et intelligentiae, spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, spiritu scientiae, et timoris Jehovae. *Cap.* 78. *p.* 346.

(n) Postea consilium inierunt inter se, ut ascenderent in Jerusalem, et obsiderent eam. Sciebat enim Josephus a Jehova hoc esse, neque possibile esse, ut verbum Jehovae convertatur retrorsum. *Ib. p.* 347.

(o) Anno primo regni Vespasiani, mense decimo, die septimo mensis venit Titus cum Josepho, et cum omnibus copiis suis, et exercitu suo in urbem Cesareae gratissimam et desideratissimam omnibus, qui illam viderunt. *Cap.* 79. *p.* 347.

(p) Mansitque illic, donec complerentur dies brumae, et dies hiemis, et donec venirent dies Abib. Toto autem hoc anno primo regni Vespasiani, quo erectus est super regnum Romanorum, . . . ingruerunt praelia durissima in medio Jerusalem inter habitatores ejus per crudelitatem irae et furoris, et percutiebant unusquisque proximum suum, nulla interposita quiete aut mora. Quinetiam nulla cessatio belli fuit inter illos tota hieme, ut post est universae terrae, sed et aestate et hieme duraverunt praelia Simonem inter et Jehochananem. Porro tertius fuit Eleazarus. Atque hoc ab ipso die, quo proficiscens Vespasianus de terra Juda abiit Romam, ut illic de novo susciperet regnum Caesareae dignitatis, secundum jus consuetudinis Romanae. *Ibid.*

A. D. 930. year, the first year of the reign of Vespasian, were grievous wars and fightings in the midst of Jerusalem. From the time that Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome, there to receive the confirmation of the Empire, in summer and winter, were perpetual quarrels and contentions between the three parties, into which the people of Jerusalem were divided, and headed by three leaders, *Simon*, *John*, and *Eleazar*. "For *(q)* at that time God poured out a spirit of insensibility in the midst of Jerusalem. And they destroyed, as *(r)* this writer says, a thousand and four hundred garners, filled with things that might have been usefull in a siege. For there were in them provisions, sufficient to maintain two hundred thousand people for twenty years. But by the madnesse of these robbers all was consumed by fire. Which brought on the famine in Jerusalem.

Is. xxix. 10.

And now this writer makes a long and grievous lamentation over *(s)* Jerusalem. Which in the Hebrew original, as *(t)* *Gagnier* observes, is a sort of metrical composition, not in use among the Jews, till long after the supposed time of the author.

Titus *(u)* draws out his numerous forces, and reviews them in a plain near Cesarea, and then moves toward Jerusalem.

It is not my intention to relate particularly from this writer, as I have

(q) Eo anno effudit Jehova spiritum vertiginis in medium Jerusalem. . . . *p.* 348.

(r) Porro numerus horreorum illorum in Jerusalem erat mille et quadringentorum: et omnia plene commeatibus victus pro tempore obsidionis. Tempore autem, quo Vespasianus venit in urbes Galileae, Seniores et viri fide digni, qui aestimaverunt quantitatem proventus horreorum illorum, invenerunt in illis esse commeatus et victus pro ducentis mille animabus per viginti annos. Et tunc in bello latronum, haec omnia cremata sunt. Caepitque fames in Jerusalem. *p.* 350.

(s) Lamentatus est itaque Josephus lamentationem hanc super Jerusalem, et dixit. . . . *cap.* 80. *p.* 350. . . . 355.

(t) Lamentatio Josephi. In Hebraeo est carmen rithmicum. Quod genus poëseos multis post seculis a recentioribus Judaeis, Arabum exemplo, usurpatum est. *Gagn. not. p.* 350.

(u) Postea Titus venit in planitiem Caesareae cum exercitu, et recensuit exercitum suum. &c. *cap.* 81. *p.* 355.

have done from Josephus, the attacks of Titus, and the defenses of the people in the city. I shall pass over a great deal. A. D. 930.

"Whilst *(x)* they were hard pressed by the Romans, the three "parties within agreed, and joyned together in opposing the common "enemie. But as soon as the Romans gave them any respite, the three "rulers of the robbers within exercised a cruel war with one ano-"ther: insomuch that the bloud of the citizens ran like a torrent out "of the gates of Jerusalem, in the sight of the Romans, who could "not forbear to pity them." Those expressions are extravagant. But what is here said may be compared with Josephus de B. J. l. 5. cap. vi. §. 1. Upon this occasion our author made another lamentation.

After *(y)* having carried on the siege for some while, Titus draws off from the city, and for several days ceaseth to make any attacks. And by Joseph, who addresseth them in a very long speech, in their own language, he makes them offers of peace, that he might preserve their temple and city. But they hardened their necks, and would not hear. In (z) this speech he tells them, not disagreeably to

(x) Quando instabat praelium Romanorum, omnes ad invicem coalescebant, tanquam unus vir ad pugnam, et pugnabant contra Romanos, fugabantque illos a se. Et postquam fugaverant a se Romanos, revertebantur ad se et incipiebant pugnare unusquisque in fratrem suum. Tuncque fiebat praelium magnum et durum inter tres principes latronum crudelium, donec egrederetur sanguis extra portas Jerusalem, tanquam torrens scaturiens de scaturigine aquarum. Videbantque Romani sanguinem egredientem de portis Jerusalem. Et conterebatur cor eorum in medio ipsorum, et flebant, et dolebant ea de re. Josephus autem Sacerdos stabat cum eis. Tunc lamentatus est Josephus lamentationem hanc iterum super Jerusalem. Et prolocutus est Josephus alte proferens vocem lamentationis, et dixit. &c. *cap.* 82. *p.* 362. *&c.*

(y) Tunc temporis jussit populum suum discedere a muro extra urbem, et cessare a bello per aliquot dies, ut clamaret pacem in auribus Judaeorum. *cap.* 84. *p.* 369. . . 377. *et cap.* 85. *p.* 378. . . 385.

(z) Nunc autem videte malum vestrum esse maximum, et quod Jehova non sit in medio vestri, quia propter bella, quae geritis unusquisque cum fratre suo mox brevi siccatae sunt apud vos aquae Siloe. At vero in castris Gentium, quando congregatae sunt contra vos, ecce aquae Siloe redundant, et fluunt instar torrentis, et fluvii magni pleni super omnes margines suos. *Cap.* 85. *p.* 383. *m.*

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to what the Greek Josephus says [de B. J. l. 5. cap. ix. p. 350.] that for their sins, the waters of Siloam had before failed on a sudden: but now they flowed plentifully in the camp of the Gentils, fighting against them. In this speech he goes on, and says: "though *(a)* "I am in the camp of the Romans, I am still considered as one of "you. For with you is my dear wife, the wife of my youth, whom "I still embrace, though I have had no children by her. With "you also are my Father and Mother. He is now an hundred and "three years old, and my mother eighty five. I am sixty four years "of age, and have not yet attained to the term of human life."

Many *(b)* he says, wept at hearing him, and many people of meaner rank would willingly have gone out of the city, to surrender themselves to Titus. But the three leaders of the factions, Simon and Eleazar, and John, prevented them by their severe threatenings, and the strict guard they kept over them.

In (*c*) the mean time the famine encreased, and was very grievous. The

(*a*) Porro, quamvis ego sim in castris Romanorum, tamen reputor idem, ac si essem vobiscum: quia ecce nunc uxor mea dilectissima, carissima, vobiscum est, uxor nempe juventutis meae. Neque respuo illam, et licet filii ex ea non sint mihi, nihilominus illam diligo plurimum, cum sit ex familiis nobilissimis et optimis populi Dei, et populi virorum. Quin et pater meus et mater mea, infelices, pauperes, sancti, senes, provecti in diebus apud vos sunt. Nam et pater meus est centum et trium annorum hodie. Mater vero mea octoginta et quinque annorum est hodie. Ego vero paucos et malos, et per varias tribulationes et aerumnas sexaginta et quatuor annos exegi, ac nondum attigi terminum, qui postulet mortem juxta viam naturae. &c. *Cap.* 85. *p.* 383. *fin.*

(*b*) Cum ergo audivisset populus verba Josephi sacerdotis, fleverunt plurimum. . . Et quidem summopere optabat plebs infima exire ad Titum, et pacem inire cum illo juxta consilium Josephi. Sed astabant Simon, Eleazarus, et Jochanan, principes latronum, et praepofuerunt viros fortissimos ad portas. . . . &c. *cap.* 86. *p.* 385.

(*c*) Interea fames ingravescebat in Jerusalem. . . . Crescebat autem malum eo usque, ut populus comederet omne genus reptilium terrae a mure usque ad araneam, et ad serpentem, et mustellam, et bufonem. . . . Si forte inveniretur in Jerusalem cadaver equi, aut cadaver cujuslibet bestiae, multi ex Israel inter se pugnabant, et mortui corruebant, dum pugnarent super cadaver bestiae, aut super cadaver ferae. . . . *cap.* 86. *p.* 385. 386.

The people ate mice, spiders, weasels, serpents, toads. And if the carcase of a horse, or other beast was found in any of the streets of Jerusalem, multitudes contended for it. A. D. 930.

Titus *(d)* continues his attacks, but the Jews gain great advantages over him. They killed a great number of his men, and destroyed his platforms, which *(e)* gave him great concern.

Soon after that *(f)* Titus, as this author says, received numerous recruits from all nations and countreys, subject to the Roman Empire. At their arrival, Titus represents to their Generals and chief men the state of things, and how the Jews had prevailed, and still had great strength remaining. These recruits however, are very willing to engage with the Jews. And *(g)* out of the vast numbers of fresh men, supposed to be capable of doing more than the Romans, who were fatigued, and worn out, and discouraged with the fatigues of a long siege, were selected eighty thousand men, Macedonians, Britans, Syrians, Africans, Burgundians, Persians, Chaldeans. All these, without any Romans joyned with them, marched in order toward

(*d*) *Cap.* 87. *p.* 388. . . . 391.

(*e*) *Cap.* 88. *p.* 391. 392.

(*f*) Eo tempore congregatae sunt innumerae turbae ex omnibus gentibus, et venerunt contra Jerusalem in auxilium Romanorum ex omnibus dominiis Caesareae dignitatis ad Romam pertinentibus. . . . Narravit autem Titus senioribus gentium, quae sibi venerant in auxilium, ea omnia, quae sibi contigerant dum oppugnavit Jerusalem. . . Narravit etiam, quomodo perdiderant milites suos, et principes suos, . . . omnesque machinas suas dirutrices, et omnia instrumenta belli, quae secum habebat, corruperant. *Cap.* 88. *p.* 393. 394.

(*g*) Electi sunt itaque ex turmis nationum illarum octoginta millia virorum, scilicet decem millia Macedonum, viginta millia virorum Britanniae, quinque millia Syrorum, decem millia virorum Africae, decem millia fortissimorum ex viris Borgoniae, quinque millia de filiis Cedar, decem millia militum ex fortissimis Persarum et Chaldaeorum. Et progressi sunt eo ordine, quo venerunt: neque unus Romanus ex illis. Abierunt autem in planitiem, quae erat e regione Sepulchri Jehochanan Sacerdotis magni. Et caeperunt miscere praelia cum Judaeis, qui erant super murum, et admovere scalas cum instrumentis ligneis quibus tegebantur, ut ascenderent ad eos supra murum. *Ib. p.* 394. 395.

A. D 930. toward Jerusalem, and encamped near it. And then they began to attack the wall, and to fight with the Jews that were upon it.

" Now *(b)* the three leaders within the city, John, and Simon, and Eleazar, consult together between themselves, and with their friends, what was best to be done. It was agreed, that two should go out of the city, and the other abide within. John then, and Eleazar went out, having with them fifteen hundred of the most valiant of their men. They prevailed, and slew their enemies with the edge of the sword from morning to evening. The day on which this battle was fought, he says, was the ninth day of the month Thebet, which was the tenth month from the arrival of Titus before Jerusalem. And they slew of the hosts of the Gentils, seven and fifty thousand and five hundred. They took captive three thousand of their chiefs, putting the rest to flight. Of the Jews there fell on that day seven men. And they brought off their dead and their wounded to Jerusalem: where they buried their dead, that the uncircumcised might not insult them."

" Whereupon *(i)* John and Eleazar returned to Jerusalem with " their brethren, singing a hymn of triumph, and offering praises " to

(b) Egressi sunt ergo Jehochanan et Eleazarus cum mille et quingentis fortissimis Latronum et percusserunt turmas gentium plaga gladii, . . a mane diei pugnae usque ad vesperam. Quod quidem contigit nona die mensis Thebet, qui fuit decimus ab adventu Titi in Jerusalem, et prostraverunt ex turmis gentium illarum quinquaginta septem millia cum quingentis. Et ceperunt ex eis vivos ter mille principes, ceteris in fugam conjectis. Ex judaeis autem ceciderunt illa die septem viri, et vulneratos suos secum extulerunt latrones, ut illos sepelirent, ne insultarent eis incircumcisi. *Ib. p.* 395.

(i) Venerunt itaque Jehochanan et Eleazarus in Jerusalem cum fratribus suis cantantes hymnum, et gratiarum actiones Jehovae. Reliquiae autem fugientium ex turmis nationum illarum reversae sunt ad castra Titi cum ignominia. . . . Postridie Latrones acceperunt tria millia principem, quos comprehenderant vivos, effoderunt unicuique eorum oculum, manumque amputaverunt, atque ita remiserunt eos ad castra Titi, ut ipsi essent dedecori et opprobrio. *Ib. p.* 395.

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" to Jehovah. The rest of those nations returned to the camp of " Titus, in shame and confusion. . . The day after the Robbers took " the three thousand chiefs, whom they had brought captives, and " put out an eye of every one of them, and also cut off one of their " hands, and so sent them back to the camp of Titus."

All fiction, surely, without any ground or authority from Josephus, or any other ancient writer, that we know of! We here plainly see, that the author was an artfull man. He knew how to flatter and please his own nation. And he has obtained his end. He is in admiration with them.

At that *(k)* time Titus consulted with his Generals, and his soldiers, and his whole armie, that it might be determined what was best to be done, especially considering the strength and fortitude of the Jewish people. After a long consultation, the opinion of Titus, which he was resolved to adhere to, was, that the siege of the city should be continued, without making any attacks upon it. For says he, their provisions fail already, and will be all speedily consumed. Moreover, they will quarrell among themselves, and thus hasten their ruin. And we shall overcome.

" And indeed, says *(l)* this writer, the famine prevailed greatly.

(*k*) Eo tempore Titus consilium inivit cum principibus, et militibus suis, et cum filiis populi sui Romanis, et cum populo omnium nationum, quae cum eis convenerant, dicens: Quid faciemus contra Israelem, et contra fortitudinem ejus? . . . At consilia eorum omnium contemtui fuerunt coram Tito. . . . Dixit ergo eis Titus. Hoc est consilium meum, quod a me ipso juxta rectam rationem profertur, neque ab eo recedam. Cedo, teneamus urbem hanc obsessam, neve oppugnemus illam amplius. Victus enim et commeatus eorum omnino defecerunt, neque cibus est apud illos. Haud dubium, quin fames illos consumptura est: neque etiam dubium est, quin, quando viderint nos non amplius miscere praelia cum illis, ipsi praelia misceant inter se, unusquisque adversus fratrem suum. . . . *Ib. p.* 395. 396.

(*l*) Porro, nisi grassata fuisset fames in Jerusalem, nunquam perrupta fuisset urbs, neque capta in aeternum. Fortes enim Israel erant velociores aquilis, et fortiores leonibus. *Ib. p.* 396.

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" And, if it had not, the city could not have been broken up, nor " taken for ever. For the valiant of Israel were *swifter than eagles*, " *and stronger than lions*. 2 Sam. i. 23. But the famine consumed " them. The streets were filled with dead bodies, nor were there " any to bury them. And when Titus saw the dead cast out from " the city, like dung upon the earth, he was much affected at the " sight, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he fell down upon his " knees, and said: This is not my work. He had desired peace. " But the people would not accept of it."

In *(m)* the following, the 89 chapter, is an account of several acts of cruelty, committed by Simon in putting to death *Amittai*, or *Matthias*, and others.

In (*n*) the mean while, as he says, in the 90 chapter, *Gorion*, the Priest, father of Joseph, who wrote this book for Israel, to be a memorial and testimonie to them, was a prisoner in one of the towers upon the wall, bound in iron fetters. Joseph came near to the place, hoping to see his aged father. But the Jews cast stones at him, and wounded him. And now likewise he at length gets a sight of his mother. She was not bound with chains, though she was kept prisoner in the house of Simon. But she got upon the wall to see her son, and make her lamentations to him. His father was about 103 years of age, and his mother 85.

It is observable, that about this time, after the slaughter of *Amittai* or *Matthias* and his sons by order of *Simon*, *Josephus* (*o*) also makes mention of his father and mother, as being in Jerusalem. And about

(*m*) *Cap.* 89 *p.* 397. . . 406.

(*n*) Interea Gorion sacerdos, pater Josephi sacerdotis, qui scripsit hunc librum Israeli, ut esset illis in testimonium, et in memoriale, tunc erat victus catenis ferreis, et in vinculis aereis in una e turribus Jerusalem. Ipse autem senex processerat in diebus, natus scilicet centum et trium annorum. . . . Eo tempore venit Josephus, filius ejus versus murum e regione turris, in qua erat pater ejus Gorion sacerdos tunc illic vinctus. . . *Cap.* 90. *p.* 406. *&c.*

(*o*) *De B. J. l.* 5. *cap. xiii. num.* 1. 2. 3.

about this time also Josephus was wounded: not for attempting to see his father, or mother, but as he was going round the city, near the walls of it, proposing arguments to the people within to surrender to Titus for their benefit. A. D. 930.

The *(p)* famine being very severe in the city, many Jews in good circumstances went out in order to go over to the Romans. But it being found, that some of them had gold and jewels hid in their bowels, they were ript up by the Arabian and Syrian soldiers, which were in the armie of Titus. Some of the Roman soldiers did the like. In this practise the Arabians and Syrians killed a thousand Jews. When Titus heard of it, he was exceedingly grieved and provoked. And he gave orders, that all who had done this thing should be put to death, and that their goods should be given to living Jews, heirs of the dead. Upon this occasion six thousand Arabians and Syrians suffered death.

A most unlikely thing, and mere romance! No General would shew such favour to a resolute people, whom he was besieging with an armie. Josephus says, that *(q)* two thousand of the Jews were thus cruelly destroyed by the Syrian and other soldiers for the sake of the gold hid in their bodies. He also says, Titus was much dis-

 pleased,

(*p*) Porro Judaei, qui egressi fuerant de Jerusalem ad castra Romanorum . . . deglutierunt aurum et argentum, et gemmas et lapides pretiosos. . . . Cumque animadvertissent nonnulli ex Syris et Arabibus illos ita facere, indicavit rem unusquisque socio suo. . . . Tum apprehenderunt illos, et sciissis eorum visceribus, invenerunt intra viscera aurum, et lapides pretiosos. . . . Factusque numerus sciissorum per manus Syrorum et Arabum mille animarum. Cumque audivisset Titus rem illam pessimam, . . . indignatus est, et accensus est furor ejus admodum. Tunc jussit comprehendi omnes, qui patraverunt hujusmodi facinus pessimum, et jugulari, ac deinde dari omnes facultates eorum Judaeis vivis haeredibus mortuorum. Et mortui sunt propter hoc facinus, jussu Titi, tum ex Syris, tum ex Arabibus sex millia virorum. *Cap.* 91. *p.* 411. 412.

(*q*) *De B. J. l.* 5. *cap. xiii.* §. 4. 5. *p.* 361. 362.

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pleaſed, and would have ordered his horſe to ſurround the criminals, and kill them with darts. But he conſidered, that the number of the guilty exceeded that of the ſlain. He therefore was obliged to content himſelf with forbidding that cruelty for the future, upon the pain of heavie puniſhment.

This author moreover ſays, " that *(r)* ſtrict inquiry was made by Titus after the Romans, who had been guilty of the like action. And they were found to be three hundred and twenty men, whom Titus ordered to be burnt to death, in one pit or ciſtern. After which all Jews, who came over to Titus were treated by the ſoldiers very civilly, and they lived very quiet and unmoleſted in his camp." All fiction from this author's fruitfull invention! And the ſtorie is made out, as it ſeems, to do honour to his nation, at the ſame time, that their city was falling into ruin, and they going into captivity!

He likewiſe tells the ſtorie which Joſephus has done of the crucifixion of the Jews before the walls of the city, five *(s)* hundred in a day, and ſometimes more, as Joſephus ſays. But this author tells it very differently in this manner. Some *(t)* went out of the city with

(r) Fuitque numerus eorum, qui reperti ſunt, tum eorum qui fecerunt, tum eorum qui noverant, trecentorum et viginti virorum. At juſſit Titus ſervis ſuis, et combuſſerunt omnes in medio ciſternae unius. Et deinceps Judaei cum fiducia in caſtris Titi degebant, neque ultra fuit adverſarius, aut incurſus malus. Sed quotieſcunque Romanus inveniebat Judaeum aliquem perplexum aut errantem extra caſtra procul, clam illum deducens comitabatur uſque dum ad caſtra incolumem, et tranquille, et cum ſecuritate bona reduxiſſet. *Cap.* 91. *p.* 413.

(s) *De B. J. l.* 5. *cap. xi. n* 1.

(t) Quando aliqui ab urbe exibant cum uxoribus, et filiis, et filiabus, et parvulis ſuis, ut invenirent herbas, . . Romani qui illos inveniebant, jugulabant natos eorum, et dicebant: Jugulemus hos parvulos, ne adoleſcant, et ſucceſſu dierum pugnent nobiſcum, ſicut patres illorum. Idcirco Romani trucidabant infimam plebem, quotquot exibant ab urbe, et ſuſpendebant illos

with their wives, and sons and daughters, and little ones, to gather herbs for food. And the Romans slew all the young people, saying: *Let us kill these, least they grow up and fight against us, as their fathers have done.* So the Romans acted from day to day, till the number of slain, and hanged up, amounted to five hundred. The like to this was done within the city by Simon and John and Eleazar. They killed and hung up upon the walls all the Romans, which they could catch, and all their own people who endeavored to go out of the city, till they amounted also to the number of five hundred. Which when Titus saw, he gave strict orders to all the men of his armie, not to kill any Jews that came out of Jerusalem. If any did so, they should be put to death. For his bowels yearned over Israel.

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So says this fantastical writer.

He computes the taking of *Antonia* to have been on the fifth day of Sivan, the third month, on the eve of the feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, the fourteenth month from the coming of Titus to besiege Jerusalem. So (*u*) at the end of ch. 91.

He

illos ad arbores ex adverso portae Jerusalem. Sicque faciebant Romani quotidie. Pervenitque numerus occisorum, et suspensorum ad quingentas animas. Idem etiam faciebant Simon, Jehochanan, et Eleazarus, iis omnibus, quos capiebant ex cohortibus Romanorum, postquam illos per insidias circumvenerant. Eodem modo animadvertebant in eos, qui quaerebant exire, ut perfugerent ad illos. Jugulabant enim eos, et cadavera suspendebant super murum ex adverso Romanorum.... Fuitque numerus suspensorum per manus Latronum quingentorum virorum, tot scilicet numero, quot suspendebant Romani ex Judaeis. Itaque Titus praecepit omnibus viris exercitus sui dicens: Quicunque interfecerit aliquem ex iis, qui egrediuntur de Jerusalem, morietur. Et quidem ita fecit Titus, quia flagrabant viscera ejus super Israel. *cap.* 86. *p.* 386.

(*u*) Ut autem vidit Titus Turrim Antoniam esse in Laqueum Romanis, jussit Titus ut diruerent illam. Quod quidem contigit in quinta in Sivan, mense tertio, in vespera festi Hebdomadarum. Ipse est mensis quartus decimus ab adventu Titi ad obsidendam Jerusalem. *cap.* 91. *in fin. p.* 420.

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He proceeds (x) in the 92 ch. to relate contentions and fightings of the Jews and Romans at the Temple or near it, which I need not rehearse particularly: especially, since it is not all exact truth, or matter of fact, but exaggeration agreeable to this author's fansie.

At the begining of the (y) 93 chapter, he tells the story of Mary, who in the extremity of the famine killed her only child, and dressed it, and ate a part of it. The same storie, that is told by (z) Josephus: but their harangues upon the event are different.

In the next chapter (a) the temple is on fire, and the doors of the house of the sanctuarie were opened on the ninth day of the fifth month, the same day of the month, in the which it had been opened in the time of the Chaldeans. The soldiers rejoiced greatly. But

(x) P. 420. . . 431.

(y) P. 431.

(z) De B. J. l. 6. cap iii. §. 4.

(a) Postridie congregati Romani miserunt ignem in Sanctum Sanctorum in circuitu. . . . Mox incaluit aurum, et combusta sunt ligna valvarum, et ceciderunt in terram, et aperta fuit Domus Sancti sanctorum in oculis omnium mense quinto nona die mensis, eo ipso die, quo aperta fuerat Domus Sancti sanctorum in diebus Chaldaeorum. Et statim ut aperuerunt Romani portam Sancti Sanctorum, et ceperunt illud, tunc vero vociferati sunt clamore magno mirum in modum prae laetitia. . . . Cucurrit autem Titus totis viribus suis, ut extingueret ignem. . . . Ac tandem defessus defatigatusque corruit ad terram viribus exhaustus. . . . Postquam itaque incensa fuit Domus Sancti sanctorum, surrexit Titus, et ingressus in Sanctum sanctorum vidit gloriam Domus, et decorem ejus, et splendorem illius. . . . Nondum enim tota Domus incendio consumpta erat, ut pulchritudinem illius, et majestatem ejus contemplaretur. Tunc dixit Titus: Nunc cognovi, quia non est hic aliud, nisi Domus Dei. Hoc est habitaculum Dei coelorum, et tabernaculum ejus. . . . Quia magna est majestas Domus hujus, et magnus splendor majestatis Templi ejus longe supra Templum Romanorum, et omnia Templa nationum, quae vidi. . . . Deinde surrexerunt Romani, et exstincto incendio, idola, et imagines suas in Templo statuerunt. Et obtulerunt eis holocausta, et probro affecerunt Judaeos, et Legem eorum coram idolis suis blasphemarunt. *Cap.* 94. *p.* 436. . . . 438.

But Titus was much concerned; and ran toward the temple, and did all in his power to have the fire extinguished, calling aloud to his men, till he was hoarse, and persisting in his exclamations, as this author says, till he fell to the ground almost dead. And the Priests at the temple fought, as long as they were able. And when they saw the fire prevail, they threw themselves into it. As there remained no hopes of preserving the temple, Titus, before it was entirely consumed, went in, and greatly admired it... Soon after that the Romans sat up their idols, and images in the temple, and offered sacrifices to them, and reviled the Jews, and blasphemed their law, before their idols. A. D. 930.

He now comes to the signs and prodigies, foresignifying the calamities that were coming upon the Jewish people, which also are mentioned by Josephus *(b)* in this same place, after the burning the temple. "Nor (*c*) did the Jews attend to the words of the signs, "which happened in Jerusalem, though they were very awful. For "a year before Vespasian came, there appeared over the temple a "blazing starr in the shape of a man, in whose hand were drawn "swords. The day in which this sign was seen, was the first of the "feast of the Passover: and during the whole night the temple was "illuminated, as if it had been day. And so it continued throughout the seven days of the Passover." Thus confounding, as it seems, the first two signs in Josephus, and making them one only, and likewise representing the blazing star somewhat differently from Jo-

(*b*) *De B. J. l.* 6. *cap. v. num.* 3.

(*c*) Neque Judaei animum adverterant ad verba signorum, quae contigerunt in Jerusalem. . . . Nam anno uno antequam veniret Vespasianus, apparuit super Templum stella quaedam scintillans instar formae hominis, in cujus manu gladii districti. Dies autem, quo visum est signum illud, fuit primus ex diebus festi Paschatis: et tota nocte illius diei Templum fulsit, et resplenduit tanquam lux diei, et ita factum est per totos septem dies Paschatis . . . *Cap.* 94. *p.* 438.

A. D. 930. Josephus. Then follow in him the other signs taken from Josephus. But I shall not rehearse them. He has, particularly, that of the man of low rank, who for several years travelled through the streets of Jerusalem, with his mournfull denunciation of *Woe to the city*. Whom (⁂) he calls *Joshua, son of Hananiah.*

When *(d)* the Romans had got possession of the temple, the Jews fled to mount Sion. Here our author useth a different stile from Josephus, who has never used the word *Sion* in his writings, but always describes that part of the city by other Names.

Now (*e*) some Priests came to Titus, entreating mercie. But he would not grant it, and ordered them to be put to death.

Now *(f)* also John and Simon sent messengers to Titus, proposing to surrender to him, if he would grant them their lives. But Titus rejected their proposal, and reproached them severely.

Whereupon *(g)* Titus ordered the war to be renewed, and carried on by his armie with vigour.

At *(h)* this time *Zarach* [or *Izates*,] of royal descent, and his brothers,

(⁂) Porro quatuor annis ante haec signa fuit vir quidam in Jerusalem, de populo terrae, seu plebeius, nomine Jehoshua, filius Chananiae, et coepit clamare voce magna die ipso festi Tabernaculorum. . . . Oderunt autem illum omnes cives urbis. &c. *Ibid. p.* 439.

(d) Postquam itaque ingressus fuit omnis exercitus Romanorum in Templum, diffugerunt Judaei ad montem Sion. *Cap.* 95. *in p.* 440.

(*e*) Postquam autem libaverunt Romani coram Domino suo Tito, ecce pars Sacerdotum, qui capti fuerant juxta Templum, deprecati sunt Titum, ut seipsos vivos servaret, neve interficeret. . . . Tunc Romani irruerunt in illos, et mortui sunt omnes. *Cap.* 95. *p.* 440.

(f) Simon autem et Jehochanan miserunt ad Titum sermones pacis, et deprecationis, orantes pro seipsis, ut vivos servaret. . . . *Ibid. p.* 440.

(g) Tunc jussit Titus Romanis instaurari bellum cum principibus Latronum Jehochanane et Simone, quandoquidem se tam pertinaciter gerebant. . . . . *Ib. p.* 441.

(h) Eo tempore surrexit Zarach, qui quidem

thers, came down from mount Sion, and surrendered to Titus, and were well received by him. Whereupon Simon and his adherents set fire to their goods and treasures, which they had left behind them, that they might not come into the hands of the Romans. A. D. 930.

Simon *(i)* and John escape, and hide themselves in a cavern. Many Jews of good condition surrender to Titus, and he receives them favourably.

Joshua (k) a Priest, son *of Shebuthi* High Priest, comes to Titus, bringing with him two golden candlesticks, which were in the sanctuarie, and golden tables, and divers other rich utensils of the temple, and vestments of the Priests, and precious stones. All which he made a present of to Titus, who received him graciously.

At *(l)* this time also came out *Gorion*, the Priest, father of the writer

quidem erat de filiis Regum, de monte Sion cum fratribus suis, et cum omnibus filiis feminis regii, . . . et venerunt ad Titum, qui excepit illos cum honore, . . . et benigne tractavit. . . . Cum ergo vidissent Jochanan et Simon principes Latronum abiisse Izatam cum ceteris filiis Regis, . . . abierunt ipsi, et combusserunt omnia, quae pertinebant ad filios Regis, et incenderunt Domum, et omnes thesauros ejus combusserunt, ne acciperent eos Romani. . . . *p.* 441.

(i) Tunc temporis fugientes Simon et Jehochanan, in quadam latebra absconderunt se, quocunque se contulerint. Ceteri vero eorum, qui erant cum eis, et principes Jerusalem, et nobiles Juda, . . . statim atque viderunt fugisse Simonem et Jehochananem, ... tunc descenderunt . . . et venientes ad Titum, procubuerunt ante faciem ejus in terram . . . Et Titus benigne excepit illos. . . *ib. p.* 442.

(k) Sub id tempus venit ad Titum Jehoshua, sacerdos, filius Shebuthi, Sacerdotis Magni, et attulit secum duo ex candelabris aureis, quae fuerant in Sanctuario. Avexit autem secum omnes mensas aureas, et omnia vasa aurea, . . . et crateres, et acerras, . . . et scutellas, ac etiam vestes Ministerii, et vestes sanctitatis coopertas auro, et circumcinctas lapidibus petiosis, cum magna copia gemmaram. . . . Quae omnia donavit Tito, a quo benigne acceptus est. . . . *Ib. p.* 442.

(l) Tunc temporis egressus est Gorion, sacerdos, pater Josephi Sacerdotis, Authoris Historiarum libri hujus, de carcere suo, de turri videlicet domus Simonis Latronis, cum uxore sua, et cum filio Bonian. Is erat frater Josephi Sacerdotis natu minor. Iste quoque Bonian fuit sapiens, magnus, et sacerdos sanctus. . . . Nam reliquit eum Titus in Jerusalem, neque abductus fuit ab eo, quemadmodum Josephus.

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writer of this Historie, and his mother, with their son *Bonian*. They came out of the house of Simon, in which they had been kept prisoners. *Gorion* *** lived twenty months after taking the city of Jerusalem. *Bonian* was a wise, and good man. Titus did not take him to Rome with himself, as he did Joseph: but left him to preside over the Priests in that countrey. Now also *Phineas*, a Priest, brought more of the holy things out of the temple to Titus. But our author blames both these Priests, for delivering such things into the hands of an enemie of the people of God. However, I do not perceive him to make any mention here of the book of the Law.

At (*m*) that time therefore was taken Jerusalem, with all it's desirable

phus. Vixit autem pater Josephi postquam capta est Jerusalem, viditque Josephum filium suum, per viginti menses, et mortuus est. Tunc etiam temporis captus est Phinehas Sacerdos, custos cellarum sacrarii, in quas contulerat omnes thesauros sacerdotum, et vestes sacerdotum sanctas, et dedit Tito Thesaurum unguenti optimi, et aromata, et vestes purpureas, quibus sanctificaverant Sanctuarium Reges Domus secundae, et omnia vasa aurea, quae apud se habebat de vasis Domus Jehovae. *Ib. p.* 443.

(***) *According to Josephus, Gorion was put to death by the zealots, before the siege of the city began. See above, p.* 170. *and De B. J. l.* 4. *cap. vi.* §. 1. *What therefore this Author says of his father and mother must be all fiction and falshood.*

(*m*) Tunc itaque temporis capta fuit Jerusalem, cum omnibus rebus desirabilibus ejus. Deinde ascendit Titus in montem Sion, et cepit illum. Jussit autem destrui murum civitatis Sion. Jam vero elapso triduo deficiebat anima Jehochananis principis Latronum, prae fame. Surrexit itaque de loco ubi latebat, et egressus inde abiit ad Titum, et corruens ante faciem ejus, et deosculatus pedis ejus dixit ei: Serva, quaeso, Domine mi Rex. Tunc jussit illum Titus constringi vinculis ferreis gravissimis, et abduci illum, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, atque ignominiose tractari . . . tandem post septem dies mortuus est strangulatus. . . . Postea egressus est etiam Simon Latro, homicida impius, de loco latebrae suae, quia fames graviter premebat illum. . . . Tunc dixit eis: Venite, et vocate mihi ducem, et tradam me illi. . . . Et vocaverunt Rupha, . . qui tunc erat Rector seu praefectus militiae Romanorum. . . . Et sic fecit ille, deduxitque eum ad Titum. Statim autem ut vidit Titus Simonem, jussit illum vinculis constringi, . . . et abduci, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, et ignominiose tractari, et subsannari, quemadmodam fecerant Jehochanani. Erat autem vinctus catenis aereis. Tum denique jussit Titus interfici illum in vinculis. Itaque

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firable things. And then Titus went up to mount Sion, and took it, and ordered, that the wall of the city of Sion should be demolished. And three days after that *John* one of the princes of the Robbers, being pinched with hunger, came out of his hiding place, and surrendered to Titus, begging mercie of him But Titus commanded him to be bound with heavie iron chains, and gave orders that he should be led about before his soldiers to be derided and insulted by them, and after seven days he was hanged. And now also immediatly in the same connexion, he relates the appearance of *Simon*, though it could not be, till some while afterwards. He was first brought before the Roman General *Rupha*, or Rufus, and then before Titus. Who commanded him to be bound, and to be led round the whole armie, to be exposed and insulted by them, as *John* had been. After which he was beheaded, and his body was cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs."

Moreover (*n*) as he goes on, the number of the people that were

 slain,

que amputaverunt illi caput antequam moreretur. Tum dissecuerunt eum in partes, et projecerunt membra cadaveris ejus canibus. *Ib. p.* 443. 444.

(*n*) Porro numerus totius populi eorum, qui occisi sunt, quatenus potuerunt cognosci tunc gladio cecidisse sive per Romanos, sive per Latrones, ex populo Judaeorum, sive qui de proximo, sive qui de longinquo venerant ad festum, festum scilicet Johovae in Jerusalem, et restiterant illic propter obsidionem, corrueruntque gladio: numerus, inquam, fuit millia millium, et centum millia: praeter illos, qui quidem occisi sunt, sed cognosci non potuerunt, ut numerarentur. Illi enim tantummodo numerati sunt, qui sepulti et cogniti fuerunt. Qui autem cognosci non potuerunt, non recensiti sunt in numerum. Praeter eos quoque, qui postea mortui sunt cum Eleazaro filio Anani sacerdotis, post mortem Jehochananis, et Simonis, Latronum et Tyrannorum crudelium.

Numerus autem populi ex Judaeis, qui abierunt cum Tito in captivitatem, et quos abduxit secum Romam, sexdecim millia. Et abduxit quidem Romam Josephum Sacerdotem: Bonian vero ejus fratrem reliquit in Antistitem super Sacerdotes, qui remanserunt in Jerusalem. Ita enim deprecatus fuerat Josephus frater ejus, et suscepit faciem ejus, et ita fecit.

. . Nam

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ſlain, ſo far as could be found, who were killed by the Romans, or the robbers, of all the people of the Jews, who from the neighboring countrey, or from far off, had come up to Jeruſalem, to the feaſt, the feaſt of the Lord, and were ſhut up in the city by the ſiege, was eleven hundred thouſand, beſide many others, whoſe number was not found, and beſide thoſe who died with *Eleazar*, after the death of *John* and *Simon*.

The number of the people of the Jews, who were taken captive by Titus, and carried with him to Rome, he ſays, were ſixteen thouſand. He alſo took with him to Rome *Joſeph* the Prieſt. But *Bonian*, his brother, he left to preſide over the Prieſts in that countrey. But as for thoſe, whom he took captives, he ſays, that Titus put to death at Jeruſalem all, and every one of them in an ignominious manner, excepting only ſuch, as he reſerved to take with him. And them he cauſed to die in a very ignominious manner. For in all the cities, where he made any ſtay, in his return to Rome, he ordered ſome of them to be thrown to lions, and other wild-beaſts, untill all, whom he had taken with him, were deſtroyed.

So ſays our author. The number of the captives, according to Joſephus [De B. J. l. 6. ix. 3.] were ninety and ſeven thouſand. Many of whom, according to him, were ſold for ſlaves. But this, ſo far as

...Nam quoad ceteros ex eis, quos Titus cepit vivos, ne unum ex eis vivere paſſus fuit: ſed omnes Latrones reſiduos, quotquot vivos comprehendit, interfecit Titus morte probroſa, et ignominioſa in Jeruſalem. Quoſdam tamen ex eis ſecum ſuperſtites aſſervavit, ut contumelia eos afficeret per ſingulas urbes tranſitus ſui cum contenderet Romam. Cum itaque profectus eſt Titus de Jeruſalem, accepit eos ſecum, et abduxit etiam ſecum reliquum populum captivitatis, quem captivum fecerat ex Judaeis: cumque morabatur in ſingulis urbibus tranſitus ſui, dum iter faceret Romam, in quacunque urbe, ubi caſtra metabatur, educebat quoſdam ex latronibus illis, et jubebat illos objici leonibus, et feris peſſimis, ut devorarent illos, donec conſumpti ſunt omnes latrones, quos ſecum habebat. *Cap.* 95. *p.* 444. 445.

as I see, is quite omitted by our Author, as also the triumph of Vespasian and Titus for their conquest of Judea. A. D. 930.

But why does he omit these things? To me it seems, to be owing to the pride of his heart. The Temple had been burnt, Jerusalem was destroyed. The whole countrey of Judea had been subdued by the Romans, uncircumcised and idolatrous people. Facts which he could not deny, or disown, however dishonorable and reproachfull to his nation. And he has himself related these events, in his way and manner. But yet he was, as it seems, desirous to save his nation from some circumstances of reproach, and dishonour. He therefore forbore to say any thing of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus: though performed in the metropolis of the vast Empire of the Romans, and published and recorded in public and durable monuments, as well as in writings of the best credit. From the same principle of pride and vanity, he forbore to say, that at this time many Jews, the people of Israel, had been sold for slaves, to live in slaverie to uncircumcised Gentils. So it seems to me. And I think it may deserve to be taken notice of by us, that in the fictitious historie, which he has given of his journey to Rome, and the inauguration of Vespasian there, he has mentioned a particular, somewhat resembling this. "For after the coronation of Vespasian, and "the death of Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, before-mentioned, "when Vespasian began to shew favour to Joseph, and ordered his "chains to be struck off, Joseph (*o*) presented a petition to Vespasi-"an,

(*o*) Dixit vero Josephus: Nonne opprobrium mihi est referari a me catenas ferreas, et interim vincula filiorum Israel, qui mecum sunt Romae, non etiam referari tuo jussu? Si ergo nunc audieris me, quandoquidem inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, solves quaeso, vincula omnium Israelitarum, qui mecum sunt Romae, et ero tibi consiliarius fidelis omnibus diebus, et inimicus ero inimicus tuis, et adversabor adversariis tuis. Fecit itaque Vespasianus secundum sermonem Josephi, et solvit omnia vincula omnium vinctorum filiorum Israel, qui erant cum Josepho Romae. *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 78. *p.* 346.

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"an, in behalf of all ſons of Iſrael, who were then in priſon at "Rome, entreating that they might be ſet at liberty: and upon that "condition promiſing, that he would for the future be a faithfull "counſellor to the Emperour, and ſerve him according to the ut-"moſt of his ability. Which petition was granted by the Empe-"rour, and all Iſraelites, who had been bound at Rome, were ſet "at liberty." Which muſt be allowed to be one of the fictitious events of that voyage to Rome, which is throughout the fiction of this writer's fertil invention, who ſays what he pleaſeth.

After this our Author *(p)* tells the ſtorie of *Eleazar*, and his men at *Maſſada*, but ſomewhat differently from *(q)* Joſephus. He does not ſay, that they determined to kill themſelves and one another. His account is, that *(r)* after the ſpeech of *Eleazar*, they killed their wives and daughters, that they might not fall a prey into the hands of the enemie. And (*s*) then the men went out of the city, and fought with the Romans. Of whom they ſlew very many, till they were themſelves all killed. And, ſays he, "Here end the wars of the ſecond Houſe."

After which follows (*t*) this Author's final lamentation, and in a rithmical

(*p*) *Cap.* 96. *p.* 447. 448. *et cap.* 97. *p.* 452.

(*q*) *Vid. De B. J. l.* 7. *cap. viii. ix.*

(*r*) Tunc ſurgentes viri uxores ſuas, et filias ſuas acceſſunt, quas oſculati, et complexi ita alloquuntur. Melius eſt in oculis noſtris, ut moriamini in terra veſtra cum ſanctitate et honore, quam ut eatis in captivitatem, et cum opprobrio in terram inimicorum veſtrorum, et cum idolis gentium, . . . et contumelia moriamini. . . . *Cap.* 97. *p.* 452.

(*s*) Poſtea egreſſus eſt Eleazarus Sacerdos cum omnibus viris bellatoribus qui ſecum erant ex urbe, et miſcuerunt ingentem pugnam cum multitudine exercitus Romanorum, et occiderunt multos ex eis abſque numero. Ac tandem pugnantes Judaei contra proprias ipſorum animas, donec omnes abſumerentur in praelio illo mortui pro Jehova, et pro ſanctuario ejus. Huc uſque definunt Bella Domus ſecundae. *Cap.* 97 *p.* 452.

(*t*) Tunc lamentatus fuit Joſephus Sacerdos Dei, lamentationem hanc. . . . *p.* 452.

rithmical sort of poesie, as *Gagnier* (*u*) observes, very different from that among the Hebrews at the time when their temple was destroyed. A. D. 930.

" Woe (*x*) is now unto us!
For the City of our glorie is laid waste,

And

(*u*) Lamentatio Ben Gorionis ultima, eaque Rithmica, quam ut Leoninae cujusdam inter Judaeos specimen poeseos non injucundum hic Hebraice subjunximus. Et credat Lector, si potest, sine risu, hanc ab ipso Flavio Josepho compositam fuisse tempore Templi excidii. *Gagnier Not. p.* 472.

(*x*) Vae nunc nobis.
Quia desolata est civitas gloriae nostrae.
Et eversa est Domus Sanctuarii nostri.
In quo posita fuit spes nostra.
Et omnia desideria cordium nostrorum.
Et incensum est Templum nostrum.
Et migravimus de terra nostra.
Et ex haereditate Patrum nostrorum.
Neque ad Deum [extendimus] manus nostras.
Ut liberaremur de exiliis nostris
Quae aggravaverunt super nos.
In illum [commissae] iniquitates nostrae.
Et redegerunt nos in captivitatem peccata nostra.
Et humiliaverunt in terram capita nostra praevaricationes nostrae.
Sed adhuc veniet dies, et terminus
Redemtionis, et adjuvet Deus noster,
Ut recordetur juramenti sui ad Patres nostros.
Et aedificabit civitatem nostram,
Et restaurabit Templum nostrum,
Et colliget dispersos nostros,
Et reducet captivitatem nostram,
Et accelerare faciet Messiam nostrum,
Et festinabit ad redimendum nos.
Et proster et inimicos nostros.
Et humiliabit osores nostros.
Et perdet, et delebit hostes nostros.
Et nos restituet, sicut in principio.

Cap. 97. *p.* 452. 553.

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And the Houſe of our Sanctuarie is thrown down.
In which our hope was placed,
And all the deſires of our hearts.
And our Temple is conſumed with fire.
And we have been carried out of our countrey,
And from the heritage of our Fathers.
Nor have we ſtretched out our hands to God,
That we might be delivered from our exiles.
And our ſins and iniquities
Have been aggravated upon us.
Our tranſgreſſions have carried us into captivity.
And our apoſtaſies have brought us down to the earth.
But the day will come, and the time of our Redemption.
And our God will deliver us.
He will remember the oath made with our Fathers.
And will build up our city,
And reſtore our Temple,
And gather our diſperſions.
And will bring back our captivity.
And haſten the coming of our Meſſiah,
And will ſpeedily deliver us.
And will caſt down our enemies,
And will humble thoſe who hate us.
And will deſtroy, and root out all our adverſaries.
And will reſtore us, as at the begining.

Here, beſide other things, which an attentive reader will obſerve, he expreſſeth his expectation of the rebuilding the temple at Jeruſalem. So likewiſe, when he gave an account of Herod's building, or repairing the temple, he deſcribes the rejoicings made upon that occaſion: "For *(y)* the building, ſays he, of the houſe of the Lord, which

(y) Et laudaverant Jehovam cum gaudio . . . propter aedificium Domus Jehovae, quam vidimus, et aedificatam, devaſtatam. Sed adhuc reaedificabitur tertio cum

which we have seen, both built, and destroyed. But it shall be raised a third time in honour and glory, and shall be established for ever." And in like manner in another (z) place. He is therefore a good witnesse to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been raised after the return from the Babylonish captivity. In which, as we say, the Prophets had foretold, the Messiah would make his appearance. See Hag. ii. 6. . . 9 and Mal. iii. 1.

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After his lamentation this author adds, " But (a) Titus left a remnant of Israel in the land of Israel, in the city Jabne, and it's towns, and in the city Bether, and in it's towns, and in Osha, and it's towns." Of all which cities, as Gagnier (b) in his notes observes, there is no notice taken by Flavius Josephus: though there is in the Talmudical writings, and he refers to Lightfoot's works such as are inquisitive.

This author proceeds. " Moreover (c) Titus reigned two years

cum laude, et celebritate, et gloria, et firmabit eam Jehova in aeternum. *l.* 6. *cap.* 55. *p.* 243.

(z) *Cap.* 65. *p.* 288. *sub fin. et p.* 289.

(a) Reliquit autem Titus Israeli reliquias in terra Israel, in urbe Jabne, et in oppidis ejus, in urbe Bether, et in oppidis ejus, et in Osha, et oppidis ejus. *Cap.* 97. *p.* 454.

(b) Tres illas urbes, vid. Jabneh, Bether, et Oshah, hoc loco commemorat Ben-Gorion noster, non ex Josepho auctore suo, qui nihil hic habet de hac Belli Judaici Coronide, sed ex Pandectis Talmudicis, ubi frequentissima illarum mentio occurrit. De quarum urbium situ et celebritate maxime post eversa Hierosolyma, consulenda est doctissimi Lightfooti Chronographia Terrae Israelis. *Cap. xv. lii. et lxxxiv. Gagn. Not p.* 474.

(c) Regnavit autem Titus duobus annis postquam cepit Jerusalem, et mortuus est. Porro Titus Rex fuit sapiens, magnus in scientia eloquentiae, tum in lingua Graeca, tum in lingua Romana, et composuit libros multos cum sapientia Graece et Romane. Fuitque Titus vir justus et rectus, et omnia judicia ejus erant cum justitia. Verum necessitate coactus desolavit et delevit Jerusalem. Et quidem desolavit et delevit eam, quia omne malum illud, quod venit super Jerusalem, non venit nisi per Latrones, qui erant in Israel, et propter impietatem illorum, uti memoravimus. *Cap.* 97. *p.* 456.

A. D. 930. "after he had taken Jerusalem, and then died. Titus was a wise "King, and composed many valuable books both in the Greek, and "in the Roman language. Titus was a just and upright man, and "all his judgements were in righteousnesse. But being compelled "by necessity he destroyed and laid waste Jerusalem. All which "evil came upon Jerusalem, because of the robbers, which were "in Israel, and because of their wickednesse, as we have shewn in "this historie."

He here says, that *Titus reigned two years, after he had taken Jerusalem.* Which is very inaccurate. Vespasian did not die before the year of our Lord 79. After him Titus reigned more than two years and died in the year, of Christ 81. Nor does our author say any thing here of Vespasian, as he ought to have done. But we must not stay to remark upon the defects or inaccuracies of this writer. If we had so done, we should never have got through his work. And every reader is able to observe many such things, without my mentioning them.

This author gives a good character of Titus. And he could do no less, after having before related so many favours and civilities conferred by him upon the Jews. Titus also, as all know, is much commended in the Historie of the Jewish War, writ by Flavius Josephus: from which this writer had all his materials, that are of any value. But *(d)* herein he differs from the Talmudical writers, as

(*d*) Hic magna est discordia Ben-Gorionem inter et Talmudicos Doctores, quam non diffitentur ipsi Rabbini. Nec deesse tamen afferunt Sapientes, qui illam contradictionem concilient, quemadmodum affirmat R. David Ganz. Sed quo judicio id tentaverint, judicium sit penes lectorem.

Quoad nostrum Ben-Gorionem, illum hoc loco sibi constare fatendum est. Cum enim in versione Rufini ubique magnas Titi Imp. virtutes summis laudibus praedicari legerit, ipsaque Flavium Josephum secutus illum saepius multis elogiis ornavisset, non ausus fuit suos Doctores Talmudicos cum famae suae dispendio sequi, ne videlicet sibi contrarius videretur. *Gagn. p.* 456.

as Gagnier obſerves in his notes upon this work. For they repreſent Titus as exceeding impious and profane, as we alſo have ſeen. How the learned Jews can reconcile theſe contradictions is not eaſie to comprehend. But they continue to pay reſpect to this author, as well as to the Talmudical Doctors. A. D. 930.

Reland (e) likewiſe, in his notes upon the Triumphal Arch of Titus, takes notice of the grievous reproaches and ſcandalous reflexions upon him in the Jewiſh writers. Whereby they have ſhewn that they are ſkilfull in the art of ſlandering, and ſpare not, when they attempt it. Moreover in this their enmity to Titus they bear witneſſe to that great event, the overthrow of their city and temple, of which he was, under God, the inſtrument.

III. I may now make ſome general remarks. But they need not to be many, nor long. *Concluding Remarks.*

1. This writer is evidently an impoſtor, a deteſtable character, which cannot be too much diſliked, nor too much cenſured. He did not live in the time of Veſpaſian and Titus, as he pretends. Nor is he *Joſeph the ſon of Gorion*, the Prieſt, who was appointed to preſide in Jeruſalem, or to govern in Galilee.

2. Nevertheleſs he is a witneſſe to the burning of the temple, and the taking of Jeruſalem, and the conqueſt of Judea, by the fore-

 men-

(*e*) Hebraei narrant, ſed ex odio Titi, quem *illum impium* vocant, ac ſi hominem longe poſt homines natos ſceleratiſſimum diceres, non modo velis ſacris eum vaſa templi impoſuiſſe, ſed et contaminaſſe adytum impio facinore, in Gemara Gittin. fol. 56. 2. *Cepit meretricem, eaque inducta in ſanctum ſanctorum, ſtratoque Legis volumine, facinus patravit ſuper illud.* Dein ſtricto gladio velum perrupit, unde ſanguis, facto miraculo, miſſus eſt, ſic ut exiens Titus putaret ſe Deum ipſum peremiſſe. . . . *Reland. de Spoliis Templi in Arcu Titiani. cap.* 13. *p.* 130. 131.

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mentioned Emperours. To those events he has bore his testimonie, and his testimonie is received by the people of his own nation, especially by the learned among them.

3. He says, that *Titus was compelled by necessity to destroy Jerusalem, and that all this evil had come upon Jerusalem, because of the robbers, and their wickedness.*

He therefore does not ascribe the calamities, which befell the Jews in the time of Vespasian and Titus, to their sin in rejecting Jesus, and not receiving him, as the Messiah. Their calamities he owns, and thereby bears witnesse to the fulfilment of our Saviour's prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. But he does not acknowledge any guilt contracted by his people in crucifying the Lord Jesus, and persecuting his followers. Nor does Josephus. Nor (A) indeed do I well see how any unbelieving Jews can make such acknowledgements. Rabbi Isaac in his *Munimen Fidei* above quoted, which is writ against the Christians, quotes John xix. 15. The chief-priests answered: *We have no King, but Cesar.* Upon which he remarks in this manner. "This *(f)* shews, that before "Jesus

(A) It is said by some learned men, that *Maimonides ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to our Lord.* So Dr. Sharpe in his *Argument. &c. p.* 38. 39. And De Voisin in Pr. Rugion. Fidei. p. 127. Certe R. Moses in tract. De Regibus, et De Bell. cap. 11. propter Jesum Christum excidium Jerosolymitanum contigisse fatetur. ... Id est, "Ille, qui visus est esse Messias, et occisus est sententiâ judiciali, &c. ille fuit caussa, cur Israel gladio perierit, et reliquiae Israel dispersae sint, et depressae, et cur lex mutata sit." But how this is to be understood, I cannot well say. I have not the tract of Maimonides, here referred to.

(f) Haec ibi. Ecce hoc dicto ostenditur, ante Jesu cruci affixionem jam dum Caesares Romanos Judaeis imperitasse. Atque is Caesar [*de quo ibi sermo,*] Tiberius fuit, qui Pilatum Hierosolymis praefecerat, ceu constat ex capitis III. Lucae initio. Valebit hoc pro responso adversus objectionem Nazaraeorum, qua clamitant, Judaeos propter peccatum suspensionis Jesu perdidisse regnum suum. &c. *R. Isacci Munimen Fid. p.* 446. *Conf. p.* 55. 56. *ibid.*

" Jesus was crucified, the Jews were subject to the Roman Empe- A. D. 930.
" rours. The Emperour here intended was Tiberius, who sent Pi-
" late to preside at Jerusalem, as appears from the third chapter of
" Luke at the begining. This may suffice for an answer to an ob-
" jection of the Nazareans, who say, the Jews lost their kingdom,
" for their sin in hanging Jesus." This, though it be no better than an evasion, shews the Jewish temper and principles. I say, it is no better than an evasion. The Jewish people, as we know very well, were subject to the Romans in our Saviour's time. But the case was much altered with them afterwards. They were then very happy, and were so for some good while after that, enjoying, under the mild government of the Romans, the free exercise of their religion, and the temple-worship, and many other privileges. The distresse, and other circumstances of the siege of Jerusalem, were very uncommon, sufficient to raise the attention of all serious men. And the long duration, and other circumstances of their captivity and dispersion ever since, are also very uncommon and extraordinarie. But this is not a time or place for me to enlarge upon them any farther. But it is reasonable to think, that unbelieving Jews must endeavor, some how or other, to evade the argument in favour of Christianity, taken from the destruction of Jerusalem, and their long continued captivity and dispersion. And beside the passage just now alleged, the same Rabbi *Isaac*, in the place before referred to, relating to the death of Agrippa, says, " that *(g)* the differences be-
" tween King Agrippa and the wicked leaders of the factions, at
" length brought on the desolation of the Temple."

4. This work of *Josippon* confirms the historie of the Jewish war writ by *Flavius Josephus*, son of Matthias. And it must induce us to set a real value upon Josephus, and raise our esteem for him. They

(g) Ceterum, ob illam, quae inter Regem Agrippam et improbos Duces factiosorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit Templum, uti ex Josepho constat. *Munim. Fid. p.* 417. And see before p. 218. note (*k*)

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They are both fond of their own people. But Josephus was indeed contemporarie with the events, which he records, and with the principal actors in them: and therefore he must have the preference. This author is a plagiarie, and knows nothing of the war, of which he writes, but what he has stolen from another, without naming him. And with all his Greek politenesse, Josephus has more the air of sincerity and simplicity than this Hebrew writer. Indeed, it would have been a bad exchange, if instead of *the Historie of the Jewish War*, writ by *Flavius Josephus*, we had palmed upon us *the Historie of the Wars of Jehova*, writ by *Josippon*, who neither was *the son of Gorion*, who presided at Jerusalem, nor *the son of Matthias*, who governed in Galilee.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A Recollection of the foregoing Articles, and Reflexions upon them.

I. *The preceding Articles recollected.* II. *Reflexions upon them.* III. *Concluding Obſervations.*

I. I QUOTE no more Jewiſh (*a*) Writers. I therefore now proceed to recollect what we have ſeen, and to make remarks. But I need not recollect the firſt two chapters. I hope they have not been im- *The preceding Articles recollected.*

(*a*) Some learned men have of late appealed to a book, entitled *Toldoth Jeſchu.* I am of opinion, that Chriſtianity does not need ſuch a teſtimonie, nor ſuch witneſſes. I have looked it over ſeveral times, with an intention to give ſome account of it. But, after all, I could not perſuade myſelf to attempt it. For it is a modern work, writ in the 14. or 15. centurie, and is throughout, from the begining to the end, burleſque and falſhood. Nor does the ſhameleſs writer acknowledge any thing that has ſo much as a reſemblance of the truth, except in the way of ridicule. I ſhall however put down here the ſhort cenſure of *Grotius* upon this work, though he does not mention the title of it: not thinking it, as I ſuppoſe, worthy to be named. " Some of the Jews aſcribe the " miracles of Jeſus to a certain ſecret " name, which was put in the temple by " Solomon, and kept by two lions for " above a thouſand years, but was con- " veyed thence by Jeſus. Which is not " only falſe, but an impudent fiction: " [non mendaciter modo, ſed et impu- " denter confictum eſt.] For as to the " lions, ſo remarkable and wonderful a " thing, neither the Books of the Kings, " nor the Chronicles, nor Joſephus, men- " tion

improperly premiſed to this work. But they need not to be brought in here, in the way of recapitulation, and recollection. I ſhall recollect only what we have ſeen in Jewiſh writers, begining with Joſephus.

Two things are to be regarded by us, their teſtimonie to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

In Joſephus there is a paragraph, where JESUS is mentioned very honorably, and agreeably to his true character. But it is not univerſally received by learned men as genuine. Many are rather of opinion, that it has been inſerted in his works, ſince his time.

There is in him another paragraph, concerning *John the Baptiſt*, which is generally received as genuine. And it is a valuable teſtimonie to his preaching, and therein calling men to the practiſe of virtue. He likewiſe ſays, that he was put to death by Herod the Tetrarch. But he ſays nothing of that part of his character, that he appeared as the fore-runner of the Meſſiah.

He likewiſe acknowledgeth, that there was then in Judea a general expectation of a great perſon to ariſe from among them, who ſhould obtain the empire of the world: and that this expectation was one great occaſion of the war with the Romans: and that it was built upon an oracle found in their ſacred writings: and that many of their wiſe men embraced it, and acted upon it in their engaging in the war. He has alſo ſpoken of many falſe-prophets, who appeared at that time, promiſing great advantages to the people, if they would follow them, and that many were deceived by them. If they

"tion any thing of them. Nor did the "Romans, who before the times of Jeſus "entered the temple with Pompey, find "any ſuch thing." *Grotius, of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. B. 5. §. iv. in the verſion of Dr. John Clarke. And I refer to Wagenſeil's Confutation of the Toldeth Jeſchu.*

they did not call themſelves Chriſts, as well as Prophets, they did in effect take upon them the character of the Meſſiah.

In the *Miſhna* it is allowed, that there is no expreſs mention of Jeſus Chriſt, the deſign of that work being to make a collection of the numerous traditions, which hitherto were unwritten. But I have alleged a paragraph (⁂) which I think, contains an invidious repreſentation of the ſtate of things under the goſpel-diſpenſation, in the ſecond centurie.

In the *Talmudical* writings Jeſus is mentioned. But as Lightfoot, who was well acquainted with them, ſays, it is chiefly with a view to wound and reproach him. They call his mother by the name *Mary*. But they have aſperſed her character, and have aſſigned to Jeſus a ſpurious nativity. They have mentioned ſeveral of our Saviour's diſciples, who, as they ſay, were put to death. They ſay, our Saviour ſuffered as a malefactor, at one of the Jewiſh Paſſovers, or, in the *eve* of it, as the expreſſion is. They ſeem in ſome places, to acknowledge the power of miracles in Jeſus, and his diſciples. And if they had not known, that many miraculous works were aſcribed to him, they would not have inſinuated, that he learned magical arts in Egypt, and brought them thence in a private manner, and then ſet up himſelf among his countrey-men, as an extraordinarie perſon.

That is the ſum of their teſtimonie upon this article. It would be in vain to expect a great deal from Jews upon this head, who are our enemies. Such are their prejudices, that they are, and always have been, the moſt inveterate enemies of Jeſus, and his followers.

(⁂) *See above, p.* 182. . . . 188.

Concerning the other point, the *destruction of Jerusalem*, their testimonie is more material, indeed very valuable. *Josephus*, without intending it, has bore testimonie to the fulfilment of all our Saviour's predictions concerning the miseries of the siege of Jerusalem, the desolation of the land of Judea, and the dispersion of his nation. We have above transcribed his account at large. His testimonie has been repeated, with some variations, in *Josippon*'s Historie of the Jewish war. And the *Mishna*, and the *Talmuds* likewise acknowledge the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, the burning of the temple, or the *second house*, and the overthrow of Jerusalem, which was dug up to the foundation.

Reflexioni upon the preceding Articles.

II. But how should this be? How could this come to pass? What should be the reason of it? Does not this deserve serious consideration? Amos iii. 6. *Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord has not done it?* Such things are not the effect of chance, but are owing to the direction of Providence. Isa. xlv. 7. *I form the light, and create darknesse: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.* But if God inflict calamities upon any people, it is not without reason. For all his works are done in truth. So again, in the forecited chapter of Amos ver. 1. and 2. *Hear this word, that the Lord hath spoken against you, o children of Israel, against the whole familie, which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying: You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will punish* [or visit] *you for all your iniquities.*

It is a reasonable maxim: *Unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required. And to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.* Luke xii. 48. The people of the Jews had been favoured by God with many privileges. A suitable emprovement might be expected. If they transgress the laws of God, their punishment will be exemplarie. Nor could any thing else, but sin, alienate

alienate the mind of God from them. Is. lix. 1. 2. *Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save: neither is his ear heavie, that it cannot hear. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God.* And Lam. i. 8. *Jerusalem has grievously sinned. Therefore she is removed.* According to the declarations of Moses and all the Prophets, the prosperity and adversity of this people would be proportionate to their regard or disregard of the laws of God. For this I refer to Leviticus ch. xxvi. and Isaiah ch. i. And I shall make quotations from the book of Deuteronomie ch. xxviii. 1. 2. *And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments, which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God...* ver. 15. *But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God to observe to do all his commandments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee:* 25. *The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thy enemies. Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them, and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth...* ver. 37. *And thou shalt become an astonishment, and a proverb, and a bye-word among all the nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee...* ver. 49. 50. *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth,* [as swift] *as the eagle flieth, a nation, whose tongue thou shalt not understand: a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:..* ver. 52... 59. *And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, untill thy high and fensed walls come down, wherein thou trustedst throughout all thy land. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, throughout all thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. And thou shalt eat the fruit of thy own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straightnesse, wherewith thy*

enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee. So that the man, who is very tender among you, and very delicate, his eye ſhall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his boſom, and toward the remnant of his children, which he ſhall leave: ſo that he will not give to any of them of the fleſh of his children, which he ſhall eat: becauſe he has nothing left him in the ſiege, and in the ſtraightneſſe, wherewith thy enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to ſet the ſole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateneſſe and tenderneſſe, her eye ſhall be evil toward the huſband of her boſom, and toward her ſon, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh from between her feet, and toward her children which ſhe ſhall bear. For ſhe ſhall eat them for the want of all things ſecretly in the ſiege and ſtraightneſſe, wherewith thy enemie ſhall diſtreſs thee in thy gates. If thou wilt not obſerve to do all the words of this law, which I have written in this book, that thou mayeſt fear this glorious and fearfull name, the Lord thy God: then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderfull, and the plagues of thy ſeed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and ſore ſickneſſes, and of long continuance.

We may be hence apt to think, that Moſes foreſaw the diſtreſſes of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, in the year of our Lord 70. and all the calamities endured by the Jewiſh people about that time, throughout their whole land, and their diſperſion afterwards. If he did not foreſee them, the words ſpoken by him, were then fulfilled. And all the calamities, which then befell the Jewiſh people, or have ſince befallen them, are exactly according to the original plan of Divine Providence concerning them.

When the law of the ten Commandments was delivered at mount Sinai, the people were greatly terrified. And they earneſtly requeſted, that God might ſpeak to them no more in that way. If he would be pleaſed to ſpeak to them by Moſes, they engaged to hear and obey him. God accepted of this requeſt, and aſſured them, that

that for the future, he would reveal his mind to them in a more familiar manner. He would ſpeak unto them by Moſes, and afterwards by Prophets, like unto him. And that there might be no room for miſtake, deceit, or deluſion, he would furniſh thoſe, whom he ſhould ſend unto them, with ſufficient credentials of their miſſion. If any ſhould come to them in his name, without ſuch credentials, they might be ſlighted, and deſpiſed. But if they came with proper credentials, they ought to be heard, and obeyed. And if not, it would be reſented. This is related ſeveral times in the books of Moſes, and deſerves to be attended to by us.

Ex. xx. 18. 19. *And all the people ſaw the thundrings, and the lightenings, and the noiſe of the trumpet, and the mountain ſmoaking. . . And they ſaid unto Moſes: Speak thou with us, and we will hear. But let not God ſpeak with us, leaſt we dye.*

Deut. v. 22. . . 29. *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your aſſemblie in the mount, out of the midſt of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkneſſe, with a great voice. . . And it came to paſs, when ye heard the voice out of the midſt of the darkneſſe, (for the mountain did burn with fire,) that ye came near unto me, even all the heads of your tribes, and your Elders. And ye ſaid: Behold, the Lord our God has ſhewn us his glorie, and his greatneſſe, and we have heard his voice out of the midſt of the fire. . . Now therefore why ſhould we die? For this great fire will conſume us. If we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, we ſhall die. . . Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God ſhall ſay: and ſpeak thou unto us all that the Lord our God ſhall ſpeak unto thee: and we will hear and do it. And the Lord heard the voice of your words, when ye ſpake unto me. And the Lord ſaid unto me: I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have ſpoken unto thee. They have well ſaid all that they have ſpoken. Oh that there were ſuch an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them,*

and

and with their children for ever! Which words are ſuppoſed to be wonderfully emphatical, expreſſive of a moſt ardent wiſh and deſire.

Once more Deut. xviii. 15... 18. *The Lord thy God will raiſe up to thee a Prophet, from the midſt of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me. Unto him ſhall ye hearken. According to all that thou deſiredſt of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the aſſemblie, ſaying: Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord thy God: neither let me ſee this great fire, any more, that I die not. And the Lord ſaid unto me, they have well ſpoken that which they have ſpoken... I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their brethren*, and what follows.

Here is the origin of the prophetical character, *men ſent from God with a ſpecial commiſſion to declare to mankind his mind and will.* And from the occaſion of this inſtitution, (the great terrours of mount Sinai, and the requeſt thereupon made,) it might be argued, that if ever a Prophet ſhould ariſe among the people of Iſrael, like unto Moſes, and meeker than he: and if his miracles, the ſigns and proofs of his miſſion, ſhould be more univerſally ſaving and beneficent, than thoſe of Moſes, it ſhould not be any diſadvantage to him, nor leſſen the reſpect fit to be ſhewn unto him.

We proceed in conſidering the texts lying before us.

Deut. xviii 18... 22. Says God to Moſes: *I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him. And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſoever will not hearken to my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I* WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM. *But the prophet, which ſhall preſume to ſpeak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to ſpeak, or that ſhall ſpeak in the name of other gods, even that prophet ſhall dye. And, if thou ſay in thy heart, How ſhall we know the word, which the Lord has not ſpoken?*

ken? When a prophet ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing, follow not, nor come to paſs, that is the thing, which the Lord has not ſpoken, but the prophet has ſpoken preſumptuouſly. Thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.

Here is a general rule for diſcerning the miſſion of prophets, or ſuch as ſhould come in that character, as from God. It is a rule, that would be of uſe in all ages. And is here delivered for that purpoſe.

If the thing follow not, nor come to paſs. Thoſe words do not intend any prediction of ſome diſtant good or evil, to come ſome while hereafter. But they intend a *prodigie*, or ſome work above the ordinarie courſe of nature. Which he who takes upon him the character of a prophet, propoſeth, as a ſign, or token, or proof of his miſſion. If the ſign propoſed by any man, as a token and proof of his miſſion be performed, he ought to be hearkened to. If it is not performed, there is no reaſon to apprehend any harm from deſpiſing and rejecting him. He has no meſſage from God. *He has ſpoken preſumptuouſly. Thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.*

This may appear farther from what is ſaid ch. xiii. 1. 2. 3. *If there ariſe among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth a ſign, or a wonder:* that is, propoſeth ſome great work, as a proof of his miſſion: *and the ſign, or the wonder come to paſs, whereof he ſpake unto thee, ſaying, Let us go after other gods (which thou haſt not known) and ſerve them: thou ſhalt not hearken to the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams. For the Lord Your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord Your God with all your hearts, and with all your ſoul...* ver. 5. *And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams ſhall be put to death.... So ſhalt thou put the evil away from the midſt of thee.*

Here is a caſe put, which never would happen. Never would any man be able to perform a miracle, in order to induce the people

ple of Ifrael to worfhip other gods. But fuppofing it, he was nevertheleſs to be difregarded.

In all other cafes the rule here laid down for judging of prophets would hold, and was to be obferved by all. If a man propofed fome extraordinarie work, as a proof of his miffion, which was not performed, he was not to be regarded. So all the falfe-prophets, fpoken of by Jofephus, who appeared in the times of *Felix*, *Feftus*, and other Governours of Judea, fome while before the deftruction of Jerufalem, in order to induce people to follow them, in hopes of deliverance from fubjection to the Romans, engaged that they fhould *fee the walls of Jerufalem fall down before them*, to give them eafie entrance into the city: or that they *fhould fee the waters of Jordan divided*, that they might go over upon dry ground, or *that God would fhew them figns in the wilderneffe*, and the like. But nothing of that kind came to pafs.

But if a prophet *gave*, or propofed a *fign* or *wonder*, in proof of his miffion, and it came to pafs, or was performed, it would be decifive in his favour. So, when there were murmurings and difputings among the people of Ifrael in the wilderneffe, which tribe fhould have the priefthood: it was propofed, that *twelve rods, each having the name of the prince of the tribe upon it, and another rod, with Aaron's name upon it, for Levi, fhould be laid up in the tabernacle, before the teftimonie:* and his rod which bloffomed, fhould be known to be the man, whom God had chofen. *Mofes then laid up the rods before the Lord, in the tabernacle of witneffe. And it came to pafs, that on the morrow Mofes went into the tabernacle of witneffe: and behold, the rod of Aaron, for the houfe of Levi, budded, and brought forth bloffoms, and yielded almonds. And Mofes brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Ifrael. And they looked, and took every man his rod.* Numb. xvii. So that point was determined, and the *murmurings of the children of Ifrael ceafed.* And

fa

ſo it muſt be in all other like caſes. If a *ſign* or *wonder* has been *given*, or propoſed, and it is performed, or *comes to paſs*, it is deciſive.

Here then is the rule. If a man come, and ſpeak in the name of God, and prove his commiſſion by ſigns and wonders, he is to be regarded, and received as a Prophet. And God declares, *whoſoever will not hearken unto my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name*, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM. Deut. xviii. 19. It cannot be otherwiſe. The conſequence of diſobedience to the word of the Lord, ſo manifeſted, and confirmed, muſt be dreadfull.

Let us now apply this. Jeſus ſpoke in the name of God, faithfully delivered the words, which he had received from God, and performed many miracles, in proof of his commiſſion. John xii. 49. 50. *For I have not ſpoken of my-ſelf. But the Father, which hath ſent me, he gave me commandment, what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak. And I know that his commandment is life everlaſting. Whatſoever I ſpeak therefore, as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpeak.* Ch. viii. 42. *I have proceeded forth, and came from God. Neither came I of my-ſelf, but he ſent me.*

And in proof of his miſſion, he appealed to his works, which were great, and numerous, and openly performed in the view of all men. John v. 31. 32. 33. *If I bear witneſſe of my-ſelf, my witneſſe is not true. There is another that beareth witneſſe of me. And I know, that the witneſs, which he witneſſeth of me, is true. Ye ſent unto John, and he bare witneſſe unto the truth.* 36. *But I have greater witneſſe than that of John. For the works, which the Father hath given me to finiſh, they bear witneſſe of me, that the Father hath ſent me.* And ch. xv. 24. *If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had ſin : but now they have both ſeen and hated both me and my Father.*

If Moſes and the ancient Prophets wrought miracles, there *(b)* is as good reaſon to believe, that Jeſus likewiſe did ſo, and more than any of them, or than all of them together. For the teſtimonie of the writers of the New Teſtament is as credible, as that of the writers of the Old Teſtament. And if it be ſaid, that Elijah was taken up to heaven, it (*c*) is as credible, that Jeſus was raiſed from the dead, and afterwards aſcended up to heaven.

Our Lord aſſerted his prophetical character, and his peculiar character of the Meſſiah: and often reminded the Jews of the terrible conſequences of rejecting him, who ſpake in the name of God: or in the words of Moſes, that it *would* BE REQUIRED OF THEM, John viii. 24. *If ye believe not that I am He, ye ſhall die in your ſins.* ver. 25. *They ſaid unto him, Who art thou? Jeſus ſaid unto them, even the ſame that I ſaid unto you from the begining,* John the Baptiſt often ſaid the ſame: that *he was not the Chriſt, but was ſent before him.* John iii. 28. And ſee ch. i. 19... 37.

But not to multiply texts, I ſhall quote Matt. xxi. 33... 44. *Hear another parable. There was a certain houſholder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-preſſe in it, and built*

(*b*) Si quis Paganus ab ipſis Judaeis quaerat, cur credant miracula a Moſe facta, nihil dicant aliud, quam inter ſuos adeo perpetuam conſtantemque ejus rei fuiſſe famam, ut non potuerit, niſi ex teſtimonio eorum qui vidiſſent proficiſci. Sic ab Eliſaeo [2. Reg. cap. iv.] auctum apud viduam oleum purgatum [cap. v.] ſubito a mala ſcabie Syrum, hoſpitae [ib. iv.] filium ad vivum revocatum, et ſimilia alia credunt Judaei, non aliam ob cauſſam, quam quod teſtes bonae fidei id proditum ad poſteros tranſmiſerunt. *Grot. de V. R. C. l. v. §. ii.*

(*c*) De Eliae vero in coelum raptu unius Eliſaei, tanquam viri omni exceptione majoris, teſtimonio fidem habent. At nos de Chriſti adſcenſu in coelum duodecim proferimus teſtes vitae inculpatae: de Chriſto poſt mortem in terris viſo multo plures. Quae ſi vera ſunt, verum ſit neceſſe eſt Chriſti dogma: planeque nihil a Judaeis pro ſe adferri poteſt, quod non et nobis pari, aut potiori jure poſſit aptari. *Grot. ib.*

built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far countrey. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again, he sent other servants unto them, more than the first. And they did unto them likewise. Last of all, he sent unto them his Son, [the Messiah] *saying: They will reverence my Son. But when the husbandmen saw the Son, they said among themselves: This is the heir. Come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When therefore the Lord of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They say unto him: he will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season. Jesus saith unto them: Did you never read in the scriptures, The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Therefore I say unto you: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder. And when the Chief-priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them.* This should be compared with Luke xx. 9... 18.

Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.

Here our Lord speaks of the ancient Prophets, and then of himself, and shews the dreadfull consequences of rejecting Him, and his message. There is another thing, that should be observed, which is what our Lord added concerning the treatment to be given to his Apostles and Evangelists, the Prophets of the New Testament, also sent to the Jewish people. Matt. xxiii. 29... 39. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with*

them in the bloud of the Prophets. Wherefore ye are witnesses to yourselves, that ye are the children of them who slew the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold I send unto you, prophets and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify, and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city, that upon you may come all the righteous bloud shed upon the earth, from the bloud of righteous Abel, to the bloud of Zacharias son of Barachias, [rather, son of Jehoiada. 2 Chron. xxiv. 17. . . 22. *(d)*] *whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you: ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

All this is properly said by our Lord in his prophetic denunciations. Not only the rejection of Jesus himself, would be *required of them*, but likewise their refusal to hearken to his Apostles. For they likewise were Prophets, and spake by divine inspiration. They spake in the name of God, and delivered his mind and word, and proved their mission by miraculous works. If therefore, after having crucified the Lord Jesus, the Jewish people should proceed to treat in like manner, his Disciples, who were sent to them: if they should *scourge them in their synagogues*, and put some of them to death, *and persecute them from city to city*, (as he foresaw they would) they would then bring upon themselves in the end, a terrible condemnation: and such miseries would befall them, that it would seem as if all the righteous bloud shed from the foundation of the world, had been required of them.

And

(d) *See Credib. Part i. p.* 915. *&c.*

And that they did so treat the Apostles and other disciples of Jesus, appears from the books of the New Testament. These things may have been already taken notice of by us. Nevertheless they must be here briefly recollected. How the Apostles of Jesus were apprehended, imprisoned, beaten, and farther threatened, may be seen in the book of the Acts ch. iv. and v. Some while afterwards, ch. vi. and vii. Stephen was stoned, *and there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad, throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles.* Some time after this, when Herod Agrippa had been advanced to the kingdom of Judea by the Romans, we are informed, ch. xii. 1. . . 4. *that he stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. And he killed James, the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. But after he had been imprisoned, he was miraculously delivered out of the hands of Herod, and from the expectation of all the people of the Jews.* St. Paul writing to the Herbews, ch. x. 33. 34. bids them *call to remembrance the former days, in which, after they had been illuminated, they had endured a great fight of afflictions: partly,* says he, *whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly, whilst ye were companions of those who were so used. For ye had compassion upon those who were in bonds, and bore joyfully the spoiling of your goods: knowing that ye have in heaven a better, and a more enduring substance.* And we have good reason to believe, that *James*, called *the Lord's brother*, the Apostle, who generally resided at Jerusalem, was put to death by the Jews there in a tumultuous manner, about the year of Christ 62.

How Paul acted in the early days of the gospel, and whilst he was under the direction of the Chief-priests and Pharisees, we know partly from the Acts of the Apostles, and partly from his own Epistles. It is said Acts viii. 1. that he *was consenting to the death*

of

of Stephen. And ch. vii. 58. *When he was ſtoned, the witneſſes laid down their cloths at a young man's feet, whoſe name was Saul.* And afterwards ch. ix. 1. 2. *But Saul yet breathing out threatenings and ſlaughter againſt the diſciples of the Lord, went unto the High-Prieſt and deſired of him letters to Damaſcus, to the ſynagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jeruſalem.* And in his ſpeech before King Agrippa, and the Governour Feſtus, Acts xxvi. 9. . . 12. he ſays himſelf. *I verily thought with my-ſelf, that I ought to do many things contrarie to the name of Jeſus of Nazareth. Which thing I alſo did in Jeruſalem. And many of the ſaints did I ſhut up in priſon, having received authority from the Chief-Prieſts. And when they were put to death, I gave my voice againſt them. And I puniſhed them oft in every ſynagogue, and compelled them to blaſpheme. And being exceedingly mad againſt them, I perſecuted them even into ſtrange cities. Whereupon, he ſet out for Damaſcus, with authority and commiſſion from the Chief-Prieſts.* But in his way thither, he met with a check, received new light, to which he ſubmitted, and became a true penitent, and ſincere convert, and then preached the faith which for ſome while he had endeavoured to deſtroy. Compare Gal. i. 13. . . 24. 1 Cor. xv. 8. 9. Eph. iii. 8. 1 Tim. i. 12. . . 14.

How he was treated by the Jews, after his converſion, we know from the hiſtorie in the Acts, and from his own Epiſtles. For when he began to preach the goſpel at Damaſcus, *the Jews laid wait for him, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. But the diſciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a baſket.* Acts ix. 23. 24. Of which great danger, and his wonderfull eſcape, he ſpeaks himſelf in an affecting manner. 2 Cor. xi. 31. . . 33. When he came to Jeruſalem, from Damaſcus, *and diſputed with the Grecians,* or Jewiſh proſelytes. Acts ix. 29. *They went about to ſlay him.* Acts ix. 29. For which cauſe the diſciples found it

it prudent to bring him down to Cesarea, that he might go to Tarsus.

The Jews out of Judea acted in the like manner. At *Antioch in Pisidia*, Paul having preached there with some success, both among Jews and Gentils, *the Jews moved with envie stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.* Acts xiii. 50. And see ver. 45. They therefore went to *Iconium*, where also they had some converts among Jews and Gentils. *But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentils, and made their minds evil affected toward the brethren... But the multitude of the city was divided... And when there was an assault made both of the Gentils and of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them; they were aware of it, and fled to Lystra, and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lyeth round about. And there they preached the gospel.* ch. xiv. 1...7. At Lystra, a great miracle was wrought by Paul, upon a *lame man, who had been a creeple from his mother's womb, and never had walked.* And the people of the place were disposed to give divine honours to Paul and Barnabas, which they refused to accept. *But there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people. And having stoned Paul, they drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.* ch. xiv. 1...20. And having passed through several places, they returned to *Antioch in Syria*, from which place they had been sent out with special recommendations to the grace of God. ver. 21...28. All which things therefore happened in what is sometimes called the first peregrination of Paul and Barnabas.

How the Jews acted at *Thessalonica*, may be seen Acts xvii. 1...9. at *Berea*, may be seen ver. 10....15. How they behaved at *Corinth*, may be seen ch. xviii. ver 5...20. And when Paul came

to

to Jerusalem afterwards, in the year of Christ 58. as we compute, he was very hard pressed by the Jews there, where was their great Council, and where the whole nation was gathered together at the feast of Pentecost, as is related Acts xxi. and xxii. Nor was there any visible means of his escaping out of their hands with his life, but by appealing to the Emperour himself, notwithstanding the favourable dispositions of the Roman Governours, *Felix* and *Festus*, to shew him equity: by which appeal he obtained leave to go to Rome, where he lived *two whole years* in a kind of free custodie, *receiving all that came in unto him, and preaching the kingdom of God, and those things which concern the Lord Jesus, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* ch. xxviii. 30. 31. And then he was set at liberty, and went abroad again.

Thus the Jews resisted the counsel of God, and went on accumulating guilt, and laying up a store of vengeance to fall upon them, when God saw fit, and when the measure of their iniquity was full. As St. Paul says to the Thessalonians, 1. ep. ii. 14. *For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus. For ye also have suffered the like things of your countrymen, even as they have of the Jews: who have killed the* LORD JESUS, *and their own* PROPHETS, *and have persecuted* US, *and are contrarie to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentils, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always. For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

For certain such things cannot be overlooked by the Sovereign Lord and Governour of all nations, and of the Jewish nation, especially. For he has said, and it is agreeable to reason, and to all the rules of right government, that *if he raiseth up a Prophet, and put his words in his mouth, and he speaks all that he has commanded him: It shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name,* I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM.

Deut.

Deut. xviii. 18. 19. This rule was laid down and promulgated by Moses himself, the great Lawgiver of the Jews. And, as before observed, it was to be a standing rule. If faithful messengers, who deliver truly the message they have received from God, are rejected, and not only not hearkened to, but abused, the God of the Prophets will resent it, and shew his displeasure. Accordingly, soon after the events before related, wrath did come upon the Jewish people, to a very remarkable degree. And the numbers of those who perished at Jerusalem, and in Judea, by the famine, and by the sword, and by intestin feuds and divisions, or otherwise, was very extraordinarie, and even unparalleled, as we know from *Josephus*, a contemporarie writer of their own nation, and from *Josippon*, a Jew likewise, and from others.

Josephus, who was a witnesse of that awful scene, often acknowledgeth the hand of God in it. *Cestius Gallus*, President of Syria, made a successful attempt upon Jerusalem, and then withdrew. Whereupon, he says, (*e*) *If Cestius had continued the siege a little longer, he would have taken the city. But God, as I think, for the wickednesse of the people, abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.* When *John* of Gischala escaped from out of the hands of Vespasian, and got to Jerusalem, he says, (*f*) *It was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.* In another place (*g*) he says, *that God had blinded their minds for the transgressions, which they had been guilty of.* And (*h*) *Never did any city endure so great calamities. Nor was there ever from the begining of the world any time more fruitfull of wickednesse.* Again, (*i*) *Indeed, it was God, who had condemned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.* When the

(*e*) *See before in this volume. p.* 73.
(*f*) *p.* 82. 83.
(*g*) *p.* 93.
(*h*) *p.* 95.
(*i*) *p.* 98.

Temple was burning, he ſays, *(k) Certainly the divine ſentence had long ago condemned it to the fire.* He alſo obſerves, that (*l*) *they did not attend to the prodigies, which evidently foretold their deſolation. But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to ſee, nor minds to conſider, they diſregarded the divine denunciations.* He alſo obſerves, (*m*) *that the whole nation was then ſhut up, as in a priſon. And the Romans encompaſſed the city, when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of them who periſhed therein, exceeded all the deſtructions that ever man or God brought upon the world. And (n) the whole circumference of the city was ſo thoroughly laid even with the ground by them who dug it up to the foundation, that there was nothing left to make thoſe who came thither believe, it had ever been inhabited.* So writes *Joſephus*, in the Greek language, in the face of the whole world, not many years after the Jewiſh war was ended. And ſays *Eleazar*, in his ſpeech at *Maſſada*, recorded by the ſame Hiſtorian, *(o) the Metropolis of the whole nation, the City, which we believed to have God inhabiting it, has been rooted up to the foundation, and the holy temple has been profanely dug up to the foundation.*

Such was the end of the ſiege of Jeruſalem in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, and the year of Chriſt 70. And thus were accompliſhed the predictions of Jeſus concerning the city of Jeruſalem, and the Temple, and the Jewiſh People, if they did not repent.

Here I might conclude. But if any ſhould be deſirous to ſee this argument in all it's force, and in it's full light, it will be requiſite to look farther back, and aſcend up to the origin of this people: and then trace their hiſtorie, through the ſeveral periods of it. For they are

(*k*) *p.* 103.
(*l*) *p.* 104.
(*m*) *p.* 119.
(*n*) *p.* 121.
(*o*) *p.* 122.

are a people ſeparated from all other nations, choſen of God for very great ends and purpoſes, to uphold the belief of the Divine Unity, the doctrine of a Divine Providence, concerning itſelf in the affairs of mankind, upon the belief of which all religious worſhip depends, and to preſerve the expectation of the coming of a great perſon to redeem the human race from errour and vice, and the bad conſequences of their deviations from truth and virtue. Gen. iii. 15.

For theſe ends God choſe Abraham, and brought him out of *(p) Ur of the Chaldees. When he called him, out of his countrey, and from his kindred, and from his father's houſe, he ſaid: I will make thee a great nation, and I will bleſs thee, and make thy name great, and thou ſhalt be a bleſſing. . . . And in thee ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed.* Gen. xii. 1. . . 3. The fulfilment of which magnificent promiſe was limited to *Iſaac*, or his ſeed by Sarah. Gen. xvii. and afterwards to *Jacob*, Gen. *xxvii. xxviii.* And when his poſterity was greatly encreaſed, after their ſojourning a while in Egypt, where they had been treated in a ſervile manner, God brought them out of that countrey, with a *mighty hand, and an out-ſtretched arm*, working many great and conſpicuous miracles for their ſafety. Whilſt they were in the wilderneſſe he gave to them a ſyſtem of laws, the ten principal of which were delivered from mount Sinai with great ſolemnity, and then engraved on tables of ſtone by the finger of God. God then brought them into the land of Canaan, where they became a flouriſhing and powerfull nation, according to the promiſe made to Abraham concerning *Sarah*, when ſhe was yet barren, that *She ſhould be a mother of nations, and Kings of people ſhould be of her*. Gen. xvii. 16.

David intended to build a Houſe for the name of the Lord. But that honour was reſerved for his ſon Solomon. The divine approbation of David's deſign is manifeſt. And God, by inſpiration, gave him

(p) Gen. xv. 7. Neh. ix. 7.

him the form and dimensions of the house, and the order of the worship to be performed there. 1 Chr. xxviii. 11... 13. *Then (q) David gave to Solomon his son the patterns of the porch, and of the houses thereof* [or of the House, and the apartments thereof] *and of the treasures thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat: and the pattern of all that he had by the spirit of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the House of God, and of the treasuries of the delicate things. Also for the courses of the Priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord*... ver. 19. *All this*, said David, *the Lord made me to understand in writing* [as if it were inscribed on his mind] *by his hand upon me, even all the words of this pattern.*

When the house was finished, and dedicated by a prayer suitable to the great occasion. 2 Chr. v. vi. we are informed, ch. vii. 12. *that the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to my-self for an house of sacrifice.* 15. 16. *Now my eyes shall be open, and my eyes attent unto the prayers that are made in this place. For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever, and my eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually*... 19... 22. *But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house, which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and make it to be a proverb, and a by word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it, so that he shall say: Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house? And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land*

(q) *Dedit autem David Salomoni filio suo descriptionem*.... id est, dedit ei formam conspicuam, qualem Deus animo inscriperat, ut dicitur infra ver. 19. *Grot.*

land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshiped them, and served them: therefore has he brought all this evil upon them.

And though God is ever mercifull, and full of compassion, *and forgave their iniquity, and many a time turned away his anger, and did not stirr up all his wrath.* [Ps. lxxviii. 38. and what follows, and Neh. ix.] yet at length the provocation of their repeated idolatries, and gross immoralities, after the renewed admonitions of his Prophets, was such, that God gave them up into the hands of their enemies. So this is related 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15... 20. *And the Lord God of their fathers sent unto them by his messengers, rising up early, and sending them, because he had compassion upon his people, and his dwelling place. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the King of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuarie, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age. He gave them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King, and of his Princes. All these things brought he to Babylon. And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them that escaped from the sword carried he to Babylon: where they were servants to him, and his sons, untill the reign of the kingdom of Persia.*

That was the overthrow of the Temple and city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Judah at that time. All which is related at large, and rather more particularly, in the lii. and last chapter of the book of Jeremiah. And may be seen also in 2 Kings ch. xxiv. xxv.

And it may be worth the while to observe here Jerem. xxv. 1... 11. *The word that came unto Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, King of Judah,*

dah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon. Which Jeremiah the Prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, King of Judah even unto this day, (that is, the three and twentieth year) the word of the Lord has come unto me. And I have spoken unto you, rising early, and speaking. But ye have not hearkened. And the Lord has sent unto you (r) all his servants the Prophets, rising early, and sending them. But ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear. THEY SAID, *Turn ye again now every man from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land, that the Lord has given to you, and to your fathers for ever. And go not after other gods to serve and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, and I will do you no hurt. Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the Lord, that ye might provoke me to anger, with the works of your hands to your hurt. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my servant, and bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof... And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment. And these nations shall serve the King of Babylon (s) seventy years.*

It ought to be here particularly observed by us, that this calamity is said to have been brought at length upon this people, *because they had refused to hearken to the words of God, spoken to them by the Prophets.*

The

(r) Jeremiah seems there to intend, as Prophets of former times, so also some, who were contemporarie with him, two of which are mentioned in scripture, *Zephaniah*, whose prophecies we have, and *Urijah*, mentioned here ch. xxvi. 20 *See Louth upon the place.* And says Grotius upon ver. 1. *A tertio anno regni Josiae. . . . Nam 31 annis regnavit Josias. Ab his deme 12 et adde annos 4 Joakimi, fiunt ipsi anni 23. Per quos nullo labore et se et socios suos abstinuisse ait Jeremias, ut ad meliorem frugem populum reduceret.*

(s) Praedictio insignis, ob ita exactam temporis designationem. *Grot.*

The veſſels of the temple were carried to Babylon, and lodged in the temple there dedicated to Belus. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7. *Nebuchadnezzar alſo carried of the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.* They are more particularly enumerated, Jer. lii. 17...23. This, undoubtedly, was intended, by way of ſcorn and inſult to the conquered people of Iſrael, and as a triumph over the God, whom they worſhiped. Nevertheleſs they were thereby preſerved, and many of them were afterwards returned. That they were there near the end of the captivity, we learn from the profane and unſeaſonable feaſt made by Belſhazzar, as related Dan. v. 1...4. *Who then commanded to bring the golden and ſilver veſſels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which is at Jeruſalem, that the King and his princes, and his wives and concubines might drink therein.* At the end of the captivity, when Cyrus permitted the people to return to their own countrey, he alſo gave orders for the reſtoring of theſe veſſels, as related at the begining of the book of Ezra ch. i. 1...11. *Now in the firſt year of Cyrus King of Perſia, (that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled) the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of Cyrus King of Perſia, that he made proclamation, throughout all his kingdom, and put it alſo in writing, ſaying: Thus ſaith Cyrus King of Perſia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him an houſe at Jeruſalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go to Jeruſalem, which is in Judah, and build the houſe of the Lord God which is at Jeruſalem.... Alſo Cyrus the King brought forth the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jeruſalem, and had put them in the houſe of his god. Even theſe did Cyrus King of Perſia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath, the treaſurer, and numbred them unto Sheſhbazzar the Prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thou and chargers of ſilver, nine and twenty knives: thirty baſins of gold: ſilver baſins of a ſecond ſort four hundred and ten,*

and

and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and silver, were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity, that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

The first thing that was done by them, after their return to Jerusalem, was restoring the altar for burnt-offerings. Ezra. iii. 2. *Then stood up Joshua the son of Jozedech and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon... From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord. But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid.* The building of the temple met with opposition, and therefore it was several years, before it was finished. Which is mentioned Ezra vi. 14... 16. *And the Elders of the Jews builded, and they prophesied through the prophesying of Haggai the Prophet, and Zachariah the son of Iddo, and they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes King of Persia. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the King. And the children of Israel, the Priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house with joy.*

At first they were discouraged by the little prospect they had of raising the temple suitably to their wishes. Ezra iii. 12. *Many of the Priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, who had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy.* But God himself encouraged them to proceed with the most gracious assurances. Haggai ii. 1... 7. *In the seventh month, in the one and twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the Prophet Haggai, saying: Speak now to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, Governour of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech the High-Priest, and to the residue of the people. Who is left among you that saw*

saw this house in its first glorie? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, o Zerubbabel, saith the Lord: and be strong, o Joshuah, son of Josedech, the Priest, and be strong all ye People of the land saith the Lord of hosts, and work. I am with you saith the Lord of hosts. According to the word that I covenanted with you, when ye came out of Egypt, so my Spirit remaineth among you. Fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts. Yet once a little while... And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glorie, saith the Lord of hosts. See likewise ch. i. and Zach. i. ii. iii. and viii.

And now they restored the worship of God at the temple, according to the prescriptions of the law of Moses for offering sacrifices. They kept the feast of the Passover, and other great feasts according to the law of Moses, and the Priests and Levites were set to officiate in their courses. So, after the setting up the altar of burnt-offering, and their begining to lay the foundation of the temple, it is said. Ezra. iii. 18. *And when the builders laid*, or were laying, *the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the Priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinarie of David King of Israel.* And afterwards, when the temple was raised, it is said, Ezra vi. 18. *And they set the Priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem, as it is written in the book of Moses.* Then it follows ver. 19. *And the children of the captivity*, that is, who were returned from their captivity, *kept the Passover, upon the fourteenth day of the first month.*

Thus the worship of God was again restored, and set up, at his temple in Jerusalem. And though, undoubtedly, in the intermediate space, the Jews met with various difficulties from surrounding enemies, and were now in subjection to the Romans; yet in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles, the Jewish people had free access to the Temple, performed their sacrifices there, kept the

Paſſover, and Pentecoſt, and other great ſolemnities according to the appointments of the law of Moſes. And the genealogies of their tribes were in being. Jeſus, our Lord, was of the tribe of Judah, and of the familie of David, though then in low circumſtances. Matt. i. and ii. Luke i. and ii. *Zacharias*, father of John the Baptiſt, was of the courſe of Abia, and his wife *Eliſabeth* was of the daughters of Aaron. And he executed the prieſts office before God at the temple, in the order of his courſe. Luke i. 5. . . 12. *Anna, a propheteſſe*, is ſaid to have been *the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aſher, a widow of fourſcore years of age, who departed not from the temple, and ſerved God with faſtings and prayers, night and day.*

But it is not needful to add any thing more, it being apparent from the books of the New Teſtament, and from Joſephus, as well as from other writings, that the worſhip at the Temple in Jeruſalem ſubſiſted, till the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, and the year of Chriſt 70. in which year, they had come up in great numbers to keep the Paſſover, and were ſuddenly ſhut up in the city by the Roman armie.

The times of the firſt and ſecond Temple are computed by Dr. Lightfoot in this manner. " The (*t*) time of the ſtanding of the " firſt Temple, from it's finiſhing in the eleventh year of Solomon, " to it's firing by Nebuzaradan, was four hundred and twenty " years." " From the (*u*) firſt year of Cyrus, (in which he proclaim- " ed redemption to the captives, and gave commandment to reſtore " and build Jeruſalem) to the death of Chriſt, were four hundred " and ninety years, as they are ſummed up by an angel, Dan. ix. " and from the death of Chriſt to the fatal and final deſtruction of " Jeru-

(*t*) *The Temple, as it ſtood in the time of our Saviour Ch.* 40. *p.* 2063.

(*u*) *Ib. p.* 2064.

"Jerusalem, were forty years more, five hundred and thirty years "in all." Which two sums make no more than nine hundred and fifty years. In another place (*x*) he computes the times of the two temples to be exactly one thousand years. Others may make different computations. But now we need not concern ourselves about a nice exactnesse. However, I refer to (*y*) Prideaux, who may be consulted.

III. I shall now shut up these reflexions with some concluding observations. *Concluding observations.*

Obs. 1. The Temple at Jerusalem was designed by David, and erected by Solomon with divine approbation: and the worship there performed, was of divine appointment. And as the building itself, and the worship there, had a divine sanction; it was fit, that a suitable respect should be shewn to the place itself, and to the ordinances there enjoyned, by all the worshipers of the true God.

Solomon (*a*) and all understanding Israelites, were persuaded of the divine omnipresence. Nevertheless, as God had determined to make peculiar manifestations of himself at the Temple, it was fit, that respect should be shewn to it. 1 Kings viii. 27... 30. *But will God dwell on this earth? Behold, the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee. How much less this house that I have built? Yet have thou re-*

(*x*) "If Jerusalem was destroyed exactly forty years after our Saviour's "death, as it is apparent, . . . then that "destruction of it befell just in the four "thousandth year of the world. And "so, as the Temple of Solomon had "been finished anno mundi, exactly 3000. "so in anno mundi exactly 4000. both "the City and the Temple that then "was, were destroyed never to be repaired, or rebuilt again. And from "that time most properly began the *king-* "*dom of heaven*, and the *new Jerusalem*, "when that earthly kingdom, and that "old city, were utterly ruined." *Harmony of the four Evangelists. Vol. i. p.* 487.

(*y*) *See his Connexion &c. year before Christ* 458. *Vol. i. p.* 262. *&c.*

(*a*) *See his Letter to Hiram, King of Tyre.* 2 *Chr.* ii. 1. . . . 7.

ſpect unto the prayer of thy ſervant... That thy eyes may be open toward this houſe, night and day, even toward the place, of which thou haſt ſaid: my name ſhall be there: [Deut. xii. 11.] *and hearken thou to the ſupplication of thy ſervant, and of thy people Iſrael, when they ſhall pray toward this place. And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and when thou hareſt, forgive.* See likewiſe ver. 46... 48.

And when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven, and conſumed the burnt-offering, and the ſacrifice. And the glorie of the Lord filled the houſe. 2 Chr. vii. 1. *And the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and ſaid unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have choſen this place to myſelf, for an houſe of ſacrifice. If I ſhut up heaven, that there be no rain... or, if I ſend peſtilence among my people: if my people, which are called by my name, ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeek my face, and turn from their wicked ways: then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their ſin, and will heal their land... For now have I choſen, and ſanctified this houſe, that my name may be there forever: and my eyes, and my heart ſhall be there perpetually. ver.* 12... 16.

Accordingly, Daniel, who was renowned for ſecular wiſdom, as well as for divine illuminations, and eminent piety, when his fidelity to God met with a ſevere trial, as we are told, ch. vi. 10. *he went into his houſe, and his window being open in his chamber, toward Jeruſalem, and kneeled down upon his knees three times a day, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore-time.* Comp. 1 Kings viii. 48. Pſ. v. 4 Jonah ii. 4. And the Lord Jeſus was often at Jeruſalem, eſpecially at the great feſtivals. And twice in the courſe of his miniſtrie cleared the Temple of ſome abuſes and incumbrance, and ſeverely rebuked thoſe who practiſed thoſe indecences, or connived at them.

Obſ. 2. The Temple and the City of Jeruſalem were twice deſtroyed, once by the Chaldeans, a ſecond time by the Romans.

The city of Jeruſalem was beſieged, and taken ſeveral times beſides: by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Pompey*, and *Herod the great*, and others.

others. But now we confine ourſelves to thoſe ſeaſons, when the city was ruined, and the Temple alſo was deſtroyed.

Obſ. 3. The taking of Jeruſalem by the Chaldeans was a very grievous calamity.

The particulars are related Jer. lii. 2 Kings xxiv. xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Daniel, in his confeſſions, ch. ix. 12. ſays: *For under the whole heaven has not been done, as has been done upon Jeruſalem.* It was a calamity, not eaſie to be paralleled, in all it's circumſtances. Which was agreeable to the maxim before obſerved, *that where much is given, there alſo much will be required,* and to the words of God, by the Prophet Amos. *You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will puniſh you for all your iniquities.*

Obſ. 4. The final captivity of the Jewiſh People by the Romans has been a much greater calamity, than that by the Chaldeans. It exceeds in many reſpects.

1.) The diſtreſſes of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and the numbers that periſhed there by famine, or ſword, by the hand of the Romans, or by their own inteſtin diviſions, and the numbers carried captive, exceeded all the deſolations, that ever were. It happened, when the city was crowded with people, they being aſſembled together at one of their feſtivals. And the city itſelf, it's buildings, it's walls, and the Temple were demoliſhed, and thrown down to the foundation, ſo as they had never been before. So our Lord foretold Matt. xxiv. 21. *For then ſhall be great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the begining of the world, to this time: no, nor ever ſhall be.* So Jeſus ſaid, it would be. And Joſephus ſays, it was ſo, and that *it exceeded all the deſtructions, ever brought upon the world by God or man.*

2.) The captivity by the Romans has exceeded the former in duration.

This

This ſecond captivity has now already laſted almoſt ſeventeen hundred years, without any the leſt proſpect of a period to it. That was limited to *ſeventy* years only according to the word of God by Jeremiah. ch. xxv. 12. . . 18. xxix. 10. . . 14. and Dan. ix. 1. 2.

3.) During the captivity by the Chaldeans, the Jewiſh People had Prophets among them: but now they have none.

In this ſecond captivity, as they are without altar, and ſacrifice, and Temple, and City of their own; ſo are they, all this while, without viſions, and prophecies, and divine illuminations of every kind.

In the former captivity they had ſeveral Prophets, of great eminence. *Jeremiah* continued to prophesy to the remains of the people in Judea ſeveral years after the begining of the captivity. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* prophesied in Babylon. Theſe, and other good men may, have been of great ſervice for bringing men to repentance, and fitting them for the expected deliverance. And during that period of ſeventy years, there were miraculous deliverances vouchſafed to ſome: the preſervation, particularly, of the three young men in the fiery furnace: Dan. iii. Then Daniel's ſatisfactorie interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, ch. ii. and iv. and Daniel's great advancement, and ſome other extraordinarie occurrences, were much in their favour. They muſt have tended to influence the minds of the great princes, to whom they were ſubject. And muſt have been means of facilitating their deliverance, and accompliſhing their ſafe return into their own countrey, and to their happy ſettlement in it. But we hear not of any ſuch like favorable appearances in the preſent captivity and diſperſion.

Obſ. 5. All theſe calamities, thoſe of the former, and of the later captivity, have happened to the Jewiſh People, agreeably to the original plan of divine diſpenſations concerning them.

This obſervation was mentioned formerly. But it is repeated here, as a thing of great importance. And we have an acknowledgement of

of it, in Daniel's confeſſions, with regard to the Babyloniſh captivity. ch. ix. 11. *Yea, all Iſrael have tranſgreſſed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice. Therefore the curſe is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moſes the ſervant of God, becauſe we have ſinned againſt him. . . .* 13. *As it is written in the law of Moſes, all this evil is come upon us.* See Lev. xxvi. 14. . . . 46. Deut. xxviii. 15. &c. What is here ſaid of the captivity by the Chaldeans, is as true of the captivity by the Romans, and ought to be in like manner acknowledged.

Obſ. 6. Our bleſſed Lord's predictions therefore of evil coming upon Jeruſalem and the people of Judea, did not proceed from private reſentment, enmity, malice, ill-will, or any other unſociable affection, from which the mind of the bleſſed Jeſus was always free: but they were declarations of the counſel of God, prophetical denunciations of evil to come, if men did not repent, faithfull warnings to men to take heed to themſelves, and earneſt and affectionate calls to repentance and reformation, that the impending and threatened calamities might be averted and avoided.

A Prophet, who is entruſted with the mind of God, muſt faithfully deliver both promiſes to obedience and threatening to diſobedience, as he is required. Says Moſes to the people under his care, for whoſe welfare and proſperity he was greatly concerned. Deut. iv. 5. *Behold, I have taught you ſtatutes and judgements, even as the Lord my God commanded me. . . .* ver. 25. 26. . . . *But if thou do evil in the ſight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger: I call heaven and earth to witneſſe, that ye ſhall ſoon utterly periſh from off the land, whereunto you go over Jordan to poſſeſs it: ye ſhall not prolong your days upon it. But ſhall utterly be deſtroyed.* Nor was Jeremiah to be charged with ill will to the Jewiſh people, when he foretold the deſolations of the Chaldean captivity.

Obſ.

Obſ. 7. The great aggravation of the tranſgreſſions of the Jewiſh people, lay in their not hearkening to the meſſages of the Prophets, which God ſent among them.

This was obſerved before from 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. 16. and from Jerem. xxv. 1... 11. to which I now add, that it is particularly mentioned by Daniel in his devout and humble confeſſion of the ſins of that people, which brought upon them the Babyloniſh captivity. ch. ix. 5. 6. *We have ſinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgements. Neither have we hearkened unto thy ſervants the prophets, who ſpoke in thy name to our Kings, our Princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of Iſrael.* By which, certainly, theſe Prophets manifeſted their fidelity. And the reaſon of this is, that refuſing to hearken to meſſages of God, faithfully delivered by his Prophets, demonſtrates obſtinacie and irreclaimableneſſe. This is repreſented by our Lord in the parable of the *fig-tree.* Luke xiii. 6... 10. and of the *huſbandmen.* Matt. xxi. 33. &c. and in other parables and diſcourſes. The parable of the fig-tree juſt mentioned, is thus. *A certain man had a fig-tree, planted in his vineyard. And he came, and ſought fruit thereon, and found none. Then ſaid he to the dreſſer of the vineyard: Behold theſe three years I come ſeeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none. Cut it down. Why cumbreth it the ground? And he anſwering ſaid: Lord, let it alone this year alſo, till I ſhall dig about it, and dung it. If it bear fruit, well. If not, thou ſhalt cut it down.* So God ſaid of old to the people of Iſrael by Iſaiah, after having in a like manner repreſented his care and cultivation of his vineyard. Iſ. v. 3. 4. 5. *And now, o inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, than I have done in it? Wherefore when I looked, that it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? I will tell you, what I will do to my vineyard? I will*

will take away the hedge thereof, and it ſhall be eaten up: and break down the wall thereof, and it ſhall be trodden down.

This was the caſe in the time of our Saviour. After all other Prophets, came Jeſus, who taught the people in the name of God, and faithfully delivered his mind to them, and called them to repentance, and wrought many wonderfull works. There was then a great profuſion of ſpiritual gifts in Himſelf, and his Apoſtles. If their meſſage was not hearkened to, but rejected, and they abuſed: it would be an aggravated provocation, and would be required of the people, to whom they had ſpoken in the name of God.

Obſ. 8. Finally, in the eighth and laſt place, let us now inquire and conſider, what was the ſin, what the ſins, or offenſes, that occaſioned the great calamity, which befell the Jewiſh people, about forty years after the times of the Lord Jeſus, under the conduct of thoſe two Generals, *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus*.

We have ſeen accounts in Joſephus, and other Jewiſh writers, of the diſtreſſes then ſuffered by the Jewiſh people at Jeruſalem, and in other parts of Judea, and of the deſtruction and demolition of their city, and temple, and their captivity and diſperſion, which ſtill continue. And we have ſeen evident proofs, that the hand of God was therein, and that all came to paſs by the over-ruling providence of God. It is an affecting ſubject. And if we make inquiries into the reaſons and cauſes of theſe great calamities, we ſhould do it ſeriouſly, and impartially, and may be diſpoſed alſo to compaſſion and candour.

When God appeared to Solomon after he had finiſhed and dedicated the Temple, he graciouſly aſſured him, that he accepted the prayer, which he had made, and that he would hearken to the prayers, which his people ſhould make to him toward that place in their diſtreſſes. Nevertheleſs he declares, 2 Chron. vii. 19...22. *But if ye turn away, and forſake my ſtatutes, and my commandments, which I have ſet before you, and ſerve other gods, and worſhip them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them.*

them. And the houſe, which I have ſanctified for my name will I caſt out of my ſight, and will make it to be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations. And this houſe, which is high, ſhall be an aſtoniſhment to every one that paſſeth by it: ſo that he ſhall ſay: Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and unto this houſe. And it ſhall be anſwered, Becauſe they forſook the Lord God of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worſhiped them, and ſerved them. Therefore has he brought all this evil upon them.

This was fulfilled in the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when Jeruſalem was taken, and the Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt down. That was an event, which occaſioned inquiries into the reaſons and cauſes of it. And ſhall not we conſider, and make like inquiries, concerning the captivity by the *Romans*, which has been attended with ſo many awfull circumſtances? Shall we not ſay: *Why has the Lord done thus, unto this land, and to this houſe*, meaning the ſecond houſe, built after the return from the Babyloniſh captivity. For that *houſe* alſo was *high*. And had been erected with divine approbation and encouragement. And the worſhip had been reſtored there according to the appointment of Moſes: and was ſo continued there, till it's final deſolation.

If now we aſk, *Why has the Lord done thus to this land and people, and to this houſe:* It cannot be ſaid, *becauſe they laid hold on other gods, and worſhiped them, and ſerved them.* For after the return from the Babyloniſh captivity, they were for the moſt part free from the ſin of idolatrie, into which they had ſo often relapſed before. Nor are they now guilty of that ſin, for which their diſperſion ſhould be continued. For ſome while before the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem, they appear, from all accounts, to have been generally very zealous for the law of Moſes, and the rites of it, and very diligent in their attendence on the temple at Jeruſalem, to which they re-

ſorted

ſorted in great numbers from all parts of the world, where they inhabited, at the ſolemn feſtivals: and where a large part of the nation was aſſembled to keep the Paſſover, when the final overthrow befell them.

We are therefore led to think, that theſe calamities befell the Jewiſh people, becauſe they rejected, and crucified the Lord Jeſus, who was a Prophet, mighty *in deed and word, before God and all the people*, who ſpake as never man ſpake before, and performed many wonderfull works, which none had done before. And God has *required it of them*, as he ſaid by Moſes, he would do. Deut. xviii. 19. And I muſt again recite here thoſe affecting, and awfull, but true ſayings of our Lord, recorded John xv. 22. 24. *If I had not come, and ſpoken unto them, they had not had ſin: but now have they no cloak* [or excuſe *for their ſin. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had ſin: but now they have both ſeen and hated, both me and my Father.*

Lu xxiv. 19.

The expectation of the Meſſiah is no new thing. It had not it's riſe from Jeſus, or his Diſciples. It was in being, long before the nativity of Jeſus. We are aſſured *(b)* by *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, and *Celſus*, Heathen writers of great learning, as well as from *Joſephus: That there had been for a long time, all over the Eaſt, a notion firmly believed, that at that very time, ſome coming from Judea ſhould obtain the Empire of the world.* Heathen writers ſay, this was *contained in the book of the fates:* Joſephus, who at the time of his writing the hiſtorie of the war, was diſpoſed to think, as the Heathen writers above mentioned do, that Veſpaſian was thereby intended, ſays, that this expectation was founded upon an *ambiguous oracle.* Nevertheleſs he owns, that the expectation was general among the Jewiſh people,

(*b*) *See the paſſages of thoſe Heathen Authors, and of Joſephus, all alleged, Credib. P. i. Vol. i. p.* 284. . . . 290.

people, and that it was embraced by *many of the Wise men among them*, as well as by others, and that it was the thing, which *principally encouraged them to undertake the war with the Romans.* But upon this head there is now no difference between the Jews and us. All allowing that the expectation of a Messiah is founded on the writing of Moses and the Prophets.

That this was the time of his appearance, they may have argued and collected from divers texts of scripture, as Dan. ii. 34. . . 45. vii. 14. ix. 24. and from Hag. ii. 4. . . 9. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5. 6.

How general and prevailing the expectation of the appearance of the Messiah then was, among all sorts of men, the rulers, as well as the common people, we farther know from the books of the New Testament. Luke iii. 15. 16. *And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not: John answered, saying unto them all: I indeed baptize you with water. But one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes, I am not worthy to unloose. He will baptise you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.* And from John i. 19. . . 34. we know, that the Jews sent *Priests and Levites*, who were of the sect of the *Pharisees*, to John, where he was baptizing, to ask him, who he was. He declared, *he was not the Christ, but was sent before him. And said: There standeth one among you, whom ye know not. He it is who coming after me, is preferred before me. Whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* I need not cite any other texts.

At that very time Jesus appeared, and wrought many wonderfull works, irrefragable attestations to his divine mission and authority, and the truth of his doctrine: of which we are as well assured from the concurring and unanimous testimonie of all the writers of the New Testament, as we can be of any thing that ever was done in the world: or as the Jews are of the miracles wrought by Moses and the Prophets.

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Here therefore we may adopt the words of our Lord ſpoken to his diſciples, Matt. xvii. 12. *But I ſay unto you, that Elias is come already. And they knew him not, but have done unto him whatſoever they liſted. Likewiſe ſhall alſo the Son of Man ſuffer of them.* As he did ſoon afterwards. For which God has reckoned, and is ſtill reckoning with them.

However, though the treatment given to Jeſus and his Apoſtles, was a very great offenſe: there may have been other provocations, which occaſioned the diſpleaſure of God againſt his people, and concurred to bring down the vengeance of heaven upon them. One ſin is never alone. There is generally a complication of guilt in all great and aggravated tranſgreſſions. Though the Jewiſh people often fell into the practiſe of Heathen idolatrie, and that was one great occaſion of the Babyloniſh captivity, that was not the only ſin, with which they were chargeable. All ſorts of immoralities abounded among them. And Daniel, in the confeſſion which he makes of the ſins of his people, ſays: ch. ix. 5. *We have ſinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgements.* So now the greatneſſe of their guilt lay in rejecting and crucifying Jeſus the Meſſiah. But that would not have been done, if wickedneſſe had not greatly prevailed among them. Joſephus owns, that *never was there a time more fruitfull of wickedneſſe, than that.* In the Goſpels the men of that time are ſpoken of, as an *untoward generation, and a wicked and adulterous generation.* They were chargeable with all kinds of evil, and were openly reproved for them, by the faithfull teacher, and Prophet, whom God ſent among them, and whom they ſo ungratefully uſed. They were covetous and worldly minded. Luke xvi. 14 15. They were exceeding proud and ambitious of reſpect and honour. *They did all their works to be ſeen of men. They made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments. They loved the uppermoſt rooms at feaſts, and the chief ſeats in the ſynagogues,*

and

and to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi. Matt. xxiii. 5. 6. And ſee Mark xii. 38. 39. and Luke xx. 46. and Luke xiv. 7. They were extremely uneaſie, and impatient under the Roman government, to which, by the diſpoſal of Divine Providence, they were ſubject. *They were very deceitfull* and hypocritical, who *devoured widows houſes, and for a pretenſe made long prayers.* Mark xii. 40. And ſee Matt. xxiii. 23... 28. At the ſame time they depended upon their deſcent from Abraham, and other external privileges. Which rendred all exhortations to repentance fruitleſs and ineffectual. See Matth. iii. 9. John viii. 33. and 39. Accordingly they are repreſented to have *hardened their hearts, and ſhut their eyes.* For which reaſon, they did not underſtand, nor attend to the ſigns of the times, and the evidences of truth ſet before them. Matt. xiii. 14. 15. John xii. 37...41. And moreover they were at this time, very fond of traditions, which made void the moral law of God.

All theſe charges, now collected from the Goſpels, might be verified by examples, and obſervations in Joſephus. Theſe evil diſpoſitions prevailing among them, eſpecially in their great men, who had the chief influence on the people, they did not, and could not believe, but rejected, and ill treated the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Let me recite here John v. 39...44. *Search the Scriptures, impartially. For in them ye think ye have eternal life. And they are they which teſtify of me. And ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life. I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you... How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God only?*

One thing more I muſt add here. That the time in which our Lord appeared, was not a time of groſs ignorance. The Jews now had ſynagogues every where, in all parts of Judea, and in many places out of it: where the Law of Moſes and the Prophets were read, and explained. The common people in general were well acquainted with thoſe Scriptures, and with the explications given of them by their Rabbins.

Rabbins. Among the Scribes and Phariſees were many men of very good abilities. Their acuteneſſe and ſubtlety are manifeſt in their cavils with our Saviour. Nor were the Jewiſh people now altogether unacquainted with the Greek literature. Their three ſects of the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, and *Eſſens*, had occaſioned diſputes and controverſies, and ſpread the knowledge of the things of religion among them.

It is amazing, that a prophet, who teaches men a reaſonable doctrine, and works many miracles, all uſefull and beneficent, ſhould be rejected. And it would be ſtill more amazing, were it not, that we are in ſome meaſure able to account for it, by the bad diſpoſitions, before taken notice of. Jeſus gave no ſign from heaven to induce them to expect from him (what ſuited their carnal and ambitious views) a deliverance from the Roman government. And all other works of mighty power, and of great goodneſſe, were ſlighted, and deſpiſed. Thus prejudice and paſſion prevailed againſt evidence. And it is a great aggravation of the guilt of any men, who are knowing and diſcerning, if they reject the truth, of which good evidences are ſet before them. Our Lord having made ſome remarks after the cure of the man born blind, and after his being excommunicated by the Phariſees, John ix. 39...41. Some of them, who heard him, *ſaid unto him: Are we blind alſo? Jeſus ſaid unto them: If ye were blind, ye ſhould have no ſin. But now ye ſay, We ſee: therefore your ſin remaineth.*

Thus they were incurable. And theſe evil diſpoſitions, prevailing in them, brought on that great ſin of rejecting and crucifying the Lord Jeſus, which God has required of them.

The deſtruction therefore of the City of Jeruſalem, and the Temple, and the continued diſperſion of the Jews, are a cogent argument for the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. They confirm the hiſtorie of the New Teſtament, and every part of it. If they had not ſinned, as they are there ſaid to have done, theſe calamities had not befallen them. Their ſufferings bear witneſſe to the ſpotleſs life,

and

and excellent doctrine, and wonderfull works of the Lord Jesus. They testify, that there had been one among them greater than *Jonah*, and wiser than *Solomon*. But they slighted all his wisdom, and repented not, as the people of Nineveh did, at the preaching of Jonah.

They confirm particularly the historie, recorded in Luke xxiii. 1...25. *And the whole multitude of them*, [that is, many of the Jewish Council] *arose, and led him unto Pilate, saying: We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a King. Pilate then asked him, saying: Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him, and said, Thou sayest it.* [It is as you say.] *Then said Pilate to the* CHIEF-PRIESTS, AND TO THE PEOPLE: *I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, begining from Galilee to this place.* He then sent Jesus to Herod, who sent him back again to Pilate. *After which, when Pilate had called together* THE CHIEF-PRIESTS AND THE RULERS, AND THE PEOPLE, *he said unto them: ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people. And behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching these things, whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod. For I sent you to him. And lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast. And they cried out, all at once, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas. Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. Pilate therefore willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time: Why, what evil has he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will therefore chastize him, and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring, that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and the Chief-Priests prevailed. And Pilate*

gave

gave ſentence, that it ſhould be as they required. And he releaſed unto them him that for ſedition and murder was caſt into priſon, whom they deſired: but he delivered Jeſus to their will. Or as in Matt. xxvii. 24. 25. 26. *When Pilate ſaw, that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and waſhed his hands before the multitude, ſaying: I am innocent of the bloud of this juſt perſon. See ye to it. Then anſwered all the people, and ſaid: His bloud be upon us, and our children. Then releaſed he Barabbas unto them. And when he had ſcourged Jeſus, he delivered him to be crucified.*

To theſe things the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the preſent circumſtances of the Jews, bear witneſſe: as alſo to the reſurrection of Jeſus, and his aſcenſion to heaven, and to the plentifull effuſion of ſpiritual gifts, afterwards upon his Apoſtles, and others: whereby they were enabled to preach the heavenly doctrine, in which their Lord and Maſter had inſtructed them. He commanded them to *preach repentance and remiſſion of ſins in his name, begining at Jeruſalem.* Luke xxiv. 47. And that they did ſo, *preaching repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* or, that they did earneſtly call upon the Jewiſh people in Judea, and elſewhere, to repent of their ſins, and believe in the Lord Jeſus; and that they did not receive their inſtructions and warnings, but *killed ſome of them, ſcourged others, and perſecuted them from city to city:* To all theſe things, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Temple, and other calamities brought upon the Jewiſh people, bear witneſſe. And thus they filled up the meaſure of their iniquity.

The argument, upon which I have now inſiſted, is not new. It is old. And has been well managed by divers ancient Chriſtian writers. I ſhall place below the obſervations made upon the long captivity of the Jews by Jerome *(d)* and by Prudentius (*e*) in their own language.

(d) Multa, Judaee, ſcelera commiſiſti, cunctis circa te ſerviſti nationibus. Ob quod factum? Utique, propter idololatriam. Quumque ſerviſſes, crebro miſertus tui

guage. I believe, they will be perused with pleasure by some of my readers. And I refer to a *(f)* place of Chrysostom, which was *(g)* formerly quoted more at large. I likewise refer to *(h)* Origen.

Nor

tui est Deus: et misit judices et salvatores, qui te de famulatu Moabitarum et Ammonitarum, Philistiim quoque et diversarum gentium liberarunt. Novissime sub regibus offendisti Deum, et omnis tua provincia, gente Babylonica vastante, deleta est. Per septuaginta annos templi solitudo permansit. A Cyro rege Persarum est laxata captivitas. Esdras hoc et Nehemias plenissime referunt. Exstructum est templum sub Dario rege Persarum a Zorobabel filio Salathiel, et Jesu filio Josedec, sacerdote magno. Quae passi sitis a Medis, Aegyptis, Macedonibusque non enumero. Nec tibi adducam in memoriam, Antiochum Epiphanem, crudelissimum omnium tyrannorum: nec Cn. Pompeium, Gabinium, Scaurum, Varum, Cassium, Sosiumque replicabo, qui tuis urbibus et praecipue Jerosolymae insultavere. Ad extremum sub Vespasiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque subversum est. Deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos manere reliquiae. Post eversionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos et urbis et templi ruinae permanent. Ob quod tantum facinus? Certe non colis idola, sed etiam serviens Persis atque Romanis, et captivitatis pressus jugo, ignoras alienos deos. Quomodo Clementissimus quondam Deus, qui nunquam tui oblitus est: nunc per tanta spatia temporum miseriis tuis non adducitur, ut solvat captivitatem, et, ut verius dicam, exspectatum tibi mittat Antichristum? Ob quod, inquam, facinus, et tam execrabile scelus, avertit a te oculos suos? Ignoras? Memento vocis parentum tuorum. *Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros. Et: Venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit haereditas. Et: Non habemus regem, nisi Caesarem.* Habes quod elegisti, usque ad finem mundi serviturus es Caesari, donec gentium introeat plenitudo, et sic omnis Israel salvus fiet: ut qui quondam erat in capite, vertatur in caudam. *Hieron. ad Dardan. T. 2. p. 610. 611.*

(e) Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis
Pompeianae acies: quibus extirpata per omnes
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
Exiliis vagus, huc illuc fluitantibus errat
Judaeus, postquam Patriâ de sede revulsus,
Supplicium pro caede luit, Christique negati
Sanguine respersus commista piacula solvit.

Prud. Apoth. ver. 38. &c.

(f) Adversus Judaeos Or. vi. T. i. p. 652. 653.

(g) See the Circumstances of the Jewish People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion. p. 47.

(h) Contr. Cels. l. 2. §. 13. *Bened. p.* 69.

Nor can it be ſaid, that God has been unrighteous in his dealings with them. All theſe judgements befell them, according to the original plan of Providence concerning them, and according to the prophetic denunciations of their Lawgiver Moſes. Nor can it be ſaid, that their continued diſperſion is unrighteous, ſince they perſiſt in the ſin, which firſt occaſioned it, and reject Him, whom God has ſent unto them: and not only reject him, but reproach and revile him, ſo as no other people do. And, finally, whenever they repent, they may obtain forgiveneſſe, and be received into the Church of Chriſt, and partake in all the privileges of it, and in the end obtain everlaſting life, which God through Jeſus Chriſt has promiſed to all thoſe who love him. *For God has not caſt away his people, whom he foreknew. And if they abide not ſtill in unbelief,* they will be graciouſly received. Rom. xi. 2. and 23.

The circumſtances of the Jewiſh People deſerve the attentive regard, and ſerious conſideration of all mankind, Jews and Chriſtians, and the men of all nations and religions, where their hiſtorie is known: as it now generally is, from the books of the Old and New Teſtament, and from Joſephus, and other writings.

The writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, contained in the New Teſtament, are faithfull records of the life of Jeſus, and the promiſes of the goſpel. And the continued ſubſiſtence of the Jewiſh people in a diſperſed condition, all over the earth, bears teſtimonie to the truth of every thing related by them. Thus God, the Sovereign Lord of all, in his great wiſdom, has provided a perpetual, and univerſal, living monument to the memorie of the tranſactions and ſufferings of Jeſus in Judea: and of his own veracity in *performing the mercie promiſed to their fathers, and the oath which he ſware to Abraham.* Luke i. 72. 73. Gen. xxii. 15... 18. and, that *when the*

 fullneſſe

69. *Spenc. l.* 4. §. 22. *Bened. p.* 174. *Sp. Ben. p.* 405. *Spenc. ſeu Cantab. et* §. 73. *Ben. p.* 212. *Sp. l.* 8. §. 42.

fullneſſe of the time was come, he ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem mankind from idolatrie, and all vice, and from all burdenſome rites, whether of Jewiſh, or Heathen original. Gal. iv. 4. 5.

The circumſtances of the Jewiſh People confirm the faith of Chriſtians, and are a loud call to themſelves, to think, and conſider, and repent, and believe. And it ſhould in a like manner affect, and awaken all other people. It is a voice, which may be heard by thoſe, who have not yet ſeen the Goſpels, and perhaps are averſe to them. And it ſhould induce them to look into them, and carefully examine them.

That Jeſus is the Chriſt, is manifeſt from his agreeing to all the prophetic deſcriptions concerning that great perſon, which are recorded in the Jewiſh Scriptures, that he might be known, when he came. He is the ſeed of Abraham, and the ſon of David: *the rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe. . . . And the Spirit of the Lord reſted on him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and of might, the ſpirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. And to him the Gentils have ſought.* Iſ. xi. 1. 2. 3. 10. He was born of a *virgin.* Iſ. vii. 14. *at Bethlehem in Judea.* Mic. v. 2. *In him all the families of the earth have been bleſſed,* according to the promiſe made to Abraham. Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. He is *the ſervant of God, whom he upheld, his elect, in whom his ſoul delighteth,* [or God's well beloved ſon.] *and he has brought forth judgement to the Gentils.* Iſ. xlii. 1. *He has been a light to lighten the Gentils, and ſalvation to the ends of the earth.* Iſ. xlix. 6. *The iſles waited for his law, and have received it.* Iſ. xlii. 4. *And the earth is now full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the ſea.* Iſ. xi. 9. We have *a new heaven, and a new earth,* Iſ. lxv. 17. *All the gods of the earth have been famiſhed.* Zeph. ii. 11. Heathen idolatrie, once ſo general, and ſo much delighted in by princes and people, is now no more in this part of the world.

world. Their temples are demoliſhed, or put to other uſes. Their oracles are ſilent. Nor do they receive human, or other ſacrifices. And God himſelf, the Lord of heaven and earth, is no longer ſerved with ſacrifices of animals, or oblations of fruits of the earth: but with prayers and praiſes, and good works of righteouſneſſe and mercie. Nor is his worſhip now confined to any one particular place. The time is come, *when men ſhould neither at mount Garizim, nor at Jeruſalem, worſhip the Father: and when the true worſhipers of God ſhould worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth*, John iv. 21.... 23. And *in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſſe, is accepted of him.* Acts x. 35. Jeſus had *the words of eternal life.* John vi. 68. And *God has poured out of his ſpirit upon all fleſh.* Joel ii. 28. Iſ. xliv. 3. Acts ii. 17. And *all men now know God from the leſt to the greateſt of them.* Jerem. xxxi. 3. All have juſt ſentiments, and are able to diſcourſe rationally, concerning God, the Creator of all things, and his overruling Providence, and future rewards and puniſhments. We now worſhip God on earth, through Jeſus Chriſt, in a reaſonable, ſpiritual, liberal manner, in hopes of obtaining, hereafter, perfection of holineſſe and happineſſe in the kingdom of our heavenly Father.

Jeſus, then, is the promiſed Meſſiah, who was to come. Nor is there any reaſon, why we ſhould look for another.

I have formerly treated *(k)* this ſubject. But the large and copious teſtimonie of *Joſephus* to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the miſeries coming upon the Jewiſh people, and the repeated acknowledgments of the deſtruction of the Temple in the *Miſhnical* and *Talmudical* writers, have compelled me to enlarge here, as I have now done.

Finally,

(k) The Circumſtances of the Jewiſh People an argument for the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

Finally, to put an end to this long argument: If we have obtained the invaluable *treasure* of the gospel, that *pearl of great price*; let us be thankful to God, who has so enriched us by Jesus Christ. And let us be careful to keep it entire, and in all it's purity, unalloyed with base mixtures, and undisguised by false colourings. Our own glorie and the credit of our Religion depend upon this.

Matt. xiii. 44. . . 46.

As for the Jewish People, I believe, all good Christians will readily joyn with the Apostle Paul, and say: *our hearts desire, and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved.* Rom. x. 1. Nevertheless I acknowledge, that I see no immediate prospect of their general conversion: and must assent to what the same Apostle says, in another place, who had great dealings with them, after his conversion to the christian faith, as well as before, and had full experience of their untractable temper: which is still too much the same, that it was in his time. *But their minds were blinded. For untill this day remaineth the same vail, untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament. Which vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away.* 2 Cor. iii. 14. . . 16.

God grant, that we may all know, and mind the things, which are conducive to our true interests, both here and hereafter!

The End of Jewish Testimonies.

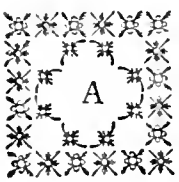
TESTIMONIES

OF ANCIENT

HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. I.

The Epiſtle of Abgarus King of Edeſſa to Jeſus, and the Reſcript of Jeſus to Abgarus.



S the authority of theſe Epiſtles depends entirely upon Euſebius, I ſhall here tranſcribe his account at length, which is in the 13. or laſt chapter of the firſt book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. A. D. 33.

" *A (a) Hiſtorie concerning the Prince of the Edeſſens.*"

" The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſays Euſe-
" bius, being every where talked of by reaſon of his wonderfull
" power in working miracles, it drew after him many people from
" other countreys, and ſome very remote from Judea, who were
" filled with hopes of relief under all ſorts of pains and ſickneſſes.

(a) Ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν δυνάστου. *H. E. l. i. cap.* 13. *p.* 31.

A. D. 33. "For which reaſon King Abgarus, who *(b)* with honour governed "the nations beyond the Euphrates, laboring under a grievous di- "ſtemper, incurable by human ſkill, when he heard of the fame "of Jeſus, which was much celebrated, and his wonderfull works "atteſted by the unanimous teſtimonie of all men, ſent a letter to "him by a meſſenger, entreating him to cure his diſtemper. But "he did not then comply with his requeſt. Yet he vouchſafed to "write to him a letter, wherein he promiſed to ſend to him one of "his diſciples, who ſhould cure his diſtemper, and alſo bring ſal- "vation to him, and to all with him. Which promiſe was not long "after fulfilled. For after the reſurrection of Chriſt, and his aſcenſi- "on to heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve Apoſtles, moved by a "divine impulſe, ſent Thaddeus, one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples to "Edeſſa, to be a preacher and an Evangeliſt of Chriſt's doctrine. By "whom all things promiſed by our Saviour were fulfilled. The evi- "dence of this we have from the records of the city of Edeſſa. For "among the public records, wherein are entred the antiquities of the "city, and the actions of Abgarus, theſe things are ſtill found pre- "ſerved to this day. It *(c)* will therefore be worth the while to at- "tend to the letters, as taken by us, [or for us] from the archives, "and tranſlated word for word from the Syriac language."

"*The Copie of the Letter, which was writ by Abgarus the Toparch, "to Jeſus, and ſent to him at Jeruſalem, by the courier Ananias.*"

"Abgarus, Toparch [or Prince] of Edeſſa to Jeſus the good Sa- "viour, who has appeared at Jeruſalem, ſendeth greeting. I have "heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without herbs, or o- "ther medicines. For it is reported, that thou makeſt the blind to "ſee, and the lame to walk, that thou cleanſeſt lepers, and caſteſt "out

(*b*) *Who governed the nations beyond the Euphrates.* That is the lofty ſtile of the eaſtern people. Abgarus was governour of only a ſmall territorie.

(*c*) ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, καὶ τάνδε αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῆς συρῶν φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν τὸν τρόπον. *p.* 32. *B.*

" out unclean spirits and demons, and healest those who are tor- A. D.
" mented with diseases of a long standing, and raisest the dead. 33.
" Having heard of all these things concerning thee, I concluded in
" my mind one of these two things, either that thou art God come
" down from heaven to do these things, or else that thou art the
" Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore I now write
" unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and to heal my distem-
" per. Moreover I hear, that the Jews murmur against thee, and
" plot to do thee mischief. I have a city, small indeed, but neat,
" which may suffice for us both." " Now let us attend, *says Eu-*
" *sebius*, to the letter, which Jesus returned by the same courier,
" short indeed, but very powerfull. It is in these words."

" *The Rescript of Jesus to the Toparch Abgarus sent by the Courier*
" *Ananias.*"

" Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in
" me, though thou hast not seen me. For it is written concerning John xx.
" me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that 29.
" they who have not seen me might believe, and live. As for what
" thou hast written to me, desiring me to come to thee: it is neces-
" sarie that all those things, for which I am sent, should be fulfilled
" by me here: and that after fulfilling them, I should be received
" up to him that sent me. When therefore I shall be received up,
" I will send to thee some one of my disciples, that he may heal thy
" distemper, and give life to thee, and to those who are with thee."

" To these epistles, as Eusebius goes on to say, are subjoyned the
" following things, and in the Syriac language: That after Jesus had
" been taken up, [or after his ascension,] Judas, called also Thomas,
" sent the Apostle Thaddeus, one of the seventy: who, when he
" came to Edessa, took up his abode with Tobias, son of Tobias.
" When his arrival was rumoured about, and he had begun to be

A. D. 33. "known by the miracles which he wrought, it was told to Abga-
"rus, that an Apoſtle was ſent to him by Jeſus, according to his
"promiſe. Thaddeus therefore by the power of God healed all
"ſorts of maladies, ſo that all wondred. But when Abgarus heard
"of the great and wonderfull works which he did, and how he
"healed men in the name and by the power of Jeſus Chriſt, he was
"induced to ſuſpect, [ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν,] that he was the perſon, a-
"bout whom Jeſus had writ to him, ſaying, *When I am taken up, I*
"*will ſend to thee ſome one of my diſciples, who ſhall heal thy diſtem-*
"*per.* Sending therefore for Tobias, at whoſe houſe he was, he
"ſaid to him: I hear that a man, endowed with great power, and
"come from Jeruſalem, is at thy houſe, and that he works many
"cures in the name of Jeſus. To which Tobias anſwered: Yes,
"Sir, there is a ſtranger with me, who performs many miracles.
"Abgarus then ſaid: Bring him hither to me. Tobias coming to
"Thaddeus, ſaid to him: The *(d)* prince Abgarus, has bid me
"bring thee to him, that thou mayeſt heal his diſtemper. Where-
"upon Thaddeus ſaid: I go. For it is upon his account, chiefly,
"that I am ſent hither. The next day early in the morning To-
"bias taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. As he came in, the No-
"bles being preſent, there appeared to Abgarus ſomewhat very ex-
"traordinarie in the countenance of Thaddeus. Which *(e)* when
"Abgarus ſaw, he worſhiped Thaddeus. Which appeared ſtrange
"to all preſent. For they did not ſee that brightneſſe, which was
"diſcerned by Abgarus only. He then aſked Thaddeus, if he were
"indeed the diſciple of Jeſus the ſon of God, who had ſaid to him:
"*I will ſend to thee ſome one of my diſciples, who ſhall heal thy diſtem-*
"*per, and give life to all with thee.* Thaddeus anſwered: Foraſ-
"much as thou haſt great faith in the Lord Jeſus, therefore am
"I ſent unto thee. And if thou ſhalt encreaſe in faith in him, all
"the deſires of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith.
"Then

(d) ὁ τοπάρχης.
(e) ὅπερ ἰδὼν Αβγαρος προσεκύνησε τῷ Θαδδάιῳ. . . *p.* 33. *D.*

"Then Abgarus said to him: I have so believed in him, that I "would go with an armie, to extirpate the Jews, who crucified him, "if I were not apprehensive of the Roman power. Then Thadde-"us said: Our Lord and God Jesus Christ has fulfilled the will of "his Father. And having fulfilled it, he has been taken up to his "Father. Abgarus then said: I have believed in him, and in his "Father. And thereupon said Thaddeus: Therefore I put my hand "upon thee in the name of the Lord Jesus. And upon his so do-"ing Abgarus was healed of his distemper. And Abgarus wonder-"ed, that as it had been reported concerning Jesus, so it had been "done by his disciple and apostle Thaddeus: insomuch as he had "healed him without herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal "him alone, but also Abdas, son of Abdas, who had the gout. For "he came to him, and fell down upon his knees before him, and by "the laying on of his hands with prayer he was healed. The same "Apostle healed many other citizens of the same place, and wrought "many and great miracles, as he preached the word. After which "Abgarus spoke to this purpose: Thou Thaddeus doest these things "by the power of God, and we admire thee. But I beseech thee "to inform me about the coming of Jesus, how it was, and of his "power, and by what power he did all those things, which we have "heard of. To which Thaddeus answered: Now I forbear, though "I am sent to preach the word. But to-morrow gather together "all the citizens. And then in their hearing I will preach the word "and sow in them the word of life, and will inform them of the "coming of Christ, how it was, and concerning his mission, and "for what cause he was sent by the Father, and concerning the "power of his works, and the mysteries, which he spoke in the "world, and by what power he did these things: and concerning his "new doctrine, and the mysteries, which he spoke in the world: and "about the meanness and despicableness of his outward appearance, "and how he humbled himself, and died, and *(f)* lessened his deity: "how

A. D. 33.

(f) καὶ ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα. *p.* 35. *A.*

A. D. 33. "how many things he ſuffered from the Jews, and how he was "crucified, and deſcended into hell, and rent aſunder the encloſure "never before ſeparated, and aroſe, and raiſed up the dead, who "had been buried many ages: and how he deſcended alone, but "aſcended to his Father with a great multitude: and how he is ſet "down on the right hand of the Father with glorie in the heavens: "and how he will come again with glorie and power to judge the "living and the dead. Abgarus therefore iſſued out orders, that all "the citizens ſhould come together early the next morning to hear "the preaching of Thaddeus. And after that he commanded, that "gold and ſilver ſhould be given to him. But he did not receive it, "ſaying: When we have left our own things, how ſhould we re-"ceive thoſe things which belong to others? This was done in the "four hundred and thirtieth year. Theſe things tranſlated from the "Syriac language word for word, we have placed here, as we think, "not improperly."

Thus I have now tranſlated this whole hiſtorie from Euſebius at large, thinking that to be the ſhorteſt way to a good concluſion: and that all my readers may be the better able to judge of the remarks that ſhall be made.

Various are the opinions of learned men concerning this hiſtorie, ſome receiving it as true, or at leſt (*g*) being favorable to it: others rejecting it, as (*h*) falſe and fabulous. I ſhall put down here the following obſervations.

1. In

(*g*) *Cav. H. L. Grabe Spic. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 554. *ABp. Wake's Introduction to his tranſlation of the Apoſtolical Fathers. ch. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. St. Thomas. T. i. p.* 360. *Addiſon of the Chriſtian Religion Section i. num. viii. p.* 280.

(*h*) *Ja. Baſnage. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe. l.* 21. *ch. ii. p.* 1312. *Hiſt. des Juifs. Vol. i. p.* 200. *S. Baſnag. Ann.* 29. *n. xxxvii .. xlii. Fr. Spanh. H. E. T. i. p.* 578. *et* 794. *Pagi. ann.* 244. *n. vii. Cleric. H. E.*

A. D. 33.

1. In the first place, then, I think, we are not to make any doubt of the truth of what Eusebius says, that all this was recorded in the archives of the city Edessa in the Syriac language, and was thence translated into Greek. Eusebius has been supposed by some to say, that himself translated it from the Syriac. But that is not clear. Nor is it certain, that he understood Syriac. Much less have we any reason to say, that he was at Edessa, and took this account from the archives himself.

2. This historie is not mentioned by any before (*i*) Eusebius: not by *Justin Martyr*, nor *Tatian*, nor *Clement of Alexandria*, nor *Origen*, nor by any other. Nor does Eusebius give any hint of that kind. He had it from *Edessa*. It was unheard of among the Greeks, till his time. But having received it, he thought it might be not improperly transcribed into his Ecclesiastical Historie.

3. It is not much taken notice of by succeding writers. It is not mentioned, I think, by *Athanasius*, nor *Gregorie Nyssen*, or *Nazianzen*, nor *Epiphanius*, nor *Chrysostom*. *Jerome* has once mentioned it, and will be cited by and by. But he has not inserted in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, either *Jesus*, or *Abgarus*: neither of whom would have been omitted, if he had any respect for the epistles here produced by Eusebius. This affair is indeed mentioned, or referred to by *Ephraim the Syrian*, in his Testament. But that is not a work of so much authority, as has been supposed by

E. p. 332. *et Bib. ch. T. xvi. p.* 99. *Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p.* 319. *&c. Philip. Jacob. Sklerandr. H. Antiq. Ec. Chr. cap. vii. not.* 65. *J. Jones upon the canon of the N. T. Vol.* 2. *p.* 1. *&c. Du Pin Diss. Prelim. Tom. ii. Vid. et Vales Annot in Euseb. Colonia La Religion chrêt. authorisée par les Payens. T.* 2. *p.* 339. *&c.*

(*i*) Tous les ecrivains Ecclesiastiques, qui ont esté depuis J. C. jusqu'au temps d'Eusebe, ne nous parlent ni près ni loin de cette Histoire, ni de ces Epitres. Et qui croira, qu'ils n'en eussent rien dit, si elle leur eust esté connuë? &c. *Sueur. Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. A. J. C.* 31. *T. i. p.* 103. *&c.*

A. D 33. by ſome. And it is interpolated in ſeveral places, both in the Greek and Syriac copies of it: as was obſerved (*k*) formerly.

4. This whole affair was unknown to Chriſt's Apoſtles, and to the believers, their contemporaries, both Jews and Gentils: as is manifeſt from the early diſputes about the method of receiving Gentil converts into the Church. If Jeſus Chriſt had himſelf writ a letter to a Heathen Prince, and had promiſed to ſend to him one of his diſciples, and if that diſciple had accordingly gone to Edeſſa, and there received the King and his ſubjects into communion with the church, without circumciſion; there could have been no room for any doubt or diſpute about the method of receiving Gentil converts to Chriſtianity. Or if any diſpute had ariſen, would not this hiſtorie of the viſit of *Thaddeus* have been alleged? Which would have been ſufficient to put all to ſilence. Nor is there any room to ſay, that this viſit of Thaddeus at Edeſſa was after St. Peter's going to the houſe of Cornelius, or after the Council of Jeruſalem. For it is dated in the 340. year, that is, of the aera of the Seleucidae, or of the Edeſſens. Which is computed to be the 15. or 16. year of the reign of Tiberius, and the year of Chriſt 29. when, according to many ancient Chriſtians, our Lord died, and roſe again, and aſcended to heaven. Indeed, I think, it is impoſſible to reconcile this account with the hiſtorie in the Acts of the Apoſtles.

5. If Jeſus Chriſt had writ a letter to King Abgarus, it would have been a part of ſacred ſcripture, and would have been placed at the head of all the books of the New Teſtament. But it was never ſo reſpected by any ancient Chriſtian Writers. It does not appear in any catalogues of canonical books, which we have in ancient authors, or in Councils. In the Decree of the Council of Rome, in the time of Pope *Gelaſius*, in the year 496. the Epiſtle of Chriſt to Abgarus is

(*k*) *See the Credibility, &c. P. 2. vol. ix. p.* 183. 184.

is expresly called *(l)* apocryphal. Nor does Eusebius himself upon any occasion reckon it up among canonical scriptures, received by those before him. The titles of the chapters of his Ecclesiastical Historie are allowed to be his own. The title of the chapter, which has been just transcribed from him is this: *A Historie concerning the Prince of the Edessens.* It was a storie, which he had received. And he afterwards tells us particularly, where he had it. And in the first chapter of the second book of the same work, having mentioned the choice of Matthias in the room of Judas, and the choice of the seven Deacons, and the death of St. Stephen from the Acts, he recites again briefly the historie before told concerning Abgarus, and says: *This (m) we have learned from the historie of the ancients. Now we return to the sacred Scripture.* Where he proceeds to relate from the Acts what followed after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. In short, though Eusebius would not pass over this affair without notice, he seems not to have placed any great weight upon it. And succeeding writers have better understood his meaning, than some of late times, who have shewn so much regard to this relation.

A. D. 33.

6. It was the opinion of many of the most learned and ancient Christians, that our Lord wrote nothing. Therefore this epistle was unknown to them, or they did not suppose it to be genuine. To this purpose speak (*n*) *Origen*, (*o*) *Jerome*, and *(p) Augustin.*

7. There are several things in this epistle to Abgarus, which are liable to exception.

1.) At the begining of the epistle our Lord is made to say: *Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me, though*

(*l*) Epistola Jesus ad Abgarum Regem apocrypha.

(*m*) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας ἐιρήσθω. Μετίωμεν δ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν γραφήν. *L.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 39. *B.*

(*n*) *Contr. Cels. l. i.* §. 45. *p.* 34.

(*o*) *Hieron. in Ezech. cap. xliv. T. iii. p.* 1034.

(*p*) *De Consens. Evang. l. i. cap.* 7. *et Retract. l.* 2. *cap.* 16.

thou

A. D. 33. *thou haſt not ſeen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have ſeen me ſhould not believe in me, that they who have not ſeen me might believe in me, and live.* Says *Du Pin*, and to the like purpoſe ſay others: "Where *(q)* are thoſe words written? Does not one ſee, "that he who made this letter, alludes to the words of Jeſus Chriſt "to St. Thomas: *Bleſſed are they, who have not ſeen, and yet have "believed.* John xx. 29. Words which were not ſpoken by Jeſus "Chriſt untill after his reſurrection, and which were not writ, untill "long afterwards. Which manifeſtly ſhews the forgerie of this "epiſtle."

2.) Our Lord here ſeems to ſpeak more clearly of his reſurrection, or being *taken up to heaven*, than he does to the diſciples in the Goſpels.

3.) Chriſt here defers to cure Abgarus of his diſtemper. He tells him, *that ſome time hereafter he would ſend one of his diſciples to him, who ſhould heal him.* Which is altogether unworthie of the Lord Jeſus, and different from his uſual and well known conduct, who never refuſed to grant the requeſts of thoſe who ſought to him, and expreſſed faith in his power. Inſtead of what is here ſaid to Abgarus, after commending his faith, our Lord would have added, and ſaid: *Henceforth thou art healed of thy diſtemper.* Or *be it unto thee according to thy faith.* Or, *as thou haſt believed, ſo be it done unto thee.* This we can conclude from ſimilar caſes, recorded by authentic witneſſes. Matt. viii. 13. xv. 28. Mark vii. 29.

8. There are ſeveral other things in this hiſtorie, which are very liable to exception.

1.) It is ſaid, that after our Lord's reſurrection and aſcenſion, Thomas ſent to Edeſſa Thaddeus, *one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples.* But Thaddeus was an Apoſtle, as we learn from Matt. x. 3. and Mark iii. 8. It is likewiſe here ſaid, that *Judas called alſo Thomas, ſent*

(q) *Diſſ. Prelim. liv. 2. ch. vi. §. 1.*

sent Thaddeus. Upon which *Valesius (r)* observes: "Thomas, who "was one of the twelve, was also called Didymus, as we learn from "St. John. But that he was also called Judas, is no where said, "but in this place. For which cause this storie is justly suspected." Jerome speaking of this matter (*t*) says, "Ecclesiastical Historie informs us, that the Apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa, to Abgarus king of Osrhoëne, who by the Evangelist Luke is called Judas brother of James. Luke vi. 16. and Acts i. 13. and elsewhere is called Lebbeus. Matt. x. 3. So that he had three names." A. D. 33.

2.) When Thaddeus comes to Edessa, he does not go immediatly to the King, to whom he was sent, as might be reasonably expected. But he goes to the house of *Tobias*, where he stays some while, and works many miracles: which being noised abroad, the King hears of him, and sends for him. All this is very absurd. If Thaddeus, a disciple of Jesus, had been sent to the King of Edessa, he ought, and would have gone to him directly, or would have made application to one of the courtiers to introduce him to the prince. This therefore cannot be true historie, but must be the invention of some ignorant, though conceited person.

3.) "It looks not a little fabulous, says Mr. *Jones*, that upon "Thaddeus's appearing before the King, he should see somewhat "extraordinarie in his countenance, which none of the company else "could perceive. Eusebius calls it ὅραμα μέγα, a great vision: Va-"lesius renders it *divinum nescio quid*, some divine appearance."

4.) "The

(*r*) Thomas quidem, qui fuit unus ex duodecim, dicebatur Didymus, teste Joanne Evangelista. Sed eundem Judam esse cognominatum, alibi quod sciam non reperitur. Itaque et hoc nomine narratio ista merito in suspicionem venit. *Vales. in loc. p.* 21.

(*t*) Thaddaeum Apostolum, Ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem Osroënae, qui ab Evangelista Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi appellatur Lebbaeus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinomium. *Hieron. in Matt. x.* 3. *Tom.* 4. *P. i. p.* 35.

A. D. 33.

4.) "The account in the hiſtory, ſays the ſame laborious author, "that Abgarus deſigned to make war upon the Jews for crucifying "Chriſt, ſeems very unlikely: becauſe it is plain he was prince only "of a ſmall city, and that at a vaſt diſtance from Judea: and there-"fore could never be ſo extravagant, as to imagine himſelf able to "deſtroy ſo powerfull a nation, as the Jews then were."

5.) Abgarus is ſaid to have had a grievous and incurable diſtemper, for which he deſired relief of Jeſus. This is ſaid over and over. But what the diſtemper was, is not ſaid. Learned moderns, (*u*) who are not wanting in invention for ſupplying the defects of ancient hiſtorie, ſay, ſome of them, that it was *the gout*, others *the leproſie*. However, preſently after the cure of the prince, we are told of one *Abdus* ſon of *Abdus*, whom Thaddeus cured of the gout.

6.) We read not of any other city or countrey, in the firſt three centuries, where the people were all at once converted to the Chriſtian faith. If the people of Edeſſa had been all Chriſtians from the days of the Apoſtles, it would have been known before the time of Euſebius. And I may add, that if this ſtorie, told by our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, had been eſteemed credible, it would have been much more taken notice of by ſucceeding writers, than it is (*x*).

7.) I forbear to remark, as I might, upon that expreſſion of Thaddeus in his diſcourſe with Abgarus: *Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and God fulfilled the will of the Father*: or upon what is here ſaid of Chriſt's *deſcent into hell.*

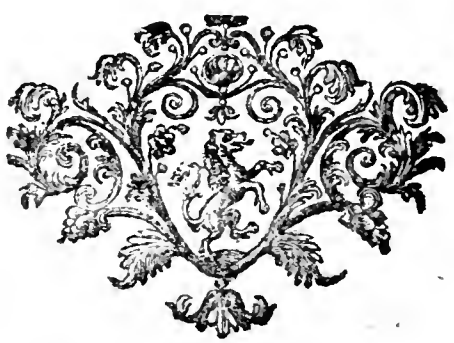
9. The

(*u*) Cet Abgare eſt qualifié tantôt Toparque, ou Prince, et tantoſt Roy. Procope en dit bien des choſes, qui ſont agreables, mais qui ſentent fort la fable.

Ce prince eſtoit travaillé d' une maladie faſcheuſe et incurable, (ce que Procope entend de la gout, et les nouveaux Grecs de la lepre) &c. *Tillem, as before. M. E. T. i. p.* 361.

(*x*) The converſion of the whole city is implied in what is above tranſcribed, and ſo Euſebius underſtood it, for he ſays, in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book, p. 39. A. Ἐισέτι τε νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ πᾶσα τῶν ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλις τῇ τοῦ χρίσου προσανάκειται προσηγορίᾳ.

9. The observations, which have been already made, are sufficient to shew, that the Letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, and our Lord's Rescript, cannot be reckoned genuine. The whole historie is the fiction of some Christian at Edessa, in the time of Eusebius, or not long before. The people of Edessa were then, generally, Christians, and they valued themselves upon it. And they were willing to do themselves the honour of a very early conversion to the Christian Faith. By some one, or more of them, united together, this historie was formed, and was so far received by *Eusebius*, as to be thought by him not improper to be inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. Nor could I omit to take some notice of it, as great regard has been shewn to it by some. But all my readers may perceive, that I bring not in this thing as a testimonie, of the first antiquity: though it may afford good proof of the Christianity of the people of *Edessa*, at the begining of the fourth centurie, when Eusebius flourished, or before. A. D. 33.



CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Knowledge, which the Emperour Tiberius had of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

§. I. *The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius.* II. *The Storie of Thamus, in Plutarch, concerning the Death of Pan, considered.*

A. D. 33.

Acts of Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius.

I. JUSTIN MARTYR, in his first Apologie, which was presented to the Emperour Antonin the Pious, and the Senate of Rome about the year 140. having mentioned our Saviour's crucifixion, and some of the circumstances of it, adds. "And (*a*) that these things were so done, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Afterwards in the same Apologie, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases, and raising the dead, he adds: "And (*b*) that these things were done by him, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Ter-

(*a*) Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων. *J. M. Ap. i. p.* 76. *C. Paris.* 1636. *num.* 35. *p.* 65. *Bened.*

(*b*) Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. *Ib. p.* 84. *C. Paris. num.* 48. *p.* 72. *Bened.*

Tertullian, in his Apologie about the year 200. having ſpoken of our Saviour's crucifixion, and reſurrection, and his appearances to the diſciples, and his aſcenſion to heaven in the ſight of the ſame diſciples, who were ordained by him to preach the goſpel over the world, goes on. " Of (*c*) all theſe things relating to Chriſt, Pilate " in his conſcience a Chriſtian, ſent an account to the Emperour " Tiberius, then Emperour." A. D. 33.

In another chapter, or ſection of the ſame Apologie, nearer the begining, he ſpeaks to this purpoſe. " There (*d*) was an ancient " decree, that no one ſhould be received for a deity, unleſs he was " firſt approved of by the Senate. Tiberius, in whoſe time the Chri- " ſtian Religion had it's riſe, having received from Paleſtine in Sy- " ria an account of ſuch things as manifeſted our Saviour's divinity, " propoſed to the Senate, and giving his own vote as firſt in his fa- " vour, that he ſhould be placed among the gods. The Senate re- " fuſed, becauſe he had himſelf declined that honour. Nevertheleſs " the Emperour perſiſted in his own opinion, and ordered, that if " any accuſed the Chriſtians, they ſhould be puniſhed." And then adds.

(*c*) Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem, circumfuſa nube in coelum eſt ereptus, multo melius quam apud vos aſſeverare de Romulis Proculi ſolent. Ea omnia ſuper Chriſto Pilatus, et ipſe jam pro ſua conſcientia Chriſtianus, Caeſari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. *Tertull. Ap. cap.* 21. *p.* 22 *C.*

(*d*) Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejuſmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore conſecraretur, niſi a Senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo ſuo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad cauſſam noſtram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas penſitatur. Niſi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit. Homo jam deo propitius eſſe debebit. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Chriſtianum in ſeculum intravit, annuntiata ſibi ex Syria Palaeſtina, quae illic veritatem iſtius divinitatis revelarant, detulit ad Senatum cum praerogativa ſuffragii ſui. Senatus, quia non ipſe probaverat, reſpuit. Caeſar in ſententia manſit, comminatus periculum accuſatoribus Chriſtianorum. Conſulite commentarios veſtros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hac ſectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caeſariano gladio ferociſſe. *Ib. cap.* 5. *p.* 6.

A. D. 33. adds. "Search, says he, Your own writings. And you will there "find, that Nero was the first Emperour who exercised any acts "of severity toward the Christians, because they were then very "numerous at Rome."

It is fit, we should now observe what notice *Eusebius* takes of these things in his Ecclesiastical Historie. It is to this effect.

"When (*e*) the wonderfull resurrection of our Saviour, and his "ascension to heaven, were in the mouths of all men, it being an "ancient custom for the Governours of provinces, to write to the "Emperour, and give him an account of new and remarkable oc-"currences, that he might not be ignorant of any thing, our Savi-"our's resurrection being much talked of throughout all Palestine, "Pilate informed the Emperour of it, as likewise of his miracles, "which he had heard of: and that being raised up after he had "been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a god. "And it is said, that Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, but "that they refused their consent under a pretense, that it had not "been first approved of by them: there being an ancient law, that "no one should be deified among the Romans, without an order of "the Senate: but indeed because the saving and divine doctrine of "the gospel needed not to be confirmed by human judgement and "authority. However, Tiberius persisted in his former sentiment, "and allowed not any thing to be done that was prejudicial to the "doctrine of Christ. These things are related by Tertullian, a man "famous on other accounts, and particularly for his skill in the Ro-"man laws. I say, he speaks thus in his Apologie for the Christi-"ans, writ by him in the Roman tongue, but since translated into "Greek. His words are these: *There was an ancient decree, that "no one should be consecrated as a deity by the Emperour, unless he was "first*

(*e*) *Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 2.*

A. D. 33.

"*first approved of by the Senate. Marcus Aemilius knows this by his* "*god Alburnus. This is to our purpose, forasmuch as among you di-* "*vinity is bestowed by human judgement. And if God does not please* "*man, he shall not be God. And according to this way of thinking,* "*man must be propitious to God. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the* "*Christian name was first known in the world, having received an ac-* "*count of this doctrine out of Palestine, where it began, communicated* "*that account to the Senate: giving (f) in at the same time his own* "*suffrage in favour of it. But the Senate rejected it, because it had* "*not been approved by themselves. Nevertheless the Emperour persist-* "*ed in his judgement, and threatened death to such as should accuse the* "*Christians.*" "Which, adds Eusebius, could be no other than a "disposal of Divine Providence, that the doctrine of the gospel, "which was then in it's begining, might be preached all over the "world without molestation." So *Eusebius.* I forbear as yet to take particular notice of what is said of this matter by later writers.

Divers exceptions have been made by learned moderns to the original testimonies of Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. "Is there any "likelihood, say they, that Pilate should write such things to Tibe-"rius concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death? And "if he had writ them, is it probable, that Tiberius should propose "to the Senate to have a man put among the number of the gods "upon the bare relation of a Governour of a province? And if he "had proposed it, who can make a doubt, that the Senate would not "have immediatly complied? So that though we dare not say, that "this narration is absolutly false, yet it must be reckoned at the left "doubtfull." So says *(g)* Du Pin.

These and other difficulties shall be considered.

(f) Δῆλος ἂν ἐκείνοις, ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐπεὶ οὐκ αὐτῇ δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπώσατο. *P.* 41. *C.*

(g) Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 24. *a.*

A. D. 33.

Now therefore I shall mention some observations.

In the *first* place I observe, that *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* are early writers of good repute. That is an observation of Bp. (*h*) *Pearson.* These testimonies are taken from the most public writings, Apologies for the Christian Religion, presented, or at left proposed and recommended to the Emperour and Senate of Rome, or to Magistrates of high authority and great distinction in the Roman Empire.

Secondly, it certainly was the custom of the Governours of provinces to compose acts, or memoirs, or commentaries of the remarkable occurrences in the places where they presided.

In the time of the first Roman Emperours there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City, or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of Governours of provinces. Of all these we can discern clear proofs, and frequent mention, in ancient writers of the best credit.

Julius Caesar ordered, that (*i*) Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People, should be published.

Augustus (*k*) forbad publishing the Acts of the Senate.

There (*l*) was an officer, himself a Senator, whose province it was to compose those Acts.

The

(*h*) Nihil igitur est, quod in hac historia refelli possit. Et cum Tertullianus adeo gravis, adeo antiquus auctor, adeo rerum Romanarum peritus fuerit, tutius multo est istam Tiberii ad Senatum de Divinitate Christi relationem amplecti. *Pearson. Lection. in Acta Apost. iv.* §. *xv. p.* 65.

(*i*) Inito honore, primus omnium instituit, ut tam Senatûs quam populi diurna acta conficerentur. *Sueton. Jul. Caes. cap.* 20.

(*k*) Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit: in queis ne acta Senatûs publicarentur. *Sueton. Aug. cap.* 36.

(*l*) Fuit in Senatu Junius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes ejus introspicere creditur. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 5. *cap.* 4.

The Acts of the Senate must have been large and voluminous, containing (*m*) not only the question proposed, or referred to the Senate by the Consul, or the Emperour, but also the debates and speeches of the Senators. A. D. 33.

The (*n*) Acts of the People, or City, were journals or registers of remarkable births, marriages, divorces, deaths, proceedings in Courts of judicature, and other interesting affairs, and some other things, below the dignity of historie:

To (*o*) these Acts, of each kind, Roman authors frequently had recourse for information.

There were such Acts or registers at other places, beside Rome, particularly at *Antium*. From them (*p*) *Suetonius* learned the day and place of the birth of Caligula, about which there were other uncertain reports. And he speaks of those Acts (*q*) as public authorities, and therefore more decisive and satisfactorie, than some other accounts.

(*m*) Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et antiquorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, et nunc maxime a Minucio contrahuntur: ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris, et tribus Epistolarum composita, et edita sunt. Ex his intelligi potest, Cn. Pompejum et Marcum Crassum, non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse. &c. *Tacit. seu quis alius, in Dialog. de Orator. cap.* 37.

Acta Senatus vocabant commentarios, Graece ὑπομνήματα, quibus breviter inscriptum quicquid apud Patres diceretur, agereturque. . . . Venio ad populi. &c. *Lipsii Excurs. ad Taciti libr. v. annal. cap.* 4.

(*n*) Nerone secundum et Lucio Pisone Consulibus, pauca memoriâ digna evenere: nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud Campum Martis Caesar adstruxerat, volumina implere: cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis actis mandare. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 13. *cap.* 31.

(*o*) Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna Actorum scriptura, reperio ullo insigni officio functam. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 3. *cap.* 3.

(*p*) Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. . . . Ego in Actis Antii invenio editum. *Sueton. Cal. cap.* 8. *Vid. et Tiber. cap.* 5.

(*q*) Sequenda igitur est, quae sola restat, publici instrumenti auctoritas. *Id. Calig. cap.* 8.

A. D. 33. There were also Acts of the Governors of provinces, registring all remarkable transactions and occurrences. *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* could not be mistaken about this. And the learned Bishop of Cesarea admits the truth of what they say. And in the time of the persecuting Emperour Maximin, in the year of Christ 307. or thereabout, the Heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatorie to the honour of our Saviour, which were very diligently spread abroad, to unsettle Christians, or discourage them in the profession of their faith. Of this we are informed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie (*r*).

Thirdly, it was customary for Governours of provinces to send to the Emperour an account of remarkable transactions in the places where they presided (*s*).

So thought the learned Eusebius, as we have seen. And Pliny's letters to Trajan, still exstant, are a proof of it. Philo (*t*) speaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria, sent to Caligula, which that Emperour read with more eagerness and satisfaction, than any thing else.

The (*u*) Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious. Nevertheless it must be allowed by all, that (*x*) Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs

(*r*) *Vid. H. E. l.* 1. *cap. ix. et l.* 9. *cap. v.*

(*s*) Omnino igitur credendum est aliqua fuisse Pilati acta, ipsius auctoritate confecta, et ad Tiberium transmissa. *Pearson. Lect. iii. in Act. Ap.* §. *iv.*

(*t*) ... τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημέρισιν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Αλεξανδρέιας διεπέμποντό τινες, προσέχων· ἥδιστον γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τὸ αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ ἄλλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν ἀηδέστατα συγκρίσει τῆς ἐν τούτοις χάριτος νομίζεσθαι. κ. λ. *Philo de Legat. ad Caium. p.* 1016. *A.*

(*u*) *Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p.* 298. *et p.* 972. *&c.*

(*x*) Imo non potuit Pilatus officii sui rationem tantopere negligere, ut tantae rei in suâ provinciâ gestae notitiam Imperatori non impartiretur. *Pearson. ubi supr. Lect. iv. n. xiv. Vid. et Tob. Eckard. cap. iv. n. xi. p.* 126.

memoirs concerning our Saviour, and ſent them to the Emperour, whether Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian have given a juſt account of them, or not. A. D. 33.

Fourthly, It (*y*) is ſaid to be very unlikely, that Pilate ſhould write ſuch things to Tiberius, concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death.

To which it is eaſie to reply, that if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely, that he ſhould ſpeak favorably, and honorably of our Saviour. That (*z*) Pilate paſt ſentence of condemnation upon our Lord very unwillingly, and not without a ſort of compulſion, appears from the hiſtorie of the Evangeliſts. Matt. xxvii. 11. 26. 62. ... 65. Mark xv. 1. ... 15. Luke xxiii. 1. ... 25. John xvii. 28. ... 40. xix 1. ... 13. Pilate was hard preſſed. The rulers of the Jews *vehemently accuſed* our Lord to him. They ſaid, *they had found him perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Ceſar, ſaying, that himſelf is Chriſt, a King*, and the like. And all without effect for a great while. Pilate ſtill ſought for expedients to ſet Jeſus at liberty. As his reluctance had been very manifeſt and public in a court of judicature, in the chief city of the nation, at the time of one of their great feſtivals: it is highly probable, that when he ſent to Rome, he ſhould make ſome apologie for this conduct. Nor could any thing be more proper, than to allege ſome of our Saviour's miracles, which he had heard of, and to give an account of the zeal of thoſe who profeſſed faith in him, after his ignominious crucifixion,

(*y*) Negare interim minime velim, Pilatum aliquid ſuper tali ac tanto negotio ſcripſiſſe: at incertum eſſe quid ac quale id fuerit, atque ideo prudentiores, Euſebium, Hieronymum, ſimileſque, talia cautius prodidiſſe. *Ant. Vandale Diſſ. de Actis Pilati. p.* 615. *Amſt.* 1700.

(*z*) ... cujus et Pilatus, qui nolens compulſus eſt, contra Dominum ferre ſententiam. *Hieron. adv. Jovin. l.* 2. *p.* 218. *Tom.* 4.

A. D. 33. cifixion, and openly afferted, that he was rifen from the dead, and afcended up to heaven.

If Pilate fent any letter to Tiberius, (as very probably he did,) he would not dare to write falfhood, nor to conceal the moft material circumftances of the cafe, about which he was writing. At the trial of Jefus, he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews feveral times, *that he found in him no fault at all.* And when he was going to pronounce the fentence of condemnation, *he took water and wafhed his hands before the multitude, faying: I am innocent of the bloud of this juft perfon. See ye to it.* Matt. xxvii. 24. When he wrote to Tiberius, he would be very naturally led to fay fomething of our Lord's wonderfull refurrection and afcenfion, which were much talked of, and believed by many, with which he could not poffibly be unacquainted. The mention of thefe things would be the beft vindication of his inward perfuafion, and repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence upon the trial, notwithftanding the loud clamours, and united accufations of the Jewifh people, and their rulers.

Pilate, as has been faid feveral times, paffed condemnation upon Jefus, very unwillingly, and not till after a long trial. When he paffed fentence upon him, he gave orders, that this title, or infcription fhould be put upon the croffe: *Jefus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.* When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Jofeph of Arimathea, an honourable Counfellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he confented, but not till after affurance received from the Centurion, that he had been fome time dead. The next day fome of the *Priefts and Pharifees* came to him, faying: *Sir, we remember that that deceiver faid, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rife again. Command therefore, that the fepulchre be made fure, untill the third day, leaft his difciples come by night, and fteal him away, and fay unto the people, He*

is

is risen from the dead. So the last errour shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them. Ye have a watch. Go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch. Whilst they were at the sepulchre, there was a *great earthquake*, the stone was rolled away by an angel, *whose countenance was like lightening, and for fear of whom the guards did shake and became as dead men. Some of the guards went down into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests, all the things that were done.* Nor can there be any doubt, that those things came also to *** the *Governour's ears.* Pilate therefore was furnished with many materials of great importance relating to this case, very proper to be sent to the Emperour. And very probably he did send them. For he could do no otherwise. A. D. 33.

Fifthly, It is said, that (*a*) if Pilate had sent such things to Tiberius, it is nevertheless very unlikely, that Tiberius should propose to the Senate, that our Saviour might be put among the number of the Gods. For that Emperour had little or no regard to things of religion.

But it is easie to answer, that such observations are of little or no importance. Few princes are able to preserve uniformity in the whole of their conduct. And it is certain, that Tiberius varied from himself upon many occasions, and in different parts of his life.

Sixthly,

(***) Illud certe dubitare non possumus, Pilatum vocasse ad se hos milites, ex iisque rem vere gestam cognovisse. *Heumann. Testimonium militum de Resurrectione Christi. p.* 100. *ap. Primitias Gotting.*

(*a*) Mihi certe, . . . haud facile persuaserim, Tiberium Caesarem, cujus mores ab omni religionum omnium cultu per quam fuisse alienissimos, comperior, de Christo Dom. et Christiana religione, tantopere curasse, ut de illa retulerit ad Senatum, . . . Tota hominis vita nil aliud praedicat, quam quod dico. Et Suetonio dictum est expresse et signanter. *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicae, persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi. Tan. Fab. l.* 2. *Ep.* 12. *p.* 35.

A. D. 33.

Sixthly, It is farther urged, that *(b)* if Tiberius had propoſed the thing to the Senate, there can be no doubt, that the Senate would have immediatly complied.

But neither is this difficulty inſuperable. For we are aſſured by Suetonius, that (*c*) Tiberius let ſeveral things be decided by the Senate, contrarie to his own opinion, without ſhewing much uneaſineſſe.

And when he had determined to remove and deſtroy Sejanus, who had long been his favourite, he was far from being certain of the Senate's compliance. He *(d)* employed the utmoſt art and ſkill, and yet was for ſome while anxious and doubtfull of the iſſue.

Seventhly, The right interpretation of the words of Tertullian will be of uſe to remove difficulties, and to confirm the truth of the account.

I have tranſlated them in this manner. *When Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, that our Lord ſhould be placed in the number of the gods, the Senate refuſed, becauſe he had himſelf declined that honour.* The words are underſtood to the like purpoſe by (*e*) *Pearſon.*

There is another ſenſe, which is that of the Greek tranſlation of Ter-

(*b*) Hem ! Reſpuit Senatus, quod Tiberio placuit. *T. Faber. ibid.*

(*c*) Quaedam adverſus ſententiam ſuam decerni ne queſtus quidem eſt. . . Cum ſenatuſconſultum per diſceſſionem forte fieret, tranſeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, ſecutus eſt nemo. . . &c. *Sueton. Tiber. cap.* 31.

(*d*) Sejanum res novas molientem . . . vix tandem, et aſtu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate ſubvertit. *Sueton. ib. cap.* 65.

(*e*) *Senatus,* inquit Tertullianus, *quia in ſe non probaverat.* Ubi optima facti ratio redditur. Senatus antea Tiberio divinitatem obtulerat, quam ille ſibi oblatam reſpuit. Templa, Flamines, ſacerdotes decerni ſibi prohibuit. . . ut refert Suetonius. Quia igitur divinitatem in ſe non probaverat Tiberius, ſed oblatam rejecerat, tutiſſimum putabat Senatus alium neminem in deos ſuos referre, ne eum Tiberio majorem efficere viderentur. *Pearſon. Lect.* 4. *num. xiv.*

Tertullian's Apologie, made use of by Eusebius. *The Senate refused, because it had not itself approved of it.* But that sense, if it be any sense at all, is absurd, and therefore unlikely. If none beside the Senate had a right to consecrate any for a deity, yet certainly the Consul, or the Emperour, might refer such a thing to that venerable body. According to Tertullian's account, the whole is in a fair way of legal proceeding. By virtue of an ancient law, no one might be reckoned a god (at left by the Romans,) without the approbation of the Senate. Tiberius having been informed of some extraordinarie things concerning Jesus, referred it to the Senate, that he also might be placed in the number of the deities. Was it possible, after this, that the Senate should refuse it, under a pretense, that Tiberius had bestowed divinity upon Jesus, without their consent, when he had done no such thing, and at that very time was refering it to their judgement in the old legal way? A. D. 33.

Le Clerc objects, that *(f)* the true reading in Tertullian is not, *quia in se non probaverat*, but *quia non ipse probaverat.* Be it so. The meaning is the same. *Ipse* must intend the Emperour, not the Senate. The other sense is absurd, and next to a contradiction, and therefore not likely to be right. And at the same time it is a rude and needless affront. The other interpretation represents a handsome compliment, and a compliment not without foundation. For it is very true, that *(g)* Tiberius had himself declined receiving divine honours.

Eighthly, It has been objected, that Tiberius was unfriendly, to the Jewish people, and therefore it must be reckoned very impro-

(f) Cleric. H. E. an. 29. *n.* 97.

(*g*) Templa, flamines, sacerdotes, decerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se, poni: permisitque ea sola conditione, ne inter simulachra deorum, sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur. *Sueton. Tiber. cap.* 26.

A. D. 33. bable, that he ſhould be willing to put a man, who was a Jew, among the number of the gods.

But there is little or no ground for this objection. It was obviated long ago in the firſt part of this work, where, beſide other things, it is ſaid. " In the *(h)* reign of Tiberius the Jewiſh people " were generally well uſed. They were indeed baniſhed out of Ita- " lie, by an edict: but it was for a miſdemeanour, committed by " ſome villains of that nation. The great hardſhip was, that many " innocent perſons ſuffered beſide the guilty. Upon other occaſi- " ons, Tiberius ſhewed the Jews all the favour they could deſire, " eſpecially after the death of Sejanus, and is much applauded for " it by (*i*) Philo." And what there follows.

Ninthly, Still it is urged, " Nothing *(k)* can be more abſurd than " to ſuppoſe, that Tiberius would receive for a deity a man, who " taught the worſhip of one God only, and whoſe religion decried " all other deities, as mere fictions."

Upon which I muſt ſay: Nothing can be more abſurd, than this objection. Tertullian does not ſuppoſe Tiberius to be well acquainted with the Chriſtian Religion, or our Saviour's doctrine. All he ſays is, that having heard of ſome extraordinarie things concerning him, he had a deſire to put him among the Roman deities.

Tenthly, Tertullian proceeds. " Nevertheleſs the Emperour per- " ſiſted in his opinion, and ordered, that if any accuſed the Chriſti- " ans, they ſhould be puniſhed."

This

(*h*) *See the Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. viii. p.* 394.

(*i*) *De Legat. ad Caium. p.* 1015. *C. D.*

(*k*) Noverat Jeſum fuiſſe hominem Judaeum, uniuſque Dei cultorem, et qui omnes alios deos, quaſi hominum commenta rejiceret: ac proinde religionem, qua cum iis conjungeretur, ſummopere improbaturum, ſi in coelo viveret: et tamen eum una cum Romanis diis coli voluiſſet. Quo nihil abſurdius fingi poterat. *Cleric. H. E. an.* 29. *n.* 96.

A. D. 33.

This was very natural. Though the Senate would not put Jesus in the number of the deities, the Emperour was still of opinion, that it might have been done. And he determined to provide by an edict for the safety of those, who professed a high regard for Jesus Christ. Which edict, as Eusebius reasonably supposes, was of use for securing the free preaching of the gospel in many places. But the authority of that edict would cease at the Emperour's demise, if not sooner. Undoubtedly, it could not be in force, or have any great effect, for a long season.

Nor need we to consider the ordering such an edict as this, in favour of the Christians as an incredible thing: if we observe what Philo says, who assures us, "that (*l*) Tiberius gave orders to all the "Governours of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities where "they lived, in the observation of their own rites and customs: and "that they should bear hard upon none of them, but such as were "unpeaceable, and transgressed the laws of the state."

Nor is it improbable, that the Christians should partake of the like civilities, they being considered as a sect of the Jews. And it is allowed that the Roman Emperour's did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous, that the Heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion.

In the *eleventh* place. Says a learned and judicious (*m*) writer: "It is probable, that Pilate, who had no enmity toward Christ, and "accounted him a man justly accused, and an extraordinarie person, "might be moved by the wonderfull circumstances attending and "following his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to "think him a Hero, and the son of some Deity. It is possible, that "he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of "these transactions to Tiberius: but it is not at all likely, that Ti-

 "berius

(*l*) . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς αἰτίοις. *De Legat. ad Caium*, *p.* 1015. *C.*

(*m*) *Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Historie. vol. i. p.* 2. . . 4.

A. D. 33. "berius propoſed to the Senate, that Chriſt ſhould be deified, and "that the Senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favour-"ably diſpoſed toward Chriſt, and that he threatened to puniſh "thoſe, who ſhould moleſt, and accuſe the Chriſtians." "Obſerve "alſo, *ſays the ſame learned writer*, that the Jews perſecuted the A-"poſtles, and ſlew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the "Church, entering into every houſe, and haling men and women, "committed them to priſon, and that Pilate connived at all this vi-"olence, and was not afraid of the reſentment of Tiberius on that "account."

Admitting the truth of all theſe particulars juſt mentioned, it does not follow, that no orders were given by Tiberius for the protection of the followers of Jeſus. For no commands of Princes are obeyed by all men every where. They are oftentimes tranſgreſſed. Nor was any place more likely than Judea, where the enmity of many againſt the diſciples of Jeſus was ſo great. Nor need it to be ſuppoſed, that Tiberius was very intent to have this order ſtrictly regarded. For he was upon many occaſions very indolent and dilatorie. And he was well known to be ſo. Moreover the death of Stephen was tumultuous, and not an act of the Jewiſh Council. And farther the influence of Pilate in that countrey was not now, in it's full height. We perceive, from the Hiſtorie of our Lord's trial before him, as recorded in the Goſpels, that he ſtood in fear of the (*n*) Jews. "He (*o*) was apprehenſive, that if he did not gratify them "in that point, they might draw up a long liſt of mal-adminiſtra-"tions for the Emperour's view. His condemnation of Jeſus at the "importunity of the Jews, contrarie to his own judgement and in-"clination, declared to them more than once, was a point gained: "and his government muſt have been ever after much weakened by "ſo

(*n*) *See particularly John xix.* 12.
(*o*) *Credib. &c. P. i. B. i. ch.* 2. §. *xii.* *p.* 195. *Comp. B.* 2. *ch. iii.* §. *iii. p.* 841.

" ſo mean a condeſcenſion. And that Pilate's influence in the pro- A. D. 33.
" vince continued to decline, is manifeſt, in that the people of it
" prevailed at laſt to have him removed in a very ignominious man-
" ner, by Vitellius Preſident of Syria."

Pilate was removed from his government before the Paſſover in the year of Chriſt 36. After which *(p)* there was no Procurator, or other perſon with power of life and death, in Judea, before the acceſſion of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41. In that ſpace of time, the Jews would take an unuſual licence, and gratify their own malicious diſpoſitions, beyond what they could have otherwiſe done, without controlle.

Twelfthly, Some have objected, that Tertullian is ſo abſurd, as to ſpeak of *Chriſtians*, in the time of Tiberius: though it be certain, that the followers of Jeſus were not known by that denomination, till ſome time afterwards.

But that is a trifling objection. Tertullian intends no more by *Chriſtians* than followers of Jeſus, by whatever name they were known and diſtinguiſhed: whether that of *Nazareans*, or *Galileans*, or *Diſciples*. And it is undoubted, that the Chriſtian Religion had it's riſe in the reign of Tiberius: though they who profeſſed to believe in Jeſus, as riſen from the dead, and aſcended to heaven, were not called *Chriſtians*, till ſome while afterwards. So at the begining of the paragraph he ſays, *There was an ancient law, that no god ſhould be conſecrated by the Emperour, unleſs it was firſt approved by the Senate.* Nevertheleſs Tertullian was not ſo ignorant, as not to know, that there were not any Emperours, when that ancient decree was paſſed. His meaning is, that no one ſhould be deified by any man, no not by a Conſul or Emperour, without the approbation of the Senate.

Finally,

(p) See Credib. as before, p. 196.

A. D. 33.

Finally, We do not ſuppoſe, that Tiberius underſtood the doctrine of our Saviour, or that he was at all inclined to be a Chriſtian. Nor did Tertullian intend to ſay any ſuch thing. For immediatly after the paſſage firſt cited from him, he adds. "But *(q)* the Ceſars themſelves would have believed in Jeſus Chriſt, if they had "not been neceſſarie for the world, or if Chriſtians could have been "Ceſars."

Grotius (*r*) appears to have rightly underſtood the importance of theſe paſſages of Tertullian. Whoſe note therefore upon Matthew xxiv. 11. I have tranſcribed below.

Admit then the right interpretation of *Tertullian*, and it may be allowed, that what he ſays, is not incredible, nor improbable. The Romans had almoſt innumerable deities, and yet they frequently added to that number, and adopted new. As deifications were very frequent, Tiberius might indulge a thought of placing Jeſus among the eſtabliſhed deities, without (*s*) intending to derogate from the worſhip or honour of thoſe who were already received. But the Senate was not in the humour to gratify him. And the reaſon aſſigned is, becauſe the Emperour himſelf had declined that honour. Which is ſo plauſible a pretenſe, and ſo fine a compliment, that we cannot

(*q*) Sed et Caeſares credidiſſent ſuper Chriſto, ſi aut Caeſares non eſſent ſeculo neceſſarii, aut ſi et Chriſtiani potuiſſent eſſe Caeſares. *Apol. cap.* 21. *p.* 22. *C.*

(*r*) Cum Paganiſmo Chriſtianam religionem miſcere aggreſſus eſt omnium primus Simon Magus, Claudio imperante. Nam et ipſe pro deo haberi voluit. Credibile eſt, perveniſſe ad eum famam conſilii ejus, quod a Tiberio datum Senatui Romano legimus, ut Chriſtus adderetur deorum numero. Qualem rerum plane inſociabilium mixturam poſtea quoque Adrianus, Severus, Heliogabalus, ſed fruſtra, efficere conati ſunt. *Grot. ad Matt. xxiv. in.*

(*s*) Tiberius autem non ita Chriſtum voluit deum recipi, ut ſuetus Romanorum cultus abrogaretur, ſed ut juxta coleretur, uti Julium Caeſarem Auguſtus, et Auguſtum ipſe Tiberius conſecraverat, et coli ſecundum ceteros deos volebat. &c. *Tob. Echard. cap.* 4. *n.* 8. *p.* 122.

cannot eafily fuppofe it to be *Tertullian*'s own invention. Which therefore gives credibility to the account. A. D. 33.

Eufebius, though he acknowledgeth the overruling Providence of God in the favorable difpofition of Tiberius toward the firft followers of Jefus, by which means the Chriftian Religion in it's infance was propagated over the world with lefs moleftation, does alfo fay, at the begining of the chapter before quoted: " the Senate refufed " their confent to the Emperour's propofal, under a pretenfe, that " they had not been firft afked, there being an ancient law, that no " one fhould be deified without the approbation of the Senate. But " indeed, adds he, becaufe the faving and divine doctrine of the " gofpel needed not to be ratified by human judgement and autho- " rity."

Chryfoftom's obfervation is to the like purpofe, but with fome inaccuracies. It is likely, that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian. And he was no admirer of Eufebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. " The (*t*) Roman Senate, fays he, had " the power of nominating, and decreeing, who fhould be Gods. " When therefore all things concerning Chrift had been publifhed, " he who was the Governour of the Jewifh nation, fent to them, to " know, if they would be pleafed to appoint him alfo to be a God. " But they refufed, being offended and provoked, that before their " decree and judgement had been obtained, the power of the cru- " cified man had fhined out, and had attracted all the world to the " worfhip of him. But (*u*) by the overruling Providence of God, " this was brought to pafs againft their will, that the divinity of Chrift " might not be eftablifhed by human appointment, and that he " might not be reckoned one of the many, who were deified by " them."

(*t*) *Chryf. hom.* 26. *in* 2 *Cor. T. x. p.* 624. *A.*

(*u*) Τοῦτο δὲ ὠκονομεῖτο καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης ψήφου τὴν θεότητα ἀναχωρυχθῆναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. κ. λ.

A. D. 33. "them." Some of which, as he proceeds to ſhew, had been of infamous characters.

I ſhall now tranſcribe below (*x*) in his own words what *Oroſius*, in the fifth centurie, ſays of this matter, that all my readers may have it at once before them, without looking farther for it.

And I refer to *Zonaras (y)* and *(z) Nicephorus.* The former only quotes Euſebius, and tranſcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, above quoted by me. Nor has *Nicephorus* done much more.

Upon the whole, I think, the accounts of thoſe ancient authors, *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, deſerve ſome regard. It is upon them that I have made my comments. And my defenſe is confined to them. And we can perceive from Euſebius, and other later writers, that their accounts were received as true. But ſome make additions, or alterations in Tertullian's original narration, which diminiſh the credibility of the whole. *Oroſius* not only ſays, that the Senate refuſed to comply with the propoſal of Tiberius, but alſo, that *they were ſo provoked, as to order by an edict, that the Chriſtians ſhould be expelled the City.*

(*x*) At poſtquam paſſus eſt Dominus Chriſtus, atque a mortuis reſurrexit, et diſcipulos ſuos ad praedicandum dimiſit, Pilatus, Praeſes Palaeſtinae provinciae ad Tiberium Imperatorem atque Senatum retulit, de paſſione et reſurrectione Chriſti, conſequentibuſque virtutibus, quae per ipſum palam factae fuerant, vel per diſcipulos ipſius in nomine ejus fiebant, et de eo quod creſcente plurimorum fide Deus crederetur. Tiberius cum ſuffragio magni favoris retulit ad Senatum, ut Chriſtus Deus haberetur. Senatus indignatione motus, quod non ſibi prius ſecundum morem delatum eſſet, ut de ſuſcipiendo cultu prius ipſe decerneret, conſecrationem Chriſti recuſavit, edictoque conſtituit, exterminandos eſſe Urbe Chriſtianos: praecipue cum et Sejanus, Praefectus Tiberii, ſuſcipiendae religioni obſtinatiſſime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accuſatoribus Chriſtianorum mortem comminatus eſt. Itaque Paullatim immutata eſt illa Tiberii Caeſaris laudatiſſima modeſtia, in poenam contradictoris Senatus. *P. Oroſ. l. 7. cap.* 4.

(*y*) *Zonar. Ann. T.* 2. *p.* 176.

(*z*) *Niceph. l.* 2. *cap.* 8. *Conſ. l.* 1. *cap.* 16.

City. Which is loading the hiſtorie with two great abſurdities. For it is very improbable, that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſo numerous at Rome in the time of Tiberius, as to occaſion any uneaſineſſe to the Senate. And it is equally improbable, that the Senate ſhould behave ſo rudely to the Emperour. Tertullian's account is free from ſuch things, and ought not to be rejected, becauſe of additions made by later writers. A. D. 33.

The truth of Tertullian's account has been conteſted by divers learned moderns. I have already taken notice of what is ſaid by *Du Pin*, and have alſo conſidered the objections of ſome others. I now willingly refer to divers others (*a*) on the ſame ſide. Other learned men (*b*) have embraced it, as true, and have taken a good deal of pains to vindicate it againſt objections. *Pearſon* (*c*) in particular, is very favorable to this hiſtorie. And in the courſe of my argument I have quoted him ſeveral times. The late Mr. *Moſheim* (*d*) alſo was

(*a*) *Tan. Faber. l. 2. Ep. xii. Vandale de Orac. p.* 455. *et Diſſ. de Actis Pilati. p.* 608. *&c. Amſt.* 1700. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 29. *n.* 96. *&c. Baſnag. ann.* 33. *n.* 192. . . . 196. *et Exercitat. p.* 136. *&c. Sig. Havercamp. Annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. v. Jortin's Remarks upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. vol. i. p.* 2. . . . 4.

(*b*) *Sueur Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe et de l'Empire. Tom. i. p.* 130. 131. *Tillem. Mem. Ecc. T. i. S. Pierre art.* 19. *et notes xvi.* . . . *xix. Fr. Balduin. Comment. ad Edicta veterum Principum Roman. de Chriſtianis. p.* 20. . . . 24. 1727. *Tob. Eckhard. non Chriſtianorum de Chriſto Teſtimonia. cap. iv. J. A. Fabr. Lux Evangelii. cap. xii. p.* 220. . . . 222. *La Religion Chret. autoriſée par le temoignage des anciens auteurs Payens. Par D. Colonia. Tom.* 2. *ch. xi.* . . *Lettre de M. Iſelin Docteur et Profeſſeur en Theologie à Baſle, ſur le projet conçu par Tibere, de mettre N. S. J. C. au nombre des Dieux de Romae. Bib. Germanique T.* 32. *p.* 147. *&c. et T.* 33. *p.* 12. *&c.*

(*c*) *Pearſon. Lection. in Act. Ap. iii. et iv.*

(*d*) Negant hodie viri ſagaces et eruditi, fidem huic narrationi habendam eſſe. Ego vero ſuperſtitioſi nomen minime formido, ſi dixero, non prorſus eam mihi rejiciendam videri. *Moſhem. Inſtitution. H. Chriſtianae Maj. Sec. i. P. i. c.* 4. §. *ix. p.* 109. *A. D.* 1739.

Sunt quidem viri eruditi, quibus hoc alieniſſimum a vero videtur: ſed his alii doctri-

A. D. 33. was of opinion, that it ought not to be entirely rejected, and has ſpoken in favour of it in ſeveral of his works.

The Relation of Thamus concerning the Death of Pan.

II. There is another thing, which may not be omitted here, though it appears to me to be of little or no importance.

It is a ſtorie told by Cleombrotus, one of the ſpeakers in Plutarch's dialogue concerning the ceſſation of oracles. " He (*a*) had it " from Epitherſes, his maſter in grammar. He ſaid, he was ſail- " ing for Italie in a ſhip well freighted with merchandiſe, in which " alſo were many paſſengers. When they were one evening among " the iſlands called Echinedes in the Aegean Sea, the ſhip was be- " calmed. Moſt of the paſſengers were awake, and ſome were ca- " rouſing after ſupper. At the ſame time there came a voice from " the iſland Paxac, which called aloud for *Thamus*. He was an " Egyptian, and the pilot, and not ſo much as known by name " to many of the paſſengers. He ſuffered himſelf to be called " twice, without making any anſwer. But at the third call he ſpoke. " The voice then with great vehemence ſaid to him. *When you* " *come to the Palodes, declare, that the great Pan is dead.* They " were all aſtoniſhed, when they heard this, and debated the mat- " ter, whether it were fit to perform the order or not. *Thamus* " determined, that, if when they were arrived at the appointed " place, there was wind enough to ſail forward, he would paſs by " in ſilence. But if the veſſel was becalmed, he would publiſh " what

doctrina non inferiores rationes opponunt haud facile deſtruendas. *Id. De Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſt. M. p.* 92.

Erudite, poſt Theod. Haſaeum peculiari libello *de Decreto Tiberii, quo Chriſtum referre voluit in numerum Deorum. Erfurti.* 1715. 4. edito pro veritate hujus facti militavit ven. Jac. Chriſtoph. Iſellus, epiſtola Gallica, quae legitur Bibliotheque Germanique. T. 32. p. 147. et T. 33. p. 12. *Moſhem. Inſti. Hiſt. Ec. p.* 30. *ed.* 1755. *Conf. ſupra. not.* (*b*).

(*a*) *Plut. de Oracul. Defectu. Et vid. Euſeb. Pr. Ev. p.* 206.

A. D. 33.

" what he had heard. When they came over against Palodes, the " winds and waves were all calm. *Thamus* therefore placing him- " self at the stern of the vessel, with his face toward the land, de- " clared as he had been told, *that the great Pan was dead.* Scarcely " had he done speaking, when they heard from the shores groans " and lamentations, not of one, but as of a great multitude. As " there were many in the ship, who were witnesses of this affair, " the fame of it spread in a short time, so far as Rome, and *Tha-* " *mus* was sent for by the Emperour Tiberius. And Tiberius gave " such credit to the account, that he called together several learned " men to inquire of them, who this Pan was. They delivered it " as their opinion, that he was son of Mercurie and Penelope."

As this storie is placed in the time of *Tiberius*, some learned men have been of opinion, that *(b)* by the *great Pan* was meant Jesus Christ, the Lord of the universe, who suffered in the time of that Emperour. *Huet (c)* gives credit to this storie, and supposeth, that

 thereby

(*b*) Ex hisce audiamus, quaeso, primo loco, Boissardum in hunc modum loquentem. . . *Quidam existimant vocem illam locutam fuisse de Christi servatoris morte, cum audita sit anno decimo nono imperii Caesaris, quo Christus crucifixus est. Et hunc credimus universae naturae et totius mundi Dominum et formatorem. Vandale de Orac. p.* 435.

Huic narrationi fidem creat circumstantia temporis. Incidit enim haec res in tempus, quo Christus mortuus est. Estque verisimile, ejulationes daemonum inde ortas, quod scirent, morte Christi Satanae regnum concidisse. Est enim Pan vox aptissima ad significandum Dominum universi, qui est omnia in omnibus, ut ait Paulus. 1 Cor. xv. 28. *Petrus Mornaeus, citat. a Vandale. ib. p.* 437.

(*c*) Ethnicis vero stupendo miraculo Christi Jesu significata mors est, quod in libello de desitis oraculis Plutarchus refert. Id quamquam a vulgo scriptorum tritum est, minime tamen ob admirabilitatem rei pigebit hic adscribere. . . . Narrat id apud Plutarchum Aemilianus Rhetor, ut sibi a patre Epitherse, rei teste, traditum. Atqui id convenit in tempus mortis Christi Jesu, qui verus Pan est, rerum omnium parens, ac naturae totius auctor, quam Panos symbolo Mythologi signatam voluerunt. *Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap.* 136. *p.* 630. *See likewise Tillemont. Mem. Ec. J. C. art.* 21. *et note* 31.

A. D. 33. thereby the death of Chriſt, who is the true Pan, the parent of all things, and the author of all nature, was notified to Heathen people.

I ſhall now make two or three remarks, which are referred to the conſideration of my readers.

1. The whole ſtorie is improbable, and has more the appearance of fiction, than of truth and credibility.

2. This ſtorie is all over heatheniſh. If there be any truth in the account, when it was brought to Rome, and the affair was examined by the learned philologiſts at the court of Tiberius; their determination was, that the Pan, who was reported to be dead, was the ſon of Mercurie and Penelope. Neither *Thamus*, nor *Epitherſes*, nor *Tiberius*, nor the learned men, whom he conſulted, nor yet *Plutarch*, and his companie, who lived ſome good while after the death of our Lord, and the publication of his goſpel, had any notion that this related to Jeſus Chriſt.

That this ſtorie is throughout heatheniſh, may be argued from what is ſaid preſently afterwards by *Demetrius*, another of the ſpeakers in that dialogue of Plutarch. "That moſt of the iſlands near "Britain are deſert, and conſecrated to demons and heroes: and "that being ſent by the Emperour to take a ſurvey of thoſe iſlands, "he landed on one of them, which had a few inhabitants: and "that ſoon after his arrival, there happened a tempeſt, with terri-"ble claps of thunder and lightening. When the tempeſt was over, "the people of the iſland gave out, that ſome one of the principal "demons was dead. A candle, ſaid they, when it burns, is plea-"ſant. But when it goes out, it leaves a ſtink behind. Even ſo "the deaths of great ſouls produce ſtorms, and ſometimes a peſti-"ferous air. To which *Demetrius* added, that in one of thoſe i-"ſlands Saturn was bound, and guarded by Briareus, and that there "were

"were many demons attending upon him, as his ſlaves and mini- A. D. 33.
"ſters." All fiction ſurely, but repreſenting, as may be ſuppoſed, the doctrine of credulous Heathens concerning demons.

All which, however, is quoted by Euſebius *(d)* from Plutarch, to prove the ceſſation or the declenſion of oracles ſoon after the coming of Chriſt.

His remark is to this purpoſe. "So far Plutarch. But it will "be worth the while to obſerve the time, when he ſays, the death "of that demon happened. It was in the time of Tiberius. At "that time our Saviour dwelt among men, and it is written of him "that he expelled all ſorts of demons. And ſome of them fell "down before him, entreating him, that he would not ſend them "into the Abyſſe. Here then, you have the true time of the ex-"pulſion of demons out of this world, a thing never heard of be-"fore. Nor was there an end put to human ſacrifices, ſo com-"mon among the Gentils, till the evangelical doctrine had been "preached to all men." So Euſebius.

And though (*e*) *Colonia* flouriſheth mightily upon this ſtorie, he in the end finds it prudent to content himſelf, with conſidering it, as an argument, "that (⁂) the Gentils themſelves acknowledged the "general downfall or declenſion of their oracles, after the time of "Tiberius, and the coming of Chriſt, and that two centuries before "Euſebius." A point, about which I do not now particularly concern my-ſelf.

Before I conclude this article, I would obſerve, that *(f) Baronius* did

(d) Praep. Evang. l. v. cap. 17. *p.* 206. . . . 208.

(*e*) *La Religion Chrêtienne, &c. Tom. i. p.* 124 *&c.*

(⁂) *p.* 129.

(f) Hactenus de Pane Euſebius ex Plutarcho. . . Sane quidem ſi rei geſtae fidem adhibendam eſſe putamus, &c. *Baron. Ann.* 34. *num.* 130.

A. D. 33. did not fully relye upon the truth of the ſtorie, told in Plutarch, concerning the Pilot *Thamus:* and that *(g)* the Centuriators of Magdeburg conſider it as an abſurd and ridiculous fiction. So likewiſe does *(h) Baſnage*, who has offered more reaſons in behalf of his opinion, than need to be repeated by me here.

(*g*) Ubi et de Pane mortuo ridicula narrat. *Centur. Magdeb. Sec. i. lib.* 2. *cap. xv.*

(*h*) Nobis vero propius eſt, hanc Epitherſis narrationem eſſe fabulis apponendam: neque Chriſti paſſionem Panis morte ſignificatam. . . . *Baſn. Ann.* 33. *num.* 124.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A Monumental Inſcription concerning the Chriſtians in the time of Nero.

WHAT offers next is an inſcription of the Emperour NERO, on a monument found in Portugal (*a*).

To Nero Claudius Caeſar,
Auguſtus, High-Prieſt,
For clearing the Province
Of Robbers, and Thoſe
Who taught Mankind
A New Superſtition.

None

(*a*) In ruinis pagi Marquoſiae in Luſitania. Ap. Gruter. p. 238. 9.

NERONI. CL. CAIS
AUG. PONT. MAX
OB PROVINC. LATRONIB
ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM
GENERI. HUM. SUPER
STITION. INCULCAB
PURGATAM

A. D. 68.

None can doubt, that by the *new ſuperſtition* is here intended Chriſtianity. Some have queſtioned the genuinneſſe of this inſcription, becauſe, ſay they, Nero's perſecution extended no farther than Rome. The pretenſe for puniſhing them there was a charge of having ſet fire to the city. But it could not be ſo much as pretended, that they who dwelt in remote countreys were concerned in that fact.

If this be the only objection, the inſcription may be reckoned very good. For if the Chriſtians living at Rome were charged with ſo great a crime, all of that ſect in any place would ſhare in the ſcandal, and might be judged a vile ſort of people, fit to be deſtroyed. And indeed the Chriſtians at Rome were as innocent, as they at the greateſt diſtance. Beſides, it will preſently appear from Tacitus, that the Chriſtians were then much hated, and that they ſuffered at Rome, not barely as guilty of ſetting fire to the City, but alſo for their ſuppoſed enmity to mankind. And Suetonius, in his account of the ſufferings of the Chriſtians in this reign, ſays nothing of any concern in the fire: but only, that they were a *people of a new* and pernicious or *magical ſuperſtition.*

Which leads me to obſerve farther, that the ſtile of the Inſcription is agreeable to that of Tacitus and Suetonius, ſome of the earlieſt Heathen writers, who have mentioned the Chriſtians.

If the perſecution in Nero's time never became univerſal, it might take place in ſome of the provinces, particularly, in that part of Spain, which is now called *Portugal.* The Chriſtian writers, who ſpeak of Nero's perſecution, do *(b)* in effect, or expreſsly ſay, it was

(*b*) Conſulite commentarios veſtros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc ſectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caeſareano gladio ferociſſe. Sed tali dedicatore

was general: (*c*) that from Rome it spread into the provinces, and was authorised by public edicts. A. D. 68.

Though there remain this monument only, there may have been others of the like kind, which have been destroyed out of aversion to the memorie of Nero, or by some of those many accidents, to which all things are liable in a long course of years.

If this inscription be genuine, it is as early an Heathen monument, as we could expect to find remaining concerning Christianity: especially so far off from Judea as Lusitania, now called Portugal. It must have been set up in the life-time of Nero, who died in June, A. D. 68. or at the utmost, before his death was publickly known. For after that no people paid him any honours.

I have shewn, that the stile of this inscription is agreeable to early antiquity. And I have answered the objection taken from the supposed narrow limits of Nero's persecution. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged, that the genuinnesse of it is not assented to by all. Joseph Scaliger (*d*) doubted. Pagi (*e*) and others, have endeavored to

dicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. *Tertullian. Ap. cap.* 5.

Cum animadverteret Nero, non modo Romae, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum . . prosiluit ad excidendum coeleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, &c. *Lactant. vel Caecilius de M. P. cap.* 2.

(*c*) Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. *Sulp. Sev. Hist. l.* 2. *cap.* 41.

Primus Romae Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. *Oros. l.* 7. *c.* 7.

(*d*) Neque solum Romae saevitum in Christianos, sed etiam in provinciis. Exstat vetus inscriptio in Hispania loco Pisuerga vocato: in quo sine dubio haec crudelitas tangitur, siquidem vera est illa inscriptio. Nam dubito. *De Emend. Temp. p.* 471.

(*e*) *Pagi ann.* 64. *n. iv. J. E. I. Walchius De Persecutione Christian. Neroniana in Hispania.*

A. D. 68. to vindicate it. Some others ſtill *(f)* heſitate. This monument, they ſay, has been ſeen by few or none. And the credit of the firſt publiſher of the inſcription is not eſtabliſhed above all ſuſpicion of falſhood and impoſture.

I therefore muſt not inſiſt upon it, as certainly genuine and ancient: though I could not forbear to propoſe it to be conſidered. Nor do I think, that any can diſlike my placing it here before my readers.

(f) Exſtat celebris haec inſcriptio apud Jan. Gruter. p. 238. n. 9. Ipſi vero praeſtantiſſimi Hiſpanorum viri auctoritatem hujus inſcriptionis tueri non audent, quippe quam nemo unquam vidit, et Cyriacus Anconitanus primus protulit, homo, quod omnes ſciunt, fallax, et, ſi quis alius, malae fidei. &c. *J. L. Moſheim. Inſtit. Hiſt. Ec. p.* 37.

Verum magni homines poſt Scaligerum dubitant, quid de fide et auctoritate monumenti hujus ſtatuendum ſit: et, ut arbitror, juſtiſſimas habent dubitandi cauſſas. Nemo enim vel Hiſpanorum, vel Luſitanorum, lapidem hunc unquam vidit, quod ipſi doctiſſimi Hiſpaniae viri non diffitentur. Is vero, ſi aliquando exſtitiſſet, magnâ certe curâ ob inſigne pretium aſſervatus fuiſſet. *Id. De Reb. Chriſtian. p.* 109.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

PLINY THE ELDER.

GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, or (*a*) PLINY THE ELDER, was born at Verona, in the reign of Tiberius. He had divers public posts under the Emperours Vespasian, and Titus. Notwithstanding which, he redeemed a great deal of time for reading, and writing, in which he was indefatigable. He was suffocated in the smoak and ashes of Vesuvius, in the 56. year of his age, and the first year of the reign of Titus, in the year 79. His *Natural History* was published, and inscribed to Vespasian, or, as others think, to Titus, in the year of our Lord 77. before he was Emperour. A. D. 77.

In his Historie is a chapter concerning the Origin of Magick. Where are these words: "There (*b*) is another sect of Magicians, depending on (or deriving from) Moses, and Jamnes, and "Jotapes,

(*a*) *Vid. Plin. Ep. l. vi.* 16. *et* 20. *Voss. de H. L. l. i. cap.* 29. *Fabr. Bib. Lat. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *Basnag. Ann.* 77. *ii. et* 79. *v. Tillem. H. E. Tite. art. vi. Crevier's History of the Roman Emperours. B. xvii. vol.* 6. *p.* 291.

(*b*) Est et alia Magicis factio, a Mose et Jamne, et Jotape Judaeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria. *Plin. Nat. Hist. l.* 30. *cap. i. De Origine Magicae artis, quando, et a quibus ceperat. &c.*

A. D. 77. "Jotapes, who were Jews, but many thouſand years ſince Zoroaſ-
"ter. Still ſo much later is the Cyprian."

Some have thought, that in this laſt Plinie refers to the blindneſſe inflicted by St. Paul on Elymas the ſorcerer in the preſence of Sergius Paulus, Proconſul of Cyprus, and related in Acts xiii. But I do not affirm it.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

TACITUS.

I. *His Historie, Time, and Works.* II. *Pomponia Graecina, a Roman Lady, accused of a foreign Superstition in the year of Christ* 57. *the fourth year of Nero's Reign.* III. *His Account of Nero's Persecution of the Christians.* IV. *His Testimonie to the Jewish War, and the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*

I. CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, (*a*) whose ancestors are unknown, was (*b*) older than the younger Plinie, who was born in the year of our Lord 61. or 62. In the year 77. or 78. he married the daughter of Cnaeius Julius Agricola (*c*) famous for his consulship, and government of Britain. He (*d*) enjoyed

A. D. 100.

His Historie, and Works.

(*a*) *Vid. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lipsii Vit. Tacit. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i. Bayle Diction. Tillemont H. E. Trajan. art.* 27.

(*b*) Equidem adolescentulus, quum jam tu famâ gloriâque floreres, te sequi, tibi longo, sed proximus, intervallo, et esse et haberi concupiscebam. *Plin. l.* 7. *Ep.* 20.

(*c*) Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio. *Tacit. Vit. Agr. cap.* 9.

(*d*) *Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. i. cap.* 1.

A. D. 100.

joyed divers posts of honour and trust under Vespasian, and the following Emperous. He was Praetor of Rome, under Domitian, in 88. and Consul, in the short reign of Nerva, in 97. The year was opened by *Nerva and T. Virginius Rufus*, who were then both of them the third time Consuls. *Virginius Rufus*, who was a man of great eminence, and then of a great age, died in his consulship. Whereupon (*e*) Tacitus was substituted in his room, and pronounced his panegyric.

But, as has been often observed, his writings have gained him more honour than all his dignities. His works seem to have been published by him in this order: first his *Description of Germanie*, next *the Life of Agricola*, his father-in-law, after that his *Historie*, begining with Galba, and ending at the death of Domitian, and lastly, his *Annals*, begining with Tiberius, and ending at the death of Nero. Both these works are now imperfect.

Tacitus and Plinie the Younger lived together in intimate friendship. They (*f*) revised each others writings before publication. Divers of Plinie's letters are writ to him, in particular, those (*g*) two, wherein Plinie gives an account of the eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of his uncle. They were sent as memoirs, to be inserted by Tacitus in his Histories.

It is allowed, that (*h*) Tacitus flourished in the first centurie. I therefore

(*e*) Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito. Nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. &c. *Plin. l. i. ep.* 2.

(*f*) Librum tuum legi, et quam diligentissime potui, annotavi quae commutanda, quae eximenda arbitrarer. . . Nunc a te librum meum cum annotationibus tuis exspecto. O jucundas, o pulchras vices. *Plin. l.* 7. *ep.* 20. *Vid. et l.* 8. *ep.* 7.

(*g*) Petis, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago. Nam video, morti ejus, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. *L.* 6. *ep.* 16. *Vid. et ep.* 20.

(*h*) Tacite . . . Historien Romain, a fleuri dans le premier siecle. *Bayle Diction.*

therefore place him here in the year 100. the third of the Emperour Trajan. And though the two laſt, and principal of his works, were not publiſhed, till ſome time after, undoubtedly, he was now employed in collecting materials for them, and in compoſing them. Nor did either of them come down any lower, than the death of Domitian. A. D. 100.

II. In his Annals, at the year of our Lord 57. he writes thus: *Pomponia Graecina.* "And *(i)* POMPONIA GRAECINA, a Lady of eminent quality, married to *Plautius*, who upon his return from Britain had the honour of an ovation, being accuſed of practiſing a foreign ſuperſtition, was referred to the cogniſance of her huſband. And he, according to ancient inſtitution, in the preſence of the familie, ſat in judgement upon the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. *Pomponia* lived to a great age, and in perpetual ſorrow, after the death of Julia daughter of Druſus, procured by the intrigues of Meſſalina. For the ſpace of forty years ſhe wore no habit but that of mourning, nor admitted any ſentiments, but thoſe of grief. And this behaviour, which in the reign of Claudius eſcaped with impunity, afterwards redounded to her glory."

As it was about fourteen years from the death of Julia to this trial of *Pomponia*, Lipſius *(k)* ſuſpects the reading of *forty years:* and his emendation is approved by ſome, rejected by others. I rather think it

(*i*) Et Pomponia Graecina inſignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans ſe de Britanniis rettulit, nupta, ac ſuperſtitionis externae rea, mariti judicio permiſſa. Iſque priſco inſtituto, propinqui coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, et inſontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiae aetas, et continua triſtitia fuit. Nam poſt Juliam Druſi filiam dolo Meſſalinae interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu niſi lugubri, non animo niſi maeſto egit. Idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 13. *c.* 32.

(*k*) *Vid. Not. ad loc.*

A. D. 100.

it to be right, as it is in all copies. Nor does Tacitus compute from the death of Julia to the time of this trial, but to the time of *Pomponia*'s death. She lived, he says, to a great age. *And all the time from the death of Julia to her own death, which was the space of forty years, she was a perpetual mourner.*

This *foreign*, or extraneous *superstition*, of which *Pomponia* was accused, is supposed by Lipsius, in his (⁂) notes, and by *(l)* others to be the Christian Religion. And we may be inclined to that opinion. But we cannot be certain of it. I have transcribed the whole account of this Lady, that every one may the better judge for himself.

Nero's Persecution of the Christians

III. After a description of the terrible fire at Rome, in the tenth of Nero, and the 64. of our Lord, in which a large part of the City was consumed, and an account of the orders given for rebuilding and beautifying it, and the methods used to appease the anger of the gods, Tacitus adds: "But (*m*) neither all human help, nor the "liberality

(⁂) *Superstitionis externae rea.*] Christianismi credo accusatam, sive, ut tunc confundebant, Judaismi. *Lipsius in loc.*

Forte Christianam pietatem intelligit. Nam apparet, sanctam mulierem fuisse Pomponiam Graecinam. Tacitus loquitur ut Ethnicus. *Rhenanus in loc.*

(*l*) Christi doctrinam a Pomponia fuisse degustatam, non immerito conjicimus. *Basnag. Ann. 57. p. ii.* Pomponia Graecina fut accusée de suivre une superstition étrangere, dit Tacite: ce qui se peut entendre du Christianisme. *Tillem. Neron. art. v.*

(*m*) Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium credebatur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressa in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis

A. D. 100.

" liberality of the Emperour, nor all the atonements presented to " the gods, availed to abate the infamie he lay under of having or- " dered the City to be set on fire. To suppress therefore this com- " mon rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted " exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence " for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of " Christians. They had their denomination from CHRISTUS, who " in the reign of *Tiberius* was put to death as a criminal by the Pro- " curator *Pontius Pilate*. This pernicious superstition, though " checked for a while, broke out again, and spread not only over " Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the City also: whither " flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where " they find shelter and encouragement. At first they only were " apprehended, who confessed themselves of that sect: afterwards a " vast multitude, discovered by them. All which were condemned, " not so much for the crime of burning the City, as for their en- " mity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived, as to ex- " pose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over " with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs. Some " were crucified. Others, having been daubed over with combus- " tible materials, were set up as lights in the night-time, and thus " burned to death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre " upon this occasion, and also exhibited the diversions of the Cir- " cus, sometimes standing in the crowd, as a spectator, in the habit " of a charioteer, at other times driving a chariot himself. Till at " length these men, though really criminal, and deserving exempla-

neris convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel circulo [curriculo legit Lipsius] insistens. Unde quamquam adversus sontes, et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur. *Ann. l. xv. c.* 44.

A. D. 100. "rie punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were "destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to "gratify the cruelty of one man."

Divers facts of the evangelical historie are here attested: That our Saviour was put to death as a malefactor by *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator under *Tiberius*: That from *Christ* the people, called Christians, had their name and sentiments: That this superstition, or religion, had it's rise in Judea, where also it spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of the founder of it, and the opposition, which his followers met with from the people of that countrey afterwards: that thence it was propagated into other parts of the world, and as far as Rome: where in the tenth, or eleventh year of Nero, and before, Christians were very numerous: and that the professors of this religion were reproached, and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings. Certainly, the great number of Christians at Rome, at this time, and their sufferings, are two things very observable.

And though they were so hated, and Tacitus himself is so much offended with them; he owns, the cruelty, with which they were treated, was so excessive, as to excite compassion. Nay, it seems, their destruction was looked upon by many, not as a public benefit, but an act of savage cruelty. Which shews, after all, that they were not such monsters of wickedness, as they are here represented.

And all this guilt, this enmity to mankind, which Tacitus imputes to them, could be nothing else, as has been well observed (*o*) by

(*o*) Tacitus libro xv. . . de Christianorum suppliciis. . . . Ubi *flagitia*, et *odium humani generis*, nihil aliud sunt, quam falsorum deorum neglectus. Quam eandem caussam etiam Judaeis maledicendi Tacitus habuit, et Plinius major, cui Judaei dicuntur *gens contumeliâ numinum insignis*. *Cleric. Annot. ad Grot. de Ver. Rel. Christian. l.* 2. §. *ii.*

by learned men, but their neglect of the ordinarie worship of the gods. A. D. 100.

It will not be disagreeable to compare this article of *Tacitus*, with the account of the fire at Rome, and the ensuing perseccution of the Christians, which is given by *Sulpicius Severus*, an elegant Christian writer of historie, and in the Latin tongue, who flourished about the year 400.

" In (⁂) the mean time, says Sulpicius, when the number of " the Christians was greatly encreased, there happened a fire at Rome, " whilst Nero was at Antium. Nevertheless the general opinion of " all men cast the blame of the fire upon the Emperour. And it " was supposed, that his aim therein was, that he might have the " glorie of raising the city again in greater splendour. Nor could he " by any means suppress the common rumour, that the fire was " owing to his orders. He therefore endeavored to cast the reproach " of it upon the Christians. And exquisite tortures were inflicted " upon innocent men. And moreover new kinds of death were in- " vented. Some were tied up in the skins of wild-beasts, that they " might be worried to death by dogs. Many were crucified. Others " were burnt to death. And they were set up as lights in the night-

 " time.

(⁂) Interea, abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone aqud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandae urbis quaesisse. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actaeque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones. Quin et novae mortes excogitatae, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent. Multi crucibus affixi, aut flammâ usti. Plerique in id reservati, ut cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam, datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. *Sulp. Sever. Sacr. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 41. *al. cap.* 29.

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"time. This was the begining of the perſecution of the Chriſtians. "Afterwards the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion was prohibited "by laws: and edicts were publiſhed, that no man might be a "Chriſtian. At that time Paul and Peter were condemned to death. "The former was beheaded, Peter was crucified."

So writes Sulpicius. It is not unlikely, that he had read Tacitus. However, I think, it ought alſo to be ſuppoſed, that he had other Memoirs beſides.

Sulpicius ſays, that Nero was at Antium, when the fire began. The (††) ſame thing is obſerved by Tacitus, who alſo ſays, that Nero did not come to Rome, till the fire had approached his own palace, which at length with every thing near it was conſumed.

Of the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus.

IV. It is not needful for me to tranſlate, or tranſcribe all that Tacitus ſays of the Jewiſh people, of *(p)* whoſe original he was ignorant, and writes very abſurdly, and therefore is called by Tertullian *(q)* a great liar. Nor need I tranſlate exactly his hiſtorie of the Jewiſh war. I obſerve however theſe following particulars.

He ſays, that (*r*) Judea was firſt brought into ſubjection to the Romans by Pompey. After which he gives a ſummarie account of their affairs under *Herod*, and his ſons, the Emperours *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*. "He mentions (*s*) *Felix*, whom "he

†† Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regreſſus eſt, quam domui ejus, quâ palatium et maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen ſiſti potuit, quin et palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. *Tacit. Ann. l.* 15. *cap.* 39.

(*p*) *Tacit. Hiſt. l. v. cap.* 2.

(*q*) Cornelius Tacitus, ſane ille mendaciorum loquaciſſimus. *Apol. cap.* 16. *p.* 17. *A.*

(*r*) Romanorum primus Cn. Pompejus Judaeos domuit, templumque jure victoriae ingreſſus eſt. *H. l. v. cap.* 9.

(*s*) Claudius defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permiſit, e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem ſaevitiam

" he represents as a bad man, and tyrannical in his government. A. D. 100.
" However, the Jews, he says, bore the exactions of their Gover-
" nours

tiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. . . Duravit tamen patientia Judaeis, usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum, et comprimere coeptantem Cestium Gallum Syriae legatum, varia proelia ac saepius adversa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit, missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna famaque et egregiis ministris intra duas aestates cuncta camporum, omnesque praeter Hierosolyma urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judaeos per otium transiit. Pace per Italiam parta, et externae curae rediere. Augebat iras, quod soli Judaei non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur. [Ejusdem anni principio Caesar Titus perdomandae Judaeae delectus a patre. [*Lib. v. cap. i. in.*] Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum positis, instructas legiones ostentavit. Judaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem. . . . Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis praelia serebant, donec assiduis damnis, intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi. Neque dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri. Poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine praemiorum. Ipsi Titō Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos: ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati. [Conf. l. 2. cap. 4] . . . Alia intus moenia, regiae circumjecta. Conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipsae porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus . . . magna colluvie, et ceterarum urbium clade avecti. Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima moenium Simon. Mediam urbem Joannes, quem et. Bargioram vocabant. templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Elezarus loco pollebat. Sed proelia, dolus, incendia, inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassae repente delubri fores, et audita major humanā vox, *Excedere deos*: simul ingens motus excedentium. Quae pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotium literis, continei,

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" nours, till the time of their Procurator *Gessius Florus*, under whom " the war began. *Cestius Gallus*, President of Syria, came to his " assistance. But he being defeated, Nero sent Vespasian into Ju- " dea, who was a General of great merit and reputation, and hav- " ing also under him good officers, in the space of two years, [*mean-* " *ing the years* 67. *and* 68.] he reduced the open countrey, and all " the cities of Judea, excepting Jerusalem. The next year [69.] " was taken up in civil wars. [*meaning the time of the short reigns* " *of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, till the accession of Vespasian.*] The fol- " lowing year, [and the begining of it,] Titus was appointed to at- " tend the affairs of Judea. Who now drew near to Jerusalem, and " besieged it. Tacitus supposeth, that Titus was in haste to go to " Rome, to enjoy the pleasures and splendour of the City. He there- " fore carried on the siege with the greatest vigour. The armie " likewise was intent upon plunder, and eager to gratify their revenge. " The city however was strong by situation, and with good walls " and ramparts. The high tower Antonia, conspicuous from far. " The temple itself was like a citadel, well fortified. They had a " fountain of water that ran continually, and the mountains were " hollowed under ground. Moreover they had pools and cisterns " for preserving rain-water. And there was a great confluence of " people. For the men of the other cities that had been redu- " ced, and in general all the turbulent and seditious people of the " nation,

tineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaeâ rerum potirentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre sexus, sexcenta millia fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre possent: et plures quam pro numero audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par. Ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitae metus quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Caesar Titus, quando impetus et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vincisque certare statuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et quies praeliorum fuit: donec cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis, struerentur. *Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap.* 9. . . . 13.

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" nation, came hither. There were three captains, [or heads of " factions,] and as many armies, *Simon*, *John*, called also *Bargioras*, " and *Eleazar*, who occupied several parts of the city. Among " themselves they had fierce contentions, and therein great quantities " of provisions were consumed. *Eleazar* being killed, they were " reduced to two factions. These fought with each other, till the " near approach of the Romans obliged them to agreement. There " were many prodigies, foresignifying their ruin, which were not to " be averted by all the sacrifices and vows of that people, superstitious in their own way of worship, though different from all o- " thers. Armies were seen fighting in the air, with brandished wea- " pons. A fire fell upon the temple from the clouds. The doors " of the temple were suddenly opened. At the same time there " was a loud voice, declaring, that the gods were removing. Which " was accompanied with the sound as of a multitude going out. " All which things were supposed by some to portend great cala- " mities. But the most had a strong persuasion, that it was said in " the ancient writings of the Priests [*that is, ancient writings in the " custodie of the Priests*,] that at that very time the East should pre- " vail, and that some who came from Judea should obtain the em- " pire of the world. Which ambiguities foretold Vespasian and " Titus. But the common people, according to the usual influence " of human passions, having once appropriated to themselves this " vast grandeur of the fates, could not be brought to understand the " true meaning by all their adversities. We have been assured, that " the number of the besieged amounted to six hundred thousand. And " more bore arms than could have been expected from that number. " For great was the resolution of all, both men and women. Against " this city and people was *Titus* sent. As the city could not be ta- " ken by assault, different posts were assigned to the several legions. " Battering engines of all kinds were prepared. And all the me- " thods hitherto practised in sieges by the ancients, as well as new " inventions, were employed on this occasion."

So

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So writes Tacitus, who could and might have been more particular in his hiſtorie of the Jewiſh War in the ſeveral parts of that countrey, and likewiſe of the ſiege of Jeruſalem. But his diſlike of the ſubject, as it ſeems, and his love of brevity, have made him very conciſe.

However, it is not unlikely that in the next book, which, with all the following books of that work, is loſt, there was an account of the triumph of Veſpaſian and Titus at Rome in the following year. Nor is it unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there were alſo ſome more particulars concerning the event of the ſiege of Jeruſalem. But what they were, we cannot now ſay.

It is alſo worth our while to obſerve, that in this fifth book of his Hiſtorie, from which the preceding article has been taken, at his entrance upon his account of the war, he ſays, " he (*t*) was going to relate the final end of the renowned city of Jeruſalem."

He likewiſe takes notice, " That (*u*) Jeruſalem was the capital city of Judea, and that the temple there had in it immenſe riches."

Nor ſhould we omit to obſerve, that in the firſt chapter of this book he has reckoned up the forces, with which Veſpaſian was furniſhed for carrying on this war, and not very diſagreeably to Joſephus. " For (*x*) he mentions the three Legions quartered in Ju- " dea,

(*t*) Sed quia famoſae urbis ſupremum diem traditurí ſumus. &c. *Hiſtor. l.* 5. *cap.* 2. *in.*

(*u*) Magna pars Judaeae vicis diſpergitur. Habent et oppida. Hieroſolyma genti caput: Illic immenſae opulentiae templum. &c. *Ibid. cap.* 8.

(*x*) Ejuſdem anni principio, Caeſar Titus perdomandae Judaeae delectus a patre. . . . Tres enim in Judaea legiones, quinta et decima, et quintadecima, vetus Veſpaſiani miles excepere. Tradidit et Syria duodecimam, et adductos Alexandriâ duo et viceſimanos tertianoſque. Comitabantur,

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" dea, the twelfth brought in from Syria, and other legions from " Alexandria, beside the armies of the Roman allies, the kings *A-* " *grippa*, *Sohemus*, and *Antiochus*, and a large body of Arabians, al- " ways averse to the Jews, and some volunteers of distinction even " from Rome and Italie, who were willing to serve under *Titus*, a " General of such renown, and expectation, desirous to signalize " their valour before him, and thereby to recommend themselves to " his favour."

And though we do not find in Tacitus every thing that we might wish for; certainly what we have in his remaining works is a very valuable testimonie to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.

He must have read Josephus. Many things are evidently taken from him. However he differs from him sometimes. It is somewhat strange, that he should not compute a greater number within Jerusalem at the time of the siege, than *six hundred thousand*. How shall we account for this? I answer, that perhaps Tacitus had met with some other accounts of the Jewish War, beside that of Josephus. And I am apt to think it not unreasonable to believe, that Tacitus never read Josephus with so much care and diligence, as we Christians have since read him. Moreover, *six hundred thousand* may be a certain number, used for an uncertain, denoting, that the city was then very full of people, and not intending to say, there were no more.

mitabantur viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae. Simul Agrippa, Sohemusque reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, validaque et solito inter accolas odio infensa Judaeis Arabum manus. Multi, quos Urbe atque Italiâ suâ quemque spes accivérat occupandi Principem adhuc vacuum: His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus, composito agmine, cuncta explorans, paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit. *Tacit. Hist. l.* 5. *cap. i.*

CHAP. VI.

MARTIAL.

I. *His Time, and Writings.* II. *His Testimonie to the Fortitude of Christians.*

A. D. 100. *His Time, and Writings.*

I. MARTIAL, *(a)* or *M. Valerius Martialis*, author of fourteen books of Epigrams, was born at Bilbilis in Spain, in the reign of Claudius. He is supposed to have come to Rome in the reign of Nero, when he was about twenty years of age, and to have lived there thirty years, beloved by the Emperours, especially Domitian, after whose death he retired into his own countrey. As he lived long enough to (*b*) write some Epigrams in commendation of Nerva and Trajan, I have placed him so low as the last year of the first centurie, and (*c*) the third of Trajan. He was intimate with Juvenal, and well acquainted with Plinie the Younger. Martial

(*a*) *Vid. Voss. de Poet. Lat. Tillemont H. E. Domitien. art.* 23.

(*b*) *Vid. L.* 12. *Epigr. v. . . . ix. L. xi.* 4. 5. *x.* 34.

(*c*) . . . Domitiani, Nervae, et Trajani, tempora ingenio suo illustravit. Senex autem, Urbe relicta, patriam suam repetens, in illa obiit sub eodem Trajano. *Fabric. Bib. Lat. l.* 2. *c.* 20. *De M. V. Martiali.*

tial was poor. When *(d)* he left Rome, Plinie made him a handsome present. And when he heard of his death, he lamented it very affectionatly. A. D. 100.

II. This writer has been supposed to refer to the patient fortitude of Christians, in voluntarily enduring the greatest pains, rather than sacrifice to the gods, or do any thing contrarie to the principles of their religion. *His Testimonie to Christian Fortitude.*

"You *(e)* have, perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre "Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an "one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless dotard. For "it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome "coat, to say, I do not sacrifice, than to obey the command, Burn "the hand."

However, the two last verses of the epigram may be otherwise rendred, after this manner: "For it is a much greater thing, when "threatened with the troublesome coat, you are commanded to "burn your hand, to say: I will not."

But I can see no reason for bringing in the *troublesome coat*, to oblige a man to act the part of *Mucius* in the theatre. And I much rather incline to the sense given in the first translation.

(d) Audio, Valerium Martialem decessisse. Et molestè fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus. Prosequutus eram cum viatico discedentem. Dederam hoc amicitiae: dederam etiam verticulis, quos de me composuit. *Plin. Lib.* 3. *Ep.* 21.

(*e*) In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanae pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ praesente molestâ,
Ure manum, plus est dicere: Non facio.
Martial. l. x. Epigr. 25.

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I ſhall therefore place below the remarks *(f)* of *Stephen Le Moyne* upon this epigram, who makes no doubt, that *Martial* refers to the Chriſtians, and declares, that what *Mucius* did, is not comparable to the reſolution of Chriſtians under the ſufferings, which they endured.

The *troubleſome coat*, or ſhirt, here mentioned, a cruelty, which, as we have before learned from *Tacitus*, the innocent Chriſtians unjuſtly ſuffered, was made like a ſack, of paper, or coarſe linen cloth. And having been firſt beſmeared within and without, with pitch, wax, roſin, ſulphur, and ſuch like combuſtible materials, or dipt all over in them, was put upon the perſon, for whom it was appointed. And that he might be kept upright, the more to reſemble a flaming torch, his chin was faſtened to a ſtake fixed in the ground.

That this was eſteemed a cruel death, is manifeſt from *Seneca*, who deſcribing the greateſt cauſes of fear, writes to this purpoſe. "Imagine *(g)* here, ſays he, a priſon, croſſes, and racks, and "the hook, and a ſtake, thruſt through the body, and coming "out

(f) Facinus Mucii, non videtur, inquit Martialis, cum fortitudine Chriſtianorum comparandum. Ille uſtulandam manum ſuam flammis exhibuit, ut iſta conſtantia reliquum corpus ſuum ſervaret. Sed Chriſtiani totum corpus igni vorandum tradunt, immo igni lento: et patiuntur ſe ſuperveſtiri cereo indumento, ut inſtar cereorum ardeant: quod tamen poſſent declinare, ſi vellent, et ſi religioni popularium ſuorum, et ſacris Imperatoris, faciles ſe alligarent. Sed malunt in cineres et favillas redigi, et ſe vivos ardere, quam ſacrificare, vel thura adolere: et cum ad id compelluntur, dicunt: Non facio, non ſacrifico. . . . Et tunicae moleſtae praeſens et tremendum ſupplicium illos a ſacris ſuis non poteſt avellere, vel minimum terrere. *St. Le Moyne Varia. Sacra. p.* 1041. 1042. *Vid. et Kortholt. De Perſecutionib. primit. Ec. p.* 25.

(g) Cogita hoc loco carcerem, et cruces, et eculeos, et uncum, et adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergar, ſtipitem, et diſtracta in diverſum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam, alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam: quicquid aliud, praeter haec, commenta ſaevitia eſt. Non eſt itaque mirum, ſi maximus hujus rei timor eſt, cujus et varietas magna, et apparatus terribilis eſt. *Senec. Ep.* 14.

A. D. 100.

" out at the mouth, and the limbs torn by chariots pulling adverse " ways, and that coat besmeared and interwoven with combustible " materials, nutriment for fire, and whatever else, beside these, cru- " elty has invented. It is no wonder, if in such a case fear riseth " high, where the variety of evils is so great, and the preparation " is so terrible."

It is hence apparent, that this was one of the worst punishments, which cruelty had invented.

I do not know, but some may think, I ought to have quoted this passage of *Seneca*, not only as a description of this coat, and the cruelty of it, but also as an allusion to the sufferings of the Christians, who felt it in so great numbers. For Seneca's death happened not *(h)* before April in the year 65. Whereas the fire at Rome began in July the preceding year, and the persecution of the Christians *(i)* commenced in November following. But, in my opinion, it is better not to insist upon any reference here to the sufferings of the Christians.

(h) See Tillemont. Neron. art. xxii.
(i) See the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. ch. xi. vol. 2 p. 139.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

JUVENAL.

I. *His Time and Writings.* II. *His Teſtimonie to Nero's Perſecution of the Chriſtians.* III. *His Teſtimonie to Domitian's Perſecution.* IV. *An Obſervation concerning Seneca, the Philoſopher.*

A. D. 100.

His Time, and Writings.

I. *Decimus Junius Juvenalis (a) or* JUVENAL, author of ſixteen Satyrs, which we ſtill have, is computed to have flouriſhed in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Adrian. And as *Lipſius* well ſays, he *(b)* was contemporarie with Plinie the Younger, Tacitus, and others of that age. Neverthelefs we do not find Juvenal at all mentioned in any of the letters of Plinie, now exſtant. I place him next to his friend Martial, and in the ſame year, the laſt of the firſt centurie of the Chriſtian epoch.

II. He

(a) *Vid. Lipſ. Epiſt. Qu. l.* 4. *Ep.* 20. *Fabr. Bib. Lat. l.* 2. *cap.* 18. *Tillem. H. E. Domitien. art.* 24.

(b) Ergo, meo arbitrio, compar Juvenalis Plinio juniori, Tacito, et illi claſſi fuit. *Lipſ. l. c.*

A. D. 100.

His Testimonie to Nero's Persecution.

II. He seems to refer to Nero's persecution of the Christians in some lines (*c*) of his first Satyr, which are thus translated by Mr. *Dryden*.

> *But if that honest licence now you take:*
> *If into rogues omnipotent you rake:*
> *Death is your doom, impaled upon a stake,*
> *Smear'd o're with wax, and set on fire, to light*
> *The Streets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.*

Or, more literally. "Describe a great vilain, such as was Tigel-" linus: (*a corrupt Minister under Nero:*) and you shall suffer the " same punishment with those, who stand burning in their own " flame and smoak, their head being held up by a stake fixed to their " chin, till they make a long stream (*of blood and running sulphur*) " on the ground."

It (*d*) is the opinion of *Joseph Scaliger*, and many other learned men, that Nero's cruelties to the Christians are here intended. And, that some punishments of men accused of magick in the reign of Nero, are here referred to, is affirmed by an (*e*) ancient Scholiast upon this place of Juvenal. Who (*f*) likewise speaks of them as exhibited

(*c*) Pone Tigellinum, teda lucebis in illa,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ.
Juven. Sat. i. ver. 155. *&c.*

(*d*) Scholia Juvenalis: *Nero maleficos homines teda et papyro et cera supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat, ut arderent.* Haec Scholiastes ille in illos versus Juvenalis, qui sine dubio de Christianis dicti sunt. *Jos. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p.* 197. *Videatur Id. De Emendat. Temp. l. v. p.* 471.

(*e*) *Vid. not.* (*d*)

(*f*) Idem Scholiastes: *Vivus ardebis, quemadmodum in munere Neronis vivi arserunt, de quibus ille jussit cereos fieri, ut lucerent spectatoribus, quum fixa essent guttura, ne se curvarent. Id. Scalig. l. c. p.* 197. *Et vide annot. ad Juvenalis locum.*

A. D. 100. bited for a ſpectacle: as is particularly deſcribed by Tacitus. And Suetonius (as we ſhall preſently ſee) calls the Chriſtians, *men of a new and magical ſuperſtition.*

In another Satyr *(g)* Juvenal ſpeaks of the pitched ſhirt, or troubleſome coat, which they were covered with, who were condemned to that puniſhment. And I ſhall place below *(h)* a part of *Prateus*'s note upon that place.

His Teſtimonie to Domitian's Perſecution.

III. In another Satyr Juvenal ſpeaks of the death of *Domitian* in this manner. " Many *(i)* illuſtrious men he deſtroyed, who found " no avenger. At laſt he periſhed, when he became formidable to " the rabble. This ruined him, who long before was ſtained with " the noble bloud of the Lamiae."

The verſes are thus tranſlated by Mr. *Stepny*.

What folly this! But oh! that all the reſt
Of his dire reign had thus been ſpent in jeſt!
And all that time ſuch trifles had employed,
In which ſo many nobles he deſtroyed.
He ſafe, they unrevenged, to the diſgrace
Of the ſurviving, tame, Patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who ſo many Lords had ſlain, they ſlew!

Aelius

(g) Auſi quod liceat tunicâ punire moleſtâ.

Sat. 8. lin. 235.

(h) Veſtis erat e chartâ, cannabe, ſtuppâ. Illinebatur bitumine, reſinâ, pice. Tum circumdabatur iis, qui grave quidpiam, et maxime, incendia moliti fuerant. Quâ demum incenſâ vivi comburebantur. *Annot. in loc. ed. in uſum Delphini.*

(i) Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet
Tempora ſevitiae, claras quibus abſtulit Urbi
Illuſtreſque animas impune, et vindice nullo.
Sed periit, poſtquam cerdonibus eſſe timendus
Caeperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

Sat. iv. ad fin.

A. D. 100.

Aelius Lamia, whoſe death is likewiſe particularly mentioned by Suetonius *(k)* undoubtedly was a man of a very ancient and noble familie. And Domitian had killed many other Senators. The Chriſtians were generally of the meaner rank of people, and more deſpiſed ſtill for their religion, than their condition. But they were not all of the rabble, or coblers and taylors, as Juvenal would inſinuate. And *Flavius Clement*, one of thoſe, whom Domitian put to death near the end of his reign, and whoſe death, as Suetonius expreſsly ſays, haſtened Domitian's ruin, was of the Imperial familie, and as we think, a Chriſtian. However, it is obſervable, that Juvenal ſays, Domitian's death ſoon followed after ſome acts of cruelty toward mean people. Herein he agrees with, and confirms the accounts of ſome Chriſtian writers, particularly, that of *Caecilius*, or *Lactantius*, in his book of the deaths of Perſecutors. Who obſerves, " that *(l)* Domitian had been long permitted to exercise great cruelties upon his ſubjects: But when he began to perſecute the ſervants of God, he was ſoon delivered up into the hands of his enemies."

An Advertiſement concerning Seneca.

IV. It may be obſerved, that I do not allege among witneſſes to Chriſtianity, or the affairs of Chriſtians, the Philoſopher, *L. A. Seneca*. There is exſtant a correſpondence between him and St. *Paul*, in fourteen Letters. Which may be ſeen, in Latin, in *(m) Fabri-*

(k) Sueton. Domit. cap. x.

(l) Poſt hunc, [Neronem] interjectis aliquot annis, alter, [Domitianus.] non minor tyrannus orſus eſt: qui cum exerceret inviſam dominationem, ſubjectorum tamen cervicibus incubavit quam diutiſſime, tutuſque regnavit, donec impias manus adverſus Dominum tenderet. Poſtquam vero ad perſequendum juſtum populum inſtinctu daemonum incitatus eſt, tunc traditus in manus inimicorum luit poenas. *Caec al Lact. De M. P. cap.* 3.

(m) Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. *p.* 880. *&c. Conf. ejuſd. Bibl. Lat. Tom. i. p.* 367.

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cius, and in Latin and Engliſh, in Mr. (*n*) *Jones*, with remarks. They were in being in St. Jerome's time, and Seneca therefore is mentioned by him (*o*) in his catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. But they are manifeſtly ſpurious, and of no value. And therefore are not entitled to a place here. Nor do they deſerve any regard.

I have put this advertiſement here, at the end of the chapter of *Juvenal*, becauſe he is the laſt author of the firſt centurie, who is alleged by me.

(*n*) *See him of the Canon of the N. T. Vol.* 2 *ch. x. p.* 80. *&c.*

(*o*) Lucius Annaeus Seneca Cordubenſis, Sotionis Stoici diſcipulus, et patruus Lucani poetae, continentiſſimae vitae fuit. Quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum, niſi me illae Epiſtolae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecae ad Paulum. In quibus, cum eſſet Neronis magiſter, et illius temporis potentiſſimus, optare ſe dicit, ejus eſſe loci apud ſuos, cujus ſit Paulus apud Chriſtianos. Hic ante biennium, quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur martyrio, a Nerone interfectus eſt. *Hieron. De V. I. cap. xii.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

SUETONIUS.

I. *His Historie, Time, and Works.* II. *The Jews expelled from Rome in the Reign of Claudius.* III. *His Account of Nero's Persecution.* IV. *His Testimonie to the Jewish War, and the Overthrow of the Jewish People.* V. *Of Domitian's Persecution of the Christians.* VI. *The Sum of his Testimonie.*

I. CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS (*a*) son of *Suetonius Lenis*, (*b*) flourished in the reigns of *Trajan* and *Adrian*, to the later of whom he was Secretarie. Which (*c*) place he lost about the year 121. Plinie the Younger had a particular friendship for him. Several of Pliny's letters still exstant, are writ to him. And

A. D. 110. *His Historie.*

(*a*) *Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap.* 26. *Bayle Diction. Hist. et Crit. Suetone. Tillemont. H. Emp. Adrien. art.* 24.

(*b*) Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius. *Sueton. Othon. cap. x.*

(*c*) Septicio Claro, Praefecto Praetorii, et Suetonio Tranquillo, epistolarum magistro, multisque aliis, qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injussu ejus, familiarius se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit. . . *Spartian. in Adrian. cap. xi.*

A. D. 110.

And he performed for him divers good offices. *Suetonius* having no children by his wife, Plinie procured for him from Trajan *jus trium liberorum*, or the privilege of thoſe, who have three children. His recommendation of him to the Emperour is very affectionate, and exhibits a very amiable (*d*) character.

That he was born about the begining of the reign of Veſpaſian, is argued hence, that (*e*) about twenty years after the death of *Nero*, or in 88. he ſpeaks of himſelf as a young man. It may be ſuppoſed therefore, that in the 13. of Trajan, or the year of our Lord 110. he was not leſs than forty years of age.

He was the author of a good number of books, of which there are now none remaining, but his *Lives of the firſt twelve Ceſars*, and a part of a Work *concerning Illuſtrious Grammarians and Rhetoricians.*

The Jews baniſhed from Rome in the Reign of Claudius.

II. Suetonius, in the Life of the Emperour *Claudius*, who reigned from the year 41. to 54. ſays of him: "He (*f*) baniſhed the "Jews from Rome, who were continually making diſturbances, "Chreſtus being their leader."

This paſſage undoubtedly confirms what is ſaid Acts xviii. 2. that *Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome* (*g*). Some learned men are not ſatisfied, that this relates to the Chriſtians. But it is well known, that our Saviour was ſometimes called (*h*) *Chreſtus* by

(*d*) Suetonium Tranquillum, probiſſimum, honeſtiſſimum, eruditiſſimum virum, et mores ejus ſecutus et ſtudia, jampridem, Domine, in contubernium aſſumpſi. &c. *Plin l. x. ep.* 95.

(*e*) Denique cum poſt viginti annos, adoleſcente me, exſtitiſſet conditionis incertae, qui ſe Neronem eſſe jactaret, &c. *Sueton. in Neron. cap. ult.*

(*f*) Judaeos impulſore Chreſto aſſidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. *Claud. cap.* 25.

(*g*) *See the Credibility, &c. P. i. B. i. ch. xi. ſect.* 3.

(*h*) . . . Perperam Chreſtianus pronunciatur a vobis, &c. *Tertull. Ap c.* 3. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio eſt, propter

by Heathen people. And it is not impossible, that the Jewish enmity against those of their own countrey, or others, who had embraced Christianity, might produce some disputes and disturbances, which came to the Emperour's knowledge. This seems to be the meaning of Suetonius, "that there were disturbances among the Jews and others at Rome upon occasion of Christ, and his followers." A. D. 110.

If this passage were clear, we should have a testimonie from an Heathen author of good note, that there were Christians at Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius: as indeed we know there were, from an authentic writer of our own. Acts xviii 2. and 26. And compare Rom. xvi. And though it should not be reckoned clear and decisive, it has such an appearance of probability, as has satisfied many learned men of good (*i*) judgement.

This passage of Suetonius is expresly cited by (*k*) Orosius, a Christian

ter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere. *Lact. Divin. Inst. l.* 4. *c.* 7.

(*i*) Cum dixi supra, sub Judaeorum nomine comprehensos Christianos, id dixi quod complures ante me, multo me eruditiores. Neque tamen id impedit quo minus durior fuerit conditio Christianorum, ut etiam in Judaica religione multa novantium, plurefque homines a paganismo abducentium. Quo spectat illud Suetonii de Claudio, *Judaeos, impulsore Chresto*, (id est, per Christianum dogma,) *assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit. &c.* Grot. App. ad Comm. de Antichristo. p. 499. *Vid et Cellarii Diss. de primo principe Christiano.* § *viii. et Basnag. Ann.* 51. *num.* 68. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 29. *n. xc. Heumanni Diss. de Chresto Suetonii ap. Dissertation. Syll. T. i. p.* 536. *&c. Kortholt. De Persecut. Ecc. p.* 4. *Tob. Eckhard. non Christianorum Testimonia. cap. i. S. Havercamp. annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap.* 3. *p.* 42.

(*k*) Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo. *Claudius Judaeos, impulsore Christo assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit.* Quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes Judaeos coerceri et comprimi jusserit, an etiam Christianos simul, velut cognatae religionis homines, voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur. *Oros. Hist. l.* 7. *cap.* 6.

A. D. 110. ſtian Hiſtorian, of the fifth centurie. But he was not clear about the meaning of it.

Nero's Perſecution of the Chriſtians

III. In the Life of Nero, whoſe reign began in 54. and ended in 68. Suetonius ſays: " the *(l)* Chriſtians were puniſhed, a ſort of " men of a new and magical ſuperſtition."

Suetonius here aſſures us, that the Chriſtian Religion was lately ariſen, and that it had already gained footing in the Empire. From his calling it *a magical ſuperſtition*, it may be argued, that *(m)* there were ſome things of an extraordinarie nature performed by the Chriſtians: or that they endeavored to juſtify their embracing the religion of Chriſt, as of divine original, upon the ground of ſome wonderſull works, which bore teſtimonie to it's truth and authority.

I have tranſlated, the word *Maleſica*, uſed by Suetonius, *magical*, agreeably to the judgement of divers learned men. But Mr. Moſheim (⁂) thinks the word to be equivalent to *exitiabilis*, in Tacitus, meaning *pernicious*. The Chriſtians were ſingular in their religious

(*l*) Afflicti ſupplicii Chriſtiani, genus hominum, ſuperſtitionis novae et maleficae. *Sueton. Nero. cap.* 16.

(*m*) *Maleficos* incantatores, magicis rebus ſtudentes, venenarios, interpretatur Barth. Adv. viii. 17. x. 6. 45. 57. . . Pro talibus Chriſtianos habuerunt deterrimis Gentiles, forte quia daemonia illis parebant, et ad illorum conteſtationem ejiciebantur. . . . Exinde capiendum putat Barthius, Luc. vi. 22. Καὶ ἐκβάλωσι τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν. Nec mirum. Hoc enim genere *maleficii* D. Jeſum calumniabantur Gentilium accuſationes. Arnob. p. 25. *Occurſurus forſitan rurſus eſt cum aliis multis calumnioſis illis, et puerilibus vocibus: Magus fuit, clandeſtinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.* Sed D. Jeſu cauſſam ſatis accurate ibid. agit Arnobius. *Pitiſcus ad Suetonii locum.*

(⁂) Neque Romanam ſolum, ſed omnium etiam aliarum gentium religiones Chriſtiani hoſtiliter invadebant: ex quo Romani concludebant, ſectam Chriſtianam non modo praeter omnem modum arrogantem, verum paci ac tranquillitati publicae inimicam, et ad bella civilia ciendа aptam eſſe. Hoc illud eſt, ſi recte conjicio, quod Tacitus Chriſtianis exprobat, *odium generis humani*. Nec aliunde rationem putem duci debere, cur idem Chriſtianorum religionem, *ſuperſtitionem exitiabilem*, Suetonius autem *maleſicam* nominet. *Moſhem. Inſtit. H. E. p.* 33. 34.

gious ſentiment, and oppoſed the religions of all nations. The Romans therefore conſidered them, he thinks, as *enemies to all mankind*, and diſpoſed to diſturb the public peace. A. D. 110.

In the word *new*, undoubtedly, there is a ſting. For as Tacitus ſays of the Jews, "Whatever (*n*) might be the origin of their religion, it has the advantage of antiquity."

That the Chriſtians were roughly handled in the reign of Nero, we have ſeen from Tacitus, a contemporarie writer. Nevertheleſs it has been obſerved by ſome learned men, that (*o*) Suetonius does not ſay, particularly, that they were *puniſhed at Rome*, or for ſetting fire to the City. His expreſſions are general, and may include more extenſive ſufferings in the *provinces*, as well as the City. Of which we have good aſſurance (*p*) from divers ancient Chriſtian writers.

Once more. It may be obſerved, that *Suetonius* ſpeaks with approbation of the ſufferings, which the Chriſtians endured in this reign. For (*q*) they are mentioned together with divers other acts, ordinances, or inſtitutions of Nero, which were entitled to ſome commendation: as (*r*) any one will allow, who obſerves the ſeveral articles in the ſame chapter.

IV. In

(*n*) Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. *Tacit. Hiſt. l.* 5. *cap.* 5. *p.* 518.

(*o*) Nec refert, quod Tacitus de iis, quae in provinciis adverſus Chriſtianos geſta ſermonem non habeat, cum Suetonius de Nerone, cap. 16. perſecutionem ad urbem Romam non reſtringat. *Pagi ann.* 64. *n. iv.*

Et quidem Suetonius, a Nerone *afflictos ſuppliciis chriſtianos* commemorans, nullam Romani incendii facit mentionem, ſed eos *genus hominum ſuperſtitionis novae ac maleficae* appellat. Quae cum referat Suetonius inter ea, quae a Nerone inſtituta fuerant, haud dubium eſt, quin edictum adverſus Chriſtianos ab eo tyranno ſcriptum fuerit. *Ruinart. Pr. in Acta Mart. n.* 26. *p.* 32.

(*p*) . . . ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione excruciari imperavit. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 7.

(*q*) Id ſane ita Suetonio perſuaſum erat, ut inter ea, quae aliquâ laude digna a Nerone ſancita commemorat, ait, ab ipſo fuiſſe *afflictos ſuppliciis Chriſtianos. Ruinart. Ib. n.* 25. *p.* 29.

(*r*) Adhibitus ſumtibus modus. &c. *eod. cap.* 16.

A. D. 110.

Of the Jewish War, and the Desolations of Judea.

IV. In his Life of Vespasian Suetonius writes to this purpose: "When (s) Nero went into Achaia, Vespasian was one of the "Court. But shewing a dislike of that Emperour's extravagances, "he lay under his displeasure, and was apprehensive of the conse- "quences of his resentment. Vespasian therefore retired into a pri- "vate place at some distance, where an honorable province, with a "powerfull armie, was assigned him. There had been for a long "time, all over the East, a prevailing opinion, that it was in the "fates, [*in the decrees, or books of the fates,*] that at that time some "one from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. By the "event it appeared, that a Roman Emperour was meant by that "prediction. The Jews applying it to themselves, went into a re- "bellion. At first they had such successe, that they not only over- "came their own Governour, but also defeated the Proconsular Go- "vernour of Syria, who came to his assistance. There being now "manifest occasion for a General of great reputation, and a nu- "merous

(s) Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut discederet saepius, aut praesens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, recessit in parvam et deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore R. quantum eventu postea praedictum paruit, Judaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt. Caesoque Praeposito, Legatum insuper Syriae proconsularem suppetias ferentem raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce opus esset, ipse potissimum electus est. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter Legatos majore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum disciplina, uno quoque et altero praelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit. . . . Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore. . . . Talis, tantâque cum famâ in Urbem reversus, acto de Judaeis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit, *Sueton. Vespasian. cap.* 4. . . . 8.

A D. 110.

" merous armie, Vespasian was appointed for that service: who a-
" mong other commanders under him had his eldest son Titus.
" Having put his armie into good order, he entred upon the war
" with great vigour, and not without hazard to his own person, ha-
" ving been slightly wounded in an attack made at one of their
" towns, and received several darts upon his shield. Suetonius
" proceeds to relate the accession of Vespasian to the Empire, whilst
" he was in Judea, and takes notice of what Josephus, one of the
" Jewish prisoners, had beforehand said to him relating to that mat-
" ter. And he expresly mentions Vespasian's triumph over the
" Jews at Rome."

In his Life of Titus, he says, " that (*t*) whilst he yet served un-
" der Vespasian, he took *Tarichea* and *Gamala*, two strong cities of
" Judea: and that having in an engagement lost his own horse, he
" mounted another, whose rider had been killed in fighting against
" him." And he says, " that (*u*) Titus having been left in Judea
" to compleat the reduction of that countrey, he in the last siege of
" Jerusalem, killed seven of the enemie with as many darts: and
" that he took that city on his daughter's birth-day, and was then
" saluted by the soldiers with the title of Emperour." He also says,
" that (*x*) Titus triumphed at Rome with his Father."

Suetonius is a biographer. And therefore does not write of the Jewish

(*t*) Ex Quaesturae deinde honore legioni praepositus, Tarichaeam et Gamalam urbes validissimas Judaeae in potestatem redegit: equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso, alteroque inscenso, cujus rector contra se dimicans occubuerat. *Tit. cap.* 4.

(*u*) . . . et ad perdomandam Judaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione vii propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiae suae, tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem eum consalutaverint. *Ib. cap.* 5.

(*x*) Triumphavit cum patre, Censuramque gessit una. *Ib. cap.* 6.

A. D. 110.

Jewiſh war ſo particularly, as an hiſtorian of another character might do. Nevertheleſs he may be juſtly reckoned a witneſſe to the fulfillment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the overthrow of the Jewiſh people. He bears teſtimonie to the Jewiſh war, and the occaſion of it. He mentions the Generals employed in it, and the iſſue of it in the taking of Jeruſalem, and the reduction of Judea, and the triumph thereupon at Rome.

In the Life of *Domitian*, whoſe reign began in the year 81. and ended in 96. Suetonius ſays: " And *(y)* beſide others, the Jewiſh " taxe was exacted with the greateſt ſeverity, and was demanded of " thoſe who lived in the city according to the Jewiſh cuſtoms, with- " out entring themſelves as Jews, or who diſſembling their original, " had omitted to pay the taxe laid upon that nation."

It is well known, that after (z) the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the Jewiſh people, wherever they dwelled, were required by Veſpaſian and Titus to pay that tribute to the Capitol at Rome, which they had been wont to pay for the uſe of the temple at Jeruſalem. Among thoſe, of whom this taxe was now exacted, it is likely, there were divers ſorts of men. Some Gentils, who had embraced Chriſtianity, might be looked upon as Jews. Theſe were under no obligation to pay this taxe. Beſide them, ſome Jews, who were become Chriſtians, might think themſelves excuſed from paying this tribute. Whether reaſonably, or not, I do not determine. For according to the letter of the law, they were obliged to pay it, as being

(y) Praeter ceteros, Judaicus fiſcus acerbiſſime actus eſt: ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfeſſi Judaicam intra Urbem viverent vitam, vel diſſimulatâ origine, impoſita genti tributa non pependiſſent. Interfuiſſe me adoleſcentulum memini, cum a procuratore, frequentiſſimoque conſilio, inſpiceretur nonagenarius ſenex, an circumſectus eſſet. *Domitian cap.* 12.

(z) *Vid. Joſeph. De B. J. l.* 7. *cap. vi.* §. 6. *p.* 419. *Havere.*

ing circumcised: though they might think, that in equity they had a right to plead an exemption. And beside all these, there might be some Jews, both by nation and religion, who declined this taxe. These, I suppose, will not be vindicated by any, unless they scrupled to contribute to a Heathen Temple. A. D. 110.

To these several sorts of men, probably, Suetonius here refers. Nor can it be doubted, that some Christians met with sufferings upon this account, under the name and character of Jews, from whom they had received their religion. And, perhaps, this storie of Suetonius has a reference to *Domitian*'s persecution of the Christians, commonly called the second persecution.

This (*a*) taxe was not exacted with the same rigour under that good Emperour Nerva. But it was not abolished, as some have thought.

This passage ought to be understood as another testimonie, from the same writer, to the final overthrow of the Jewish people by the Romans, as Jesus had foretold.

V. Among the cruelties of the later part of *Domitian*'s reign Suetonius mentions this. "And lastly, (*b*) he put to death his cou- *Domitian's Persecution of the Christians.*

 "sin

(*a*) . . . item *fiscus Judaicus*, ut Suetonio, Domit. 12. qui cum acerbissime ageretur sub Domitiano, JUDAICI FISCI CALUMNIA SUBLATA est sub Nerva, ut testatur nummus apud Oiselium. . . Unde tamen plane cessasse hoc tributum non evincitur, sicut Begerus et Spanhemius jam demonstrarunt. *Reimar. annot. ad Dion. C. p.* 1082. §. 43.

(*b*) Denique Flavium Clementem patruelem suum, contemtissimae inertiae, cujus filios, etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat: et abolito priore nomine, alterum Vespasianum appellari jusserat, alterum Domitianum: repente, ex tenuissima suspicione, tantum non in ipso ejus Consulatu interemit. Quo maximе facto maturavit sibi exitium. *Domit. cap.* 15.

A. D. 110. "ſin FLAVIUS CLEMENT, a man of an indolent temper even to "contempt, whoſe ſons, when they were as yet infants, he had "publicly declared his ſucceſſors, and changing their former names, "he called the one *Veſpaſian*, and the other *Domitian*. Him he "put to death on a ſudden, upon a flight ſuſpicion, when he was "but juſt out of his Conſulſhip. By which action, more than by "any other, he haſtened his own ruin."

This happened in the year of our Lord (*c*) 95. Suetonius does not expreſsly ſay, that *Flavius Clement* was a Chriſtian. That may be farther cleared up (⁂) hereafter. However, it may be argued from the character, here given of Clement, that he was *a man of an indolent temper, even to contempt:* that having been a reproach, frequently caſt upon the Chriſtians by Heathen people, that they were uſeleſs, and unprofitable to the publick: as we learn from (*d*) Tertullian, and (*e*) other ancient writers.

In this character of *Clement* there ſeems to be a cenſure of him for exceſſive indolence. But I think, the chief and direct intention of Suetonius is to aggravate the cruelty of Domitian, who put to death ſo near a relation, in whom there was not one ſpark of ambition, and therefore there could be no reaſon to fear any thing from him.

Before I ſhut up this article, I muſt obſerve ſome things for explaining the laſt cited paſſage of Suetonius.

Flavius

(*c*) *Vide Pagi, ann.* 96. *num. ii. et Baſnag. ann.* 95. *n. iv.*

(⁂) *See the chapter of Dion Caſſius, in the third volume.*

(*d*) Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo expoſtulamur, et infructuoſi in negotiis dicimur. *Tert. Ap. cap.* 42.

(*e*) Cum autem hunc Flavium Clementem contemtiſſimae inertiae hominem vocat Sueton us, eo ipſo Chriſtianum fuiſſe demonſtrat. De quo injuriae in Chriſtianos titulo, quod inertes, et inutile , et infructuoſi dicerentur, Tertull. Ap. cap. 42. *Torrent. in Sueton. loc.*

Flavius Clement was cousin-german to Domitian. There *(f)* were two brothers, *Flavius Sabinus*, and *Flavius Clement*, sons of *Flavius Sabinus*, Vespasian's elder brother. *Sabinus*, the elder of those two brothers, had been put to death by Domitian some while before, as is related by *(g)* Suetonius. The second was put to death now, as just related. The death of *Flavius Clement* is also mentioned by (*h*) Dion Cassius, as will be more particularly observed by us hereafter. It is also mentioned by (*i*) Philostratus, in his Life of *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, and as a thing that hastened the death of Domitian himself. And we ought to recollect here what we before saw in (*) *Juvenal.* A. D. 110.

Suetonius assures us, that *Domitian had publicly declared the sons of this Clement to be his successors, and he changed their names, calling the one Vespasian, and the other Domitian.* Undoubtedly, they are the two young persons, whom Domitian had committed to the care and institution of (*k*) *Quintilian:* who calls them *the grandchildren of Domitian's sister.* Domitian's only sister, *Domitilla*, died before Vespasian came to the Empire, as we learn from *(l)* Suetonius. But she must have left a daughter of the same name; whose

(f) Vid. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 12. *et Vitell. cap.* 15. *Tacit. Hist. l.* 3 *cap.* 65. *Eutrop. l.* 7. *cap.* 18. *Victor. de Caes. cap. viii. Joseph. de B. J. l.* 4. *cap. x.* §. 3. *Conf. ib. cap. xi.* §. 4.

(*g*) Flavium Sabinum alterum e patruelibus, [occidit] quod, &c. *Sueton. Domit. cap. x.*

(*h*) . . . ἔλλκε τε πολλὲς, καὶ τὸν Φλάβιον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνέψιον ὄντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. *Dio. l.* 67. *c.* 14. *p.* 1112. *al. p.* 760.

(*i*) Ἐῴθειν δὲ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. Ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἀπεκτονὼς, ἄνδρα ὕπατον, ᾧ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξεδώκει. *Philost. de V. A. T. l.* 8. *cap.* 25.

(*) *p.* 360. *and* 361.

(*k*) Cum vero mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suae nepotum delegaverit curam. *Quintil. Imp. l.* 4. *Pr.*

(*l*) Ex hac liberos tulit Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori et filiae superstes fuit: atque utramque privatus amisit. *Sueton. Vespas. cap.* 3.

A. D. 110. whose sons therefore were her grandsons. What became of them afterwards, we are not informed.

Finally, Dion Cassius, in the place above cited, calls Clement *Consul.* Suetonius says, *he was put to death on a sudden, when he was just out of his Consulship.* But there is no disagreement between them in this. For *(m)* the ordinarie Consuls did not then serve out the whole year, but others were substituted in their room, after a few months, or a less space. However, the year was still reckoned with the names of the ordinarie Consuls, and they preserved the title throughout the whole year. Clement therefore was still Consul, though another, or several, one after another, had been substituted. As before said, Clement was put to death in 95. the year of his Consulship.

The Sum of his Testimonie.

VI. We have seen so many things in *Suetonius,* that it may not be improper to recapitulate. For he bears witnesse to the expulsion of the Jews and Christians out of Rome in the reign of *Claudius:* to the Persecution of the Christians in the time of *Nero:* to the Jewish war, and the reduction of Judea by *Vespasian and Titus,* and therein is a witnesse to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions, concerning the calamities coming upon that people. He likewise mentions the death of *Flavius Clement,* which we suppose to have happened in the time of *Domitian's persecution of the Christians.*

To all these things does *Suetonius* bear testimonie, who is an historian of the best credit, and lived at the end of the first, and the begining of the second centurie.

Our

(m) *Vid. Pagi et Basnag. ut supra. not.* (c) *p.* 666. *et Reimar. in Dion Cass. p.* 1112.

Our next Author will be the Younger PLINY, at the begining of the ſecond centurie. A. D. 110.

I have placed *Suetonius* before him, and in this volume, becauſe his teſtimonie has a near affinity with the particulars mentioned by Tacitus, and the two other laſt mentioned writers.

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The End of the first Volume.

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