THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES:

CONTAINING THE

CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES;

HISTORY OF HERETICS;

AND HIS SERMONS AND TRACTS:

WITH

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

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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.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXIV.]

THE

PREFACE.

It is well known, that I have long ſince intended a collection of paſſages of Jewiſh and Heathen authors, who bear teſtimony 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 completed 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 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 Defence 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 further notice of it.

An Argument in Defence of Chriſtianity, taken from the Conceſſions of the moſt ancient Adverſaries, Jews, and Pagans, Philo-

* See the Preface to the 12th volume (in the 5th of this edition) of the ſecond part of *The Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory*, near the end; publiſhed in the year 1755.

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

ſophers 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 32d chapter of which 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 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

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

‖ *Delectus argumentorum, et ſyllabus ſcriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Chriſtianæ adverſus Atheos, Deiſtas, ... lucubrationibus ſuis aſſeruerunt.* Hamb. 1725.

† *Cap. xxxii. Ethnicorum teſtimonia, veritatis religionis naturalis, Judaicæ, et Chriſtianæ 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 verité 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 emperors in cities, but allowed of for a while in villages and country-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 ſtyle 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 emperors. I therefore generally ſay, Heathens, Gentiles, Greeks; Heatheniſm, Gentiliſm, Helleniſm.

Hæc 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 Paganorum 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.*

Præceperas 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.

eſteem

eſteem with divers princes § of Germany. But I wiſh that Le Clerc had quoted his words at length, or referred to the work, in which Conringius delivered his judgment 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 emperor Julian, Porphyry, 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 foremen-tioned catalogue of Fabricius.

The † *Chriſtian Religion confirmed by the Teſtimonies of ancient 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 teſtimony. I ſhall often quote him, or refer to him; whereby the character of the work, and the judgment 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.

§ See the Dictionary 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.

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

‖ Tom. 1. ch. I. Phlegon, et Thallus, ch. II. Amminanus Marcellinus. III. Marcus Antoninus, 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 Porphyry. . . . Tom. 2. ch. I. Lampridius. II. The younger Pliny. III. The ſophiſt Libanius. IV. The emperor Julian, the apoſtate. V. Lucian, of Samoſata. VI. Rutilius Claudius Numatianus. VII. The emperor Antoninus, the pious. VIII. The emperor Marcus Antoninus *again*. IX. The falſe prophet, Mahomet. X. Joſephus the hiſtorian. XI. The true acts of Pilate.

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 the judgments 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 emperors, and were carried on by Heathen governors 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 republic 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 century.

In the ſecond volume are Heathen writings of the ſecond century: Among which are the letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan, and that emperor'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 teſtimony to the genuineneſs of the books of the New Teſtament, and to the truth of the evangelical hiſtory.

In the third volume will be Ulpian, Dion Caſſius, Porphyry, Hierocles, and other Heathen writers, and a hiſtory of the ſeveral perſecutions of the Chriſtians in the third century, concluding with that of the emperor Diocletian.

The fourth and laſt volume, in which will be the emperor 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.

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 teſtimony to the ſcriptures, in the fourth century, 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.

A

LARGE COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

JEWISH TESTIMONIES.

CHAP. I.

THE faith of many Jewiſh believers, in early times, a valuable teſtimony 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 teſtimony.*

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 miniſtry. At Jeruſalem he was crucified: there he aroſe from the dead, and thence he aſcended to heaven.

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 per-'fection, 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 practice 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.

things. Theſe were the general terms propoſed by him; forgiveneſs of paſt ſins upon repentance, and eternal life to perſeverance in the profeſſion of the truth, and the practice 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 laboured 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 beginning of his miniſtry, and during the time of it, there were ſome extraordinary manifeſtations from heaven, bearing teſtimony to him, as the *beloved Son of God*, or the Meſſiah, the great and extraordinary 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 latter part of his miniſtry, reminded the Jewiſh people, his hearers, to induce them to act according to evidence, and to improve the preſent opportunity, and accept the bleſſings offered to them, leſt 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 judgment, 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 ordinary 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 wondering, 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?* John vii. 31. 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 x. 41, 42.

Nevertheleſs, among the chief rulers alſo, many believed on him; but becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put

put out of the ſynagogue: For they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God. John xii. 42. 43. But Nicodemus, a Phariſee, and a ruler, and in the very early part of our Lord's miniſtry, came to him of his own accord, and acknowledged him to be a *teacher come from God*, John iii. 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 know what he doeth?* John vii. 51. 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 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, hewn out of a rock.* John xix. 38...42. Matt. xxvii. Mark xv. Luke xxiii.

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 Gentile; but he was in eſteem with *the elders of the Jews*, who lived in that city. And they alſo joined with him in the requeſt to Jeſus to heal his ſick ſervant, *ſaying, that he was worthy, for whom he ſhould do this.* Luke vii. 4. 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.

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 faithful to him, excepting only Judas the traitor, a man of a worldly and covetous diſpoſition. And though the miſcarriage and loſs 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.

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. Acts i.

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 company, agreeably to the promiſe which Jeſus had made to them. And henceforward 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. 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*; Acts ii. 49. and again, that *the whole multitude of them that believed was of one heart, and of one ſoul; neither ſaid any of them, that ought of the things which he poſſeſſed was his own, but they had all things common*; Acts iv. 32. 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:* Acts iv. 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. Acts v. Soon after this, Stephen, a man of great eminence and uſefulneſs among the diſciples, was ſtoned; Acts vi. vii. And James, brother of John, one of the chief apoſtlesof 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*; Acts xii. But now Divine Providence interpoſed: Peter was miraculouſly delivered out of priſon;

priſon; and Herod died under tokens of divine diſpleaſure. What is added is well worthy of obſervation. *But the word of God grew, and multiplied.*

And gradually the apoſtles and their fellow-labourers, with divine approbation and encouragement, enlarged their views, and preached the goſpel to Samaritans, and then to Gentiles. 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 ſatisfactory. The whole argument is briefly ſummed up in thoſe words of St. Paul before the governor 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 die no more, *he ſhould ſhew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.* Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Thus, at Antioch in Piſidia, it is ſaid of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 14. *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 worſhipping *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.* Acts xiv. 1. And in like manner at other places. And particularly at Theſſalonica, Acts xvii. 1. and at Berea, ver. 10. at Athens, 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 hiſtory of the council, held there in the year of Chriſt 50, about the terms upon which the Gentiles ſhould be received, that the believers were then numerous there, and greatly concerned for the eſtabliſhment and propagation of the goſpel, Acts xv. And when St. Paul came thither again, at the pentecoſt of the year

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*, Acts xxi. 20. 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.

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, (Acts ix. 31.) *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.* Gal. i. 22. See likewiſe 1 Theſſ. ii. 14.

Nor were all theſe men of the loweſt rank and condition. For, in the general account of the early progreſs of the goſpel, we are told, Acts vi. 7. *And the word of God increaſed, and the number of the diſciples multiplied in Jeruſalem greatly: and a great company 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*, Acts iv. v. and xxii. and not unacquainted with Greek literature, and a perſon of uncommon acuteneſs; who, of a violent perſecutor, became a ſincere convert to the faith, and a zealous preacher of the goſpel. In which ſervice he laboured as fervently, and as ſucceſsfully, as any other of the apoſtles; ſhewing therein great fidelity and ſelf denial: whoſe diſintereſtedneſs 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*, 1 Cor. ix. 19.

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The character of this perſon is ſo extraordinary, that I muſt enlarge ſomewhat in his hiſtory; 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 Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Iſrael:* Acts ix. and xxvi. though it was foreſeen, that he would *ſuffer many things* in that ſervice. In the courſe of his miniſtry 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 governors of Judea, and before 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 Cæſarea, the reſidence of the Roman governor. Acts xxii. . . xxvi. He alſo pleaded [a] before the emperor Nero himſelf at Rome; by whom was ſigned the order of his confinement in that city, which was a kind of free cuſtody: 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 ſucceſs, *no man forbidding him.* Acts xxviii. 30, 31. 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 emperor, he ſuffered martyrdom, being beheaded, as a Roman citizen; ſo bearing his final teſtimony to the truth of that doctrine, which he had long preached with great zeal and diligence. I now proceed.

The chamberlain and treaſurer of *Candace, queen of the Ethiopians,* a Jewiſh proſelyte, *who had come up to Jeruſalem to worſhip.* Acts viii. 27. 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 ſtudiouſneſs to underſtand them. His diſcourſe with Philip, a diſciple of Jeſus, who drew near to him, manifeſts inquiſitiveneſs and

[a] See the ſecond vol. (in the ſixth of this edition) of *The Supplement to the Credibility,* &c. p. 250, &c.

openneſs

openneſs to conviction, which are laudable diſpoſitions. And his converſion to the faith of Jeſus is therefore a teſtimony to the truth of the Chriſtian religion, which cannot be ſlighted.

Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren at Jeruſalem; Acts xv. . . xviii, and the latter of them, as it ſeems, a Roman citizen. Aquila and Priſcilla, Jews of Pontus, perſons of good underſtanding, and uncommon piety. Timothy, 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 Jeweſs. 2 Tim. i. His mother Eunice, and his grandmother Lois, alſo were believers. Acts xii. 12. John Mark, an evangeliſt, ſon of Mary, a woman of great zeal and courage in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, an inhabitant of Jeruſalem, and nephew to Barnabas. Col. iv. 10. 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 tetrach.* A [b] perſon, undoubtedly, of a liberal education.

Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent or learned man, and *mighty in the ſcriptures* of the Old Teſtament. Acts xviii. Criſpus and Soſthenes, rulers in the Jewiſh ſynagogue at Corinth; 1 Cor 1. and Zenas, a Jewiſh lawyer. Tit. iii. 13.

All theſe I have reckoned up briefly and imperfectly * among the Jewiſh believers; deſignedly omitting converts from among the Gentiles. All theſe Jews, by their faith and profeſſion, bore a teſtimony 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 de-

[b] Μαναηντε Ηρωδȣ τȣ τετραρχȣ συντροφος. *Herodis tetrarchæ collactaneus.* Vulg. 'At vocabulum συντροφȣ latius patet, ſignificatque *eum, qui a prima ætate cum altero educatus eſt.*' *Grot. in loc.*

* I ſay *imperfectly*. For I have not rehearſed all the Jewiſh believers, who are expreſsly 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. written, 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 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.

liverance

liverance 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 connections 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 glory of his Father, with the holy angels.* Mar. viii. 38. Mar. 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 hiſtory.

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 by Euſebius, [c] a city on the other ſide Jordan. Others might go elſewhere, into [d] Aſia, or [e] other remote countries, 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 country 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 ſucceeded by Simeon. In his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory [g]

[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. (in Vol. VI. of this ed.)

[e] Credibile eſt, Judææ Chriſtianos, non tantum Pellæ, ad ortum Jordanos, 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. (in Vol. VI. of this ed.)

[g] H. E. L. 3. cap. xi.

Eusebius placeth his election after the destruction of Jerusalem; but in his Chronicle [h] it is so expressed, as if it had been done immediately 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 doubtful manner. We should therefore, as I apprehend, be cautious of being too particular in our decisions about it. However, Eusebius [k] justly reckons him among the eye and ear-witnesses of the Lord: and according [l] to Hegesippus, whose ecclesiastical history 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 forty years.

He was succeeded 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

[h] Jacobus, frater Domini, quem omnes justum apellabant, a Judæis lapidibus opprimitur: in cujus thronum Simeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur. *Chr.* p. 161.

[i] . . . Ανεψιον ως γε φασι γεγονοτα τȣ σωτηρος. Τον γαρ ȣν Κλωπαν, αδελφον τȣ Ιωσηφ υπαρχειν Ηγησιππος ιςορει. H. E. l. 3. c. xi. p. 87. Conf. l. 4. cap. 22. p. 142. C.

[k] Λογισμω δ' αν και τον Συμεωνα των αυτοπτων και αυτηκοων ειποι αντιςγε γονεναι τȣ κυριȣ. L. 3. c. 32. p. 104. B.

[l] Ap. Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104. C.

[m] Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon, filius Cleopæ, qui in Jerosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur. Cui succedit Justus. Ignatius, quoque Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus Romam perductus bestiis traditur. *Chr.* p. 165.

[n] . . Της εν Ιεροσολυμοις επισκοπης τον θρονον Ιȣδαιος τις ονομα Ιȣςος, μυριων οσων εκ περιτομης εις τον χριςον τηνικαυτα πεπιςευκοτων εις και αυτος ων διαδεχεται. l. 3. c. 35. p. 106.

[o] L. 4. cap. v.

possibly

poſſibly they were all in years, ſeniority being eſteemed a ground of preference. After [p] their defeat by Adrian, the Jews were forbid to come to Jeruſalem: from that time the church there conſiſted of Gentiles, 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 middle of the ſecond century. 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 country, 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 becauſe of the meanneſs 'of his outward character.'

Irenæus ſays, 'there [s] were many of the circumciſion, 'who believed in Jeſus, who roſe from the dead, hearkening 'to Moſes and the prophets, who beforehand preached the 'coming of the Son of God.'

Among theſe Jewiſh believers there were different ſentiments. Origen ſays, 'there [t] were two ſorts of Ebio-'nites; ſome who believed Jeſus to have been born of a

[p] Ib. l. 4. cap. 6. vid. et Chr. p. 167.

[q] Contr. Celſ. l. 2. § 1. p. 57. Conf. § 3. p. 58, 59.

[r] . . Ὡς τε το Ιουδαιων ολον εθνος ηρτημενον της περι του ελπιζομενου επιδημησειν προσδοκιας, εις την προς αλληλους ζητησιν εληλυθεναι, τω Ιησου επιδημησαντος· και πολυ μειν πληθος αυτων ωμολογηκεναι χριστον, και πεπιστευκεναι αυτον ειναι τον προφητευομενον· τους δε μη πιστευοντας, 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 prædicantes adventum filii Dei. Iren. l. 4. cap. ii. § 4.

[t] . . . ετι δε και τον Ιουδαιων νομον ως τα Ιουδαιων πληθη βιων εθελοντες. Ουτοι δ' εισιν οι δηττοι Εβιωναιοι, ητοι εκ παρθενου ομολογουντες ομοιως ημιν τον Ιησουν, η ουχ ουτω γεγεννησθαι αλλ' ως τους λοιπους ανθρωπους. *Contr. Celſ.* l. 5. § 61. p. 272.

 'virgin,

'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 hiſtory, in a chapter entitled *Of the Hereſy 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 re- 'ſpects very infirm. They are called by the ancients Ebio- 'nites, becauſe they have but a low opinion of Chriſt, think- 'ing him to be a mere man, born of Joſeph and Mary, 'honoured for his advancement in virtue; and eſteeming the 'ritual ordinances of the law neceſſary 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.'

Theſe two learned ancient authors ſpeak of two ſorts of Ebionites, therein, as [y] may be ſuppoſed, including thoſe who are ſometimes called Nazarenes, and were the deſcendents of the Jewiſh believers at Jeruſalem.

It may be alſo here obſerved by us, that many learned men are now of opinion, that there never was any man named Ebion, the leader of a ſect; but that the Ebionites were ſo called from their low opinion concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and their attachment to the external rites of the law of Moſes. And that opinion, as I apprehend, is much countenanced by the paſſages which have been juſt quoted.

[u] Εισι γαρ τινες αιρεσεις, τας Παυλω επιστολας τω αποστολω μη προσιεμενοι, κατα τον Εβιωναιοι αμφοτεροι, και οι καλουμενοι Εγκρατηται. Ουκ αν εν οι μη χρωμενοι τω αποστολω, ως μακαριω τινι και σοφω. Ib. n. 65. p. 274.

[x] Αλλως δε ο πονηρος δαιμων της περι τον χριστον τω Θεω διαθεσεως αδυνατον εκσεισαι, θατεραληπτως ευρων, εσφετερίζετο. Εβιωνικης τυτης οικειως επεφημιζον οι πρωτοι, πτωχως και ταπεινως τα περι τω χριστω δοξαζοντας λιτον μεν γαρ αυτον και κοινον ηγεντο, κατα προκοπην ηθους αυτο μονοι ανθρωπον δεδικαιωμενον, εξ ανδρος τε κοινωνιας και της Μαριας γεγενημενον . . . Αλλοι δε παρα τυτοις της αυτης οντες προσηγοριας, εκ παρθενιας και τω αγιω πνευματος μη αριθμενοι γεγονεναι τον κυριον, α μην εθ ομοιως και θεον προυπαρχειν αυτοι θειν λογον οντα και σοφιαν ομολογουντες. κ. λ. L. 3. cap. 27. p. 99.

[y] Et Origines, cum duplices facit Ebionæos in diſputatione contra Celſum, Ebionærorum nomine abutens, ſub priore illa nota Nazaræos, ut credibile eſt, deſcribat. Grot. Prol. in Matt. p. 5.

We cannot deny that there were ſome believers, who ſuppoſed Jeſus to have been born as other men; but I apprehend that the number of theſe was very ſmall: nor do I recollect any Chriſtian writing, now extant, where that opinion is maintained.

We muſt alſo allow that there were ſome, who [z] rejected the apoſtle Paul, whilſt they received the other apoſtles: theſe likewiſe I ſuppoſe to have been few in number. I know no work of any ancient author now remaining, who ſpeaks diſreſpectfully of him, excepting only [a] *The Recognitions*, or *Clementine homilies*, of which we formerly took particular notice.

As for the other Ebionites, called alſo Nazareans, it is allowed, as we have juſt ſeen, that they believed Jeſus to be born of a virgin, by an eſpecial interpoſition of the power of God, or by the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe alſo received the apoſtle Paul. *The teſtaments of the twelve patriarchs* were written by a Jewiſh believer of this character in the ſecond century. 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 Jerom's commentary upon Iſ. ix. 1. . . 3. quoted Matt. iv. 15, 16. 'The 'Nazareans,' [c] ſays he, 'whom I before mentioned, endeavour 'to explain this text after this manner. When Chriſt came, 'and began to enlighten the world with his doctrine, the land 'of Zabulon and Nephtali was firſt delivered from the 'errors of the ſcribes and Phariſees, and ſhook off from 'their necks the heavy yoke of Jewiſh traditions. Afterwards, 'by the preaching of the apoſtle Paul, who was the laſt of

[z] Nota, quod primi apoſtoli ſalvatoris literam Sabbathi deſtruunt adverſus Ebionitas, qui quum cæteros recipiant apoſtolos, Paulum quaſi tranſgreſſorem 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 (in. vol. ii. of this ed.)

[b] See *The Credib.* P. ii. vol. ii. p. 760 . . . 764 (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

[c] Hebræi credentes in Chriſtum hunc locum ita ediſſerunt. . . Nazaræi, quorum opinionem ſupra poſui, hunc locum ita explicare conantur. Adveniente Chriſto, ac prædicatione illius coruſcante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephtali ſcribarum et Phariſæorum 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 prædicatio: et in terminos gentium, et viam univerſi maris Chriſti evangelium ſplenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat, vel ſedebat in tenebris, et idolatriæ ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, claram evangelii lucem aſpexit. In Iſ. cap. ix. T. 3. p. 83.

'all the apoſtles, the preaching was increaſed, and even 'multiplied; and the goſpel of Chriſt ſhone out among the 'Gentiles, and by *the way of the ſea.* At length the whole 'world, that had walked, or *ſat in darkneſs*, and had been 'held in the chains of idolatry and death, ſaw the clear light 'of the goſpel.' So he ſays that text was explained by the Nazarenes, whom juſt before he called *the Hebrews that believed in Chriſt.*

That the Nazarenes received all Chriſt's apoſtles, is evident from the paſſage juſt tranſcribed. It is alſo manifeſt from Jerom's commentary upon If. xxxi. 6. . . 9. 'The [d] Nazarenes,' ſays he, 'underſtand 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 devil ſhall fall before you, not by your own power, but by the mercy 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] Jerom intimates, 'were for 'impoſing the legal obſervances upon all men, as neceſſary to 'ſalvation: but the other Ebionites, (or Nazarenes) 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 Nazarenes,

[d] Nazaræi locum iſtum ſic intelligunt. O filii Iſrael, qui conſilio peſſimo Dei Filium denegaſtis, revertimini ad eum, et ad apoſtolos ejus. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abjicietis idola, quæ vobis prius fuerant in peccatum: et cadet vobis diabolus, non veſtris viribus, ſed miſericordia Dei, et juvenes ejus, qui quondam pro illo pugnaverant, erunt eccleſiæ vectigales, omniſque fortitudo et petra illius pertranſibit. In If. 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, quæ in umbra et imagine præceſſerunt, cæremonias non relinquant. Hieron. in If. cap i. T. 3. p. 9.

[f] Audiant Ebionæi, qui poſt paſſionem abolitam legem putant eſſe ſervandam. Audiant Ebionitarum ſocii, qui Judæis tantum, et de ſtirpe Iſraelitici generis hæc cuſtodienda decernunt. Id. in If. cap. i. T. 3. p. 15.

[g] Ego ad eos accedere non vereor, qui ſtatuunt, Nazaræos, nullos Chriſtianorum, niſi Judæos, et Abrahæ poſteros, legi Moſaicæ alligare voluiſſe, &c. Moſhem. de reb. Chr. ante C. M. p. 330.

did

did not impoſe 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 [h] we 'learn from Epiphanius, they ſaid they were called Ebio-'nites, 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 hiſtory 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 genealogy, at the beginning. The teſtimony of Irenæus, 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 written 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 genealogy.' (A)

Euſebius, in a place above cited, ſays, *that even thoſe Ebionites*, (or Nazarenes) *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

[h] Αυτοι δε δηθεν σεμνυνονται, ταυτης φασκοντες πτωχης δια το φασιν εν χρονοις των αποστολων πωλειν το αυτων υπαρχοντα, και τιθεναι παρα τους ποδας των αποστολων, και εις πτωχειαν και αποταξιαν μεταληλυθεναι και δια τουτο καλεισθαι υπο παντων, φασι, πτωχοι. H. 30. n. xiii. p. 141. A.

[i] Iren. 147. Maſſ. and ſee *The Credib.* P. 2. vol. i. p. 356, (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

(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. xxxix. p. 804, 805. Epiphanius therefore ſays, *that the Hebrew goſpel of Matthew, uſed by the Nazarenes, was a full goſpel.* Εχουσι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρεστατον εβραικις. H. 29. num. ix. p. 124. The Nazarenes 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, (in vol. vi. of this ed.) Says Lampe, Synopſ. H. E. p. 73. Græca vero lingua omnes, ne Matthæo quidem excepto, uſi ſunt, ut a Judæis et Gentibus uterentur.

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 hold any principles that obliged them to reject or diſlike it.

Finally, we are aſſured by St. Jerom, '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 Jerom, 'that they believe in Chriſt, the 'Son of God, born of the virgin Mary, 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 eſpecial manner the object of the ſpite and enmity of the unbelieving part of their nation: and, beſides, they [m] were too much ſlighted and diſregarded by the Gentile 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 teſtimony to the truth of the Chriſtian religion.

Some Jews have all along, in every age ſince, embraced the Chriſtian religion, who have joined themſelves to the Gentile believers, and have been incorporated with them. Theſe are not now the ſubjects of my hiſtory.

[k] Vid. Lampe Prol. in Joh. Evang. l. 2. cap. i. § 1. 2. 3. et cap. iii. num. 38. . . . 43.

[l] Uſque hodie per totas Orientis ſynagogas, inter Judæos hæreſis eſt, quæ dicitur minæonem, et a Phariſæis nunc uſque damnatur: quos vulgo Nazaræos 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.

[m] See W. Wall in the Preface to his Notes upon the O. T. p. xi. xii.

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 'lies, diſparage them who hope in Him, and in God Al-'mighty, 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 hindered '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 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 igno-'rant 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 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 atheiſtical ſect was ariſen, 'the author of which was one Jeſus of Galilee, an impoſtor; 'whom, when you had crucified, his diſciples ſtole out of 'the ſepulchre by night, where he had been laid after his

[a] Juſt. M. Dial. p. 234, 235. Pariſ. § 16, et 17. p. 127. Bened. [b] H. E. l. 4. cap. 18, [c] Dial. p. 335. Pariſ. § 108. p. 202. Bened.

crucifixion;

'crucifixion; and that they deceived men, ſaying, that he 'was riſen from the dead and aſcended into heaven. More-'over 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 country 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, that the Jews were the principal authors of the reproaches caſt upon the Chriſtians: and he ſpeaks of one calumny 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 [f] 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 lewdneſs. Which calumnies, 'though very abſurd, were in former times believed by 'many.'

And Euſebius, in his commentary upon Iſ. xviii. 1, 2. 'We [g] find in the writings of the ancients,' ſays he, 'that the

[d] Dial. p. 363. Pariſ. § 133. p. 225 Bened.

[e] Novo jam de Deo noſtro fama ſuggeſſit. Adeo nuper quidam perditiſſimus in iſta civitate, etiam ſuæ religionis deſertor, ſolo detrimento cutis, Judæus . . . picturam in nos propoſuit ſub iſta proſcriptione, Onochoetes. Is erat auribus canteriorum, et in toga, cum libro, altero pede ungulato. Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus ſeminarium eſt infamiæ noſtræ? Itaque in tota civitate Onochoetes prædicatur. 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 perſeverantia furoris, et nomen Domini per ipſos blaſphemaretur, ſicut ſcriptum eſt: *Propter vos blaſphematur nomen meum in nationibus:* (ab illis enim cœpit infamia:) et tempus medium a Tiberio uſque ad Veſpaſianum, non pœnitentiam intellexiſſent, facta eſt terra eorum deſerta, civitates eorum exuſtæ igni, regionem eorum ſub eorum conſpectu extranei devorant. Adv. Marcion. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 498. B.

[f] Και δοκει μοι παραπλησιον Ιουδαιοις πεποιηκεναι, τοις κατα την αρχην της του χριστιανισμου διδασκαλιας κατασκεδασασι δυσφημιαν του λογου· ως αρα καταθυσαντες παιδιον, μεταλαμβανουσι αυτου των σαρκων· και παλιν, οτι οι απο του λογου του του σκοτους πραττειν βουλομενοι, σβεννυουσι μεν το φως, εκαστος δε τη παρατυχουση μιγνυται. Contr. Celſ. l. 6. num. 27. p. 293.

[g] Ευρομεν εν τοις παλαιων συγγραμμασιν, ως οι την Ιερουσαλημ οικουντες του των Ιου-

'prieſts

'prieſts and elders of the Jewiſh nation, who dwelt at 'Jeruſalem, wrote letters which they ſent to the Jews abroad 'in all countries, traducing the doctrine of Chriſt, as a new 'and ſtrange hereſy, and exhorting 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 Benedictines [g] in their preface to Juſtin Martyr. The origin of the early calumnies upon the Chriſtians is ſomewhat doubtful. Some have ſuppoſed them to have been occaſioned by the abſurd doctrines, and vicious lives, of thoſe called heretics. However, I formerly [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 beginning 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 defame 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] preſently the people brought together dried wood, 'and branches of trees from their ſhops, and from the

δαιων εθνης ιερεις και πρισβυτεροι γραμματα διαχαραξαντες εις παντα διεπεμψατο τα εθη τοις οπανταχη Ιυδαιοις διαβαλλοντες την χριστυ διδασκαλιαν, ως αιρεσιν καινην και αλλοτριαν τυ Θευ, παραγγελλοντες δι επιστολων μη παραδεξασθαι αυτην. Euſeb. in Eſ. c. xviii. p. 424.

[g] Pr. Part 3. c. iv. p. 76, &c.

[h] *Credib.* P. ii. ch. xxxix. p. 712, 713, (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

[i] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invſos, vulgus Chriſtianos apellabat. Tac. Ann. l. 15. c. 44.

[k] . . . μαλιστα Ιυδαιων προθυμως, ως εθος αυτοις, εις τυτο υπηρχυντων. Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. 133. A.

'baths;

'baths; in which the Jews especially, as is usual with them, 'readily assisted.'

We are assured by Jerom, that the Jews anathematized the Christians under the name of Nazareans, in their synagogues, thrice every day. So he writes in [l] his commentary upon Is. v. 18, 19. And again [m] in like manner upon Is. xlix. 7. and [n] upon the first chapter of the prophecy 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 Jerom 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 Mary, 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 middle of the second century; and doubtless he had 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 calumny also is in [q] Celsus; and

[l] Dicuntur autem hæc ad principes Judæorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritia et luxuria: quod provocati a Domino ad pœnitentiam, 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 contempsit eam: qui abominationi est genti Judæorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. Id. in Is. c. 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] Ου μονον γαρ οι των Ιουδαιων παιδες προς τουτους κεκτηνται μισος, αλλα ανισταμενοι εωθεν, και μεσης ημερας, και περι εσπεραν, τρις της ημερας οτε ευχας επιτελουσιν εν ταις αυτων συναγωγαις, επαρωνται αυτοις, και αναθεματιζουσι, φασκοντες, οτι επικαταρασαι ο Θεος τους Νασωραιους. Και γαρ τουτοις περισσοτερον ενεχουσι, διω το απο Ιουδαιων αυτους οντας, Ιησουν κηρυσσειν ειναι χριστον. κ. λ. Epiph. H. 29. § ix. p. 124.

[p] Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. num. 28, et 32. p. 22, et 26. [q] Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. § 28. p. 22.

doubtless

doubtleſs he had it from the Jews. It is alſo in the Talmudical writers, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

In the time of the emperor 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 heavy 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 hiſtory: not now to refer to any [u] others.

[r] Και γαρ εν τω νυν γεγενημενω Ιυδαικω πολεμω, βαρχοχιβας ο της Ιυδαιων αποστασεως αρχηγετης, χριστιανους μονους εις τιμωριας δεινας, ει μη αρνοιντο Ιησουν τον χριστον, και βλασφημοιεν, εκελευσατο απαγεσθαι. Ap. i. p. 72. E. Par. p. 62. Bened.

[s] Cochebas dux Judaicæ factionis nolentes Chriſtianos adverſum Romanum militem ferre ſubſidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat. Chron. p. 167.

[t] A. E. l. 4. c. 6. [u] Vid. Moſhem. de reb. Chriſtianor. ante Conſt. p. 238, 239.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

JOSEPHUS, with his teſtimony 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: viz. 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. *The occaſion of the Jewiſh war with the Romans, as repreſented by Joſephus.* VIII. *The hiſtory 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 teſtimony to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions of thoſe events.* IX. *Reflections upon the preceding hiſtory, and the value of the teſtimony of Joſephus.* X. *Other ancient writers, who have borne witneſs 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.*

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 family, 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.

[a] Joſeph. in Vita ſua, cap. i.

He

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 wilderneſs, where he lived three years an abſtemious courſe of life, in the company of Banus. Having fully acquainted himſelf with the principles of the three ſects, the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes, 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 offence to Rome, to be tried before Cæſar. 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 ſix hundred 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 Poppæa, the emperor'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 Poppæa many valuable preſents; and then he returned home. This voyage was made, as he [e] ſays, in the 26th year of his age, which muſt have been in the 62d or 63d 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 beginning of the war, in the year of Chriſt 66, (when he muſt have been himſelf about thirty years of age) he was ſent from Jeruſalem to command in [h] Galilee; where, having ordered matters as well as he could, and made

[b] Cap. 2.

[c] Ετι δε παις ων περι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατον ετος . . . συνιοντων αει των αρχιερεων και των της πολεως πρωτων υπερ τυ παρ εμυ περι των νομιμων ακριβεστερον τι γνωναι. Cap. 2.

[d] . . . μεγαλων δε δωρεων προς τη ευεργεσια ταυτη τυχων παρα Ποππαιας. C. 3.

[e] Μετ' εικοσι και εκτον ενιαυτον εις Ρωμην μοι συνεπεσεν αναβηναι. 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] . . και πολλους επι τη Ρωμαιων αποστασει μεγα φρονουντας. Vit. c. 4.

[h] Vit. cap. 7, 8. De B. J. l. 2. c. 20.

the

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 defence, and a ſiege of ſeven and forty days, was taken by Veſpaſian, [i] on the firſt day of July, in the 13th year of Nero and the 67th 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 ſeized a woman that had been with them. She made a diſcovery 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. When all the reſt were killed, he without much difficulty perſuaded that other perſon to yield up himſelf to the Romans. So 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 hiſtory, of which we are now able to make ſo good uſe of.

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.

[i] De B. J. l. 3. cap. 7. Conf. cap. 8. § 9. [k] μεγιστη γαρ ην μοιρα του πολεμου ληφθεις. De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. in. [l] De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. § 1. . . 7. [m] See Tillotſon's Serm. numb. 186. vol. 2. p. 564. [n] De B. l. 3. c. 8. § 8.

When

When all were dismissed, except Titus and two friends, he spoke to Vespasian after this manner. 'You [o] think, Vespasian, that you have in Josephus 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 die. Do you intend to send me to Nero? Are they, who are to succeed 'Nero before you, to continue? You, Vespasian, will be 'Cæsar: you will be emperor. 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 falsehood 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 found Josephus 'to have spoken truth upon other occasions: for when one 'of his friends, who was 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 privately 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 increased.

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 dis-

[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 address to Vespasian is very precise and formal, predicting things then future. Possibly, this speech was improved afterwards, and at the time of writing this history made more clear and express, and more agreeable to the event, than when first spoken.

[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. Vesp. c. 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.

paragement 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 mercy 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 was ſtill a priſoner: but when Veſpaſian had been proclaimed emperor, 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 country.

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 ſucceeded 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 emperors, 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 of 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 treachery 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 latter times.

[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 Judæos in nullo pretio fuerint... Gentiles tamen pariter et Chriſtiani Joſephum, licet Judæum, ejuſque opera, magni æſtimarunt. Ittig. Prolég. pag. 88. ap. Havercamp.

[a] Joſephus is quoted by Porphyry, 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 Hiſtory 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 country, for the ſake of ſuch as lived in Parthia, Babalonia, 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 ſeventy-fifth year of Chriſt, and the thirty-eighth year of his own age. He profeſſeth to have written with great [d] fidelity; and for the truth of his hiſtory 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 hiſtory 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 fifty-ſixth 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 ſubjoined, as a part of it, or an appendix to it, *His Life*, written by himſelf ſome time 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 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 genuineneſs: 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,

[b] Particular accounts of them are to be ſeen in Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Fabric. 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 Proleg. § 5, &c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.

[e] In Vit. cap. 65. Adv. ap. l. i. c. 9.

[f] Αλλ' αυτοις απεδωκα τοις αυτοκρατορσι τα βιβλια. Vit. § 65. Conf. Adv. Ap. ut ſupr.

[g] ωσε χαραξας τη ιδια χειρι τα βιβλια δημοσιευσεσθαι προσεταξεν. Vit. § 65.

[h] Ant. l. 20. cap. ult. fin.

[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.

The Jewiſh Antiquities, he confirms the truth of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament: and, as in ſeveral of the laſt books of that work he has brought down the Jewiſh hiſtory from the ceaſing of prophecy among them to the twelfth of Nero, he has let us know the ſtate of affairs in Judea during the time of the evangelical hiſtory. 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 governors in Judea, the Jewiſh ſects and their principles, the manners of the Jewiſh people, and likewiſe concerning the Samaritans, greatly confirms and illuſtrates the hiſtory of our evangeliſts; as was formerly ſhewn in the firſt part of this work, *The Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory*; 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 of this Jewiſh author more directly confirming the principal facts of the 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 Baptiſt, our Lord's forerunner, or of our Lord himſelf, or of any of his apoſtles.

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

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 era, about the time of our [m] Midſummer. Joſephus always dates [n] the loſs of their liberty at that time. The ſame is ſaid by [o] Tacitus.

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

[m] See Prideaux, in the year before Chriſt, 63, p. 439. And Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. iv. 4. De B. J. l. i. c. vii. § 6.

[n] Τουτῳ τῳ παθει τοις Ιεροσολυμοις αιτιοι κατεστησαν Υρκανος και Αριστοβουλος προς αλληλους στασιαζοντες. Την τε γαρ ελευθεριαν απεβαλομεν, και υπηκοοι Ρωμαιων κατεστημεν. Antiq. l. 14. iv. 5. And compare what Agrippa ſays to the Jews at Jeruſalem. De B. J. l. 2. c. xvi. 4. p. 187.

[o] Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuitt, emplumque jure victoriæ ingreſſus eſt. Tacit. H. l. 5. c. 9.

But

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 entered 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 it, and perform the accuſtomed ſacrifices. And he reſtored the prieſthood to Hyrcanus.

And that after this the Jewiſh people were, ſometimes at leaſt, in a flouriſhing condition, appears from many conſiderations. It was during this period that [q] Herod repaired the temple. Excepting the cloud of glory 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 glory? 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 glory, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. The ſilver is mine, and the gold is mine, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. The glory of this latter 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

[p] De B. J. l. 1. c. vii. 6. Conf. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv.

[q] Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. 1. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.

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 de-'ſpicable appearance of the building before your eyes, I will 'fill it with glory, and will cauſe it to equal, or even ſur-'paſs, 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.

That they were in flouriſhing circumſtances at the time of our Lord's preaching among them, is apparent; though they were uneaſy 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 ſeized the temple, entered 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 witneſs 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 fulfilment of them.

III. We find our Lord's diſciples ſpeaking of the magnificence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii. . . 1. *And, as he 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*

[r] . . . παρελθων μετα των ηγεμονων ενδον εθεασατο τον ναον το αγιον, και τα εν αυτω, πολυ μεν της παρα τοις αλλοφυλοις φημης αμεινω, τον δε κομπον και της παρα τοις οικειοις δοξης ουκ ελαττω. De B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 7.

[s] L. 6. iv. 8. Conf. l. 6. x. fin.

[t] απο δε της υστερον, ην ετει δευτερω Κυρου βασιλευοντος εποιησατο Αγγαιος. L. 6. c. iv. 8.

not

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 privately: 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, leſt 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 beginnings 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 beginning 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 privately, ſaying; Tell us when theſe things ſhall be, and what will be the ſign 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 beginnings 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 witneſs 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 clothes. 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 beginning 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 lightning cometh out of the eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the weſt, ſo ſhall alſo the coming of the Son of man be; for whereſoever the carcaſs 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 blood 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 blood ſhed*

upon

upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood 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 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 fearful 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 testimony.... And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, 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 country 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 distress 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

Jeruſalem ſhall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles 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 thou, at leaſt 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. 27. . . . 31. *And there followed him a great company 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 of the barren fig-tree. Matt. xxi. 18, 19. Mark xi. 12, 13. and 20, 21.

In what has been juſt tranſcribed from the evangeliſts, are obſervable theſe ſeveral things.

1. Our

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

2. He ſpeaks of great and extraordinary 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 foretels, that his diſciples and followers would be brought before kings and governors for his name's 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 foretels, 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 fulfilment; though not exactly in the order in which they have been juſt now mentioned.

IV. Before I enter upon the hiſtory of the fulfilment 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 Apo-

[u] Και δη την αρχην ελαβεν ο πολεμος δευτερῳ μεν ετει της επιτροπης Φλωρου, δωδεκατῳ δε της Νερωνος αρχης. Antiq. l. 20, xi. 1.

Και προσελαμβανε την αρχην ο πολεμος δωδεκατῳ μεν ετει της Νερωνος ηγεμονιας, επταικαιδεκατῳ δε της Αγριππα βασιλειας, Αρτεμισιου μηνος. De B. J. l. 2. cap. xiv. 4.

ſtles,

ſtles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the emperor Nero, and the ſeventeenth year of Agrippa, mentioned Acts xxv. and xxvi. 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 fourteenth day of April to the eighth 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.

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 that be 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.*

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 ſtyle of ſcripture, called *an abomination.*

[x] Παρην δ' η ειμαρμενη χρονων περιοδος ημερα δεκατη Λωϊ μηνος, καθ' ην και το προτερον υπο των Βαβυλωνιων βασιλεως ενεπρησθη. De B. J. l. 6. iv. 5.

[y] Θαυμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτη της περιοδω την ακριβειαν· και μιαν γεν, ως εφην, και ημεραν επιτηρησε την αυτην, ει η προτερον υπο Βαβυλωνιων ο νεως ενεπρησθη. ... γεγονεν ετει δευτερω της Ουεσπασιανου ηγεμονιας. Ib. § 8.

[z] Εαλω μεν ουτως Ιεροσολυμα ετει δευτερω της Ουεσπασιανου ηγεμονιας, Γορπιαιου μηνος ογδοη. Ib. l. 6. cap. x. in.

[a] De B. J. l. 5. cap. iii. 1, cap. xiii. 7, l. 6. cap. ix. 3.

By

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 army from Cæſarea, and putting them into win-'ter quarters at Jeruſalem, brought the carved images of 'Cæſar, which are in the enſigns, into the city, in violation 'of the Jewiſh laws; ſince our law forbids the making of 'images. For which reaſon the former governors were wont 'to come into the city with enſigns deſtitute of theſe orna-'ments. Pilate was the firſt who ſet up images in Jeruſalem: 'and he did it privately, the army making their entrance in 'the night time: but, as ſoon as the people knew it, they 'went in a large body to Cæſarea, making earneſt ſupplications 'that the images might be removed..... And at length Pilate 'gave orders for bringing back the images from Jeruſalem to 'Cæſarea.'

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 army through their country, becauſe it was 'contrary to their laws that any images ſhould be brought into 'it, whereas there were a great many in his army. And he 'hearkened to them, altered his intention, 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 country, and their accuſtomed habitations, and removals are always attended with dangers and difficulties, our Lord recommends flight in very urgent terms, leſt any of thoſe who loved him, and reſpected his doctrine, ſhould partake in the dreadful calamities of the ſiege.

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

[y] Antiq. l. 18. c. iii. § 1.

[z] Antiq. l. 18. cap. vi. 3.

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

And this goſpel of the kingdom, ſays he, *ſhall be preached in all the world, for a witneſs to all nations; and then ſhall the end come*: Matt. xxiv. 14. *And the goſpel muſt firſt be publiſhed among 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, ſtill extant, and written to Chriſtians in divers cities and countries, are a ſtanding monument of it: for they are ſent to believers at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Epheſus, Philippi, Coloſs, Theſſalonica, and the Hebrews; all written 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 written 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.

And Tacitus [a] bears witneſs 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.

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

[a] Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.

New

New Teſtament. The apoſtles of Jeſus met with great difficulties in preaching the goſpel: and the converts made by them were expoſed to many ſufferings. Peter and John, and all the apoſtles, were brought before the Jewiſh council, and were impriſoned, and beaten, and further 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 governors 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 enemy, *made havoc 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 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 ſixty-fourth of our Lord, there happened a great fire at Rome. Nero was ſuſpected to have ſet

[b] See that fully proved in *The Supplement to the Credibility, &c.* V. vi. Ch. xii. § 10.

it

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 en-'mity to mankind.' Thus Tacitus bears witneſs, 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 falſely, for my ſake.*

3. Further, 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.

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 ſtedfaſtneſs, implying the great danger of apoſtaſy 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 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 Timothy, 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 apology) *no man ſtood with me; but all men forſook me.* And again, in the ſame epiſtle, ch. ii. 17, he

[c] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et exquiſitiſſimis pœnis 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.

ſpeaks

ſpeaks of Hymeneus and Philetus: *who concerning the truth have erred, ſaying that the reſurrection is paſt already, 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 'at [d] firſt they only 'were apprehended who confeſſed themſelves to be of that ſect: 'afterwards, 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 dureth for a while; for when tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by he is offended.*

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 hiſtory in the Acts of the apoſtles, that there was a famine in Judea, in the time of the emperor Claudius; ch. xi. 25—30. It was not an accidental ſcarcity at Jeruſalem only, but it was a famine all over that country. It began in the fourth year of that emperor, 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 Hiſtory, and by [k] Oroſius.

There was alſo a famine at Rome, and in Italy, 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

[d] Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur: deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens. &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.

[e] Ant. l. 20. ii. 6.

[f] Επι τουτοις δη και μεγαν λιμον κατα την Ιουδαιαν συνεβη γενεσθαι. Ib. cap. v. 2.

[g] —— ου μην αλλα και τω δε τω πολεμω μικρον εμπροσθεν, Κλαυδιου Ρωμαιων αρχοντος, και λιμω την χωραν ημων καταλαβοντος, ως τεσσαρων δραχμων πωλεισθαι τον ασσαριον: 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.

Tacitus and [n] Euſebius; which ſeems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that emperor.

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

Concerning the famines in the reign of the emperor Claudius, ſome [p] modern hiſtorians and chronologers might be conſulted.

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] ſixty-fifth year of the Chriſtian æra 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.

—— 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 by [z] Tacitus; and likewiſe by [a] Euſebius in his Chronicle; who ſays that in Aſia three cities, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Coloſſæ, 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.

In the ſame reign there was an earthquake in Campania, men-

[n] Fames facta in Græcia. Modius ſex drachmis venundatus eſt. —— Magna fames Romæ. Chr. p. 160, infr. m.

[o] Arctiore autem annona propter aſſiduas ſterilitates, &c. Suet. Claud. c. 18. Vid. et cap. 19, et 20. [p] Vid. Pagi. A. D. 72. n. vii. Reimari annot. ad Dion. Caſſ. p. 948. See alſo Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x. [q] —— φθορα εν Βαβυλωνι. εγενετο αυτων. Ant. l. 18, ix. 8.

[r] Vid. Pagi. A. D. 67. n. iii.

[s] Tot facinoribus fœdum 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 peſtilentiæ depopulabatur, nulla cœli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non ſexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim exſtingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta: qui dum aſſident, dum deflent, ſæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum, ſenatorumque interitus, quamvis promiſcui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate ſævitiam principis prævenirent. Tacit. Ann. 16, cap. 13.

[t] Acceſſerunt tantis ex principe malis, probriſque, quædam et fortuita: peſtilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt: clades Britannica, qua duo precipua oppida, magna civium ſociorumque cæde direpta ſunt: ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armenia ſub jugum miſſis, ægreque Syria retenta. Sueton. Nero. cap. 39.

[u] Oroſ. l. 7, c. 7. [x] Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. Inſeſſum diris avibus Capitolium: crebris terræ motibus prorutæ domus. Ann. 12. cap. 43.

[y] Tributumque Apamienſibus terræ motu convulſis, in quinquennium remiſſum. Id. l. 12, c. 58. [z] Eodem anno ex illuſtribus Aſiæ urbibus Laodicea, tremore prolapſa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. Ib. l. 14, c. 27.

[a] In Aſia tres urbes terræ motu conciderunt. Laodicea, Hierapolis, Coloſſæ. Euſ. Chr. p. 161.

[b] Oroſ. l. 7, cap. vii.

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tioned by [c] Tacitus and [d] Seneca. By the former it seems to be placed in the year of Christ 62, by the latter in the year 63.

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

5. Our Lord foretels *wars and commotions* preceding the final ruin: Matt. xxiv. 6; Mark xiii. 7; Luke xxi. 9.

Josephus [e] has a long story 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 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 Philadelphians 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 Fadus 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 injury. Three of the principal men, who were the causes of the 'sedition, were apprehended 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 no more than ten thousand.

Whilst Cumanus was yet in Judea there [l] happened a disturb-

[c] Iisdemque Consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe æs liquefacta. Et motu terræ celebre Campaniæ oppidum Pompeii magna ex parte proruit. Ann. l. 15, c. 22.

[d] Pompeios, celebrem Campaniæ urbem —— desedisse terræ 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 metu, magna strage vastavit. Nam et Herculanensis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quæ relicta sunt. Et Nucirinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita non sine querela est. Neapolis quoque privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leviter ingenti malo perstricta. Villæ vero præruptæ passim sine injuria tremuere. Adjiciunt his sexcentarum ovium gregem exanimatum, et divisas statuas. &c. Sen. Not. 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] Γινεται δε και περι τους εν τη Μεσοποταμια και μαλιστα την Βαβυλωνια οικουντας Ιουδαιους συμφορα δεινη, και ουδεμιας ης τινος ελασσων, φονος τε αυτων πολυς, και οποσος ουχ ιστορημενος προτερον. ib. § 1.

[h] Ib. § 9.

[i] Ant. l. 20. cap. i. 1.

[k] Antiq. l. 20. c. v. 3. De B. J. l. 2, c. xii. 1.

[l] Antiq. l. 20. vi. 1. De B. J. l. 2. xii. 3.

ance 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 increaſing. At Cæſarea there had long been contentions between the Jewiſh people and the other inhabitants. 'And,' as [n] Joſephus ſays, 'in one hour's time 'more than twenty thouſand Jews were deſtroyed, and all Cæſarea 'was at once emptied of it's Jewiſh inhabitants. Some fled, 'whom Florus caught, and ſent them bound to the gallies: at 'which the whole nation was enraged. They therefore divided 'themſelves into ſeveral parties, and laid waſte the villages of 'the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Sebo-'nitis, 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 Cæſarea. Nor was Sebaſte or Aſcalon able to withſtand 'the violence with which they were attacked. When they had 'burnt theſe to the ground, they demoliſhed Anthedon and Gaza. 'Many alſo of the villages round about theſe cities were plun-'dered; and and an immenſe ſlaughter was made of the men 'found in them.'

'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 terrors, '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 infants, 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 them. They of Aſcalon 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.'

[m] —— ἐφ' ᾧ θορυβοι τε ηρξαντο, και φθορα παλιν Ιουδαιοις γεγετο. De B.J. l. 2, c. xii. 1.

[n] Της δε αυτης ημερας και ωρας, ωσπερ εκ δαιμονιου προνοιας, ανηρουν οι Καισαρεις τους παρ' αυτοις Ιουδαιους ως υπο μιαν ωραν απαγχθεντας· και μεν υπερ δισμυριους, κενωθηναι δε πασαν των Ιουδαιων Καισαρειαν. De B.J. l. 2, cap. xviii. 1.

[o] Ibid. § 2.

[p] Ib. § 3.

[q] Ib. §. 5.

'At

'At [r] Alexandria fifty thouſand lay dead in heaps: nor would 'the remainder have been ſpared if they had not petitioned for 'mercy.'

Not long after that, the [s] men of Damaſcus having got the Jewiſh inhabitants into the place of exerciſe, εν τω γυμνασιω, they came upon them unarmed, and ſlew ten thouſand in an hour's time.

Theſe are what our Lord calls *the beginning 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.

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 of the Jews and Greeks, or Syrians, at Cæſarea, where the latter obtained a decree from Nero that the government of the city belonged to them, he ſays: 'And this [t] occaſioned the war which began in the twelfth year 'of Nero.' Soon after which the Jews at Cæſarea 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 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 'deſtroyed all at once than by little and little.'

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 governor, perſuaded thoſe who officiated in the divine 'ſervice not to accept of the gift or ſacrifice of a foreigner.

[r] Ibid. § 7, 8. [s] De B. J. l. 2. c. xx. § 2. [t] Εν δε τυτω και οι Καισαρεως Ελληνες νικησαντες παρα Νερωνι της πολεως αρχην, τα της κρισεως εκομισαν γραμματα. Και προσελαμβανε την αρχην ο πολεμος δωδεκατω μεν ετει της Νερωνος ηγεμονιας. De B. J. l. 2, c. xiv. 4.

[u] Και τι δει πλειω λεγειν; Τον γαρ προς Ρωμαιους πολεμον ο κατεναγκασας ημας αρασθαι, Φλωρος ην, κρειττον ηγουμενους αθρους, η κατ' ολιγον απολεσθαι. Antiq. l. 20, xi. 1.

[x] —— οτι δ' προαιρεσις εγενετο τω πολεμω προς Ρωμαιους Ιουδαιοις, αλλα το πλεον αναγκη. Vit. § 6. [y] —— ανεπεισθει, μηδενος αλλοφυλω δωρον η θυσιαν προσδεχεσθαι. Τυτο δε ην τω προς Ρωμαιους πολεμω καταρχη. Την γαρ υπερ τυτων θυσιαν Καισαρος απερριψαν. De B. l. 2, xvii. 2.

'That was the origin of the war with the Romans: for thus 'they rejected the ſacrifice of Cæſar for them.' [That is, as I apprehend, they refuſed to offer prayers and ſacrifices, as ſubjects ought to do, for the emperor, 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 cuſtomary reſpect for their governors, they could 'not prevail.'

Afterwards, near the concluſion of his Hiſtory 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 ora-'cle, found alſo in their ſacred writings, that about this time ſome 'one from their country ſhould obtain the empire of the world. 'This they underſtood to belong to themſelves; and many of 'the wiſe men were miſtaken in their judgment about it: for 'the oracle intended the government of Veſpaſian, who was pro-'claimed emperor in Judea.'

That is a very remarkable paſſage: ſome farther notice ſhall be taken of it by and by.

That the Jewiſh people were uneaſy 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 Cæſar, 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 uneaſineſs under the Roman yoke continued and increaſed. 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 country: and at length you have declared open war againſt 'the Romans.—Our kindneſs to you has encouraged your enmity 'againſt us; who have let you live in your country in peace and

[z] De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. 4.

[a] De B. l. 6, cap. vi. 2.

[6] quietneſs.

'quietneſs. In the firſt place we gave you your own country to 'live in, and ſet over you kings of your own nation; and farther 'we preſerved to you your own laws: and withal we have per-'mitted 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 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.'

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 ge-'nerally acquieſce. However, Judas the Gaulanite, of the town 'called Gamala, aſſociating to himſelf Sadduc a phariſee, excited 'the people to rebellion, telling them that an aſſeſſment would 'bring in downright ſlavery, and exhorting the whole nation to 'aſſert their liberty. The whole nation heard their diſcourſes with 'incredible pleaſure. And it is impoſſible to repreſent the evils 'the nation has ſuffered, which were owing to theſe men: for 'Judas and Sadduc brought in among us this fourth ſect: and 'there being many who embraced their ſentiments, they not only 'cauſed diſturbances in the government at that time, but laid the 'foundation of thoſe evils which followed: which indeed are 'owing to this principle, 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 pha-'riſees: but they have an invincible affection for liberty, and 'acknowledge God alone their Lord and governor. From that 'time the nation became infected with this principle: and Flo-'rus, by abuſing his power when he was governor, threw them 'into deſpair, and provoked them to rebel againſt the Romans.'

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 connection in which they are now cited by me,

[b] Antiq. l. 18, c. i. § 1. [c] Ibid. § 6. [d] Vol. i. p. 217, &c.

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 [c], 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 ſa-'cred writings, that about that time ſome one from their own 'country ſhould obtain the empire of the world.'

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 effects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan: aſ-'ſuring them that he was a prophet, and that, cauſing the river 'to divide at his command, he would give them an eaſy paſſage 'over: by ſuch ſpeeches he deceived many. But Fadus was far 'from ſuffering them to go on in their madneſs; for he ſent out 'a troop of horſe, who, coming upon them unexpectedly, ſlew 'many, and took many 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.'

Fadus was ſent into Judea by the emperor 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 twentieth and laſt book of the Antiquities. In the ſame book afterwards, in another chapter, in the hiſtory of tranſactions in the time of Nero, Joſephus ſays: 'But [g] affairs in Judea went on continually growing worſe and 'worſe. The country was again filled with robbers and impoſ-

[c] Florus, peſſimus homo, qui modis omnibus Judæos 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, Vol. i. p. 405, &c.

[g] Antiq. l. 20, cap. viii. 5.

'tors,

'tors, who deceived the people; but Felix time after time ap-
'prehended and put to death many of them.' A little lower:
'And [h] indeed, by means of the crimes committed by the rob-
'bers, the city was filled with all sorts of impiety: and impos-
'tors and deceivers persuaded the people to follow them into
'the wilderness; where, as they said, they should see manifest
'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 Jeru-
'salem, 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 hun-
'dred of them, and took two hundred prisoners: but the Egyp-
'tian getting out of the fight escaped.'

This same story 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
'taken 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 dis-
'turbed the happy state of the city no less than those murderers.
'For deceivers and impostors, under a pretence of divine inspir-
'ation, 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 proceedings to be no less than the beginning
'of a revolt, sent out his soldiers, both horse and foot, and de-
'stroyed great numbers of them.'

[h] Ib. §. 6. [i] Vol. 1. p. 414, &c. [k] De B. J. l. 2, c. xiii. 5. [l] Ibid. § 4.
[m] Ant. l. 20, cap. viii. § 10.

In

In the forecited chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, ſpeaking of the robbers in the time of Porcius Feſtus, about the year of Chriſt 60, he ſays that 'he [m] 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 miſeries under which they laboured, if they would 'but follow him into the wilderneſs. The forces deſtroyed him 'that had deceived them, and thoſe that followed him.'

Joſephus ſpeaks of ſix thouſand who periſhed in the outer courts of the temple after it had been ſet on fire. 'The [n] ſoldiers,' ſays he, 'ſet fire to the portico; whereupon ſome threw 'themſelves 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 receive 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, de-'deceived this miſerable people. They neither attended to, nor 'believed, the manifeſt ſigns foreſignifying the coming deſola-'tion: but like infatuated men, who have neither eyes to ſee, 'nor minds to perceive, they neglected the divine denuncia-'tions.'

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 δωσουσι, *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;* και δω σοι σημειον η τερας, that is, ſhall propoſe, or promiſe, ſome ſign or wonder, as the ſequel ſhews. Parallel with the text juſt cited from St.

[n] De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. § 2. [o] Ibid. § 3.

Matthew

Matthew is Mark xiii. 22. *For false christs and false prophets will arise, and will shew signs and wonders,* the same word again, και δωσουσι σημεια και τερατα, *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 fulfilment 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 easy 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] archbishop 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 peri-'phrasis of the Messias, that he was *he that was to deliver Israel.*' Which is agreeable to a note of [r] Grotius upon 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.

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

[p] See Tillemont Ruine des Juifs, art. 36. A. D. 52.

[q] Vol. 3, p. 552.

[r] Christi nomine populus Judaicus intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, ημεις δε ελπιζομεν, οτι αυτος εστιν ο μελλων λυτρουσθαι τον Ισραηλ, descriptio est nominis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi Judaici dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur, et erant ψευδοχριστοι, &c. Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 5.

'a great

'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 extraordinary teacher of religion, they had joined alſo that of a worldly king and conqueror, 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 tyrannized 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 joined 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 entered into Jeruſalem, in no greater ſtate than riding upon an aſs, 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 governor, to ſet Barabbas at liberty, and crucify Jeſus. With which clamorous and importunate demand he at length complied, ſtill bearing teſtimony 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 governor 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 blood of this juſt perſon: ſee ye to it. Then anſwered all the people: His blood 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.

[s] Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be ſeen in vol. 1. p. 132. &c.

The

The continued expectation of the Meſſiah, as a worldly king and conqueror, as we have juſt ſeen in Joſephus, and their uneaſineſs 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 prophets, and by the teſtimony of John the Baptiſt, his forerunner; was * very great and aggravated: and as they rejected the renewed offers of mercy, and repeated and earneſt calls to repentance, made by Chriſt's apoſtles, and went on increaſing in wickedneſs; 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 country, with many circumſtances of uncommon and even unparalleled diſtreſs. 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 wonderful works of his miniſtry.

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 Hiſtory of the War itſelf, collecting it from Joſephus, and making my extracts in his own words.

The diſturbances ſtill increaſing 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'

* *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 cloak 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.

'two

'two thouſand 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 uſeful to 'him in other reſpects. After he was come thither, Ceſtius took 'a part of his army and marched haſtily to Zabulon, a ſtrong 'city of Galilee, which ſeparates the country 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 neighbouring country, ſeizing whatever came in his way, 'and ſetting fire to the villages: and then returned to Ptole- 'mais.' 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 'Cæſarea; and then ſent part of his army before him to Joppa; who 'coming ſuddenly upon that people, who were prepared neither 'for flight nor for their own defence, ſlew them all with their 'families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The num- 'ber of the ſlain were eight thouſand and four hundred. In like 'manner he ſent a number of horſe into the toparchy of Nar- 'bata, not far from Cæſarea, 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 Cæſarea, and Ceſtius moved with 'his whole army and came to Antipatris. Thence he ſet for- 'ward to Lydda, where he found the place empty of men, the 'people being gone up to Jeruſalem upon account of the feaſt of 'Tabernacles. However, he found there fifty men, whom he 'ſlew, and burnt the city, and then marched onward; and go- 'ing up by Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty fur- 'longs from Jeruſalem.'

'The [z] Jews, ſeeing the war approaching to their metropolis, 'relying upon their numbers, went out to fight in a haſty and 'diſorderly manner, even in the time of the feſtival. But the 'rage which made them forget their religion did alſo make them 'ſuperior to their enemies. Ceſtius with his whole army was in 'danger. Five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were ſlain, 'whilſt the Jews loſt only two-and-twenty. The moſt valiant of

[u] § 10. [x] Ib. § 11, [y] Ib. cap. xix. § 1. [z] Ib. § 2.

'the

'the Jews were Monobazus, and Kenedæus, related to Mono-
'bazus king of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of
'Perćea, 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 ſtaid there three days.'

'At[a] this time Agrippa with the conſent of Ceſtius ſent to the
'Jews two ambaſſadors, Borcæus and Phœbus, men well known
'to them, with aſſurances of plenary forgiveneſs from Ceſtius if
'they would lay down their arms and ſubmit. But the Jews
'would not ſo much as receive the ambaſſadors. Phœbus they
'fell upon, and ſlew him, before he had ſpoken a word. Bor-
'cæus too was wounded: but he retreated and eſcaped.'

'Soon[b] after that Ceſtius moved forward with his whole army,
'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 army 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 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 army, and many officers of the horſe, who had been cor-
'rupted by Florus, diverted him from that deſign; which was
'the occaſion that this war laſted ſo long, and the Jews were in-
'volved in ſuch grievous calamities.'

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 peo-
'ple 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
'Ceſtius lay at his former camp, Scopos. As he went farther off
'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 Æmilius

[a] Ib. § 3. [b] Ib. § 4. [c] § 6. [d] § 7.

'Secundus,

'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 ſtaid '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 'afterwards employed againſt them. In that march they met 'with ſuch difficulties that the Jews were near taking the whole 'army 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 bo- 'dies, and gathering up the prey which the Romans had left 'behind them. So they came back to their metropolis with 'great rejoicings. They loſt but a few men themſelves. But they 'had ſlain of the Romans and their auxiliaries five thouſand and 'three hundred 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, 'many 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 ſatisfactory information of it, and receive the account from the deſcendants of thoſe Jewiſh believers.

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

[e] § 8. [f] Ib. § 9.

[g] Μετα δε την Κεστιυ συμφοραν, πολλοι των επιφανων Ιυδαιων, ωσπερ βαπτιζομενης νεως, απενηχοντο της πολεως. De B. J. l. 2, c. xx. § 1.

[h] —— προ τυ πολεμυ, μεταστηναι της πολεως, και τινα της Περαιας πολιν οικειν —— Πελλαν αυτην ονομαζουσιν. H. E. l. 3, c. v, p. 75. A.

[i] H. 29, § vii.

Aſia.

Aſia. 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 leaſt 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 thereabouts or ſooner.

Our bleſſed Lord, ſpeaking of the difficulties of theſe times, and of the declenſions of ſome of his followers, encourages faithfulneſs in ſtrong terms: Mark xiii. 13. *And ye ſhall be hated of all men for my nameſake; 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 nameſake; 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: nevertheleſs they gained nothing by it. They joined themſelves to the unbelieving part of the nation, and had part with them in the heavy calamities which befel them. But the faithful followers of Jeſus, who were ſteady 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 neceſſary in the time of a general calamity.

The [l] Jews, who had defeated Ceſtius, upon their return to Jeruſalem, appointed governors 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 governor of both the Galilees. Others were ſent to other places.

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.

[k] See vol. vi. chap. xx. Sect. v. [l] Ib. c. xx. §. 3, 4. [m] Ib. c. xx. § 1.

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 teſtimony of the Roman[o] authors, who repreſent Veſpaſian 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 neighbouring 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 Aſcalon, a city always at enmity with them, diſtant from Jeruſalem five hundred and fifty furlongs; [more than ſixty miles.] Here the Jewiſh people were defeated in two attacks, loſing more than eighteen thouſand men, and two of their generals, John the Eſſene, 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 army with him he ſoon marched forward to Ptolemais.

Titus,[s] making greater 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

[n] De B. J. l. 3, c. 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 aut diſcederet ſæpius, aut præſens 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 Judæâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu poſtea prædictum patuit. Judæi ad ſe trahentes rebellarunt: cæſoque præpoſito, legatum inſuper Syriæ 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 induſtriæ expertæ, 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 prælio tam conſtanter inito, ut in oppugnatione caſtelli lapidis ictum genu, ſcuto ſagittas aliquot exceperit. Sueton. Veſpaſian. c. iv.

[p] De B. J. l. 3, c. i. § 3.

[q] Ib. c. ii. § 1, 2, 3.

[r] Ibid. § 4.

[s] Ib. c. iv. n. 2.

were

were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were alſo five cohorts from Cæſarea, 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 army 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 hiſtory to the end of the year 66, and into the beginning of the year 67.

Veſpaſian [t] ſtaid ſome while at Ptolemais. However Placidus, who was before ſent into Galilee, deſtroyed many whom he met with in the open countries. He alſo made an attack upon Jotapata, but was repulſed.

Veſpaſian [u] leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his army 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 military age. But he ſlew all the young people: the Romans, from hatred of the Jews, and reſenting the defeat of Ceſtius, having no mercy 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 twenty-firſt 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 army 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 ſally 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, leſt the Ro-'mans ſhould alſo force their way in with them. And [c] now,' ſays Joſephus, 'it might be ſeen that God had given up the 'Galileans to the Romans, to be deſtroyed by their cruel enemies. 'The number of the ſlain, in the diſtreſs between the two walls, 'was twelve thouſand. Of this Trajan gave information to Veſpa-'ſian, deſiring him to ſend his ſon Titus thither, that he might 'have the honour of completing the conqueſt.'

[t] L. 3, c. vi. 1. [u] Ib. n. 2, 3. [x] Cap. vii. 1. [y] § 3. [z] Ib. 4.
[a] Ib. § 22. [b] Ib. § 31. [c] Θεος δ' ηδη αρα, ο Ρωμαιοις τα Γαλιλαιων παθη χαριζομενος. κ. λ. Ibid.

'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 'priſoners were two thouſand a hundred and thirty. This ca-'lamity befel 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 twenty-fifth 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 diſtreſs 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 not kill the Romans; and they re-'ſolved not to be killed by them.'

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 hiſtory, which ought not to paſs unnoticed.

Joſephus[i] now came into the hands of the Roman general.

[d] Ibid. p. 32. [e] § 33—35.

[f] Τουτο πολλους και περι τον Ιωσηπον επιλεκτων, επ' αυτοχειριαν παρωξυνε. Κατιδοντες γαρ, ως ουδενα των Ρωμαιων αιρειν δυνανται, τουτε μη θελειν αυτοι υπο Ρωμαιων προαλωναι, και συναθροισθεντες επι τα καταληγοντα της πολεως σφας αυτους αιρειν. § 34. [g] See p. 32. [h] —— ενθα τεσσαρακοντα μεν των επισημων ανδρας καταλαμβανει λαθραιοτατας. Ib. c. viii. 1.

[i] Ib. § 9.

He

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 Cæſarea by the ſeaſide. Here he put two legions, for ſome while, for their refreſhment; but ſent the tenth and fifth to Scythopolis, that Cæſarea 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 eſ-'caped from other cities. Here they built many ſhips, and ex-'erciſed a kind of piracy. Upon the approach of the Romans 'they betook themſelves 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 demoliſhed. However, by Veſpaſian's 'direction, a number of horſe and foot were left here, with or-'ders to deſtroy the neighbouring villages. So thoſe troops 'overrun the country, as they were ordered, and laid waſte the 'whole region.'

In [n] a ſhort time Veſpaſian went from Cæſarea before mentitioned, to Cæſarea 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 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

[k] Ibid. cap. 9. §. 1. [l] §. 2, 3, 4. [m] Τινες δε ως κουφοτερω την θαλασσαν εφθανον, τω σιδηρω σφας αυτους αναιρουντες. Ib. §. 3. [n] Ibid. §. 7. [o] Ib. §. 7. [p] ... Cap. x, 1. ... 10. [q] §. 10. [r] De B. J. l. 4. cap. 1. §. 1 ... 10.

slain. It was taken at last on the twenty-third 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, [t] as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.

'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 tyranny over the most considerable men. Antipas, a man of royal lineage, 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 lineage. 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] increasing, 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: Ananus, [e] the most ancient of the high-priests; Jesus, also high-priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great emi-

[s] Ibid. cap. ii. n. 1...5. [t] Θεȣ δε ην το εργον, αρα τȣ σωζοντος τον Ιωαννην επι τον των Ιεροσολυμων ολεθρον. § 3.

[u] Γαλιλαια μεν ȣν ȣτως εκλω πασα, πολλοις ιδρωσι προγυμνασασα Ρωμαιȣς. § 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] Μυριοι δε και δισχιλιοι των ευγενων ȣτω διεφθαρησαν. § 3. [e] § 2, et 4.

nence;

nence; 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 family. Nor did Niger, the Peraite, eſcape their hands, though he had been ſo ſerviceable to them in this war. 'When '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 mad-'neſs 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 inteſtine 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 beginning of 68.

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

'After which he returned to Cæſarea, and left Placidus to 'carry on the war in thoſe parts; who [k] took Abila, Julias, 'and Beſemoth, 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.

In the mean time [l] Veſpaſian with a part of his army went from Cæſarea to Antipatris; where he ſpent two days in ſettling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying

[f] See vol. i. p. 398. &c. [g] Ib. cap. vi. § 1. [h] Ib. § 1. [i] Ib. § 2.
[k] L. 4, cap. vii. [l] Ib. Cap. viii. 1.

waſte and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waſte all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he paſſed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and then came to Ammaus. Thence he went to the toparchy of Bethleptephon; and deſtroying that, and other neighbouring 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 country Mabortha: and then went to Jericho.

Not long afterwards he returned to Cæſarea. 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 made little progreſs, 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 paſs. 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 thine 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 knewеſt 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 trouble-

[m] Ib. cap. ix. 1, 2. [n] Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judæa geſtum. Pagi ann. 69. n. xiii. [d] Ἐφαίνεται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοις πολεμος. L. 4, c. ix. § 3. in.

ſome

ſome 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 emperor [f] by the Roman army in Judea; as [g] he had been proclaimed on the firſt day of the ſame month at Alexandria; which day was reckoned the beginning of his reign.

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 mercy, 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 ſtaid ſome months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind and good weather, or upon account of ſome political views and conſiderations. Several extraordinary 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 men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind, the 'other

[e] Cap. ix. § 12. [f] Ib. cap. x.

[g] Initium ferendi ad Veſpaſianum Imperii Alexandriæ cœptum, feſtinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. ſacramento eius 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, 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 delicæ 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 quædam, ut ſcilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deerat: hæc quoque acceſſit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, ſedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonſtratam a Serapide per quietem: reſtituturum oculos, ſi inſpuiſſet: confirmaturum crus, ſi dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides eſſet rem ullo modo ſucceſſuram, ideoque 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 Alexandriæ ſtatos æſtivis flatibus dies, et certa maris operiebatur, multa miracula evenere,

'other lame in one of his hands, came both together to him in 'a humble manner, ſaying that they had been in a dream admo- 'niſhed by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their diſ- 'orders; 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. 'Veſpaſian, as is ſaid, heſitated for a while. However, the phy- 'ſicians 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 diſ- 'tempered perſons, and encouraged by the flatteries of thoſe 'about him, Veſpaſian performed what had been deſired, and 'the effect was anſwerable; 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 favourites. Nor [n] could it be ſafe for any to examine and make remarks upon an event, which an emperor and his favourites recommended to public belief.

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 emperor.' And at the beginning of his life of Veſpaſian, he obſerves, that 'the [o] Fla- 'vian family was not renowned for its antiquity.' And it is eaſy for any to diſcern from ſeveral things ſaid by Suetonius and

evenere, quis cœleſtis favor et quædam in Veſpaſianum inclinatio numinum oſtenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium cæcitatis 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 æger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac veſtigio Cæſaris calcaretur, orabat. Veſpaſianus primo irridere, aſpernari: atque illis inſtantibus, modò famam vanitatis metuere, modò obſecratione ipſorum, et vocibus adulantium, in ſpem induci: poſtremo æſtimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana ſuperabiles forent. Medici varie diſſerere: Huic non exeſam vim luminis, et redituram, ſi pellerentur obſtantia: illi illapſos in prayum artus, ſi ſalubris vis adhibeatur, poſſe integrari .. Igitur Veſpaſianus cuncta fortunæ ſuæ parere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, læto ipſe vultu, erecta quæ aſtabat multitudine, juſſa exſequitur. Statim converſa ad uſum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium. Tacit. Hiſt. 4. cap. 81.

[n] Ad rei ipſius veritatem quod adtinet, non facile adfirmantibus credere licet, cum vix tutum eſſet id negare, quo Imperatori obſequentiores Ægyptii, et quod proinde intererat Imperatoris, verum videri. Fraudes ejus retegere, qui fallere vult, et omnibus Reipublicæ copiis inſtructus eſt, numquam tutum fuit. &c. Cleric. Ann. 138. n. iii. [o] Imperium ſuſcepit, firmavitque tandem gens Flavia: obſcura illa quidem, ac ſine ullis majorum imaginibus. Veſpaſian. cap. i.

Tacitus,

Tacitus, that Veſpaſian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinary things concerning himſelf.

I think that what Spartian [p] writes of ſome miracles aſcribed to Adrian may illuſtrate this hiſtory; and therefore I have tranſcribed him below very largely. Spartian lets us know that Marius Maximus, who before him had written the life of Adrian, and ſome other emperors, 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 judgment of 'the miracles aſcribed to Veſpaſian.' And perhaps it may deſerve notice, that, 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 ridi-'culed 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 'conſequently we are at liberty to think that the healing them 'did not exceed the power of the dæmon.' And indeed popiſh ſaints and heathen dæmons are much alike: nor is there any great difference between heathen and popiſh credulity.

I cannot forbear to take notice of one remarkable hiſtory in this 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 Germany; 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 country-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

[p] Ea tempeſtate ſupervenit quædam mulier, quæ diceret, ſomnio ſe monitam, ut inſinuaret Adriano, ne ſe occideret, quod eſſet bene valiturus: quod cum non feciſſet eſſe cæcatam: Juſſam tamen iterum Adriano eadem diceret, atque genua eius oſcularetur, receptura viſum, ſi id feciſſet. Quod cum inſomnium impleſſet, oculos recepit, quum aqua quæ in fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluiſſet. Venit et de Pannonia quidam natus cæcus ad febrientem Adrianum, eumque contigit: quo facto et ipſo oculos recepit, et Adrianum febris reliquit: quamvis Marius Maximus hæc per ſimulationem facta commemoret. Spartian. Hadrian. cap. 25.

[q] Sed Marius Maximus hæc 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.

[r] Το μεν θειον τω τοις αυτον εσεμνυνεν. Ου μεντοι και Αλεξανδρεις εχαιρον αυτω, αλλα και παυ ηχθοντο. 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 Emperors, vol. vi. p. 103, 104.

[u] Fuſi Lingones. Sabinus feſtinatum temere prœlium 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, et inſigne Poponinæ uxoris exemplum, ſuo loco reddemus. Tacit. Hiſt. 4. cap. 67.

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near it. It was univerſally believed that he had made away with himſelf: and his wife Epponina 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 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 artful pretences, and the faithfulneſs of friends, the truth was kept ſecret, and Sabinus lay concealed nine years: in which interval there were once ſome hopes of obtaining the emperor's pardon; and Epponina 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 length [w] Sabinus was diſcovered. He, and Epponina, and their two ſons, were brought before Veſpaſian. She behaved with becoming firmneſs, yet endeavoured to move the emperor's pity. Preſenting her two ſons to him: 'Theſe,' ſays ſhe, 'Cæſar, 'I have brought forth, and nurſed in the cavern, that I might 'increaſe the number of your ſupplicants.' And, as is ſaid, neither the emperor 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 darkneſs of a cave than he upon his throne. Sabinus and his wife were condemned, but the children were ſpared. Plutarch ſays that 'thereby [x] Veſpaſian provoked the vengeance of hea-'ven, and brought upon himſelf the extinction of his family. 'It was,' ſays he, 'the moſt tragical action of that reign; a thing 'which neither gods nor dæmons 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 ſtory, 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 hiſtory.

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

[w] Dio. l. 66, p. 1090. [x] Erot. ſub fin. [y] L. 5. cap. i. ſect. 1.

itſelf,

itself, were filled with slaughter and bloodshed. 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 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 joined 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 beginning 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 spite to each other, as it seems, they set fire [d] to several 'storehouses that were full of corn and other provisions; as if 'they had done it on purpose to serve the Romans: destroying 'what had 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 [e] now leaves Alexandria, and comes to Cæsarea, designing to move forward to Jerusalem, and lay siege to it, having with him an army of about sixty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries. He [f] pitched 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 army; some of his soldiers were put by them into disorder, and suffered very considerably.

The [h] city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where were deep vallies, which rendered

[z] Ibid. [a] οπερ αν τις ως εν κακοις αγαθον ειποι, και δικης εργον. Ibid. [b] Ib. sect. 2, 3. [c] L. 5. cap. vi. 1. Vid. et cap. iii. 1. [d] . . . υπεμπιπρα τας οικιας σιτου μεστας, και παντοδαπων επιτηδειων . . . κατακαηναι δε πλην ολιγου παντα τον σιτον, ος αν αυτοις ουκ επ ολιγα διηρκεσεν ετη πολιορκουμενοις. Λιμω γουν εαλωσαν, οπερ ηκιστα δυνατον ην, ει μη τουτον εαυτοις προπαρεσκευασαν. L. 5. cap. 1. sect. 4.

[e] De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. n. 5. L. 5. cap. i. et cap. ii. 1. [f] Cap. ii. sect. 3.

[g] Cap. iii. 1.

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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 Aſſyrian's 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 tranſ-'greſſions 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 drank the blood of 'the city. But poverty was now become the lot of many good 'men, and a great many had already periſhed for want of neceſ-'ſaries: but they ſuppoſed the deſtruction of the meaner people 'to be a benefit to them.' However, Titus renewed the attack. The Jews defended themſelves reſolutely 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 placed 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 ſurrendering, that he might ſhew them mercy.

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 country, and tells them that they were fighting againſt God.

'Moreover,' ſays he, 'as for Titus, thoſe ſprings which were 'almoſt dried up when they were in your power, ſince his com-'ing they run more plentifully than they did before: accord-'ingly, 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 wa-

[h] L. 5. cap. iv. [i] ... cap. vii. ſect. 2. [k] ... ib. ſect. 3. [l] cap. viii. ſect. 1, 2. [m] Επεσκοτει γαρ αυτων ταις γνωμαις δια τας παρανομιας ο Θεος. κ. λ. ib. ſect. 2. [n] L. 5. cap. ix. ſect 1. [o] Sect. 3, 4.

'tering

'tering gardens. The ſame wonderful ſign you had experience 'of formerly, when the aforementioned 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 marginal note upon the place: 'The hiſtory of 'this is now wanting elſewhere.'

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 increaſed alſo the madneſs 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 robbers 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 con-'cealed it.'

Here [r] Joſephus enlargeth upon the miſeries of the people, and the great wickedneſs of their preſent governors. 'But,' ſays he, 'it is impoſſible to enumerate every inſtance of the ini-'quity of thoſe men: but, in a word, never did any city ſuffer 'ſo great calamities; nor was there ever, from the beginning of 'the world, any time more fruitful of wickedneſs than that.... 'Theſe were the men who overthrew the city, and compelled 'the Romans unwillingly to gain a diſagreeable victory. 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 that the ſight of theſe miſerable objects 'might diſpoſe them in the city to think of ſurrendering. The

[p] ... ὑδὲν οἶμαι τῶν τοτε ησιβηκοτων τηλικυτων ηλικα υμεις. Ib. ſect. 4. p. 350. Haverc.
[q] L. 5. cap. x. ſect. 1, 2. [r] Cap. x. ſect. 4. 5. [s] Cap. xi. ſect. 1.

'ſoldiers,

'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 compel him to deſtroy their city, and 'their admired temple. But they who ſtood upon the wall 'returned reproaches upon him, and upon his father Veſpaſian, 'telling him that death was better than ſlavery, 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 pre-'ſerved 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 twelfth day of May, they had much ado to finiſh them by the twenty-ninth day of the ſame month, after having laboured hard for ſeventeen days ſucceſſively: in which time, however, four batteries were completed.

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 army 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 [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 completed in three days, with towers at proper diſtances to place ſoldiers in as garriſons.

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 prophecy 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 army.

'The [y] famine now increaſing, it devoured whole houſes.

[t] Ib. ſect. 5. [u] Sect. 4. [x] Cap. xii. ſect. 1, 2. [y] Sect. 3.

'For

'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 vallies 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 witneſs 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.

In the next chapter [a] Joſephus relates the death of Matthias, ſon of Boethus, one of the high-prieſts, and ſeveral other perſons of eminence, and divers others, who were ſlaughtered by order of Simon in a moſt ſhameful manner. Matthias was the perſon who had adviſed the admitting of Simon into the city, contrary 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 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 Ro-'mans: 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 excrements. 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 miſery befel 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 'practiſed this cruelty, but the Romans likewiſe: he therefore

[z] Sect. 4. [a] Cap. xiii. ſect. 1. [b] Sect. 4, 5.

'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 whole nation, and defeated every method taken 'for their preservation.'

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 oil for common use to persons who, in drinking and anointing themselves, wasted them in a profuse manner.

'But [d] why do I stay to relate particularly these several cala-'mities? for at this time Mannæus, son of Lazarus, fled out of 'the city, and came to Titus; and told him that through the 'one gate, which had been intrusted to his care, there had been 'no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred 'and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans en-'camped near the city, the fourteenth day of the month of 'April, to the first day of July. That was a prodigious num-'ber! The man was not a governor at the gate, but he was ap-'pointed 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 distress, 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 distress reached themselves; for [e] 'they were blinded by that fate which was coming upon the 'city and themselves.'

[c] Sect. 6. [d] Sect. 7. [e] Πεπηροντο γαρ υπο τȣ χρεων, ο τητε πολει και αυτοις ηδη παρην.

There

There ends the fifth book of our author's history of the Jewish war. The sixth book contains the progress 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 increase. The Romans begin to batter upon the walls of the tower called Antonia: the Jews make a vigorous defence: but the Romans gained possession of it about the middle of July.

'Titus [g] thereupon ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations of the tower Antonia, to make way for him to come up with his whole army: 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, and those that were with him, to spare their own country, 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 many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations; adding withal, 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 adherents, was not altogether without effect.'

And [i] some, watching for an opportunity, fled to the Romans; 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 cheerfully 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.

Titus [k] therefore sent for those men from Gophna, and let them go round near the wall with Josephus, to assure the 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

[f] L. 6. cap. i. sect. 1. . . . . 8. [g] Cap. ii. sect. 1. [h] . . . ως ουκ αν ποτε δεισειεν αλωσιν, Θεου γαρ υπαρχειν την πολιν. [i] Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 2. [k] Ib. sect. 3.

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 temple by the Romans, who had allowed them to erect in 'the courts of it a partition wall, with inſcriptions in Greek, for-'bidding all foreigners to enter within thoſe limits, and allow-'ing them to kill ſuch as did ſo, though they were Romans. I 'call to witneſs,' ſays he, 'the gods of the country, and every 'god, who ever had a regard to this place; (for I do not now ſup-'poſe it to be regarded by any of them;) I alſo call to witneſs 'my own army, and the Jews who are with me, and your own 'ſelves, that I do not compel you to pollute your ſanctuary: 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 [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 fearfulneſs, 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 cloiſter near Antonia was ſet on fire. On the twenty-fourth day of July the Romans ſet fire to another cloiſter, when the fire proceeded fifteen cubits farther.

'Whilſt [q] the Jews and Romans were thus fighting at the 'temple, the famine prevailed in the city, till at length they 'did not abſtain 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 Mary, of a good family beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Jeruſalem, to avoid the inconveniences of the war in the open country, when all ſhe had brought with her was conſumed, or taken from her by the rapaciouſneſs of the tyrants and their adherents, was

[l] Sect. 4. [m] Sect. 5. [n] Sect. 5, 6. [o] Sect. 7. [p] Sect. 8, 9. [q] Cap. iii, Sect. 3. [r] Sect. 4.

reduced

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 completed, and Titus ordered the batteries to play upon the temple. The battle between the Jews and Romans was very deſperate.

'Titus [t] retired to the tower of Antonia, and reſolved the 'next day early in the morning to ſtorm the temple with his 'whole army, 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.'

'The [u] temple was now on fire: nevertheleſs Titus, ſtill de-'ſirous to ſave it, if poſſible, came near and went into the ſanc-'tuary of the temple with his commanders, and ſaw it, with 'what was in it: which he found to be far ſuperior to the ac-'counts of foreigners, and not inferior to our boaſtings and per-'ſuaſion concerning it.'

As [x] the fire had not yet reached the inner parts of the temple, Titus gave freſh orders for extinguiſhing 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 accuracy 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 Ba-'bylonians. 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 ſecond 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 and old men, profane perſons and prieſts, were all ſlain in the ſame manner.

'At [a] this time the treaſury chambers were burnt, where was 'an immenſe quantity of money, and an immenſe number of

[s] Cap. iv. Sect. 1. [t] Sect. 5. [u] Sect. 7. [x] Ibid. [y] Sect. 8. [z] Cap. v. Sect. 1. [a] Sect. 2.

'garments, 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 cloiſters in the outer court, where were women 'and children, and a mixed multitude of people, to the number 'of ſix thouſand: and before Cæſar had given any orders about 'it, the ſoldiers in a rage ſet fire to the cloiſter. 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 peo-'ple, 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 the name of God. But they did not attend nor give credit 'to thoſe prodigies which evidently foretold their future deſola-'tion; but like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to ſee 'nor minds to conſider, they diſregarded the divine denunci-'ations. There [c] was a ſtar, a comet reſembling a ſword, which 'ſtood over the city and continued for a year. 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, 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 unſkilful, 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 ſacrificed, brought forth a 'lamb in the midſt of the temple. Moreover, the eaſtern gate 'of the inner court of the temple, which was of braſs, and very 'heavy, 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

[b] ib. § 3. [c] Τουτο μεν ουτε υπερ την πολιν αστρον ην ρομφαια παραπλησιον, και παρατεινας επι ενιαυτον κομητης.

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 Jo-'ſephus means that this ſtar was different 'from that comet which laſted a whole 'year, I cannot certainly determine. His 'words moſt favour their being different 'one from another.'

'watch

'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 opened to them the gate of happineſs. 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-twentieth day of the month of May, there appeared a 'wonderful phenomenon, almoſt exceeding belief; and the ac-'count 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 ſunſet 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 tem-'ple, as the cuſtom was, to perform their miniſtrations, 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 awful, there was one Jeſus, 'ſon of Ananus, of a low condition, and a countryman, 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 Jeruſalem and the temple, a voice againſt the bride-"grooms 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 of-'fended at this ill-boding ſound, and, taking him up, laid many 'ſtripes upon him, and had him beaten ſeverely. Yet he ſaid 'not a word for himſelf, nor made any peculiar 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 ordinary, as indeed it was, bring 'him before the Roman governor; 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-'ful voice at every ſtripe, cried out: "Woe to Jeruſalem." 'Albinus, the governor, aſked him who he was, and whence 'he came, and why he uttered thoſe words. To all which he 'made no anſwer, but continued making his mournful denun-

'ciations to the city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, diſ-
'miſſed him. And thenceforward, 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 mournful denunciation, as if it
'had been his premeditated 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 doleful 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 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 myſelf alſo." At which inſtant
'there came a ſtone out of one of the engines that ſmote him,
'and killed him immediately: and whilſt he was uttering theſe
'mournful preſages 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 voluntа-
'rily 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 reflections 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
'deſtruction of Jeruſalem, would agree better to Livy or Taci-
'tus, 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 them-
'ſelves, without any one's touching them. I omit many other
'things of the like nature; whence it is evident that Joſephus
'endeavoured to Greciſe and ſhape the hiſtory 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.

Baſnage

[d] § 4. [e] Prefixed to L'Eſtrange's edition of Joſephus, p. 3, 4, 8vo.

[f] Quid? Lacedemoniis paullo ante Leuctricam calamitatem, quæ ſignificatio facta eſt, cum in Herculis fano arma ſonuerunt, Herculiſque ſimulachrum multo ſudore manavit?

Baſnage [g] in his Hiſtory of the Jews ſpeaks after this manner: 'Beſides, deception was eaſy 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 frightful 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 doubtful. 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 eaſy to deny the truth of the hiſtory of 'the man that cried, "A voice from the eaſt, a voice from "the weſt," and every day predicted the ruin of the city: for 'this man was brought before Albinus, 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 beginning '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 madman, denounced it's 'deſolation: and he might inform himſelf concerning his death. 'So that if there are any things to which we ought to attend, it is 'this, in which we muſt acknowledge ſomewhat extraordinary.' 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 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?' Archbiſhop 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 co-'met, 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.

navit? At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Calliſthenes, in templo Herculis valvæ clauſæ repagulis, ſubito ſe ipſæ aperuerunt: armaque, quæ fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea ſunt humi inventa. De Divin. l. 1, c. 24, n. 74.

[g] L. i. ch. viii. § 3, p. 224.

[h] Τουτο μεν οτε υπερ της πολιν αστρον εστη ρομφαια παραπλησιον, και παρατεινας επ' ενιαυτον κομητης.

[i] As before. p. 554.

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Tillemont: 'There [k] was alſo a comet which appeared for a year, 'and over Jeruſalem an extraordinary 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.

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Tacitus [l] has mentioned ſeveral of the prodigies preceding the 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 careful 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 mul- 'titudes 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 con- 'tinued for half an hour.' This prodigy 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 he 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.

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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 ſur-'rounding the altar and the temple' beforementioned, may be ſome of thoſe things intended by our Saviour when he ſaid: *And fearful ſights, and great ſigns, ſhall there be from heaven:* Luke xxi. 11. Of this [m] Crevier ſpeaks in this manner: 'I ſay no-'thing 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 underſtood, 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.'

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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 daylight. 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 Jeru-"ſalem 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,' *το δε τυτων φοβερωτατον*. 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 hiſtory, 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 darkneſs over the whole land of Judea, and the rending 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

γενομενος χρονον, εφη, τινας αγγελως της επι παραμενοντας, ει μη βεληθειεν εκεινοι μεταστηναι, καταλιπειν αυτους. Chr. in Jo. Hom. 64. al. 65. p. 390. T. 8.

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

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 cœleſtium, Tranſeamus ex his ſedibus. Id. in Ezech. c. 47. p. 1058.

[P] Quæ ſi vera ſunt, non immerito Joſephus rem divinitus contigiſſe cenſuit. Cleric. H. E. An. 62. n. v.

'foretold

'foretold their deſolation; but like men infatuated, who have 'neither eyes to ſee, nor minds to conſider, they diſregarded 'the divine denunciations.' And his hiſtory verifies the truth and juſtneſs of this obſervation.

'Now [q] the Romans brought their enſigns to the temple, and 'ſet them over againſt the eaſtern gate. There they offered ſa- 'crifices to them, and there they made Titus emperor, with the 'greateſt acclamations of joy. And all the ſoldiers had ſuch vaſt 'quantities 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 an interpreter: and, being conqueror, he ſpoke firſt. He then reproached them in very bitter terms, and very juſtly. And then concluded: 'However, I will not 'imitate your madneſs. 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 family. 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 conquerors. 'He then gave orders that proclamation ſhould be made to them, 'that henceforward none ſhould be allowed to come over to him 'as deſerters, nor hope for ſecurity; for that now he would ſpare

[q] L. 6, c. vi. § 1. [r] Ibid. [s] § 2.

'nobody,

'nobody, but fight them with his whole army. 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 follow- 'ing they ſet fire to the repoſitory of the archives, to the coun- 'cil 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 middle 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 to- 'gether, and beſought Titus to give them his right hand for their 'ſecurity. Whereupon, though he was now very angry and 'much diſpleaſed with all who were ſtill remaining, he did not 'depart from his wonted moderation, but received them. How- 'ever he kept them all in cuſtody. And having bound the 'king's ſons and kinſmen, he took them with him to Rome, to 'be kept there as hoſtages for the fidelity of their country.'

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 army. And it was, as ſeems to me, a remarkable inſtance of the moderation of this prince, that he now ſhewed mercy 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 weary of killing, and be- 'cauſe they hoped to gain money by ſparing them. They there- 'fore 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 peo- 'ple ſaved, whom Titus permitted to go where they pleaſed.'

[t] § 4. [u] —— σὺν οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων δημοτῶν ἐκεῖ συνειλθόντες, ἱκέτευσαι Καίσαρα, κ. λ. [x] Cap. vii. et viii. [y] Cap. viii. § 2. [z] Οἱ δημοτικοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, ὡς διέφυγε Καίσαρ, ἢ φίλον ἦν ἑκάστῳ. Ibid.

And

And now were fulfilled thoſe words of Moſes: *And ye ſhall be ſold for bondmen and bondwomen; 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 Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles 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 Cæſar that he ſhould be preſerved, upon condition that 'he ſhould deliver to him certain of the precious things depo-'ſited in the temple, 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 heavy. He alſo delivered to him the veils, 'and the garments of the high-prieſts, with the precious ſtones, 'and many other veſſels belonging to the ſacred miniſtrations. 'And now was ſeized the treaſurer 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 cinna-'mon 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, ob-'tained 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 oppoſi-'tion, 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 blood to ſuch a degree, that the fire 'of many houſes was quenched with men's blood. However it ſo 'happened that, when the ſlayers had left off in the evening, the 'fire greatly prevailed in the night. As all was burning, the 'eighth day of the month of September, came on to Jeruſalem, 'a city which had ſuffered ſo many calamities during the ſiege, of 'which it was upon no 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 towers

[a] viii. § 3. [b] § 4, 5. [c] Cap. ix. § 1.

'which

'which the tyrants in their madneſs 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, towards throwing down ſuch "* fortifications?" At which time he had many like diſcourſes '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 weary of killing. But there were many 'ſtill alive. Titus therefore gave orders that none ſhould be 'killed but ſuch as were in arms or made reſiſtance, and to take 'the reſt captive. Nevertheleſs the ſoldiers ſlew the aged and 'the infirm: but for thoſe who were in their flouriſhing age, 'and might be uſeful 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 beautiful, and reſerved them for the triumph. Such as 'were above ſeventeen years of age he bound, and ſent them to 'work in the mines in Egypt. Titus alſo ſent a great many into

[d] Συν Θεῳ γ' ἐπολεμησαμεν —— 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 madneſs in relinquiſhing the three towers here referred to. Joſephus has given a particular deſcription of them. De B. J. l. 5, c. 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 defence. They were rather ſummer-palaces, fitted for diverſion and entertainment, with ſplendid apartments and ſumptuous furniture. The Jews did not relinquiſh any places of defence. They vigorouſly defended their ſeveral walls, and the tower Antonia, and the temple. They had fully exerciſed all the military ſkill and courage of Titus, and his many generals, and tired his ſoldiers: and induced them more than once to deſpair of victory, as our hiſtorian himſelf has informed us. It appears however from Joſephus, that Simon made uſe of the tower Phaſælus for his own habitation, during a good part of the ſiege, Τηνικαυτα γεμην τυραννειον απεδειχθη τω Σιμωνος. Ib. § 3, p. 330, in.

[e] Αυθις δε την αλλην αφανιζων πολιν, και τειχη κατασκαπτων, τουτους τους πυργους κατελιπε μνημειον ειναι της αυτου τυχης, ἡ συστρατιωτιδι χρησαμενος εκρατησε των αλωναι μη δυναμενων. L. 7. c. ix. § 1.

[f] Cap. ix. § 2.

the

'the provinces, as preſents to them, that they might be deſtroyed 'in their theatres, either 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. Others would not take what was given them. 'And indeed there were ſo many that there was not food for 'them.'

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 captives crucified. Among them I diſcerned 'three of my former acquaintance, which gave me great con- 'cern. I thereupon went to Titus with tears in my eyes, and 'ſpoke to him; who immediately gave orders to have them taken 'down, and that the beſt care ſhould be taken of them for their 'recovery. However two of them died 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 nation, but not inhabitants of the city. For they were 'come up from all the country to the feſtival of unleavened 'bread, and were on a ſudden ſhut in by the army; which oc- 'caſioned [i] ſo great a ſtraitneſs that there came on a peſtilential 'diſorder, and then a famine, which was more ſevere.'

And preſently afterwards: 'This [k] great multitude was col- 'lected from other places. The whole nation was ſhut up as in a 'priſon: and the Roman army encompaſſed the city, when it 'was crowded 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 [m] many were hid in caverns, the Romans made ſearches 'after them. If any were found alive they were preſently ſlain.

[g] De Vit. § 75. [h] § 3. [i] ὡςε το πρωτον αυτοις την σιτοχωριαν γενεσθαι λιμωδη φθοραν, ειθις δε και λιμον ωκυτερον. [k] § 4. [l] Πασαν γαρ ειθρωπινην και δαιμονιον φθορας υπερβαλλει το πληθος των απολωλοτων. Ib. [m] § 4.

'But beside them they found there more than two thousand; 'some killed by themselves, and by one another, and more de-'stroyed by famine. The ill savour of the dead bodies was of-'fensive: 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 re-'jected before. But Simon struggled hard with the distress he 'was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate 'hereafter. 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 immense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated 'throughout the whole world, nor the great glory 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 beginning of the seventh book, he says: 'And '[q] now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any more plun-'der remained for the soldiers, Cæsar gave orders that they 'should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the tem-'ple; leaving only the forementioned towers Phasælus, Hippi-'cus, 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 lie 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 founda-'tion, that there was nothing left to make those who came thi-'ther to believe it had ever been inhabited.' 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

[n] Ibid. sect. 4. [o] Ρωμαιοι τας τε εσχατιας τȣ αστεος ενεπρησαν, και τα τειχη κατεσκαψαν. Ibid. [p] Cap. x. ibid. [q] L. 7, cap. i. sect. 1. [r] Αλλον απαντα της πολεως περιβολον ȣτως εξωμαλισαν οι κατασκαπτοντες . . . κ. λ. ib.

been

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 under ground againſt the uncer-'tain fortunes of war; and they were aſſiſted by the captives in 'the diſcovery 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 na-'tion?.... Where is that city which we believed to have God 'inhabiting in it? It [u] is rooted up to the foundation, and has no 'other monument left but the army of thoſe who have deſtroyed 'it, encamping 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 before 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. Te-'rentius Rufus] captain of the army of Titus, did with a plow-'ſhare tear up the foundations of the temple, and thereby ſig-'nally fulfil 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 eſteemed to be the ſame temple that had been built 'by Zerubbabel. So therefore Joſephus ſays that the temple 'had been twice deſtroyed; once by the Chaldeans, a ſecond 'time by Titus. And the Jewiſh 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 prophecy of Daniel, but likewiſe of 'Haggai, ch. ii. 8, and Malachi, chap. iii. 1.'

'Cæſar [y] determined to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, 'with ſome troops of horſe and companies of foot. Having

[s] L. 7, cap. v. ſect. 2, p. 412. Hav. Et Conf. l. 6. cap. ix. ſect. 4. [t] L. 7, cap. viii. ſect. 7, p. 430. Hav. [u] Προρριζος εκ βαθρων ανηρπασται... [x] ... περι τον ναον του αγιον ουτως αισχιως εξορωρυγμενον. ibid. [y] L. 7, cap. i. ſect. 1.

'now completed the war, he returned thanks to his whole army, 'and diſtributed rewards among them. For this purpoſe he had 'a large tribunal erected for him in the place where he formerly 'encamped. That was a work of three days.'

'The[z] reſt of the army was ſent away to ſeveral places; but 'he permitted the tenth legion to ſtay as a guard upon Jeruſalem. 'Then he went to Cæſarea by the ſeaſide, taking with him two 'legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to attend him, till he ſhould 'go to Egypt. At Cæſarea he laid up the ſpoils in great quan-'tities, and gave orders that the captives ſhould be kept there.'

'From[a] that Cæſarea Titus went to Cæſarea 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 Gioras, 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 Jeruſa-'lem. When Titus was returned to Cæſarea by the ſeaſide, 'Simon was brought bound before him, who ordered him to be 'kept for the triumph at Rome.'

'At[b] Cæſarea Titus ſolemnized the birthday of his brother 'Domitian, on[c] the twenty-fourth day of October, in a ſplendid 'manner, doing honour to him in the puniſhment of the Jews; 'for the number of thoſe 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, be-'neath their deſerts. Afterwards Titus went to Berytus, a city 'in Phœnicia, and a Roman colony; there he ſtayed a longer 'time, and exhibited a more pompous ſolemnity on his father's 'birthday, [November 17.] Here a great number of the cap-'tives were deſtroyed in the like manner as before.'

'Having[d] ſtayed ſome while at Berytus, he ſet forward to An-'tioch; and as he went exhibited magnificent ſhews in all the '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

[z] Sect. 2. [a] Cap. ii. ſect. 1. [b] Cap. iii. ſect. 1. [c] Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. iii. et Baſnag. ann. 70. n. xviii. [d] Cap. v, ſect. 1. [e] ... Sect. 2.

brought

brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his victory 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 expel 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 beforementioned 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 country.

When [g] Titus came near Rome he was received with great rejoicings 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 'abundance; but the moſt conſiderable of all were thoſe taken 'out of the temple at Jeruſalem. There was the golden table 'of many 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 'carrried images of victory, made of gold or ivory; after which 'came Veſpaſian firſt on horſeback, then Titus; Domitian alſo 'was there ſplendidly attired, and riding upon a beautiful '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 enemy 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,

[f] Sect. 2, 3. [g] Sect. 3, 4. [h] Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. vi. [i] Baſnag. 71. n. iii.
[k] Sect. 5. [l] Sect. 6.

'with the accuſtomed prayers. The emperor then went to his 'palace, and feaſtings 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 glory: but 'their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, he ordered to 'be depoſited 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 of his requeſts [o] was to have the ſacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the hiſtory of the war, he ſeems to ſay they [p] were depoſited in the emperor'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 century, 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 Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War: for, as our Lord ſaid, *Wherſoever 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 lieute-

[m] Sect. 7. [n] Ib. ſect. 7. [o] ... και βιβλιων ιερων ελαβον χαρισαμενος Τιτου. Vit. ſect. 75. [p] Τον δε νομον αυτων, ... προσεταξεν εν τοις βασιλειοις αποθεμενους φυλαττειν. L. 7, c. v. ſect. 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.

nant,

nant, where he received a ſufficient army from Cerealis Vitellianus: he ſoon took Herodion, and made the garriſon priſoners.

He [s] then determined to go to Machærus: by means of an accident, well improved, he became maſter of it without much loſs on either ſide.

'Having [t] ſettled affairs there, he marched haſtily to the foreſt 'of Jardes; where, as he was informed, many were gathered to-'gether who during the ſiege had eſcaped from Jeruſalem and 'Machærus. 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 Jairus, who had been 'captain of a band in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and by getting out, 'through a vault under ground, had privately eſcaped.'

'About [u] this time the emperor ſent orders to Lucilius Baſ-'ſus, and Liberius Maximus, that all Judea ſhould be expoſed 'to ſale; for he founded not any city there, but reſerved the 'country to himſelf. However, he aſſigned a place for eight 'hundred men, whom he diſmiſſed from the army, 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 country; who ſoon made an expedition againſt Maſſada, the only remaining fortreſs: it was in the poſſeſſion of Eleazar, a commander of the Sicarii: he was a deſcendant 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 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.

[s] Ib. ſect. 1...4. [t] Ib. ſect. 5. [u] ſect. 6. [x] Cap. viii. ſect. 1. [a] Sect. 6. [b] Ib. ſect. 7.

'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 'themselves, 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 themselves in a cavern under ground: they had 'carried water with them for their drink, and lay quiet there, 'whilst the rest were intent 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 entered 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 him into the wilderness, 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 præfecture 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.

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 company 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.

1. All these things have we seen in Josephus, who at the be-

[c] Cap. ix. sect. 1, 2. [d] Cap. x. et xi.

[e] . . . ȣκ ολιγȣς των απορων ενεπεισε προσεχειν αυτῳ, και προηγαγεν εις τον ερημον, σημεια και και φασματα, δειξειν υποσχομενος. cap. xi. sect. 1. [f] See his Connexion, &c. year before Christ 149. p. 266.

[g] See Usher's Annals, p. 907. in English, Lond. 1658.

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ginning of his work says: 'I[h] Josephus, son of Matthias, by 'birth a Hebrew of Jerusalem, and a priest, who myself at first 'fought against the Romans, and was afterwards forced to be 'present at the things that were done, have written this history.'

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 history, which we promised to deliver with 'all accuracy to those who are desirous to know how this war of 'the Romans with the Jews was managed. Concerning the 'style let the readers judge: concerning the truth, I may boldly 'say that only has been aimed at throughout the whole work.'

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

'As[k] for myself I have composed a true history 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 Galileans, as long as it was 'possible for us to make any opposition: and when I was taken 'captive 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 accompany 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: afterwards 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 history 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 com-'mand 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 com-'municated them to many of our own men, who understood the 'Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, and 'Herod, a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, 'who deserved the greatest admiration: all these bore testimony 'to me that I had the strictest regard to truth; who would not 'have dissembled the matter, nor have been silent, if through

[h] De B. Jud. in Pr. sect. 1. [i] L. 7. cap. xi. sect. 5. [k] Contr. Ap. l. i. sect. 9.

'ignorance,

'ignorance, or out of favour to either ſide, I had altered or 'omitted any thing.'

2. Joſephus's Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War is an ample teſtimony 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.

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 Gomorrah 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 judgment 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 ſtraitneis of the ſiege, and the noiſome ſmell of ſo many dead bodies lying in heaps in the city itſelf, and in the vallies or ditches without the walls, ſhould have produced a plague: but nothing of that kind appears * in the Hiſtory; which muſt have been owing to the ſpecial interpoſition of Divine Providence. Joſephus, [1] in ſome of the places where he 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 broken 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*

* Il eſt difficile que tant de peuples renfermez 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. [1] Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5, cap. xii. ſect. 4.

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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 witneſs 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 written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. They bear witneſs that the goſpel had been preached to Jews and Gentiles in Judea, Syria, Aſia, Greece, Macedonia and Rome, and other places, and with great ſucceſs: and the preaching of the goſpel throughout the world was a teſtimony to all nations that the calamities inflicted upon the Jewiſh people were juſt and fit. They bear witneſs that the Jewiſh nation had been called upon to repent, and were faithfully, and affectionately, 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 deſign to have paralleled the event with our Saviour's pre-'diction), 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.'

Says Mr. Tillemont: [n] 'God has been pleaſed to chuſe for 'our information in this hiſtory 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 coun-'try, 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 teſtimony which this hiſtorian gave to an event, of 'which he did not comprehend the myſtery, might not be re-'jected 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 diſciples.'

Dr. W. Wotton ſays of Joſephus: 'He [o] is certainly an au-

[m] Vol. 2, p. 563, ſerm. 186, the ſeventh ſermon upon 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

[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.

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'thor very juſtly to be valued, notwithſtanding all his faults. 'His Hiſtory 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 chap. xxiv. 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 commentary upon this chapter. And many have 'juſtly remarked it, as a wonderful inſtance of the care of Pro-'vidence for the Chriſtian church, that he, an eye-witneſs, and 'in theſe things of ſo great credit, ſhould (eſpecially in ſo ex-'traordinary a manner) be preſerved to tranſmit to us a col-'lection of important facts which ſo exactly illuſtrate this noble 'prophecy in almoſt every particular circumſtance. But as it would 'ſwell my notes too much to enter into a particular detail of thoſe 'circumſtances, I muſt content myſelf with referring to Dr. 'Whitby's excellent notes upon the twenty-fourth of Matthew, 'and to archbiſhop Tillotſon's large and accurate diſcourſe on 'the ſame ſubject in the ſecond volume of his poſthumous 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 hiſtory of their deſtruction, written 'by Joſephus, a Jew indeed, but a lover of truth, that you may 'ſee the wonderful ſtory, ſuch as no time ever ſaw before ſince 'the beginning of the world, nor ever ſhall ſee. For that none 'might refuſe to give credit to the hiſtory 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 doleful ſtrain.'

Euſebius often quotes Joſephus, and, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, 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: 'Whoſoever [r] ſhall compare theſe words of our Sa-'viour with the hiſtory of the whole war, publiſhed by the 'abovementioned writer, muſt admire our Lord's great wiſdom, 'and acknowledge that his foreſight was divine.'

In his Chronicle, as we have it from Jerom in Latin, Euſe-

[p] The Family Expoſitor, ſect. 160, Vol. 2, p. 373. [q] Lib. 4, ep. 75. vid. et ep. 74. [r] H. E. l. 3, cap. 8, p. 81, D.

bius

bius ſays: 'In [s] ſubduing Judea, and overthrowing Jeruſalem, 'Titus ſlew ſix hundred thouſand people: but Joſephus writes, 'that eleven hundred thouſand periſhed by famine and the ſword, 'and that another hundred thouſand were publicly ſold and car-'ried 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 worſhip at the temple, 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 teſtimony 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-witneſs; and he was manifeſtly zealous for the honour of his country: 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.

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, contemporary with Joſephus, between whom there were many differences, alſo wrote a hiſtory of the war. Joſephus in his Life chargeth him with falſehood, and blames him for not publiſhing his work until 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.

[s] Titus Judæâ captâ, et Jeroſolymis ſubverſis, DC millia virorum interfecit. Joſephus vero ſcribit undecies centena millia fame et gladio periiſſe, et alia centum millia captivorum publice venundata. Ut autem tanta multitudo Jeroſolymis reperirentur, cauſſam Azymorum fuiſſe refert: ob quam ex omni genere Judæi ad templum confluentes urbe quaſi carcere ſunt recluſi. Oportuit enim in iiſdem diebus eos interfici, in quibus Salvatorem crucifixerant. Chron. p. 162.

[t] Και γαρ ουδ' απειρος ην παιδειας της παρ' Ελλησιν, η θαρρων επεχειρησεν και την ιστοριαν των πραγματων τουτων αναγραφειν. κ. λ. Joſeph. Vit. ſect. 9, Vid. et ſect. 65.

[u] H. E. l. 3. cap. x. p. 86, B.

Juſtus

Juſtus [x] is in Jerom'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, 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 inaccurately: nor does he mention more than two works: the Memoirs, *υπομνηματα*, are the ſame with Jerom's Commentarioli de Scripturis. Indeed Suidas only tranſcribes Jerom, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccurately.

Some [d] learned men lament the loſs 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 myſelf to enlarge in my notice of this writer, who lived at the time, and was an actor in the Jewiſh war with

[x] Juſtus Tiberienſis de provincia Galilæa, conatus eſt et ipſe Judaicarum rerum hiſtoriam texere, et quoſdam commentariolos de Scripturis componere: &c. De V. I. cap. 14. [y] *Ανεγνωσθη Ιωσηπου Τιβεριεως χρονικον. κ. λ.* Cod. 33, p. 20.

[z] *Εκ ταυτης ην Ιωστος, ο τον Ιουδαικον πολεμον τον κατα Ουεσπασιανον ιστορησας.* Steph. Byz. [a] *Φησιν Ιωστος ο Τιβεριευς εν τω γεμματι.* Diog. La. l. 2. ſect. 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 Valeſ. Ann. in Euſeb. l. 3, cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs, art. 82. [c] Scripſit ille Hiſtoriam Judaicam, eodem tempore quo Joſephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scripſit præterea *υπομνηματα*, quorum meminit Suidas. Scripſit et Chronicon Regum Judæorum, 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 æmulo ab eo detractum viderem. Utinam vero, quæcumque fuerit, ad nos uſque perveniſſet. Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.

[e] Tillem. as above, art. 80.

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the Romans. Though his work is not extant, he is a witneſs to that important tranſaction.

Pauſanias, who [f] lived in the ſecond century, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180, ſpeaks [g] of a monument of queen Helena at Jeruſalem, which (city) an emperor of the Romans had deſtroyed to the foundation.

'Minucius Felix refers [h] the heathen people not only to Joſe-'phus, but alſo to Antonius Julianus, a Roman author, from whom 'they might learn that the Jews had not been ruined nor aban-'doned of God till they had firſt abandoned him: and that their 'preſent low condition was owing to their wickedneſs and ob-'ſtinacy therein, and that nothing had happened to them but 'what had been foretold.'

Who that Julianus 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 hiſtory of the ſiege of Jeruſalem. G. Voſſius, [l] upon the ground of this paſſage of Minucius, puts Antonius Julianus among Latin hiſtorians who had written a hiſtory 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 [o] Tacitus has written upon this ſubject, ſo far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter.

Dion Caſſius [p] is another witneſs, whoſe teſtimony alſo may be taken more at large hereafter.

Philoſtratus ſays that 'when [q] Titus had taken Jeruſalem, 'and

[f] See Tillem. L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. art. xxxii. [g] Εβραιος δε Ελενης γυναικος επιχωριας ταφος εστιν εν πολει Σολυμοις, ην εξ εδαφους κατεσκαλεν ο Ρωμαιων βασιλευς. Pauſan. l. 8, cap. 16, p. 633.

[h] Scripta eorum relege. Vel ſi Romanis magis gaudes, ut tranſeamus veteres, Flavii Joſephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judæis require. Jam ſcies, nequitia ſuâ, hanc eos meruiſſe fortunam: nec quidquam accidiſſe, quod non ſit his, ſi in contumaciâ perſeverarent, ante prædictum. Ita prius eos deſeruiſſe comprehendes, quam eſſe deſertos; nec, ut impie loqueris, cum Deo ſuo eſſe captos, ſed a Deo, ut diſciplinæ transfugas deditos. Minuc. c. 33. Conf. c. 10. [i] Και Μαρκος Αντωνιος, ο της Ιουδαιας επιτροπος. 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 incertæ ætatis [m] Sueton. Veſpaſ. c. 4, 5.

[n] —— ac triumphum utriuſque Judaicum, equo albo comitatus eſt. Domit. c. 2.

[o] Vid. Tac. Hiſt. Lib. v.

[p] Dio. l. 66, ſub in. [q] Επει δε Τιτος ηρηκει τα Σολυμα, και νικων πολεα

πν

'and filled all about it with dead bodies; and the neighbouring 'nations offered him crowns, he ſaid he was not worthy 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 emperor of the Romans. Since you refuſe to be 'applauded for bloodſhed and victory 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 victory over the Jews. Baſnage, [r] and other learned men, on the contrary, are of opinion that we may rely upon the authority of Joſephus, who tells us that 'he went from 'Antioch to the Zeugma, whither came to him meſſengers from 'Vologeſus, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold 'upon the victory obtained by him over the Jews; which he ac-'cepted of, and feaſted the king's meſſengers, and then returned 'to Antioch.' Moreover he accepted of a triumph for his victory over the Jews, and all other honours cuſtomary 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 unworthy 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 judgment and moderation. Either way thoſe learned men are to be reckoned miſtaken, who have maintained that Titus refuſed to be crowned for his victory over the Jews.

However, we are ſtill to reckon Philoſtratus, at the beginning of the third century, a good witneſs to the overthrow of Jeruſalem by Titus.

ην παντα, τα ομοφα τε εθνη εςεφανων αυτον. Ο δε ουκ ηξιω εαυτον τουτου· μη γαρ αυτον ταυτα ειργασθαι, θεω δε οργην φυσαντι επεδεδωκεναι τας εαυτου χειρας. 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, alique eruditi, illud et ipſum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philoſtrati.—— Baſnag. Ann. 70. n. xvi.

[s] Quem tamen Joſephi locum immerito Philoſtrato opponi putem. —— Neque enim Philoſtratus *repudiaſſe coronam* Titum ait, atque eâ non acceptâ legatos dimiſiſſe, quod viro docto interpretes perſuaſere, ſed hoc tantum, quod eo honore ſe indignum dixerit: juſtitiæ Dei vindicatricis inſtrumentum, cujus nullæ fuerint in iſtis patrandis propriæ vires, ſeſe exſtitiſſe agnoſcens, &c. Olear. in loc.

Theſe

Theſe are early heathen authors who have related the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and thereby bore teſtimony 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 [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.'

Which has occaſioned ſome learned men to ſay that even inſcriptions are not free from flattery. But then it muſt be owned that [u] the genuineneſs and antiquity of this inſcription has been called in queſtion: and there are ſome reaſons to doubt whether this comes from the ſenate of Rome itſelf, as is pretended.

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 teſtimony of Joſephus.*

I. 'ABOUT this time,' ſays [a] Joſephus, 'there happened a dif-'ference between Aretas king of Petræa and Herod upon this oc-

[t] Imp. Tito. Cæſari. Divi. Veſpaſiani. F.
Veſpaſiano. Aug. Pontifici. Maximo
Trib. Pot. x. Imp. xvii. Coſ. viii. P. P.
Principi. ſuo. S. P. Q. R.
Quod. Præceptis. Patris. Conſiliiſque. et
Auſpiciis. Gentem. Judæorum. 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.

[a] Antiq. l. 18. cap. v. § 1.

'casion. 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 Aristobu-'lus, 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, that Aretas's daughter should be put away. This '[b] was the beginning 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 army was defeated.'

'But,' says [c] Josephus, 'some of the Jews were of opinion 'that God had suffered Herod's army to be destroyed as a just 'punishment on him for the death of John, called the Baptist. 'For Herod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called 'upon the Jews to be baptized, and to practise virtue, exercising 'both justice toward men and piety toward God. For so would 'baptism be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not for 'the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body, the 'mind being first purified by righteousness. And many coming 'to him (for they were wonderfully taken with his discourses), 'Herod was seized with apprehensions, lest 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

* 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 vol. i. p. 390, &c.

[b] Ὁ δε αρχην εχθρας ταυτην ποιησαμενος, περι τε ορων εν τη γη τη Γαμαλιτιδι, και δυναμεως εκατερω συλλεγεισης, εις πολεμον καθισανται· και μαχης γενομενης, διεφθαρη πας ο Ηρωδε στρατος. κ. λ. ib. § 1.

[c] Τισι δε των Ιουδαιων εδοκει, ολωλεναι τον Ηρωδε στρατον υπο τε Θεε, και μαλα δικαιως τιμωρεντα κατα ποινην Ιωαννε τε επικαλεμενε Βαπτιστε. Κτεινει γαρ τουτον Ηρωδης, αγαθον ανδρα, και τες Ιουδαιες κελευοντα, αρετην επασκεντας, και τη προς αλληλες δικαιοσυνη και προς τον Θεον ευσεβεια χρωμενες, βαπτισμω συνιεναι· ουτω γαρ την βαπτισιν αποδεκτην αυτω φανεισθαι, μη επι τινων αμαρταδων παραιτησει χρωμενων, αλλ' εφ' αγνια τε σωματος, ατε δη και της Ψυχης δικαιοσυνη προεκκεκαθαρμενης. Και των αλλων συρρεφομενων· και γαρ ηδεως επι πλειστον τη ακροασει των λογων· δεισας Ηρωδης το επι τοσονδε πιθανον αυτε τοις ανθρωποις μη επι αποστασει τινι φερει, παντα γαρ εοικεσαι συμβελη τη εκεινε πραξοντες. πολυ κρειττον ηγειται, πριν τι νεωτερον εξ αυτε γενεσθαι, προλαβων αναιρειν, η μεταβολης γενομενης, εις τα πραγματα ευπεσων μετανοειν. Και ο μεν υποψια τη Ηρωδε δεσμιος εις τον Μακαιρεντα πεμφθεις, το προειρημενον φρεριον, ταυτη κτινυται. Τοις δε Ιουδαιος δοξαι, επι τιμωρια τη εκεινε τον ολεθρον επι τω στρατευματι γενεσθαι, τε Θεε κακως Ηρωδη θελοντος. Ib. § 2.

'repenting

'repenting when it should be too late to remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this suspicion of Herod, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, just mentioned, he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion that the destruction of Herod's army was a punishment upon him for that action, God being displeased with him.'

The genuineness of this passage is generally admitted by learned men; though [d] Blondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber [e] received it very readily.

The genuineness 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 personates 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 baptized for the remission 'of sins. For in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiquities 'Josephus bears witness to John that he was a baptist, and pro'mised purification to those who were baptized.'

Here it may be objected that Origen supposes Josephus to say that John promised purification, or forgiveness 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 expia'tion 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 forgiveness of their sins barely upon 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 righteousness.' I therefore proceed.

This passage of Josephus is distinctly and largely quoted by [g] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

[d] Des Sibylles. l. 1, c. vii. p. 28, 29.

[e] Fab. ap. Haverc. p. 269, 270.

[f] Εθελουσιν δ' αν Κελσῳ, προσωποποιησαντι τον Ιουδαιον παραδεξασθαι τον Ιωαννην ως βαπτιστην, βαπτιζοντα τον Ιησουν, ειπειν· οτι το Ιωαννην γεγονεναι βαπτιστην, εις αφεσιν ἁμαρτηματων βαπτιζοντα, ανεγραψε τις των μετ' ου πολυ τον Ιωαννην και τον Ιησουν γεγενημενων. Εν γαρ τῳ οκτωκαιδεκατῳ της Ιουδαικης αρχαιολογιας ο Ιωσηπος μαρτυρει τῳ Ιωαννῃ ως βαπτιστῃ γεγενομενῳ, και καθαρσιον τοις βαπτισαμενοις επαγγελλομενῳ. Contr. Cels. l. 1. § 47, p. 35.

[g] H. E. l. 1, cap. xi.

Jerom [h] alſo muſt be allowed to refer to the ſame in his book of Illuſtrious Men, though he does it very inaccurately.

This paſſage was read in Joſephus by [i] Photius, as is apparent.

I do not think it needful 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 Machærus 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: τοτε πατρι αυτης υποτελη. But it is alſo there ſaid to be in the borders of the government of Aretas and Herod: μεθοριον δε εστι της τε Αρετα και Ηρωδη αρχης.

The hiſtory in that very ſection does not lead us to think that Machærus was in the poſſeſſion of Aretas, but of Herod. It is thus: 'Herod's wife, daughter of Aretas, having diſcovered the 'agreement 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 Ma-'chærus, a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and 'Herod, without informing 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 Machærus 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 Machærus 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.

[h] Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifeſtiſſime confitetur, propter magnitudinem ſignorum Chriſtum a Phariſæis interfectum: et Johannem Baptiſtam vere prophetam fuiſſe. De V. I. cap. xiii.

[i] Cod. 238, p. 972.

[k] Vid. De B. J. l. 7, cap. vi.

But

But how could that be done if John was impriſoned at Machærus, at a great diſtance from Herod's court?

To which I anſwer, firſt, that Herod the tetrarch may have kept his birthday, and made that entertainment at Machærus; for his father, Herod the great, had built a palace there, with large and beautiful [l] apartments. Says Tillemont: 'We [m] learn 'from Joſephus that he was beheaded at Machærus, 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 might be made at the time of the entertainment, but the execution might be deferred till the next day, or till ſeveral days after.

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 increaſed 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; but 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 lie not. In Damaſcus the governor, 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,

[l] Μειζον δε τω περιβολω βασιλειον ωκοδομησατο, μεγεθει τε και καλλει των οικησεων πολυτελες. κ. λ. De B. J. l. 7, c. vi. ſect. 2.

[m] S. Jean Battiſte, art. viii. p. 101. Mem. Ec. T. i.

and St. Luke ſays nothing of the governor of Damaſcus. But we can conclude from St. Paul that the Jews had engaged the governor in their intereſt, who, with the ſoldiers, 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 acceſs; 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 unlawful 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 practice of righteouſneſs toward men, and piety toward God; that he taught men not to rely on baptiſm, or any other external rites, for the forgiveneſs of their ſins, unleſs their minds were alſo purified by righteouſneſs: 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 genuineneſs 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 hiſtory at the beginning 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 baptized? And they ſaid: Unto John's baptiſm. Then ſaid Paul: John verily baptized with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people 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 baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus.* And what follows.

Poſſibly

Possibly those men, or most of them, had seen and heard John, and been baptized by him; and left Judea before Jesus had begun his public ministry: 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 practice 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 'the [n] 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 have done. 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.

Josippon, in the ninth or tenth century, 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 'he [o] took to himself, to be his own wife, the wife of his brother 'Philip, though his brother was still living, and she had chil-'dren 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 unlawful 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.'

[n] ....αναγκαιον αυτῳ παραστησαι, οτι και τουτο ουκ οικειως το Ιουδαικω προσωπῳ περιεθηκεν. Ουδε γαρ συναπτουσι τον Ιωαννην οι Ιουδαιοι του Ιησῳ, και την Ιωαννου τη του Ιησου κολασει. Contr. Cels. l. i. cap. 48, p. 38.

[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.

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 wonderful works. He was a 'teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He 'drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles. This was the 'Christ. And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men 'among us, had condemned him to the cross, 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 wonder-'ful 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 extant, 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 beginning of the fourth century 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 Gentiles: 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 Gentiles. A testimony so favourable 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 country, who had received so many favours from Vespasian and Titus, could not be overlooked or neglected by any Christian apologist.

[p] Γινεται δε κατα τουτον τον χρονον Ιησους, σοφος ανηρ, ειγε ανδρα αυτον λεγειν χρη. Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης, διδασκαλος ανθρωπων των ηδονη τ' αληθη δεχομενων. Και πολλους μεν Ιουδαιους, πολλους δε και του Ελληνικου επηγαγετο. Ο χριστος ουτος ην. Και αυτον ενδειξει των πρωτων ανδρων παρ ημιν, σταυρω επιτετιμηκοτος Πιλατου, ουκ επαυσαντο οιγε πρωτον αυτον αγαπησαντες. Εφανη γαρ αυτοις τριτην εχων ημεραν παλιν ζων, των θειων προφητων ταυτα τε και αλλα μυρια θαυμασια περι αυτου ειρηκοτων. Ει, [illegible] ων απο τουδε ωνομασμενων ουκ επελιπε το φυλον. Antiq. Jud. l. 18, cap. iii. sect. 3.

[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 xl. H. E. Tom. i.

[s] J. Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Havercamp. p. 89. Blondel des Sibylles. p. 18. Tan. Fabr. ap. Havercamp. p. 267, &c. Cleric. H. E. An. 25. n. iv. et Ars Crit. P. 3, cap. xiv.

If

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 overthrow 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 befel 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 witness; 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, 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.'

Origen speaks again to the like purpose in his commentary

[t] Ὁ δ' αυτος, καιτοιγε απιστων τῳ Ιησυ Χριστῳ, ζητων την αιτιαν της των Ιεροσολυμων τριοδιας, και της τε ναυ καθαιρεσεως· ὡς αυτον ειπειν, οτι η τε Ιησυ επιβουλη τοις αιτιοις τω λαῳ, εσται απεκτειναν τον προπεφητευμενον Χριστον. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. 1. s. 47. p. 35.

[u] Ειπερ ουν δια Ιακωβον συμβεβηκεναι λεγει τοις Ιουδαιοις τα κατα την ερημωσιν της Ιερουσαλημ, κ. λ. ib.

[x] .... ως μεν Ιωσηπος γραφει, δια Ιακωβον τον δικαιον, τον αδελφον Ιησυ τε λεγομενε Χριστε· ως δε η αληθεια παριστησι, δια Ιησουν τον Χριστον τον υιον τε Θεε. Contr. Cels. l. 2. sect. 13. p. 69.

upon

upon St. Matthew; and ſays that 'this [y] James, the ſame that is 'mentioned by Paul in his epiſtle to the Galatians, [i. 19] was 'ſo reſpected by the people for his righteouſneſs, 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 founda-'tions, ſays that thoſe things had happened becauſe of the anger 'of God againſt them, for what they had done to James the bro-'ther of Jeſus called the Chriſt. And it is wonderful that he 'who did not receive our Jeſus as the Chriſt ſhould aſcribe ſuch 'righteouſneſs 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] Jerom; 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 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 teſtimony 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 extraordinary a teſtimony 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] Jerom, [f] Sozomen, and many other following writers.

[y] Comm. in Matt. Tom. x. § 17, p. 463. Bened. T. i. p. 223. Huet.

[z] H. E. l. 2, cap. xxiii. p. 65.

[a] Tradit idem Joſephus, tantæ eum ſanctitatis fuiſſe, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter eius necem creditum ſit, ſubverſam eſſe Hieroſolymam. De V. I. cap. 2. vid. et cap. 13. [b] Quod vero attinet ad iſta, ταυτα συμβεβηκεν Ιουδαιοις κατα εκδικησιν Ιακωβου του δικαιου. κ. λ. quæ tanquam a Joſepho probata in Antiquitatum libris, affert Origines, —— et ex eo, ut puto, Euſebius, aliique, veriſimile eſt, ea referri debere μιμουικῳ αμαρτηματι Origenis —— Certe nullibi, quod ſciam, haberi potuerunt in Antiquitatibus, ut quæ non agant de Hieroſolymorum excidio. Hudſon. annot. ad Joſ. Antiq. l. 20, c. ix. § 1, p. 976, ed. Hav. Vid. et Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3, c. xiv. § 8, 9, 10.

[c] — et qui iſtos aut probat aut revincit Judæus Joſephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex. Tert. Ap. c. 19, p. 19. [d] H. E. l. 1, c. xi. Dem. Ev. l. 3, p. 124. [e] De V. I. c. 13.

[f] Soz. l. 1, c. 1, p. 399.

But

But it is obſervable that this paragraph is never quoted by Chryſoſtom, whom I ſuſpect to have had but little regard for Euſebius of Cæſarea. 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.' He refers likewiſe [h] to what Joſephus ſays of John the Baptiſt, though inaccurately, as muſt be acknowledged: but he never takes any notice of this teſtimony 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.

Some have ſuppoſed that this teſtimony of Joſephus was alleged by Macarius in the time of Diocleſian. 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 century.

I make a diſtinct article of this writer, becauſe he read and reviſed the works of Joſephus as a critic. He has in his Bibliotheque [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 Peræa, ſon of Herod the great, 'is he who put to death the great John the forerunner, becauſe, 'as Joſephus ſays, he was afraid he would ſtir 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 ſuf-'fered.' How fair an occaſion had Photius here to refer alſo to the teſtimony given to Jeſus, which we now have, if he had

[g] —— και γαρ Ιουδαιος ην, και σφοδρα Ιουδαιος, και ζηλωτης, και των μετα την Χριστου παρουσιαν. 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. [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 Judæos 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 præfectus, 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, hæc 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.

ſeen

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, labouring under the common 'prejudice of the Jews, and being himſelf a Jew, makes not any 'the leaſt mention of the coming of Chriſt, or the things con-'cerning 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 uneaſineſs.' That calamity was no leſs than baniſhing the Jews from Rome by order of the emperor Tiberius: 'occaſioned,' [p] as he ſays, 'by the miſconduct 'of ſome Jews in that city.'

This paragraph therefore was not originally in Joſephus. It does not come from him: but it is an interpolation inſerted by ſomebody 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 needful.

I believe it is not eaſy 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

[m] Ap. Havercamp, p. 89.

[n] ως δε τα Ιουδαιων ειχεν, Ιουδαιος τε ων και αυτος υπαρχων το γενος, της Χριστου φανεισης, και των περι αυτον τελεσθεντων, και των υπ' αυτου τερατευομενων, ουδενος ολως μνημην εποιησατο. Cod. 33, p. 20.

[o] Και υπο της αυτης χρονους ετερον τι δεινον εθορυβησε τους Ιουδαιους. L. 18. c. 3, § 4.

[p] Και οι μεν δια κακιαν τεσσαρων ανδρων ελαυνονται της πολεως. § 5. fin.

thinks

thinks that the writers who maintain the genuineness 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 interrupts the course of the narration 'in Josephus. For that which immediately follows begins in these 'terms: "About the same time there happened another mis-"fortune which disturbed the Jews." For those words, "ano-"ther misfortune," have no connection with what was just said 'of Jesus Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. 'And, on the contrary, it has a very natural reference to what 'precedes in that place: which is a sedition, in which many 'Jews were killed or wounded. Certainly it is not so easy to 'answer to this difficulty as to the others. I wish that Mr. 'Huet and Mr. Roie had stated this objection, and given satis-'faction upon it. As for myself, I know not what to say to it; but 'that Josephus himself might insert this passage after his work 'was finished: and 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 forgot 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 wonderful works.'

But why [r] should Josephus scruple to call Jesus 'a man?' Were not Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and other prophets, men? The wonderful works done by them were not done by their own power, but by the power of God, bearing testimony 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

[q] Ruine des Juifs. note xl. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.

[r] Sed quo judicio scriptum est quod sequitur: εἰγε ἀνδρα αὐτον λεγειν χρη. Quænam, quæso, ratio est? Quia, inquit, παραδοξων ἐργων ποιητης ἠν. Itaque adeo, quando ita vult, dubitabitur in posterum a nobis, dii an homines appellandi sint Moïes, Elias, Elisæus? Nam et illi fuerunt παραδοξων ἐργων ποιηται. Deinde, cum ait εἰγε ἀνδρα αὐτον λεγειν χρη, quid, quæso, aliud innuere vult, nisi Jesum Dominum esse Deum? In quo graviter errat hic pius impostor. Judæi enim ne suspicabantur quidem, Messiam seu Christum fore Deum, sed præstantissimum aliquem principem ex semine Davidis. Tan. Fab. ap. Havercamp. Joseph. p. 269.

[s] Antiq. l. 3, c. xv. l. 4, c. viii. et alibi.

[t] Θαυμαστος δε της ἀρετης ὁ ἀνηρ. κ. λ. Ant. l. 3, c. xv. § 3.

say

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 was a teacher of ſuch men as received the truth with 'pleaſure.'

Very honourable 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 Gentiles.'

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 century than to Joſephus.

'This was the Chriſt.'

Jerom in his article of Joſephus, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, quoting this paſſage, puts it thus: 'And [x] he was be-'lieved to be the Chriſt.' Which is a qualifying expreſſion for which there is no ground. Nor [y] did Sophronius, Jerom'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 croſs, they who be-'fore had conceived an affection for him did not ceaſe to ad-'here to him: for on the third day he appeared to them alive 'again, the divine prophets having foretold theſe and many other 'wonderful 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 rendered φυλον tribe; becauſe φυλη is the word always uſed by Joſephus for tribe; and φυλον, which we have

[u] Ουτως η νομοθεσια τυ Θευ δοκυσα τον ανδρα πεποιηκε της αυτυ φυσεως κρειττονα νομιζεσθαι. Ibid. [x] Et credebatur eſſe Chriſtus. [y] Ο Χριστος ουτος ην.
[z] See particularly Sozomen, l. 1, cap. i. p. 399.

here,

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 αιρεσις heresy, is the word generally used by Josephus in speaking [b] of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, the three prevailing sects, or different ways of philosophizing among the Jews.

The phrase [c] χριστιανων φυλου, here used, resembles the phrase χριστιανων εθνος, which was in use in the time of Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourth century, and denotes 'the sect of the 'Christians.'

Moreover, the expression 'subsists to this time,' or 'is not 'extinct 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 to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles: whereas he is every where silent about them.

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 extraordinary things, or such things as had an appearance of being so.

Therefore [cc] he tells a story of Eleazar's dispossessing a dæmon by virtue of some incantations, and the use of a certain root called Baanas.

Therefore [d] he relates a dream of Archelaus, and then ano-

[a] —— οπερ και Παρθοι, το πολεμικωτατον φυλον. De B. J. l. 2, c. 16, § 4, p. 189. Hav. Παν υμων το φυλον. Ib. p. 191, et passim. [b] Vid. De B. J. l. 2, c. viii. Ant. Jud. l. 13, c. v. § 9, c. x. § 5, l. 14, c. i. Et passim. [c] —— τω εθνει των χριστιανων εαυτους συμμεμιχοτας. Maximin. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 9, c. ix. p. 360, C. —— ad Christianorum sectam se applicuisse cernerent. Vales.

[cc] Vid. de B. J. l. 7, c. vi. Ant. l. 8, c. ii. § 5. [d] Antiq. l. 17, c. xiii. § 3, 4, 5. De B. Jud. l. 2, c. vii.

ther

ther of Glaphyra, as very extraordinary, 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 Hiſtory 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 ſtory of the fulfilment of a prediction of Judas, an Eſſene: 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 reſolutely ſilent about them; and never can be ſuppoſed author of the honourable teſtimony here borne 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 copy, 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 copy 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 genuineneſs 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

[e] .... περι αμφι τας Ψυχας αθανασιας εμφερης, και τε θειε προμηθειᾳ τα ανθρωπινα παρειληφοτος τη αυτῳ, καλως εχειν νομισα ειπειν. 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. ſect. 4, 5. Ant. l. 13, cap. xi. ſect. 2. [h] Itaque conſtet neceſſe eſt, id intra illud tempus admiſſum fuiſſe, quod ab Origene ad Euſebium fluxit. Mihi autem imprimis credibile fit, auctorem hujus τεχιασματος eſſe Euſebium. Faber ap. Havercamp. p. 272.

[i] See p. 120. note [s]. [k] Sed vehementer dubito, poſt doctiſſimas etiam Huetii curas, an non hic fœtus 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:

And I add the judgment 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, there-'fore, 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 forgery, and a very ſtupid 'one too.'

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.

'The [m] emperor having been informed of the death of 'Feſtus, ſent Albinus to be præfect in Judea. And the king '[meaning Agrippa the younger] took away the high-prieſt-'hood from Joſeph, and beſtowed that dignity upon the ſon of Ananus, who alſo was named Ananus..... This 'younger Ananus, who, as we ſaid juſt now, was made high-'prieſt, was [n] haughty in his behaviour, 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 [o] a 'council of judges: and, bringing before them James the brother '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 'ſkilful in the laws, were offended at this proceeding. They 'therefore ſent privately to the king, [Agrippa before menti-'oned,] entreating 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

iluxiſſe: 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 difficultas: ſed reſtat longe maxima de cohærentia horum verborum Joſephi, quibus Chriſto teſtimonium perhibet cum ſequentibus: 'Circa eadem tempora aliud etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c.' Quæ tamen verba, ſi teſtimonium de Chriſto e contextu Joſephi ſuſtuleris, egregie cum præcedentibus conſpirabunt. Ad quam difficultatem removendam nuper nihil aliud a doctiſſimo Tillemontio produci potuit, quam verba Joſephi, quæ de Chriſto agunt, contextui παρεμβικως inſerta eſſe. In quo tamen dubito, an docti acquieturi ſint. Vitring. Obſerv. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 7. ſect. xi. p. 971.

[l] See Divine Legation of Moſes, B. 2. Sect. 6, p. 295, vol. i.

[m] L. 20, cap. viii. ſect. 1.

[n] θρασυς τε τον τροπον, και τολμητης διαφεροντως.

[o] .....καθιζει συνεδριον κριτων· και παραγαγων εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησου του λεγομενου Χριστου, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτω, και τινας ετερους, ως παρανομησαντων κατηγοριαν ποιησαμενος, παρεδωκε λευσθησομενους.

'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 Damnæus.'

This passage is cited from Josephus by [p] Eusebius, and from the twentieth book of his Antiquities. It is also quoted by [q] Jerom, but very inaccurately. We perceive likewise that [r] it was in the copies of Josephus in the time of Photius.

Nevertheless there are learned men, of good judgment, [s] who 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 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 history of the death of James, given by Hegesippus, a learned Jewish believer and writer in the second century, 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 completed by a blow on the head with a long pole, such as fullers make use of in beating wet clothes. This is said by Clement of Alexan-

p H. E. l. 2. cap. 23, p. 65, 66.

q De V. I. cap. ii. De Jacobo fratre Domini. ... αυθεντισας καθιζει συνεδριον, και Ιακωβον τον αδελφον τυ κυριυ, συν ετεροις, παραιομιαν αιτιασαμενος, λιθοις αναιρεθηναι παρασκευαζει. κ. λ. Phot. Cod. 238, p. 977.

r Facile quidem credidérim, Jerosolymitanos proceres graviter tulisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate instituisset, cùm dudum jus gladii a Romanis esset Judæis ademtum: quod iterum inconsulto Cæsare ab Anano usurpatum timebant, ne genti suæ gravi fortasse pœnâ luendum esset. Sed quæ 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, quæ persuadeant hæc fuisse interpolata, et scripsisse duntaxat Josephum: και παραγαγων εις αυτο τινας, και ως παρανομησαντας κατηγοριαν ποιησαμενος. κ. λ. Statutosque coram eo nonnullos, et accusatos perfractæ legis, tradidit lapidibus obruendos. Id. Ars Crit. P. 3, cap. 14, sect. 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, κριτικωτερων esto judicium. Hudson. annot. ad Antiq. l. 20, c. ix. sect. 1.

t See Vol. vi, Ch. xvi, Sect. iii. v. vi.

dria

dria 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 century knew nothing 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 hiſtory 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 joined 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 century, as well as before: for it is mentioned by [y] Jerom, 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 teſtimony, whether there was ground for it or not. Theophylact, upon John xiii. 33, and 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.'

[u] Δυο δε γεγοναστιν ιακωβοι· εις ο δικαιος, ο κατα τε πτερυγιε βληθεις, και υπο κναφεως ξυλω πληγεις εις θανατον. Clem. A. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38. D. Conf. ib. cap. 23. p. 63. C. et 65. C. And ſee in this work, vol. 6. ch. xvi. num. iii.

[x] Και λαβων τις απ' αυτων εις των γναφεων το ξυλον, εν ω απεπιεζε τα ιματια, πεγκε κατα της κεφαλης τε δικαιε. Και ουτως εμαρτυρησεν. Hegeſipp. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. 2, cap. 23, p. 65. B.

[y] Qui cum præcipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc ſemivivus.... fullonis fuſte quo uda veſtimenta extorqueri ſolent, in cerebro percuſſus interiit ... et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, ſepultus eſt. Hier. de V. I. cap. 2.

Qui et ipſe poſtea de Templo a Judæis præcipitatus ſucceſſorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipſum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. Id. Comm. in ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4, p. 237.

[z] Hær. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.

[a] .... ως και Ιωσηπος μαρτυρει, δια τον θανατον τε ιησε ταυτα αυτοις γενεσθαι. In Ev. p. 762. A.

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 'Josephus, [b] who is often quoted by Eusebius Pamphili in 'his Ecclesiastical History, expressly says, in his History 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 inaccurately, (of which Jerom, 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 testimony 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 [d] own words: and let his judgment be added to those of Vitringa, and the bishop of Gloucester above quoted.

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 easy to believe that all Jews who were contemporary 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

[b] Ευρομεν ȣν Ιωσηπον, τον συγγραφεα της κλωσεως Ιερεσολυμων, (ȣ μνημην πολλην Ευσεβιος ο Παμφιλȣ εν τη εκκλησιαστικη αυτȣ ιστορια ποιειται) φανερως λεγοντα εν τοις της Αιχμαλωσιας αυτȣ υπομνημασιν, οτι Ιησȣς εν τω ιερω μετα των ιερεων ηγιαζε. Suid. V. Ιησȣς.

[c] De V. I. cap. ii. To Jerom might have been added Eusebius, and divers other Christian writers. Concerning Eusebius's inaccurate quotations of Josephus somewhat was said formerly. Vol. iv. p. 211, 212. 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 honorable, tant de la personne de nostre Seigneur, que de la sainteté et verité du Christianisme, de la profession duquel cét Auteur 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. sect. 18. p. 102, Bened.

[f] Ad Nat. l. i. cap. 13, p. 59, D. et adv. Marcion. l. 3, cap. 23, p. 498.

ruling

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 eaſy to account for the ſilence of Joſephus any other [g] 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. 3. 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 Hiſtory. 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 darkneſs 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.

Moreover, before Joſephus had finiſhed his work of the Jewiſh Antiquities, or even the Hiſtory 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 progreſs of the Chriſtian religion was a very conſiderable event; and it had it's riſe in Judea.

[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 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 éternal oubli, en haine des Chrêtiens. Le Clerc, Bib. Ch. T. 4, Art. i. p. 74, 75.

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 three Jewiſh ſects, the Sadducees, Phariſees, and Eſſenes, whoſe principles are particularly deſcribed by him in the * War, and in ** the Antiquities; and therefore, as we may think, were deſerving of notice: but they were not Jewiſh enough; they were not entirely Jewiſh; and they were followers of a leader whom our author did not, and could not, eſteem, conſiſtently with his prevailing views and ſentiments.

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 conſpiracy 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 contemporary, and a man of good intelligence, engaged in public life, could not be ignorant: his ſilence therefore about Chriſtian affairs is wilful 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 hiſtory of the New Teſtament has in it all the marks of credibility that any hiſtory can have. Heathen hiſtorians [i] of the beſt credit have borne witneſs to the time of the riſe of the Chriſtian religion, the country in which it had it's origin, and who was the author of it, and it's ſwift and early progreſs in the world.

Of all thoſe things which are recorded in the goſpels, and of the progreſs of Chriſtianity afterwards, we have unconteſted evidence from the evangelical writers themſelves, and from ancient Chriſtian authors ſtill extant, and from heathen writers concurring with them in many particulars.

And Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, who believed not in Jeſus, has recorded the hiſtory of the Jewiſh people in Judea, and elſe-

* 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 præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, ſed per Urbem etiam, &c. Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 44.

where:

where: and particularly the ſtate of things in Judea, with the names of the Jewiſh princes, and Roman governors, during the miniſtry 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 hiſtory. He has alſo, as we have now ſeen in this volume, borne teſtimony 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 uſeful 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 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 wilderneſs; 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

[k] See vol. 1. [l] Evangelicam quoque et apoſtolicam hiſtoriam Joſephus confirmat in multis, etiamſi vel maxime ponamus dubitandum eſſe de γνησιοτητι locorum de Chriſto Servatore lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 4. de Joanne Baptiſta lib. xviii. cap. 7. de Jacobo, l. 20. c. 8. et quæ de diruțis propter Jacobi necem injuſtam Hieroſolymis...ex iiſdem Joſephi libris laudant Origenes, 1. contr. Celſ. et l. 2, et in Matthæi cap. xiii. Euſebius. l. 2. c. 23. H. E. Hieronymus Catalogo Script Ec. cap. 2, et 13. Suidas Ιωσηπος, et Ιησους, hodie vero in Joſephi libris non reperiuntur. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. vi. T. 3, p. 237, 238. [m] Τουτο γαρ δια ταυτης ποιησειν της πραγματειας, επηγγειλαμην, ουδεν προσθεις ουδ' αυ παραλιπων. Antiq. Pr. ſect. 3, p. 3. [n] Eruditionem, diligentiam, prudentiam, fidem, omnes callaudant, præterquam ubi nimio eſt in ſuam gentem affectu. v. gr. in rebus Moſis et Salomonis....ſilentium nonnunquam affectatum, ut in iis quæ probro cederent ſuæ genti. Qualis ex. gr. fuit vituli Aurei fabrica, et adoratio, tacita Joſepho: ita et in iis quæ faverent Chriſtianæ rei, eruditi paſſim notarunt, et nos ſubinde in locis ſuis. F. Spanhem. H. E. T. i. p. 258. Conf. J. Otton. Animadverſiones in Joſeph. ſect. 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 quærens,

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, 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 family: 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 trans-'fer the kingdom to another,' Josephus here takes great liberties: and though he was himself a Pharisee, and at other times speaks honourably 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 control kings; extremely subtile, 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 extraordinary 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 coun-'try, by receiving from him a capacity of marriage, and having 'children of his own*⁂*.'

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 Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we*

quærens, nullibi inveni, neque iis etiam in locis, ubi expugnationem arcis Tzion expresse tractat: quum tamen centies et millies ipse occasio data fuerit, ita ut plane sentiam ipsum studio et data opera hoc tam glorioſum pro Novo Testamento nomen pressisse silentio. &c. J. R. Ottii Animadversiones in Joseph. ap. Havercamp. T. 2. p. 305.

[p] See vol. i. p. 276—291. [q] The quotation is as above, p. 278, 279. taken from the Antiquities. l. 17, cap. 2, sect. 4. p. 831. Havercamp.

[r] p. 279. *⁂* 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.

have

have ſeen his ſtar in the Eaſt, and are come to worſhip him. When Herod the king had heard theſe things he was troubled, and all Jeruſalem with him. The word rendered *troubled* is of a middle meaning. How Herod was *moved* may be eaſily gueſſed, and is well known. The inhabitants of Jeruſalem were differently *moved* and agitated, partly with joyful hopes of ſeeing their Meſſiah *king of the Jews*; partly filled with apprehenſions from Herod's jealouſy, 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 judgment, 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 ſerioufneſs 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*; Mark xii. 34. He was a prieſt by deſcent, and early in the magiſtracy; 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!* 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 teſtimony to the deſtruction of the temple by Veſpaſian and Titus, with remarks.*

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 Satanæ, 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 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 increaſed: 'And [b] thus,' ſays he, 'it went on to the middle of the ſecond 'century after Chriſt, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman 'empire, by which time they found it neceſſary 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 poſ-

[a] Ap. Poc. Port. Moſis. p. 35, 36. [b] The year before Chriſt 446. p. 326, &c. Vol. i.

'ſibility

'ſibility of being any longer preſerved by the memory of men. 'And therefore there being danger, that under theſe diſadvan-'tages they might be all forgotten and loſt, for the preventing 'hereof it was reſolved that they ſhould be all collected and '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 com-'piled it in ſix books, each conſiſting of ſeveral tracts, which all 'together make up the number of ſixty-three... This is the 'book called the Miſhna; which book was forthwith received 'by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their diſper-'ſions, and hath ever ſince been held in high eſteem among 'them... And therefore, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, it became 'the object of the ſtudies of all their learned men; and the chiefeſt 'of them employed themſelves to make comments upon it: and 'theſe with the Miſhna make up both their Talmuds, that is, the 'Jeruſalem Talmud, and the Babyloniſh Talmud. Theſe com-'ments they call the Gemara, that is, the Complement; becauſe 'by them the Miſhna is fully explained, and the whole tradi-'tionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed: for 'the Miſhna is the text, and the Gemara the comment, and both 'together 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 completed about the year of our Lord '300, and is publiſhed in one large folio; the latter was 'publiſhed about two hundred years after, in the beginning of 'the ſixth century, and hath had ſeveral editions ſince the 'invention of printing: the laſt, publiſhed at Amſterdam, is in 'twelve folios. And in theſe two Talmuds is contained the 'whole of the Jewiſh religion that is now profeſſed among '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.

[c] Dr. Wotton, as above, p. 22, 23, ſays: 'The Jeruſalem Talmud wants the 'impertinences, and, conſequently, the 'authority of the Babyloniſh Gemara,.... 'It has little of that hyperbolical and fa-'bulous ſtuff, for which the other is ſo 'highly valued by the modern Talmu-'diſts.'

And

And Wagenſeil obſerves that [d] Rabbi Jehuda was contemporary with Antoninus the pious. Mr. Lampe, [e] ſpeaking of ſeveral of 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 Antonines, and Commodus alſo.' And afterwards, in the ſame page: 'He compiled the Miſhnah 'about the year of Chriſt 190, in the latter end of the reign of 'Commodus; or, as ſome compute, in the year of Chriſt 220, 'an hundred 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 contemporary with Antoninus the pious; though the ſtories told by the Jewiſh writers, of the favours ſhewn him by that emperor, muſt be reckoned partly fabulous. But, allowing him to be contemporary with Antoninus, who died in the year 161, it does not follow that the Miſhna was compoſed ſo ſoon as the year of Chriſt 150. R. Jehudah 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 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

[d] Rabbi Jehudam, qui Sancti cognomen inter ſuos meruit, et Antonini Pii Imperatoris æqualis fuit, metus invaſerat, ne ob tantas gentis ſuæ miſerias, et in remotiſſimis terris deportationes, Oralis Lex plane in hominum animis obliteraretur. Wagenſ. Pr. p. 55. [e] Sed præcipue eminuit R. Jehuda, quem Sanctum nominant, Miſhnæ auctor, qui circa annum 194, aut ſecundum alios 230 obiiſſe creditur. Lampe Synopſ. H. E. P. 111.

[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.

[g] Quamobrem, adhibitis in conſilium auxiliumque ſapientiſſimis quibuſque, ſedulo ab iis, quibus licebat, Judæis, voce ac per epiſtolas ſciſcitatus eſt, quænam a parentibus oralis legis ſcita didiciſſent, quin et ſchedas undique conquiſivit, quibus hactenus memoriæ cauſſa traditiones inſcriptæ fuerant. Ea omnia, ſecundum certa doctrinæ capita diſpoſuit, et in unum volumen redegit, cui nomen hoc Miſhna, hoc eſt, δευτερωσις impoſuit. Wagenſeil Pr. p. 55.

learned

learned men of the nation, who had treasured up these hitherto unwritten traditions in their memories.

One thing more I may premise 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] heavy 'afflictions have befallen our ancestors on the seventeenth day 'of the month Tammuz [June], and as many on the ninth day 'of the month Ab [July]: for on the seventeenth day of 'Tammuz the tables of the law were broken; the perpetual sa-'crifice ceased; the walls of the city were broke open; the 'law was burnt by Apostemus; 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 pro-'mised land; the first and second temple was desolated; the 'city Bither was taken; the holy city was destroyed: for which 'reason, as soon as the month Ab begins, rejoicings are a-'bated.' ***

Who

[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 παραδόσεις 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 præconio Josephum de Voisin.—Wagenseil. Præf. p. 57.

Quippe, quod in præfatione 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 Jeshu. p. 10, § 4. [i] Quinque res luctuosæ patribus nostris acciderunt die septimo decimo mensis Tammuz [sc. Junii.] totidemque die nono mensis Abh [sc. Julii.] Nam. xvii. Tammuz fractæ sunt tabulæ Legis: cessavit juge sacrificium: Urbis mœnia 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 mensis Abh incipit, lætitiam imminuunt. Tract. de Jejuniis c. 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 set-'teth 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. c. vii. And 'yet his countrymen, 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 ac-'count that day fatal for three other sad 'occurrences besides. "On the ninth day "of the month Ab," say they, "the de-"cree came out against Israel in the wil-"derness that they should not enter into "the land. On it was the destruction of "the first temple, and on it was the de-

"struction

Who is meant by Apoſtemus, or Appoſtemus, is not very material, and therefore I do not inquire. I allege this paſſage as an early Jewiſh teſtimony 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 adultery, are theſe words: 'When [k] the war of Veſpaſian began, the coronets and bells of bridegrooms were forbidden by a public decree. When the war of Titus began, the coronets of brides were forbidden, and that no man ſhould educate his ſon in Greek learning. Becauſe of the final iſſue of that war every

"ſtruction 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 ſanctuary. 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." Talmud. 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 againſt his will on the next day. Joſeph. ubi ſupr. c. 22, 23, 24. Now their Kalendar reckons from the middle 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 Ben-"zaccai ſaith: If I had not been in that "generation, I ſhould not have pitched it "upon any other day but the tenth, be-"cauſe the moſt of the temple was burnt "that day. And in the Jeruſalem Tal-"mud 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, be-"cauſe it is ſaid on the tenth. Nor can it "be ſaid on the tenth, becauſe it is ſaid on "on the ſeventh. How is it then? On the "ſeventh day the aliens came into the "temple and ate there, and defiled it the "ſeventh, eighth, and ninth days. And "that day, towards night, they ſet it on "fire, and it burnt all the tenth day, as "was the caſe alſo with the ſecond tem-"ple." 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 day of our July. And the city was taken and ſacked the eighth day of September following. Joſeph. ſupr. c. 47.' So Lightfoot.

[k] Orto bello Veſpaſiani, decreto publico abrogatæ ſunt coronæ ſponſorum, et tympana. Orto bello Titi cautum eſt de coronis ſponſarum, et ne quis filium in Græcanicis 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.

'bride

'bride was forbidden to come abroad under an umbrella. Ne-
' vertheleſs, our maſters have [ſince] thought fit to allow of it.'

This alſo is an early teſtimony 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 [1] Rabbi Meir died, there were none left to inſtruct
' men in wiſe parables.'——

' —When Simeon, ſon of Gamaliel, died, there came locuſts,
' and calamities were increaſed. When R. Akiba died, the
' glory of the law vaniſhed away. Upon the death of Gama-
' liel the aged, the honour of the law vaniſhed, and there was
' an end to purity and ſanctimony. When Rabbi Iſhmael, ſon
' of Babi, died, the ſplendour of the prieſthood was tarniſhed.
' When Rabbi [Judah] died, there was no more any modeſty
' or fear of tranſgreſſion. Rabbi Pinchas, ſon of Iſhmael, ſaid,
' When the temple was deſtroyed all men were covered with
' ſhame, both wiſe men and nobles; and all now cover their
' heads: the bountiful are reduced to poverty, and the violent
' and ſlanderers prevail: nor is there any to explain the law, nor
' are there any who aſk and inquire. What then ſhall we do?

[1] Mortuo R. Meir defecere, qui homines erudiebant [doctis] parabolis.—— Mortuo R. Simeone Filio Gamalielis, venerunt locuſtæ, et auctæ ſunt calamitates. — R. Ahiba mortuo decus legis evanuit. — Mortuo R. Gamaliele Sene, evanuit honor legis, ſimulque mundities et ſanctimonia, intermortuæ. 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 quærens, nec interrogans. Cui ergo innitendum eſt nobis? Patri noſtro cœleſti. R. Eliezer, cognomento Magnus, ait: Ex quo templum devaſtatum eſt, cœpere Sapientes ſimiles eſſe Scribis, Scribæ Ædituis, Æditui vulgo hominum. Vulgus autem hominum, in pejus in dies ruit: nec quis rogans, aut quærens ſupereſt. Cui ergo innitendum? Patri noſtro cœleſti. Paullo ante adventum Meſſiæ impudentia augebitur, et magna erit annonæ caritas. Vitis proferet fructum, ſed vinum nihilominus care vendetur. Summum in orbe Imperium obruetur opinionibus pravis, et nulli locum habebit correptio. Synagogæ convertentur in lupanaria, limites Judææ deſolabuntur, et regio quanta quanta eſt devaſtabitur. Viri inſignes oppidatim circuibunt, nec ulla humanitatis officia experientur. Fœtebit ſapientia Magiſtrorum, a delictis ſibi caventes ſpernentur, et Veritatis magnus erit defectus. Juvenes confundent ora Senum. Senes coram junioribus ſurgent. Filius irritabit patrem. Nata inſurget adverſus matrem, nuruſque contra ſocrum. Denique, ſuos quiſque domeſticos inimicos habebit. Scilicet ſeculo iſto canina facies erit, nec verebitur filius parentem. Cui ergo confidendum? Patri cœleſti.—R. Pinchas F. J. ait: Providentia cauſa alacritatis.——Timor ſceleris ducit ad pietatem. Pietas cauſſa eſt [*gratiæ*] S. Spiritus. Spiritus S. [*fideles*] facit participes reſurrectionis mortuorum. Reſurrectio mortuorum obtinget interventu Eliæ, cujus memoria ſacra eſto, et ſancta. —— Deus æternus benigne concedat ut adventu illius cito ſalvi ſanique fruamur. Amen. Tr. de uxore adulterii ſuſpecta. num. 15. P. 3, p. 308, 309. Surenh.

' Let

'Let us truſt in our heavenly Father. 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 ſex- 'tons, and ſextons like the vulgar; and the vulgar are conti- 'nually 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 increaſed, and great will be the 'price of proviſions. The vine will bear fruit; nevertheleſs 'wine will be ſold at a high price. The ſupreme 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. Excellent men will wander from town to town, 'and experience no offices of humanity. The wiſdom of the 'maſters will be ſlighted, and all who ſtrive to avoid tranſgreſ- 'ſion 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 mother-in-law. And a 'man's enemies will be they of his own houſehold. In a word, 'that age will have a canine appearance. Nor will the ſon re- 'verence the father. What then ſhall we do? Let us truſt in our 'heavenly Father.——May the coming of Elias be haſtened. '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 Jerom's Commentary upon Iſ. ch. viii. 14. where [11] 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

[11] Duas domus Nazaræi——duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hillel: ex quibus orti ſunt Scribæ et Phariſæi, quorum ſuſcepit ſcholam Akibas, quem magiſtrum Aquilæ proſelyti autumant: et poſt eum Meir, cui ſucceſſit Johanan filius Zachai: et poſt eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Delphon: et rurſum Joſeph Galilæus; et uſque ad captivitatem Jeruſalem Joſue. Sammai igitur et Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus naſceretur, orti ſunt in Judæa, quorum prior *diſſipator* interpretatur, ſequens *prophanus*: eo quod per traditiones et δευτερωσεις ſuas legis præcepta diſſipaverit, atque maculaverit. &c. In Iſ. cap. viii. T. 3, p. 79.

others,

others. In [m] another place he cenſures the numerous traditions, or ſecondary laws, of the Phariſees. Undoubtedly Jerom 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.

2. Here is another teſtimony 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 experienee nō 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. Meir, 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] was a man upon whoſe praiſes the Jewiſh writers enlarge mightily: and his ſayings are often mentioned in the 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 honourable 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

[m] Quantæ traditiones Phariſæorum ſint, quas hodie vocant δευτερωσεις, et quam aniles fabulæ, 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——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.

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 re-'mained no longer any modeſty or fear of tranſgreſſion.' Maimonides, in his character of Jehudah the holy, did not omit [p] this particular. But here is 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 century. Nevertheleſs this manner of ſpeaking may perhaps induce us to think that more hands than one were employed in compiling it.

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 reflections 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 century, and ſome of them not far from the beginning of it.

[3]. 'Synagogues will be turned into brothel houſes.' He re-

[p] In ſummo etiam pietatis, et humilitatis, et abſtinentiæ a voluptatibus gradu: uti etiam dixerunt: Ex quo mortuus eſt Rabbi, ceſſavit humilitas, et timor peccati. Maim. Porta Moſis. p. 35.

[q] Acceſſiſſe poſt obitum R. Judæi, quaſdam interpolationes, non negaverim: ſed eæ paucæ ſunt, ac mature fuerunt adjectæ, ipſumque R. Judam potiſſimum reſpiciunt. Wag. ib. p. 55.

fers

fers to the common reports among the vulgar, that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. And he adopts the calumny.

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 Micah vii. 6, concerning the dissensions that would be in families; some cheerfully embracing his doctrine, whilst others obstinately rejected it, and were bitter towards those who received it. Which the compiler of this work represents as the utmost distress and misery, and as hitherto unknown and unparalleled wickedness.

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 sanc-'timony, to modesty 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 seem to me, refer to the resolution and steadiness 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 sophistry, 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 controversy about the Mishnical tract Avoda zara, de cultu peregrino, [of strange or idolatrous worship]. I pay a great regard to the judgment 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. 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, contrary to all the rules of modeſty, had 'boldly paſſed by with his head uncovered, Elieſer ſaid he be-'lieved 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 'brethren? 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." Akiba then [illegible] with his lips, 'but at the ſame time abſolved himſelf 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 re-'turned to his colleagues and told them the diſcovery he had 'made, they ſaid: "Great is Akiba, who had corrected the reſt "of the maſters."

An abſolute fiction, the fruit of deep-rooted malice! Though no perſon is here named, there can be no doubt who is intended. And it is adopted by [t] the author of Toldoth Jeſchu.

[r] Juramentis vero illorum nihil prorſus eſt tribuendum, quia in ipſo Talmude docentur, poſſe juramenta, dum præſtantur, confeſtim in mente aboleri, ut non obligent. Exemplo eſt R. Akiſa, de quo Cod. Kolla fol. 18, col. 2, med. ſequens refertur hiſtoria. Cum aliquando Seniores ſederent in porta [urbis] præterierunt ante ipſos duo pueri, quorum alter caput texerat, alter retexerat. Et de eo quidem, qui caput [proterve, et contra bonos mores] retexerat, pronunciavit R. Elieſer, quod eſſet ſpurius. R. Joſua autem dixit, eum eſſe a muliere menſtruata conceptum. At R. Akiſa ſubjecit, eſſe illum et ſpurium et filium menſtruatæ. Unde cæteri interrogarunt R. Akiſam, quomodo tam audacter collegis ſuis contradiceret. Sed ille regeſſit, ſe dicta ſua eſſe confirmaturum. Abiit ergo ad matrem pueri illius, quam cum videret ſedentem in foro, et vendentem legumina, dixit ad illam. Filia mea, ſi tu mihi ingenue indicaveris id quod tum 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 quæ 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 menſtruatæ filium. Cumque id percepiſſent cæteri aſſeſſores, dixerunt: Magnus eſt Akiſa, quando correxit doctores ſuos. Edzard. Avoda Sara. Tom. i. p. 279. Conf. Wagenſeil. Confut. Tol. Jeſchu. p. 14, 15. et Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. c. vii. p. 132, 133.

[s] Hæc hiſtoria tecte videtur loqui de Chriſto. Buxtorf. ubi ſupr. p. 133.

Ac de infantia quidem et natalibus Jeſchu, credo ego, creduntque Judæi hoc mecum, ſermonem eſſe, quamquam nomine penitus ſuppreſſo, in Maſſechet Calla, quam et ipſum allegare convenit. Wagenſ. ut ſupr. p. 14. [t] Apud Wagenſ. p. 5.

2. Upon

2. Upon Matt. ii. 14, Lightfoot obſerves as follows: 'There [u] 'are ſome footſteps in the Talmudiſts of this journey of our Sa- 'viour into Egypt, but ſo corrupted with venomous blaſphemy '(as all their writings are,) that they ſeem only to have con- 'feſſed 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 Pera- "chiah and Jeſus went away unto Alexandria in Egypt. Simeon "Ben Shelah ſent thither, ſpeaking 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 brought forth four hundred trumpets, and anathema- "matized" [Jeſus.] And a little before that, "Elizæus turned "away Gehazi with both his hands, and R. Joſhua Ben Pera- "chiah thruſt away Jeſus with both his hands."

'And [Schabb. fol. 104, 2.] "Did not Ben Satda bring en- "chantments out of Egypt in the cutting which was in his fleſh?" 'Under Ben Satda they wound our Jeſus with their reproaches.'

The ſtory of our Lord's journey to Alexandria with Joſhua Ben Perachiah, 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 falſehood of it, are apparent.

[u] Hebrew and Talmudical Eexercitations, p. 111, 112. [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 Parachiæ et Jeſus Alexandriam Ægypti. Pace reddita, in hæc verba Simeon Schetachides R. Joſuæ Perachiæ filio ſcribit. Hieroſolymæ civitas ſancta, tibi Alexandriæ Ægypti. O ſoror mea, maritus meus in medio tui degit, at ego ſedeo deſolata. Surgens ergo ille veniebat eo, et pervenit ad quandam hoſpitam, quæ 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. Sæpenumero 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. Indicabat ei R. Joſua filius Perachiæ 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 nullii, qui peccavit, et ad peccandum multis fuit auctor, facultas agendi pœnitentiam 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 præceptore, Jeſchu totum ſe deinde magicis artibus in Ægypto addixit: cumque has intus et in cute teneret, in Judæam ſe contulit.* Apud Scheid. et Wagenſ. ubi ſupra.

It should be observed that this story of our Lord's journey into Egypt, with Joshua Ben Perachiah, has little agreement with the true history 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 practices, and was excommunicated.

If by king Jannai be intended Alexander Jannæus, 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 endeavoured to seduce men to idolatry: which we shall see presently.

I do acknowledge, however, that when I first observed this paragraph, I was not a little surprised. For Origen says that, 'though [a] innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged 'against the venerable Jesus, none had dared to charge him with 'any intemperance whatever.' So says Origen about the middle of the third century. He speaks confidently with full assurance. If he had ever met with such a calumny, he would not have denied it; for he was perfectly honest and sincere. And if such a calumny 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 story therefore was not in being in his time, nor till after it. But reflections upon a man's character, unknown till long after his departure out of the world, are destitute of autho-

[z] Prideaux's Connection, year before Christ 79, p. 396, 397. [a] ... προς τον σεμνον ημων Ιησουν, ου μηδε οι μυρια κατηγορησαντες, και ψευδη οσα περι αυτου λεγοντες, δεδυνηνται κατειπειν, ως κ' αν το τυχον ακολασιας κ' αν επ' ολιγον γευσαμενου, Contr. Cels. l. 3, num. 36, Bened. p. 32, Sperc.

rity,

rity, and deſerve no regard. They only ſhew the bad temper of thoſe who receive, or who invent and forge them.

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 ſtory; 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 infamous 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, century, any traces of this journey of our Lord into Egypt with a tutor. This ſtory 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 re-'marked 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, be-"cauſe the prieſts diligently ſearched all at their going away, that "they might not carry out magical arts to teach them to men "dwelling in other countries."

This is ſaid, I ſuppoſe, to inſinuate that all the great works aſcribed to our Saviour were performed by virtue of magical

** Ει γαρ τα ειδη τω επιρρητοτατω βιω εν ταις πραξεσιν αυτω φαιομεθα αυτω εκτιθεμενοι τι, και ηγωνισαμεθα προς εκαστον των δοκουντων ειναι αυτω επιρρητοτατων. Contr. Celſ. l. 7. ſect. 56. Ben. p. 369. f. Sperc.

[b] In tractatu Schabbath, fol. 104. 2. in Miſhna dicitur. Si quis [die Sabbathi] lineam ducat, ſeu inciſuram faciat ſuper carnem ſuam, R. Eliezer eum reum cenſet ſacrificii peccati. Sapientes autem abſolvunt. Poſtea in Gemara, ad hæc verba notatur: Traditio. Dixit R. Elieſer ad Sapientes: At annon Filius Stadæ extulit magicas artes ex Ægypto, in inciſurâ, quæ erat ſuper carne ejus? *Gloſſa.* Quia non poterat eas efferre, vel educere, ſcriptas: quia Magi diligenter inquirebant in omnes qui exhibant, ne efferrent artes magicas, ad docendum eas alios homines alibi terrarum habitantes. Scheid. ib. p. 1. et Wagenſeil. Confut. Told. Jeſchu. p. 17.

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, upon Matt. ix. 9, ſpeaks to this purpoſe: 'Five 'diſciples of Chriſt are mentioned by the Talmudiſts, [Bab. 'Sanhedrim. fol. 431] among whom Matthew ſeems to be 'named. The rabbins deliver there were five diſciples of Je- 'ſus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Thodah. Theſe they 'relate were led out and killed. Perhaps five are only men- 'tioned by them, becauſe five of the diſciples were chiefly em- 'ployed among the Jews: namely Matthew, who wrote his goſ- 'pel 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 of 'Jeſus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Toda. When Mat- 'thai 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 'anſwered: 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.

[c] De V. R. Chr. l. 5. cap. iii.

[d] Sanhedr. cap. vi. fol. 43, fin. Quinque tantum diſcipuli dicuntur fuiſſe Jeſu Nazareno, quorum nomina, Matthai, ſc. Matthæus, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda, ſc. Thaddæus, qui alio nomine Lebbæus 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 tuum [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 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 Wagenſeil. Conſut. T. I. p. 17.

'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* [Toda] *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 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 hiſtory, and ſaid little about it, the better to keep their own people in ignorance and bondage. Wagenſeil's reflections upon this paſſage are ſomewhat different: I place them[f] below, though nothing material can be ſaid upon what is ſo exceeding trifling.

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 Elieſer are talking together. 'Elieſer[g]

[e] Quod ſi autem quinque tantum diſcipuli hi Jeſu Nazareno fuerunt, unde ergo ſextus, Jacobus Sechanienſis, cujus nomen inter quinque numeratos non apparet? Conſtat hinc, quam fabuloſa ſit Talmudiſtarum narratio de iis quæ contra Chriſtum atque diſcipulus 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 pœnis fuerit animadverſum: etſi magis eſt ut credamus, ab otioſo aliquo, et ſcripturæ dicta, in luſum et jocum ſic detorquente, delirantis ingenioſi oſtentandi cauſſa, ineptias has eſſe confictas. Wagenſ. ibid. p. 18.

[g] In Tr. Avoda Sara, f. 16. 2. Tradiderunt Rabbini....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.

'ſays,

'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 'diſciples 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 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 Elieſer,) did not 'diſpleaſe me.'

5. We will now obſerve ſome paſſages concerning our Saviour's laſt ſufferings.

Says Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 31. 'Theſe things [h] are 'delivered in Sanhedrim [cap. vi. Hal. 4] of one that is guilty 'of ſtoning: If there be no defence found for him, they lead 'him out to be ſtoned, and a crier 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 defence let him come forth and pro'duce it. On which thus the Gemara of Babylon. The tradi'tion is that, on the evening of the Paſſover, Jeſus was hanged, 'and that a crier 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. Whoſo'ever knows of any defence for him, let him come forth and 'produce it: but no defence could be found: therefore they 'hanged him upon the evening of the Paſſover. Ulla ſaith his 'caſe ſeemed not to admit of any defence, ſince he was a ſedu'cer, and of ſuch God has ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not ſpare him nor con'ceal him*: Deut. xiii.

There is another place relating to the ſame event, the death of

[h] I ſhall here put an exact Latin verſion of the ſame. Tr. Sanhedrim. fol. 43. Miſhna. Inventa rea partis innocentia, reus ille liber dimittitur. Sin minus, exit, ut lapidetur. Præco 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 Miſhnæ: præco autem exit ante eum, &c. notatur. Atqui traditio eſt: Die Paraſceves Sabbathi ſuſpenderunt Jeſum, et præco 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 innocentiæ 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.

our

our Saviour, to be taken from the Babylonian Talmud. 'The[1] '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 attempted two, and they bear teſtimony 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; [meaning one who ſeduces to idolatry:] 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 his voice, but he does not 'ſee them: there he, whom ſome time before he had endea-'voured 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 du-'ty, and ſo we ought to do; the witneſſes who are in the outer 'room carry him to the houſe of judgment, 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 Pandira.... His mother was Stada. She was Mary 'the plaiter of women's hair; as we ſay in Pompedita, ſhe de-'parted 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

[1] Sanhedrim. f. 67. 1. Miſhna, de quo Deut. xiii. 6. Ex omnibus qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli inſidiæ collocantur, hoc excepto....Poſtea, in Gemara notatur: Ex omnibus, qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli inſidiæ 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, quæſo, id quod antehac dixiſti hic privatim. Tum, ſi id dicat, hic regerit ei: Quomodo relinquemus Deum noſtrum in Cœlis, et ſervicmus idolis! Ad hoc ſi convertatur, pœnitentiâ 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 Stadæ, [vel Stadtæ] in Lud, et ſuſpenderunt eum in veſpera Paſchatis, ſeu pridie diei Paſchatis. Filius Stadæ filius Pandiræ eſt. Dixit R. Chaſda: Maritus ſeu procus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram.....Maritus Paphus filius Judæ ipſe eſt, mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria, plicatrix capillorum mulierum erat: ſicut dicimus in Pompedita. Declinavit hæc à marito ſuo. Gloſſa: Ideo quia ſcortata hæc erat, vocabatur ita, Schedii Loca Talmud. p. 1, et 2.

'mother

'mother was Satda, namely Mary the plaiter of women's 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 women's 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, 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.

Secondly, but here are many great and notorious falſehoods. 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 falſehood. 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 defence might appear and plead for him: but no defence 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 ſurpriſing to ſee ſuch falſities contrary to well known facts. For the ſufferings of Jeſus, and the circumſtances of them, are recorded in the goſpels, well known hiſtories, written in a language which was then almoſt univerſal in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. That Jeſus was crucified at Jeruſalem, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, under the emperor 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 eaſy to be accounted for; but I apprehend the caſe to be this:

[k] Vid. et Schoid. Loca Talmud. p. 3.

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The rabbins taught and wrote in a language little known to any in the fourth and fifth centuries but themselves, and the men of their own nation. Their people were ignorant, and they endeavoured to keep them so. Their people had a great respect for them, and so they presumed to say whatever they pleased.

6. There seems to be in these writings an acknowledgment of the power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples. 'In [l] the Gemara, upon Avoda Sara, in Bereitha, it is said: No man may converse with heretics, nor receive medicines from them, though the disease be mortal and desperate. Of this there is an example in the son of Dama, nephew to R. Ishmael by his sister: When he had been bit by a serpent, James of Shechania [a disciple of Jesus] came to heal him; but R. Ishmael did not allow it to be done. The son of Dama said to R. Ishmael: O Rabbi Ishmael, 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 [m] is supposed to be an acknowledgment 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.

There is another like instance alleged from the Jerusalem Talmud: 'A [n] child of a son of Rabbi Joses, son of Levi, swallowed

[l] Similis locus habetur infra in Gemara fol. 27. col. 2. med. Sed insto ego. In Bareitha docemur. Non conversabitur quisquam cum hæreticis, neque licet medicinam ab illis admittere, etsi morbus videatur ita desperatus, ut ægrotus non sit ultra unius horæ spatium superfuturus. Exstat quoque hujus rei exemplum in filio Damæ, nepote R. Ismaelis ex sorore, quem cum momordisset serpens, venit Jacobus Secanienſis ad sanandum ipsum. Sed non permisit ei R. Ismael. Dicebat quidem filius Damæ ad R. Ismaelum: O Rabbi Ismael frater, [i. e. cognate, avuncule,] mi! Sine ipsum, ut saner ab ipso. Afferam enim textum e Lege, qui id concedat. Sed nondum absolverat omnia, quæ constituerat dicere, cum jam efflaret animam, atque moreretur. Tum R. Ismael sequentem super ipsum conciunculam habuit. Beatus es, o fili Damæ! 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. [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 præclarum veritatis Evangelicæ testimonium, ab ipsis Judæis dictum. J. Rhenferd. Diss. de Redemtione Marcosiorum et Heracleonit. sect. 1. 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 exivisset ait, ei, quomodo conjurasti eum? Ait ei, tali verbo. Ait ei: Remissius fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, ut non audivisset

'ed

'ed ſomewhat poiſonous. 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 zara.

7. It will certainly be worth the while to take a teſtimony 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 Hanniſah.

'This [q] is the tradition. Rabbi Elieſer ſaid: Go, and ſee how 'the bleſſed and holy God helped Bar-kamtza, and he deſtroyed 'his

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. Joſuæ filii Levi laborabat ab abſorpto; [id eſt, diglutiverat aliquid, quod ipſi in gutture hærebat, et ſuffocationem minabatur.] Venitque quidam, qui illi clam inſuſurravit, [id eſt, juſſit ipſum convaleſcere,] in nomine Jeſu filii Pandiræ. 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: Præſtitiſſet 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. Elieſer: Exi, et vide quanta eſt virtus pudoris, quia ecce Deus Sanctus et Benedictus juvit Barkamtza, et deſtruxit domum ſuam, et exuſſit templum ſuum, et deſolavit Jeruſalem....Ivit Romam, et dixit Neroni Cæſari: Judæi 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 triniam. 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. Zachariæ 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 Cæſarem. 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 Cæſar, 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,

'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-kam-
'tza] went to Rome, and ſaid to the emperor Nero, The Jews have
'rebelled againſt thee. Who ſays this, ſaid the emperor? Kam-
'tza anſwered: Send to them a ſacrifice; ſee if they will offer it.
'Bar-kamtza returned. Nero ſent by him an 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 Zacharias, ſon of Onkelos, ſaid: Shall blemiſhed ſacri-
'fices be offered upon the altar? He that brings blemiſhed ſacri-
'fices into the ſanctuary ought to be put to death. R. Jocha-
'nan ſaid: The ſuperſtition 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 there-
'fore ſent an account of theſe things to Nero.... Nero ſaid: The
'great and bleſſed God has determined 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 emperor
'Nero is dead, and the nobles of the Romans have agreed to
'make thee emperor. 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 blood 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 ſanctuary: 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

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 illa ſicut ſaccum, et adduxit omnia vaſa quæ 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.

'but

'but in the ſea. Pharaoh aroſe and he drowned him in the ſea. 'He has a mind to deſtroy me in the like manner: 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 gnaw-'ed 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 'ſtory of the fly is not to be underſtood literally, but myſtically, 'and allegorically, intending to inſinuate in men's minds a per-'ſuaſion 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.' Nor is it any wonder that ſome ſhould be aſhamed of this ſilly ſtory 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.

Nor has Voiſin alleged any Jewiſh authors, who condemn the horrible ſtory of Titus defiling the ſanctuary of the temple with lewdneſs: though Martini has alleged another Jewiſh writing in great repute, where[s] the ſame ſtory is told with all the ſame horrible, or yet more horrible, circumſtances of filthineſs, 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

[r] Alii aſſerunt 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 doctrinæ 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.

[s] Hucuſque Talmud. Legitur quoque in Midraſh Kohelet ſuper illud Eccleſ. 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.

give

give a looſe to their tongues, to lie and calumniate as they pleaſe: for Titus, when he went into the temple at Jeruſalem all in flames, neither committed lewdneſs 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 waſte, 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, the compaſſion, and equity, in his manner of ſubduing them, as for his military ſkill and courage. Who then are the men who exalt themſelves againſt God?

But I may no longer indulge myſelf in ſuch reflections as theſe. Let us attend for our own benefit. Here is a teſtimony 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 'Eleazar, [t] 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 emperor 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 hiſtory of the war, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

[t] De B. J. l. 2. cap. 17. ſect. 2. p. 192.

CHAP. VI.

JOSEPH BEN GORION, or JOSIPPON.

I. *His age, work, and character.* II. *Extracts from his work; ſhewing his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war with the Romans, and the deſtruc. of Jeruſalem.* III. *Concluding remarks.*

I. WE are now coming to an author of a very extraordinary, or even a ſingular, character, writer of [a] The Jewiſh Hiſtory in ſix books, who ſtyles himſelf Joſippon, or Joſeph Ben Gorion.

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 beginning 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 written the things which have hap-'pened to Iſrael, and his calamities, to be a memorial and in-'ſtruction to his poſterity...From this day, and henceforward, 'this book is to be a teſtimony to other writers who ſhall come 'after me and attempt 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, ex-"cepting 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

[a] Joſippon, ſive Joſephi Ben-Gorionis Hiſtoriæ Judaicæ libri ſex. Ex Hebræo vertit, Præfatione et Notis illuſtravit Joannes Gagnier. A. M. Oxon. 1706, 4to.

[b] Sic ait Joſeph Ben Gorion Sacerdos, qui rerum hiſtoriam texuit, quæ 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 cæteris ſcriptoribus, qui poſt me venturi ſunt, et aggredientur ſcribere, et teſtimonia allegare. Dicent enim: 'Sic et ſic memoriæ prodidit Joſeph Sacerdos, qui eſt princeps ſcriptorum omnium, qui libros ediderunt quot-quot reperti ſunt in Iſrael, exceptis quidem ſcriptoribus quatuor et viginti librorum Sanctorum. lib. 5, c. 36, p. 170.

[c] Quamvis autem hic liber cum cæteris libris in genere conveniat, tamen ratione argumenti plurimum ab eis differt. Differentia autem illa præcipue 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 cæteri omnes libri, qui poſt Scripturas ſacras editi ſunt. Siquidem ante Miſnam et Talmud ſcriptus fuit. Adde quod ſuper virum illum fuit manus Jehovæ, dum hunc librum componeret: et parum abeſt, quin ejus verba ſint verba viri Dei. Præf. R. Tham. De Scopo Libri.

'books

'books in ſome reſpects, it is very different from them in others. 'The great difference between books conſiſts in their truth or 'their falſehood. 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 approacheth nearer to prophecy than any other book 'written ſince the ſacred ſcriptures: for it was written before the 'Miſhna and the Talmud. Upon 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 of this work, 'all [d] Jewiſh writers, whether 'commentators, or hiſtorians, or philologers, continually allege 'it, and quote authorities and teſtimonies from it, as an authentic 'and fundamental book... As for the Greek Joſephus, they have 'little regard for him, or rather none at all; but declaim againſt 'him as a lying hiſtorian, full of falſehoods and flatteries. But 'their Joſippon they extol and magnify as true and almoſt di-'vine.'

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 countries 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

[d] Deinde omnes qui ſecuti ſunt Judæi 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, Græcum 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 prædicant. &c. Gagnier in Præf. p. xxix.

[e] De Joſepho Gorionide ſatis eſt, ſi oſtendero cujas fuit, quando vixit, cujuſmodi ſcriptor eſt. Gallum Judæum fuiſſe ex agro Turononſi non difficile eſt colligere, ut qui plus de illis quam de aliis Galliæ tractibus agat. Recentem admodum fuiſſe arguunt verba locorum recentia, quibus utitur, Tours, Amboiſe, Chinon. Quæ 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 Γαλατας Joſephus vocarit, ex eo ſolo potuit odorari hunc ſcriptorem recentiſſimum eſſe, ac proinde plánum, qui nomen Joſephi Hiſtorici ſibi vindicarit. Jo. Scalig. in Elencho Trihær. Vid. Gagnier. Præf. p. xlviii.

[f] Cæterum eruditis hodie pleriſque dubium non eſt, Joſephum huncce Hebraicum ex Græco, vel potius ex Latina Joſephi verſione eſſe expreſſum, vel exceptum potius: nec Joſephum ipſum auctorem, ſed longe recentiorem aliquem, qui in Britannia Galliæ Armorica non ante nonum

to have been a Jew who lived in Bretagne in France, in the ninth or tenth century. The many modern names of people and countries made uſe of by him plainly declares his late age. His Hebrew hiſtory 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 'Rabbi [g] Saadias Gaon, 'who wrote his commentary upon the book of Daniel in the 'year of Chriſt 936, is the firſt author who has mentioned Jo- 'ſippon 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 Hiſtory of the Jews, has a long article concerning this writer and his work. He ſays Joſippon lived in the tenth or eleventh century; which he argues after this manner: 'Solomon Jarchi, [l] who 'wrote in the year 1140, is the firſt who has quoted this Hebrew 'Joſeph. Abraham Ezra, and Abraham Ben Dion, who by their 'quotations gave the work credit, lived in the ſame age. It 'would be very ſtrange that a work ſhould be unknown for 'three or four hundred years to the nation for whoſe ſake it was 'compoſed. But if it was written near the end of the tenth, or 'the beginning of the eleventh, century, it is not at all ſtrange 'that it did not begin to be taken notice of till ſome while after.'

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 teſtimony to the deſtruction of the temple and Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian and Titus. I have placed

nonum vel decimum ſeculum vixit, et pro lubitu digeſſit, addidit, interpolavit, omiſit quæcunque ipſi videbantur addenda eſſe vel omittenda. . . . Ita recentiora longe Joſepho tempora arguit, quod memorat Francos, et Burgundiæ populum, et Daniſcos, ac Danemanam, et Anglicam gentem, et quæ in Irlandia ſive Hibernia. Fab. Bib. . . lib. 4, c. 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. ſect. xxv. p. 1564.

him

him in the tenth century, not very far from the beginning of it, in the year of Chriſt 930.

II. The work is divided into ſix books and ninety-ſeven chapters. The ſixth and laſt of which books conſiſts of five and fifty chapters.

The forty-third 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 con-'tains the hiſtory of the calamities of the houſe of our ſanctu-'ary, and of our land, and our glory.'

My readers cannot but remember that our Greek [n] Joſephus, 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 Gorion, and Ananus the high-prieſt, to preſide at Jeruſalem. Others were ſent as generals into ſeveral parts of the country; and himſelf, Joſeph ſon of Matthias, was appointed governor of the two Galilees, together with the præfecture 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 'Eleazar his ſon, prieſts alſo, and by lot they divided to them 'the ſeveral parts of the country in which they ſhould carry on 'the war. The third part, which was the firſt lot, containing 'the land of Galilee and Napthali, came out to Joſeph Ben 'Gorion the prieſt; and they called him Joſippon by way of 'praiſe and honour; foraſmuch as he was then anointed with 'the military ointment for the war. The ſecond lot came out 'to Ananus the high prieſt, to govern at Jeruſalem and the ad-'joining country. The third lot came out to Eleazar, ſon of

[m] Sic dicit Joſeph Ben Gorion ſacerdos. Ipſe eſt Joſippon, nomine quidem diminutivo Joſippon... Hic eſt liber ille, quem appellavi titulo, Bella Jehovæ, eo quod continet hiſtoriam calamitatum deſolationis Domus Sanctuarii noſtri, et terræ noſtræ, et gloriæ noſtræ. Lib. 6, c. 43, p. 189.

[n] D. B. J. l. 2, cap. 20.

[o] Quæ omnia cum audiſſent Judæi, elegerunt e ducibus, qui erant in Juda et Jeruſalem tres principes fortiſſimos bello, Me ſcilicet, Joſeph Sacerdotem fortiſſimum bello cum auxilio Jehovæ, et Anani Sacerdotem, et Eleazar Sacerdotem filium eius, et præfecerunt illos ſuper terram, et partiti ſunt terram Judæ inter illos per ſortem, dederuntque illis præſidio manum Judæorum ad bellum gerendum. Et obtigit tertia pars terræ per primam ſortem ſcilicet, omnis terra Galileæ 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. c. 67, p. 293.

'Ananus, and what follows.' This should be compared with what is written by [p] Josephus.

Thus he adopts the appellation of Joseph son of Gorion **; but personates Joseph son of Matthias; and like him he is appointed governor 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 history 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.

Being come into Galilee he there orders things very agreeably to what we have formerly seen in our Greek Josephus. At length he [q] flies from Vespasian and Titus and the Roman army, and shuts himself up in Jotapata. Vespasian [r] with his army 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 chose rather to die 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 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.

[p] De B. Jud. lib. 2, c. 20, sect. 1, 2, 3.

** Gagnier, in his notes upon this place, p. 293, assigns some reasons why this writer chose to be thought the son of Gorion, rather than the son of Matthias. Cur autem hic noster Gorionis filius quam Matthiæ 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. Jos. Havercamp. p. 207.

[q] At vero ut audivit Josephus, quod venit Vespasianus, et cum eo filius ejus Titus, omnisque exercitus ejus, ut prælium committeret, fugit Josephus a facie eorum in Jotapatam urbem magnam, quæ est in Galilæa: et inclusit se Josephus et omnis exercitus intra illam. c. 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.

[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. c. 73, p. 321.

Upon

Upon [z] the death of Nero, and after the ſhort reigns of Galba and Vitellius, Veſpaſian is declared emperor 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 army, 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, leſt 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.

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.

The [e] coronation is then deſcribed by him in a pompous manner; ſeven electors of the empire attending, agreeably to the coronations of the emperors 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 ſe-

[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 præterea 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. [d] Poſtridie illius diei congregati ſunt omnes Senatores Romani, ut Veſpaſianum Cæſarem crearent, ſecundum jus Cæſareæ 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 Cæſaris: attamen vinctum catenis ferreis, et collocavit juxta ſe in loco, unde vidi omnia quæ 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 Cæſaris, 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 Cæſarum, qualis longe poſt tempora Caroli Magni, ſub Romanis Pontificibus inſtituta fuit, præſentibus nempe et miniſtrantibus Septem Imperii Electoribus, cum toto illo apparatu, quem ſuſe 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.

cond. And he conſiders this article as a proof that Joſippon lived in the tenth, or rather in the eleventh, century.

'Soon after his coronation,' as this author ſays, 'Veſpaſian [h] '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 Mon- 'baz, 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 at 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 extant.

Rabbi Iſaac, in his Munimen Fidei, written in the [k] ſixteenth century, 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 [m] and all his counſellors rejoiced at the arrival of Joſeph: 'For he was full of the ſpirit of wiſdom and under- 'ſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and valour, the ſpirit of knowledge 'and of the fear of the Lord.' Iſ. xi. 1, 2. After [n] ſome conſultation it was determined to go up to Jeruſalem and beſiege it. 'For

[h] Poſt aliquot autem dies, ex quo Veſpaſianus Cæſar factus fuit, indignatus eſt adverſus Agrippam, quia calumniati ſunt 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. c. 77, p. 344.

[i] Vid. Gagnier in loc.

[k] Verba, *Væ 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 cœpit Veſpaſianus, eumque una cum Monbaſo filio ſecuri percuſſit tribus et dimidio annis ante templi deſolationem. Cæterum ob illam, quæ 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.

[m] Poſtea Profectus Joſephus Româ venit Alexandriam. Cumque audiſſet Titus de adventu Joſephi, lætatus eſt plurimum ipſe, et omnes ſeniores et ſapientes, qui cum illo erant. Joſephus enim plenus erat ſpiritu ſapientiæ et intelligentiæ, ſpiritu conſilii et fortitudinis, ſpiritu ſcientiæ, et timoris jehovæ. 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 Jehovæ convertatur retrorſum. Ib. p. 347.

'Joſeph

'Joſeph knew that it was of the Lord, and that it was not poſſi-'ble that the word of the Lord ſhould be turned back.' Titus therefore went from Alexandria to Judea.

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 army, to the delightful city of Cæſarea; where he was employed in collecting his forces from all parts, till he had completed his army for beſieging Jeruſalem. There [p] he ſtayed all the winter till the month of Abib, or March. During this whole 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 Je-'ruſalem:' If. xxix. 10. And they deſtroyed, as [r] this writer ſays, a thouſand and four hundred garners, filled with things that might have been uſeful in a ſiege; for there were in them proviſions ſufficient to maintain two hundred thouſand people for twenty years. But by the madneſs of theſe robbers all was conſumed by fire: which brought on the famine in Jeruſalem.

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.

[o] Anno primo regni Veſpaſiani, menſe decimo, die ſeptimo menſis venit Titus cum Joſepho, et cum omnibus copiis ſuis, et exercitu ſuo in urbem Cæſareæ gratiſſimam et deſideratiſſimam omnibus, qui illam viderunt. cap. 79, p. 347.

[p] Manſitque illic, donec complerentur dies brumæ, et dies hiemis, et donec venirent dies Abib. Toto autem hoc anno primo regni Veſpaſiani, quo erectus eſt ſuper regnum Romanorum, . . . ingruerunt prælia duriſſima in medio Jeruſalem inter habitatores ejus per crudelitatem iræ et furoris, et percutiebant unuſquiſque proximum ſuum, nulla interpoſita quiete aut mora. Quinetiam nulla ceſſatio belli fuit inter illos tota hieme, ut poſt eſt univerſæ terræ, ſed et æſtate et hieme duraverunt prælia 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 Cæſareæ dignitatis, ſecundum jus conſuetudinis Romanæ. Ibid. [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 Galileæ, Seniores et viri fide digni, qui æſtimaverunt quantitatem proventus horreorum illorum, invenerunt in illis eſſe commeatus et victus pro ducentis mille animabus per viginti annos. Et tunc in bello latronum, hæc omnia cremata ſunt. Cœpitque fames in Jeruſalem. p. 350. [s] Lamentatus eſt itaque Joſephus lamentationem hanc ſuper Jeruſalem, et dixit. . . c. 80, p. 350 . . . . 355. [t] Lamentatio Joſephi. In Hebræo eſt carmen rithmicum. Quod genus poëſeos multis poſt ſeculis a recentioribus Judæis, Arabum exemplo uſurpatum eſt. Gagn. not. p. 350.

Titus

Titus [u] draws out his numerous forces, and reviews them in a plain near Cæſarea, and then moves toward Jeruſalem.

It is not my intention to relate particularly from this writer, as I have done from Joſephus, the attacks of Titus, and the defences of the people in the city. I ſhall paſs over a great deal.

'Whilſt [x] they were hard preſſed by the Romans, the three 'parties within agreed, and joined together, in oppoſing the com-'mon enemy. But, as ſoon as the Romans gave them any reſpite, 'the three rulers of the robbers within exerciſed a cruel war with 'one another; inſomuch that the blood of the citizens ran like 'a torrent out of the gates of Jeruſalem in the fight of the Ro-'mans, 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 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 Gentiles fighting againſt them. In this ſpeech he goes on and ſays: 'though [a] I am in the camp of the Ro-'mans,

[u] Poſtea Titus venit in planitiem Cæſareæ cum exercitu, et recenſuit exercitum ſuum. &c. cap. 81, p. 355.

[x] Quando inſtabat prælium 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 prælium 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. c. 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 Judæorum. 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, quæ geritis unuſquiſque cum fratre ſuo mox brevi ſiccatæ ſunt apud vos aquæ Siloe. At vero in caſtris Gentium, quando congregatæ ſunt contra vos, ecce aquæ Siloe redundant, et fluunt inſtar torrentis, et fluvii magni pleni ſuper omnes margines ſuos. cap. 85, p. 383, m.

[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 meæ. Neque reſpuo illam, et licet filii ex ea non ſint mihi, nihilominus illam diligo plurimum, cum ſit ex familiis nobiliſſimis et optimis populi Dei,

'mans, 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, he [b] 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 increaſed, and was very grievous. 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.

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 gave him [e] great concern.

Soon after that, [f] Titus, as this author ſays, received numerous recruits from all nations and countries 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

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 ærumnas ſexaginta et quatuor annos exegi, ac nondum attigi terminum, qui poſtulet mortem juxta viam naturæ. &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 præpoſuerunt viros fortiſſimos ad portas.... &c. c. 86, p. 385.

[c] Interea fames ingraveſcebat in Jeruſalem.... Creſcebat autem malum eo uſque, ut populus comederet omne genus reptilium terræ a mure uſque ad araneam, et ad ſerpentem, et muſtellam, et bufonem. ... Si forte inveniretur in Jeruſalem cadaver equi, aut cadaver cujuſlibet beſtiæ, multi ex Iſrael inter ſe pugnabant, et mortui corruebant, dum pugnarent ſuper cadaver beſtiæ, aut ſuper cadaver feræ.... cap. 86, p. 385, 386. [d] Cap. 87, p. 388....391. [e] Cap. 88, p. 391, 392.

[f] Eo tempore congregatæ ſunt innumeræ turbæ ex omnibus gentibus, et venerunt contra Jeruſalem in auxilium Romanorum ex omnibus dominiis Cæſareæ digninatis ad Romam pertinentibus.... Narravit autem Titus ſenioribus gentium, quæ ſibi venerant in auxilium, ea omnia, quæ ſibi contigerant dum oppugnavit Jeruſalem... Narravit etiam, quomodo perdiderant milites ſuos, et principes ſuos,.. omneſque machinas ſuas dirutrices, et omnia inſtrumenta belli, quæ 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 Britaniæ, quinque millia Syrorum, decem millia virorum Africæ, decem millia fortiſſimorum ex viris Borgoniæ, quinque millia de filiis Cedar, decem millia militum ex fortiſſimis Perſarum et Chaldæorum,

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 joined with them, marched in order 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 [h] 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 Gentiles, 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 Jeruſa-'lem: 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 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 cap-'tives, and put out an eye of every one of them, and alſo cut off

dæorum. Et progreſſi ſunt eo ordine, quo venerunt: neque unus Romanus ex illis. Abierunt autem in planitiem, quæ erat e regione Sepulchri Jehochanan ſacerdotis magni. Et cœperunt miſcere prælia cum Judæis, qui erant ſuper murum, et admovere ſcalas cum inſtrumentis ligneis quibus tegebantur, ut aſcenderent ad eos ſupra murum. Ib. p. 394, 395.

[h] Egreſſi ſunt ergo Jehochanan et Eleazarus cum mille et quingentis fortiſſimis Latronum et percuſſerunt turmas gentium plaga gladii, . . a mane diei pugnæ 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 cepe-runt ex eis vivos ter mille principes, cæteris in fugam conjectis. Ex Judæis 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 Jehovæ. Reliquiæ autem fugientium ex turmis nationum illarum reverſæ ſunt ad caſtra Titi cum ignominia. . . Poſtridie Latrones acceperunt tria millia principum, 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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'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 artful 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 army, 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 quarrel 'among themſelves, and thus haſten their ruin; and we ſhall 'overcome.'

'And indeed,' ſays [l] this writer, 'the famine prevailed greatly. '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 eighty-ninth 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 ninetieth chapter, Gorion the

[k] Eo tempore Titus conſilium inivit cum principibus, et militibus ſuis, et cum filiis populi ſui Romanis, et cum populo omnium nationum, quæ cum eis convenerant, dicens: Quid faciemus contra Iſraelem, et contra fortituninem 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 conſumtura eſt: neque etiam dubium eſt, quin, quando viderint nos non amplius miſcere prælia cum illis, ipſi prælia miſceant inter ſe, unuſquiſque adverſus fratrem ſuum. . . . Ib. 395, 396.

[l] Porro, niſi graſſata fuiſſet fames in Jeruſalem, nunquam perrupta fuiſſet urbs, neque capta in æternum. Fortes enim Iſrael erant velociores aquilis, et fortiores leonibus. Ib. p. 396.

[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 vinctus catenis ferreis, et in vinculis æreis in una e turribus Jeruſalem. Ipſe autem ſenex proceſſerat in dies,

the prieſt, father of Joſeph, who wrote this book for Iſrael, to be a memorial and teſtimony 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 one hundred and three years of age, and his mother eighty-five.

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 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.

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 ripped up by the Arabian and Syrian ſoldiers which were in the army of Titus. Some of the Roman ſoldiers did the like. In this practice 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 army. Joſephus ſays that [q] two thouſand of the Jews were thus cruelly deſtroyed by the Syrian and other ſoldiers for

bus, 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, c. xiii. numb. 1, 2, 3.

p Porro Judæi, 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 fodio ſuo.... Tum apprehenderunt illos, et ſciſſis eorum viſceribus, invenerunt intra viſcera aurum, et lapides pretioſos.... Factuſque numerus ſciſſorum 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 patraverant hujuſmodi facinus peſſimum, et jugulari, ac deinde dari omnes facultates eorum Judæis vivis hæredibus 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, c. xiii. §4, 5. p. 361, 362.

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the ſake of the gold hid in their bodies. He alſo ſays, Titus was much diſpleaſed, 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 heavy puniſhment.

This author moreover ſays, that 'ſtrict [r] 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 un-'moleſted in his camp.' All fiction from this author's fruitful invention! And the ſtory 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 ſtory 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 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, leſt they 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

[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 ciſternæ unius. Et deinceps Judæi cum fiducia in caſtris Titi degebant, neque ultra fuit adverſarius, aut incurſus malus. Sed quotieſcunque Romanus inveniebat Judæum 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 infinitam plebem, quotquot exibant ab urbe, et ſuſpendebant illos ad arbores ex adverſo portæ 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 quærebant 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 Judæis. Itaque Titus præcepit 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.

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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 endeavoured 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 army 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.

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 proceeds, [x] in the ninety-ſecond chapter, 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 fancy.

At the beginning of the [y] ninety-third 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 ſtory 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 ſanctuary were opened on the ninth day of the fifth month, the ſame day of the month in the which it had been

[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. [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 Chaldæorum. Et ſtatim ut aperuerunt Romani portam Sancti Sanctorum, et ceperunt illud, tunc vero vociferati ſunt clamore magno mirum in modum præ lætitia.... Cucurrit autem Titus totis viribus ſuis, ut extingueret ignem..., Ac tandem deſeſſus 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 conſumta 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 cœlorum, et tabernaculum ejus.... Quia magna eſt majeſtas Domus hujus, et magnus ſplendor majeſtatis templi ejus longe ſupra Templum Romanorum, et omnia Templa nationum, quæ vidi..... Deinde ſurrexerunt Romani, et extincto incendio, idola, et imagines ſuas in Templo ſtatuerunt. Et obtulerunt eis holocauſta, et probro affecerunt Judæos, et legem eorum coram idolis ſuis blaſphemarunt. cap. 94, p. 436....438.

opened

opened in the time of the Chaldeans. The ſoldiers rejoiced greatly. But Titus was much concerned, and ran towards 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 ſet up their idols and images in the temple, and offered ſacrifices to them, and reviled the Jews, and blaſphemed their law before their idols.

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 ſtar 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 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 mournful 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 ſtyle from

[b] De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. num. 3.

[c] Neque Judæi animum adverterant ad verba ſignorum, quæ contigerunt in Jeruſalem....Nam anno uno antequam veniret Veſpaſianus, apparuit ſuper Templum ſtella quædam ſcintillans inſtar formæ 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.

* Porro quatuor annis ante hæc ſigna fuit vir quidam in Jeruſalem, de populo terræ, ſeu plebeius, nomine Jehoſhua, filius Chananiæ, et cœpit 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 Judæi ad montem Sion. Cap. 95, in. p. 440.

Joſephus, who has never uſed the word Sion in his writings, but always deſcribes that part of the city by other names.

Now [c] ſome prieſts came to Titus entreating mercy; 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 army with vigour.

At [h] this time Zarach [or Izates] of royal deſcent, and his brothers, 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.

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 ſanctuary, 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

[c] 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. 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 erat de filiis Regum, de monte Sion cum fratribus ſuis, et cum omnibus filiis ſeminis regii,...et venerunt ad Titum, qui excepit illos cum honore,....et benigne tractavit...Cum ergo vidiſſent Jochanan et Simon principes Latronum abiiſſe Izatam cum cæteris filiis Regis,...abierunt ipſi, et combuſſerunt omnia, quæ 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. Cæteri vero eorum, qui erant cum eis, et principes Jeruſalem, et nobiles Judæ,.... 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, quæ 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 pretioſis, cum magna copia gemmarum...Quæ omnia donavit Tito, a quo benigne acceptus eſt. ....Ib. p. 442.

[l] Tunc temporis egreſſus eſt Gorion, ſacerdos,

writer of this hiſtory; 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 country. 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 enemy 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 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 mercy of him; but Titus commanded him to be bound with heavy 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.

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. 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 ſecundæ, et omnia vaſa aurea, quæ apud ſe habebat de vaſis Domus Jehovæ. *Ib.* p. 443.

* According to Joſephus, Gorion was put to death by the zealots, before the ſiege of the city began: ſee above, p. 71, and De B. J. l. 4, cap. vi. ſect. 1. What therefore this author ſays of his father and mother muſt be all fiction and falſehood.

[m] Tunc itaque temporis capta fuit Jeruſalem, cum omnibus rebus deſirabilibus eius. Deinde aſcendit Titus in montem Sion, et cepit illum. Juſſit autem deſtrui murum civitatis Sion. Jam vero elapſo triduo deficiebat anima Jehochananis principis Latronum, præ 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, quæſo. Domine mi Rex. Tunc juſſit illum Titus conſtringi vinculis ferreis graviſſimis, et obduci 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 latebræ ſuæ, 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 præfectus militiæ 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, quemadmodum fecerant Jehochanani. Erat autem vinctus catenis æreis. Tum denique juſſit Titus interfici illum in vinculis. Itaque amputaverunt illi caput antequam moreretur. Tum diſſecuerunt eum in partes, et projecerunt membra cadaveris ejus canibus. Ib. p. 443, 444.

And now alſo immediately 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 army 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, 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 neighbouring country, 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 country; 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

[n] Porro numerus totius populi eorum, qui occiſi ſunt, quatenus potuerunt cognoſci tunc gladio cecidiſſe ſive per Romanos, ſive per Latrones, ex populo Judæorum, ſive qui de proximo, ſive qui de longinquo venerant ad feſtum, feſtum ſcilicet Jehovæ in Jeruſalem, et reſtiterant illic propter obſidionem, corrueruntque gladio: numerus, inquam, fuit millia millium, et centum millia: præter 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. Præter eos quoque, qui poſtea mortui ſunt cum Eleazaro, filio Anani ſacerdotis, poſt mortem Jehochananis, et Simonis, Latronum et Tyrannorum crudelium.

Numerus autem populi ex Judæis, 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 quoad cæteros ex eis, quos Titus cepit vivos, ne unum ex eis vivere paſſus fuit: ſed omnes Latrones reſiduos, quotquot vivos comprehendit, interfecit Titus morte proboſa, et ignominioſa in Jeruſalem. Quoſdam tamen ex eis ſecum ſuperſtites aſſervavit, ut contumelia eos afficeret per ſingulas urbes tranſitûs 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 Judæis: 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.

Rome,

Rome, he ordered ſome of them to be thrown to lions, and other wild beaſts, until 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 I ſee, is quite omitted by our author, as alſo the triumph of Veſpaſian and Titus for their conqueſt of Judea.

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 country of Judea had been ſubdued by the Romans, uncircumciſed and idolatrous people: facts which he could not deny, or diſown, however diſhonourable and reproachful 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 ſlavery to uncircumciſed Gentiles: ſo it ſeems to me. And I think it may deſerve to be taken notice of by us, that in the fictitious hiſtory 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 Veſpaſian 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 pro-'miſing that he would for the future be a faithful counſellor to 'the emperor, and ſerve him according to the utmoſt of his abi-'lity: which petition was granted by the emperor; and all 'Iſraelites, who had been bound at Rome, were ſet at liberty.'

[o] Dixit vero Joſephus: Nonne opprobrium mihi eſt referari a me catenas ferreas, et interim vincula filiorum Iſrael, qui mecum ſunt Romæ, non etiam referari tuo juſſu? Si ergo nunc audieris me, quandoquidem inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, ſolves quæſo, vincula omnium Iſraelitarum, qui mecum ſunt Romæ, et ero tibi conſiliarius fidelis omnibus diebus, et inimicus ero inimicis tuis, et adverſabor adverſariis tuis. Fecit itaque Veſpaſianus ſecundum ſermonem Joſephi, et ſolvit omnia vincula omnium vinctorum filiorum Iſrael, qui erant cum Joſepho Romæ. Lib. 6. cap. 78. p. 346.

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 fertile invention, who says what he pleaseth.

After this our author [p] tells the story 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 enemy: 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 sort of poesy, as Gagnier [u] observes, very different from that among the Hebrews at the time when their temple was destroyed,

'Woe [x] is now unto us!
'For the city of our glory is laid waste,
'And the house of our sanctuary is thrown down.
'In which our hope was placed,

'And

[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 accersunt, 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 Judæi contra proprias ipsorum animas, donec omnes absumerentur in prælio illo mortui pro Jehova, et pro sanctuario ejus. Huc usque desinunt Bella Domûs secundæ. Cap. 97, p. 452.

[t] Tunc lamentatus fuit Josephus Sacerdos Dei, lamentationem hanc....p. 452.

[u] Lamentatio Ben Gorionis ultima, eaque Rithmica, quam ut Leoninæ cujusdam inter Judæos specimen poeseos non injucundum hic Hebraice subjunximus. Ee credat Lector, si potest, sine risu, hanc ab ipso Flavio Josepho compositum fuisse tempori Templi excidii. Gagnier Not. p. 452.

[x] Væ nunc nobis.
Quia desolata est civitas gloriæ nostræ.
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 hæreditate Patrum nostrorum.
Neque ad Deum [extendimus] manus nostras.
Ut liberaremur de exiliis nostris
Quæ aggravaverunt super nos.
In illum [commissæ] iniquitates nostræ.
Et redegerunt nos in captivitatem peccata nostra.
Et humiliaverunt in terram capita nostra prævaricationes nostræ.
Sed adhuc veniet dies, et terminus

Redemtionis,

'And all the deſires of our hearts.
'And our temple is conſumed with fire.
'And we have been carried out of our country,
'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 beginning.

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 we have ſeen both built and de-'ſtroyed; but it ſhall be raiſed a third time in honour and glory,

Redemtionis, et adjiciet Deus noſter,
Ut recordetur juramenti ſui ad Patres noſtros.
Et ædificabit 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 proſternet inimicos noſtros.
Et humiliabit oſores noſtros.
Et perdet, et delebit hoſtes noſtros.
Et nos reſtituet, ſicut in principio.

Cap. 97, p. 452, 453.

[y] Et laudaverant Jehovam cum gaudio.....propter ædificium Domus Jehovæ, quam vidimus, et ædificatam, devaſtatam. Sed adhuc reædificabitur tertio cum laude, et celebritate, et gloria, et firmabit eam Jehova in æternum. l. 6, cap. 55, p. 243.

'and ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.' And in like manner in another [a] place. He is therefore a good witneſs 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.

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 '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 judgments were in righteouſneſs; 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 wickedneſs, as we 'have ſhewn in this hiſtory.'

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

[a] 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, viz. 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 Chorographia Terræ Iſraelis. Cap. xv. lii. et lxxxiv. Gagn. Not. p. 454.

[c] Regnavit autem Titus duobus annis poſtquam cepit Jeruſalem, et mortuus eſt. Porro Titus Rex fuit ſapiens, magnus in ſcientia eloquentiæ, tum in lingua Græca, tum in lingua Romana, et compoſuit libros multos cum ſapientia Græce 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.

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conferred by him upon the Jews. Titus alſo, as all know, is much commended in the Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War, written 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 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 eaſy to comprehend: but they continue to pay reſpect to this author as well as to the Talmudical doctors.

Reland, [e] likewiſe, in his notes upon the triumphal arch of Titus, takes notice of the grievous reproaches and ſcandalous reflections upon him in the Jewiſh writers; whereby they have ſhewn that they are ſkilful in the art of ſlandering, and ſpare not when they attempt it. Moreover, in this their enmity to Titus, they bear witneſs 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.

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 witneſs to the burning of the temple, and the taking of Jeruſalem, and the conqueſt of Judea, by the forementioned emperors: to thoſe events he has borne his teſtimony, and his teſtimony 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 be-'cauſe of the robbers and their wickedneſs.'

[d] Hic magna eſt diſcordia Ben-Gorionem inter et Talmudicos Doctores, quam non diſſitentur ipſi Rabbini. Nec deeſſe tamen aſſerunt 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 prædicari legerit, ipſeque Flavium Joſephum ſecutus illum ſæpius multis elogiis ornaviſſet, non auſus fuit ſuos Doctores Talmudicos cum famæ ſuæ diſpendio ſequi, ne videlicet ſibi contrarius videretur Gagn. p. 456.

[e] Hebræi 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 Degis 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 Titiano, cap. 13, p. 130, 131.

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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 witneſs 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 can I well ſee how any unbelieving Jews can make ſuch acknowledgments. Rabbi Iſaac, in his Munimen Fidei above quoted, which is written againſt the Chriſtians, quotes John xix. 15. *The chief-prieſts anſwered: We have no king but Cæſar.* Upon which he remarks in this manner: 'This [f] ſhews that, before Jeſus was crucified, the Jews 'were ſubject to the Roman emperors. The emperor here in-'tended was Tiberius, who ſent Pilate to preſide at Jeruſalem, 'as appears from the third chapter of Luke at the beginning. 'This may ſuffice for an anſwer to an objection of the Nazarenes, '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 diſtreſs, 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 extraordinary: 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 endeavour, ſome how or other, to evade the

(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 Meſ-'ſias, et occiſus eſt ſententiâ judiciali, &c. 'ille fuit cauſſa, cur Iſrael gladio perierit, et 'reliquiæ Iſrael diſperſæ ſint, et depreſſæ, '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] Hæc ibi. Ecce hoc dicto oſtenditur, ante Jeſu cruci affixionem jam dum Cæſares Romanos Judæis imperitaſſe. Atque is Cæſar [de quo ibi ſermo] Tiberius fuit, qui Pilatum Hieroſolymis præfecerat, ceu conſtat ex capitis III. Lucæ initio. Valebit hoc pro reſponſo adverſus objectionem Nazaræorum, qua clamitant, Judæos propter peccatum ſuſpenſionis Jeſu perdidiſſe regnum ſuum, &c. R. Iſacci Munimen Fid. p. 446. Conf. p. 55, 56. ibid.

argument

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 'the [g] differences between 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 hiſtory of the Jewiſh war written 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 are both fond of their own people: but Joſephus was indeed contemporary with the events which he records, and with the principal actors in them, and therefore he muſt have the preference. This author is a plagiary, 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 politeneſs, 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 Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War, written by Flavius Joſephus, we had palmed upon us the Hiſtory of the Wars of Jehova, written by Joſippon; who neither was the ſon of Gorion, who preſided at Jeruſalem, nor the ſon of Matthias, who governed in Galilee.

CHAP. VII.

A recollection of the foregoing articles, and reflections upon them.

I. *The preceding articles recollected.* II. *Reflections 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 improperly

[g] Cæterum, ob illam, quæ 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. 168, note [k].

[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 teſtimony, nor ſuch witneſſes. I have looked it over ſeveral times, with an intention to give ſome account of it; but,

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, beginning with Joſephus.

Two things are to be regarded by us—their teſtimony to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

In Joſephus there is a paragraph where JESUS is mentioned very honourably, 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 teſtimony to his preaching, and therein calling men to the practice 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 forerunner 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 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

but, after all, I could not perſuade myſelf to attempt it: for it is a modern work, written in the 14th or 15th century, and is throughout, from the beginning to the end, burleſque and falſehood; 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 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, ſect. iv. in the verſion of Dr. John Clarke. And I refer to Wagenſeil's Confutation of the Toldoth Jeſchu.

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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 century.

In the Talmudical writings Jeſus is mentioned: but as Lightfoot, who was well acquainted with them, ſays, it was 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 countrymen as an extraordinary perſon.

That is the ſum of their teſtimony 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.

Concerning the other point, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, their teſtimony is more material, indeed very valuable. Joſephus, without intending it, has borne teſtimony 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 teſtimony has been repeated, with ſome variations, in Joſippon's Hiſtory 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.

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. Iſ. xlv. 7. *I form the light, and create darkneſs: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all theſe things.* But if God inflict calamities upon any

* See above, p. 143,...147.

people,

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 family, 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 improvement might be expected; if they tranſgreſs the laws of God, their puniſhment will be exemplary: nor could any thing elſe, but ſin, alienate the mind of God from them. If. lix. 1, 2: *Behold the Lord's hand is not ſhortened, that it cannot ſave: neither is his ear heavy, 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 Deuteronomy, 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 thine 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, 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, until thy high and fenced 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 thine own body, the fleſh of thy ſons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given*

thee,

thee, in the ſiege, and in the ſtraitneſs, wherewith thy enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee. So that the man, who is 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 ſtraitneſs, wherewith thine 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 delicateneſs and tenderneſs, 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 ſtraitneſs, wherewith thine enemy 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 fearful name, the Lord thy God: then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, 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 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.

Ex. xx. 18, 19: *And all the people ſaw the thunderings, and the lightenings, and the noiſe of the trumpets and the mountain ſmoking. ....And they ſaid unto Moſes: Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God ſpeak with us, leſt we die.*

Deut. v. 22....29. *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your aſſembly in the mount, out of the midſt of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkneſs, with a great voice....And it came to paſs, when ye heard the voice out of the midſt of the darkneſs (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 glory, and his greatneſs, 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; O 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 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 aſſembly, 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 terrors 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

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 die. And, if thou ſay in thy heart, How ſhall we know the word which the Lord has not ſpoken? 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 prodigy, or ſome work above the ordinary 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 heart, 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 of Iſrael to worſhip other gods; but ſuppoſing it, he was nevertheleſs to be diſregarded.

In all other caſes, the rule here laid down for judging of prophets would hold, and was to be obſerved by all. If a man propoſed ſome extraordinary work as a proof of his miſſion, which was not performed, he was not to be regarded. So all the falſe-prophets, ſpoken of by Joſephus, who appeared in the times of Felix, Feſtus, and other governors of Judea, ſome while before

the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, in order to induce people to follow them, in hopes of deliverance from ſubjection to the Romans, engaged that they ſhould *ſee the walls of Jeruſalem fall down before them*, to give them eaſy entrance into the city; or that they *ſhould ſee the waters of Jordan divided*, that they might go over upon dry ground; or *that God would ſhew them ſigns in the wilderneſs*, and the like. But nothing of that kind came to paſs.

But if a prophet gave, or propoſed a ſign or wonder in proof of his miſſion, and it came to paſs, or was performed, it would be deciſive in his favour. So, when there were murmurings and diſputings among the people of Iſrael in the wilderneſs, which tribe ſhould have the prieſthood, it was propoſed 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, ſhould be laid up in the tabernacle, before the teſtimony*; and his rod which bloſſomed ſhould be known to be the man whom God had choſen. *Moſes then laid up the rods before the Lord, in the tabernacle of witneſs. And it came to paſs, that on the morrow Moſes went into the tabernacle of witneſs: and behold, the rod of Aaron, for the houſe of Levi, budded, and brought forth bloſſoms, and yielded almonds. And Moſes brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Iſrael; and they looked, and took every man his rod:* Numb. xvii. So that point was determined, and the *murmurings of the children of Iſrael ceaſed.* And 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 can not be otherwiſe. The conſequence of diſobedience to the word of the Lord, ſo manifeſted and confirmed, muſt be dreadful.

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 myſelf: 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, even as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpeak.* Ch. viii. 42. *I proceeded forth and came from God: neither came I of myſelf, 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

all men. John v. 31, 32, 33. *If I bear witneſs of myſelf, my witneſs is not true. There is another that beareth witneſs of me, and I know that the witneſs which he witneſſeth of me is true. Ye ſent unto John, and he bare witneſs unto the truth.* 36. *But I have greater witneſs than that of John; for the works which the Father hath given me to finiſh, they bear witneſs 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 teſtimony 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 be 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 beginning.* 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 houſeholder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-preſs in it, and built a tower, and let it out to huſbandmen, and went into a far country. 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*

[b] Si quis Paganus ab ipſis Judæis quærat, 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 Eliſæo [2 Reg. cap. iv.] auctum apud viduam oleum, purgatum [cap. v.] ſubito a mala ſcabie Syrum, hoſpitæ [ib. iv.] filium ad vitam revocatum, et ſimilia alia credunt Judæi, non aliam ſane ob cauſſam, quam quod teſtes bonæ fidei id proditum ad poſteros tranſmiſerunt. Grot. de V. R. C. l. v. § ii. [c] De Eliæ vero in cœlum raptu unius Eliſæi, tanquam viri omni exceptione majoris, teſtimonio fidem habent. At nos de Chriſti adſcenſu in cœlum duodecim proferimus teſtes vitæ inculpatæ: de Chriſto poſt mortem in terris viſo multo plures. Quæ ſi vera ſunt, verum ſit neceſſe eſt Chriſti dogma: planeque nihil a Judæis pro ſe adferri poteſt, quod non et nobis pari, aut potiori jure poſſit aptari. Grot. ib.

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:* Pſalm cxviii. 22, 23. *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.

Here our Lord ſpeaks of the ancient prophets, and then of himſelf, and ſhews the dreadful 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 blood 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 blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood 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 ga-*

[d] See vol. i. p. 398, &c.

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thered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not. Behold your houſe is leſt 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 blood ſhed from the foundation of the world had been required of them.

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 Hebrews, 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 Stephen.* And, ch. vii. 58, *When he was ſtoned, the witneſſes laid down their clothes at a young man's feet whoſe name was Saul.* And afterwards, chap. 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 governor Feſtus, Acts xxvi. 9...12, he ſays himſelf: *I verily thought with myſelf that I ought to do many things contrary 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 unto 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 hiſtory 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. 24, 25. Of which great danger, and his wonderful 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, *they went about to ſlay him*, Acts ix. 29. For which cauſe the diſciples found it prudent to bring him down to Cæſarea, 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

among Jews and Gentiles, *the Jews, moved with envy, ſtirred up the devout and honourable 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 Gentiles. *But the unbelieving Jews ſtirred up the Gentiles, 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 Gentiles 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 lieth 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 cripple 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 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 emperor himſelf, notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſitions of the Roman governors, 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 cuſtody, *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:* chap. xxviii. 30, 31. And then he was ſet at liberty, and went abroad again.

Thus the Jews reſiſted the council 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 contrary to all men: forbidding us to ſpeak to the Gentiles, 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 Governor 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 putteth 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. 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 inteſtine feuds and diviſions, or otherwiſe, was very extraordinary, and even unparalleled, as we know from Joſephus, a contemporary writer of their own nation, and from Joſippon, a Jew likewiſe, and from others.

Joſephus, who was a witneſs 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, 'If [c] Ceſtius had continued the ſiege 'a little longer, he would have taken the city; but God, as I 'think, for the wickedneſs of the people, abhorring his own ſo-'lemnities, 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, 'It [f] 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 tranſ-

[c] See before in this volume, p. 63. [f] p. 70. [g] p. 78.

'greſſions

'greſſions which they had been guilty of.' And 'Never [h] did 'any city endure ſo great calamities: nor was there ever from 'the beginning of the world any time more fruitful of wicked-'neſs.' Again, 'Indeed [i] it was God who had condemned the 'whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their pre-'ſervation.' When the temple was burning, he ſays, 'Certain-'ly [k] the divine ſentence had long ago condemned it to the fire.' He alſo obſerves that 'they [l] did not attend to the prodigies 'which evidently foretold their deſolation; but like men infa-'tuated, who have neither eyes to ſee, nor minds to conſider, 'they diſregarded the divine denunciations.' He alſo obſerves that 'the [m] 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 inha-'bited.' 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, 'The [o] 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 hiſtory through the ſeveral periods of it: for they 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 error and vice, and the bad conſequences of their deviations from truth and virtue: Gen. iii. 15.

[h] p. 79. [i] p. 82. [k] p. 85. [l] p. 86. [m] p. 97. [n] p. 98. [o] p. 99.

For

For theſe ends God choſe Abraham, and brought him out of [p] *Ur of the Chaldees. When he called him out of his country, 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 increaſed, after their ſojourning a while in Egypt, where they had been treated in a ſervile manner, God brought them out of that country, with a *mighty hand and an out-ſtretched arm*, working many great and conſpicuous miracles for their ſafety. Whilſt they were in the wilderneſs 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 powerful 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 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 pattern of the porch, and of the houſes thereof* [or of the houſe, and the apartments thereof] *and of the treaſuries 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 myſelf for an houſe of ſacrifice.* 15, 16, *Now mine eyes ſhall be open, and mine eyes*

[p] Gen. xv. 7. Neh. ix. 7. [q] Dedit autem David Salomoni filio ſuo deſcriptionem....id eſt, dedit ei formam conſpicuam, qualem Deus animo inſcripſerat, ut dicitur infra, ver. 19. Grot.

attent

attent unto the prayer that is made in this place. For now have I choſen and ſanctified this houſe, that my name may be there for ever, and mine 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 bye-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 hath 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 of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worſhipped them; and ſerved them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

And though God is ever merciful, and full of compaſſion, *and forgave their iniquity, and many a time turned away his anger, and did not ſtir 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, until 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 ſanctuary, 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 wall of Jeruſalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and deſtroyed all the goodly veſſels thereof. And them that had eſcaped from the ſword carried he to Babylon: where they were ſervants to him, and his ſons, until 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 fifty-ſecond 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, Jer. xxv. 1...11.

The

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, 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 hath come unto me, and I have ſpoken unto you, riſing early, and ſpeaking, but ye have not hearkened. And the Lord hath 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 one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath 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 own 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 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 worſhipped. 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

[r] Jeremiah ſeems there to intend, as prophets of former times, ſo alſo ſome who were contemporary with him, two of which are mentioned in ſcripture, Zephaniah, whoſe prophecies we have, and Urijah, mentioned here ch. xxvi. 20. See Lowth upon the place. And ſays Grotius upon ver. 1. A tertio anno regni Joſiæ. ....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] Prædictio inſignis, ob ita exactam temporis deſignationem. Grot.

made

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 country, he alſo gave orders for the reſtoring of theſe veſſels, as related at the beginning 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 hath 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 numbered them unto Sheſhbazzar the prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thouſand chargers of ſilver, nine-and-twenty knives: thirty baſons of gold: ſilver baſons, of a ſecond ſort, four hundred and ten, 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 Joſedech, 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 proſpered 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

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, governor 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 this houſe in its firſt glory? 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: for 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 glory, 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 beginning to lay the foundation of the temple, it is ſaid: Ezra iii. 10. *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 ordinance 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

nities 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 family 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 Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron: and he executed the prieſt's office before God at the temple, in the order of his courſe. Luke i. 5....12. *Anna, a propheteſs*, 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 army.

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 pro-'claimed 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 Jeruſalem, were forty years more; five hun-'dred 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 exactneſs: however, I refer to [y] Prideaux, who may be conſulted.

[t] The temple, as it ſtood in the time of our Saviour, ch. 40, p. 2063.

[u] Ib. p. 2064.

[x] 'If Jeruſalem was deſtroyed ex-'actly 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 re-'paired 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.

III. I ſhall now ſhut up theſe reflections with ſome 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 enjoined, by all the worſhippers 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 reſpect unto the prayer of thy ſervant....That thine 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 heareſt forgive.* See likewiſe ver. 45....50.

And when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven, and conſumed the burnt-offering, and the ſacrifice; and the glory 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 for ever: and mine 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, he kneeled down upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore time.* Comp. 1. Kings, viii. 48. Pſ. v. 3. Jonah, ii. 4. And the Lord Jeſus was often at Jeruſalem, eſpecially at the great feſtivals. And twice in the courſe of his miniſtry he cleared the temple of

[a] See his letter to Hiram, king of Tyre. 2 Chr. ii. 1....7.

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ſome abuſes and encumbrance, and ſeverely rebuked thoſe who practiſed thoſe indecencies, 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. 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 hath not been done as hath been done upon Jeruſalem.* It was a calamity not eaſy 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 hands of the Romans, or by their own inteſtine 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 beginning 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 ſecond captivity has now already laſted almoſt ſeventeen hundred years, without any the leaſt 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 beginning 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 ſatisfactory interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, ch. ii. and iv. and Daniel's great advancement, and ſome other extraordinary 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 country, and to their happy ſettlement in it. But we hear not of any ſuch like favourable appearances in the preſent captivity and diſperſion.

Obſ. 5. All theſe calamities, thoſe of the former and of the latter 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 acknowledgment 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

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not repent, faithful 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 intruſted with the mind of God, muſt faithfully deliver both promiſes to obedience, and threatenings to diſobedience, as 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 judgments, 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 witneſs 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. 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. xxxvi. 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 judgments. 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 obſtinacy and irreclaimableneſs. This is repreſented by our Lord in the parable of the fig-tree. Luke xiii. 6....10. and of the huſbandman, 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 cumbereth 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 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 wonderful 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 offences, that occaſioned the great calamity which befel 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 overruling 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. And this 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 hath 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*

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brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worſhipped them, and ſerved them. Therefore hath 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 awful 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 worſhipped them, and ſerved them.* For after the return from the Babyloniſh captivity, they were for the moſt part free from the ſin of idolatry, 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 attendance on the temple at Jeruſalem, to which they reſorted 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*, Luke xxiv. 19. who ſpake as never man ſpake before, and performed many wonderful 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 awful, 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 they have 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.*

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 Taci-

[b] See the paſſages of thoſe heathen authors, and of Joſephus, all alleged Vol. i. p. 132..135.

tus, 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 Hiſtory 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, 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 baptize 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 wonderful 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 teſtimony 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.

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*

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 offence, 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 practice of heathen idolatry, 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 judgments.* So now the greatneſs of their guilt lay in rejecting and crucifying Jeſus the Meſſiah. But that would not have been done if wickedneſs had not greatly prevailed among them. Joſephus owns, that 'never was there a time more fruitful of wick-'edneſs 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 faithful 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 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 uneaſy and impatient under the Roman government, to which, by the diſpoſal of Divine Providence, they were ſubject. They were very deceitful and hypocritical, who *devoured widows houſes, and for a pretence 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 rendered all exhortations to repentance fuitleſs and ineffectual. See Matt. 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. Among the Scribes and Phariſees were many men of very good abilities. Their acuteneſs and ſubtilty 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 Eſſenes, 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 uſeful 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 goodneſs, 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

vailing 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 hiſtory 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 witneſs to the ſpotleſs life, and excellent doctrine, and wonderful 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 hiſtory 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 Cæſar, 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, beginning 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 hath he done? I have found no cauſe of death in him. I will therefore chaſtiſe 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 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

the multitude, ſaying: I am innocent of the blood of this juſt perſon: ſee ye to it. Then anſwered all the people, and ſaid: His blood 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 witneſs; as alſo to the reſurrection of Jeſus, and his aſcenſion to heaven, and to the plentiful 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, beginning 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 perſe-'cuted 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 witneſs: 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 Jerom [d] and by Prudentius [e] in their own language.

[d] Multa, Judæe, ſcelera commiſiſti, cunctis, circa te ſerviſti nationibus. Ob quod factum? Utique, propter idololatriam. Quumque ſerviſſes, crebro miſertus tui eſt Deus: et miſit judices et ſalvatores, qui te de famulatu Moabitarum et Ammoritarum, Philiſtiim quoque et diverſarum gentium liberarunt. Noviſſime ſub regibus offendiſti Deum, et omnis tua provincia, gente Babylonica veſtante, 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. Quæ paſſi ſitis a Medis, Ægyptis, 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 præcipue Jeroſolymæ inſultavere. Ad extremum ſub Veſpaſiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque ſubverſum eſt. Deinde civitatis uſque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos manſere reliquiæ. Poſt everſionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos et urbis et templi ruinæ 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 hæreditas. Et: Non habemus regem, niſi Cæſarem. Habes quod elegiſti, uſque ad finem mundi ſerviturus es Cæſari, 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 Pompeianæ

language. 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 can it be ſaid that God has been unrighteous in his dealings with them. All theſe judgments 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 forgiveneſs, 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 hiſtory 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 faithful 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 teſtimony 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 memory of the tranſactions and ſufferings of Jeſus in Judea; and of his own veracity in *performing the mercy promiſed to their fathers, and the oath which he ſware to Abraham.* Luke i. 72, 73. Gen. xxii. 15....18. and, that *when the fulneſs of the time was come, he ſent forth his ſon, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem* man-

> Pompeianæ acies: quibus extirpata per omnes
> Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
> Exiliis vagus, huc illuc fluitantibus errat
> Judæus, poſtquam Patriâ de ſede revulſus,
> Supplicium pro cæde luit, Chriſtique negati
> Sanguine reſperſus commiſta piacula ſolvit.
>
> Prud. Apoth. ver. 38, &c.

[f] Adverſus Judæos Or. vi. T. i. p. 652, 653. [g] See Vol. x. p. 82. [h] Contr. Celſ. l. 2. ſect. 13. Bened. p. 69. Spenc, l. 4. ſect. 22. Bened. p. 174. Sp. et ſect. 73. Ben. p. 212. Sp. l. 8. ſect. 42. Ben. p. 405. Spenc. ſeu Cantab.

kind

kind from idolatry, 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 Gentiles have ſought.* If. xi. 1, 2, 3, 10. He was born of a *virgin*, If. 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 hath brought forth judgment to the Gentiles.* If. xlii. 1. *He hath been a light to lighten the Gentiles, and ſalvation to the ends of the earth.* If. xlix. 6. *The iſles waited for his law and have received it.* If. xlii. 4. *And the earth is now full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the ſea.* If. xi. 9. We have *a new heaven, and a new earth,* If. lxv. 17. *All the gods of the earth have been famiſhed.* Zeph. ii. 11. Heathen idolatry, once ſo general, and ſo much delighted in by princes and people, is now no more in this part of the 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 righteouſneſs and mercy; 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 worſhippers of God ſhall worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth,* John iv. 21....23. And *in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs, 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. If. xliv. 3. Acts ii. 17. And *all men now know God from the leaſt to the greateſt of them.* Jerem. xxxi. 3, 4. All have juſt ſentiments, and are able to diſcourſe rationally concerning God, the Creator of all things, and his overruling Providence

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 holineſs and happineſs 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 repeated [k] this ſubject. But the large and copious teſtimony 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, 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 glory and the credit of our religion depend upon this.

As for the Jewiſh people, I believe all good Chriſtians will readily join 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 until 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!

[k] The circumſtances of the Jewiſh people an argument for the truth of the Chriſtian religion: ſee Vol. x. p. 63—96.

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.

As the authority of theſe epiſtles depends entirely upon Euſebius, I ſhall here tranſcribe his account at length, which is in the thirteenth, or laſt chapter of the firſt book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

'A [a] Hiſtory concerning the Prince of the Edeſſens.'

'The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt,' ſays Euſebius, 'being every where talked of by reaſonof his wonderful power in working miracles, it drew after him many people from other countries, and ſome very remote from Judea, who were filled with hopes of relief under all ſorts of pains and ſickneſſes. For which reaſon king Abgarus, who [b] with honour governed the nations beyond the Euphrates, labouring under a grievous diſtemper, incurable by human ſkill, when he heard of the fame of Jeſus, which was much celebrated, and his wonderful works atteſted by the unanimous teſtimony 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 one of his diſciples who ſhould cure his diſtemper, and alſo bring ſalvation to him, and to all with him: which promiſe was not long after fulfilled: for after the reſurrection of Chriſt, and his aſcenſion 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 evidence of this we have

[a] Ιστορια περι της των Εδεσσηνων δυναστειας. H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 31.

[b] 'Who governed the nations beyond the Euphrates.' That is the lofty ſtyle of the eaſtern people. Abgarus was governor of only a ſmall territory.

'from

'from the records of the city of Edeſſa: for among the public 'records, wherein are entered the antiquities of the city, and 'the actions of Abgarus, theſe things are ſtill found preſerved 'to this day. It [c] will therefore bè worth the while to attend to 'the letters, as taken by us [or for us] from the archives, and 'tranſlated word for word from the Syriac language.'

'The copy of the letter which was written by Abgarus the to-'parch to Jeſus, and ſent to him at Jeruſalem by the courier 'Ananias.'

'Abgarus, toparch [or prince] of Edeſſa, to Jeſus the good 'Saviour, who has appeared at Jeruſalem, ſendeth greeting. I 'have heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without 'herbs, or other medicines. For it is reported that thou makeſt 'the blind to ſee, and the lame to walk; that thou cleanſeſt lepers, 'and caſteſt out unclean ſpirits and dæmons, and healeſt thoſe 'who are tormented with diſeaſes of a long ſtanding, and raiſeſt 'the dead. 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 thou art the Son of God, and ſo performeſt them. Where-'fore I now write unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and 'to heal my diſtemper. Moreover, I hear that the Jews mur-'mur 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 Euſebius, 'to the letter which Jeſus returned 'by the ſame courier, ſhort indeed, but very powerful. 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.' John xx. 29. '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 and live. 'As for what thou haſt written to me, deſiring me to come to 'thee, it is neceſſary 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 there-'fore 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.'

[c] ....απο των αρχειων ημιν αναληφθεισων, και τοιδε αυτοις ρημασιν εκ της συρων φωνης μεταβληθεισων τον τροπον. p. 32. B.

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'To theſe epiſtles,' as Euſebius goes on to ſay, 'are ſubjoined '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 known by the miracles which he wrought, it 'was told to Abgarus 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 wondered. But 'when Abgarus heard of the great and wonderful works which 'he did, and how he healed men in the name and by the power 'of Jeſus Chriſt, he was induced to ſuſpect [εν υπονοια γεγονεν,] that 'he was the perſon about whom Jeſus had written to him, ſay-'ing, *When I am taken up, I will ſend to thee ſome one of my diſci-'ples, who ſhall heal thy diſtemper.* Sending therefore for Tobias, 'at whoſe houſe he was, he ſaid to him: "I hear that a man, en-"dowed 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." Whereupon Thaddeus ſaid: "I "go; for it is upon his account, chiefly, that I am ſent hither." 'The next day, early in the morning, Tobias taking Thaddeus 'came to Abgarus. As he came in, the nobles being preſent, 'there appeared to Abgarus ſomewhat very extraordinary in the 'countenance of Thaddeus; which[e] when Abgarus ſaw, he wor-'ſhipped Thaddeus; which appeared ſtrange to all preſent; for 'they did not ſee that brightneſs which was diſcerned by Abga-'rus 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 diſtemper, and "give life to all with thee.*" Thaddeus anſwered: "Foraſmuch "as thou haſt great faith in the Lord Jeſus, therefore am I ſent "unto thee: and if thou ſhalt increaſe in faith in him, all the "deſires of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith." 'Then Abgarus ſaid to him: "I have ſo belived in him, that I "would go with an army to extirpate the Jews who crucified "him, if I were not apprehenſive of the Roman power." Then 'Thaddeus ſaid: "Our Lord and God Jeſus Chriſt has ful-

[d] ο τοπαρχης. [e] οπερ ιδων Αβγαρος προσεκυνησε τω Θαδδαιω....p. 33. D.

"filled

" filled 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 Thad- ' deus: " Therefore I put my hand upon thee in the name of the " Lord Jeſus." And, upon his ſo doing, Abgarus was healed of ' his diſtemper. And Abgarus wondered, 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 with- ' out herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal him alone, ' but alſo Abdus, ſon of Abdus, 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 ad- " mire 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 tomorrow gather together all the citi- " zens, 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 about the meanneſs and deſpicableneſs of " his outward appearance, and how he humbled himſelf, and died, " and [f] leſſened his deity; how many things he ſuffered from the " Jews, and how he was crucified, and deſcended into hell, and " rent aſunder the incloſure 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 glory in the heavens; and how he will come " again with glory 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:

[f] και εσμικρυνεν αυτου την θεοτητα. p. 35. A.

" When we have left our own things, how ſhould we receive " 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 hiſtory 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 hiſtory, ſome receiving it as true, or at leaſt [g] being favourable to it; others rejecting it [h] as falſe and fabulous. I ſhall put down here the following obſervations.

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 hiſtory 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 Hiſtory.

3. It is not much taken notice of by ſucceeding writers. It is not mentioned, I think, by Athanaſius, nor Gregory Nyſſen, or Nazianzen, nor Epiphanius, nor Chryſoſtom; Jerom has once mentioned it, and will be cited by and by: but he has not

[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. xxxviii.... xlii. Fr. Spanh. H. E. T. i. p. 578. et 794. Pagi ann. 244. n. vii. Cleric. H. 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 croiroit, 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.

inſerted,

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 Ephrem the Syrian, in his Teſtament: but that is not a work of ſo much authority as has been ſuppoſed 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 Gentiles, as is manifeſt from the early diſputes about the method of receiving Gentile converts into the church. If Jeſus Chriſt had himſelf written 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 Gentile converts to Chriſtianity. Or if any diſpute had ariſen, would not this hiſtory 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 three hundred and fortieth year, that is, of the æra of the Seleucidæ, or of the Edeſſens: which is computed to be the fifteenth or ſixteenth 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 accounnt with the hiſtory in the Acts of the apoſtles.

5. If Jeſus Chriſt had written 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 expreſsly 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 Hiſtory are allowed to be his own. The title of the chapter which has been juſt tranſcribed from him is this: A Hiſtory concerning the Prince of the Edeſſens.

[k] See Vol. iv. p. 426, 427

[l] Epiſtola Jeſus ad Abgarum Regem apocrypha.

It was a ſtory 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 hiſtory before told concerning Abgarus, and ſays: 'This [m] we have learned from the hiſtory 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.

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] Jerom, and [p] Auguſtine.

7. There are ſeveral things in this epiſtle to Abgarus which are liable to exception.

1. At the beginning of the epiſtle our Lord is made to ſay: 'Abgarus, thou art happy, foraſmuch as thou haſt believed in 'me though thou haſt not ſeen me. For it is written concern- 'ing 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 until after 'his reſurrection, and which were not written until long after- 'wards: which manifeſtly ſhews the forgery 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 unworthy of the Lord Jeſus, and different from his uſual and

[m] Και ταυτα μεν ως εξ αρχαιων ιστοριας ειρησθω. Μετιωμεν δ' αυθις επι την θειαν γραφην. L. 2, c. 1, p. 39. B. [n] Contr. Celſ. l. i. § 45, p. 34. [o] Hieron. in Ezech. c. xliv. T. iii. p. 1034. [p] De Conſenſ. Evang. l. i. c. 7. et Retract. l. 2, c. 16. [q] Diſſ. Prelim. liv. 2, ch. vi. § 1.

well-

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 hiſtory 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. 18. It is likewiſe here ſaid that 'Judas, called alſo 'Thomas, 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 ſtory 'is juſtly ſuſpected.' Jerom, ſpeaking of this matter, [t] ſays, 'Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory informs us that the apoſtle Thaddeus was 'ſent to Edeſſa to Abgarus king of Oſrhoene, who by the evan-'geliſt 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.'

2. When Thaddeus comes to Edeſſa, he does not go immediately 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 hiſtory, but muſt be the invention of ſome ignorant though conceited perſon.

3. 'It looks not a little fabulous,' ſays Mr. Jones, 'that upon

[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] Thaddæum Apoſtolum, Eccleſiaſtica tradit hiſtoria miſſum Edeſſam ad Abgarum regem Oſroënæ, qui ab Evangeliſta Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi appellatur Lebbæus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque eſt eum fuiſſe trinomiam. Hieron. in Matt. x. 3. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 35.

'Thaddeus's appearing before the king he ſhould ſee ſomewhat 'extraordinary in his countenance, which none of the company 'elſe could perceive. Euſebius calls it ορραμα μεγα, a great vi- 'ſion: Valeſius renders it *divinum neſcio quid*, ſome divine ap- 'pearance.'

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 therefore could never be ſo extravagant as to ima- 'gine himſelf able to deſtroy ſo powerful 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 hiſtory, ſay, ſome of them, that it was the gout, others the leproſy. 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 country, 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 ſtory, told by our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, had been eſteemed credible, it would have been much more taken notice of by ſucceeding writers than it [x] is.

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 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 hiſtory is the fiction of ſome Chriſtian at Edeſſa in the time of Euſebius, or not long before. The people of Edeſſa were then, generally,

[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 extend 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. Εισετι τε νυν εξ εκεινης η πασα των εθνων πολις τη τε χριστε προσαγεται προσηγορια.

Chriſtians,

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 hiſtory 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 teſtimony of the firſt antiquity: though it may afford good proof of the Chriſtianity of the people of Edeſſa, at the beginning of the fourth century, when Euſebius flouriſhed, or before.

CHAP. II.

Of the knowledge which the emperor Tiberius had of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

I. *The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius.* II. *The ſtory of Thamus, in Plutarch, concerning the death of Pan, conſidered.*

I. JUSTIN MARTYR, in his firſt Apology, which was preſented to the emperor Antoninus 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 Apology, 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.'

Tertullian, in his Apology 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

[a] Και ταυτα οτι γεγονε, δυνασθε μαθειν εκ των επι Ποντιου Πιλατου γενομενων ακτων. J. M. Ap. i. p. 76. C. Pariſ. 1636, num. 36, p. 65. Bened. [b] Οτι δε και ταυτα επραχθη, εκ των επι Ποντιου Πιλατου γενομενων ακτων μαθειν δυνασθε. Ib. p. 84. C. Pariſ. num. 48, p. 72. Bened. [c] Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium prædicandi per orbem, circumfuſa nube in cœlum eſt ereptus, multo melius quam apud vos aſſeverare de Romulis Proculi ſolent. Ea omnia ſuper Chriſto Pilatus, et ipſe jam pro ſua conſcientia Chriſtianus, Cæſari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. Tertull. Ap. c. 21, p. 22. C.

'to Chriſt, Pilate, in his conſcience a Chriſtian, ſent an account 'to Tiberius, then emperor.'

In another chapter or ſection of the ſame Apology, nearer the beginning, 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 'Chriſtian religion had it's riſe, having received from Paleſtine 'in Syria an account of ſuch things as manifeſted our Saviour's 'divinity, propoſed to the ſenate, and giving his own vote as 'firſt in his favour, that he ſhould be placed among the gods. 'The ſenate refuſed, becauſe he had himſelf declined that honour. 'Nevertheleſs the emperor perſiſted in his own opinion, and or-'dered that if any accuſed the Chriſtians they ſhould be pu-'niſhed.' And then adds: 'Search,' ſays he, 'your own writ-'ings, and you will there find that Nero was the firſt emperor 'who exerciſed any acts of ſeverity toward the Chriſtians, be-'cauſe they were then very numerous at Rome.'

It is fit we ſhould now obſerve what notice Euſebius takes of theſe things in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. It is to this effect:

'When [e] the wonderful reſurrection of our Saviour, and his 'aſcenſion to heaven, were in the mouths of all men, it being 'an ancient cuſtom for the governors of provinces to write to the 'emperor, and give him an account of new and remarkable oc-'currences, that he might not be ignorant of any thing; our 'Saviour's reſurrection being much talked of throughout all 'Paleſtine, Pilate informed the emperor 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 pretence '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 judgment and authority. However, Tiberius per-

[d] Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejuſmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore conſecraretur, niſi a Senatu probatus. Scit M. Æmilius 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 Palæſtina, quæ illic veritatem iſtius divinitatis revelarant, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa ſuffragii ſui. Senatus, quia non ipſe probaverat, reſpuit. Cæſar in ſententia manſit, comminatus periculum accuſatoribus Chriſtianorum. Conſulite commentarios veſtros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hac ſectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæſariano gladio ferociſſe. Ib. cap. 5, p. 6.

[e] Euſeb. H. E. l. 2, cap. 2.

'ſiſted

'sisted in his former sentiment, and allowed not any thing to be 'done that was prejudical to the doctrine of Christ. These things 'are related by Tertullian, a man famous on other accounts, and 'particularly for his skill in the Roman laws. I say he speaks 'thus in his Apology for the Christians, written 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 emperor, unless he was first ap-"proved of by the senate. Marcus Æmilius knows this by "his god Alburnus. This is to our purpose, forasmuch as "among you divinity is bestowed by human judgment. And "if God does not please man, he shall not be God. And, ac-"cording 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 account 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 "emperor persisted in his judgment, 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 begin-'ing, might be preached all over the world without molesta-'tion.' 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 Tiberius concerning a man whom he had condemned to 'death? And, if he had written them, is it probable that Tibe-'rius should propose to the senate to have a man put among the 'number of the gods upon the bare relation of a governor of a 'province? And if he had proposed it, who can make a doubt 'that the senate would not have immediately complied? So that, 'though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false, 'yet it must be reckoned at the least doubtful.' So says [g] Du Pin.

These and other difficulties shall be considered.

Now therefore I shall mention some observations.

In the first place, I observe that Justin Martyr and Tertullian

[f] ἄλλος ων ενεισοις, ως τω δογματι αρεσκεται. Η δε συγκλητος επει ουκ αυτη δεδεικιμακει, κτλ. p. 41. C. [g] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 24, a.

are

are early writers of good repute. That is an obſervation of biſhop [h] Pearſon. Theſe teſtimonies are taken from the moſt public writings, Apologies for the Chriſtian religion, preſented, or at leaſt propoſed and recommended, to the emperor 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 governors 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 emperors there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of governors of provinces. Of all theſe we can diſcern clear proofs and frequent mention in ancient writers of the beſt credit.

Julius Cæſar ordered that [i] Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People, ſhould be publiſhed.

Auguſtus [k] forbade publiſhing the Acts of the Senate.

There [l] was an officer, himſelf a ſenator, whoſe province it was to compoſe thoſe Acts.

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 emperor, but alſo the debates and ſpeeches of the ſenators.

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 hiſtory.

[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. Cæſ. c. 20.

[k] Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit: in queis ne acta Senatûs publicarentur. Sueton. Aug. c. 36. [l] Fuit in Senatu Junius Ruſticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Cæſare, eoque meditationes ejus introſpicere creditur. Tacit. Ann. l. 5, cap. 4. [m] Neſcio an venerint in manus veſtras hæc vetera, quæ et antiquorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, et nunc maxime a Minuciano contrahuntur: ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris, et tribus Epiſtolarum compoſita, et edita ſunt. Ex his intelligi poteſt, Cn. Pompeium et Marcum Craſſum, non viribus modo et armis, ſed ingenio quoque et oratione valuiſſe. &c. Tacit. ſeu quis alius, in Dialog. de Orator. c. 37.

Acta Senatus vocabant commentarios, Græce ὑπομνηματα, 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 Cæſar extruxerat, volumina implere: cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum ſit, res illuſtres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. Tacit. Ann. l. 13, cap. 31.

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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 ſatisfactory than ſome other accounts.

There were alſo Acts of the governors of provinces, regiſtering all remarkable tranſactions and occurrences. Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian could not be miſtaken about this: and the learned biſhop of Cæſarea admits the truth of what they ſay. And in the time of the perſecuting emperor Maximin, in the year of Chriſt 307, or thereabout, the heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatory 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 Hiſtory [r].

Thirdly, It was cuſtomary for governors of provinces to ſend to the emperor an account of remarkable tranſactions in the places where they [s] preſided.

So thought the learned Euſebius, as we have ſeen. And Pliny's letters to Trajan, ſtill extant, are a proof of it. Philo [t] ſpeaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria, ſent to Caligula, which that emperor 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 concerning our Saviour, and ſent them to the emperor, whether Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian have given a juſt account of them or not.

[o] Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna Actorum ſcriptura, reperio ullo inſigni officio functum. Tacit. Ann. l. 3, c. 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, quæ ſola reſtat, publici inſtrumenti auctoritas. Id. Calig. cap. 8. [r] Vid. H. E. l. 1, c. ix. et l. 9, c. 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] ....τη μεν ταις υπομνηματικαις εφημερισιν, ος απο της Αλεξανδρειας διεπεμποντο τινες, προσεχων· ηδιστον γαρ ην αναγνωσμα τουτο αυτω, ως τα αλλων συγγραφεων και ποιητων ανδρατα συγκρισει της εν τουτοις χαριτος νομιζεσθαι. 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 tantæ rei in ſuâ provincia geſtæ notitiam Imperatori non impartiretur. Pearſon. ubi ſupr. Lect. iv. n. xiv. Vid. et Tob. Echard. c. iv. n. xi. p. 126.

Fourthly,

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 eaſy to reply that, if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely that he ſhould ſpeak favourably and honourably 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 hiſtory of the evangeliſts: Matt. xxvii. 11....26, 62....65; Mark xv. 1....15; Luke xxiii. 1....25; John xviii; 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 Cæſar, ſaying that himſelf is Chriſt, a king, and the like: and all without effect for a great while. Pilate ſtill fought 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 apology 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, and openly aſſerted that he was riſen from the dead and aſcended up to heaven.

If Pilate ſent any letter to Tiberius, (as very probably he did,) he would not dare to write falſehood, nor to conceal the moſt material circumſtances of the caſe about which he was writing. At the trial of Jeſus he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews ſeveral times that *he found in him no fault at all.* And when he was going to pronounce the ſentence of condemnation, *he took water and waſhed his hands before the multitude, ſaying: I am innocent of the blood of this juſt perſon: ſee ye to it.* Matt. xxvii. 24. When he wrote to Tiberius, he would be very naturally led to ſay ſomething of our Lord's wonderful reſurrection and aſcenſion, which were much talked of and believed by many, with which he could not poſſibly be unacquainted. The mention of theſe things would be the beſt vindication of his inward perſuaſion, and repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence.

[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.

upon

upon the trial, notwithſtanding the loud clamours and united accuſations of the Jewiſh people and their rulers.

Pilate, as has been ſaid ſeveral times, paſſed condemnation upon Jeſus very unwillingly, and not till after a long trial. When he paſſed ſentence upon him, he gave orders that this title or inſcription ſhould be put upon the croſs; *Jeſus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews.* When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Joſeph of Arimathea, an honourable counſellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he conſented; but not till after aſſurance received from the centurion that he had been ſome time dead. The next day ſome of the prieſts and Phariſees came to him, ſaying: *Sir, we remember that that deceiver ſaid, while he was yet alive, After three days I will riſe again. Command therefore that the ſepulchre be made ſure, until the third day, leſt his diſciples come by night and ſteal him away, and ſay unto the people, He is riſen from the dead. So the laſt error ſhall be worſe than the firſt. Pilate ſaid unto them: Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as ſure as you 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 lightning, 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 governor's ears. Pilate therefore was furniſhed with many materials of great importance relating to this caſe, very proper to be ſent to the emperor. And very probably he did ſend them; for he could do no otherwiſe.

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 emperor had little or no regard to things of religion.

But it is eaſy 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 va-

*** Illud certe dubitare non poſſumus, Pilatum vocaſſe ad ſe hos milites, ex iiſque rem vere geſtam cognoviſſe. Heuman. Teſtimonium militum de Reſurrectione Chriſti. p. 100. ap. Primitias Gotting.

[a] Mihi certe,....haud facile perſuaſerim, Tiberium Cæſarem, cujus mores ab omni religionum omium 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 prædicat, quam quod dico. Et Suetonio dictum eſt expreſſe et ſignanter. *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ, perſuaſioniſque plenus cuncta fato agi.* Tan. Fab. l. 2. Ep. 12. p. 35.

ried

ried from himſelf upon many occaſions, and in different parts of his life.

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 immediately complied.

But neither is this difficulty inſuperable: for we are aſſured by Suetonius that [c] Tiberius let ſeveral things be decided by the ſenate, contrary to his own opinion, without ſhewing much uneaſineſs.

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 doubtful 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 re-
'ferred 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 Tertullian's Apology, made uſe of by Euſebius. 'The ſe-
'nate 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 emperor 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 leaſt by the Romans,) without the approbation of the ſenate. Tiberius having been informed of ſome extraordinary 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

[b] Hem! Reſpuit Senatus, quod Tiberio placuit. T. Faber. ibid.

[c] Quædam 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 etim Tiberio majorem efficere viderentur. Pearſon. Lect. 4. num. xiv.

ſhould

ſhould refuſe it, under a pretence that Tiberius had beſtowed divinity upon Jeſus without their conſent, when he had done no ſuch thing, and at that very time was referring it to their judgment in the old legal way?

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 emperor, 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 improbable 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 'Italy by an edict; but it was for a miſdemeanor committed by 'ſome villains of that nation. The great hardſhip was, that 'many innocent perſons ſuffered beſide the guilty. Upon other 'occaſions Tiberius ſhewed the Jews all the favour they could 'deſire, eſpecially after the death of Sejanus; and is much ap-'plauded 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 fiction.'

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 extraordinary things concerning him, he had a deſire to put him among the Roman deities.

[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 ſimulacra deorum, ſed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur. Sueton. Tiber. cap. 26.

[h] See vol. i. p. 178.

[i] De Legat. ad Caium. p. 1015. C. D.

[k] Noverat Jeſum fuiſſe hominem Judæum, uniuſque Dei cultorem, et qui omnes alios deos, quaſi hominum commenta rejiceret: ac proinde religionem, qua cum iis conjungeretur, ſummopere improbaturum, ſi in cœlo viveret: et tamen eum una cum Romanis diis coli voluiſſet. Quo nihil abſurdius fingi poterat, Cleric. H. E. an. 29, n. 96.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, Tertullian proceeds: 'Nevertheleſs the emperor 'perſiſted in his opinion, and ordered that if any accuſed the 'Chriſtians they ſhould be puniſhed.'

This was very natural. Though the ſenate would not put Jeſus in the number of the deities, the emperor 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 emperor'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 'Tiberius [l] gave orders to 'all the governors of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities 'where they lived in the obſervation of their own rights 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 emperors 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 extraordinary 'perſon, might be moved by the wonderful circumſtances at-'tending 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 Tiberius propoſed to the ſenate that 'Chriſt ſhould be deified, and that the ſenate rejected it, and 'that Tiberius continued favourably 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 apoſtles, and ſlew Stephen, 'and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every 'houſe, and haling men and women, committing them to priſon,

[l] .... αλλ' επι μοιρας τας αιτιας. De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1015. C. [m] Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 2...4.

'and

'and that Pilate connived at all this violence, 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 dilatory; 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 country was not now in it's full height. We perceive from the hiſtory 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-adminiſtrations 'for the emperor's view. His condemnation of Jeſus at the 'importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and 'inclination, declared to them more than once, was a point 'gained: and his government muſt have been ever after much 'weakened by ſo mean a condeſcenſion. And that Pilate's in-'fluence in the province continued to decline is manifeſt, in 'that the people of it prevailed at laſt to have him removed 'in a very ignominious manner, 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 licenſe, and gratify their own malicious diſpoſitions, beyond what they could have otherwiſe done, without control.

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 Nazarenes, or Galileans, or diſciples. And it is undoubted that the Chriſtian reli-

[n] See particularly John xix. 12.
[o] Vol. p. 93. Comp. p. 371.
[p] See Vol. i. as before, p. 94.

gion 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 beginning of the paragraph he ſays, 'There was an 'ancient law that no god ſhould be conſecrated by the emperor, 'unleſs it was firſt approved by the ſenate.' Nevertheleſs Tertullian was not ſo ignorant as not to know that there were not any emperors when that ancient decree was paſſed. His meaning is, that no one ſhould be deified by any man, no not by a conſul or emperor, without the approbation of the ſenate.

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, immediately after the paſſage firſt cited from him, he adds: 'But [q] the Cæſars themſelves would have believed in Jeſus 'Chriſt, if they had not been neceſſary for the world, or if 'Chriſtians could have been Cæſars.'

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 emperor himſelf had declined that honour: which is ſo plauſible a pretence, and ſo fine a compliment, that we cannot eaſily ſuppoſe it to be Tertullian's own invention: which therefore gives credibility to the account.

Euſebius, though he acknowledgeth the overruling provi-

[q] Sed et Cæſares credidiſſent ſuper Chriſto, ſi aut Cæſares non eſſent ſeculo neceſſarii, aut ſi et Chriſtiani potuiſſent eſſe Cæſares. Apol. c. 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. 11.

[s] Tiberius autem non ita Chriſtum voluit deum recipi, ut ſuetus Romanorum cultus abrogaretur, ſed ut juxta coleretur, uti Julium Cæſarem Auguſtus, et Auguſtum ipſe Tiberius conſecraverat, et coli ſecundum cæteros deos volebat. &c. Tob. Echard. cap. 4, n. 8, p. 122.

dence

dence of God in the favourable diſpoſition of Tiberius toward the firſt followers of Jeſus, by which means the Chriſtian religion in it's infancy was propagated over the world with leſs moleſtation, does alſo ſay, at the beginning of the chapter before quoted, 'the ſenate refuſed their conſent to the emperor's propoſal, under a pretence that they had not been firſt aſked, there being an 'ancient law that no one ſhould be deified without the approba-'tion of the ſenate. But indeed,' adds he, 'becauſe the ſaving 'and divine doctrine of the goſpel needed not to be ratified by 'human judgment and authority.'

Chryſoſtom's obſervation is to the like purpoſe, but with ſome inaccuracies. It is likely that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian; and he was no admirer of Euſebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. 'The [t] Roman ſenate,' ſays he, 'had the power of nominating and decreeing who ſhould be 'gods. When therefore all things concerning Chriſt had been 'publiſhed, he, who was the governor of the Jewiſh nation, ſent 'to them to know if they would be pleaſed to appoint him alſo to 'be a god. But they refuſed, being offended and provoked that, 'before their decree and judgment had been obtained, the power 'of the crucified man had ſhined out, and had attracted all the 'world to the worſhip of him. But, [u] by the overruling provi-'dence of God, this was brought to paſs againſt their will, that 'the divinity of Chriſt might not be eſtabliſhed by human ap-'pointment, and that he might not be reckoned one of the many 'who were deified by 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 century, 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

[t] Chryſ. hom. 26. in 2 Cor. T. x. p. 624. A. [u] Τουτο δε ωκονομειτο και ακοντων αυτων, ωστε μη εξ ανθρωπινης ψηφου την θειοτητα αναχηρυχθηναι του Χριστου, κ. λ.

[x] At poſtquam paſſus eſt Dominus Chriſtus, atque a mortuis reſurrexit, et diſcipulos ſuos ad prædicandum dimiſit, Pilatus, Præſes Paleſtinæ provinciæ ad Tiberium Imperatorem atque Senatum retulit, de paſſione et reſurrectione Chriſti, conſequentibuſque virtutibus, quæ per ipſum palam factæ 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: præcipue cum et Sejanus, Præfectus Tiberii, ſuſcipiendæ religioni obſtinatiſſime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accuſatoribus Chriſtianorum mortem comminatus eſt. Itaque Paullatim immutata eſt illa Tiberii Cæſaris laudatiſſima modeſtia, in pœnam contradictoris Senatus. P. Oroſ. l. 7, c. 4. [y] Zonar. Ann. T. 2, p. 176. [z] Niceph. l. 2, c. 8. Conf. l. 1. cap. 16.

quotes Euſebius, and tranſcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory 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 defence 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:' which is loading the hiſtory 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 uneaſineſs to the ſenate. And it is equally improbable that the ſenate ſhould behave ſo rudely to the emperor. Tertullian's account is free from ſuch things, and ought not to be rejected becauſe of additions made by later writers.

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 favourable to this hiſtory; and in the courſe of my argument I have quoted him ſeveral times. The late Mr. Moſheim [d] alſo was of opinion that it ought not to be entirely rejected, and has ſpoken in favour of it in ſeveral of his works.

II. There

[a] Tan. Fabr. 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 Hiſtory. 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 á Baſle, ſur le projet conçu par Tibere, de Mettre N. S. J. C. au nombre des Dieux de Rome. 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 ei eruditi, fidem huic narrationi habendam eſſe. Ego vero ſuperſtitioſi nomen minime formido, ſi dixero, non prorſus eam mihi rejiciendam videri. Moſhem. Inſtitution. H. Chriſtianæ 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 doctrina non inferiores rationes opponunt

hau

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 ſtory 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 'ſailing for Italy in a ſhip well freighted with merchandiſe, in 'which alſo were many paſſengers. When they were one even-'ing among the iſlands, called Echinedes, in the Ægean ſea, the 'ſhip was becalmed. Moſt of the paſſengers were awake, and 'ſome were carouſing after ſupper: at the ſame time there came 'a voice from the iſland Paxæ, which called aloud for Tha-'mus. He was an Egyptian, and the pilot, and not ſo much as 'known by name to many of the paſſengers. He ſuffered him-'ſelf 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 matter, whether it were fit to perform 'the order or not. Thamus determined that if, when they were ar-'rived at the appointed place, there was wind enough to ſail 'forward, he would paſs by in ſilence; but if the veſſel was be-'calmed, he would publiſh what he had heard. When they 'came over againſt Palodes, the winds and waves were all calm. 'Thamus therefore placing himſelf at the ſtern of the veſſel, with 'his face toward the land, declared 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 Thamus was ſent for by the emperor '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 Mercury and Penelope.'

As this ſtory is placed in the time of Tiberius, ſome learned men have been of opinion that [b] by the great Pan was meant Je-

 ſus

haud facile deſtruendas. Id De Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſt. M. p. 92.

Erudite, poſt Theod. Haſæum peculiari libello de Decreto Tiberii, quo Chriſtum referre voluit in numerum Deorum. Erfurti 2715. 4. edito. pro veritate hujus facti nulitavit ven. Jac. Chriſtoph. Iſellius, epiſtola Gallica, quæ legitur Bibliotheque Germanique. T. 32. p. 147. 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.

[b] Ex hiſce audiamus, quæſo, primo loco, Boiſſardum in hunc modum loquentem....Quidam exiſtimant vocem illam locutam fuiſſe de Chriſti ſervatoris morte, cum audita ſit anno decimo nono imperii

ſus Chriſt, the Lord of the univerſe, who ſuffered in the time of that emperor. Huet [c] gives credit to this ſtory, and ſuppoſeth that 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 ſtory is improbable, and has more the appearance of fiction than of truth and credibility.

2. The ſtory 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 Mercury and Penelope. Neither Thamus, nor Epitherſes, nor Tiberius, nor the learned men whom he conſulted, nor yet Plutarch and his company, 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 ſtory 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 dæmons and heroes; 'and that, being ſent by the emperor 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 'terrible claps of thunder and lightning. When the tempeſt 'was over, the people of the iſland gave out that ſome one of 'the principal dæmons was dead. A candle, ſaid they, when 'it burns is pleaſant; but when it goes out it leaves a ſtink be-'hind: even ſo the deaths of great ſouls produce ſtorms, and 'ſometimes a peſtiferous air.' To which Demetrius added, 'that in one of thoſe iſlands Saturn was bound, and guarded by

imperii Cæſaris, quo Chriſtus crucifixus eſt. Et hunc credimus univerſæ naturæ et totius mundi Dominum et formatorem. Vandale de Orac. p. 435.

Huic narrationi fidem creat circumſtantia temporis. Incidit enim hæc res in tempus, quo Chriſtus mortuus eſt. Eſtque veriſimile, eiulationes dæmonum inde ortas, quod ſcirent, morte Chriſti Satanæ regnum concidiſſe. Eſt enim Pan vox aptiſſima ad ſignificandum Dominum univerſi, qui eſt omnia in omnibus, ut ait Paulus. 1 Cor. xv. 28. Petrus Mornæus, citat. a Vandale. ib. p. 457.

[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 Æmilianus 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 naturæ 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.

'Briareus,

'Briareus, and that there were many dæmons attending upon 'him as his ſlaves and miniſters.' All fiction ſurely; but repreſenting, as may be ſuppoſed, the doctrine of credulous heathens concerning dæmons.

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 dæmon 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 dæmons; and ſome of them 'fell down before him, entreating him that he would not ſend 'them into the abyſs. Here then you have the true time of the 'expulſion of dæmons out of this world, a thing never heard of 'before. Nor was there an end put to human ſacrifices, ſo com-'mon among the Gentiles, till the evangelical doctrine had been 'preached to all men.' So Euſebius.

And though [e] Colonia flouriſheth mightily upon this ſtory, he in the end finds it prudent to content himſelf with conſidering it as an argument, 'that * the Gentiles themſelves acknowledged 'the general downfal or declenſion of their oracles, after the 'time of Tiberius and the coming of Chriſt, and that two cen-'turies before Euſebius.' A point about which I do not now particularly concern myſelf.

Before I conclude this article, I would obſerve that [f] Baronius did not fully rely upon the truth of the ſtory 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.

[d] Præp. 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 geſtæ fidem adhibendam eſſe putamus, &c. Baron. Ann. 34. num. 130.

[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. III.

A monumental inſcription concerning the Chriſtians in the time of Nero.

WHAT offers next is an inſcription of the emperor NERO, on a monument found in Portugal [a].

TO NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR,
AUGUSTUS, HIGH-PRIEST,
FOR CLEARING THE PROVINCE
OF ROBBERS, AND THOSE
WHO TAUGHT MANKIND
A NEW SUPERSTITION.

None can doubt that by the new ſuperſtition is here intended Chriſtianity. Some have queſtioned the genuineneſs of this inſcription becauſe, ſay they, Nero's perſecution extended no farther than Rome. The pretence 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 countries 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 ſtyle of the inſcription is agreeable to that of Tacitus and Suetonius, ſome of the earlieſt heathen writers who have mentioned the Chriſtians.

[a] In ruinis pagi Marquoſiæ 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,

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 general; [c] that from Rome it ſpread into the provinces, and was authorized by public edicts.

Though there remain this monument only, there may have been others of the like kind, which have been deſtroyed out of averſion to the memory 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 lifetime of Nero, who died in June A. D. 68, or, at the utmoſt, before his death was publicly known; for after that no people paid him any honours.

I have ſhewn that the ſtyle 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 genuineneſs of it is not aſſented to by all. Joſeph Scaliger [d] doubted. Pagi [e] and others have endeavoured 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 falſehood and impoſture.

[b] Conſulite commentarios veſtros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc ſectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæſareano gladio ferociſſe. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis noſtræ etiam gloriamur. Tertullian. Ap. cap. 5.

Cum animadverteret Nero, non modo Romæ, ſed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum ...proſiluit ad excidendum cœleſte templum, delendamque juſtitiam, et primus omnium perſecutus Dei ſervos, &c. Lactant. vel Cæcilius de M. P. cap. 2.

[c] Hoc initio in Chriſtianos ſæviri cœptum. Poſt etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propoſitis Chriſtianum eſſe non licebat. Sulp. Sev. Hiſt. l. 2. cap. 41.

Primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſuppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione excruciari imperavit. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 7.

[d] Neque ſolum Romæ ſævitum in Chriſtianos, ſed etiam in provinciis. Exſtat vetus inſcriptio in Hiſpania loco Piſuerga vocato: in quo ſine dubio hæc 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.

[f] Exſtat celebris hæc inſcriptio apud Jan. Gruter. p. 238. n. 9. Ipſi vero præſtantiſſimi 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, malæ fidei, &c. J. L. Moſhem. 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 Hiſpaniæ viri non diffitentur. Is vero, ſi aliquando extitiſſet, magnâ certe curâ ob inſigne pretium aſſervatus fuiſſet. Id. De Reb. Chriſtian. p. 109.

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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.

CHAP. IV.

Pliny the elder.

Caius Plinus Secundus, or [a] Pliny the elder, was born at Verona, in the reign of Tiberius. He had divers public posts under the emperors Vespasian and Titus; notwithstanding which he redeemed a gread deal of time for reading, and writing, in which he was indefatigable. He was suffocated in the smoke and ashes of Vesuvius, in the fifty-sixth 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 emperor.

In his History is a chapter concerning the origin of magic; where are these words: 'There [b] is another sect of magicians, 'depending on (or deriving from) Moses, and Jamnes, and Jo-'tapes, who were Jews, but many thousand years since Zoroas-'ter. Still so much later is the Cyprian.'

Some have thought that in this last Pliny refers to the blindness 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.

[a] Vid. Plin. Ep. l. vi. 16. et 20. Voss. de H. 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 Emperors. B. xvii. vol. 6. p. 291.

[b] Est et alia Magicis factio, a Mose et Jamne, et Jotape Judæis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 30. cap. i. De Origine Magicæ artis, quando, et a quibus cœperat, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

TACITUS.

I. *His hiſtory, time, and works.* II. *Pomponia Græcina, 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 teſtimony 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 Pliny, who was born in the year of our Lord 61 or 62. In the year 77 or 78 he married the daughter of Cnæus Julius Agricola, [c] famous for his conſulſhip, and government of Britain. He [d] enjoyed divers poſts of honour and truſt under Veſpaſian, and the following emperors. He was prætor 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 Germany, next The Life of Agricola, his father-in-law; after that his Hiſtory, beginning with Galba, and ending at the death of Domitian; and laſtly, his Annals; beginning with Tiberius, and ending at the death of Nero. Both theſe works are now imperfect.

Tacitus and Pliny the younger lived together in intimate friendſhip. They [f] reviſed each others writings before publica-

[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 egregiæ tuin ſpei filiam juveni mihi deſpondit, ac poſt conſulatum collocavit, et ſtatim Britanniæ præpoſitus eſt, adjecto pontificatus ſacerdotio. Tacit. Vit. Agr. cap. 9.

[d] Vid. Tacit. Hiſt. l. i. cap. 1.

[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 quæ commutanda, quæ 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.

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tion. Divers of Pliny's letters are written to him; in particular thoſe [g] two wherein Pliny 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 century; I therefore place him here in the year 100, the third of the emperor 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.

II. In his Annals, at the year of our Lord 57, he writes thus: 'And [i] Pomponia Græcina, 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 cognizance of her huſband. And he, ac'cording to ancient inſtitution, in the preſence of the family, 'ſat in judgment 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 beha'viour, 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 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

[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.

[i] Et Pomponia Græcina inſignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans ſe de Britanniis rettulit, nupta, ac ſuperſtitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permiſſa. Iſque priſco inſtituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, et inſontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas, et continua triſtitia fuit. Nam poſt Juliam Druſi filiam dolo Meſſalinæ interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu niſi lugubri, non animo niſi mæſto egit. Idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. Tacit. Ann. l. 13. c. 32.

[k] Vid. Not. ad loc.

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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.

III. After a deſcription of the terrible fire at Rome, in the tenth of Nero, and the ſixty-fourth 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 of the emperor, nor all the atonements 'preſented to the gods, availed to abate the infamy he lay under of having ordered the city to be ſet on fire. To ſuppreſs 'therefore this 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. They had their denomination from Chriſtus, who in the reign of Tiberius was put to 'death as a criminal by the procurator 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 con'feſſed 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 enmity to man-

* Superſtitionis externæ rea.] Chriſtianiſmi credo accuſatam, ſive, ut tunc confundebant, Judaiſmi. Lipſius in loc.

Forte Chriſtianam pietatem intelligit. Nam apparet, ſanctam mulierem fuiſſe Pomponiam Græcinam. Tacitus loquitur ut Ethnicus. Rhenanus in loc.

[l] Chriſti doctrinam a Pomponia fuiſſe deguſtatam, non immerito conjicimus. Baſnag. Ann. 57. p. ii. Pomponia Græcina fut accuſée de ſuivre une ſuperſtition étrangere, dit Tacite: ſe 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 crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſa in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, 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 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 aurigæ permixtus plebi vel circulo [curriculo legit Lipſius] inſiſtens. Unde quamquam adverſus ſontes, et noviſſima exempla meritos, miſeratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, ſed in ſævitiam unius abſumerentur. Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

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'kind. Their executions were ſo contrived as to expoſe 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 combuſtible 'materials, were ſet up as lights in the night time, and thus 'burned to death. Nero made uſe of his own gardens as a the-'atre upon this occaſion, and alſo exhibited the diverſions of the 'Circus, 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 'exemplary 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 hiſtory 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 country 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 learned men, but their neglect of the ordinary worſhip of the gods.

It will not be diſagreeable to compare this article of Tacitus with the account of the fire at Rome, and the enſuing perſecu-

[o] Tacitus libro xv... de Chriſtianorum ſuppliciis....Ubi *flagitia*, et *odium humani generis*, nihil aliud ſunt, quam falſorum deorum neglectus. Quam eandem cauſſam etiam Judæis maledicendi Tacitus habuit, et Plinius major, cui Judæi dicuntur *gens contumeliâ numinum inſignis*. Cleric. Annot. ad Grot. de Ver. Rel. Chriſtian. l. 2, § ii.

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tion of the Chriſtians, which is given by Sulpicius Severus, an elegant Chriſtian writer of hiſtory, 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 increaſed, there happened 'a fire at Rome while Nero was at Antium. Nevertheleſs, the 'general opinion of all men caſt the blame of the fire upon the 'emperor. And it was ſuppoſed that his aim therein was that 'he might have the glory 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 endeavoured to caſt the reproach of it upon the Chriſtians. And 'exquiſite tortures were inflicted upon innocent men: and moreover new kinds of death were invented. 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. This was 'the beginning 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.

IV. It is not needful for me to tranſlate or tranſcribe all that

** Interea, abundante jam Chriſtianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium conſtituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæſiſſe. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo juſſum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Chriſtianos, actæque in innoxios crudeliſſimæ queſtiones. Quin et novæ mortes excogitatæ, 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 ſæviri cœptum. Poſt etiam, datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propoſitis, Chriſtianum eſſe non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio deſecta, Petrus in crucem ſublatus eſt. Sulp. Sever. Sacr. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 41, al. cap. 29.

†† Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regreſſus eſt, quam domui ejus, quâ palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen ſiſti potuit, quin et palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 39.

Tacitus

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 hiſtory 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 ſummary account of their affairs under Herod and his ſons, the emperors Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. 'He mentions [s] Felix, 'whom

[p] Tacit. Hiſt. l. v. cap. 2.

[q] Cornelius Tacitus, ſane ille mendaciorum loquaciſſimus. Apol. c. 16, p. 17. A.

[r] Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, templumque jure victoriæ ingreſſus eſt. H. l. v. cap. 9.

[s] Claudius defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judæam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permiſit, e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem ſævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium ſervili ingenio exercuit. . . Duravit tamen patientia Judæis, uſque ad Geſſium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum, et comprimere cœptantem Ceſtium Galium Syriæ legatum, varia prœlia ac ſæpius adverſa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut tædio occidit, miſſu Neronis, Veſpaſianus fortuna famaque et egregiis miniſtris intra duas æſtates, cuncta camporum, omneſque præter Hieroſolyma urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judæos per otium tranſiit. Pace per Italiam parta, et externæ curæ rediere. Augebat iras, quod ſoli Judæi non ceſſiſſent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus caſuſve utilius videbatur. [Ejuſdem anni principio Cæſar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre. Lib. v. cap. i. in.] Igitur caſtris, uti diximus, ante mœnia Hieroſolymorum poſitis, inſtructas legiones oſtentavit. Judæi ſub ipſos muros ſtruxere aciem.....Mox ceſſere hoſtes, et ſequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prœlia ſerebant, donec aſſiduis damnis, intra mœnia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum verſi. Neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hoſtium opperiri. Poſcebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipſi Tito 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 mœnia, regiæ circumjecta. Conſpicuoque faſtigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipſæ porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati ſub terra montes, et piſcinæ ciſternæque ſervandis imbribus.....magna colluvie, et cæterarum urbium clade aucti. Nam pervicaciſſimus quiſque illuc perfugerat, eoque ſeditioſius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latiſſima mœnium Simon; mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant; templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Elezarus loco pollebat. Sed prœlia, 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, quæ neque hoſtiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens ſuperſtitioni obnoxia, religionibus adverſa. Viſæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et ſubito nubium igne colluere templum. Expaſſæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, *Excedere deos*: ſimul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus perſuaſio inerat, antiquis ſacerdotum literis, contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret Oriens, profectique Judææ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Veſpaſianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis ſibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adverſis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obſeſſorum, omnis ætatis, virilis ac muliebris ſexus, ſexcenta millia fuiſſe accepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre poſſent: et plures quam pro numero audebant. Obſtinatio viris feminiſque,

'whom he repreſents as a bad man, and tyrannical in his govern-
'ment. However, the Jews,' he ſays, 'bore the exactions of
'their governors, 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 Veſpa-
'ſian into Judea, who was a general of great merit and reputa-
'tion, and having alſo under him good officers, in the ſpace of
'two years,' meaning the year 67 and 68, 'he reduced the
'open country, 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 following year, [and the beginning
'of it,] Titus was appointed to attend 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 therefore carried on
'the ſiege with the greateſt vigour. The army likewiſe was in-
'tent 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 re-
'duced, and in general all the turbulent and ſeditious people of
'the nation came hither. There were three captains,' or heads of factions, 'and as many armies, Simon, John, called alſo Bar-
'gioras, 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 others. Armies were ſeen fighting
'in the air with brandiſhed weapons. A fire fell upon the tem-
'ple from the clouds. The doors of the temple were ſuddenly

feminiſque par. Ac ſi transferre ſedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus quam mortis. Hanc adverſus urbem gentemque Cæſar Titus, quando impetum et ſubita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineiſque certare ſtatuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et quies prœliorum fuit: donec cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis, ſtruerentur. Tacit. Hiſt. l. v. cap. 9.....13.

'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 calamities. But the moſt 'had a ſtrong perſuaſion that it was ſaid in the ancient writings 'of the prieſts,' that is, ancient writings in the cuſtody of the prieſts, 'that at that very time the Eaſt ſhould prevail, and 'that ſome who came from Judea ſhould obtain the empire 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 taken by aſſault, different poſts were aſſigned 'to the ſeveral legions. Battering engines of all kinds were 'prepared: and all the methods hitherto practiſed in ſieges by 'the ancients, as well as new inventions, were employed on this 'occaſion.'

So writes Tacitus, who could and might have been more particular in his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war in the ſeveral parts of that country, 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 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 hiſtory, 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 Jeru-'ſalem.'

He likewiſe takes notice that 'Jeruſalem [u] was the capital 'city of Judea, and that the temple there had in it immenſe 'riches.'

[t] Sed quia famoſæ urbis ſupremum diem tradituri ſumus. &c. Hiſtor. l. 5, c. 2, in.

[u] Magna pars Judææ vicis diſpergitur. Habent et oppida. Hieroſolyma genti caput: Illic immenſæ opulentiæ templum. &c. Ibid, c. 8.

Nor

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 Judea, the twelfth brought in from Syria, and other legions from Alexandria, beſide the armies of the Roman allies, the kings Agrippa, Sohemus, and Antiochus, and a large body of Arabians, always averſe to the Jews, and ſome volunteers of diſtinction even from Rome and Italy, 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 teſtimony 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.

[x] Ejuſdem anni principio, Cæſar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre.... Tres enim in Judæa legiones, quinta et decima, et quintadecima, vetus Veſpaſiani miles excepere. Tradidit et Syria duodecimam, et adductos Alexandriâ duo et viceſimanos tertianoſque. Comitabantur, viginti ſociæ cohortes, octo equitum alæ. Simul Agrippa, Sohemuſque reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, validaque et ſolito inter accolas odio infenſa Judæis Arabum manus. Multi, quos Urbe atque Italia ſua quemque ſpes acciverat 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 teſtimony to the fortitude of Chriſtians.*

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 emperors, eſpecially Domitian, after whoſe death he retired into his own country. 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 century, and [c] the third of Trajan. He was intimate with Juvenal, and well acquainted with Pliny the younger. Martial was poor. When [d] he left Rome, Pliny made him a handſome preſent; and when he heard of his death, he lamented it very affectionately.

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 contrary to the principles of their religion.

'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

[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, Nervæ, 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.

[d] Audio, Valerium Martialem deceſſiſſe. Et moleſte 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 amicitiæ: dederam etiam verſiculis, quos de me compoſuit. Plin. Lib. 3. E. p. 21.

[e] In matutina nuper ſpectatus arena
Mucius, impoſuit qui ſua membra focis,
Si patiens fortiſque tibi duruſque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ præſente moleſtâ,
Uve manum, pius eſt dicere: Non facio.
Martial. l. x. Epigr. 25.

'coat,

'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 rendered, after this manner: 'For it is a much greater thing, 'when threatened with the troubleſome coat, you are com-'manded 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.

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 at 'the mouth, and the limbs torn by chariots pulling adverſe ways, 'and that coat beſmeared and interwoven with combuſtible ma-'terials, nutriment for fire, and whatever elſe beſide theſe cru-'elty has invented. It is no wonder if, in ſuch a caſe, fear riſeth

[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 tunicæ moleſtæ præſens 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 emergat, ſtipitem, et diſtracta in diverſum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam, alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam: quicquid aliud, præter hæc, commentæ ſævitia eſt. Non eſt itaque mirum, ſi maximus hujus rei timor eſt, cujus et varietas magna, et apparatus terribilis eſt. Senec. Ep. 14.

'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.

CHAP. VII.

JUVENAL.

I. *His time and writings.* II. *His teſtimony to Nero's perſecution of the Chriſtians.* III. *His teſtimony to Domitian's perſecution.* IV. *An obſervation concerning Seneca the philoſopher.*

I. DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS [a] or Juvenal, author of ſixteen ſatires, 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 contemporary with Pliny the younger, Tacitus, and others of that age. Nevertheleſs we do not find Juvenal at all mentioned in any of the letters of Pliny now extant. I place him next to his friend Martial, and in the ſame year, the laſt of the firſt century of the Chriſtian epoch.

II. He ſeems to refer to Nero's perſecution of the Chriſtians in ſome lines [c] of his firſt ſatire, which are thus tranſlated by Mr. Dryden:

[h] See Tillemont. Neron. art. xxii.

[i] See vol. 6. ch. xi. near the end of the chapter.

[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.

[c] Pone Tigellinum, teda lucebis in illa.
Quà ſtantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ ſulcum deducit arenâ.

Juven. Sat. i. ver. 155, &c.

Bu

But if that honeſt licenſe now you take,
If into rogues omnipotent you rake,
Death is your doom, impall'd upon a ſtake,
Smear'd o'er with wax, and ſet on fire to light
The ſtreets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.

Or, more literally: 'Deſcribe a great villain, ſuch as was Tigellinus, (a corrupt miniſter under Nero,) and you ſhall ſuffer 'the ſame puniſhment with thoſe who ſtand burning in their 'own flame and ſmoke, 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 magic 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 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 ſatire [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.

III. In another ſatire 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 blood of the Lamiæ.'

[d] Scholia Juvenalis: 'Nero maleficos homines teda et papyro et cera ſuperveſtiebat, et ſic ad ignem admoveri jubebat, ut 'arderent.' Hæc 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.

[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 ſevitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit Urbi
Illuſtreſque animas impune, et vindice nullo.
Sed periit, poſtquam cerdonibus eſſe timendus
Cœperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
Sat. iv. ad fin.

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.

Ælius Lamia, whoſe death is likewiſe particularly mentioned by [k] Suetonius, undoubtedly was a man of a very ancient and noble family. 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 family; 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 Cæcilius, or Lactantius, in his book of the deaths of perſecutors; who obſerves that 'Domitian [l] '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.'

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 extant a correſpondence between him and St. Paul, in fourteen letters; which may be ſeen in Latin, in [m] Fabricius, and in Latin and Engliſh in [n] Mr. Jones, with remarks. They were in being in St. Jerom's time, and Seneca therefore is mentioned by him [o] in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. But

[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 dæmonum incitatus eſt, tunc traditus in manus inimicorum luit pœnas. Cæc. al. Lact. De M. P. c. 3.

[m] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 880, &c. Conf. ejuſd. Bibl. Lat. T. i. p. 367.

[n] See Jones of the Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2, ch. x. p. 80, &c.

[o] Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubenſis, Sotionis Stoici diſcipulus, et patruus Lucani poetæ, continentiſſimæ vitæ fuit. Quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum,

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 century who is alleged by me.

CHAP. VIII.

SUETONIUS.

I. *His hiſtory, time and works.* II. *The Jews expelled from Rome in the reign of Claudius.* III. *His account of Nero's perſecution.* IV. *His teſtimony to the Jewiſh war, and the overthrow of the Jewiſh people.* V. *Of Domitian's perſecution of the Chriſtians.* VI. *The ſum of his teſtimony.*

I. CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS[a], ſon of Suetonius Lenis, [b] flouriſhed in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, to the latter of whom he was ſecretary: which [c] place he loſt about the year 121. Pliny the younger had a particular friendſhip for him. Several of Pliny's letters ſtill extant are written to him; and he performed for him divers good offices. Suetonius, having no children by his wife, Pliny procured for him from Trajan *jus trium liberorum*, or the privilege of thoſe who have three children. His recommendation of him to the emperor is very affectionate, and exhibits a very amiable [d] character.

That he was born about the beginning 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 thirteenth of Trajan, or the year of our Lord 110, he was not leſs than forty years of age.

rum, niſi me illæ Epiſtolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ 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.

[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, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus anguſticlavius. Sueton. Othon. c. x.

[c] Scepticio Claro, Præfecto Prætorii, et Suetonio Tranquillo, epiſtolarum magiſtro, multiſque aliis, qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injuſſu ejus, familiarius ſe tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicæ poſtulabat, ſucceſſores dedit....Spartian in Adrian. cap. xi. [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 incertæ, qui ſe Neronem eſſe jactaret, &c. Sueton. in Neron. cap. ult.

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He was the author of a good number of books, of which there are now none remaining, but his 'Lives of the firſt twelve Cæ-'ſars,' and a part of a work 'concerning Illuſtrious Gramma-'rians and Rhetoricians.'

II. Suetonius, in the life of the emperor Claudius, who reigned from the year 41 to 54, ſays of him: 'He [f] baniſhed the Jews 'from Rome, who were continually making diſturbances, Chreſ-'tus 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 heathen people. And it is not impoſſible that the Jewiſh enmity againſt thoſe of their own country, or others who had embraced Chriſtianity, might produce ſome diſputes and diſturbances which came to the emperor's knowledge. This ſeems to be the meaning of Suetonius, that 'there were diſturb-'ances among the Jews and others at Rome, upon occaſion of 'Chriſt and his followers.'

If this paſſage were clear, we ſhould have a teſtimony 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] judgment.

This paſſage of Suetonius is expreſsly cited by [k] Oroſius, a Chriſtian hiſtorian, of the fifth century. But he was not clear about the meaning of it.

III. In the life of Nero, whoſe reign began in 54, and ended

[f] Judæos impulſore Chreſto aſſidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. Claud. cap. 25.

[g] See Vol. 1. p. 246.

[h] ....Perperam Chreſtianus pronunciatur a vobis, &c. Tertull. Ap. c. 3. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio eſt, propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutata litera Chreſtum ſolent dicere. Lact. Divin. Inſt. l. 4, c. 7.

[i] Cum dixi ſupra, ſub Judæorum 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, pluresque homines a paganiſmo abducentium. Quo ſpectat illud Suetonii de Claudio, *Judæos, 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. c. i. S. Havercamp. annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. 3, p. 42.

[k] Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo. *Claudius Judæos, impulſore Chriſto aſſidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit.* Quod utra contra Chriſtum tumultuantes Judæos coerceri et comprimi juſſerit, an etiam Chriſtianos ſimul, velut cognatæ religionis homines, voluerit expelli, nequaquam diſcernitur. Oroſ. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 6.

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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 extraordinary nature performed by the Christians: or that they endeavoured to justify their embracing the religion of Christ, as of divine original, upon the ground of some wonderful works, which bore testimony to it's truth and authority.

I have translated the word 'malefica,' used by Suetonius, 'magical,' agreeably to the judgment of divers learned men. But Mr. Mosheim ** thinks the word to be equivalent to 'exi-'tiabilis,' in Tacitus, meaning 'pernicious.' The Christians were singular in their religious 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.

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 contemporary 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.

[l] Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum, superstitionis novæ et maleficæ. 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 dæmonia illis parebant, et ad illorum contestationem ejiciebantur..... Exinde capiendum putat Barthius, Luc. vi. 22. Και εκβαλωσι το ονομα υμων ως πονηρον. Nec mirum. Hoc enim genere *maleficii* D. Jesum calumniabantur Gentilium accusationes. Arnob. p. 25. *Occurrunt forsitans rursus est cum aliis multis calumniosis illis, et puerilibus vocibus: Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.* Sed D. Jesu causam 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 præter omnem modum arrogantem, verum paci ac tranquillitati publicæ inimicam, et ad bella civilia ciendæ 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 *maleficam* nominet. Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 33, 34.

[n] Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. Tacit. Hist. l. 5, cap. 5, p. 518.

[o] Nec refert, quod Tacitus de iis, quæ in provinciis adversus Christianos gesta sermonem non habeat, cum Suetonius de Nerone, cap. 16, persecutionem ad urbem Romam non restringat. Pagiann. 64, n. iv.

Et quidem Suetonius, a Nerone *afflictos suppliciis Christianos* commemorans, nn'-

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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 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 emperor's extravagances, he lay 'under his diſpleaſure, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences 'of his reſentment. Veſpaſian therefore retired into a private 'place at ſome diſtance, where an honourable province, with a 'powerful army, 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 emperor was meant by 'that prediction. The Jews, applying it to themſelves, went 'into a rebellion. At firſt they had ſuch ſucceſs that they not 'only overcame their own governor, but alſo defeated the pro-'conſular governor of Syria who came to his aſſiſtance. There 'being now manifeſt occaſion for a general of great reputation, 'and a numerous army, Veſpaſian was appointed for that ſer-'vice; who, among other commanders under him, had his eldeſt

lam Romani incendii facit mentionem, ſed eos *genus hominum ſuperſtitionis novæ ac maleficæ* appellat. Quæ cum referat Suetonius inter ea, quæ 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, quæ 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.

[s] Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut diſcederet ſæpius, aut præſens 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 Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore R. quantum eventu poſtea prædictum paruit, Judæi ad ſe trahentes rebellarunt. Cæſoque præpoſito, legatum inſuper Syriæ 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 prælio 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 fama in Urbem reverſus, acto de Judæis triumpho, conſulatus octo veteri addidit. Sueton. Veſpaſian. cap. 4....8.

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'son Titus. Having put his army into good order, he entered upon 'the war with great vigour, and not without hazard to his own 'person, having 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 matter. And he expressly mentions Vespasian's triumph over the Jews at Rome.

In his life of Titus, he says, 'that [t] whilst he yet served under 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 complete the reduction of that country, he, in 'the last siege of Jerusalem, killed seven of the enemy 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 emperor.' He also says, 'that [x] Titus triumphed at Rome with 'his father.'

Suetonius is a biographer; and therefore does not write of the Jewish war so particularly, as an historian of another character might do: nevertheless, he may be justly reckoned a witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people, He bears testimony 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 Jew-'ish tax was exacted with the greatest severity, and was demand-'ed of those who lived in the city according to the Jewish cus-'toms, without entering themselves as Jews, or who, dissembling 'their original, had omitted to pay the tax laid upon that nation.'

[t] Ex Quæsturæ deinde honore legioni præpositus, Tarichæam et Gamalam urbes validissimas Judææ in potestatem redegit: equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso, alteroque infenso, cujus rector contra se dimicans occubuerat. Tit. cap. 4.

[u] .... et ad perdomandam Judæam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione vii propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiæ suæ, tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem eum consalutaverint. Ib. cap. 5.

[x] Triumphavit cum patre, Censuramque gessit una. Ib. cap. 6.

[y] Præter cæteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est: ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaicam inter Urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulatâ origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore, frequentissimoque consilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, ab circumsectus esset. Domitian. cap. 12.

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It is well known that, after [z] the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the Jewiſh people, wherever they dwelt, 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 tax was now exacted, it is likely there were divers ſorts of men. Some Gentiles, who had embraced Chriſtianity, might be looked upon as Jews: theſe were under no obligation to pay this tax. 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 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 tax. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, will not be vindicated by any, unleſs they ſcrupled to contribute to a heathen temple.

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 ſtory of Suetonius has a reference to Domitian's perſecution of the Chriſtians, commonly called the ſecond perſecution.

This [a] tax was not exacted with the ſame rigour under that good emperor Nerva: but it was not aboliſhed, as ſome have thought.

This paſſage ought to be underſtood as another teſtimony 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 latter part of Domitian's reign, Suetonius mentions this: 'And laſtly, [b] he put to death his couſin 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 ſlight ſuſpicion, when he

[z] Vid. Joſeph. De B. J. l. 7. cap. vi. § 6. p. 419. Haverc.

[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 Bergerus et Spanhemius jam demonſtrarunt. Reimar. annot. ad Dion. C. p. 1082. § 43.

[b] Denique Flavium Clementem patruelem ſuum, contemtiſſime inertiæ, 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 maxime facto maturavit ſibi exitium. Domit. cap. 15.

[c] was

'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 public; 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 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 Tyanæus, and as a thing that haſtened the death of Domitian himſelf. And we ought to recollect here what we before ſaw in * Juvenal.

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

[c] Vide Pagi. ann. 96. num. ii. et Baſnag. ann. 95. n. iv.

* See the Chapter of Dion Caſſius, in the next volume.

[d] Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo expoſtulamur, et infructuoſi in negotiis dicimur. Tert. Ap. cap. 42.

[e] Cum autem hunc Flavium Clementem contemtiſſimæ inertiæ hominem vocat Suetonius, eo ipſo Chriſtianum fuiſſe demonſtrat. De quo injuriæ in Chriſtianos titulo, quod inertes, et inutiles, et infructuoſi dicerentur, Tertull. Ap. cap. 42. Torrent. in Sueton. loc.

[f] Vid. Sueton. Veſpaſ. cap. 12. et Vitell. cap. 15. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 3. cap. 65. Eutrop. l. 7. cap. 18. Victor. de Cæſ. 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] .... αλλως τε πολλως, και τον Φλαβιον Κλημεντα υπατευοντα, καιπερ ανεψιον οντα, κατεσφαξεν ο Δομιτιανος. Dio. l. 67. c. 14. p. 1112. al. p. 766.

[i] Εωθεν δε θεοι Δομιτιανον ηδη της ανθρωπων προεδριας. Ετυχε μεν γαρ Κλημεντα απεκτονως, ανδρα υπατον, ω την αδελφην την εαυτε εξεδωκει. Philoſt. de V. A. T. l. 8. cap. 25.

* p. 263.

had

had committed to the care and inſtitution of [k] Quintilian; who calls them 'the grand-children 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 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 ordinary 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 ordinary 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.

VI. We have ſeen ſo many things in Suetonius, that it may not be improper to recapitulate; for he bears witneſs 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 witneſs 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 teſtimony, who is an hiſtorian of the beſt credit, and lived at the end of the firſt, and the beginning of the ſecond, century.

Our next author will be the younger Pliny, at the beginning of the ſecond century.

I have placed Suetonius before him, and in this volume, becauſe his teſtimony has a near affinity with the particulars mentioned by Tacitus, and the two other laſt mentioned writers.

[k] Cum vero mihi Domitianus Auguſtus ſororis ſuæ nepotum delegaverit curam. Quintil. Imp. l. 4. Pr.

[l] Ex hac liberos tulit Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori et filiæ ſuperſtes fuit: atque utramque privatus amiſit. Sueton. Veſpaſ. cap. 3.

[m] Vid. Pagi et Baſnag. ut ſupra not. [c]. p. 666. et Reimar. in Dion Caſſ. 1112.

[THE END OF THE FIRST VOL. OF JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.]

A

LARGE COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

[VOL. II. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXV. CONTAINING THE TESTIMONIES OF HEATHEN WRITERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.]

A PREFACE.

With ſome farther obſervations upon the paragraph in the Works of Joſephus, concerning our bleſſed Saviour.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been ſaid by me and others, for ſhewing that the paragraph concerning our Saviour, now found in the Antiquities of Joſephus, is not genuine, but an interpolation, ſome learned men are ſtill tenacious of it. I therefore intend to offer here ſome farther obſervations upon it.

I have as yet taken no notice of an argument which is entitled, 'A Diſſertation upon the Account ſuppoſed to have been given 'of Jeſus Chriſt by Joſephus: being an attempt to ſhew that 'this celebrated Paſſage, ſome ſlight Corruptions only excepted, 'may reaſonably be eſteemed genuine.' At Oxford, in the year 1749, p. p. 69, beſide a ſhort preface.

The diſſertation is without a name, but is generally aſcribed to Dr. N. Forſter. As great regard has been ſhewn to it by [a] ſome, I think it not improper for me to conſider the merits of it.

Says the learned author, p. 12, 13: 'Firſt then I conſider the 'account itſelf as a mere ſimple narrative, in which there is not 'a ſentence that, when properly read and underſtood, betrays 'the writer to have had any ſuſpicion that Jeſus was the Meſſiah, 'or even a teacher ſent from God. On the other hand, ſome 'expreſſions plainly imply him to have been perſuaded of the 'contrary. And the whole, taken together, ſeems to be the 'compoſition of a perſon perfectly ſatisfied that the Chriſtian

[a] See Dr. Sharpe's Argument, taken from the conceſſions of adverſaries, p. 39.

'ſcheme could not be true: aſtoniſhed however at ſome amaz-
'ing appearances in it's favour, but artfully evading the force
'of them, avoiding to enter into the merits of the affair, and
'yet affecting to give a ſeemingly plauſible account of it's ori-
'ginal.'

And at p. 49, 50: 'But a ſhort view of the whole paragraph
'will beſt illuſtrate and confirm what has been obſerved. It
'may, I think, be fairly rendered in the following manner:
"But about this time appears one Jeſus, a man of great abilities,
"if indeed he may be properly ſtiled a mere man. For he was
"a worker of wonders, a teacher of people, who embraced his
"new and extraordinary doctrines with eagerneſs. And he led
"away many, not only of the Jews, but alſo of the Gentiles
"after him. This was the perſon ſo well known by the name
"of Chriſt. And though Pilate, upon the impeachment brought
"by the principal perſons of our nation againſt him, cauſed him
"to be crucified, they who had before entertained an affection
"for him did not deſiſt. For he appeared to them to be alive
"again on the third day, their own preachers at leaſt having re-
"ported both theſe and numberleſs other wonderful things con-
"cerning him. And the ſect of the Chriſtians, who received
"their denomination from this perſon, are not extinct even to
"this day."

In ſupport of this interpretation, the learned writer propoſeth two alterations, as emendations of the preſent text in Joſephus. And inſtead of men 'who received the truth with pleaſure,' των ηδονη τ' αληθη δεχομενων, he would read, τα αηθη, 'new, ſtrange, 'unheard-of, extraordinary doctrines,' p. 27....29. And inſtead of των θειων προφητων, 'the divine prophets,' he is for reading των γε ιδιων, 'their own prophets or preachers, p. 41...44.

Upon all this I muſt ſay, firſt, that this is indeed giving a new turn to the paſſage, never ſo underſtood before, ſo far as we know, by any ancient Chriſtian writers. But ſtill the objections taken from 'the want of connection' in the place where the paſſage ſtands, and from 'the ſilence of all Chriſtian writers before Eu-'ſebius,' and of ſome others after him, remain in their full force. Some things are offered by the learned author of the diſſertation to diminiſh the force of thoſe conſiderations. But they are of ſmall moment. Nothing material can be ſaid here. Interpret the paragraph as you pleaſe, it was worth alleging. If the things here mentioned are the declarations not of the ancient Jewiſh prophets, but of the firſt preachers among the Chriſtians, or the diſciples of Jeſus, their teſtimony was fit to be taken notice of.

Nor

Nor could it have been omitted by the early apologists for Christianity. The apologists, and other Christians, of the second and third centuries, who were continually speaking of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, and his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission, would not have failed to remind their adversaries, and all men, that their doctrine was no other than the doctrine of the first disciples of Jesus, and that Josephus, a learned Jew and an unbeliever, who was contemporary with Christ's first's disciples, and wrote before the end of that age, had borne witness of it in his writings to all the world.

Secondly, the alterations proposed by the learned author of the Dissertation, as emendations of the text, are destitute of authority.

The paragraph is twice quoted by Eusebius, and afterwards, in the space of a few centuries, by many others: by Jerom in his book of Illustrious Men in Latin; by his interpreter in Greek; by Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Suidas, and others; and all in the like manner, without affording any the least countenance to either of the proposed alterations. I therefore do not see how they can be admitted, or approved of by any sober and cautious critics, who are concerned for the integrity of ancient writings. I do not think it needful for me to say any thing more [b] here. I therefore proceed.

Thirdly, in this paragraph it is said of Jesus, 'he performed 'many wonderful works:' or, 'he was a worker of wonders.' Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. Which I think could be said by none but a Christian.

But let us see what this learned writer says, p. 25: 'And what 'Jew almost either ancient or modern that has written of Jesus, 'does not say the same?' And in a note at the same page: 'This 'is not merely a periphrasis for επoιησε, but somewhat more ex- 'press and particular. He was by profession and character 'παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. This was what he was chiefly remark- 'able for, the light in which, according to our author (Josephus) 'he is principally to be considered.'

I am rather of opinion, that few or none will admit miracles to have been performed by any but such as they believe to have been teachers, who acted with divine authority.

[b] Indeed I cannot think it needful to enlarge here. And yet I know not how to forbear to confront the proposed τα αληθη for ταληθη, with a reference to a letter of Isidore of Pelusium, who after having quoted the paragraph in Josephus, according to the present reading, reflects upon it in these words: Εγω δε λιαν θαυμαζω τ' ανδρος εν πολλοις μεν το φιλαληθες. μαλιστα δε, εν οις, ειπε, διδασκαλος ανθρωπων των ηδοση τ' αληθη δεχομενων. L. 4. ep. 225.

However, let us not perplex ourſelves about the opinions of modern Jews. We are examining a paragraph in an ancient writing. Let us therefore obſerve the ſentiments of the ancients.

When Nicodemus came to our Lord, he ſaid, John iii. 2: *Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do theſe miracles that thou doeſt except God be with him:* which I take to be a certain truth, and that no man can work miracles, unleſs he have the ſpecial preſence of God with him. I ſuppoſe this to have been the opinion of the Phariſees, and all Jews in general, in the time of our Saviour. The poor man who had been born blind, and had been healed by our Lord, was of this opinion, and openly declares it, and argues from it before the Jewiſh council: John ix. 30....33. *Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he has opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not ſinners: but if a man be a worſhipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one born blind. If this man were not of God he could do nothing.*

It is ſaid Acts iv. 13....18, that when Peter and John were brought before the council, after healing the lame man at the temple: *And beholding the man which was healed, they could ſay nothing againſt it. But when they had commanded them to go aſide out of the council, they conferred among themſelves, ſaying: What ſhall we do to theſe men? For that a notable miracle has been done by them, is manifeſt to all them that dwell at Jeruſalem; and we cannot deny it.* So they ſay privately in a conſultation among themſelves. The meaning is: 'It is not our buſineſs to diſpute about it, or conteſt the truth of the miracle with the people.' Or, as Dr. Doddridge: 'Nevertheleſs, it is equally plain that both our credit 'and our intereſt require us to ſuppreſs the rumour of it as much 'as we can.' Which they did. They did not publicly declare the miracle, as Joſephus is here made to do. *But that it ſpread no farther among the people, let us ſtraitly threaten them that they ſpeak henceforth to no man in this name. And they called them, and commanded them not to ſpeak at all, nor teach in the name of Jeſus.*

The ſentiment of the unbelieving Phariſees at that time may be clearly diſcerned in the debate between the council, and the man who had been healed of blindneſs, John ix. 18....22: *But the Jews did not believe concerning him that he had been blind, and received his ſight, until they called the parents of him that had received ſight. And they aſked them, ſaying: Is this your ſon, who ye ſay was born blind? How then doth he now ſee? His parents anſwered them, and ſaid: We know that this is our ſon, and that he was born blind: but by what means he now ſeeth we know not: or who hath*

opened

opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age, aſk him. Theſe words ſpake his parents, becauſe they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already that if any man did confeſs that he was Chriſt, he ſhould be put out of the ſynagogue.

The parents did not dare to own either the miracle or the conſequence. But the man, who had been healed acknowledgeth both: that his cure was miraculous, and that Jeſus, by whom it had been performed, was a prophet. For which he was reviled by the council, and then excommunicated.

Let us now obſerve the ſentiment of Joſephus himſelf in this point. Speaking of Eliſha, he ſays: 'And [c] not long after the 'prophet alſo died, a man celebrated for his virtue, and mani- 'feſtly favoured by God. For through his prophecy were ſhewn 'wonderful and extraordinary works, and ſuch as were worthy 'of an honourable remembrance among the Hebrews.'

Joſephus therefore ſuppoſed the performance of wonderful works to be a proof of divine favour, and a prophetical character.

However, ſtill our learned author proceeds, p. 26: 'The fact 'then, which Joſephus mentions, could not be diſſembled. But 'the conciſeneſs and ambiguity with which it is expreſſed are 'extremely proper. Silent entirely with regard to the great va- 'riety and ſingular nature of the miracles which Jeſus had done, 'he is ſatisfied with ſimply repreſenting him as a worker ἐργων 'παραδοξων, a word, which all who are acquainted with it's natu- 'ral and original ſignification, and more particularly with the 'uſes to which Joſephus commonly applies it, (denoting any 'thing ſtrange, extraordinary or unaccountable, of what kind 'and degree ſoever it may be,) will perceive it to be one of the 'moſt equivocal, and conſequently the beſt adapted, to his du- 'bious character of the perſon concerned, that this extenſive and 'capacious language could have afforded him.'

I do not perceive this to be rightly ſaid. I have not obſerved the uſe of the word παραδοξος in Joſephus to be ſo ambiguous and equivocal. It has with him a preciſe and determinate meaning, and is equivalent to 'miraculous.' So it is uſed by him in the place before cited, where he ſpeaks of the works of Eliſha, which manifeſted his favour with God. It is eaſy to allege other places in the writings of Joſephus, where this word has the ſame ſenſe. When Moſes in the wilderneſs ſaw the burning buſh all in a flame,

[c] Μετ' ου πολυ δε και ο προφητης απεθανεν· ανηρ, επι δικαιοσυνη διαβοητος, και φανερως σπουδασθεις υπο του Θεου. Θαυμαστα γαρ και παραδοξα δια της προφητειας επεδειξατο εργα, και μνημης λαμπρας παρα τοις Εβραιοις αξιωθεντα. Antiq. l. 9, c. 8, § 6. p. 494.

the fruit not hurt, nor the green leaves blaſted, he was aſtoniſhed at the 'wonderful ſight:' Exod. iii. 3. Ο δε και αυτην μεν εθειτε την οψιν την παραδοξον γενομενην. Ant. l. 2, cap. 12, p. 105. We call it, *this great ſight*, agreeably to the Hebrew, as do alſo the Seventy. Certainly it was miraculous, and a token of the divine preſence, and allowed to be ſo by Joſephus. When the water in Egypt had been turned by Moſes into blood, he ſays, 'The 'water had not only the colour of blood, but it alſo cauſed great 'pains to thoſe who drank of it. So it was to the Egyptians, and 'to them alone: for to the Hebrews it was ſweet and potable, 'and not at all altered in it's nature. When the king ſaw this 'wonderful thing he was much perplexed, being concerned for 'the welfare of the Egyptians; and he gave leave for the He-'brews to depart.' ....Προς ην το παραδοξον αμηχανησας ο βασιλευς και δεισας περι των Αιγυπτιων, συνεχωρει τοις Εβραιοις απιεναι. Ant. l. 2, c. xiv. § 1, p. 108. See Exod. viii. 19....After relating the ſafe paſſage of the Iſraelites through the red ſea, and the deſtruction of Pharaoh, and his army, he ſays: 'The Hebrews having ob-'tained this wonderful deliverance, Moſes led them toward 'Mount Sinai,' Παραδοξε δε της Εβραιοις της σωτηριας ητω γενομενης, κ. λ. Ant. l. 3, c. i. in. Comp. Exod. xiv. and xvi. In Numb. xvii. is the contention for the prieſthood, which is determined in favour of Aaron and the tribe of Levi, by the budding and bloſſoming of the rod of Aaron, which had been laid up in the tabernacle. Joſephus calls this alſo a wonderful thing; and ſays that thereupon all the people readily acquieſced in the 'divine judgment 'and determination.' Εκπλαγεντες δ' επι τω παραδοξω της θεας, ει και δια μισης ην ο Μωυσης και Ααρων, αφεντες τητο, θαυμαζειν ηρξαντο την τε Θεε περι αυτων κρισιν· και το λοιπον, επευφημησαντες τοις δεδογμενοις τω Θεω, συνεχωρων Ααρωνι καλως εχειν την αρχιερωσυνην. Antiq. l. 4, cap. 4, § 2, p. 203. Going over the miracles of Eliſha, and obſerving thoſe recorded 2 Kings ch. vi. and particularly what is mentioned ver. 19, 20, he calls it a 'divine and wonderful work.' ....Εν εκπληξει δε δεινη και αμηχανια των Συρων, οιον εικος, εφ' ητως θειω και παραδοξω πραγματι κειμενων.....κ. λ. l. 9, c. 4, § 3, p. 479.

In all theſe places the Greek word ſignifies 'miraculous;' and ſo it muſt do in this paragraph. And as Joſephus allows miracles to be divine works, and a proof of a prophetical character, and of the ſpecial favour and approbation of God, he could not ſay this of Jeſus unleſs he was a Chriſtian. I might add that Joſephus often ſpeaks of God's confirming the miſſion of Moſes by ſigns and wonders. See particularly Antiq. l. 2, cap. xii. xiv. And if Joſephus owned that Jeſus had performed wonderful or miraculous works, he muſt have received him as a divine teacher,

and

and the Meſſiah, and muſt have embraced the Chriſtian religion; and would have been quite another man than what he really was, and we now ſee him to be, in all his works.

Indeed, it is not Joſephus, but Euſebius, or ſome other Chriſtian about this time, who compoſed this paragraph. Every one muſt be inclined to think ſo who obſerves the connexion in his Evangelical Demonſtration, where is the firſt quotation of it. In the third book of that work Euſebius has a chapter, or ſection, 'againſt thoſe who do not give credit to the hiſtory of our Sa-'viour's wonderful works.' προς τους απειθουντας τη του σωτηρος ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. vii. p. 109. Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical hiſtory, the ſucceſs of the goſpel among Greeks, and Romans, and barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity, and ſufferings, of Chriſt's apoſtles, and the firſt Chriſtians. Then he ſays: 'Though [d] the teſtimony of ſuch 'men concerning our Saviour muſt be eſteemed fully ſufficient, 'it cannot be amiſs for me to add, over and above the teſtimony 'of Joſephus, a Hebrew, who in the eighteenth book of his 'Jewiſh Antiquities, writing the hiſtory of affairs in the times of 'Pilate, ſpeaks of our Saviour in theſe words.' Where follows the paragraph which we are conſidering: where our Lord is ſaid to be a 'worker of wonderful works.' Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. Which way of ſpeaking is ſo agreeable to Euſebius, and has ſuch a ſimilitude with his ſtyle, that I am diſpoſed to put down below ſome inſtances from [e] him: which muſt be of uſe to ſatisfy us that the ſtyle of this paragraph is very Chriſtian, if it be not the compoſition of Euſebius himſelf, as Tanaquil Faber ſuſpected.

Fourthly, once more, the learned author of the Diſſertation argues, that it was very unlikely, that Joſephus ſhould be ſilent about our Saviour, p. 51, 52. 'Now, though I entirely agree with 'this great writer,' the author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, 'that preaching up Chriſt was an affair which Joſephus would 'ſtudiouſly decline, and have always deemed appearances of 'this kind conſiderable objections to the paſſage in queſtion, 'as it is uſually read and underſtood, yet I cannot but think, (as 'many perſons have already obſerved,) that it is very improba-

[d] Αυταρκης μεν ουν και η των δε τυγχανει περι του σωτηρος ημων μαρτυρια, κ. λ. Dem. Evang. l. 3, p. 124. A.

[e] Και δη σκεψωμεθα, οσων και οιων συν αιθεσποις τας διατριβας ποιουμενος, παραδοξων γεγονε ποιητης εργων. Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. 4, p. 107. b.

Ουκ ην σεμνοτερον τω πλαττεσθαι, οτι των τοιουτων ποιητης εργων παραδοξων γεγονεν, το γραφειν οτι μηδεν ην τουτων περι αυτον συνεδε.... κ. λ. Ib. p. 123. D.

.... πως ουκ αν ειεν αξιοι και εν λοιποις, οις εμαρτυρησαν αυτω παραδοξα; κ. λ. p. 124. A.

'ble that he ſhould omit all account of Jeſus, a perſon ſo re-
'markable in Judea, who ſo lately had been the cauſe of ſo great
'commotions among his countrymen, and whoſe fame was at
'this very time ſpread by his followers throughout the world.
'Chriſtianity was an affair which made ſome noiſe at this very
'time....Some account of it therefore ſeems to have been un-
'avoidable in a perſon treating of the extraordinary incidents of
'that period. And ſilence, with regard to ſo remarkable and
'conſpicuous an object, would have been only ſhutting his own
'eyes that others might not ſee it.'

I muſt own that I did not expect to ſee this learned author enlarge ſo much, and ſet ſo high value upon a worn-out argument, 'which,' as he ſays, 'many perſons have already obſerved,' to little purpoſe in my opinion. I ſhall only ſay that this argument proves too much, and therefore it proves nothing. It has been obſerved [f] by ſome learned men, that Joſephus has ſaid nothing of the golden calf made by the Jewiſh people in the wilderneſs; thus [g] dropping a very remarkable and 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. Yet, if we pleaſe, we may argue with a great deal of ſeeming probability that he did, and has taken notice of that tranſaction. 'Was it not well known in the world? Is it
'not recorded in one of the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament?
'Is it not in the Hebrew original? Is it not alſo in the Greek
'verſion, made before the times of Joſephus, and in the hands
'of many Greeks and others? Does not he ſay, at the beginning
'of his Antiquities, that he ſhould write of the Jewiſh affairs as
'he found them recorded in the ſacred books, without adding to
'them, or taking away from them? Therefore he could not
'avoid mentioning this. Is not Joſephus an hiſtorian in great
'repute? And can it be conſiſtent with that character to omit
'ſo remarkable an event? Upon the whole, therefore, it may be
'concluded with great probability, if not with certainty, that
'this ſtory is in his works, or was there formerly.'

So men may harangue very plauſibly, but yet to little purpoſe. And therefore it may be applied to the preſent caſe. If Joſephus had reaſons which induced him to paſs by that tranſaction, recorded in the ancient hiſtory of his people, he might alſo have reaſons which induced him to be ſilent about ſome remarkable occurrences in his own time.

[f] See p. 135. [g] Mr. Whiſton's wrong, and indeed abſurd, method of accounting for that omiſſion, may be ſeen in his ſecond Diſſertation, § 28, p. xlv. and a confutation of it may be ſeen in Dr. Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. 2, p. 430.

I have

I have now, as I think, paid due regard to the author of the aforesaid Dissertation.

II. Since the publication of the first volume of this work, I have received a letter from a learned friend, with several objections to what has been said by me for shewing this paragraph in Josephus to be an interpolation. And, if I am not mistaken, my friend is well acquainted with the abovementioned Dissertation.

1. Says my friend: 'It is introduced with great propriety, 'as what happened under Pilate's administration, and as what 'was one occasion of the disturbances amongst the Jews in his 'time. Give me leave to add that this paragraph, concerning 'Jesus, doth not seem to me so much to interrupt the course of 'the narration as is complained of. It is introduced under the 'article of Pilate, and placed between two circumstances which 'occasioned disturbances. And was not the putting Jesus to 'death, and the continuance of his apostles and disciples after 'him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable cir-'cumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though 'Josephus does not expressly say this, and perhaps had good 'reasons for not saying it, yet perhaps he intimates it, by placing 'it between the two causes of commotion, by giving so honour-'able a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that he was crucified 'at the instigation of the chief persons of the nation.'

To which I answer, that there there is not in this paragraph any intimation of disturbances occasioned by Jesus or his followers. And I shall here repeat the words of Mr. Tillemont, which were quoted formerly, p. 125: 'It must be owned,' says he, 'that 'there is one thing embarrassing in this passage, which is, that 'it interrupts the course of the narration in Josephus. For the 'passage that immediately follows begins in these terms: 'About the same time there happened another misfortune 'which disturbed the Jews." For those words, "another mis-"fortune," have no connexion with what was just said of Jesus 'Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. On the 'contrary, it has a very natural reference to what precedes in 'that place; which is a sedition, in which many Jews were 'killed or wounded.' Therefore the paragraph concerning Jesus was not originally there, but was inserted by some interpolator afterwards. So likewise says Vitringa: 'Take away the para-'graph concerning Jesus, and the preceding and following pa-'ragraphs exactly agree and tally together.' Sed restat longe maxima difficultas, de cohærentia horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus; 'Circa

'eadem

'eadem tempora aliud etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c.' Quæ tamen verba, ſi teſtimonium de Chriſto e contextu Joſephi ſuſtuleris, egregie cum præcedentibus conſpirabunt. Vitringa, quoted p. 128, 129, in the notes.

'He teſtifies that he was 'a wiſe man.' Is uncertain "whether he was not ſomething more than a common man;" which 'is the meaning of the words, ειγε ανδρα αυτον λεγειν χρη. Joſephus, upon Jewiſh principles, could not but think him a man, 'though he was uncertain whether he was not ſomewhat greater 'and more extraordinary than any mere man. And your own 'quotation from Joſephus about Moſes, p. 126, that he was a 'man ſuperior to his nature, accounts for the character given 'to Jeſus.'

I alleged that place to ſhew that the expreſſion here uſed, is not altogether without example in the ſtyle of Joſephus. But I did not intend to ſay or intimate that Joſephus had as high an opinion of Jeſus as he had of Moſes. Nor can any think that Joſephus believed Jeſus to be equal to Moſes, unleſs they ſuppoſe him to have been a Chriſtian.

'He ſays he was παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. That the Jews themſelves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknowledged: Matt. 'xiii. 54. xiv. 2, &c.

This has been conſidered already in the remarks upon the Diſſertation.

'I think, as you allow with great reaſon his teſtimony to the 'Baptiſt to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for that he 'ſhould wholly omit to ſay any thing of Jeſus.'

So ſays my very learned and very ingenious friend. And another very ingenious man [h] is reported to have ſaid, that 'Tanaquil Faber threw himſelf into innumerable difficulties by attacking the genuineneſs of the paſſage concerning Chriſt, and 'defending that where John the Baptiſt is mentioned.'

I am undoubtedly in the ſame caſe with Tanaquil Faber. I receive the paſſage where John the Baptiſt is mentioned, and reject that concerning Jeſus. But I do not here feel the weight of any difficulties. I am not at all embarraſſed thereby.

For, firſt, many Jews [i] may have reſpected John the Baptiſt as a man of an auſtere character, who did not receive Jeſus as the Chriſt. And Origen [k] in his books againſt Celſus has quoted the paſſage of Joſephus relating to John the Baptiſt. But he,

[h] The Abbé de Languerue. See Ladgueruana, Vol. 2, p. 70. [i] See in this Vol. p. 118, 119. and Vol. viii. chap. xviii. ſect. 2. fin. [k] See p. 115.

and

and all other Chriſtian writers before Euſebius, are ſilent about the paragraph concerning Jeſus, now found in the Jewiſh Antiquities. Surely this makes a difference.

Secondly, Joſephus ſays nothing of that which is the diſtinguiſhing character of John the Baptiſt—that he was the harbinger, or the forerunner, of the Meſſiah. This is the true and genuine character of John. He would not have exiſted, he never would have been at all, if it had not been for the ſake of another, who was to come after him and was greater than he.

Concerning Jeſus, John teſtified: *This is he of whom I ſaid: After me cometh a man which is preferred before me. And I knew him not: but that he ſhould be made manifeſt to Iſrael, therefore am I come baptizing with water*, &c. John i. 30, 31. And ſee Matt. iii. 11, 12; Mark i. 6....8; Luke i. 16, 17, 76, 77; iii. 16, 17; John iii. 28, and other places. Joſephus's entire ſilence about this true and genuine character of John the Baptiſt, by which he is diſtinguiſhed from all the men and prophets that ever were, affords a cogent argument that Joſephus is not the author of the paragraph concerning Jeſus, now found in the ſame book of his Antiquities; wherein Jeſus is ſaid to have been 'more than a 'mere man, a worker of miracles, the Chriſt,' and the like.

I hope my honoured friend will accept of theſe anſwers to the principal objections which he has ſent me.

III. I now intend to recollect and ſum up the argument with ſome additional obſervations.

That this paragraph, concerning the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is not Joſephus's, but an interpolation, is argued from theſe ſeveral following [1] conſiderations.

1. It is not quoted nor referred to by any Chriſtian writers before Euſebius, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the fourth century, and afterwards.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Joſephus, which were ſeen by Photius in the ninth century.

3. It interrupts the courſe of the narration.

4. It is unſuitable to the general character of Joſephus, who is allowed not to have been a Chriſtian.

It is here ſaid that 'Jeſus was a wiſe man, if he may be called 'a man,' ſo that the writer of the paragraph was uncertain whether Jeſus was not ſomewhat greater, and a more extraordinary perſon than a mere man. 'He performed wonderful works:' or, 'was a worker of wonders.' The original word, rendered wonders, is equivalent to miracles in Joſephus and in Euſebius,

[1] See p. 120....129.

who

who firſt quoted this paragraph. And if Joſephus had aſcribed miracles to Jeſus, he muſt have owned him to be a teacher come from God. Afterwards it is ſaid: 'This was the Chriſt.' That is the genuine and only meaning of the Greek words, ὁ Χριστος αυτος ην. And every thing elſe ſaid in that paragraph confirms that ſenſe.

'And when Pilate, at the inſtigation of the chief men among 'us, had condemned him to the croſs, they, who before had con-'ceived 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 wonderful things 'concerning him.' All very Chriſtian. And every thing here ſaid is in all our copies of Joſephus, and in the firſt quotation made by Euſebius, and in all the quotations ſince made by other ancient writers.

That this laſt clauſe, 'the divine prophets having foretold 'theſe, and many other wonderful things concerning him,' was always in this teſtimony, we are aſſured by Euſebius, who ſo quotes it. And preſently after quoting it, makes a remark upon the paſſage; which ſhews he ſo read it. For he preſently adds: 'And '[m] the book of the Acts of the apoſtles aſſures us, that many 'thouſand Jews believed him to be the Chriſt of God, whom 'the prophets had foretold.' See Acts xxi. 20.

How Chriſtian is all this? And ſaid likewiſe to be agreeable to the predictions of the divine prophets? which is ſuitable to many texts of the New Teſtament, and even reſembles them: Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 44; Acts xx. 22, 23; Rom. i. 1....4; 1 Cor. xv. 4. Throughout all the works of Joſephus there is not any the leaſt notice taken of Chriſt, or the Chriſtians, or their affairs. But in this ſhort paſſage are inſerted almoſt all the articles concerning Jeſus Chriſt, which were in the ancient Chriſtian creeds, except his miraculous nativity, and his aſcenſion to heaven: 'ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, 'dead, and buried: the third day he roſe again from the dead.'

And, to complete this teſtimony, the great progreſs of the Chriſtian religion in the world is here aſſerted, and that this Jeſus had 'brought over to him many Jews and many Gentiles.' The ſteadineſs of his followers in their zeal for him is alſo plainly intimated. 'They who had conceived an affection for him did 'not ceaſe to adhere to him. And the ſect of the Chriſtians,

[m] Μαρτυρει δε και η των πραξεων των Αποστολων γραφη, οτι πολλαι μυριαδες ησαν Ιουδαιων πεπιστευκοτων αυτον ειναι τον Χριστον του Θεου, τον υπο των Προφητων κατηγγελμενον. Dem. Ev. p. 124. D.

'ſo

'so called from him, still subsists.' Which are the expressions of a person who lived some good while after the rise of Christianity, and later than the time of Josephus. Nor is it any great wonder that his followers should be so attached to him, since they were men who received the truth with pleasure, and had at first given up themselves to him as a teacher of it. The bishop of Gloucester therefore, in considering this[n] passage, aptly calls it 'preaching up of Christ,' and assigns a reason why Josephus should studiously decline the so doing: and therefore makes no scruple to call this passage spurious.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles: whereas he is every where else silent about them.

All these considerations were mentioned formerly. But I have now made enlargements under the fourth. And I beg leave to add here a thought or two more.

6. The word Christ, or Messiah, appears not in any place in all the works of Josephus, excepting two: namely, the paragraph which we have been considering, which is now in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities; and another in the twentieth book of the same Antiquities, where is mention made[o] of 'James, 'the brother of Jesus who is called Christ.'

This appears to me a good argument that these two passages are interpolations. For Josephus had many, yea innumerable occasions, for mentioning that word, and speaking of the expected Messiah. But ** that word is not to be found any where in him, excepting these two passages where he is made to speak of Jesus Christ. He must have designedly and studiously avoided that expression. And it is incredible that he should bring it in for the sake of Jesus, our Saviour, for whom he cannot be supposed to have had any favourable regard.

7. Finally, to conclude, it appears to me to be the wisdom and the interest of Christians, to adhere to and improve the genuine works of Josephus, and to maintain their integrity, instead of attempting to vindicate passages which are so justly suspected to be interpolations.

[n] The Divine Legation of Moses. B. v. Sect. 4, vol. 2, p. 432, &c.

[o] Και παραγαγων εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησε τε λεγομενε Χριστε, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτω, και τινας ετερες. Ant. 20, c. ix. § 1, p. 976.

** I understand the learned author of the Dissertation to allow this where he says, p. 34, 55, 'Not as the adversaries of this 'passage on the one hand, or it's advocates 'on the other, equally misled by Christian 'notions, have generally interpreted it: '*This was the Christ*, or *the person* SAID 'TO BE THE CHRIST, viz. as a Jewish 'appellation, or title of office and dignity, 'concerning which he has carefully avoided dropping the least hint throughout his 'whole history.'

His

His works are valuable and uſeful, and highly deſerving the eſteem of Chriſtians upon divers [p] accounts.

Firſt, his rehearſal, or paraphraſe [q] of the books of the Old Teſtament, as it is called by Iſidore of Peluſium, is very valuable, notwithſtanding ſome alterations by way of omiſſion, or addition.

Secondly, his account of the ſtate of things among the Jewiſh people from the conqueſt of Judea by Pompey to the commencement of the war, and during the miniſtry of our Saviour and his apoſtles, is very valuable indeed above all price.

Thirdly, his teſtimony to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of the temple and city of Jeruſalem, and the overthrow of the Jewiſh nation by Veſpaſian and Titus, is alſo invaluable, and has always been ſo eſteemed by all Chriſtians in general.

Such a teſtimony to all theſe ſeveral things from a learned Jew, contemporary with the apoſtles of Jeſus, zealous [r] for the law, and in ſome reſpects an enemy to us, deſerves the attentive regard, and high eſteem of all friends to Chriſtianity.

[p] See the judgment of Fabricius, before alleged, p. 135, note [l].

[q] .... και την παλαιαν διαθηκην μετα αληθειας παραφρασας.... Iſidor. l. 4, ep. 225.

[r] Εγενετο δε τις Ιωσηπος Ιεδαιος ανηρ, και τω νομω ζηλωτης. κ. λ. ibid.

TESTIMONIES OF ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. IX.

PLINY the younger, and TRAJAN.

The letter of Pliny the younger to Trajan concerning the Chriſtians, and Trajan's reſcript, with notes and obſervations, and an account of the perſecution in the time of that emperor, generally reckoned the third Heathen Perſecution.

I. *The hiſtory of Pliny, and the time of his provincial government.* II. *Pliny's letter to Trajan, and Trajan's reſcript.* III. *Euſebius's account of the perſecution in the reign of Trajan.* IV. *Pliny's letter rehearſed, with notes and obſervations.* V. *Trajan's reſcript rehearſed, with notes and obſervations.* VI. *Whether Trajan did by any edict put an end to the perſecution.* VII. *The judgments of divers learned men upon the preceding letter and reſcript.* VIII. *The characters of Pliny and Trajan repreſented with freedom, candour, and impartiality.* IX. *Obſervations, ſhewing the uſes of the two foregoing epiſtles.*

1. CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, or Pliny the younger, [a] ſon of Lucius Cæcilius, and a ſiſter of the elder Pliny, by whom he was adopted for his ſon, was born at Como, near Milan, in the year of Chriſt 61 or 62. He was prætor under Domitian, and afterwards præfect of the treaſury of Saturn; which truſt ſeems to have been conferred on him jointly by [b] Nerva and Trajan. He [c] was conſul in the third year of the reign of Trajan, in the year of our Lord 100; when he pronounced his celebrated panegyric upon that emperor. He was alſo augur, and for a while governor [d] of Pontus and Bithynia. It is very probable that he did not ſurvive Trajan, who died [e] on

[a] Vid. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. i. cap. 30. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 22. Maſſon de Vita Plin. Jun. Tillemont H. E. Trajan art. 28.

[b] Ut primum me, Domine, indulgentia VESTRA promovit ad præfecturam ærarii Saturni. Lib. x. ep. 20.

Sed primum mea, deinde patris tui valetudine, poſtea curis delegati à VOBIS officii retentus, &c. Ib. ep. 24.

[c] Nondum biennium compleramus in officio laborioſiſſimo et maximo, quum tu nobis, optime principum,...conſulatum obtuliſti. Paneg. cap. 91.

[d] Vid. Ep. L. x. ep. 109, et 113.

[e] Pagi Ann. 117. num. vi. Baſnag. ann. 117. num. ii.

the

the tenth of Auguſt, in the year 117. It is more reaſonable to think that he died ſeveral years before him; foraſmuch as there is nothing extant, either in his epiſtles, or elſewhere, that ſhould induce us to think he lived long after his provincial government.

Pliny had not the title of proconſul, but was ſent into the province by the emperor, as his lieutenant and proprætor, with proconſular power; as appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions ſtill remaining.

But learned men are divided about the time of his government, and conſequently of his letter to Trajan, which muſt be alleged preſently. The great Joſeph Scaliger [g] acknowledged the difficulty of this point.

Some think he [h] went into the province in the year 101, and that the perſecution which the Chriſtians underwent in his time, happened in the year 103. Others ſuppoſe that [i] he got into the province in the latter part of the year 103, and left it in the ſummer of 105, ſtaying there about eighteen months; which term of his government is generally agreed to. Baſnage and cardinal Noris were inclined to think that [k] Pliny went thither in the year 109, and left it in 111. Pagi's computation makes it ſtill later: for he he ſays that [l] Pliny did not enter into the province before the year 110. Le Clerc, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the firſt two centuries, follows Pagi, placing Pliny's letter concerning the Chriſtians in the year 111.

In order to form a judgment concerning this point, ſome things may be obſerved by us. In the firſt place it is generally allowed that [m] the emperor Trajan was at Rome all the

[f] C. PLINIUS
CAECILIUS. SECUNDUS
COS. AUGUR. LEGAT. PRO. PRAET
PROVINC. PONTI. CONSULARI. PO
TESTATE. IN. EAM. PROVINCIAM. AB.
IMP. CAESARE. NERVA TRAIANO
AUG. GERMANICO. MISSUS

Ap. Gruter. pag. 454. 3. Et Conf. p. 1028.

[g] Vid. ejus Animadverſiones in Euſeb. Chron. p. 207.

[h] That was the opinion of James La Baune, editor of the ancient Panegyriſts in uſum Delphini. De Vita Plinii. It was likewiſe the opinion of Mr. Dodwell. Miſſus eſt in provinciam Bithyniam anno ſequente, CI....Ita inciderit perſecutio illa Plinii in annum Domini, CIII. accuratiſſime. Dodw. Diſſ. Iren. i. § xvi.

[i] So Tillemont. Perſecution de l'Egliſe ſous Trajan. art. iv. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. 2. Which was alſo the opinion of J. Maſſon de Vita Plin. Jun. A. CIII. p. 329, &c.

[k] Currente anno injunctam eſſe Plinio Bithyniæ legationem, cum eruditiſſimo Noriſio, probabiliſſimum exiſtimamus. Baſn. Ann. 109. num. ii.

[l] Plinius igitur anno Chriſti centeſimo decimo Bithyniam intravit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. num. vi.

[m] Tandem ſupponendum, per totum illud temporis ſpatium, quo noſter in provincia moratus eſt, Trajanum Romæ egiſſe. Quod certum ex lib. x. ep. 13, 14, 15, &c. Maſſon ubi ſupra. Cæterum recte Loydio obſervatum, totum illud tempus Trajanum Romæ egiſſe, quo Plinius in Bithynia fuit. Pagi ann. 102. num. viii. Vid. et Baſnag. ann. 107. num. iii.

time

time that Pliny was in the province; which appears to be very evident from his letters written to Trajan in that ſpace. This does not favour the early date of Pliny's governments; for at that time Trajan muſt have been engaged in the Dacian wars. Secondly, another thing, which much weakens the ſuppoſition of that early date, is this: Pliny was conſul in the year of our Lord 100; but he did not go into his province the year after; ſeveral years paſſed between his conſulſhip and his provincial government; as has been ſhewn by divers learned [n] men.

Nevertheleſs I do not ſee ſufficient reaſon to defer his government ſo long as ſome have done. And I am inclined to think that Pliny was ſent into the province in the year 106, and left it in 108. I ſee no good reaſon to believe that Trajan was abſent from Rome in that ſpace of time. The Dacian wars, and the two triumphs for them, [o] might be over by the end of the year 105, or the middle of 106.

We can perceive from Pliny's panegyric, pronounced in the beginning of September, in the year 100, that [p] the war againſt the Dacians was even then deſigned by Trajan, and that, probably, preparations were then making for it.

The Dacian wars began in that [q] ſame year, or [r] in the year following, and [s] laſted five years. They ended therefore in the year 105, or the beginning of 106.

In the year 102, Trajan obtained a ſignal, though difficult, victory over the Dacians, and triumphed at Rome upon that account in the year 103: of this there is full [t] proof. The firſt war therefore was completed [u] in two years. The ſecond could not laſt much longer.

[n] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. n. vii. viii. Baſnag. ann. 109. num. ii.

[o] Optime facis, quod bellum Dacium ſcribere paras. Nam quæ tam recens, tam copioſa, tam lata, quæ denique tam poetica materia? Dices, immiſſa terris nova flumina, novos pontes fluminibus injectos....pulſum regiâ, pulſum etiam vitâ, regem nihil deſperantem. Super hæc, actos bis triumphos: quorum alter ex invita gente primus, alter noviſſimus fuit. Plin. ad Caninium. Ep. 4. L. 8. Conf. Dion. Caſſ. l. 68. p. 1123——1133. ed. Reimar.

[p] Quod ſi quis barbarus rex eo inſolentiæ furoriſque proceſſerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur, næ ille, ſive interfuſo mari, ſeu fluminibus immenſis, ſeu præcipiti monte defenditur, omnia hæc tam prona, tamque cedentia virtutibus tuis ſentiet, ut ſubſediſſe montes, flumina exaruiſſe, interceptum mare, illataſque ſibi non eſſe claſſes noſtras, ſed terras ipſas, arbitretur. Paneg. cap. 16.

[q] Primum ab octobri menſe, A. U. C. 853 [A. D. 100.] uſque ad finem anni 855 duravit, triumpho acto ſequenti anno 856. Reimar. ad Dion. 1130.

[r] Anno præterito Trajanus expeditionem in Dacos ſuſceperat, in quo magna quidem cædes hoſtium facta, multo tamen ſanguine Romanorum victoria conſtitit. Baſnag. ann. 102. ii. Vid. et Ann. 101. i.

[s] Επραχθη δε μοι το εργον τουτο εν ενιαυτοις εισω πεντε. Trajan. ap. Julian. Cæſ. p. 327. D. ed. Spanheim.

[t] Trajanus hoc anno e Dacia Romam redux de Decebalo Dacorum rege Triumphavit, ut certum facit nummus a Card. Noriſio in Epiſtola Conſulari ex Theſauro Mediceo productus. Pagi ann. 103. viii. et Baſn. ann. 103. i.

[u] Quare biennium in id inſumtum, Reimar. ad Dion. p. 1130.

After theſe wars Trajan ſtaid a long while at Rome. For, though ſome learned men have thought otherwiſe, it ſeems to me to have been well ſhewn by [x] Pagi, and [y] Baſnage, that Trajan did not go into the Eaſt before the year 112. During that ſtay at Rome he received the ſolemn embaſſies of divers eaſtern princes, raiſed many new buildings, and repaired others, built his forum, and erected the famous column, which was not finiſhed and dedicated [z] before the year 112 or 113.

What has been already ſaid muſt be ſufficient to render it probable that Trajan was at Rome in the year 107, and afterwards.

Another argument for the time of Pliny's government offers itſelf here from the martyrdom of Ignatius, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſome connection with the reſcript of Trajan, to be produced hereafter, and which cannot be removed [a] from the tenth of Trajan, and the hundred and ſeventh of our Lord, where it is placed by Euſebius in his chronicle, and by Jerom in the chapter of Ignatius, in his book of Illuſtrious Men. Euſebius could not be miſtaken about the time of the martyrdom of a biſhop of a city ſo near his own.

And by the Acts of Ignatius, which we have, his martyrdom is placed in the time of Sura and Senecio, who were conſuls in the tenth of Trajan, and the year of Chriſt 107.

Thoſe Acts indeed are not ſincere and incorrupt, nor, perhaps, of the higheſt [b] antiquity. In them it is ſuppoſed that Ignatius was condemned at Antioch by Trajan in perſon, and ſent by him to Rome; which is inconſiſtent with the juſt mentioned conſulſhip: at which time Trajan was not at Antioch, as was before ſhewn. Nor does Euſebius, or Jerom after him, ſay any thing of Ignatius having been condemned by Trajan himſelf; a remarkable circumſtance, which, if true, could not have been omitted by writers, who have enlarged ſo much in their accounts of this biſhop and martyr. Moreover, if Trajan had been at Antioch, Ignatius would have ſuffered in that city. His being ſent to Rome is an argument that Trajan was there. So now, as we ſhall ſee preſently, Pliny having ſome Chriſtians brought before him, who were citizens, he ſent them to Rome, where Trajan certainly was at that time. And that Trajan was at

[x] Ann. 105. ii. iii. et 112. iii.

[y] Ann. 107. iii. et 112. ii. iii.

[z] Pagi ann. 104. ii. 113. i. Baſn. ann. 113. i.

[a] Ejus certum tempus habemus in Actis Ignatii, Conſulatum Suræ et Senecionis, annum Domini CVII. Dodw. Diſſ. Cypr. xi. § 18. Vid. et Baſnag. ann. 107. v....viii. And the Credibility, &c. vol. ii. p. 69.

[b] Nos vero ſententiæ ſumus ejuſmodi, poſt Euſebium nata eſſe Acta hæc Ignatii, Baſnag. Ann. 107. viii.

Rome,

Rome, when Ignatius ſuffered there, is expreſsly ſaid by a Chriſtian writer [c] of the ninth century.

Pliny, then, was ſent from Rome in the ſummer of the year 106. He went by the way [d] of Epheſus, and arrived in Bithynia [e] on the eighteenth of September, which was the genuine, or natural birthday of Trajan. He ſeems alſo in one of his epiſtles [f] to ſpeak of the ſame birthday in another year. Whilſt he was in the province he twice [g] celebrated the day of Trajan's acceſſion, or the anniverſary of his empire. The firſt time may have been on the 27th of January, in the year 107; the next, or ſecond, on the ſame day of January, in the year 108. It is likely that he did not leave the province before the ſummer of that year. Conſequently he was there eighteen months, or longer. According to this computation, Pliny's letter to Trajan, concerning the Chriſtians, was written in 107, and the emperor's reſcript, or anſwer to it, in the ſame year.

II. The letter of Pliny is in theſe words.

'Pliny to the emperor Trajan wiſheth health and [h] happi-
'neſs.

'It [i] is my conſtant cuſtom, Sir, to refer myſelf to you in all
'matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who can
'better direct me where I heſitate, or inſtruct me where I am
'ignorant? I have never been preſent at any trials of Chriſtians:
'ſo that I know not well what is the ſubject matter of puniſh-
'ment, or of inquiry, or what ſtrictneſs ought to be uſed in

[c] Quod ſi audiatur Ado, Romæ adfuit Trajanus, cum exceſſit Ignatius, ut legitur in libello de Feſtivitatibus Apoſtolorum. Baſnag. ann. 107. viii.

[d] Vid. l. x. ep. 26. et 28.

[e] Rurſus, quum tranſiſſem in orarias naviculas, contrariis ventis retentus, aliquanto tardius quam ſperaveram, id eſt, xv. Calend. Octobris, Bithyniam intravi. Non poſſum tamen de morâ queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auſpicatiſſimum, natalem tuum in provinciâ celebrare. L. x. ep. 28.

——diem illum, triplici gaudio lætum, qui principem abſtulit peſſimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

[f] Opto, Domine, et hunc natalem, et plurimos alios, quam feliciſſimos agas. L. x. ep. 89. Vid. et ep. 90.

[g] Diem, Domine, quo ſervaſti imperium, dum ſuſcipis, quantâ mereris lætitiâ celebravimus. &c. L. x. ep. 60.

Quantâ religione ac lætitiâ commilitones cum provincialibus, te præeunte, diem imperii mei celebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde cariſſime, cognovi ex literis tuis. Ep. 61. Vid. et ep. 103, et 104.

[h] C. Plinius Trajano Imp. S. Lib. x. ep. xcvii.

[i] Solenne eſt mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim poteſt melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam inſtruere? Cognitionibus Chriſtianorum interfui nunquam. Ideo neſcio quid et quatenus aut puniri ſoleat, aut quæri. Nec mediocriter hæſitavi, ſit ne aliquod diſcrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robuſtioribus differant: deturne pœnitentiæ venia, an ei qui omnino Chriſtianus fuit, deſiiſſe non proſit: nomen ipſum, etiamſi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis qui ad me tanquam Chriſtiani deferebantur, hunc ſum ſecutus modum. Interrogavi ipſos, an eſſent Chriſtiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, ſupplicium minatus: perſeverantes duci juſſi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque eſſet quod faterentur,

'either. Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether 'any difference ought to be made upon account of age, or 'whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robuſt, 'ought to be treated all alike: whether repentance ſhould en-'title to pardon, or whether all who have once been Chriſtians 'ought to be puniſhed, though they are now no longer ſo: 'whether the name itſelf, although no crimes be detected, or 'crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be puniſhed. 'Concerning all theſe things I am in doubt.

'In the mean time I have taken this courſe with all who have 'been brought before me and have been accuſed as Chriſtians. 'I have put the queſtion to them, whether they were Chriſtians. 'Upon their confeſſing to me that they were, I repeated the 'queſtion a ſecond and a third time, threatening alſo to puniſh 'them with death. Such as ſtill perſiſted, I ordered away to be 'puniſhed; for it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the 'nature of their opinion, that contumacy, and inflexible obſti-'nacy, ought to be puniſhed. There were others of the ſame 'infatuation, whom, becauſe they are Roman citizens, I have 'noted down to be ſent to the city.

'In a ſhort time, the crime ſpreading itſelf, even whilſt under 'perſecution, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, divers ſorts of people

faterentur, pervicaciam certe, et inflexibilem obſtinationem, debere puniri. Fuerunt alii ſimilis amentiæ: quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in Urbem remittendos. Mox ipſo tractu, [al. tractatu] ut fieri ſolet, diffundente ſe crimine; plures ſpecies inciderunt. Propoſitus eſt libellus ſine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarunt ſe eſſe Chriſtianos, aut fuiſſe, quum, præeunte me, Deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc juſſeram cum ſimulachris numinum afferri, vino ac thure ſacrificarent, præterea maledicerent Chriſto: quorum nihil cogi poſſe dicuntur, qui ſunt revera Chriſtiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, eſſe ſe Chriſtianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt: fuiſſe quidem, ſed deſiiſſe, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem tuam, Deorumque ſimulachra venerati ſunt. Ii et Chriſto maledixerunt. Affirmabant autem, hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem: ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen, et innoxium: quod et ipſum facere deſiiſſe poſt edictum meum, quo ſecundum mandata tua hetærias eſſe vetueram. Quo magis neceſſarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ miniſtræ dicebantur, quid eſſet veri et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam ſuperſtitionem pravam et immodicam. Ideoque dilata cognitione ad conſulendum te decurri. Viſa eſt enim mihi res digna conſultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, utriuſque ſexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, ſed vicos etiam et agros ſuperſtitionis iſtius contagio pervagata eſt. Quæ videtur ſiſti et corrigi poſſe: Certe ſatis conſtat, prope etiam deſolata templa cœpiſſe celebrari, et ſacra ſolemnia diu intermiſſa repeti: paſſimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rariſſimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile eſt opinari, quæ turba hominum emendari poſſit, ſi ſit pœnitentiæ locus.

'came

'came in my way. An information was preſented to me without mentioning the author, containing the names of many perſons, who upon examination denied that they were Chriſtians, or had ever been ſo; who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincenſe made ſupplication to your image, which for that purpoſe I had cauſed to be brought and ſet before them, together with the ſtatues of the deities. Moreover, they reviled the name of Chriſt. None of which things, as is ſaid, they, who are really Chriſtians, can by any means be compelled to do. Theſe therefore I thought proper to diſcharge.

'Others were named by an informer, who at firſt confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, and afterwards denied it. The reſt ſaid they had been Chriſtians, but had left them; ſome three years ago, ſome longer, and one, or more, above twenty years. They all worſhipped your image, and the ſtatues of the gods: theſe alſo reviled Chriſt. They affirmed that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet together on a ſtated day before it was light, and ſing among themſelves alternately a hymn to Chriſt, as a god, and bind themſelves by an oath, not to the commiſſion of any wickedneſs, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falſify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When theſe things were performed, it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any diſorder: but this they had forborn, ſince the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited aſſemblies.

'After receiving this account I judged it the more neceſſary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-ſervants, which were called miniſters. But I have diſcovered nothing, beſide a bad and exceſſive ſuperſtition.

'Suſpending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have recourſe to you for advice: for it has appeared unto me a matter highly deſerving conſideration, eſpecially upon account of the great number of perſons who are in danger of ſuffering. For many of all ages, and every rank, of both ſexes likewiſe, are accuſed, and will be accuſed. Nor has the contagion of this ſuperſtition ſeized cities only, but the leſſer towns alſo, and the open country. Nevertheleſs it ſeems to me that it may be reſtrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almoſt forſaken, begin to be more frequented. And the ſacred ſolemnities, after a long intermiſſion, are re-

'vived. Victims likewiſe are every where bought up, where-
'as for ſome time there were few purchaſers. Whence it is eaſy
'to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if par-
'don were granted to thoſe who ſhall repent.'

So writes Pliny. We are now to obſerve the emperor's re-ſcript.

'Trajan to Pliny wiſheth health and [k] happineſs.'

'You [l] have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your pro-
'ceedings with thoſe who have been brought before you as
'Chriſtians; for it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh any one rule that
'ſhall hold univerſally. They are not to be ſought for. If
'any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to
'be puniſhed. However, he that denies his being a Chriſtian,
'and makes it evident in fact, that is, by ſupplicating to our
'gods, though he be ſuſpected to have been ſo formerly, let him
'be pardoned upon repentance. But in no caſe, of any crime
'whatever, may a bill of information be received without be-
'ing ſigned by him who preſents it: for that would be a dan-
'gerous precedent, and unworthy of my government.'

I have put together theſe two letters, that we may make our remarks upon them jointly, and without interruption.

It may be obſerved here, that the genuineneſs of theſe letters is unqueſtioned. They are found with the other letters of Pliny to Trajan, and Trajan's letters to him. And they are both particularly mentioned by [m] Tertullian, in his Apology for the Chriſtians, and by [n] Euſebius from him, not now to mention any later writers.

III. But before we enter upon any particular remarks upon theſe epiſtles, it may be of uſe to take Euſebius's account of the perſecution of the Chriſtians in the reign of Trajan.

In the thirty-ſecond chapter of the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he expreſſeth himſelf to this purpoſe: 'After
'Nero and Domitian, in the time of him of whom we are now
'ſpeaking, we have underſtood that in ſeveral places, and in di-
'vers cities, there was a perſecution occaſioned by the tumults
'of the people.' After which he there relates the martyrdom of Simeon, ſon of Cleophas, biſhop of Jeruſalem: who at the age

[k] Trajanus Plinio S.

[l] Lib. x. ep. 98. Actum quem debuiſti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis cauſis eorum qui Chriſtiani ad te delati fuerant, ſecutus es. Neque enim in univerſum aliquid, quod quaſi certam formam habeat, conſtitui poteſt. Conquirendi non ſunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi ſunt: ita tamen, ut qui negaverit ſe Chriſtianum eſſe, idque re ipſa manifeſtum fecerit, id eſt, ſupplicando Diis noſtris, quamvis ſuſpectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentiâ impetret. Sine auctore vero propoſiti libelli, nullo in crimine, locum habere debent. Nam et peſſimi exempli, nec noſtri ſeculi eſt.

[m] Apol. cap. 2.

[n] H. E. l. 3. cap. 33.

of

of an hundred and twenty-years was crucified by order of Atticus, governor of Judea under Trajan.

In the next chapter he writes thus: 'And indeed ſo heavy a 'perſecution was there againſt us in many places, that Pliny, a 'governor of great eminence and diſtinction, being moved at the 'multitude of the martyrs, could not forbear writing to the em-'peror concerning the multitude of thoſe who were ſlain for the 'faith. At the ſame time informing him that he had not diſco-'vered any wickedneſs they were guilty of, or any thing done 'by them contrary to the laws: only that riſing early in the 'morning they ſang together a hymn to Chriſt, as a god: that 'they condemned adultery, murder, and all ſuch crimes: and 'that they acted in all things according to the laws. In anſwer 'to which Trajan ſent an edict to this effect: "That the Chriſ-"tians ſhould not be ſought for, but if any were brought before "him they ſhould be puniſhed." By which means the vio-'lence of the perſecution againſt us was in ſome meaſure abated. 'Nevertheleſs, they who had a mind to diſturb us did not want 'pretences for ſo doing: in ſome places the people, in other 'places the governors of provinces, laying ſnares for us. So 'that, though there was no open [or general] perſecution, there 'were perſecutions in ſeveral places and provinces, and there 'were many faithful men who underwent divers kinds of mar-'tyrdom.'

So writes Euſebius, I believe very truly, and I think judiciouſly, and with good temper, though not with elegance or accuracy of expreſſion. He then proceeds to tranſcribe a part of Tertullian's Apology, where he ſpeaks of Pliny and Trajan; of which I may take farther notice hereafter. At preſent I tranſcribe below [o] what we find upon this ſubject in Euſebius's Chronicle.

IV. I now intend to go over the two epiſtles above tranſcribed.

'It is my conſtant cuſtom, Sir, to refer myſelf to you in all 'matters concerning which I have any doubt.'

That this was Pliny's conſtant cuſtom, ſufficiently appears from his many letters ſent to Trajan, whilſt he was in the pro-

[o] Plinius Secundus, quum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magiſtratu ſuo plurimos Chriſtianorum interfeciſſet, multitudine eorum perterritus, quæſivit de Trajano, quid facto opus eſſet, nuncians ei, præter obſtinationem non ſacrificandi, et antelucanos cœtus ad canendum cuidam Chriſto, ut Deo, nihil apud eos reperiri: præterea ad conſœderandam diſciplinam vetari ab his, homicidia, adulteria, latrocinia, et his ſimilia. Ad quæ commotus Trajanus reſcripſit, hoc genus quidem inquirendos non eſſe, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Euſeb. Chron. p. 165.

vince. He ſeems to have had ſome particular encouragement from the emperor [p] ſo to do. But the introduction to this letter is rather more formal than ordinary, becauſe of the importance of the preſent ſubject of inquiry. And indeed it was a frequent practice of the governors of provinces, upon ſpecial occaſions, to conſult the Roman emperor, the ſupreme [q] magiſtrate:

'I have never been preſent at any trials of the Chriſtians.'

This manner of ſpeaking ſhews that the Chriſtians were then well known in the world. Pliny does not ſay to the emperor that he had now unexpectedly met with a certain ſort of men in his province, called Chriſtians. No. There were people well known to himſelf, and the emperor, who bore the denomination of Chriſtians. When he ſays, 'he had never been preſent at 'any trials of the Chriſtians;' it ſeems to be implied that he knew of ſome ſuch trials, though he had not been concerned in them. And there [r] may have been ſuch trials in this province before he came into it.

'So that I know not well what is the ſubject matter of puniſh-'ment, or of inquiry, or what ſtrictneſs ought to be uſed in 'either.'

Hence it may be argued, that when Pliny came into his province there [s] were no edicts in force againſt the Chriſtians. If there had, Pliny, who was a learned man, and well acquainted with the Roman laws, muſt have known them. The reaſon why there were then no edicts in force againſt the Chriſtians, I

[p] Summas, Domine, gratias ago, quod inter maximas occupationes, iis, de quibus conſului, me quoque regere dignatus es: quod nunc quoque facias, rogo. L. x. ep. 64. [q] Vid. C. Kortholt. Comment. in Ep. Plinii et Trajani de Chriſtian. p. 11.

[r] Certe jam ante ſe cognitiones in provincia fuiſſe de Chriſtianis habitas, initio literarum ſuarum noſter ſignificat. Ac eum quidem, qui proxime ante Plinium Bithyniæ præfuerat, fuiſſe perſecutorem, inde manifeſtum puto, quod Plinius refert nonnullos ad ſe productorum dixiſſe, *ſe jam ante triennium deſiſſe eſſe Chriſtianos.* Suâ autem ſponte eos, non metu ſupplicii, id feciſſe, veriſimile non eſt. C. A. Heumanni Diſput. de Perſecutione Chriſtian. Plinian. § iv. p. 124. Ap. Diſſ. Syllog. Tom. i. P. i. [s] Fuiſſe aliquod Trajani de interficiendis Chriſtianis certum edictum ante Plinii relationem, non exiſtimo. Si quod enim fuiſſet, Plinius non dubitaret: aut Trajanum certe conſulendo, ejus edicti mentionem feciſſet. Fr. Balduin. Comm. ad Edict. Princ. Roman. de Chriſtianis. p. 28. Quid Trajanus A. C. 103, ſeq. contra eos tentaverit, ex Plinio conſtat, cujus Epiſtola indicat, vexatos quidem eſſe Chriſtianos variis in locis, abſque ulla tamen hactenus Cæſarum reſcripto. Unde Plinius ea de re Trajanum conſulere neceſſum habuit. Lampe Synopſ. Hiſt. Ec. l. 2, c. 3, num. xxxiii. p. 112. Quum Trajanus, primus imperatorum hujus ſæculi, reipublicæ gubernationi admoveretur, nullæ aderant in Chriſtianos leges et edicta. Quod cum aliæ res, tum Plinii notiſſima epiſtola, extra omnem dubitationem ponit, quâ imperatori ſignificat, neſcire ſe, quomodo cum Chriſtianis agendum eſſet: quod vir juris et conſuetudinum Romanarum conſultiſſimus non ignoraſſet, ſi leges in Chriſtianos extitiſſent. Neronis nimirum leges Senatus, Domitiani Nerva imperator abrogaverat. Moſhem. De Reb. Chriſtian. ante C. M. Sec. 2, § viii. p. 231.

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe to be that the edicts of Nero and Domitian had been abrogated.

'Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether any 'difference ought to be made on account of age, or whether the 'young and tender, and the full grown and robuſt, ought to be 'treated all alike.'

Mr. Melmoth's tranſlation is thus: 'Whether therefore any 'difference is uſually made with reſpect to the ages of the guilty, 'or no diſtinction is to be obſerved between the young and the 'adult....' I have allowed myſelf to be more diffuſed, and ſomewhat paraphraſtical, becauſe I have imagined that Pliny's queſtion relates not only to thoſe who were tender upon account of their age, but alſo upon account of their ſex.

Some have thought that [t] Trajan gives no anſwer to this queſtion. Whether he does or not will be conſidered hereafter.

Le Clerc is much offended that Pliny ſhould not know whether [u] a difference ought to be made between the young and the adult, eſpecially in matters of religion, where children are very likely to follow the judgment of their parents. However, I apprehend that this queſtion is propoſed by Pliny with a good intention, and hoping that Trajan would determine favourably, that 'the young and the tender' ſhould not be treated in the ſame manner with thoſe of mature age and robuſt conſtitution.

Another commentator upon Pliny obſerves, 'that [x] in other 'caſes regard was had to age by the Roman laws; but that this 'equity was not ſhewn in the treatment of Chriſtians;' as indeed is well known from the ancient apologiſts, and other ancient Chriſtian writers, who often ſpeak of the ſufferings and of the courage, reſolution, and patience, of young people and women: of which a few inſtances ſhall be placed [y] below in their own words.

And

[t] *Nec mediocriter hæſitavi, ſit ne aliquod diſcrimen ætatum.* Huic dubitationi non reſpondet Trajanus. Balduin. ubi ſupra.

[u] In aliis criminibus ratio ætatis habebatur. Neque enim pueri, rerum omnium imperiti, eodem modo atque adulti, qui ſcientes et prudentes deliquerant, habebantur. Mirum eſt, in religionis negotio, dubitare poſſe Plinium, *an effet aliquod diſcrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robuſtioribus differrent:* cum liquidum ſit, teneram ætatem ſequi parentum judicium....Hic homo, alioqui doctus, et acutus, talpâ cæciorem ſe præbuit. Uſque adeo verum eſt, pravis religionibus hebetes homines fieri. Cleric. H. E. p. 547.

[x] Ætatis magna omnino in pœnis irrogandis haberi ſolet ratio. Unde non tantum definiunt Icti, quæ ætas delicti ſit capax: ſed etiam docent, ſi maxime capax ſit, ob ætatem tamen tenellam et floreſcentem, mitiorem debere pœnam infligi.... Cæterum ut hæc ita ſint, de fide tamen Chriſtianâ quando res erat, omni ætatis diſcrimine poſthabito, in ipſos etiam pueros puellaſque crudeliter ſæviebatur. Kortholt. ubi ſupr. p. 12.

[y] Pueri et mulierculæ noſtræ cruces et tormenta, feras, et omnes ſuppliciorum terriculas inſpiratâ patientiâ doloris illudunt. Min. Fel. c. 37. .... Noſtri autem (ut de viris taceam,) pueri, et mulierculæ tortores

And perhaps Pliny himſelf did really heſitate here. In other caſes regard was uſually had to age. But the perſecutions of the Chriſtians were carried with ſo much violence, and there was ſuch vehemence in the complaints againſt them brought before him as enemies to the gods, and for neglecting the worſhip at the temples, and all the ſacred ſolemnities, that he was in doubt whether they ought to partake in the common equity.

'Whether repentance ſhould entitle to pardon, or whether all 'who have been once Chriſtians ſhould be puniſhed, though 'they are now no longer ſo.'

Upon this Le Clerc obſerves that, 'if [z] Chriſtianity were ſup-'poſed to be an error only, nothing more could be expected of 'him who had erred in embracing it, than renouncing it upon 'being convinced of his error. And as the Chriſtians were 'charged with no crime that ſhould expoſe them to puniſhment, 'it was highly reaſonable that pardon ſhould be granted upon 'repentance.'

And I am apt to think that this is what Pliny aimed at in this inquiry. We may be rather diſpoſed to think ſo, becauſe he plainly recommends it afterwards nearer the end of his letter.

'Whether the name itſelf, although no crimes be detected, or 'crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be puniſhed? 'Concerning all theſe things I am in doubt.'

This is Pliny's third queſtion, and of great importance. If rightly determined, the Chriſtians could no longer ſuffer upon account of their religion. But I do not diſcern any hint from Pliny in favour of the right anſwer, nor any intimation how he wiſhed to have it anſwered.

Pliny ſpeaks in the language of thoſe times. We find this complaint frequently in our ancient apologiſts, that [a] they were puniſhed for the name only, as Chriſtians, without proof of any crimes they were guilty of.

tortores ſuos taciti vincunt....Ecce ſexus infirmus, et fragilis ætas, dilacerari ſe tota corpore, urique perpetitur, &c. Lact. Inf. l. 5, c. 13.

[z] Dubitabat idem, an dari oporteret *pœnitentiæ veniam*, &c. At ſi ſtatuamus errorem eſſe Chriſtianiſmum, quid potuit ab errante aliud poſtulari, niſi ut erroris victus ſe erraſſe fateretur, et meliora edoctus rectius de religione ſentiret? &c. Cleric. H. E. Ap. cxi. n. v.

[a] Hanc itaque primam cauſſam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen Chriſtianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

.... Sed illud ſolum exſpectatur, quod odio publico neceſſarium eſt, confeſſio nominis, non examinatio criminis. Ib. c. 2.

Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perſeverantes, et abſolvimur negantes, quia nominis prælium eſt. Ib. c. 2, p. 4. B.

Porro ſententiæ veſtræ nihil niſi Chriſtianum confeſſum notant. Nullum criminis nomen extat, niſi nominis crimen eſt. Id ad Nation. l. i. c. 3. et alibi paſſim.

Ὀνοματος μεν γε προσωνομια, ουτε αγαθον ουτε κακον κρινεται, ἀνευ των ὑποπιπτοντων σωματι πραξεων. Juſtin. M. Ap. p. 54. D. Pariſ. 1636. Vid. et p. 55. A. B.

Ου γαρ τα σωματα μισως ἀξια, ἀλλα το ἀδικημα δικης και τιμωριας. Athen. Ap. p. 3.....επι μοιω σωματι προσπολεμειται παρα των πολλων. Ib. Par. p. 280. Bened.

When

When Pliny firſt formed theſe three queſtions, this laſt in particular, he might poſſibly be in doubt whether the Chriſtians were not guilty of ſome crimes. But, before he wrote this letter and ſent it away to Trajan, he had good proof and muſt have been well ſatisfied that there were no crimes, 'belonging to,' or 'inherent in the name,' or the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; as we ſhall ſee by and by: at preſent we go on.

'In the mean time,' ſays Pliny, 'I have taken this courſe 'with all who have been brought before me, and accuſed as 'Chriſtians.'

Le Clerc thinks [b] it ſtrange that whilſt Pliny had ſuch doubts he ſhould proceed to act as if he had been well ſatisfied what was fit to be done, and treat the Chriſtians very ſeverely.

'I put the queſtion to them whether they were Chriſtians. 'Upon their confeſſing to me that they were, I repeated the 'queſtion a ſecond and a third time, threatening alſo to puniſh 'them with death. Such as ſtill perſiſted I ordered away to be 'puniſhed.'

Mr. Melmoth very ſoftly and cautiouſly tranſlates in this general manner: 'If they confeſſed, I repeated the queſtion twice 'again, adding threats at the ſame time; when, if they ſtill per-'ſevered, I ordered them to be immediately puniſhed.' But to me it ſeems that Pliny's expreſſions [c] require the interpretation that I have given: which is alſo agreeable to Mr. Tillemont's [d] French verſion.

The obvious meaning of the laſt words, *perſeverantes duci juſſi*, is that of being had away to be puniſhed with death. The phraſe [e] frequently occurs in that ſenſe in the Latin authors, and is equivalent to the [f] Greek word in Acts xii. 19—*and commanded that they ſhould be put to death.*

However, the word is alſo uſed for being had away to [g] priſon. And Tertullian, repreſenting Pliny's conduct in the province, as from his own letter, which we are now conſidering, ſays:

[b] Quamvis Plinius animi, ut vidimus, penderet, ac proinde rem deferre debuiſſet, quaſi exploratum ei fuiſſet, quid factu opus eſſet, peſſime habuit Chriſtianos. Ib. n. vii. in. [c] *Perſeverantes duci juſſi.*] nempe ad mortem. Sic enim, ut omnes norunt, loqui ſolent Latini ſcriptores. Cleric. ibid. [d] Quand ils ont avoué, je leur ai fait deux ou trois fois la meſme demande, en les menaçant meſme de la mort, s'ils ne renonçoient à cette religion. Ceux qui ont perſiſté dans leur aveu, je les ai fait mener au ſupplice. Tillem. La Perſecution ſous Trajan. art. iv. H. Emp. T. 2. [e] ....a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit. Suet. Calig. c. 27....ducique ad ſupplicium imperavit. Tib. c. 57..... paucis duci juſſis. Tertull. ad Scap. c. ult. ....innocentes duci jubentur. L. Cæc. de Mart. Perſec. c. 40. ad ſupplicium deductæ. Ib. .... innocentes occiſas eſſe teſtatur. Ib. [f] .... εκελευσεν απαχθηναι. [g] ....ducique in carcerem juſſit. Sueton. Cæſ. cap. 20.

'Some

'Some [h] Chriſtians he condemned to death, others he degraded.' And in like manner Euſebius [i] in his Greek quotation of Tertullian's Apology. Poſſibly, therefore, Tertullian ſuppoſed that in the word *duci* were included ſeveral kinds of puniſhment; or elſe he underſtood *duci*, as I have tranſlated, 'put to death:' and by 'degrading others' he explains what Pliny ſays of ſending ſome, who were citizens, to Rome. Nevertheleſs, in the Chronicle before [k] tranſcribed by us, Euſebius writes that 'Pliny, when he preſided in a certain province, and had put to 'death many Chriſtians in the time of his government, being 'concerned on account of the multitude of thoſe who were in 'danger of ſuffering, he wrote to the emperor for advice what 'ſhould be done.'

Pliny here ſays: 'I put the queſtion to them whether they 'were Chriſtians. Upon their confeſſing to me that they were, 'I repeated the queſtion a ſecond and a third time, threatening 'alſo to puniſh them with death.'

Here I muſt ſay that, ſo far as I am able to judge, Pliny acted the part of a true and thorough perſecutor: 'adviſing theſe per-'ſons well to conſider of the matter, and to have a due regard 'to their own welfare. If they departed from their firſt con-'feſſion, mercy might be ſhewn them: but if they perſiſted in 'it, nothing leſs than death could be expected.'

But there is no real argument in ſuch fine ſpeeches, or ſuch threatenings. Indeed Pliny did all that was in his power to make them recant without, and contrary to, conviction. And undoubtedly he ſubdued the conſciences of ſome, and made them fall from the faith. It is implied in what he ſays preſently afterwards: 'Such as ſtill perſiſted, I ordered away to be puniſh-'ed.' Therefore all did not perſevere. Some were overcome by his promiſes and threatenings. I muſt tranſcribe below ſome obſervations of [l] Le Clerc upon this paſſage of Pliny, which to me ſeem very juſt and not at all too ſevere.

Nevertheleſs ſome learned men have of late apologized for Pliny, and they blame [m] Le Clerc, and propoſe to correct him. They

[h] Plinius enim Secundus, cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibuſdam Chriſtianis, quibuſdam gradu pulſis, ipſa tamen multitudine perturbatus, &c. Apol. c. 2.

[i] .... κατακρινας χριστιανους τινας, και της αξιας εκβαλων, κ. λ. Euſeb. H. E. l. 3, c. 33, p. 105. D.

[k] See before p. 295, note o.

[l] Cur vero interrogabat, an eſſent Chriſtiani? Si ex animo eſſent, an volebat homines mentiri, et id quod erant ſe eſſe negare?....Qui religioni ducebant alium, præter rerum omnium Creatorem, colere, an erant vi adigendi, ut ſe aliter ſentire falſo dicerent? Attamen hoc ipſum volebat Plinius, qui *ſupplicium* utique non *minabatur*, niſi ut eos negare cogeret, Quod erat improbum et impium, ſi revera cum Chriſtianis ſentiebant, &c. Cleric. ibi. n. vii. p. 549.

[m] Adjungo Jo. Clericum, qui Hiſt. Eccl. ſec. 2, p. 546...553.

ſuas

They ſay that 'Pliny [o] did all this out of kindneſs and good-'will to the Chriſtians; hoping they might be induced to diſ-'own their firſt profeſſion,' that is, I think, to deny Chriſt; 'and 'that he might not be obliged to put them to death.'

This appears to me exceeding ſtrange. I think that Pliny had as much kindneſs for the Chriſtians as other heathen perſecutors; and that this treatment of them was exactly the ſame with what they met with from their worſt enemies in the times of the worſt perſecuting emperors.

The Irenarch, who apprehended Polycarp, ſaid: 'What [p] 'harm is it to ſay, Lord Cæſar, and ſacrifice, and ſave your life?' And afterwards the proconſul himſelf, endeavouring to perſuade him to deny Chriſt, ſaid: 'Reverence [q] thine age,' and other things common upon like occaſions: 'Swear by Cæſar's for-'tune. Repent. Swear, and reproach Chriſt, and I will diſmiſs 'thee.' To all which Polycarp made a reſolute and proper anſwer.

Euſebius, giving an account of the martyrdoms of Phileas, biſhop of Thmuis in Egypt, and Philoromus, receiver-general at Alexandria, who ſuffered under the perſecuting emperor Maximin, ſays: 'When [r] many of their kindred, and other 'honourable friends, and ſome of the magiſtrates, and even the 'judge himſelf, adviſed them to take pity upon themſelves, and 'to conſider their wives and children, they would not by all their 'entreaties be induced, out of a regard to their own lives, to 'tranſgreſs the divine laws concerning denying and confeſſing 'our Saviour; and, having withſtood all the threatenings and 'abuſes of the judge, they were beheaded.'

Lactantius [s] is far from reckoning them merciful governors, who

ſuas ad totam hanc epiſtolam protulit meditationes: ſed, ut ex hâc meâ Diſſertatione apparebit, juſto feſtinantius excuſſas. Illud in primis errat vir doctiſſimus, quod longe aliter in Chriſtianos putat affectum fuiſſe Plinium, quam revera fuit. Heuman. Diſput. de Perſecutione Chriſtianor. Plinian. n. i. ubi ſupr. p. 120, not. [c].

[o] Interrogavit igitur eos, an eſſent Chriſtiani, non ideo, ut ſe Chriſtianos faterentur, ſed ut negando effugerent ſupplicium. Quapropter non ſemel eos interrogavit, ſed *iterum, ſed tertio*, et, quaſi cum ignaris periculi ageret, *addita* tandem *comminatione mortis*. Quam cum eſſent, qui fortiter contemnerent, invictæ fidei Chriſtiani, hos neceſſitate magis, quam ira, cogente, *duci*, hoc eſt, ſupplicio affici juſſit. Non enim putabat iniquum, contemtores tantæ ſuæ humanitatis, et mortem pro vita libenter eligentes, at ne precantes quidem humiliter, ut ſibi parcatur, mori. Heuman. ib. § vi. p. 127, 128. De Plinii benigno in Chriſtianos animo mihi non eſt dubium, quin huc ſpectarint ipſius interrogationes, ut eos in vitâ potius ſervaret negantes Chriſtianiſmum. Ritterſhuſius in loc. et ap. Heuman. l. c. p. 127. not. [z].

[p] Euſeb. H. E. l. 4, c. 15, p. 131. B

[q] Ibid. p. 131. D.

[r] H. E. l. 8, c. x. p. 301. And ſee the Credibility, vol. iii. p. 352, 353.

[s] Illud vero peſſimum (Præſidum) genus eſt, cui clementiæ ſpecies falſo blanditur. Ille gravior, ille ſævior eſt carnifex, qui neminem ſtatuit occidere. Itaque dici non poteſt, hujuſmodi judices quanta, et quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint,

who took great care to ſave the lives of Chriſtians by inducing them to deny their firſt confeſſion, and who ſometimes mightily pleaſed themſelves, when they left their provinces, that their government had been unbloody. And he ſpeaks with great diſdain of a governor of Bithynia, and therefore a ſucceſſor of our Pliny, 'who exulted as if he had gained a victory over a whole 'nation of barbarians, when one Chriſtian at laſt ſeemed to give 'way, who with ſignal fortitude had for two years withſtood all 'his cruel attacks.'

But it would be endleſs to rehearſe all the ancient inſtances of this [t] kind.

The true and only kindneſs of any in ſuch caſes, whether they be magiſtrates or others, can be none but this only: they who have power ought to diſcharge men brought before them and accuſed, if, upon inquiry, they appear to be innocent and free from ſuch crimes as deſerve puniſhment; and real friends ſhould exhort them to perſevere in the profeſſion of the truth, and not to do or ſay any thing contrary to conviction through fear of ſuffering.

'For it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature 'of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obſtinacy ought 'to be puniſhed.'

'Whatever might be the nature of their opinion,' 'that is,' ſays [u] an author, favourable enough to Pliny, 'whether their re-'ligion tended to make them wicked or good men.'

The obſervation of Le Clerc is to this purpoſe: 'But [x] the 'conſtancy of theſe men, who were convicted of no crimes or 'wicked principles, as our preſident will acknowledge by and by, 'ought not to be called "contumacy," and obſtinacy. Perſeve-'rance in what is good deſerves commendation; ſo far is it from 'expoſing men to puniſhment. By what law was death ever ap-

cogitaverint, ut ad effectum propoſiti ſui pervenirent. Hæc autem non tantum ideo faciunt, ut gloriari poſſint, nullum ſe innocentium peremiſſe: (nam et ipſe audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia adminiſtratio ſua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta:) ſed invidiæ cauſſa, ne aut ipſi vincantur, aut illi virtutis ſuæ gloriam conſequantur. Itaque in excogitandis pœnarum generibus, nihil aliud, quam victoriam excogitant....Vidi ego, in Bythinia, præſidem, gaudio mirabiliter elatum, tanquam Barbarorum gentem aliquam ſubegiſſet, quod unus, qui per biennium magna virtute reſtiterat, poſtremo cedere viſus eſt. Inſtit. l. 5, c. xi.

[t] They who deſire to ſee more inſtances, may conſult Kortholt, as before, p. 37, &c.

[u] .... *qualecunque eſſet quod faterentur:* hoc eſt, ſive improbos redderet ipſos religio ſua, ſive bonos. Heuman. ubi ſupr. n. vi. p. 128.

[x] Atqui *pertinacia* et *obſtinatio* dici nullo jure potuit eorum conſtantia, qui nihil flagitioſum, (quod mox de Chriſtianis agnoſcet noſter,) fatebantur. Perſeverantia in re bona non poteſt non laudari, nedum ut jure pœnas dare debeat. Præterea quibus legibus pertinaciæ mors erat impoſita, niſi res per ſe mala eſſet, quæ pertinacius fieret? Itaque debuiſſet Secundus, antequam *duci* Chriſtianos juberet, in eorum religionem inquirere, non, *qualecunque eſſet quod faterentur*, eos damnare. Cler. ib. n. viii. p. 549.

'pointed

'pointed for obſtinacy, without any other fault? Pliny, there-'fore, before he ordered any Chriſtians away to be puniſhed, 'ſhould have inquired into the principles of their religion, and 'not have reſolved to condemn and puniſh them whatever their 'opinions were.' So ſays that rational and judicious writer.

The learned lawyer, Fr. [y] Balduinus, does not ſpeak more favourably of this determination of Pliny than Le Clerc.

Indeed theſe are hard words, very improperly applied to men who were open to conviction, and willing to ſatisfy others if they might have leave to ſpeak. But they would not be perſuaded by fair promiſes, and ſevere menaces, to deny what they thought to be truth. And, as Kortholt ſays: 'Who [z] can for-'bear to admire ſuch magnanimity?'

'There were others of the ſame infatuation, whom, becauſe 'they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be ſent to the 'city.'

Upon this part of Pliny's epiſtle we may farther remark, as follows:

Firſt, I believe we may hence reaſonably conclude that the Chriſtians underwent many hardſhips in ſeveral places from governors of provinces, when there was no general perſecution.

Secondly, it appears to me that Pliny acted very arbitrarily and unrighteouſly in his treatment of the Chriſtians in his province. Some perhaps, yea probably many, ** he put to death; and others, who were Roman citizens, he ſent from their native country, or the place of their uſual abode, to Rome. What they ſuffered we cannot ſay: but he ſent them away to be dealt with as Chriſtians. But what right had Pliny to act in this manner? By what law, or laws, did he puniſh thoſe with death, who, upon examination before him, perſiſted in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity? There was not at that time any imperial edict in force againſt the Chriſtians, as was obſerved ſome while ago.

There had been ſuch laws in the time of Nero and Domitian: but they were abrogated. Nor were any like edicts ſince pub-

[y] Mira vero profani hominis, et cauſſam, de quâ pronunciat, non intelligentis, confidentia, cum de religione, hoc eſt, de re maximâ quærebatur. Cauſa capitis agebatur. Audit, reos quidem factum fateri: ſed conſtanter defendere, ſe jure facere, atque adeo pie et religioſe. Quid illud tandem ſit, neque intelligit, neque inquirit. Et tamen non dubitat damnare. Certe religionem non abjicere, improbæ obſtinationis non eſt, ſed optimæ conſtantiæ. Baldwin, ubi ſupr. p. 40.

[z] Et quis eorum non ſuſpiceret ἀφροσύνην, quos nec exilium, nec carcer....nec gladius, nec crux, ad abnegandam fidem adigere potuit? Kort. ibi. p. 59.

** So ſays Euſebius in his Chronicle, cited above at p. 295, note [o]. Plinius Secundus, quum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magiſtratu ſuo plurimos Chriſtianorum interfeciſſet multitudine eorum perteritus, quæſivit de Trajano, quid facto opus eſſet.... &c.

liſhed.

liſhed. And upon other occaſions Pliny expreſſeth great diſlike of thoſe two emperors, as enemies to liberty and mankind.

The old Romans protected people of all ſects and religions; as was largely ſhewn by us [a] formerly. Nor were any of their prieſts or worſhippers moleſted, or their rites prohibited, unleſs they were guilty of ſome miſdemeanor, contrary to good manners, and inconſiſtent with the welfare of ſociety. Nothing of that kind had been proved to Pliny againſt the Chriſtians. I do not therefore perceive how they could be puniſhed by virtue of any laws of the emperors, or any ancient laws of the ſenate and people of Rome. I think that there were not, and could not be, any laws againſt them as Chriſtians. When St. Paul pleaded before Feſtus and Agrippa, and that numerous and auguſt aſſembly at Cæſarea by the ſeaſide, the reſidence of the Roman governor, he gave a large and diſtinct account of himſelf, and his doctrine, and his conduct; what he had preached to Jews and Gentiles, and with what zeal he had acted in recommending this doctrine to all men. And when he had finiſhed his diſcourſe they all agreed in their verdict, *ſaying, This man doth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then ſaid Agrippa to Feſtus: This man might have been ſet at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæſar:* Acts xxvi. 31, 32.

Therefore there were no Roman laws againſt the Chriſtian religion, or it's profeſſors or teachers. Conſequently Pliny, in putting Chriſtians to death as ſuch, acted without law and authority.

That they ſuffered without law appears from himſelf. He puniſhed them for 'inflexible obſtinacy.' But who can allege any law of the Roman empire which condemned men to death for 'contumacy and obſtinacy, whatever might be the nature of 'their opinion?' We proceed.

'In a ſhort time, the crime ſpreading itſelf, even whilſt under 'proſecution, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, divers ſorts of people 'came in my way. An information was preſented to me, with-'out mentioning the author, containing the names of many per-'ſons, who, upon examination, denied that they were Chriſtians, 'or had ever been ſo: who repeated after me an invocation of 'the gods, and with wine and frankincenſe made ſupplication 'to your image, which for that purpoſe I had cauſed to be 'brought and ſet before them, together with the ſtatues of the 'deities. Moreover they reviled the name of Chriſt. None 'of which things, as is ſaid, they, who are really Chriſtians, can

[a] See Vol. i. p. 172, &c.

'by

'by any means be compelled to do. Theſe therefore I thought 'proper to diſcharge.'

This is a remarkable paragraph. We hence learn that [b] Trajan was worſhipped as a god in his lifetime. And here we ſee many people brought before Pliny and accuſed as Chriſtians, who were not ſo, and, as it ſeems, never were. But they were mentioned by name in an information which was not ſubſcribed. It appears to have been a malicious accuſation. Le Clerc ſays, 'We [c] hence perceive how dangerous a thing perſe-'cution is: when alſo innocent perſons are involved in it, or are 'without reaſon ſuſpected; which, in the affair of religion, 'may be of bad conſequence.'

Though theſe perſons were not now Chriſtians, and never had openly profeſſed Chriſtianity, they may have been men of a mild and moderate diſpoſition. Poſſibly, they had ſometimes ſpoken favourably of the Chriſtians, and intimated that they thought they were treated too rigorouſly, and were not ſo bad people as ſome inſinuated. Theſe we may conſider as low-church Gentiles, though they were not Chriſtians.

All theſe perſons Pliny, our prætor, diſcharged: but not without ſtrict examination, and good aſſurance, that they were not Chriſtians. Firſt, he puts the queſtion to them; and they deny that they were Chriſtians, or had ever been ſo. And, as he ſays, they afterwards invoked the gods in a form preſcribed by himſelf: *me præeunte.* It is implied, and to be underſtood, that they did every thing elſe, hereafter mentioned, in the like manner: that is, in a form preſcribed by him, they 'made ſupplication 'to Trajan's image, and reviled the name of Chriſt.'

A learned man, who not long ſince wrote a commentary upon this letter of Pliny, and, with a deſign to correct the miſtakes of former commentators, ſays, that 'Pliny [d] ſeems to have con-'ſidered Chriſt as another Socrates, who both, by a pious life 'and a pious doctrine, excited his diſciples to the love of virtue 'and an abhorrence of vice.' I think we may do well to take our notion of Pliny's character and ſentiments from himſelf, rather than from our own imagination. How he treated the name or perſon of Chriſt, and how he required others to treat

[b] Vel hinc apparet, quid habendum de aſſertione Eutropii, l. ix. et Caſſiodori, et Euſebii in Chronicis, quod inter imperatores primus ut Deum adorari ſe juſſerit Diocletianus. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Trajan. Ep. p. 81. [c] Vel hinc quam periculoſa ſit perſequutio, intelligere eſt: cum etiam innocentes ea involvantur, aut certe immerito ſuſpecti fiant. Quod eſt, in religionis negotio, periculoſiſſimum. Ib. num. ix. p. 550. [d] Chriſtum quidem pro altero Socrate videtur habuiſſe, qui cum piâ vitâ, tum piâ doctrinâ, diſcipulos ſuos excitavit ad ſtudium virtutum, fugamque vitiorum. Heuman. ib. n. v. p. 126.

it, we have juſt ſeen. What he thought of the Chriſtian religion, we ſaw before, when he called it 'infatuation,' or madneſs, *amentia.* Moreover he inflicted death upon ſeveral of the faithful followers and ſteady diſciples of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'Others were named by an informer, who at firſt confeſſed 'themſelves Chriſtians, and afterwards denied it. The reſt ſaid 'they had been Chriſtians, but had ceaſed to be ſo, ſome three 'years, ſome longer, and one, or more, above twenty years.' [or, as Mr. Melmoth, 'a few above twenty years ago.'] 'They 'all worſhipped your image, and the ſtatues of the gods. They 'alſo reviled Chriſt.'

Theſe were preſented to Pliny in a libel, or information; and, as we may reaſonably think, properly ſubſcribed with the name of the accuſer. Nevertheleſs his accuſations ſeem to have been malicious; for they were not all true. Some whom he accuſed as Chriſtians were not ſo at that time.

The perſons firſt mentioned are deſcribed by Pliny after this manner: 'they confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians;' that is, when brought before Pliny, and interrogated by him, they ſaid they were Chriſtians, 'and afterwards denied it.'

Here we are to recollect what Pliny aſſured Trajan was his conſtant method of proceeding. 'I have taken this courſe,' ſays he, 'with all who have been brought before me, and ac-'cuſed as Chriſtians; I put the queſtion to them whether they 'were Chriſtians. Upon their confeſſing to me that they were, I 'repeated the queſtion a ſecond and a third time, threatening 'alſo to put them to death.' So he had acted toward thoſe of whom he is now ſpeaking. Upon his firſt putting the queſtion to them whether they were Chriſtians, they confeſſed they were. But when he repeated the queſtion the ſecond or the third time, adding menaces, they denied that they were [e] Chriſtians; that is, they gave way, and their courage failed them, being terrified by the governor's threatenings. Here we ſee more perſons overcome by the artifices and menaces of our proprætor, who was an ingenious man, and ſoon became an expert perſecutor.

After them he mentions others, 'who ſaid they had been 'Chriſtians, but had ceaſed to be ſo, ſome three years, ſome 'longer, and one at leaſt above twenty years.'

What were the occaſions of their leaving the Chriſtians we cannot ſay particularly, but probably it was not willingly, and

[e] Quamquam admiranda erat, et plane inuſitata Chriſtianorum plerorumque, ſi perſecutiones æſtuarent, conſtantia, παῤῥησια, et χρισια; multi tamen tormentorum metu, multi etiam ex merâ animi levitate, vel ſeculi vanitate faſcinati, a fide defecerunt. Kortholt. in loc. ubi ſupr. p. 95.

of

of their own choice, but rather through fear of ſuffering for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion. However, the change of ſome may have been owing to the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of their own temper, or to ſome wordly conſiderations, leſs moving than open perſecution. All theſe are deſerters, and apoſtates, ſome made ſo by Pliny himſelf, others by other governors, and ſome poſſibly through their own unſteady temper. All theſe Pliny examines, and reports their teſtimony; which we are next to obſerve.

'They affirmed, that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in 'this,—that they were wont to meet together on a ſtated day be-'fore it was light, and ſing among themſelves alternately a hymn 'to Chriſt as a god, and to bind themſelves by an oath not to 'the commiſſion of any wickedneſs, but not to be guilty of theft, 'or robbery, or adultery, never to falſify their word, not to 'deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return 'it. When theſe things were performed, it was their cuſtom to 'ſeparate, and then to come together again to a meal, which 'they ate in common, without any diſorder. But this they had 'forborn, ſince the publication of my edict, by which, accord-'ing to your commands, I prohibited aſſemblies.'

Here, perhaps, ſome may wiſh, that Pliny had expreſſed himſelf more diſtinctly. For they who had deſerted the Chriſtians ſeveral years ago, could not of their own knowledge inform him about what had been done by them ſince he came into the province. However, we before obſerved, that the perſons firſt mentioned profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians when they were brought before him. They therefore could inform him of their late conduct. And concerning other times all here preſent could bear witneſs.

'They affirmed,' they ſolemnly atteſted, 'that the whole of 'their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet 'together on a ſtated day:' doubtleſs, meaning the Lord's-day, or Sunday: on which, as Juſtin relates particularly in his firſt Apology, all [f] the Chriſtians in general, in any city, and in the neighbouring country, came together for divine worſhip.

—— 'before it was light.'

Juſtin Martyr, in his large and particular account of the Chriſtian worſhip, ſays nothing of this [g] circumſtance. It is likely therefore, that [h] this was not choſen, but only out of neceſſi-

[f] Και τη τυ ηλιυ λεγομενη ημερᾳ παντων κατα πολεις η αγρυς μενοντων επι τα αυτα συνελευσις γινεται. Ap. i. p. 98. D. Par. 83. D. Bened. Την δε τυ ηλιυ ημεραν κοινη παντες την συνελευσιν ποιυμεθα. p. 99. B. al. 84. A.

[g] Vid. Ap. i. ſub fin.

[h] Stato die ergo, hoc eſt, Dominico, convenire ſolebant, idque ante lucem, ne perſecutioni,

ty, when they were diſturbed by enemies, either the common people or magiſtrates.

'And ſang among themſelves alternately a hymn to Chriſt, as 'a god.' Mr. Melmoth thus: 'And addreſſed themſelves in 'a form of prayer to Chriſt, as to ſome god.' What Pliny means by 'ſecum invicem,' which I have rendered 'among 'themſelves alternately,' I cannot ſay diſtinctly. Juſtin ſays, 'they [i] ſtood up, and offered up prayers and thankſgivings to-'gether, and when the preſident had concluded, all the people 'ſaid, Amen.' Perhaps, this is what Pliny means. The prayers were common, the people joined therein with the preſident, and ſignified their aſſent by a loud Amen at the [k] concluſion.

Tertullian, repreſenting Pliny's account, ſays: 'He [l] diſco-'vered nothing beſide their meeting together before it was light, 'and ſinging to Chriſt and God:' or, as ſome would read, 'to 'Chriſt as a god.' And Euſebius, ſpeaking of the ſame matter from Tertullian, ſays, 'they [m] ſang a hymn to Chriſt, as to a 'god.' Such are their expreſſions, though 'carmen,' the word uſed by Pliny, does [n] not always ſignify a compoſition in metre, but may denote a prayer in any form.

'And ſing together a hymn to Chriſt, as to a god.' This is a heathen way of ſpeaking; and it has been queſtioned whether [o] Pliny ſpeaks here in his own words, or thoſe of the Chriſtians who were brought before him, heathen people being willing to

perſecutioni, quæ in ipſos ſæviebat, ſe obnoxios redderent. Bevereg. Cod. Can. cap. 3. n. vii. Non fugiebant certe lucem, non quærebant tenebras Chriſtiani. Sed quid facerent? Interdictum iis erat locis publicis, et ipſa prope luce ſolis, ut igni et aquâ. Certe ubi licuit, in apertâ et publicâ luce convenerunt. Fr. Balduin. in loc. Ap. Edict. Prin. Roman. p. 46. Vid. et Kortholt.. ubi ſupr. p. 105.

[i] ....ὁ συντελεσαντος τας ευχας και ευχαριστιαν, πας ο παων λαος επευφημει λεγων· Αμην. Ap. i. p. 97. D. al. 82. E. ....επειτα αναστωμεθα κοινη παντες, και ευχας πεμπομεν.....και ο προεστως ευχας ομοιως και ευχαριστιας, οση δυναμις αυτω, αναπεμπει, και ο λαος επευφημει λεγων το αμην. p. 98. D. E. al. p. 83. D. E.

[k] ....at confiteor tamen, nihil obſiſtere arbitremur, Plinium exprimere hoc uno vocabulo voluiſſe, quod Chriſtiani pluribus ipſi verbis narraverant, presbyterorum unum, ſeu epiſcopum, formulam precum dictare, populum vero eam repetere, atque voculâ Amen claudere ſolere. Moſheim. De Reb. ant. C. M. p. 148.

[l] ....nihil aliud ſe de ſacramentis eorum comperiſſe, quam cœtus antelucanos ad canendum Chriſtó et Deo. Ap. cap. 2. p. 3.

[m] ....και τον χριστον θεω δικην υμνειν. H.E. l. 3. c. 33. [n] Alias carmen Romanis vocatur quicquid conceptis verbis dicitur: ſic ut quamcumque præſcriptis verbis conceptam precationem Pliniana innuere poſſit narratio. Kortholt ut ſupra, p. 109.

Plinius carmen vocat, Romano more, quod conceptis verbis dicitur. Juſtinus ſcribit, præeunte miniſtro conceptas fuiſſe publicas Chriſtianorum preces, totumque populum aſſentientem reſpondiſſe: Amen. Nullius autem cantus meminit. Et ſane carmen quoque Latine dicitur, precatio, præſcriptis verbis concepta. Sed Tertullianus hic intelligit, quod canebatur. Balduin. ib. p. 46.

[o] Vocabula, 'quaſi Deo,' qua vi prædita hic ſint, determinare, haud audeo. Incertum enim eſt, ſuis hic verbis Plinius loquatur, an Chriſtianorum. Moſheim. ut ſupr. p. 148.

deify

deify eminent men. Jeſus Chriſt was ſuch an one, eſpecially in the eſteem of Chriſtians. All knew he had died, and that the Chriſtians ſaid he was riſen again from the dead, and was aſcended to heaven. Heathen people therefore might naturally enough ſay, they worſhipped Chriſt, as a god.

Juſtin Martyr nevertheleſs ſays: 'In [p] all our oblations we 'praiſe the Creator of all through his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and the 'Holy Spirit.' And, 'The [q] preſident gives praiſe and glory 'to the Father of all in the name of the Son, and of the 'Holy Spirit.' And, ſays Tertullian, 'the [qq] God, whom we 'worſhip, is the God who made this whole univerſe, and every 'thing therein, by his powerful word.' Again, 'We [r] worſhip 'God through Chriſt. Call him a man, if you think fit. It is 'by him, and through him, that we have been brought to the 'knowledge and the worſhip of God. And the Jews them-'ſelves were taught how to worſhip God by the man Moſes.'

Mr. Melmoth, as before ſeen, tranſlates thoſe words in this manner: 'And addreſſed themſelves in a form of prayer to 'Chriſt, as to ſome god.' And I muſt acknowledge that his tranſlation appears to me as proper as my own. For *carmen*, or υμνος, (as before hinted) does not always denote a metrical compoſition. Julian concludes his Oration upon The Mother of the Gods, with what * he calls A Hymn to her Honour, which is a prayer in proſe: and, unqueſtionably, Julian ſpeaks properly. Therefore Pliny's Carmen Chriſto quaſi Deo, may have been a prayer to God in the name of Chriſt; a prayer upon Chriſtian principles, in which God was praiſed for all the bleſſings of the Chriſtian revelation. I may here obſerve likewiſe, that Marinus, in his life of Proclus, ſays, ſome † hymns to the gods are in metre, others in proſe.

—— 'and to bind themſelves by an oath, not to the com-'miſſion of any wickedneſs, but to forbear adultery, theft, and 'all vice in general.'

About the interpretation of theſe firſt words learned men have differed. It is plain that Pliny does not here ſend Trajan an account of the ſeveral parts of the Chriſtian worſhip, reading, and

[p] Επι πασι τε οις προσφερομεθα, ευλογουμεν τον ποιητην των παντων δια του υιου αυτου ιησου χριστου, και δια πνευματος του αγιου. Ap. i. p. 98. C. al. 83. C. [q] Και αυτος λαβων, αινον και δοξαν τω πατρι των ολων δια του ονοματος του υιου, και του πνευματος αγιου, αναπεμπει. p. 97. C. al. 82. D.

[qq] Quod colimus, Deus unus eſt, qui totam molem iſtam, cum omni inſtrumento elementorum....verbo quo juſſit de nihilo expreſſit in ornamentum majeſtatis ſuæ. Ap. cap. 17. p. 18.

[r] Dicimus, et palam dicimus....Deum colimus per Chriſtum. Illum hominem putate. Per eum, et in eo ſe cognoſci vult Deus, et coli. Ut Judæis reſpondeamus. Et ipſi Deum per hominem Moyſen colere didicerunt. Id. cap. 21. p. 23.

* Αλλα τι περας εσται μοι των λογων, η δηλον ως ο της μεγαλης υμνος Θεας; Orat. v. p. 179. Spanh. † Και δη και τους υμνους ποικιλωτερον εργαζονται τους μεν εν μετροις τους δε και ανευ μετρων. Martin. de Vita Procl. cap. i.

explaining the ſcriptures, and delivering explications and exhortations from them, nor of the euchariſt. To me therefore it ſeems, that in theſe words Pliny aimed to repreſent the general deſign of their worſhip in their religious aſſemblies: which was to engage themſelves to the practice of all virtue, and to avoid all vice. This ſeems to be the meaning of Tertullian's expreſſions, though perhaps ſomewhat obſcure. Who ſays, Pliny tells Trajan, 'that, [s] excepting an obſtinate refuſal to ſacri-'fice, he had detected nothing in their myſteries, beſide their aſ-'ſembling together early in the morning, before daylight, to 'enforce the obſervation of their diſcipline; forbidding murder, 'adultery, fraud, cheating, and all manner of wickedneſs.' Eu-ſebius, repreſenting the ſame thing, ſpeaks exactly to the [t] like purpoſe. In ſhort, Pliny tells Trajan, that the deſign of their religious aſſemblies, ſo far as he could diſcover, was to eſtabliſh themſelves, and each other, in the firm belief of the principles of their inſtitution, and to engage themſelves, not to the practice of any wickedneſs, but to avoid all wickedneſs of every kind. This Pliny calls 'binding themſelves by an oath.'

So Juſtin Martyr, in his account of the Chriſtian worſhip, ſays: 'the [u] memoirs of the apoſtles, and the writings of the prophets, 'are read: when the reader has finiſhed, the preſident makes a 'diſcourſe, recommending, and exhorting to the imitation of 'the good examples that have been recorded.' To the like purpoſe [x] Tertullian.

Mr. Moſheim [y] explains Pliny after the ſame manner that I have now done.

'Which things being performed, it was their cuſtom to ſe-'parate, and after ſome time to come together again to a meal, 'which they ate in common. But this they had forborn ſince 'the publication of my edict, by which, according to your com-'mands, I had prohibited aſſemblies.'

There can be no doubt but that Pliny, by this meal or ſup-

[s] ....allegans, præter obſtinationem non ſacrificandi, nihil aliud ſe de ſacramentis eorum comperiſſe, quam cœtus antelucanos ad canendum Chriſto et (vel ut) Deo, et ad confœderandam diſciplinam: homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cætera ſcelera prohibentes. Tert. Ap. c. 2. p. 3. [t] ....Και προς το την επιτηδευμην αυτων διαφυλασσειν. κ, λ. Euſ. H. E. l. 3. cap. 33. p. 106. A.

[u] Ap. i. p. 98. D. al. 83. D.

[x] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem....Certe fidem ſanctis vocibus paſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, diſciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus denſamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, caſtigationes, et cenſura divina. Ap. cap. 39.

[y] Ego quidem Chriſtianos dixiſſe opinor, ſe, quoties congregarentur, ſupremo numini ſancte vitam puram, et omnis criminis expertem promittere. Id Plinius, religioſum promiſſum, et jusiurandum parum diſcernens, formulâ Romanâ, 'ſacramento obſtringere,' quo fortius mentem Trajani moveret, exprimebat, Moſhem. ubi ſupr. p. 150. in notis.

per,

per, means what was called by the Chriſtians αγαπη, or a love-feaſt: of which mention is made by [z] Tertullian, and other ancient writers. Of which likewiſe, as is generally ſuppoſed, St. Peter ſpeaks 2 ep. ii. 13. and St. Jude, ver. 12. It is plain, from what Pliny ſays, that this meal was not eaten in the morning at the time of their ſolemn worſhip, but ſome while afterwards; and probably in the evening.

Some have thought that this feaſt generally accompanied the euchariſt. But Mr. Hallett, in his diſcourſe on the Agapæ, or Love-Feaſts, of the ancient Chriſtians, having conſidered the teſtimonies of ancient writers, ſays, 'it [a] was a ſupper, and that the 'euchariſt did not attend it, either before or after.' Again: 'the agapæ, or love-feaſts, being ſuppers, were not concomitants, 'or appendages of the euchariſt. They were entirely diſtinct 'and independent things.' 'This may be farther confirmed by 'obſerving that Juſtin Martyr, in his account of the public 'worſhip of the church, and particularly of the euchariſt, does 'not ſay one word of the agapæ, or love-feaſts, as tacked to it, 'either before or after.'

Others repreſent this in a different manner: 'As [b] the wor-'ſhip of the Chriſtians in Bithynia was for ſome reaſons per-'formed early in the morning, they were obliged to have their 'love-feaſt ſeparate; though, at other ſeaſons, when they had 'more liberty, this and their ſolemn worſhip were joined toge-'ther, both by them and by other Chriſtians. The morning 'was not a time for a meal. This therefore they deferred till 'noon, or after.' So Mr. Moſheim.

The accounts which Pliny had received of this meal, repreſented it as harmleſs, and free from diſorder. And it may be

[z] Cœna noſtra de nomine rationem ſui oſtendit. Id vocatur, quod dilectio penes Græcos. Quantiſcunque ſumtibus conſtet, lucrum eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumtum: ſiquidem inopes quoſque refrigerio iſto juvamus....nihil vilitatis, nihil immodeſtiæ admittit. Non prius diſcumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur quantum eſurientes cupiunt: bibitur, quantum pudicis eſt utile. Ita ſaturantur, ut qui meminerint, etiam per noctem adorandum Deum ſibi eſſe. Ap. cap. 39. [a] See his notes and diſcourſes on ſeveral texts of ſcripture. vol. 3. p. 235. &c. [b] Hoc igitur [ſtato] die binos conventus agebant Bithynienſes Chriſtiani; alterum ante lucem, Dei colendi, firmandæque pietatis cauſſa; alterum ſole lucente, meridiano ſine dubio tempore, communis cibi capiendi cauſſa. Non divellebant hac ratione officia, quæ Deo debebantur, reliqui Chriſtiani, verum uno omnia conventu, quæ cultus publici lex imperabat, nullo intervallo, peragebant. Bithynienſibus vero cur in duo tempore diviſos actus cultum divinum diſtribuerent, hæc erat magni momenti ratio. Propter hoſtium inſidias in die ad cultum publicum congregari non poterant, ſed ante lucem convenire debebant. Id vero antelucanum tempus cibo capiendo haud commodum erat. Quare differendum erat convivium amoris in illud diei tempus, quo corpora reliqui cives reficere ſolebant. Moſh. de Reb. Chriſt. ante C. M. p. 147.

reaſonably ſuppoſed [c] to have been very frugal, and without delicacies, as Tertullian ſays, and Pliny [d] ſeems to intimate.

However, this meal or feaſt, as Pliny was aſſured, the Chriſtians in Bithynia had forborn and diſcontinued, ſince he publiſhed the emperor's order, forbidding fellowſhips or aſſemblies. Mr. Dodwell thought that [e] Trajan's order did not include a prohibition of their meetings for religious worſhip. But Tillemont [f] does not aſſent to this. Whether that opinion be right or not, the Chriſtians continued to meet early in the morning for religious worſhip, to enforce and ſecure the great deſign of their inſtitution, but omitted the other aſſembly.

And, as ſeems to me, we have here a remarkable inſtance of that ſincere regard which the primitive Chriſtians had for the commands of civil magiſtrates in all things, within the compaſs of their authority. Theſe love-feaſts were of early original, and had been long in uſe. Nevertheleſs, they were not conſidered as a divine command, or an inſtitution of the [g] goſpel. When therefore Pliny publiſhed his edict, forbidding aſſemblies, they omitted them, whilſt they continued their other meeting; forasmuch as the great deſign of theſe, the providing for the poor and deſtitute, might be ſecured ſome other way, by private contributions and benefactions.

We may form an idea of the aſſemblies prohibited in Pliny's edict, by obſerving another letter of his to Trajan. There [gg] had been a dreadful fire in Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, whilſt Pliny was abſent in ſome diſtant part of the province. By that fire had been conſumed many private houſes and two public buildings. Of this Pliny informs the emperor, and makes a propoſal to this effect: 'You [h] will conſider, Sir, whether it may 'not be adviſeable to inſtitute a college of ſmiths,' or a company of firemen, 'conſiſting only of one hundred and fifty.' And he tells Trajan that 'as this college will conſiſt of ſo 'ſmall a number, it will be eaſy enough to keep them under a 'proper regulation.'

[c] See before note [z] p. 311.

[d] Promiſcuus cibus opponitur hic, ut arbitrer, exquiſito et delicato. Moſhem. ib. p. 151. [e] Sed et illud Agapas duntaxat ſpectavit, non item ſynaxes eccleſiaſticas, quæ quidem Euchariſtiæ percipendæ gratia celebrarentur. &c. Diſſ. Cypr. xi. ſect. 25. [f] Perſecution de l'Egliſe ſous Trajan. art. v. [g] Says Mr. Hallett, as before, p. 255. 'I cannot 'find that the Chriſtians looked upon 'their love-feaſts, as religious, or divine 'inſtitutions, like the Lord's ſupper. If 'they had, their councils would no more 'have baniſhed them out of the churches, 'than the Lord's Supper itſelf.'

[gg] Quum diverſam partem provinciæ circumirem, Nicomediæ vaſtiſſimum incendium, multas privatorum domos, et duo publica opera....abſumſit. l. x. ep. 42.

[h] Tu, Domine, diſpice, an inſtituendum putes collegium fabrorum, duntaxat hominum CL....Non erit difficile cuſtodire tam paucos. Ibid.

Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, the emperor did not approve of that propoſal; and ſays, in his anſwer to Pliny: 'Whatever [i] name we give 'them, and for whatever purpoſes they may be founded, 'they will not fail to form themſelves into aſſemblies, however 'ſhort their meetings may be.' This is ſufficient to ſhew how jealous Trajan was of ſuch ſocieties. I ſhall refer to two other [k] letters, which have ſome affinity with theſe.

By Philo [l] we are aſſured that 'Flaccus, preſident of Egypt, 'near the end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited their ἑταιρίας, 'fellowſhips, or aſſemblies at Alexandria; which they held un-'der a pretence of religion indeed, but made uſe of for drunk-'enneſs and other exceſſes.' However, ſuch were not the love-feaſts of the Chriſtians, as we are well aſſured, but ſober and harmleſs meals.

'After receiving this account, I judged it the more neceſſary 'to examine, and that by torture, two maid-ſervants, which 'were called miniſters. But I have diſcovered nothing beſide 'a bad and exceſſive ſuperſtition.'

We may be apt to think that Pliny might have been ſatisfied with the accounts received from deſerters or apoſtates: who were ſeveral in number, who had ceaſed to be Chriſtians, ſome many years ago, others more lately, at different times; who had all given a clear and an agreeing teſtimony to the innocence of the Chriſtian worſhip, and the ſobriety of their manners. Nevertheleſs he is ſtill diſſatisfied, and now proceeds to an examination by torture. Surely this governor's moderation is not here very conſpicuous! However he gets into his hands two of the weaker ſex, hoping, I preſume, that if the Chriſtians had among them any ſecrets ſtill concealed from him, he ſhould now find them out. One or other of theſe women muſt needs give way, and open all, when put to the queſtion.

'Two maid-ſervants.' Some think that theſe were choſen becauſe they were ſlaves. But I ſuppoſe that others, beſide ſlaves, might be legally put to the torture, though Roman citizens might not. I cannot eaſily believe that deaconneſſes in Chriſtian churches were ſlaves. Nor do I think it very likely that [m] they ſhould be domeſtic or hired ſervants. We now all know what is meant by a deaconneſs in Chriſtian writings. But I ſuſpect that Pliny was miſled by the ambiguity of the Greek

[i] Quodcunque nomen, ex quacunque cauſſa dederimus iis qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetæriæ quamvis breves fient. Ep. 43.

[k] L. x. ep. 117, 118.

[l] Phil. in Flac. p. 965.

[m] Ancillas vocat Plinius. Sed vix crediderim Diaconiſſas ſervili conditione fuiſſe, in tanto apud Bithynos Chriſtianorum numero. Cleric. H. E. p. 551. not. 15.

word

word διακονος, which [n] is ſometimes uſed for ſlaves, or ſuch as performed the loweſt ſervices, uſually appropriated to ſlaves. I ſay, I am apt to think that Pliny was not ſufficiently aware of the different meanings of the word διακονος, 'deacon,' in common uſe, and in the eccleſiaſtical ſenſe. Rom. xvi. 1. *I commend unto you Phœbe our ſiſter, who is a ſervant of the church which is in Cenchrea.* ουσαν διακονον της εκκλησιας της εν Κεγχρειαις. She was a ſervant of that church: but it does not follow that ſhe was either a ſlave, or a hired ſervant, to any one member of it.

A thought offers itſelf here which will aggravate the ſeverity of this torture; for very probably theſe women were in years; ſuch only being qualified for the office of deaconneſs: ſee 1 Tim. v. 9. However, Pliny made no ſcruple to try the torture upon them. For their office and their age would lead him to think that they were thoroughly acquainted with what paſſed among the Chriſtians, in their aſſemblies and in their own houſes. Lord Orrery, in his Notes upon Pliny's Epiſtles, Vol. 2, p. 430, ſays: 'Age might have pleaded in defence of theſe unhappy *ancillæ*. 'But no circumſtance was ſufficiently ſtrong to ſtem the torrent 'of religion.'

Well. Pliny put to the queſtion, and examined theſe two women, deaconneſſes among the Chriſtians in Bithynia. But all he could diſcover was no more than 'a bad and exceſſive ſuper-'ſtition.' By 'bad, *pravam*,' meaning I think abſurd, wrong, different from the commonly received religion. And he calls it 'exceſſive, *immodicam*,' becauſe they who embraced it were fond and tenacious of it, and would rather die than deny and forſake it. And many of them were active in propagating it and recommending it to others.

By 'bad,' he could mean nothing more than wrong and abſurd, and contrary to the prevailing religion. If Pliny in theſe examinations had diſcovered any thing vicious, any lewdneſs, any cruelty, practiſed in their worſhip; any ſeditious principles, any attempts or deſigns to ſubvert the government of the province, or the ſtate of the Roman empire; he muſt have given hints of it: he muſt have mentioned it diſtinctly. His regard for the welfare of Roman people, his reſpect for the emperor, which is well known to have been very great, would have prevented all concealment, and would have obliged and induced him to be very explicit and particular. We may hence therefore abſolutely conclude, that the Chriſtians held no principles, and were guilty

[n] .... και διακονοι ωραιοι...,την εσθητα, και τραπεζας, και εκπωματα, και διακονους. κ. λ. Lucian. Gall. p. 168. Tom. 2, ed. Græv. Et ſic paſſim apud Græcos auctores.

of no practices, that could juſtly expoſe them to puniſhment from civil magiſtrates. Their only offence was their religion, and that was innocent in all reſpects; though different from the idolatrous worſhip of the nations.

'Suſpending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have re-'courſe to you for advice. For it has appeared to me a mat-'ter highly deſerving conſideration, eſpecially upon account of 'the great number of perſons who are in danger of ſuffering: 'for many of all ages, of every rank, of both ſexes likewiſe, 'are accuſed, and will be accuſed. Nor has the contagion of 'this ſuperſtition ſeized cities only, but the leſſer towns alſo, 'and the open country.'

Thus does [o] Pliny bear witneſs to the great number of converts to Chriſtianity in Pontus and Bithynia, over which he preſided. The words of Tertullian, who wrote ſome while afterwards, repreſenting [p] the great increaſe of Chriſtianity and the multitude of it's profeſſors of all ranks and orders of men, are very ſtrong and emphatical. And yet Pliny does in a manner confirm the whole of what he ſays.

'Nevertheleſs, it ſeems to me that it may be reſtrained and 'corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almoſt 'forſaken, begin to be more frequented; and the ſacred ſolem-'nities, after a long intermiſſion, are revived. Victims likewiſe 'are every where bought up, whereas for ſome time there were 'few purchaſers. Whence it is eaſy to imagine what numbers 'of men might be reclaimed if pardon were granted to thoſe 'who ſhall repent.'

From what Pliny ſays of the deſolation of the temples, and the neglect of the ſacred ſolemnities, and the few purchaſers of victims, which there had been for ſome while, it has been argued, that 'this [q] perſecution was begun and fomented by the prieſts

[o] Hinc liquet, in Bithynia ingentem Chriſtianorum, jam iis temporibus, numerum fuiſſe: ac proinde per Aſiam longe lateque religionem Chriſtianam, invitis Ethnicis et Judæis, ſolâ ſuâ præſtantiâ, propagatam fuiſſe. Cleric. A. cxi. p. xii.

[p] Obſeſſam vociferantur civitatem. In agris, in caſtellis, in inſulis, Chriſtianos. Omnem ſexum, ætatem, conditionem, et jam dignitatem tranſgredi ad hoc nomen quam detrimento mœrent. Ap. cap. i.

Heſterni ſumus, et veſtra omnia complevimus, urbes, inſulas, caſtella, municipia... Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Ib. c. 37. Conf. c. v. et ad Nat. l. i. c. 1. et alibi.

[q] Hos vero delatores Chriſtianorum ſacerdotes fuiſſe, manifeſtum eſſe reor ex his Plinii verbis....Cauſſam hic moti ergo Chriſtianos belli clariſſime proconſul indicat: 'Templa in Bithynia deſolata erant, 'ſacra ſolemnia intermiſſa,' victimæ raro offerebantur. Hæc vero cuncta nullos tangebant, niſi ſacerdotes, ſacrorumque antiſtites, quorum intererat unice, ut templa frequentarentur, et victimæ cæderentur. Queſti ergo hi ſine dubio apud Plinium erant, religiones Deorum, in ſummo diſcrimine verſari, atque populum fortaſſis etiam incitaverant, ut clamoribus ſupplicia Chriſtianorum poſceret. Moſhem. ut ſupr. p. 232, notis.

'and

'and their adherents, and ſuch others as had a dependence on 'the ſacred ſolemnities.' Which may be true in this as well as ſome other perſecutions.

And I am willing to allow that Pliny here adopts the language of thoſe people who brought theſe complaints, and who magnified the danger of the downfal of their religion. However, we are hereby aſſured that the progreſs, which the Chriſtian religion had made in Pontus and Bithynia, was very conſiderable.

Learned men, I ſay, obſerve that this perſecution was begun and fomented by the prieſts; to whom, as I ſuppoſe, many[r] others would join themſelves who had a zeal for the prevailing religion. But learned men ſeem to forget that Pliny himſelf, our proprætor, was a prieſt, and that the emperor, to whom he writes, was high-prieſt, pontifex maximus. We need not, we ought not, to impute to Pliny any thing mean and ſordid. He was above ſuch things, which muſt have been far from his temper. But I think we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he was ſincerely concerned for the honour of the gods and the prieſthood; that he was deſirous the ſacred ſolemnities ſhould be upheld in all their ſplendour, and that the prieſts ſhould continue to enjoy their uſual emoluments and perquiſites without diminution. I ſhould think therefore, that it is not at all unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that Pliny himſelf was not a little moved at the abovementioned complaints, when made to him.

Some learned men have of late ſaid that[s] what Pliny did againſt the Chriſtians was done by him unwillingly, and not without ſome ſort of compulſion. But I cannot diſcern any the leaſt reaſon for this perſuaſion in his letter.

I am unwilling to advance any thing without ground and reaſon; and therefore I forbear to ſay that, very probably, the arrival of this proprætor, who was augur in the province, a man well known for his exactneſs in all the ſolemnities of the ancient religion, raiſed great expectations in the minds of many in the province, zealous for the eſtabliſhed rites, and encouraged accuſations and perſecutions againſt the Chriſtians. However, I muſt ſay that this ſevere perſecution under Pliny is a ſtrange phenomenon;

[r] Cum his ſociabat ſeſe innumerabilis varii generis turba, cui ſuperſtitiones publicæ quæſtui erant, mercatores, qui thura, beſtias, aliaque vendebant Deorum cultoribus neceſſaria, architecti, caupones, aurifices, Act. xix. 25. fabri lignarii, ſtatuarii, ſculptores, tibicines, citharœdi, et alii, quibus omnibus Dii, eorumque miniſtri, templa, cæremoniæ, dies feſti magnas afferebant ad vitam beate ducendam opportunitates. Moſhem. ut ſupr. p. 103.

[s] Certum eſt ex hac epiſtola, Plinium ipſum Chriſtianos non aggreſſum fuiſſe, ſed invitum a delatoribus et accuſatoribus coactum, ut eos in jus vocaret, et puniret. Moſhem. ib. p. 232.

menon; and would appear ſtill ſtranger, and almoſt unaccountable, if it had no encouragement from him.

Though great numbers of men had embraced the Chriſtian religion, or, as Pliny's expreſſions are, 'though the contagion of 'this ſuperſtition had ſeized many;' he was of opinion that it might be 'reſtrained and corrected.' For this end he propoſeth that 'pardon ſhould be granted to thoſe who repent.' And ſays, 'it is eaſy to imagine what numbers of men might' then 'be gained.'

Every one ſhould judge for himſelf: but to me it ſeems that in all this there is no indication of favour to the Chriſtian religion, or good will to the profeſſors of it. I think that Pliny propoſes theſe meaſures to the emperor, as the moſt likely to ſecure the intereſts of the old religion. He really thought this method the moſt likely and moſt effectual to aboliſh what he calls an 'abſurd ſuperſtition,' and to reduce, and gradually extirpate, the profeſſors of it. And I ſuppoſe that from our remarks upon his epiſtle it may appear that Pliny himſelf had found the benefit of this ſcheme, and he had too much ſucceſs in drawing men off from the open profeſſion of the Chriſtian doctrine. The earl of Orrery, p. 431, has already ſaid the ſame that I now do. For he allows that Pliny expreſſes a deteſtation of Chriſtianity, calling it *amentia, ſuperſtitio prava et immodica.* 'And the propoſal,' he ſays, 'which Pliny made to the emperor, to give room for re-'pentance, ſeems rather an act of policy than of good nature.'

Having now gone over this letter, I beg leave to ſay: it ſeems to me that there is a remarkable omiſſion. Pliny fails not to tell Trajan that the Chriſtians worſhipped Chriſt, 'as a God,' and that they refuſed to worſhip his image. He ſhould alſo have told Trajan, 'they aſſured him, however, that they offered ſuppli-'cations to the God of the univerſe, for the health and long 'life of the emperor, and for the peace and proſperity of the 'empire, and that God would grant him wiſe counſellors, and 'faithful ſervants and officers: and that they were obliged by 'the rules of their religion ſo to do.' Theſe things do ſo often occur in the [t] ancient apologiſts, and other Chriſtian writers, that it may be reckoned certain, and taken for granted, that ſome of

[t] Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro miniſtris eorum, ac poteſtatibus, pro ſtatu ſeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis. Tertull. ap. cap. 39. Conf. cap. 31.

Colimus ergo et imperatorem ſic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipſi expedit, ut hominem a Deo ſecundum: et quicquid eſt, a Deo conſecutum, et ſolo Deo minorem. Itaque et ſacrificamus pro ſalute imperatoris, ſed Deo noſtro et ipſius, ſed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece. Non enim eget Deus, conditor univerſitatis, odoris aut ſanguinis alicujus. Ad Scap. c. 2. Vid. et Athenag. Leg. ſub fin. et Origen. Contr. Celſ. l. 8, et paſſim.

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the Chriſtians who pleaded before Pliny, whether Roman citizens or others, did ſufficiently aſſure him of their dutiful reſpect for the emperor, and other magiſtrates, and of their love toward all mankind, even enemies as well as others. This one omiſſion alone, ſo far as I am able to judge, is enough to perſuade us there was ſome defect of equity and candour in Pliny's treatment of the Chriſtians.

It has been ſaid that 'Pliny's [u] Letter is throughout an apo-'logy for the Chriſtians.' If ſo, is it not alſo his own condemnation? He had received many teſtimonies to the Chriſtian innocence. Theſe he reports to the emperor. Nor could he do leſs. In this report the Chriſtian principles, worſhip, and manners, appear in a good light. But then, is not Pliny blameable who inflicted death, and other penalties, upon ſuch men, and that without any expreſs law?

I am willing to make allowance for prejudices. And I believe that the Supreme Judge, when he ſhall take the final cognizance of human affairs, will paſs an equitable ſentence upon all, according to the advantages and diſadvantages of their condition in their ſtate of trial. The farther vindication of Pliny I leave to thoſe who are pleaſed to undertake it. And I am very willing that my readers ſhould obſerve and conſider what is ſaid by ſuch advocates as are favourable to him.

Having done this, I muſt applaud the ſteadineſs of thoſe Roman citizens, and others, in Pontus and Bithynia; who, when interrogated by the proprætor a ſecond and a third time, perſevered in their firſt confeſſion of the name of Chriſt, unmoved by his fair promiſes and cruel threatenings. Who can forbear to think that thoſe Chriſtians were mindful of what St. Peter had written to them? 1 ep. iv. ver. 12, to the end.

To them, and other ſuch men, I humbly conceive it is owing that there is now any ſuch thing as virtue in the world. To them, and others like them, it is owing that many great men ſo apprehenſive of inquiſitiveneſs in things of religion, have been at length awakened, and induced to examine, and conſider, and alſo to embrace, the Chriſtian doctrine, and then to adorn it by the practice of all the virtues becoming their reaſonable nature, and their high ſtations.

V. We now come to Trajan's Reſcript, which **** is ſhort and conciſe,

[u] Apologia enim Chriſtianorum eſt, quod facile patet, tota Plinii epiſtola, quâ calumnias, quibus illi premebantur, convellere ſtudet, et mentem Trajani ad lenitatem et clementiam erga homines, quos ille a Romanorum quidem religione alienos, rerum ſceleris puros cognoverat, inclinare. Moſhem. ut ſupr. p. 147.

**** The earl of Orrery, in his preface to the tenth book of Pliny's Epiſtles. Vol. 2, p. 323.

conciſe, written in the ſtyle beſt becoming lawgivers: and which is now to be rehearſed by us, with notes and obſervations.

'You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with thoſe who have been brought before you as 'Chriſtians.'

Pliny's proceedings, as I ſuppoſe, had been in ſome reſpects extraordinary, and unſupported by expreſs law: and [x] yet Trajan declares his approbation of them. And hereby he alſo ratifies and confirms the proceedings of other governors of provinces, if any of them had acted in a like manner, without expreſs law: as very probably ſeveral had.

'For it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh any one rule that ſhall hold 'univerſally.'

This, as ſeems to me, relates more eſpecially to Pliny's firſt queſtion: 'whether the young and tender, and the full grown 'and robuſt, ought to be treated all alike.' And Trajan ſeems to leave this very much to the diſcretion of governors, to do as they thought beſt. Accordingly, as we well know, many, in ſucceeding times, both young people and women, did ſuffer as Chriſtians.

With regard to Pliny's ſecond queſtion, whether 'pardon 'ſhould be granted to thoſe who repent,' he allows of it, if good proof be given of repentance.

As to the third queſtion Trajan peremptorily decides that [y] the name is puniſhable without any crime annexed. But he ſays, 'they ſhould not be ſought for.'

I ſhall now recite the very words of this part of the Reſcript.

2. p. 323, expreſſeth himſelf in this manner: 'Such a correſpondence between a 'ſovereign and a ſubject is no leſs curious 'than extraordinary. But, if we are to 'paſs an impartial judgment upon the two 'correſpondents, the emperor's epiſtles 'will certainly outſhine thoſe of Pliny, 'to which they are anſwers. The con'ciſeneſs and ſagacity which run through 'Trajan's ſtyle and manner of writing, 'ſhew him an artiſt, if I may uſe the ex'preſſion, in the epiſtolary ſcience.'

x 'Actum quem debuiſti,' &c. Actum vocat extraordinariam Plinii quæſtionem. Extraordinarium hoc crimen, de quo agebatur, erat. Nulla enim de eo lex certa erat. Trajanus eſſe etiam debere hoc judicium extraordinarium, hoc eſt, magiſtratuum cognitioni et imperio relinquendum eſſe putat. Balduin. ut ſupr. p. 63.

y Cum Trajanus ſimpliciter reſcribit, Chriſtianos eſſe puniendos, neque aliam cauſſam pœnæ requirit: ſatis ſignificat, nomen ipſum puniri. Et Tertullianus in Apolog. oſtendit, nihil fuiſſe, quod in Chriſtianis puniretur, præter nomen. Fr. Balduin. ut ſupr. p. 36. Quæſiverat Plinius, nomen ipſum Chriſtianorum, etiamſi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini punienda ſint? Trajanus dum reſcribit ſimpliciter, ſi deferantur Chriſtiani, et arguantur, id eſt, ejus eſſe ſectæ convincantur, puniendos eſſe, nec aliam pœnæ cauſſam requirit; quod nomen ipſum debeat puniri, ſatis indicat. Atque ſic confirmat nominis illud prœlium, quod præter jus omne et fas ſuſtinuiſſe fideles, ex queribundo tot veterum ore ſupra, ad Plinii conſultationem, audivimus. Kortholt. ut ſupr. p. 194.

'They

'They are not to be ſought for. If any are brought before 'you, and are convicted, they ought to be puniſhed. However, 'he that denies his being a Chriſtian, and makes it evident in 'fact, that is, by ſupplicating to our gods, though he be 'ſuſpected to have been ſo formerly, let him be pardoned upon 'repentance. But in no caſe, of any crime whatever, may a 'bill of information be received without being ſigned by him 'who preſents it.' And what follows. This laſt clauſe is very reaſonable, as will be allowed by all. The reſt we muſt conſider.

As I ſaid juſt now, Trajan allows pardon to be granted, if good proof be given of repentance; 'If he makes it evident in 'fact by ſupplicating to our gods.' It has been ſaid, by ſome commentators, that here is a ſign of Trajan's modeſty, in that he does not add, 'and by ſacrificing to our image;' and that here is a proof of his moderation, in not adding, 'and by reviling the 'name of Chriſt.' But I cannot perſuade myſelf to think that ſuch obſervations are at all material. Trajan [z] knew very well that the governors of provinces would not fail to ſupply thoſe articles, though omitted by him. Trajan approves of Pliny's method, and what had been his, would be the method of other governors, and actually was ſo, as is well known.

Tertullian has ridiculed this decree of Trajan as inconſiſtent and contradictory. 'He [a] forbids the Chriſtians to be ſought 'for, ſuppoſing them to be innocent; and he orders them to be 'puniſhed as guilty. If they are criminal, why ſhould they not 'be ſought for? If they are not to be ſought for, why ſhould 'they not be abſolved?'

However, for certain, here is freſh proof of the Chriſtians [b] innocence. If they had been criminal; if Trajan had not known, and been well ſatisfied, that they were guilty of no great crimes, he would not have forbid inquiring after them. And ſince they were guilty of no offences contrary to the peace of ſociety, they ſhould have been protected; and Trajan's reſcript ſhould have been very different from what it is. It ſhould have been to this effect: 'You have well done, my Pliny, to inquire into the prin-'ciples and conduct of the Chriſtians. As you have detected

[z] Satis interim ſciebat provinciarum præſides hac parte non defore ſuo officio. Voſſ. Comment. [a] Tunc Trajanus reſcripſit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non eſſe, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O ſententiam neceſſitate confuſam. Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes. Parcit, et ſævit. Diſſimulat, et animadvertit. Quid temet ipſum cenſurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non et abſolvis? Ap. cap. 2.

[b] Ex his iterum liquet, nullius criminis reos factos fuiſſe Chriſtianos, niſi deorum minime cultorum. Cleric. ib. n. xiv.

'no

'no crimes committed by them, and you recommend pardon 'upon repentance, and forſaking their error; I readily grant it, 'if it be needful. And I hereby declare that no Chriſtians 'ought to ſuffer without proof of ſome crime; for to inflict 'penalties upon innocent men would be a diſparagement of 'my government. And it has been a maxim with me, from 'the beginning of my empire, not to let any good men ſuffer 'death.'

So, I think, Trajan might, and ſhould have ſaid: and ſo he would have ſaid, were it not that people were not then diſpoſed to treat Chriſtians as they did other men. But the time was not yet come that Chriſtians ſhould be exempted from ſuffering as ſuch, and on account of their Lord and Maſter, who had died for them and was riſen again.

This reſcript of Trajan, which we are now conſidering, was deſigned not for the direction of Pliny only, but of all governors of provinces in general; as is obſerved by [d] that judicious lawyer, Fr. Balduinus. And, as Tillemont [e] ſays, 'this unrea-'ſonable edict ſubſiſted for almoſt an age, and was the rule of 'action to the Romans till the perſecution of Severus.'

VI. Before we proceed any farther, it may be fit that we ſhould conſider a queſtion, whether Trajan ever put an end to the perſecution by an order from himſelf.

Suidas [f] ſays that 'Trajan relaxed the perſecution againſt 'the Chriſtians. For Tiberian, who was governor of what was 'called the firſt part of Paleſtine, wrote to him that he was 'weary of killing the Chriſtians, becauſe they offered themſelves 'to puniſhment. Wherefore Trajan gave orders to all his 'ſubjects that they ſhould no more puniſh the Chriſtians.'

This is ſuppoſed to be taken by Suidas from [g] John of Antioch, or John Malala, a writer near the end of the ſixth century, and of little credit.

To this purpoſe then writes Malala: 'While [h] the emperor 'Trajan was at Antioch of Syria, conſulting about the affairs of 'war, he received a letter from Tiberian, governor of the firſt 'Paleſtine, to this effect. "To the invincible emperor, Cæſar,

[c] Ὡς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοχείρια ἄλλα τε, καὶ ὡς οὐδένα ἀνδρὰ ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάξοι, ἢ ἀτιμάσοι. Dion. L. 68, p. 1122. [d] Tandem Trajanus, quid opus eſſe facto putet, reſcribit: ut non ſolum in cauſſa Ponticorum aut Bithynorum Chriſtianorum id ſequatur Plinius, ſed et alii Præſides in ſuis provinciis obſervent. Atque hoc quidem primum reſcripto lex Romana de Chriſtianis certaque conſtitutio aliqua edita fuiſſe videtur. Fr. Bald. ut ſupr. p. 29. [e] Cependant cette ordonnance ſi deraiſonable ſubſiſte près d'un ſiécle, et fut la regle des Romains juſques à la perſecution de Severe, &c. Tillem. Perſec. de l'Egl. ſous Trajan. art. v. [f] Suid. V. Τραϊανος.

[g] Vid. Valeſ. Excerpta ex Johanne Antiochena. p. 818. [h] J. Malalæ Chronogr. p. 356. Oxon. 1691.

" the moſt divine Trajan. I have to the utmoſt of my power " performed your order for killing the Galileans, who go un- " der the denomination of Chriſtians. But they ceaſe not to " diſcover themſelves, and offer themſelves to be put to death. " I have diſcountenanced this by my advices, and even by " threatenings, telling them that they ſhould not come to me " to accuſe themſelves of holding that opinion: but all to no " purpoſe. I muſt therefore entreat you to determine in this " point as ſhall ſeem meet to your invincible majeſty." And ' the emperor ſent an order to him, and to all the præfects every ' where, that they ſhould no longer put to death any that were ' called Chriſtians. After which the Chriſtians had a ſhort ' breathing time from the afflictions which they had endured.'

So writes Malala. But Mr. Dodwell [i] has examined this letter of Tiberian, and has argued that it is a downright forgery. He ſays that if there had been ſuch a letter written to Trajan by a governor of Paleſtine, Euſebius could not have been ignorant of it. He alſo ſays that the province of Paleſtine was not divided into two parts till long after the reign of Trajan. He likewiſe obſerves that the titles here given to Trajan by Tiberian, are not ſuited to that age. For theſe, and other conſiderations, he rejects that letter as a forgery. And his argument has been approved of by all learned critics [k] in general.

As Trajan directed that the Chriſtians ſhould not be ſought for, it is not unlikely that toward the latter part of his reign the perſecution was moderated in ſome places. The account which Sulpicius Severus gives of this perſecution is to this purpoſe: ' Not [l] long after Domitian, the third perſecution was raiſed by ' Trajan, who, when after ſtrict inquiries made by racks and ' tortures, no diſcovery was made of any thing done by them ' worthy of death, or other puniſhment, he forbade their being ' any longer perſecuted.' The expreſſion is ſtrong; yet, perhaps, no more is intended than this emperor's prohibition to ſeek for them, which is in his reſcript to Pliny.

VII. The obſervations of commentators and eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians upon the foregoing letter and reſcript are ſo numerous that I am induced to mention ſome more general remarks, be-

[i] Diſſertat. Cyprian. xi. § xxiii. xxiv.

[k] Vide Pagi ann. 116. num. ii. Baſnag. ann. 117. n. iii. Cleric. H. E. ann. 113. Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. 2, p. 82, 83. Where that learned writer having alleged ſuch reaſons as ſhew the Letter of Tiberian not to be genuine, concludes: ' So I hope we ſhall ' no more hear of it henceforward, either ' for or againſt the behaviour of the mar- ' tyrs.'

[l] Non multo deinde intervallo, tertia perſecutio per Trajanum fuit: qui cum tormentis et queſtionibus nihil in Chriſtianis morte aut pœnâ dignum reperiſſet, ſæviri in eos ultra vetuit. Hiſt. Sacr. l. 2, c. 31, p. 244. edit. Cleric.

ſide

fide those which have already appeared under the several paragraphs of each of them.

It is certainly a just observation that [m] some writers have aggravated the severity of Trajan, and that we ought to exercise moderation in our reflections upon the proceedings of former times, and even of those who have been unfriendly to us. Paul Orosius, a Christian writer not far from the beginning of the fifth century, speaks 'as if the persecution had been begun by Tra-'jan's order, and that Pliny and other presidents were sent by 'him into the provinces for this very purpose, to carry on the 'persecution of Christians:' which is evidently contrary to Pliny's letter, which we have largely considered. He carried not with him any edict against the Christians, nor any particular directions concerning the method of treating them: but they were brought before him after his arrival in the province; and he had occasion to refer himself to the emperor for advice in several things relating to them.

Moreover Eusebius, as before quoted, acknowledgeth that the persecution in the time of Trajan was first occasioned by the clamours and tumults of the people.

It seems to me likewise that in the Martyrdom of Ignatius, [n] in all the editions of it, whether Greek or Latin, Trajan's earnest concern to extirpate the Christian religion by a general persecution is aggravated: which, together with other things, may be reckoned an argument that it was not composed, as is generally said, by such as were contemporaries of the emperor and the martyr.

On the other hand, I think the mildness of Trajan has been beyond measure extolled, and the benefits of his edict too much magnified by some [o] of late times: as if, after the publication of

[m] Apparet hinc, cum grano salis accipiendum quod ait Orosius, lib. 7. cap. xii. 'In persequendis sane Christianis errore 'deceptus, tertius a Nerone, cum passim 'repertos cogi ad sacrificandum idolis, ac 'detractantes interfici præcepisset, pluri-'mique interficerentur, Plinii Secundi, 'qui inter cæteros judices persecutor da-'tus fuerat, relatu admonitus, eos homi-'nes, præter confessionem Christi, honesta-'que conventicula, nihil contrarium Ro-'manis legibus facere, fiducia sane inno-'centis confessionis nemini mortem gra-'vem ac formidolosam videri, rescriptis 'illico lenioribus temperavit edictum.' Nam, ut recte hic monet Franc. Balduinus, si quod fuisset Trajani de interficiendis Christianis edictum certum ante Plinii relationem, non dubitasset iste, aut sane, Trajanum consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Neque Plinius judex datus est, ut Christianos persequeretur, sed aliis de caussis in Pontum et Bithyniam missus, (Vid. Ep. l. x. 29, 41, 118.) non nisi casu quodam, in eorundem cognitionem incurrit, quibus tunc provinciæ illæ redundabant. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Traj. Ep. p. 11. [n] Vid. Patr. Apost. T. 2. [o] Peccavit quidem in eo non leviter, quod Christianos desertæ majorum religionis convictos, et cedere nolentes, capitali pœna jussit affici....Sed valde tamen profuit Christianis, quod inquisitionem et investigationem eorum vetuit.

the abovementioned reſcript, Chriſtians might meet together and worſhip God ſecurely in their own way, provided they obſerved only the common rules of prudence.

I think that Tertullian's cenſure of this edict above taken notice of, in which he ſhews the inconſiſtence of it, is very juſt. And in another paragraph he acknowledges all the benefit of it, ſaying that 'Trajan [p] had in ſome meaſure defeated, reſtrained, 'or moderated, the decrees of Nero and Domitian againſt the 'Chriſtians, by forbidding inquiry to be made after them.'

What that amounts to I ſhould think might be eaſily computed. It implies no more than this—that the preſidents of provinces or other magiſtrates ſhould not, or need not, ſend out their irenarchs, their ſerjeants, or other peace officers, to ſearch for and apprehend the Chriſtians, as was uſual to be done for apprehending heinous criminals. But it does not hence follow that the preſidents of provinces always obſerved this rule. And as to other people, they are left at liberty to do as they ſaw good. Among them certainly the Chriſtians had many enemies. And if they were brought before the governors, and accuſed as Chriſtians, the governors are required to puniſh them, unleſs they denied their Chriſtianity, and gave proof of it by ſacrificing to the gods: all which was frequently done. This muſt be the truth of the caſe, as it is agreeable to what Euſebius ſays, who could not but know very well what was the ſtate of affairs after the publication of this edict. 'Nevertheleſs,' ſays he in the place before cited, 'they who had a mind to diſturb us did not want 'pretences for ſo doing: in ſome places the people, in other 'places the governors of provinces, laying ſnares for us: ſo 'that, though there was no general perſecution, there were per-'ſecutions in ſeveral places and provinces; and there were many 'faithful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

Le Clerc therefore juſtly ſays that [q] in this reſcript there is little more than an appearance of moderation, without any real kindneſs. And the learned writer, whom I have already quoted ſeveral times, and who, I think, ſometimes too much magnifies the kindneſs and the benefits of this reſcript, acknowledges

tuit. Hac enim ſublata ſecure Chriſtiani ſecretos conventus ſuos celebrare, atque hoſtium ſuorum invidiam, modo prudentiæ obedirent, effugere poterant. &c. Moſhem. de Reb. Chr. ante C. M. Sec. 2, § i. p. 233, 234.

[p] Quales ergo leges iſtæ, quas adverſus nos ſoli exequuntur impii, iniuſti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas Traianus ex parte fruſtratus eſt, vetando inquiri Chriſtianos. Ap. c. 5.

[q] Re vera ſpecies tantum erat moderationis in Traiani reſcripto. Nam quamvis magiſtratus in Chriſtianos publice quæſtiones non haberent, inimicis tamen ſuis tradebantur Chriſtiani, quos ſatis erat deferri ad magiſtratus, ut plecterentur, niſi Religioni Chriſtianæ nuncium remittere vellent. Numquam autem iis defuiſſe inimicos apud Ethnicos, facile eſt intellectu. Cleric. A. cxi, n. xv.

that

that [r] it being placed among the laws of the empire, and be-
'ing long in force, occaſioned the death of many excellent men
'under divers ſucceeding emperors of good character; and that,
'by virtue of this very edict, Simeon, biſhop of Jeruſalem, and
'Ignatius of Antioch, were put to death.' And yet the ſame learned writer, in the very next words, ſays that, 'however [s]
'ſevere this law may appear, the Chriſtians of a warm temper
'were diſpleaſed at it, becauſe it deprived them of the honour
'of ſuffering a glorious death for Chriſt.' But if the Chriſtians diſliked this edict as too mild, how came it that ſo warm a man as Tertullian complained of it as unjuſt and ſevere? And why were there ſo many apologies written ſoon afterwards by Juſtin, Athenagoras, and others, complaining of the ſeverities with which they were treated, and offering every argument that could be thought of by innocent and good men, for moderating and averting the ſufferings which they underwent, or were liable to? However, for proof of this aſſertion is alleged a ſtory told by Tertullian, who ſays: 'When [ss] Arrius Antoninus in Aſia griev-
'ouſly perſecuted the Chriſtians, all the Chriſtians of the city
'in which he was came together in a body to his tribunal, of-
'fering that he might do with them as he ſaw good. He, order-
'ing away a few of them to be put to death, ſaid to the reſt:
"O miſerable people, if you have a mind to die you may find
"precipices and halters enough."

As this paſſage has been alleged by Mr. Dodwell alſo, I ſhall now immediately put down his argument upon [t] it. Only premiſing, that whereas the learned man beforementioned placeth

[r] Hæc Trajani lex inter publicas Romani Imperii ſanctiones relata, efficiebat, ut deinceps etiam ſub imperatoribus optimis et juſtiſſimis multi Chriſtiani perirent. .... Hac igitur lege jubente, Simeon, Cleopæ filius, antiſtes Hieroſolymitanus, centum et viginti annorum, ſenex in crucem agi debebat. Ex ejuſdem legis præſcripto, ipſe imperator eodem anno magnum illum Ignatium, Antiochenum epiſcopum, a ſacerdotibus delatum, et ipſius Imperatoris minas ſpernentem, Romam abduci et beſtiis objici jubebat. Moſhem. ib. § x. p. 234. [s] Quod vero valde mireris, dura ſatis hæc et inhumana lex ſervidioris animi Chriſtianis diſplicebat, quod viam eis ad glorioſam pro Chriſto mortem obeundam, magiſtratu non inquirente, et accuſatore ſæpe deficiente, occluderet. Hinc multi paſſim ipſi nomina ſua deferebant apud judices. Ibid. p. 235.

[ss] Arrius Antoninus in Aſia cum perſequeretur inſtanter, omnes illius civitatis Chriſtiani ante tribunalia ejus ſe manu facta obtulerunt. Cum ille, paucis duci juſſis, reliquis ait: Ω δειλοι, ει θελετε αποθνησκειν, κρημνους η βροχους εχετε. Ad Scap. cap. ult. [t] Eodem ni fallor tempore, quo perſecutus eſt in Bithynia Plinius, perſecutus etiam eſt in Aſia Proconſulari Arrius Antoninus, avus maternus Antonini Pii, ad quem ſcripſit etiam nonnullas epiſtolas ipſe Plinius. De hujus perſecutione ita Tertullianus. Arrius Antoninus in Aſia. Et hic ſeſe offerentium multitudine, ut Plinius multitudine periclitantium, impeditus eſt, quo minus pro libitu ſuo ſæviret....Cæterum multos fuiſſe probabile non eſt, quos ita paucos, tam frigide cenſuit eſſe animadvertendos. Diſſ. Cyp. xi. § xxvii.

this affair in the reign of Adrian, and as conſequent upon Trajan's reſcript, Mr. Dodwell ſuppoſeth it to have happened in the reign of Trajan, at the ſame time that Pliny was perſecuting the Chriſtians in Bithynia. He argues that many did not ſuffer in that perſecution; becauſe, when the Chriſtians of that place offered themſelves at the governor's tribunal, it is ſaid he 'ordered 'away a few of them to be put to death.' But does not this learned writer forget the word *inſtanter*, in the former part of the ſentence? Antoninus had perſecuted ſome while. And that word implies ſomewhat very grievous, either for the manner, or the length and duration, of the perſecution, carried on by that preſident in Aſia. So that it may be reckoned not improbable that many Chriſtians had ſuffered death by his order.

Which alſo overthrows Mr. Moſheim's obſervation. Thoſe Chriſtians did not offer themſelves becauſe of the mildneſs of Trajan's reſcript, and [u] accuſe themſelves becauſe there were none to accuſe them: but it was the governor's ſevere treatment which occaſioned their acting in that manner. Which interpretation is manifeſtly the ſenſe of the paragraph itſelf, and is confirmed by the coherence in [x] Tertullian. The perſecution of Arrius was ſo violent, and ſo long continued, that the Chriſtians in Aſia were reduced to great diſtreſs. Under this affliction they came in a body to the governor, and told him 'he might 'even take them all, if nothing elſe would ſatisfy him; for they 'were not afraid to die.' This reſolution of mind in thoſe generous Chriſtians aſtoniſhed him. And, putting a good countenance upon his proceedings, he ſhut up that diſagreeable ſcene, and concluded the perſecution in the manner before related.

If this account be right, theſe Chriſtians were [y] not ſo contemptible as has been inſinuated: and Mr. Moſheim might have ſpared a reflection unworthy of himſelf, which ſo generous minds do not deſerve.

Before we quite diſmiſs this affair, it may be worth the while to conſider who this Antoninus was, and the time of his perſecution.

There were three of this name, proconſuls of Aſia, in the ſpace

[u] '....omnes illius civitatis Chriſtiani 'ante tribunalia ejus ſe manufacta obtu- 'lerunt:' moleſte nimirum ferentes, nullum ſibi accuſatorem obtigiſſe, et proconſulem inquirere nolle, quod Imperator vetuerat, ipſi accuſatorum ſibi partes ſumebant. Moſh. ibid. p. 235, notis.

[x] Crudelitas veſtra eſt gloria noſtra. Vide tantum ne hoc ipſo, quod talia ſuſtinemus, ad hoc ſolum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipſum probemus, nos hæc non timere, ſed ultro vocare. Arrius &c. Tertull. eod. cap. ad Scap. p. 88. A.

[y] Itaque paucis, ut terreret cæteros, condemnatis, reliquam multitudinem cum indignatione ac contemptu dimittebat. Moſh. ut ſupr. p. 235. notis.

of

of a century, or leſs. The [z] firſt I take to be Arrius Antoninus, of whom Tertullian here ſpeaks; the ſecond Antoninus, afterwards emperor, and ſurnamed Pius; the third, named Arrius Antoninus, was proconſul of Aſia afterwards, in the time of Commodus. Caſaubon ſuppoſeth this to be the perſon intended by Tertullian. Several [a] other learned men have been of opinion that the perſon intended by Tertullian was the emperor Antoninus's grandfather by the mother's ſide, and the ſame to whom ſome of Pliny's letters are ſent. Which opinion, as already hinted, appears to me very probable. Hereby we may be led to the time of this event. By Moſheim, as before obſerved, it is placed in the reign of Adrian, and alſo [b] by Mr. Lampe; but by Mr. Dodwell, as already mentioned, in the time of Trajan, and whilſt Pliny was in Bithynia. But, if he be the ſame to whom Pliny wrote, it muſt have been ſooner. For Pliny, in one [c] of his letters to him, ſpeaks of his having been twice conſul, and then proconſul of Aſia ſome time before: conſequently he had been proconſul of Aſia before Pliny went into Bithynia. For I cannot diſcern that any of Pliny's letters, now extant, were written after his provincial government. Indeed, Arrius Antoninus was an old man at the time of Pliny's writing to him. And if this be the perſon intended by Tertullian, here is another conſideration that overthrows Mr. Moſheim's reaſonings.

When Arrius Antoninus was proconſul of Aſia, I cannot ſay exactly; whether in the time of Domitian, or ſome while afterwards: but plainly before Pliny was ſent into Bithynia.

This Antoninus was a learned and ingenious man, and has a

[z] Proconſulatum Aſiæ ſic egit, ut ſolus avum vinceret. Jul. Capitol. Antonini Pii. cap. 3. Here I put down part of Caſaubon's note upon the above place. Avus hic, quem intelligit, eſt Pii avus maternus, Arrius Antoninus. Ambo Proconſules Aſiæ fuerunt, et Pius, et avus. De Pii proconſulatu loquitur Marcianus libro ſecundo de judiciis publicis....De avo illius proconſule Aſiæ, et immortali laude, quam inde reportavit, Plinius in epiſtola ad ipſum Arrium Antoninum. Quod ſemel. Invenio et tertium Arrium Antoninum, Aſiæ itidem proconſulem, virum longe clariſſimum, qui principe Commodo occiſus ſcelere Cleandri, tantum Imperatori invidiam apud vulgus, et omnes bonos concitavit, ut eam ferre Commodus cum non poſſet, Cleandrum plebi ad pœnam donaverit. Hiſtoriam habes apud Lampridium. [Vit. Commodi cap. 7.] Hic videtur eſſe, de quo Tertullianus ad Scapulam. Caſaub.

[a] See Caſaubon in the preceding note.

[b] Neque ſub Hadriano Imperatore res Chriſtianorum in Oriente ſatis pacatæ erant: ſub quo Aſiam adminiſtravit Arrius Antoninus, qui Chriſtianos male habuit. Lampe Synopſ. H. E. p. 113.

[c] Quod ſemel atque iterum conſul fuiſti, ſimilis antiquis: quod proconſul Aſiæ, qualis ante te, qualis poſt te vix unus et alter, (non ſinit enim me verecundia tua dicere, qualis nemo:) quod ſanctitate, quod auctoritate, ætate quoque princeps civitatis, eſt quidem venerabile et pulchrum. Ego tamen te vel magis in remiſſionibus miror, &c. lib. 4, ep. 3. vid. et ep. 18, et l. 5, ep. 10.

good character in [d] Pliny, and other [e] writers. Nor do I think he was a bad man. I only ſay he acted badly for ſome while toward the Chriſtians, whom the great men of thoſe times did not ſuppoſe entitled to the common equity vouchſafed to all other people. However, he alſo, like our Pliny, was at length overcome by their reſolution and ſtedfaſtneſs in the cauſe of what they were perſuaded was the truth, and important truth.

I have taken notice of the ſentiments of ſome learned men, of late times, who have been very ready to magnify the moderation of Trajan, and his proprætor Pliny. I ſhall now take notice of ſome other things. For Grotius, who [f] thought Trajan to be pointed at by St. John [Rev. xiii. 18,] ſays that [g] Trajan ſhed as much Chriſtian blood as Nero and Domitian. Which may be true: for the cruel edicts of Nero and Domitian were ſoon abrogated: but Trajan being generally reckoned by the Romans a good emperor, his reſcript ſubſiſted long in force, and by virtue of it many ſuffered in every part of the empire for a long time; as Pliny ſays in a letter to Trajan, in which he propoſeth his making an ordinance for ſettling ſome affairs relating to Pontus and Bithynia: 'For [h] it well becomes you, whoſe every 'word and action deſerves immortality, to give laws that ſhall 'be for ever permanent.'

I ſhall now alſo ſubjoin ſome other obſervations of Grotius, in which he declares it to be his opinion that [i] the perſecution ordered by Trajan began in the tenth year of his reign, and that, by virtue of his edict, Simeon, biſhop of Jeruſalem, and Ignatius, biſhop of Antioch, ſuffered martyrdom.

VIII. As I have enlarged in my remarks upon the foregoing letter and reſcript, and have paſſed very free cenſures upon

[d] See before note [c]. [e] Vid. Jul. Capitolin. Antonin. cap. i. et Victoris Epit. cap. xii. [f] Vid. Annot. ad Apoc. cap. xiii. ver. 18. et Comment. ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichriſto agunt, p. 470. Opp. Tom. 3.

[g] Multum vero errant, qui ſub Trajano, quamvis cætera non malo principe, minus ſanguinis effuſum putant quam ſub Nerone et Domitiano. Horum enim ſævitia ferme circa Romam ſtetit, illius per omnes provincias pervagata eſt. Nec quiſquam eſt qui hujus perſecutionis oblitus ſit veterum Chriſtianorum, qui perſecutionum nobis numerum recenſent, ut Euſebius, Auguſtinus, Oroſius, alii. In Epiſtola ad Plinium inquiri quidem eos vetat: ſed puniri vult, ſi accuſentur. Accuſatores autem nuſquam deerant. Grot. Reſponſ. ad St. Curcell. in calc. Annot. ad N. T.

[h] Nam quod in perpetuum manſurum eſt, a te conſtitui debet, cujus factis dictiſque debetur æternitas. l. x. ep. 113.

[i] Sub Domitiano, ut omnes ſciunt, acerbiſſima fuerat Chriſtianorum vexatio Nerva uno edicto omnia Domitiani edicta ſuſtulit, inter quæ et alia contra Chriſtianos, quorum plurimi ab exiliis reverſi, ut Euſebius in Chronico et Hiſtoria notat. Reſuſcitavit ſævitiam novo edicto Trajanus anno principatus ſui decimo, ut idem Euſebius notat Hiſtoriæ iii. 27....Quibus addi poteſt notiſſima Plinii epiſtola de pœnis Chriſtianorum, et Tertullianus Apologetico. Ex eo edicto crucifixus Simon filius Cleopæ, Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus: Ignatius Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus Romæ feris objectus, notante utrumque Euſebio. Grot. ut ſupr. T. 3, p. 471.

the

the writers of them, it may be of ſome uſe to obſerve their ſeveral characters more diſtinctly; whereby, poſſibly, we may be able to diſcern how it came to paſs that ſo renowned men as Pliny and Trajan treated the Chriſtians ſo hardly.

Pliny, as I ſuppoſe, was a dutiful child, and he was very reſpectful to the memory of his uncle, by whom he was adopted for his ſon. He evidently was a loving huſband, a good maſter, a faithful friend, and a kind and generous benefactor to many. He was alſo a friend to civil liberty, and an enemy to tyrants. Withal he was a good writer. To that he owes the immortal fame of which he [k] was deſirous. To that we likewiſe are indebted for the advantages which we may receive from his Panegyric and Epiſtles, ſtill remaining. If to a friendly temper for particular perſons he had added a love of mankind in general, his conduct might have been more unexceptionable than it was. His virtue and his wiſdom had a trial when he met with Chriſtians in the province which he was ſent to govern. And when they were brought before him he failed, as ſeems to me, in a proper regard to the rules of juſtice and equity.

But before I proceed to any ſuch things, as may be imagined to have been in part the ſources of ſome wrong conduct, I muſt expatiate farther in the detail of his amiable qualifications, which may be eaſily collected from his letters, and are ſuch as may deſerve the imitation, and excite the ardour, of Chriſtians themſelves.

Several of his letters are written to his friend Tacitus, all of them very agreeable. One [l] of them, particularly, is a mirror of intimate, ſincere, and delightful friendſhip.

Many of his letters expreſs compaſſion and tenderneſs for the diſtreſſed and afflicted. His letter to Marcellinus, where [m] he laments the death of Junius Avitus, is very affecting. Catanæus [n] admires and commends it as ſuperior to all the reſt.

In another letter he well repreſents the benefit of ſickneſs. 'Then,' ſays [o] he, 'we recollect that there are gods, and we 'know ourſelves to be but men. And he thinks it may be laid 'down as a ſhort rule, more valuable than many volumes of

[k] Me autem nihil æque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido ſolicitat: res nomine dignißima, præſertim qui nullius ſibi conſcius culpæ, poſteritatis memoriam non reformidet. L. v. ep. 8. [l] Lib. 7. ep. 20. [m] Lib. 8, ep. 23.

[n] Impar igitur tanto dolori, (concepto ex Junii Aviti morte,) Marcellino rem totam per hanc epiſtolam exponit, inter pulchriores pulcherrimam, inter triſtiores triſtiſſimam, inter amantiores amantiſſimam. Catan. [o] Tunc Deos, tunc hominem eſſe ſe meminit...Poſſum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, plurimis voluminibus philoſophi docere conantur, ipſe breviter tibi mihique præcipere, ut tales eſſe ſani perſeveremus, quales nos futuri profitemur infirmi. L. 7, ep. 26.

'philoſophical

'philoſophical ſpeculations, that we ſhould endeavour to be in 'health, what we promiſed to be when ſick.'

He has an excellent letter, written in a fine turn of expreſſion, in behalf of forgiving injuries, or at leaſt covering and hiding any offences which we have received. I muſt tranſcribe [p] below a large part of this letter, though I do not tranſlate it. However, he recommends it as a good rule 'to be inexorable to 'our own failings, whilſt we treat thoſe of the reſt of the world 'with tenderneſs, not excepting even ſuch as forgive none but 'themſelves.'

After reading theſe, and other letters, written in a moving and affectionate manner, we may be diſpoſed to wiſh that Pliny had never met with thoſe people called Chriſtians, whoſe only fault was, that they differed from him, and moſt others, in things of religion; and whoſe great unhappineſs it was, that they were generally deſpiſed, and their principles unknown, and ſuppoſed [q] to be unworthy to be inquired into and conſidered.

When old Simeon ſaw the child Jeſus preſented by Joſeph and Mary at the temple, he ſaid, under the influence of the prophetic Spirit: *Behold this child is ſet for the fall and riſing again of many in Iſrael, and for a ſign which ſhall be ſpoken againſt....that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed*: Luke ii. 34, 35. Which prophecy was afterwards fulfilled among the people of Iſrael, in the times of our Saviour and his apoſtles: and has been oftentimes verified ſince in other people and other countries. By the propoſal of the goſpel men have been tried; and it has been diſcovered whether they were lovers of truth, and open to conviction, or not. I therefore proceed.

It has been ſaid that [r] Pliny was indifferent about things of religion. On the other hand, I think, he was credulous and ſuperſtitious. His credulity is ſufficiently manifeſt from his long letter, in [s] which he gravely relates divers ſilly ſtories in

[p] Atque ego optimum et emendatiſſimum exiſtimo, qui cæteris ita ignoſcit, tanquam ipſe quotidie peccet: ita peccatis abſtinet, tanquam nemini ignoſcat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitæ genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles ſimus, exorabiles iſtis etiam, qui dare niſi ſibi neſciunt.....Fortaſſe quæris, quo commotus hæc ſcribam? Quidam nuper. Sed melius coram. Quamquam ne tunc quidem. &c. L. 8. ep. 22.

[q] Unum geſtit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur.....nolentes audire, quod audirum damnare non poſſint. Hanc itaque primam cauſſam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen Chriſtianorum, ...ignorantia ſcilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam ſi res meretur odium? Tunc enim meretur, cum cognoſcitur, an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii juſtitia defenditur? Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

[r] Quare nec oderat eos, licet deorum contemtores, quos quippe et ipſemet, homo philoſophus contemnebat, ac ſecum animo ſuaviter ridebat. Exemplo ſcilicet avunculi ſui, qui Hiſt. Nat. 2. vii. patriæ ſuæ deos ridet, et ſocordiam eſſe judicat, credere deos innumeros. Heuman. De Perſec. Plinian. ſect. v.

[s] L. 7. ep. 27.

ſupport

ſupport of the reality of apparitions. I might alſo refer to [t] his long letter concerning the dolphin at Hippo, that carried boys upon its back: though that letter is written with more pleaſantry. And perhaps we may hereafter obſerve more proofs of this weakneſs of our author.

His veneration for the gods is apparent, and ſhews itſelf upon every * occaſion.

Pliny begins [u] and ends [x] his panegyric upon Trajan in very devout addreſſes and thankſgivings to Jupiter, and the other deities, founders and guardians of the Roman empire. I before referred to ſome of his letters to Trajan from the province, ſhewing how [y] devoutly he and the people there celebrated the anniverſary of his empire.

Upon occaſion of private, as well as public, concerns, he always adores the gods. His wife, having had an abortion, he writes to her grandfather, that [z] he ſhould however give thanks to the gods for her ſafety, and that there were ſtill hopes of her having children.

In a letter to one of his friends, he tells him he 'had lately 'purchaſed, with a legacy that was left him, a ſtatue of Corinthian 'braſs, which appeared to him to be antique, and was ſo highly 'finiſhed as to deſerve the attention of the curious.' Well, how is this maſterpiece to be diſpoſed of? He goes on: 'I bought 'it [a] not with any intent of placing it in my own houſe, (for I 'have nothing of that kind there,) but with a deſign of fixing 'it in ſome conſpicuous place, in my native country, and in the 'temple of Jupiter; for it is a preſent worthy of a temple and 'a god.'

He built ſeveral temples at his own expenſe. His letter relating to the temple of Ceres deſerves to be read throughout.

[t] L. 9. ep. 33. * I cannot but wonder that this ſhould have been overlooked by any learned men. It is acknowledged again and again by Colonia, tom. 2. p. 49, 50. Il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux. &c. See him quoted more at large by and by.

[u] Bene ac ſapienter, Patres C. majores inſtituerant, ut rerum agendarum, ita dicendi initium a precationibus capere: quod nihil rite, nihilque providenter homines ſine deorum immortalium ope, conſilio, honore auſpicarentur.....Quo magis aptum piumque eſt, te Jupiter optime maxime, antea conditorem, nunc conſervatorem imperii noſtri, precari, ut mihi digna Conſule, digna Senatu, digna Principe contingat oratio. Penag. cap. 1.

[x] In fine orationis præſides cuſtodeſque imperii deos ego Conſul pro rebus humanis, at te præcipue, Capitoline Jupiter, precor, ut beneficiis tuis faveas, tantiſque muneribus addas perpetuitatem. Cap. 94. [y] Lib. x. ep. 44, 45, 60, 61, 101....104. Vid. et ep. 9.

[z] Igitur....ſic debes agere diis gratias, quod ita in præſentia pronepotes negaverint, ut ſervarint neptem. &c. L. 8. ep. 10. Conf. l. 8. ep. 1.

[a] Emi autem, non ut haberem domi, (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo,) verum ut in patriâ noſtrâ celebri loco ponerem, ac potiſſimum in Jovis templo. Videtur enim dignum templo, dignum deo donum. L. 3. ep. 6.

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It begins with theſe words: 'In [b] compliance with the advice of 'the Aruſpices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of 'Ceres, which ſtands upon my eſtate.'

Concerning another temple of his building he writes in a letter to Fabatus, his wife's grandfather. He and his wife were going to make him a viſit; but Pliny makes excuſes for a ſhort delay, becauſe he would firſt go and conſecrate that temple. 'We 'ſhall ſtop only once, and that for a ſhort time; intending to 'turn a little out of the way in order to go to Tuſcany....There 'is a town near my eſtate, called Tifernum, upon the Tiber, 'which put itſelf under my patronage when I was yet a youth.... 'that I may return their good offices, I have built a temple in 'this place at my own expenſe. As it is finiſhed, it would be 'a ſort of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer: "diſ- "ferre longius irreligioſum eſt." We deſign therefore to be 'there on the day that the ceremony is to be performed. And I 'have reſolved to celebrate it with a grand feaſt.'

He ſpeaks of erecting another temple, which was entirely new, in a place where had been none before; where [d] he intended to place all the ſtatues of the Roman emperors which he had in his poſſeſſion. And he aſks leave of Trajan that he might ſet up his ſtatue there alſo.

In a letter to Maximus, who was going into Achaia, he writes to this purpoſe: 'You [e] will conſider yourſelf as ſent to that 'noble province of Achaia, the real and genuine Greece....Re- 'vere the gods their founders, thoſe venerable deities. Reſpect 'the ancient glory of this people....Pay a regard to their anti- 'quity, to their noble exploits, and even to their fictions.'

This letter of advice is written with uncommon earneſtneſs, that Maximus might act worthy of himſelf, and not loſe in Greece any part of that reputation which he had gained by his quæſtor- ſhip in Bithynia, and the diſcharge of other offices in which he had been employed. And can we think that Pliny neglected ſuch rules himſelf when he was governor in Bithynia?

Pliny, as before ſaid, was augur. It was an office which he much valued, and which he aſked of Trajan in this manner; 'I [f] beg you would be graciouſly pleaſed to add either the office 'of augur, or ſeptemvir, (both of which are now vacant,)

[b] Aruſpicum monitu reficienda eſt mihi ædes Cereris in prædiis in melius et in majus. L. 9. ep. 39.

[c] L. 4. ep. 1.

[d] ....ego ſtatim decurionibus ſcripſeram, ut aſſignarent ſolum, in quo templum pecuniâ meâ exſtruerem. L. x. ep. 24.

[e] Cogita, te miſſum in provinciam Achaiam, illam veram meram Græciam.... Reverere conditores deos, numina deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem.....Sit apud te honor antiquitati, ſit ingentibus factis, ſit fabulis quoque. L. 8. ep. 24.

[f] L. x. ep. 8. al. 13.

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to the dignity which I already enjoy by your indulgence, that I may have the ſatisfaction of offering up thoſe vows for your proſperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the gods in private from the affection of my heart.'

Pliny was greatly delighted with his being appointed augur: 'My [g] advancement,' ſays he to Arrian, 'is indeed an honour that juſtly merits the congratulation which you give me....It is alſo an ancient and ſacred inſtitution, which has this high and peculiar privilege annexed to it—that it is for life. Other ſacerdotal honours, though they may be not much inferior in dignity, yet as they are given, ſo they may be taken away; upon this, fortune has no power but to beſtow it. What recommends this dignity to me ſtill more is, that I have the honour to ſucceed ſo illuſtrious a perſon as Julius Frontinus; who for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper perſons to be taken into the ſacred college, conſtantly propoſed me, as if he had a view to my being his ſucceſſor.'

This laſt mentioned particular certainly deſerves ſome notice. Pliny's uſual character was ſuch as to ſhew him to be a very fit perſon for this honourable prieſthood.

In another letter alſo he relates how [h] that eminent man Virginius Rufus often recommended him as a perſon well qualified for the prieſthood.

The buſineſs of the augurs, as is ſaid, was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, and to foretel whether any action ſhould be fortunate or prejudicial to particular perſons, or to the whole commonwealth. And it appears, from our Pliny's letters [i] to his friends, that he thought he had a happy talent for interpreting dreams, and could give a ſhrewd conjecture, at leaſt, how far they were to be depended upon, and whether they foreboded ſucceſs or diſappointment in any undertaking.

None can conteſt his credulity and ſuperſtition who obſerve what he ſays deſcribing the river Clitumnus. 'Near it,' ſays [k] he, 'ſtands an ancient and venerable temple, wherein is placed '[the river god] Clitumnus, clothed in a ſplendid robe; whoſe 'immediate preſence the prophetic oracles, there delivered, ſufficiently teſtify.'

I am not ſingular in my judgment concerning Pliny's reſpect

[g] L. 4. ep. 8.

[h] .... ſic illo die, quo ſacerdotes ſolent nominare quos dignioſimos ſacerdotio judicant, me ſemper nominabat. L. 2. ep. 1.

[i] Vid. l. 1. ep. 18. Conf. l. 5. ep. 5.

[k] Adjacet templum, priſcum et religioſum. Stat Clitumnus ipſe amictus ornatuſque prætexta. Præſens numen, atque etiam fatidicum, indicant ſortes. L. 8. ep. 8.

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for the heathen deities, and his zeal for upholding their worſhip. Colonia expreſſeth himſelf very clearly to the like [l] purpoſe.

I think I ought not to omit that Pliny did not condemn combats of gladiators, or other things uſually accompanying thoſe cruel entertainments. He ſeems to have approved of them upon ſome occaſions. This appears from a letter to his friend Maximus. 'You [m] were extremely in the right,' ſays he, 'to promiſe a combat of gladiators to our good friends, the citizens of 'Verona; not only as they have long diſtinguiſhed you with 'their peculiar eſteem and veneration, but as it was thence alſo 'you received the amiable object of your affection, your late excellent wife. And [n] ſince you owed ſome monument, or public ſhew, to her memory, what other ſpectacle could you exhibit more proper to the occaſion?....The readineſs with which 'you granted this requeſt, and the magnificent manner in which 'you performed it, is much to your honour....I am ſorry that 'the African panthers, which you had largely provided for that 'purpoſe, did not arrive time enough. But though they were 'delayed by the tempeſtuous ſeaſon, the obligation to you is 'equally the ſame, ſince it was not your fault that they were not 'exhibited.'

The emperor Trajan has been admired and applauded by many. And it muſt be owned that he was an eminent perſon, and had many good qualities. Crevier begins his hiſtory of this emperor in this manner: 'Trajan is juſtly eſteemed the beſt and greateſt prince the Romans ever had.' His diſtinguiſhed title was that of Optimus, given [o] him by the ſenate, and all the people in general. 'But,' as a learned man ſays, 'that [p] title among 'the

[l] Mais il eut encore une attention plus particuliere à faire fleurir par tout la culte des Dieux. Car il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux, comme il paroit entre autres choſes, par les grands movements qu'il ſe donna pour faire tranſporter dans an lieu plus decent le vieux temple de la Grand Mere des dieux, c'eſt-à-dire de Cybéle, qui étoit à Nicomedie, [l. x. ep. 58.] et par le ſoin qu' il eut de faire batir à ſes propres frais un temple dans une de ſes terres, aſſez pres de Tiſernum.

Cet entêtement ſingulier de Plinie pour les dieux, et pour les etreurs de Paganiſme, doit paroitre certainement quelque choſe d' aſſez bizarre dans un auſſi bel eſprit que lui, qui devoit, ce ſemble, par mille raiſons s'être mis fort au deſſus des frivoles prejugez du vulgaire. Colonnia La Religion Chrêtienne autoriſee, &c. T. 2. p. 49, 50.

[m] Recte feciſti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronenſibus noſtris promiſiſti. L. 6. ep. 34.

[n] ....cujus memoriæ aut opus aliquod, aut ſpectaculum, atque hoc potiſſimum, quod maxime funeri, debeatur. Ibid.

[o] Jam, quid tam civile, tam ſenatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen? Plin. Pan. cap. 2. Juſtiſne de cauſſis Senatus Populuſque Romanus Optimi tibi cognomen adjecit? Ib. cap. 88.

Conf. Dion. l. 68. p. 1138. Vid. ibid. Reimar. not. ſect. 44. Tillem. note vi. ſur Trajan. et Pagi ann. 103. n. ix. et ann. cxi.

[p] Cum Trajanus nominatus ſuit a Romanis Optimus, hoc vocabulum non ſignificat hominem virtutum moralium, et alterum quaſi Socratem. Romani enim tales

'the Romans does not denote a man of excellent morals, as if 'he were another Socrates, but only kind, courteous, obliging, 'agreeable; implying that [q] he behaved reſpectfully toward the 'ſenate, and was gracious and condeſcending toward the people, 'converſing familiarly with them, indulging them in their plea-'ſures, gratifying their humour, and affording them magnificent 'ſpectacles.'

And it may be not unfitly obſerved by us, that we have not Pliny's panegyric upon Trajan, as it was pronounced by him in the ſenate. For, as we know from himſelf, he [r] afterwards enlarged and improved it, not only for more fully doing juſtice to the emperor himſelf, but alſo that it might be the model of an excellent prince, for the imitation of others in time to come.

Trajan's piety to the gods is acknowledged. The emperor's and his panegyriſt's piety go hand in hand. In that juſtly admired performance Pliny celebrates his maſter as [s] a humble worſhipper of the gods. And he ſays, that 'Trajan [t] placed his 'predeceſſor, Nerva, among the gods, not to pleaſe the people, 'nor out of any diſreſpect to the deities, nor with a view of ho-'nour to himſelf upon that account, but becauſe he really be-'lieved him to be a god.' And, in a letter formerly referred to, repreſenting his own vows, and the vows of the province in which he was, he ſays: 'We [u] implored the gods to preſerve you and 'the republic in ſafety and proſperity, with that peculiar mark 'of their beneficence, which not only your other many and great 'virtues, but particularly your diſtinguiſhed piety and reverence 'of them, deſerve.'

tales homines non magni faciebant..... Quid ergo ſibi volebat ille Romanorum titulus? ſcilicet ſignificabant eos Trajanum habere mores, qui ipſis placerent maxime. Faciebat enim quicquid gratum eſſe Senatui intelligebat, quicquid Populo. Hujus voluptatibus, illius ambitioni indulgendi nullam dimittebat occaſionem. En Imperatorem judicio populi optimum. Heuman. De Perſecutione Chriſtian. Plinian. p. 146.

[q] Και τοτε δημῳ μετ' ισοτιμιας συνεγενετο, και τη γερουσια σεμνοτερως ωμιλει· αγαπητος μεν πασι, φοβερος δε μονοις, πλην πολεμιοις ων. Dion. p. 1124.

[r] Officium conſulatus injunxit mihi, ut Reipublicæ nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu quum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more feciſſem, bono civi convenientiſſimum credidi eadem illa ſpatioſius et uberius volumine amplecti: primum ut Imperatori noſtro virtutes ſuæ veris laudibus commendarentur: deinde, ut futuri principes non quaſi a magiſtro, ſed tamen ſub exemplo præmonerentur, quâ potiſſimum viâ poſſent ad eandem gloriam niti. Plin. l. 3. ep. 18. Conf. ep. 13. Vid. et l. 6. ep. 27.

[s] Tu delubra non niſi adoraturus intras. Tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis, poſtibuſque prætexi. Paneg. cap. 52.

[t] Quem tu lacrymis primum, ita ut filium decuit, mox templis honeſtaſti: non imitatus illos, qui hoc idem, ſed aliâ mente feciſti....Tu ſideribus patrem intuliſti, non ad mentem civium, non in contumeliam numinum, non in honorem tuum, ſed quia Deum credis. Paneg. cap. xi.

[u] Precati Deos, ut te remque publicam florentem et incolumem eâ benignitate ſervarent, quam ſuper magnas plurimaſque virtutes præcipua ſanctitate conſequi Deorum honore meruiſti. L. 10. ep. 101. Conf. ep. 9.

Though

Though Trajan has been much applauded by men of former and later times, as [x] excelling in the arts of peace and war, temperate, mild, equitable; such was the impartiality of divers of the ancient historians, that they have not scrupled to record some very great faults which he was guilty of.

He is said to [y] have indulged himself at some seasons in excess of eating and drinking: and he is charged [z] with a vice not fit to be named. Some [a] would set aside this charge, as if the testimony of Dion Cassius was liable to suspicion; but there is no reason for it: Dion was as likely to be well informed as any man. His only fault is, that he does not condemn the vice with the severity which it deserved: and [b] Trajan's guilt is attested also by other witnesses, altogether unexceptionable.

Trajan was fond of the combats of gladiators. Dion says that, 'after [c] he had triumphed for his first victory over the Da-'cians, he exhibited in the amphitheatre shews of gladiators, of 'whom he was very fond; and introduced dancers into the thea-'tre, being enamoured with one of them.' And after the second victory over the Dacians, the same historian, or Xiphilinus from him, says, there [d] were shews continued for an hundred and three-and-twenty days, in which were slain eleven thousand beasts, wild and tame; and there were combats of ten thousand gladiators.

The emperor's great fondness for gladiators has been sup-

[x] Hôc ægre clarior domi, seu militiæ reperietur....Æquus, clemens, patientissimus, atque in amicos perfidelis. Sextus Aur. Vict. de Cæsaribus, cap. 13. Conf. Victor. Epit. c. 13. in Eutrop. l. 8. Dion. Cass. l. 68. p. 1122. &c. Julian Cæs. p. 327, 328. ed. Spanhem.

[y] Trajanum familiarius prosecutus est: quandoquidem et indulsisse vino se dicit, Trajani moribus obsequentem: atque ob hoc se a Trajano locupletissime numeratum. Spartian. de Adrian. cap. 3.

Quinetiam vinolentiam, quo vitio, uti Nerva agebatur, prudentiâ molliverat, curari vetans jussa post longiores epulas. Victor. de Cæsaribus. cap. 13. ....nisi quia cibo vinoque paullulum deditus erat. Victor. Epit. cap. 13. de Trajano.

Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam, et cupiditatem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit, sed invenerit: prohibuerit-que lege ministeria lasciva, psaltriasque commissationibus adhibere. &c. Id. cap. 48. De Theodosio. Ου γαρ ην εξω τȣ δυνασθαι ρητορευειν, υπο δε της φιλοποσιας, αμβλυτερος εαυτȣ πολλακις ην. Julian. Cæs. p. 327. C. Spanh. et Conf. ib. p. 318. C.

[z] Ουδ' εςιν ο τι ουκ αριςον ειχε. Και οιδα μεν οτι και περι μειρακια, και περι οινον εσπȣδακει· αλλ', ει μεν τι εκ τȣτων η αισχρον η κακον η εδεδρακει, η επεπονθει, επηγορια αν ειχε· νυν δε τȣ τε οινȣ διακορως επινε, και νηφων ην, εν τε τοις παιδικοις ȣδενα ελυπησεν. Dio. l. 68. p. 1124. [a] A Dione, fortasse ex odio in Romanorum Imperatorum Græcis insito, ebrietatis et præposteræ libidinis notatus. J. de la Baune De Vita Traj. sub fin. [b] Fuitque in amore Trajani, nec tamen ei per pædagogos puerorum, quos Trajanus impensius diligebat, Gallo favente, defuit. Spartian. Adrian. cap. 2. Corrupisse eum Trajani libertos, curasse delicatos, eosdemque sepelisse per ea tempora, quibus in aulâ familiarior fuit, opinio multa firmavit. Id. ib cap. 4.

Ιδων δε αυτον ο Σειληνος εφη....ωρα νυν τῳ δεσποτῃ Διι σκοπειν, οπως ο Γανυμηδης αυτῳ φρȣρησεται. Julian. ib. p. 311. C.

[c] Τραιανος δε τατε νικητηρια ηγαγε....εν τε τῳ θεατρῳ μονομαχȣς συνεβαλε· και γαρ εχαιρεν αυτοις· και τȣς ορχηςας ες το θεατρον επανεγαγε· και γαρ ενος αυτων τȣ Πυλαδȣ ηρα. Dion. l. 68. p. 1127. al. 774. B.

[d] Dio. ib. l. 68. p. 1131. al. p. 777.

posed

posed by some to be one reason why Pliny speaks so honourably of those shews in his [e] Panegyric.

Trajan's introducing pantomimes into the theatre is the more remarkable, because they had been prohibited or restrained by [f] Domitian. Nerva [g] disliked them, though [h] to please the people he allowed them at Rome. Pliny has more than once plainly condemned them in his [i] letters, which is much to his honour. And indeed I take him to be a much better man than his admired master.

It seems to make no small abatement in Trajan's reputation for wisdom, and his regard for the prosperity of the empire, that he so long deferred to nominate his successor. Pliny [k] extols Nerva for appointing Trajan to succeed him. And it is always reckoned a point of wisdom in princes to make early provision against their own mortality. But Trajan, though he reigned almost twenty years, did not adopt Adrian his successor till he was dying, if he did [l] then. And whenever this was done, whether before or after his death, it is [m] represented to be owing to the good conduct of the empress Plotina, who was favourable to Adrian, and has a great character [n] for virtue and discretion.

They who will consider all these things, may, perhaps, see cause not to be much surprised at the hard treatment which Christians met with from the great men of those times.

It ought not to be thought by any that I take pleasure in detracting from the merit of those who have been distinguished by their high stations, or their eminent abilities, or their useful services to mankind of any sort. For indeed the disadvantageous part of this detail has been made, and carried on, not without

[e] Satisfactum, quâ civium, quâ sociorum utilitatibus. Visum est spectaculum inde non enerve, nec fluxum, nec quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera comtemtumque mortis accenderet: quum in servorum, etiam noxiorumque corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriæ cerneretur. Paneg. cap. 33. [f] Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concesso. Sueton. Domit. cap. 7. Vid. et Nero. c. 16. [g] Dio. l. 68. p. 1119, al. 770. B. [h] Plin. Pan. cap. 46. Conf. Reimar. not. 82. ad Dion. p. 1127. [i] Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses, ex cujusdam testamento, celebrabatur. Hunc Trebonianus Rufus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu suo tollendum abolendumque curavit.....Placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic omnium. Nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos residunt, nostra late vagantur. Utque in corporibus, sic in imperio, gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur. L. 4. ep. 22. Vid. et l. 7. ep. 24. [k] Tibi terras, te terris reliquit: eo ipso carus omnibus, ac desiderandus, quod prospexerat, ne desideretur. Paneg. cap. 8. [l] At Trajanum non prius Hadrianum adoptasse, si tamen adoptavit, quam in morbum inciderit.....certo deducitur. Pagi ann. 117. n. v. And see Crevier's History of Trajan, near the end. [m] Vid. Dion. l. 69. in. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 6. Victor. de Cæsarib. cap. 13. Spartian. in Adrian. cap. 4. [n] Plin. Paneg. cap. 83. Dion. l. 68. p. 1123. in. al. p. 771. D. Victor. Epit. in. Constantio. cap. 42. sub fin.

great reluctance, much diffidence, and tenderneſs; whilſt commendable things have been cheerfully acknowledged. And if we now think, and judge, and act, better than many in former times, it is owing to our ſuperior advantages: ſuch eſpecially as we have received from the Chriſtian revelation, by which our minds have been enlightened and enlarged: for which we ought to be ever thankful, ſtill thinking modeſtly of ourſelves, and giving God the glory of all.

IX. There ſtill remains ſome general remarks upon the foregoing epiſtles to be mentioned here, though divers of them may have been in part hinted before.

1. Theſe epiſtles are juſtly eſteemed by learned men as very valuable. They are the only authentic accounts of the perſecution in Pontus and Bithynia which we have. Indeed thoſe epiſtles have been referred to by Tertullian, and Euſebius, and other later writers: but [o] we have no hiſtory of it by any Chriſtian writer who lived at that time. Whence this has come to paſs, cannot be certainly ſaid. We may regret it, but we cannot help it, and ſhould acquieſce, and improve what we have as well as we can.

2. We ſee here one ground of offence againſt Chriſtians —they drew men off from the worſhip of the heather deities. Their temples were not ſo much frequented as formerly. The prieſts, and all who had a dependence upon the temples, the ſacrificers, the ſtatuaries, the painters, the engravers, and others, were deprived of their wonted gain. This muſt have made the Chriſtians many fierce enemies in all parts. An early inſtance of this kind is recorded by St. Luke, Acts. xix. 23....41.

3. Here is a remarkable evidence of the great progreſs of the Chriſtian religion in a ſhort ſpace. There never was any ſuch thing as Chriſtianity heard of in the world before the reign of Tiberius. It was not fourſcore years ſince the crucifixion of Jeſus when Pliny wrote this letter, nor ſeventy years ſince the diſciples of Jeſus began to make any mention of him to Gentiles. And yet there were at this time great numbers of men, whom Pliny once and again plainly calls Chriſtians, in that part of Aſia where he preſided, at a great diſtance from Judea. Chriſtians there were every where, throughout the whole extent of his province, in cities, in villages, and in the open country. There

[o] Verum hiſce temporibus, et hoc quidem anno, cœpit tertia, quæ vocatur, perſequutio, ut liquet ex Epiſtola Plinii, qui Bithyniæ Proconſul erat,...quam integram recitabimus, quod ſit unicum perſequutionis illius tertiæ monumentum, tempori æquale. Tanta fuit Chriſtianorum eo ævo, in ſcribendo religionis ſuæ hiſtoria, negligentia, aut ſcriptorum illius ætatis jactura. Cleric. H. E. Ann. cxi. n. i.

were

were persons of all ages, of every rank and condition, and of each sex, and some Roman citizens, who had embraced this principle. They abounded so much in those parts, that there was a visible desertion of the temples. Beasts, brought to market for victims, had few purchasers; the annual sacred solemnities were much neglected. So many were accused, and were in danger of suffering upon account of the prevalence of this opinion, as gave the president no small concern.

Moreover, there were not only many at this time who bore that name, but there had been such people there a good while; some several years before; and one, or more, brought before Pliny, had professed Christianity, and forsaken it, twenty years before. By which we are assured that there were Christians here before the year of our Lord 90, and within sixty years after the crucifixion of Jesus. And indeed the great number of Christians found in this country by Pliny affords good reason to believe that Christianity had been planted there many years before his arrival. Such an increase must have been the work of time.

I do not say, nor think, that the Christians were the majority of the people in Pontus and Bithynia: but I suppose we may conclude, from what Pliny writes, that there were then many Christians in every part of those * countries.

4. They who were called Christians were very resolute and steady in this profession, which must have been owing to some cause or other. Jesus had been crucified as a malefactor; and yet there were great numbers of men who had a great respect for him, and could not by any means be compelled, as Pliny was assured, to speak ill of him. And this governor found those informations, which had been given him, to be true. For there were men brought before him, who, when he interrogated them whether

* Says Mr. Mosheim: Tota igitur provincia, non quædam ejus pars, Christianis repleta erat. Postremo non obscure significat, Deorum cauſſam magno in discrimine paullo ante versatam esse, pluresque Christo, quam Diis serviisse. Hoc ex eo manifestum est, quod templa deserta fuisse, sacra solemnia diu intermissa, sacrificia perpauca Diis oblata memorat. 'Certe, 'satis constat, prope jam desolata tem-'pla cœpisse celebrari. &c.' Aut fabulam hero suo narrare Plinium statue....aut certum puta, provinciam Ponticam plures ejus tempore Christianos habuisse, quam deorum superstitioni deditos, saltem maximam incolarum partem ad deserendam avitam religionem inclinasse. Mosh. De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 218, 219.

But it seems to me that, in a preceding note, the same learned man speaks more judiciously in a remark upon Tertullian. Oracula fundere Tertullianus plurimis videtur in Apologetico. cap. 37. 'Hes-'terni sumus, et vestra omnia implevi-'mus.....palatium, senatum, forum. 'Sola vobis relinquimus templa.' Ego virum, ad exaggerandum naturâ factum, declamare, modumque excedere, arbitror. Tolle distributionem illam rhetoricam, fallacem certe et insidiosam, et hanc habebis sententiam: Plurimi sunt in orbe Romano Christiani, et nullus fere ordo est, qui prorsus illis careat. Id. ib. p. 217.

they were Chriſtians, confeſſed they were. And, though threatened by him with death, they perſevered in that confeſſion, and therefore were by him ordered away for execution.

It is reaſonable to think that this was owing to ſome authentic informations which they had received concerning Jeſus, and his exemplary life and excellent doctrine, confirmed by miraculous works, and a full perſuaſion of the truth of them, as alſo of his reſurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to power and dominion after his crucifixion.

It could not well be owing to any thing, but ſuch evidences of theſe things as are contained in the books of the New Teſtament. What elſe could have induced ſo many men to take upon them the name of Chriſt, and profeſs themſelves to be his followers, though all men knew he had ſuffered an ignominious death? They lived near enough to the time of Jeſus to know whether there had been any extraordinary appearances in his favour, during his abode on this earth, at his death, and after it. Without credible information of ſome ſuch things, it is unaccountable that any number of men ſhould take upon them this profeſſion, and perſevere in it, notwithſtanding the many difficulties to which they were expoſed.

If it ſhould be ſaid they were not all conſtant; there were ſome who abandoned this profeſſion; it is allowed; ſome ſuch there were: but they ſeem to have been but few in compariſon of thoſe who perſevered. For Pliny ſaw that great numbers of all ſorts of people were expoſed to danger. Beſides, the conſtancy of a few, in ſuch a caſe as this, is of more weight than the inconſtancy of many. There were many temptations to renounce this profeſſion, even contrary to conviction: but there were no worldly inducements of any kind to perſiſt in it. Unſteadineſs might be owing to worldly conſiderations; perſeverance could be owing to nothing but a firm perſuaſion of the truth.

5. We are here aſſured of divers important things concerning the religious belief and worſhip of the firſt Chriſtians, in which they agree with the principles and precepts delivered in the New Teſtament.

1. They diſowned all the gods of the heathens: they would not worſhip the images of the emperors, or of their gods. The people, who embraced this religion, forſook the heathen temples and altars, and offered there no ſacrifices.

2. They met together on a ſtated day, undoubtedly meaning Sunday, or the Lord's-day, on which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour roſe from the dead. And we are aſſured by Juſtin Martyr, in his

his Apology, written not very many years after this time, that this was the practice of all Chriſtians in general.

3. When they were aſſembled, as Pliny ſays, 'they ſang a 'hymn to Chriſt, as a god: and alſo engaged themſelves, as 'by an oath, not to commit theft, or robbery, or adultery, never 'to falſify their word, or betray any truſt committed to them.'

Which account is much to the honour of theſe Chriſtians. Their religion did not lie in abſtruſe ſpeculations, or numerous rites and ceremonies, but in the worſhip of the one God, through Jeſus Chriſt, and the practice of moral virtue.

4. The Chriſtians in Pontus and Bithynia had love-feaſts, or agapæ, as they are alſo ſometimes called. Many other Chriſtians had the like, as we learn from [p] Tertullian. Thoſe of the Chriſtians in Bithynia were not held at the ſame time with their more ſolemn worſhip, but afterwards; and for avoiding offence they had omitted them.

5. They alſo had church officers. Pliny expreſsly mentions two women, who were miniſters, or deaconeſſes, whom he alſo calls maid-ſervants. But, as before hinted, he might be miſtaken about their condition.

Whence it came to paſs that he has mentioned no other officers among the Chriſtians, ſuch as biſhops, or preſidents, or elders, or deacons, cannot be ſaid. But it may be allowed that the perſons pitched upon by him, to be examined by torture, were as likely as any to anſwer his purpoſe, of obtaining a knowledge of their ſecret practices, if the Chriſtians had any ſuch among them.

6. We are here aſſured of the innocence and virtue of the firſt Chriſtians. Both theſe epiſtles, that of Pliny, and that of Trajan, bear teſtimony to their innocence, in their ſolemn worſhip, in their meal, ſome time afterwards, and in their whole lives. There was not any crime, beſide that of their religion, proved againſt any of thoſe that were brought before Pliny. Even their accuſers and proſecutors appear not to have alleged any thing elſe againſt them, but that they were Chriſtians. He examined deſerters. He put to the torture two women who were miniſters, or deaconneſſes. And yet he diſcovered nothing but what was quite harmleſs. The only charge againſt them is, an abſurd ſuperſtition, and obſtinacy therein.

Trajan's reſcript affords as ſtrong proof of the innocence of theſe men. He knew not of any offence they were guilty of, excepting only their not ſupplicating to the gods. He [q] for-

[p] Ap. cap. 39. [q] Conquirendi non ſunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi

bids inquiries to be made after them; and he allows pardon to thoſe who would give proof of their renouncing Chriſtianity, by a public act of worſhip paid to the gods, then generally received.

The honeſty and innocency of theſe men, oblige us to pay a great regard to their belief and profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion. If they were ſober and diſcreet before they embraced it, we may hence argue that, there were then ſuch evidences of it's truth as approved themſelves to ſerious perſons. If they are ſuppoſed to have been in fore time vicious and irregular, here is a ſtrong proof of the truth and goodneſs of Chriſtianity, in that it had ſo great an influence on men's minds at a time when they might eaſily know whether it was well grounded or not. Either way, it is an honour to theſe principles, that they who embraced them maintained ſuch innocence in their lives, that their enemies, by the ſtricteſt inquiries, could diſcover nothing criminal in them.

7. At the ſame time that theſe Chriſtians appear reſolute in their adherence to Chriſt and his doctrine, and will by no means be compelled to give religious worſhip to the emperors, or the heathen deities, they pay due obedience to the orders of the civil magiſtate. Their evening meeting, for partaking together in a common meal, was not a ſacred ordinance of the Chriſtian inſtitution. When therefore Pliny publiſhed an edict forbidding aſſemblies, which was often done by the Roman governors of provinces, becauſe of the licentious practices which uſually attended them, theſe Chriſtians forbore thoſe meetings, though they had not been uſed to commit any diſorders in them.

8. I would now take occaſion to obſerve the expedience and uſefulneſs, the value and importance, of inquiſitiveneſs in things of religion.

Improvements in any ſcience depend upon inquiſitiveneſs, carried on and continued with diligence. Theſe are the only methods of obtaining a knowledge of the principles of any ſcience, and the grounds, reaſons and evidences of them: for the want of which there is ſo much ignorance in the world. Nor is there any thing leſs cultivated than the knowledge of religion. How eaſily might ſome great men, and many others, have avoided the faults which they fell into, and have acted more for their own honour, and the benefit of mankind, than they did, if they could but have been perſuaded to attend to the principles of the

endi ſunt: ita tamen, ut qui negaverit ſe Chriſtianum eſſe, idque re ipſa manifeſtum fecerit, id eſt, ſupplicando Diis noſtris, quamvis ſuſpectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentia impetret. Trajanus,

Chriſtian

Chriſtian religion, and the evidences of their truth and certainty, apparent in their intrinſic excellence and reaſonableneſs, and in the extraordinary works accompanying the original revelation of them, which ſhewed that they were promulgated with divine authority?

That Chriſtianity had appeared in the world a good while ago; and that there were many Chriſtians at Rome, and elſewhere, in the reign of Nero and Domitian; and that theſe Chriſtians had ſuffered much, and ſtill perſiſted in the faith of Chriſt; were things well known to Tacitus and Suetonius, friends of our Pliny, and indeed to all the world, at the time when the eminent men, juſt mentioned, lived and wrote. But how little regard did they ſhew to this? Did they conſider the evidences which thoſe Chriſtians alleged, as the ground and reaſon of their firm and diſintereſted belief and profeſſion? Did thoſe perſons admit any doubts about the grounds of the ancient worſhip, or make any ſerious inquiries about religious truth? It does not appear they did.

We have a collection of Pliny's letters in ten books. The tenth and laſt contains the correſpondence between him and the emperor Trajan. In the other nine books are more than two hundred and forty letters, many of them written to Tacitus and Suetonius, and other men of great diſtinction for their learning and ingenuity, and high ſtation, and the offices which they had borne in the Roman empire. Is there any thing in theſe letters relating to the Chriſtian religion, or the Chriſtians, it's honeſt profeſſors? Not one word: there is total ſilence upon that ſubject throughout! Do any of them aſk Pliny whether he could inform them concerning the Chriſtian philoſophy, which had made ſuch progreſs in the world in a ſhort time? Or does Pliny aſk any of them whether they had examined the pretenſions of thoſe people, and conſidered whether there was not ſomewhat extraordinary in this new ſect? No, there are no inquiries of this ſort ſent by Pliny to any of his learned and honourable friends; nor to him by any of them, ſo far as appears! They are all well ſatisfied in the ancient way. They heſitated not to proceed in the obſervation of all the idolatrous rites and ceremonies practiſed by their anceſtors. If they would not inquire, how ſhould they know? And if they did not know, how ſhould they act wiſely, as the circumſtances of things might require?

And in all ages ignorance will be culpable, if men neglect the means of knowledge, and will not inquire. And they muſt bear the conſequences of their own neglects.

I beg leave to tranſcribe here the pathetic addreſs of Juſtin

Martyr to Antoninus the pious, and the ſenate and people of Rome, at the end of his firſt apology, to induce them to attend to, and examine the evidences of, the Chriſtian religion, and to give ſuch treatment to the profeſſors of it as in all equity they had a right to expect. And I the rather tranſcribe it here, becauſe I am perſuaded the like things were ſaid to Pliny, and repeated to him more than once, by thoſe Chriſtians who were accuſed before him and examined by him. And poſſibly, yea very probably, they came alſo to the ears of the emperor Trajan himſelf.

'On [r] the day called Sunday we all meet together....On which 'day Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour roſe from the dead. On the day 'before Saturday he was crucified. And on the day after Satur-'day, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apoſtles and diſciples, 'and taught them thoſe things which we have ſet before you, 'and refer to your conſideration. If theſe things appear agreeable to reaſon and truth, pay a regard to them. If they appear trifling, reject them as ſuch. But do not treat as enemies, nor appoint capital puniſhment to thoſe who have done no harm: for we foretel unto you, that you will not eſcape the future judgment of God if you perſiſt in unrighteouſneſs. And we 'ſhall ſay; The [s] will of the Lord be done.'

CHAP. X.

EPICTETUS the ſtoic philoſopher.

I. *His life and time.* II. *A ſtory repreſenting his great patience.* III. *That he was learned.* IV. *A general account of the ſtoic principles.* V. *Of Arrian, who drew up the Enchiridion, and Diſcourſes of Epictetus.* VI. *Paſſages in Epictetus relating to the Chriſtians, with remarks and obſervations.*

I. EPICTETUS [a] was a celebrated ſtoic [b] philoſopher. But there are not many particulars of his life that are known with certainty. He is in Suidas: and I ſhall take the hiſtorical part of his article for my text.

'Epictetus,' ſays that [c] author, 'born at Hierapolis in Phry-'gia, a philoſopher, was ſlave of Epaphroditus, one of the em-

[r] Juſtin. p. 99. Pariſ. 1636. p. 84. Bened. [s] ὁ φιλὸν τῷ Θεῷ, τετο γενεσθω.

[a] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. 7. Tom. 3. p. 257. &c. Tillemont Adrien. art. xx.

[b] Epictetus Stoicorum vel maximus. Ap. A. Gell. l. 1. c. 2. Maximus Philoſophorum. Ib. l. 17. cap. xix.

[c] V. Επικτητος.

'peror

'peror Nero's body-guards. He was lame in one leg, occa-
'ſioned by a defluxion. He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New
'Epirus; and reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus. He
'wrote many things.'

'Epictetus, born at Hierapolis in Phrygia:' which I do not think to be certain. And I have obſerved that [d] divers learned men ſpeak doubtfully of this particular, as not entirely relying upon the authority of Suidas.

The names and quality of his parents are no where mentioned.

'He was a ſlave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body-guards,
'and [e] was lame in one leg, occaſioned by a defluxion.'

That Epictetus was for ſome while a ſlave, and always poor, and likewiſe lame, are things atteſted by many ancient writers, and need not to be diſputed. They are mentioned by [f] Aulus Gellius, who was contemporary with our philoſopher, but ſurvived him: who mentions a ſhort Greek epigram, which he alſo aſcribes to Epictetus himſelf, to this purpoſe:

'A ſlave, in body maim'd, as Irus poor;
'Yet to the gods was Epictetus dear.'

Simplicius, whoſe authority is very good, ſays that 'Epicte-
'tus [g] was a ſlave, of an infirm conſtitution, and lame from early
'age; and ſo well ſatisfied with extreme poverty, that his ſmall
'houſe at Rome needed no ſecurities, having nothing in it but
'his couch and mattreſs, upon which he lay.'

Hence I think it may be collected that, while Epictetus lived at Rome, he was, for ſome time at leaſt, a freeman, and had a houſe of his own. And it may be ſuppoſed that there were ſome who were willing to ſupport him, and furniſh him with ſuch things as were neceſſary. This may be argued alſo from ſome preceding words of Simplicius, where, having repreſented a like caſe, he ſays: 'Who * would not be willing to maintain
'ſuch a one, at the ſame time thinking that he rather receives
'than confers a benefit?'

[d] Natum Hierapoli Phrygiæ tradunt. Lipſ. citat. in notis ad A. G. l. 1. cap. 2. On le fait natif d'Heraple en Phrygie. Tillem. ut ſupr. [e] πηρωθεις δε το σκελος ὑπο ῥευματος. Suid. [f] De Epicteto autem, philoſopho nobili, quod is quoque ſervus fuit, recentior eſt memoria, quam ut ſcribi quaſi obliteratum debuerit. Ejus Epicteti etiam de ſe ſcripti duo verſus feruntur....

Δουλος Επικτητος γενομην, και σωματι πηρος,
Και πενιη Ιρος, και φιλος αθανατοις.

A. G. l. 2. c. 18. Et Macrob. l. 1. c. xi. ſub fin.

[g] Οτι αυτος ο ταυτα λεγων Επικτητος, και δουλος ην, και το σωμα ασθενης, και χωλος εκ νεας ηλικιας, και πενιαν ακροτατην επιτηδευσεν, ως το εν Ρωμη οικημα αυτε μηδεποτε κλειθρε δεηθηναι, οτι μηδεν ενδον εχον, ει μη την στιβαδα και την ψιαθον, εφ' ων εκαθευδε. Simpl. in Epictet. Ench. cap. 13. p. 102.

* τις γαρ αν αγαπα τρεφειν τον τοιουτον, λαμβανειν χαριν μαλλον ὑπερ διδοναι νομιζων. Ib. p. 102.

In

In another place of the ſame work Simplicius ſays: 'The [h] 'admirable Epictetus for the greateſt part of his life dwelt alone: 'but afterwards [or in his advanced age] he was attended by a 'woman, whom he took to nurſe a child, which he intended to 'bring up, and which otherwiſe a friend of his, who was very 'poor, would have expoſed.'

Though Simplicius mentions no other furniture of this philoſopher's houſe beſide a couch and mattreſs, undoubtedly there was alſo a lamp; which, as we learn from [i] Lucian, was ſold after his death for three thouſand drachms, or a hundred pounds of our money: which high price, however, was not owing to the value of the materials, for it was earthen; but the reputation of the proprietor.

Epictetus himſelf refers to his lameneſs [k] ſeveral times. And Origen [l] ſuppoſeth him to have been a ſlave.

Suidas ſays that 'Epaphroditus [m] was one of Nero's body-'guards:' by which [n] ſome have underſtood chamberlain: and others, from this place of Suidas, as I apprehend, have been led to think he was [o] captain of the guard, or præfectus prætorio: which muſt be a miſtake. Suetonius [p] calls him maſter of the requeſts. For certain he was [q] Nero's freed-man, and one of his favourites. He is generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame to whom Joſephus inſcribed his Jewiſh Antiquities, and of whom he ſpeaks honourably.

But I think it doubtful whether Epictetus ever was his ſlave. 'It is certain,' ſays [r] Tillemont, 'that he was a ſlave. Suidas 'ſays he was ſlave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body-guards.' Of this laſt particular therefore he ſpeaks doubtfully.

Epictetus has thrice [s] mentioned Epaphroditus in his Diſcourſes, recorded by Arrian. In one of thoſe places he calls Epaphroditus Nero's freedman: and tells a ſtory very diſadvantageous to his character, expoſing him to contempt and ridicule. And it is manifeſtly fictitious; in part at leaſt. But would Epictetus treat Epaphroditus in that manner if he had been his maſter and had made him free! Moreover, if Epictetus's maſter had been ſo great, and ſo well known a perſon as Epaphroditus,

[h] Ibid. cap. 46, p. 272.

[i] Adv. Indoct. p. 386. T. 2. Græv.

[k] Ap. Arrian. l. 1, c. 8, ſub fin. et c. 16, ſub fin. Cantabr. 1655.

[l] Contr. Celſ. l. 3, p. 144, al. § 54.

[m] .... των σωματοφυλακων τυ βασιλεως Νερωνος.

[n] Epaphroditi, qui libertus, et cubicularius Neronis. Fabr. B. Gr. T. 3, p. 257.

[o] Capitaine des gardes de Neron. Morery.

[p] .... a libellis. Sueton. Neron. c. 49. Domitian. c. 14.

[q] Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 55.

[r] Il eſt certain, qu'il a eſté eſclave. Suidas dit, qu'il le fut d'Epaphrodite garde du corps du Neron. Ibid.

[s] Ap. Arrian. l. 1, c. 1, et 19, et 26. Cantabr. 1655.

he

he would have been ſometimes called his freed-man, as Epaphroditus is called Nero's, and Phlegon [t] Adrian's: and Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word Bithynion, ſays 'it [u] was the 'native place of Pinytus, who taught grammar at Rome; who 'was the freedman of Epaphroditus, as he was Nero's:' not now to add any more like inſtances.

'He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus.'

We know, from [x] Suetonius and other authors, that in the reign of Domitian, about the year of Chriſt 94, the philoſophers were ordered by a decree of the ſenate to depart from Rome and Italy. Among them was Epictetus, who then went to Nicopolis, and taught philoſophy there.

Epictetus may refer to this baniſhment of the philoſophers, when ſome of them, as may be ſuppoſed, to conceal their character and avoid the public reſentment, took [y] off their beards.

That Nicopolis was the place of his abode, is expreſsly ſaid [z] by himſelf, once at leaſt, in his Diſcourſes, preſerved by Arrian; and it is implied in what he ſays in [a] ſeveral other places.

'He reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus.'

And to the like purpoſe [b] Themiſtius. Nevertheleſs, there are divers learned [c] men who do not aſſent to this: and what they ſay is of no ſmall weight: for they obſerve that he is not mentioned by [d] Marcus himſelf, nor by [e] others, among thoſe philoſophers by whoſe inſtructions he had been benefited, and who were cheriſhed and favoured by him. And that emperor himſelf acknowledgeth his obligations to Junius Ruſticus [f] for procuring him a ſight of Epictetus's Diſcourſes.

Epictetus is mentioned [g] by Spartian among thoſe philoſophers to whom Adrian ſhewed great regard. If that be true Epictetus muſt have lived to his time. And ſome have hence argued that he returned to Rome. But I rather think he never left

[t] Vid. Spartian. Adrian. c. 16. et Phot. cod. 97. [u] ἀφ' ὃ Πινυτος ἐγενετο Ρωμης γραμματικος Ἐπαφροδιτου του Νερωνος ὢν ἐξελευθερος. Steph. Byz.

[x] .... philoſophos omnes Urbe Italiaque ſubmovit. Sueton. Domit. 10. Neque illis ſolum temporibus, nimis rudibus, necdum Græcâ doctrinâ expolitis, Philoſophi ex urbe Româ expulſi ſunt. Verum etiam, Domitiano imperante, ſenatuſconſulto ejecti, atque Urbe et Italia interdicti ſunt. Quâ tempeſtate Epictetus quoque Philoſophus propter ſenatuſconſultum Nicopolin Româ deceſſit. A. Gell. l. 15, cap. xi. [y] Ἀγε δη, Ἐπικτητε, διαξυσασθαι. κ. λ. Arrian. l. i. c. 2, p. 89.

[z] .... ὡς οἰκω ἐν νικοπολει. L. 2, c. 6, p. 184. [a] L. i. c. 10, et 19, fin. et c. 25, p. 147, l. 4, c. 1, p. 376.

[b] Or. 5, p. 93. [c] Salmaſ. Animadv. in Epict. et Simp. p. 1....4. Gataker. ad M. Antonin. l. 8, cap. 31. Kuſter. Ann. in Suid. V. Ἐπικτητος. Fabric. et Tillem. ut ſupra.

[d] De Rebus ſuis, cap. 2, 3.

[e] Vid. J. Capitolin. M. Anton. Phil. cap. 3. [f] Καὶ το ἐντυχειν τοις Ἐπικτητειοις ὑπομνημασιν, ὡν οἰκοθεν μετεδωκε. De Reb. ſuis. l. 1, § 7. [g] In ſumma familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum.... habuit, Spart. Adrian. cap. 16.

Nicopolis

Nicopolis after he had ſettled [h] there. And he might receive marks of eſteem from Adrian without going to Rome.

His own Diſcourſes, as ſeems to me, afford the beſt help for ſettling his time. In the ſecond book he ſays there [i] was then war between the Romans and the Getes, or Dacians. According to a computation formerly [k] made, Trajan's wars with the Dacians laſted five years, beginning in the year 100 or 101, and ending in 105 or 106. In the [l] third book he ſpeaks of there being then peace all over the Roman empire: which may be that time of profound and general tranquillity which ſucceeded the victories and triumphs over that people. In [m] the fourth book Trajan is mentioned by name; and it may be ſuppoſed that he was then living: which may induce us to think that all the philoſophical diſcourſes of Epictetus, recorded by Arrian, were ſpoken before the end of that emperor's reign.

It is allowed that Epictetus lived to old age. He is called an old man [n] in A. Gellius and [o] Lucian. He ſpeaks of himſelf as [p] an old man in the firſt book of his Diſcourſes.

It is generally allowed by learned men that [q] Arrian did not publiſh the Diſcourſes of Epictetus till after his deceaſe. It is manifeſt that Epictetus was dead when [r] A. Gellius publiſhed his Noctes Atticæ. And [s] Arrian's Collection was abroad in the world when A. Gellius ſtudied at Athens: which, probably, was in the time of Adrian. Conſequently Epictetus did not ſurvive Trajan, or however not long. Lucian, who flouriſhed in the time of M. Antoninus, ſpeaking of the perſon who bought Epictetus's lamp after his death, ſays, 'he was [u] one of our time, 'and might be ſtill living:' which implies that the purchaſe had been made ſome good while before. All the diſcourſes of Epictetus, which we have, were delivered at Nicopolis, as is [x]

[h] Nec poſt id tempus Romam illum puto rediiſſe, ſed ibi mortem obiiſſe. Salmaſ. ib. p. 4. [i] Και νυν Ρωμαιοι προς Γετας. L. 2, c. 22, p. 244. Cantab.

[k] See before, p. 289. [l] L. 3, c. 13, p. 292. [m] Τινα εχει τον χαρακτηρα τουτο το τετρασσαρον; Τραιανε. L. 4, c. 5, p. 390. Cant. p. 602. Upt.

[n] L. 1. c. 2. [o] .... τω θαυμαζω εκεινω γεροντι. Adv. Indoct. T. 2, p. 386.

[p] .... γερων χωλος. L. 1, c. 16. fin.

[q] Atqui non eos videtur compoſuiſſe, niſi poſt mortem Epicteti. Salmaſ. in Epict. et Simp. p. 4. .... illas diſſertationes habuit, quas in literas deinde ipſo defuncto retulit Arrianus. Fabr. ut ſupr. p. 259. Et notabis, jam Epictetum tum deceſſiſſe, cum Enchiridion hoc Meſſalinæ inſcriberet Arrianus. Salmaſ. ib. p. 5.

[r] A. G. l. 2, c. 18. [s] .... Juſſitque (Herodes Atticus) proferri Diſſertationem Epicteti digeſtarum ab Arriano, ſecundum librum, in quo venerandus ille ſenex. .... A. G. l. i. c. 2. Atque ibi coram ex ſarcinulâ ſuâ librum protulit Epicteti philoſophi, quintum Διαλεξεων, quas ab Arriano digeſtas congruere ſcriptis Zenonis et Chryſippi non dubium eſt. Id. l. 19. cap. 1. [u] ... οπερ καθ' ημας αυτος εγενετο τις, και ετι εστιν οιμαι. T. 2, p. 386.

[x] Et profecto omnes ejus ſermones ac diſſertationes, quas ſcripto mandavit Arrianus, quæque hodie exſtant, Nicopoli habitæ ſunt. Salmaſ. ut ſupr. p. 4.

manifeſt.

manifest. And from his settlement in that city to the death of Trajan (in the year 117,) or thereabout, must be reckoned the time when he chiefly flourished.

Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of Epictetus at the year of Christ 104: which is not at all amiss, as must appear from what has been just said. But, as my observations may relate to the whole collection of his discourses, some of which might be spoken later, I have chosen to place him at the twelfth of Trajan, and the one hundred and ninth year of our Lord.

'He wrote many things:' which will be considered by and by.

II. Having now gone over what is said by Suidas, we will observe a story told of Epictetus by Celsus, in his books against the Christian religion: that, 'when [y] his master tortured his leg, 'he, smiling, and not at all discomposed, said, "you will break "it:" and when it was broke, he said, "did I not tell you that "you would break it?" This Celsus magnifies as exceeding every thing recorded of our Saviour's patience.

Here again [z] Tillemont hesitates. And indeed we might have been well pleased to find this account in Aulus Gellius, or some other ancient author, not writing in controversy. However, there certainly is some foundation for it: though [a] the story is not always told in the same way. Epictetus is several times brought in as an example of heathen patience in [b] Gregory Nazianzen, and [c] the Dialogues ascribed to his brother Cæsarius.

Possibly some may think that Epictetus himself refers to this occurrence of his past life, when in the first book of his Discourses, speaking of death, exile, imprisonment, and other pains, which men ought to endure patiently and cheerfully, he says: 'I must [d] die—And must I die groaning too? Be fettered—Must 'it be lamenting too? Exiled—And what hinders me then but 'that I may go smiling, and cheerful, and serene? Betray a se-'cret—I will not betray it: for this is in my power. Then I

[y] .... ουκουν Επικτητον; ος του δεσποτου τρεβλουντος αυτου το σκελος, υπομειδιων, ανεπληκτως ελεγε· κατασσεις. και καταξαντος, ουκ ελεγον, ειπεν, οτι κατασσεις. Orig. C. Cels. l. 7, p. 268. al. § 53.

[z] On trouve quelque chose de cela dans les Dialogues de Cæsareus, et dans Gregoire de Nazianze. Mais non pas dans un endroit d' Aulu-Gelle, dont on le cite, et dont le temoignage rendroit cette histoire plus assurée. Tillem. as before.

[a] Sed ne crus quidem Epicteti silentio præterierim. Quod cum ipsi a tyranno quodam vinctum fuisset, ac diuturno post tempore ille ex ipso quæsivisset, an solvi vellet, inquit, an vinctus sum? &c. Eliæ Cretens. Comm. in Greg. Naz. Or. 3, p. 326.

[b] Και το Επικτητου σκελος. Gr. Naz. Or. 3, p. 77. Vid. et Ep. 64. al. 58, p. 822.

[c] Epicteti vero crure, a moroso domino convulso, multis Philosophis silentii, et in periculis, occasio doctrinæ fuit. Cæsar. Dialog. 4, p. 804. B. ap. Bib. PP. T. V.

[d] Here I take Mrs. Carter's translation, p. 5.

'will

'will fetter you—What [e] do you ſay man? Fetter me? You will 'fetter my leg; but not Jupiter himſelf can get the better of 'my choice....Theſe things ought philoſophers to ſtudy,....and 'in theſe to exerciſe themſelves.'

However, though there may be ſome foundation for this ſtory, we can perceive that the lameneſs of Epictetus was not owing to a violent fraction or diſlocation; for we are informed by Suidas that his lameneſs was owing to a defluxion, and by Simplicius that he was lame from early age.

We likewiſe perceive, from the writers above alleged, that Epictetus was not always a ſlave. In the latter part, and perhaps the longer part of his life, he was a freeman. He was a philoſopher, living at eaſe in his own houſe, attended by a woman, with the child of a friend whom he intended to bring up. All which particulars lead us to think that Epictetus had a ſufficiency, or competence, though not ſuperfluities. Nor can it be at all doubted that his friends and diſciples would, and did, furniſh him with all things neceſſary during his abode at Rome, and afterwards at Nicopolis: where we ſuppoſe him to have ended his life; and where he ſeems to have had many hearers and diſciples, and ſome of good condition, who would not fail to allow him handſome gratuities for his inſtructions, which they highly valued.

III. We have ſeen what ancient writers ſay of the furniture of this philoſopher's houſe. It conſiſted, they ſay, of 'a couch 'and mattreſs upon which he lay, and a lamp.' I have ſometimes thought they ſhould have added, 'and a library,' the books of which he carefully read and ſtudied; for Epictetus was learned. I cannot ſay that I have ſeen this obſervation in any writers of his life: and yet it is very obvious. Nor is it reaſonable to think that the only uſe of the lamp was to enlighten his room in the dark night, or to dreſs his victuals by the light of it: very probably he read and ſtudied by it.

Epictetus's learning is conſpicuous in his Diſcourſes. He knows very well the hiſtory of Greece and Rome, and [f] the cuſtoms of all nations, Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Romans. He is intimately acquainted with the principles, the hiſtory, the ſayings, the writings, of the ancient Greek philoſophers: the [g] Iliad and Odyſſey are familiar to him. He [h] alſo quotes Heſiod. He [i] had read the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides,

[e] Αλλα δησω σε. Ανθρωπε, τι λεγεις; εμε; το σκελος μου δησεις, την προαιρεσιν δε, ουδ' Ζευς νικησαι δυναται. L. i. c. 1, p. 85. [f] L. 1, c. xi. p. 114. Vid. et l. 2, c. ix. p. 192. [g] L. 1, c. 28, p. 155. et paſſim. [h] L. 2, c. 12, p. 201. Vid. Heſiod. Theog. ver. 87. [i] L. 1, c. 24, p. 145. et c. 28, p. 157.

and

and the [k] comedies of Menander, and [l] the orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates. In a word, he was no ſtranger to any part of polite literature. And Mrs. Carter ſays: 'He [m] often quotes, with 'great applauſe, the ſentences of many writers not of his own 'ſect.' But how could that be done without having read?

We have no diſtinct account of his education: but his own Diſcourſes are a proof that he had read, and ſtudied, as well as thought.

IV. I am not obliged to give a diſtinct account of his philoſophical principles. I ſhall put down here only a few general obſervations from Mrs. Carter's introduction, ſect. 33: 'Stoiciſm 'is, indeed, inferior to the doctrine of Socrates; which did not 'teach that all externals were indifferent; which did teach a fu-'ture ſtate of recompenſe; and, agreeable to that, forbade ſuicide.' And, in another ſection of her introduction, the ſame philoſophical lady ſays: 'There is, I think, very little evidence to be found 'that they believed future rewards and puniſhments, compared 'with that which appears to the contrary; at leaſt the reader will 'obſerve that Epictetus never aſſerts either.' Sect. 20, p. xiii.

V. I muſt now give ſome account of [mm] Arrian, to whom we are indebted for what we have of Epictetus.

In Photius [n] are ſeveral articles concerning his works. One of the laſt of which was a hiſtory of his own country, Bithynia: wherein Arrian ſays 'he [o] was born, and bred, and educated, 'in Nicomedia: and that he was prieſt of Ceres and her daugh-'ter, to whom that city was dedicated.'

In another article Photius, having given an account of ſeveral of his works, ſays: 'This [p] Arrian was by profeſſion a philoſo-'pher, and one of Epictetus's friends. He flouriſhed in the 'times of Adrian, Antoninus the pious, and Marcus Antoninus. 'He was called the young Xenophon. On account of his un-'common abilities he was intruſted with divers civil employ-'ments, and attained to the dignity of the conſulſhip. Beſide [q] 'thoſe already mentioned he wrote other works, as Diſſertations 'of his maſter Epictetus, in eight books, ſo far as we know; and 'Homilies [or Diſcourſes] of the ſame Epictetus, in twelve books; 'and it muſt be owned that his ſtyle much reſembles that of 'Xenophon.'

[k] L. 3, c. 26, p. 351. [l] L. 3, c. 23, p. 325. [m] Introduction. § 40, p. 31. [mm] Vid. Suidam Voſſ. de Hiſtoricis Gr. Fabr. Bib. Gr. L. 4, c. 8, T. 3, p. 269, &c. Biographia Claſſica. Vol. 2, p. 67, &c. Lond. 1740. Tillemont Adrien. art. xx. Dictionaire de Morery.

[n] Cod. 58, p. 51. Cod. 91, 92, et 93. [o] Cod. 93. p. 233. [p] Cod. 58. p. 52, &c. [q] Εγραψε δε βιβλια και ετερα, των μεν διατριβων Επικτητε τε διδασκαλε, οσα ισμεν βιβλια οκτω· των δε ομιλιων τε αυτε Επικτητε βιβλια δωδεκα. Ib. p. 53.

Suidas

Suidas[r] mightily agrees with Photius, ſaying: 'Arrian, of 'Nicomedia, an admirer of Epictetus's philoſophy, and called 'the young Xenophon, lived at Rome in the times of the em- 'perors Adrian, Marcus, and Antoninus; and, upon account of 'his diſtinguiſhed abilities, attained the dignity of the conſul- 'ſhip, as Heliconius ſays. He wrote very many books.'

Lucian[s] ſays: 'Arrian, a diſciple of Epictetus, was a man of 'the firſt rank among the Romans, who employed his whole 'life in the ſtudy of literature.'

I have no concern at preſent with any works of Arrian, excepting thoſe relating to Epictetus. I therefore now proceed to Simplicius, who has been already cited more than once; who in the ſixth century wrote a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus. His preface to that work begins with theſe words: 'Arrian,[t] who compiled the Diſſertations [or Diſcourſes] of 'Epictetus in ſeveral prolix books, wrote concerning the life and 'death of Epictetus. From him may be learned what a ſort 'of man he was. The ſame Arrian compoſed this book which 'is called the Enchiridion of Epictetus, ſelecting out of the ſe- 'veral parts of his diſcourſes [λογων] ſuch things as are moſt im- 'portant, and moſt neceſſary in philoſophy, and moſt likely to 'affect mens minds. As the ſame Arrian ſays in his epiſtle to 'Meſgalenus, [or Meſſalinus,] his own friend, and eſpecially a 'great admirer of Epictetus.'

Hence it may be concluded that Epictetus publiſhed nothing himſelf. Suidas therefore is miſtaken when he ſays that 'Epic- 'tetus wrote many things,' unleſs he may be underſtood to mean by his diſciples.

Learned men are now generally of opinion that Arrian publiſhed three or four books, one concerning the Life and Death of Epictetus, another called his Diſſertations, and a third his Diſcourſes, beſide the Enchiridion. I rather think that beſide the Enchiridion he compoſed but one, called his Diſſertations, or Diſcourſes, 'whence may be known what ſort of man he was, 'how he lived, and how he died.' I underſtand Simplicius to ſpeak of but one work only, which I ſuppoſe to be that which we now have in four books; though poſſibly ſomething at the end may be wanting; as we have alſo loſt Arrian's epiſtle to his friend Meſſalinus, which he prefixed to the Enchiridion.

Photius ſpeaks of Arrian's compoſing two works, the Diſſertations, and the Diſcourſes of Epictetus. But he ſpeaks doubt-

[r] V. Αρριανος. [s] Pſeudom. p. 747. Tom. i. Græv. [t] Περι μεν τε βιε τε Επικτητε, και της αυτε τελευτης, Αρριανος εγραψεν, ο τας Επικτητε διατριβας εν πολυστιχοις συνταξας βιβλιοις· και απ' εκεινε μαθειν εστι, οποιος τις γεγονει τον βιον ο ανηρ. κ. λ. Simp. p. 1.

fully

fully of the number of books of which the Diſſertations conſiſted. And I am apt to think he had read none of them. He multiplies the works, being led into a miſtake by the different titles of one and the ſame work, ſometimes called Diſſertations, at other times Diſcourſes.

I do not perceive Marcus Antoninus to ſpeak of more than one work, called by him [u] Memoirs of Epictetus. Which title well ſuits the diſcourſes now in our hands. Aulus Gellius quotes a [x] long paſſage of the ſecond book of his Diſſertations, which we have: another [y] of the fifth book of the Diſſertations, which we do not find. Simplicius, in his preface, uſeth both theſe words indifferently, Diſſertations and Diſcourſes. Arrian himſelf, in his epiſtle to L. Gellius, prefixed to the work which we have, uſeth the expreſſions of Diſcourſes and Memoirs: λογους υπομνηματα.

Thus I had written long before I had met with Mr. Upton's edition of Epictetus: and it was not without ſome ſurpriſe as well as pleaſure that I have obſerved how nearly we agree in ſentiment upon this point. For he likewiſe ſuppoſeth that [z] Arrian publiſhed nothing of Epictetus beſide the Enchiridion, and his Diſcourſes, ſome books of which are now loſt.

I muſt now tranſcribe a part of what Arrian ſays in his preface or dedication to Lucius Gellius. 'I [a] neither compoſed the 'diſcourſes of Epictetus in ſuch a manner as things of this na-'ture are commonly compoſed, nor did I myſelf produce them 'to public view any more than I compoſed them. But what-'ever ſentiments I heard from his own mouth, the very ſame I 'endeavoured to ſet down in the very ſame words, as far as poſſi-'ble, and preſerve as memorials, for my own uſe, of his manner 'of thinking, and freedom of ſpeech.

'Theſe diſcourſes are ſuch as one perſon would naturally de-'liver from his own thoughts extempore to another, not ſuch as 'he would prepare to be read by numbers afterwards.'

[u] .... τοις Επικτητειοις υπομνημασιν. L. 1, § 7. [x] Juſſitque proferri diſſertationum Epicteti digeſtarum ab Arriano ſecundum librum. L. 1, c. 2.

[y] .... librum protulit Epicteti Philoſophi quintum Διαλεξεων, quas ab Arriano digeſtas, &c. L. 19, c. 1. Vid. et l. 17, c. xix. in. [z] Ex hiſce locis credas primâ facie, plurimos olim exſtitiſſe libros, quos de Epicteto compoſuit Arrianus. I. Περι των Επικτητου διατριβων. βιβ. η. II. Περι των Επικτητου ομιλιων βιβ. ιϐ. III. Περι τε βιου Επικτητου και της τουτου τελευτης. IV. Επικτητου λογοι. V. Επικτητου εγχειριδιον. VI. Επικτητου υπομνηματα. VII. Περι των Επικτητου διαλεξεων. De hiſce libris quid ſentiam, palam profiteri nullus dubito, licet in aliam a doctis viris iverim ſententiam: nempe eſſe a manu Arriani duo tantum inter tot memorata volumina. Vid. Περι των Επικτητου διατριβων: cujus operis nonnulli interciderunt libri: et Επικτητου Εγχειριδιον: cujus quoque ad Meſſalinum præfatio ſeu dedicatio interiit, &c. Upt. Not. in Epictet. p. 4, 5.

[a] Here I uſe Mrs. Carter's tranſlation. p. xli.

Here therefore it should be observed, that what I am about to transcribe from this work ought not to be considered as said by Arrian, but by Epictetus himself, whose sentiments Arrian has recorded in his own words, as near as could be done.

For this reason I have been careful to settle the time of Epictetus. About the time of Arrian I have not been so solicitous: but I am inclined to believe that he published these discourses of his master soon after his death, about the year of our Lord 120, and the fourth of the emperor Adrian.

VI. In these discourses there are two passages which have been supposed by many learned men to relate to the Christians.

1. In the [b] first Epictetus blames those who assume the profession of philosophy, or any other character, without acting up to it. 'Why,' says he, 'do you call yourself a stoic? Why do 'you deceive the multitude? Why should you pretend to be a 'Greek, when you are a Jew? Do you not perceive upon what 'terms a man is called a Jew, a Syrian, an Egyptian? When we 'see a man inconstant to his principles, we say he is not a Jew, 'but only pretends to be so: but [c] when he has the temper of 'a man dipped, and *** professed, then he is indeed, and is 'called, a Jew. Even so we are counterfeits, Jews in name, but 'in reality something else.'

It appears to me doubtful whether Christians are here intended, or only Jews, and proselytes to Judaism: who sometimes lived like Jews, and sometimes like Greeks. It is reasonable to think that many did so in the time of Epictetus, when Jews were hardly treated by Domitian.

2. In the other place Epictetus is speaking of intrepidity, or fearlessness, and particularly with regard to a tyrant, surrounded by his guards and officers, and says: 'Is [d] it possible that a man 'may arrive at this temper, and become indifferent to those 'things from madness, or from habit, as the Galileans, and yet 'that no one should be able to know by reason and demonstra-'tion that God made all things in the world....?

Some have thought that by the Galileans are here meant the followers of Judas of Galilee. I should rather think that Christians are intended; of whose sufferings there are such accounts in Tacitus and Suetonius, as may assure us that Epictetus and

[b] L. 2, c. 9, p. 192... p. 214. Upton.

[c] Οταν δ' αναλαβῃ το παθος, το τȣ βεβαμμενȣ και ηρημενȣ, τοτε και εστι τῳ οντι, και καλειται ιȣδαιος. Ουτω και ημεις παραβαπτιται· λογῳ μεν ιȣδαιοι, εργῳ δ' αλλο τι. Ib. *** Instead of ηρημενȣ, Mr. Upton and Petavius would read περιηρημενȣ 'circumcised.' But it is a mere conjecture, without the authority of any manuscript, or ancient printed edition. See Upton's notes, p. 124.

[d] Ειτα υπο μανιας μεν δυναται τις ȣτω διατιθηναι προς ταυτα, και υπο εθȣς οι Γαλιλαιοι. L. 4, c. 7, p. 400. Cantabr. p. 621. Upton.

Arrian

Arrian could not be unacquainted with them. The followers of Judas of Galilee were extinct before this time. Our Lord had dwelt in Galilee the greateſt part of his life here on earth. He was called *the prophet of Galilee* [e]. Moſt of his wonderful works were wrought in that country, or near it: and his diſciples were called Galileans [f]. Such things often occur in our goſpels, and the Acts of the apoſtles. So that it is not at all unlikely that in early days, as well as afterwards, the Chriſtians might be opprobriouſly called by ſome Galileans.

Suidas ſays that, 'in [g] the time of the emperor Claudius, 'they, who before had been called Nazarenes and Galileans, 'received a new name at Antioch, and were called Chriſtians.' Mani, in the third century, ſometimes called the catholics Galileans: as appears from [h] one of his epiſtles ſtill extant. I think there can be no queſtion made but that the Chriſtians, in general, were ſometimes called Galileans before the time of the emperor Julian.

It is however very obſervable, that this ſtoic is much diſpleaſed with ſome people who had exceeded his own ſect in fortitude and patience. A like reflection we ſhall meet with hereafter in a paſſage of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, likewiſe a ſtoic philoſopher, by whom the Chriſtians are expreſsly named.

Mrs. Carter, who by her tranſlation of the diſcourſes of Epictetus has done honour to herſelf, and to her ſex, has a note upon this place, which deſerves to be tranſcribed here. 'Epictetus,' ſays ſhe, 'probably means not any remaining diſciples of Judas 'of Galilee, but the Chriſtians, whom Julian afterwards affected 'to call Galileans. It helps to confirm this opinion that M. 'Antoninus [l. 2, ſect. 3] mentions them by their proper name 'of Chriſtians, as ſuffering death out of mere obſtinacy. It 'would have been more reaſonable, and more worthy the cha'racter of theſe great men, to have inquired into the principles 'on which the Chriſtians refuſed to worſhip heathen deities, and 'by which they were enabled to ſupport their ſufferings with 'ſuch amazing conſtancy, than raſhly to pronounce their beha'viour the effect of obſtinacy and habit. Epictetus and Anto'ninus were too exact judges of human nature, not to know that 'ignominy, tortures and death, are not merely on their own ac'count objects of choice. Nor could the records of any time

[e] Matt. xxi. 11. [f] Acts i. 11. ii. 7. [g] Ιστεον δε, οτι επι Κλαυδιε βασιλεως Ρωμης ... ι. Αντιοχεια, μετωνομασθησαι οι παλαι λεγομενοι Ναζαραιοι και Γαλιλαιοι, Χριστιανοι. Suid. V. Ναζηραιος. Vid. et V. Γαλιλαια, et Χριστιανοι. [h] Των Γαλιλαιων δυο φυσεις ονομαζοντων εχειν τον Χριστον, πλατυν καταγεομεν γελωτα. κ. λ. Mani. ap. Fab. B. Gr. Tom. v. p. 285.

'or nation furnish them with an example of multitudes of per-
'sons of both sexes, of all ages, ranks, and natural dispositions,
'in distant countries, and successive periods, resigning whatever
'is most valuable and dear to the heart of man from a principle
'of obstinacy, or the mere force of habit; not to say that habit
'could have no influence on the first sufferers.'

I shall just add, it was the opinion of Tanaquil Faber that [88] by Galileans the Christians are here intended.

3. Some may think I might conclude here; but I must proceed. Epictetus's discourses, as was observed above, abound with quotations of Greek authors, and references to ancient history. Nevertheless, we observe not any mention made of Moses, or David, or Solomon, or any of the Jewish prophets, nor yet of Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John, or Paul, or Peter. The disciples of Jesus wrote in Greek, and the books of Moses, and the Jewish prophets had been before his time translated into the Greek language. I do not say he had read them; but he could not be altogether ignorant of them. Nor were any of them undeserving the regard of a moral philosopher. But they were Unitarians. Nor could they be alleged or taken notice of without hurting, if not overthrowing, the polytheistic scheme.

4. In the sixteenth chapter of the first book of his Discourses, Epictetus has such expressions as these. 'What else can I, a 'lame old man, do, but sing hymns to God?....Since I am a 'reasonable creature, it is my duty to praise God....And I exhort 'you to join in the same song.' No Christian can read this passage without thinking of David's psalms, and perhaps some other parts of scripture. Justly therefore does Mrs. Carter observe, in a note upon that passage, 'Beautiful and affecting ex-'amples of such praise and exhortation may be seen in Psalms 'xxxiv. civ. cxlv....and other parts of the sacred writings.'

5. In the time of Epictetus, and his disciple Arrian, Christians were numerous and well known at Rome, and most parts of the Roman empire, as we are assured by what Tacitus, Pliny and Suetonius have written concerning them: not now to insist upon any Christian writers, however celebrated or however credible they may be.

Nor was Epictetus unattentive to things that passed in the world about him in his own time, as all must be sensible who

88 Εκοντες εαυτους διδοασιν.] Martyres nostras designat, quos Epictetus, vel Arrianus aiebat id facere υπο μανιας η υπο εθους. Quos enim ibi Galilæos vocat, nullus dubito, quin sint Christiani. Lib. 4, cap. vii. T. Fab. annot. ad Lucian. de Morte Peregrini. T. 2, p. 567. Græv.

read

read his diſcourſes. Nevertheleſs, the Chriſtians are not mentioned at all, or very ſeldom. It is hard to believe that this ſilence was no affected. Epictetus, I apprehend, was high minded, and the Chriſtians were contemptible. He had his ſhare of the common philoſophic pride. He did not think it worth the while to inquire into their principles: nor was it proper to mention them often in his diſcourſes, leſt the curioſity of his hearers ſhould be excited, and they ſhould be induced to make more particular inquiries after them.

6. However, let him have due praiſe for all the good he has ſaid or done. Origen, that great Chriſtian philoſopher, whoſe mind was contracted by no narrow ſentiments, who read all ſorts of writings himſelf, and adviſed others [h] to do the ſame who had leiſure and abilities, aſſures us that [i] Epictetus was more acceptable to people of lower rank than Plato, who was more polite.

7. The whole deſign of his philoſophy is ſaid to [k] have been comprehended in this ſhort and fine maxim, conſiſting only of two words: 'Bear and forbear,' Ανεχου και απεχου. Which I have not obſerved among his Fragments, neither in Mr. Upton, nor in Mrs. Carter; though it is particularly mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and aſcribed by him to Epictetus himſelf.

CHAP. XI.

The Emperor ADRIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *His reſcript in favour of the Chriſtians to Minucius Fundanus, proconſul of Aſia.* III. *His letter to Servianus, concerning the Chriſtians in Egypt.* IV. *Whether he erected, and intended to conſecrate, temples to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt.*

I. PUBLIUS ÆLIUS ADRIANUS, [a] or the emperor Adrian,

[h] See Vol. iii. p. 27.

[i] Contr. Celſ. l. 6. ſub in.

[k] Præterea idem ille Epictetus, quod ex eodem Favorino audivimus, ſolitus dicere eſt, duo eſſe vitia multo omnium graviſſima ac teterrima, intoleruntiam et incontinentiam: quum aut injurias, quæ ſunt ferenda, non toleramus, neque ferimus: aut a quibus rebus voluptatibuſque nos tenere debemus, non tenemus. Itaque, inquit, ſi quis hæc duo verba cordi habeat, eaque ſibi imperando, atque obſervando curet, is erit plerumque, impeccabilis, vitamque vivet tranquilliſſimam. Verba duo hæc dicebat: Ανεχου και απεχου. A. Gell. l. 17, cap. 19.

[a] Vide Dion. Caſſ. lib. 69. Spartian. in Adriano. Eutrop. l. 8, c. vi. vii. Victor. de Cæſar. c. xiv. Victor. Epit. c. xiv.

[b] was born at Rome on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of Christ 76, and died on the tenth day of July, in the year 138, being then more than sixty-two years of age. He reigned twenty years and eleven months from the death of Trajan, on the tenth or eleventh day of August in 117.

As I may not enlarge either on his character, or history, it may be best for me to be quite silent. I shall only say that both have been written by ancient Roman and Greek authors with great freedom; and that he is reckoned one of those princes who had great virtues and great vices. He is also represented [c] to have been very various and inconstant.

II. Adrian is not generally reckoned among the persecuting emperors, because [d] he published no new edicts against them. But Trajan's edict was still in force. Many Christians therefore might suffer in his reign, as there certainly did. Jerom supposeth that the persecution [e] in his reign was for a while very violent, and that it was moderated upon occasion of the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to Adrian at Athens. These apologies we have dated [f] in the year of Christ 126. Sulpicius Severus [g] placeth the fourth persecution in his reign. But he allows that afterwards the same emperor restrained it, referring, as it seems, to the rescript, which shall be produced at length hereafter. Orosius does not number him among the persecuting emperors, and [h] placeth the fourth persecution in the time of Marcus Antoninus.

We are informed by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, that 'Serenius Granianus [i], proconsul, wrote to Adrian, that it 'seemed to him unjust that the Christians should be put to 'death only to gratify the clamours of the people, without trial, 'and without any crime proved against them: and that Adrian,

[b] Vide Pagi ann. 138, n. iii. Basnag. ann. 117. viii. Tillemont L'Emp. Adrien. art. i. and Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors, vol. vii. p. 213. Dictionaire de Bayle, Hadrien.

[c] Idem severus, lætus: comis, gravis: lascivus, cunctator: tenax, liberalis: simulator, sævus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius. Spartian. Adrian. c. 14.

[d] .... quas [leges] nullus Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator .... impressit. Tertull. Ap. c. v. p. 7.

[e] Quadratus Apostolorum discipulus, et Atheniensis Pontifex ecclesiæ, nonne Adriano principi Eleusinia sacra invisenti, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? Et tantæ admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium? Aristides Philosophus vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit. &c. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84.

[f] See Vol. 2, p. 288....290.

[g] Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exerceri prohibuit: injustum esse pronuncians, ut quisquam sine crimine reus constitueretur. S. Sever. H. S. l. 2, c. 46.

[h] Oros. l. 7, c. xv.

[i] Ετι δ' αυτος [Ιουστινος] ιστορει δεξαμενον τον Αδριανον παρα Σερεννιου Γρανιανου λαμπροτατου ηγουμενου γραμματα υπερ Χριστιανων, περιεχοντα, ως ου δικαιον ειη επι μηδενι εγκληματι, βοαις δημου χαριζομενους ακριτως κτεινειν αυτους, αντιγραψαι Μινυκιω Φουνδανω ανθυπατω της Ασιας, προσταττοντα μηδενα κτεινειν ανευ εγκληματος και ευλογου κατηγοριας. H. E. l. 4, c. 8, p. 122, D.

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'in anſwer to that letter, wrote to Minucius Fundanus, procon-'ſul of Aſia, ordering that no man ſhould be put to death without 'a judicial proceſs, and a legal trial.'

It is manifeſt, from the concluſion of Juſtin Martyr's firſt Apology, which was preſented to Antoninus the pious, and the ſenate of Rome, that [k] the reſcript of Adrian was ſubjoined to it. And from Euſebius we know that it was in [l] Latin. He tranſlated it into Greek, and inſerted it in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; whence we have it, and whence it has been put at the end of Juſtin's Apology, in the ſame language, the Latin original being loſt.

The reaſon why this reſcript was ſent to Minucius Fundanus is ſuppoſed to be that Serenius's letter to the emperor was not written till the time of his government was near expiring.

Beſide Juſtin Martyr's early and expreſs authority, this reſcript is alſo mentioned by Melito in his Apology to Marcus Antoninus, whom he reminds that 'his [m] grandfather Adrian had 'written in their favour, as to others, ſo particularly to Funda-'nus, proconſul of Aſia.' This reſcript is alſo referred to by Sulpicius Severus, as before obſerved: the genuineneſs of it therefore is indubitable.

It is very reaſonably ſuppoſed that, beſide the letter of Serenius Granianus, the apologies of Quadratus and Ariſtides, preſented about the ſame time, contributed to procure this favourable reſcript. As much is plainly hinted in Jerom's Latin edition of Euſebius's [n] Chronicle. I now proceed to tranſlate it literally from the Greek of Euſebius.

'Adrian [o] to Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter 'written to me by the illuſtrious [p] Serenius Granianus, whom 'you have ſucceeded. It ſeems then to me that this is an affair 'which ought not to be paſſed over without being examined 'into; if it were only to prevent diſturbance being given to 'people, and that room may not be left for informers to practiſe

[k] Υπεταξαμεν δε της επιστολης Αδριανυ το αντιγραφον, ινα και κατα τουτο αληθευειν ημας γνωριζητε. Juſtin. Ap. p. 84. Bened.

[l] Τουτοις ο μεν δηλωθεις ανηρ αυτην παρατιθεται την ρωμαικην αντιγραφην. Ημεις δ' επι το ελληνικον κατα δυναμιν αυτην μεταλαβομεν, εχουσαι ωδε. Euſeb. l. 4, c. 8, p. 125. [m] .... εν οις ο μεν παππος σου Αδριανος πολλοις μεν και αλλοις, και Φουνδανω δε τω αναπατω ηγουμενω της Ασιας γραφας φαινεται. Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. 4, c. 26, p. 148. C. [n] Quadratus diſcipulus Apoſtolorum, et Ariſtides Athenienſis noſter Philoſophus, libros pro Chriſtiana religione Adriano dedere compoſitos. Et Serenus Granianus legatus vir apprime nobilis literas ad Imperatorem miſit, iniquum eſſe dicens, clamoribus vulgi innocentium hominum ſanguinem concedi, et ſine ullo crimine, nominis tantum et ſectæ, reos fieri. Quo commotus Hadrianus Minucio Fundano proconſuli Aſiæ ſcribit, non ſine objectu criminum Chriſtianos condemnandos. Chr. p. 167. [o] H. E. l. 4, cap. 9.

[p] λαμπροτατου ανδρος.

'their wicked arts. If therefore the people of the province 'will appear publicly, and in a legal way charge the Chriſtians, 'that they may anſwer for themſelves in court, let them take 'that courſe, and [q] not proceed by importunate demands and 'loud clamours only. For it is much the beſt method, if any 'bring accuſations, that you ſhould take cognizance of them. 'If then any one ſhall accuſe and make out any thing contrary 'to the laws, do you determine according to the nature of the 'crime: but, by Hercules, if the charge be only a calumny, 'do you take care to puniſh the author of it with the ſeverity it 'deſerves.'

By 'importunate demands and loud clamours,' or in other words by 'clamorous petitions,' learned men generally underſtand the popular cry of thoſe times, 'The [r] Chriſtians to the 'lions.' Nor was it an unuſual thing, as Valeſius obſerves in his note upon the place, for the people at Rome, or in the provinces, in the time of public ſhews, when they were got together in the theatre, by loud cries, and a tumultuous behaviour, to gain their will of the preſidents, and even of the emperor himſelf. This method had been practiſed againſt the Chriſtians. And it is likely that men were often brought before the preſidents with general accuſations, without diſtinct proofs. The emperor was apprehenſive that evil-minded men ſhould ſometimes hurry on to death men who were not Chriſtians. Therefore he directs the proconſul that no man ſhould be puniſhed as Chriſtians, without a fair and public trial before himſelf in court.

The emperor's orders are obſcure. 'If [s] any one ſhall accuſe 'and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you deter-'mine,' or puniſh, 'according to the nature of the crime.' Some may be apt to think that the emperor now appointed that none ſhould be puniſhed for being Chriſtians, unleſs ſome real crime were alleged and proved upon them. But that does not clearly appear to be the [t] meaning. Nor can we reaſonably ſuppoſe that Trajan's edict is here repealed; according to which, if a man was accuſed and proved to be a Chriſtian, a preſident is required to puniſh him, unleſs he recant. Nevertheleſs, this reſcript muſt

[q] ... αλλ' ουκ αξιωσεσιν, ουδε μοναις βοαις.

[r] Si Tiberis aſcendit ad mœnia, ſi Nilus non aſcendit in arva, ſi cœlum ſtetit, ſi terra movit, ſi fames, ſi lues, ſtatim: Chriſtianos ad leonem. Tertull. Ap. c. 40.

[s] Ει τις ουν καταγγελει, και δεικνυσι τι παρα τους νομους πραττοντας, ουτως οριζε κατα την δυναμιν του πλημματος.

[t] 'Afterwards Adrian gave a reſcript 'to Minucius Fundanus, which is obſcure. 'It doth not manifeſtly exempt Chriſtians 'from puniſhment; and yet it ſeems in 'ſome degree to favour them, and might 'be ſo interpreted by a judge, who was 'diſpoſed to put the mildeſt conſtruction 'upon it. The Chriſtians often appealed 'to it.' Dr. Jortin's Diſcourſes concerning the Chriſtian Religion, p. 59.

be

be allowed to have been beneficial to the Chriſtians. Several ancient writers, as we have ſeen, ſay that afterwards the perſecution, which before had been violent, was reſtrained and moderated.

The Chriſtians were hereby taken out of the hands of the common people and tumultuous rabble, and brought before the governors of provinces to be examined in open court, and not to be condemned without evidence. This muſt have been a conſiderable advantage to men who were much diſliked by the generality of their neighbours as the Chriſtians were.

Melito, as before quoted, ſays that 'Adrian wrote in favour 'of the Chriſtians, as to divers others, ſo particularly to Fundanus, proconſul of Aſia.' By which we are led to underſtand that this reſcript was ſent to other governors of provinces, as well as to Fundanus; or that this reſcript, ſent to him, was to be the rule of conduct, not to him only, but to other governors likewiſe.

From this reſcript, and from the letter, which gave occaſion to it, we learn that there were then Chriſtians in Aſia. It is probable they were there in great numbers; for the affair appeared worthy of the emperor's conſideration. But Chriſtianity, as is apparent, was odious to the generality of people in that country; therefore men muſt have had ſome good reaſons for embracing a profeſſion which rendered them obnoxious to their neighbours.

From what we have ſeen of Quadratus and Ariſtides, two learned Chriſtian apologiſts, and the emperor Adrian, and alſo Serenius and Fundanus, two governors of the province of Aſia, it may be concluded with certainty that the Chriſtians were now well known to the Roman emperors, and throughout the Roman empire. Indeed the Chriſtians diligently embraced all favourable opportunities to make themſelves, and their own innocence, and the principles of their religion, and the grounds and reaſons of their belief, well known to all men, and eſpecially to the emperors and other magiſtrates. By that means they propagated their religion, and gradually wiped off the calumnies that had been invented againſt them, and with which they were loaded for a while. Quadratus and Ariſtides preſented their apologies to Adrian, at the time of the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries at [u] Athens, when

[u] Quadratus Apoſtolorum diſcipulus....Quumque Hadrianus Athenis exegiſſet hiemem, inviſens Eleuſinam, et omnibus pene Græciæ ſacris initiatus, dediſſet occaſionem iis, qui Chriſtianos oderant, abſque præcepto Imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religione noſtra compoſitum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et

when there was a concourſe of men of all ranks, eſpecially of the higheſt, and of the moſt eminent, and moſt diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and zeal for the eſtabliſhed rites.

At that very time thoſe apologiſts made a public appearance, and pleaded the cauſe of their religion, and of their brethren, the profeſſors of it. Nor did they make a contemptible figure. Their diſcourſes were rational, eloquent, and perſuaſive: and they were followed by a relaxation of the violence of the perſecution, which for ſome while had raged in ſeveral provinces, through the prevailing animoſity of the people: and, as it is particularly obſerved by Euſebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'In 'x the reign of Adrian the Chriſtian religion ſhone out in the 'eyes of all men.'

There are others beſide our two apologiſts, who are entitled to applauſe in this place. Serenius Granianus is ſtyled by Adrian, in his reſcript, 'an illuſtrious man,', λαμπροτατε ανδρος, and by Jerom, in his Chronicle, a truly noble perſon,' 'vir apprime 'nobilis.' We cannot but believe that he was a man of a generous mind, a lover of juſtice and equity, who pleaded the cauſe of the Chriſtians, when the current ran violently againſt them. His ſucceſſor Fundanus, to whom the reſcript was ſent, may have been a man of a like diſpoſition. Nor can we forbear ſaying ſomewhat here to the honour of the emperor Adrian. It does not appear that he ever iſſued out any orders for perſecuting the Chriſtians. The perſecution, which they had ſuffered in the beginning of his reign, was owing to the blind bigotry and violence of the common people. When the proconſul of Aſia ſent him a letter, repreſenting the hardſhips which Chriſtians lay under, beyond moſt other men, he ſent a favourable reſcript, which could not but be, and actually was, of advantage to them: and he received the apologies of Quadratus and Ariſtides in behalf of a deſpiſed and perſecuted people, without reſentment. So far from being provoked at their importunity, he gratified their requeſt, and moderated the diſpleaſure of men againſt thoſe whoſe cauſe they had pleaded. If moderation be a virtue, (as it certainly is), it is more eſpecially commendable in men of power and high ſtations.

et apoſtolica doctrina dignum: in quo et antiquitatem ſuæ ætatis oſtendens, ait, plurimos a ſe viſos, qui ſub Domino variis in Juda a oppreſſi calamitatibus ſanati fuerant, et qui a mortuis reſurrexerant. Hieron. de V. I. cap. xix.

Ariſtides, Athenienſis Philoſophus eloquentiſſimus, et ſub priſtino habitu diſcipulus Chriſti, volumen noſtri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore, quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit. Ib. cap. xx. And ſee before, p. 358.

x .... μεχρι των Αδριανου χρονων.... Οτε δε μαλιστα ην χρονος, καθ' ον η σωτηριος των παντας ανθρωπους ημασι διδασκαλια. Pr. Ev. l. 4. c. 17. p. 164. D.

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A paſſage, formerly [y] omitted, ſhall be now tranſcribed from the Apology of Quadratus, which probably was the firſt written apology preſented to a Roman emperor. It is in theſe very words: 'The [z] works of our Saviour were always conſpicuous, 'for they were real: both they that were healed, and they that 'were raiſed from the dead, who were ſeen not only when they 'were healed, or raiſed, but for a long time afterwards; nor 'only whilſt he dwelled on this earth, but alſo after his depar-'ture, and for a good while after it: inſomuch that ſome of them 'have reached to our times.' Jerom ſuppoſeth that [a] Quadratus himſelf ſaw ſeveral of thoſe perſons who had been the ſubjects of our Saviour's miracles.

III. Beſide the reſcript, there is a letter of Adrian to Servianus, huſband of Paulina, the emperor's ſiſter, who was conſul in 134. It is preſerved in Vopiſcus, one of the writers of the Auguſtan hiſtory, who [b] flouriſhed about the year 300. Adrian had been ſome while in Egypt. Having left it, when he got into Syria he wrote that letter to his brother-in-law, in the year 134. I ſhall tranſcribe it from the hiſtorian, with the connection.

'The [c] Egyptians, as you well know,' ſays Vopiſcus, 'are vain, 'fond of innovations, men of all characters....For there are 'among them Chriſtians and Samaritans, and ſuch as take a pro-'digious liberty in cenſuring the preſent times. That none of 'the Egyptians may be offended with me, I ſhall produce a let-'ter of Adrian, taken from the books of Phlegon, his freed-'man, in which the character of the Egyptians is clearly repre-'ſented. "Adrian Auguſtus to the conſul Servianus wiſheth "health. I have found Egypt, my dear Servianus, which you

[y] See vol. 2. p. 288. [z] Euſeb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 3. [a] See before, p. 361. note [u].

[b] Vid. Voſ. Hiſt. Lat. L. 2. cap. 7. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 6. Tillemont L'Empereur Aurelien. art. xv.

[c] Sunt enim Ægyptii (ut ſatis noſti,) viri ventoſi, furibundi, jactantes, injurioſi.....novatores rerum.....verſificatores, mathematici, aruſpices, medici. Nam et Chriſtiani, Samaritani, et quibus præſentia tempora cum enormi libertate diſplicent. Ac nequis mihi Ægyptiorum natura, et meum eſſe credat, quod in literis retuli, Adriani epiſtolam ex libris Phlegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus Ægyptiorum vita detegitur, indidi. 'Adrianus Aug. Serviano Coſſ. S. 'Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane 'cariſſime, totam didici levem, pendulam, 'et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. 'Illi qui Serapim colunt, Chriſtiani ſunt: 'et devoti ſunt Serapi, qui ſe Chriſti epiſ-'copos dicunt. Nemo illic Archiſynago-'gus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo 'Chriſtianorum Preſbyter, non Mathema-'ticus, non Aruſpes, non Aliptes. Ipſe 'ille Patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venc-'rit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis 'cogitur Chriſtum. Genus hominum ſe-'ditioſiſſimum, vaniſſimum, imperioſiſſi-'mum. Civitas opulenta, dives, fœcun-'da, in qua nemo vivat otioſus. Alii vi-'trum conflant, ab aliis charta conficitur, 'alii linyphiones ſunt: omnes certe cu-'juſcunque artis et videntur et habentur. 'Podagroſi quod agant habent: habent 'cæci quod agant: ne chiragrici quidem 'apud eos otioſi vivunt. Unus illis Deus 'eſt. Hunc Chriſtiani, hunc Judæi, 'hunc omnes venerantur et Gentes.' &c. Flav. Vopiſcus in Saturnino. cap. 7. et 8.

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" commended to me, all over fickle and inconſtant, and con-
" tinually ſhaken by the ſlighteſt reports of fame. The wor-
" ſhippers of Serapis are Chriſtians, and they are devoted to Se-
" rapis, who call themſelves Chriſt's biſhops. There is no ruler
" of the Jewiſh ſynagogue, no Samaritan, no preſbyter of the
" Chriſtians, no mathematician, no ſoothſayer, no anointer:
" even the patriarch, if he ſhould come to Egypt, would be re-
" quired by ſome to worſhip Serapis, by others Chriſt. A ſe-
" ditious and turbulent ſort of men. However, the city is rich
" and populous. Nor are any idle. Some are employed in
" making glaſs, others paper, others in weaving linen....They
" have one God—Him the Chriſtians, Him the Jews, Him all
" the Gentile people, worſhip."

It cannot be needful for me to explain all the ſeveral ſorts of people here ſpoken of. Nor ought it to be thought ſtrange that Chriſtians ſhare in the emperor's ſatire, and are repreſented by him as fickle and inconſtant, like the other Egyptians. It appears from this letter that the Chriſtians were numerous at Alexandria, and in other parts of Egyyt, when Adrian was in that country: which, certainly, is very remarkable, that in a century after the reſurrection of Jeſus he ſhould have ſo many followers in Aſia and Egypt, as is manifeſt from this one emperor's authentic writings. Without any countenance from the civil government, and under a great deal of oppoſition from it, as well as from moſt other ranks of men, and eſpecially from the lower ſort of people, Chriſt's biſhops were already become as conſiderable as the prieſts of Serapis.

IV. Once more. Ælius Lampridius, another writer of the Auguſtan hiſtory, who flouriſhed about the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth, century, in the life of the emperor Alexander Severus, ſays: 'He[d] intended to build a temple to 'Chriſt, and to receive him among the gods. Which Adrian alſo 'is reported to have deſigned; who ordered temples to be erected 'in all cities without ſtatues; which therefore to this day are 'called Adrian's, it being ſaid that he built them for that pur-'poſe. But he was hindered by ſome, who, having conſulted the 'oracles, were aſſured that, if that were once done, all men would 'be Chriſtians, and the other temples would be deſerted.'

[d] Chriſto templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitaſſe fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus ſine ſimulachris juſſerat fieri. Quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc paraſſe dicebatur. Sed prohibitus eſt ab iis, qui conſulentes ſacra, reperrant, omnes Chriſtianos futuros, ſi id optato eveniſſet, et templa reliqua deſerenda. Æl. Lamp. in Alex. Sever. cap. 43.

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This account is received by ſome [c] as true; by [f] others it is rejected, as deſtitute of any good foundation. I have referred below to ſeveral learned and judicious men on this ſide the queſtion; and I would willingly find room at the bottom of the page for [g] Caſaubon's obſervations upon this ſection of Lampridius; and the rather, becauſe they have been judged ſo material by Pagi, as to be tranſcribed by him into his Critique upon Baronius. 'Caſaubon then, and divers other learned men after him, 'or agreeably to him, obſerve that ſomewhat of this kind has 'been related of Tiberius by Tertullian, and other ancient La-'tin and Greek writers of the church, who are quite ſilent about 'this ſtory of Lampridius. If there had been any truth in it; 'they ſay, ſo remarkable a thing could not have been omitted 'by Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Cyprian, and all 'other ancient writers of the ſecond and third centuries, who 'had many occaſions to mention it, if there had been any ground 'for it. Nor is this miſtaken opinion of Lampridius, and ſome 'others in his time, very hard to be accounted for. Adrian had

[c] Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. ſect. xxii. Tillem. Perſecution d' Adrien. art. vi.

[f] Caſaub. Annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 134. n. iv. Baſnag. ann. 126. n. v. vi. Dictionaire de Bayle. Hadrien. Cleric. H. E. ann. 129. n. iii. Moſhem. De Reb. Chriſtian. Sec. 2. ſect. xii. p. 237.

[g] 'Quod et Ha-'drianus cogitaſſe fertur.' De Tiberio narrant hoc Tertullianus et alii patres Græci et Latini. De Hadriano vero nemo illorum, ſi ſatis memini, ſimile quicquam. Et mirum profecto, tam nobilem hiſtoriam, tot fidei Chriſtianæ propugnatores acerrimos, viros undecumque doctiſſimos, et quorum intererat hoc ſcire, potuiſſe fugere. Sed videtur hæc de Hadriano ſuſpicio multo poſt ejus ſeculum hominum mentes inſediſſe: cum neque Juſtinus Martyr, neque Athenagoras, neque Tertullianus, neque Cyprianus, aut omnino quiſquam ex illa veterum patrum manu, vel tenuiſſimam ejus rei ſuſpicionem fando unquam accepiſſent. Unde autem vulgo multi ſeculo Lampridii hanc de Hadriano concepiſſent opinionem, declarat auctor, cum ſubjicit: 'qui templa 'in omnibus civitatibus ſine ſimulacris 'juſſerat fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia 'non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, 'quæ ille ad hoc paraſſe dicebatur.' En fontem et originem hujus opinionis. Juſſerat Hadrianus, templa fieri in omnibus civitatibus, ſuo nomini ſine dubio conſecranda: quod et Spartianus in vita ſua teſtatur. Sed mortuo Hadriano prius quam hæc templa abſolverentur, manſere pleraque illorum imperfecta, neque unquam dedicata ſunt. Exemplo eſſe poteſt illud quod Tiberiade magnifice inchoatum, mox relictum eſt necdum abſolutum, tandemque in uſum balnearum a civibus deſtinatum. Epiphanius contra Ebionæos. H. 30. n. xii. ναος μεγιστος εν τη πολει Τιβεριαδι προυπηρχε· ταχα οιμαι, Αδριανειον τουτο εκαλειτο. Ατελες δε τουτο το Αδριανειον, διαμειον, οι πολιται εις δημοσιον λουτρον επειρωντο επισκευασαι. Talia ædificia in pleriſque civitatibus adhuc Lampridii ætate exſtabant, inchoata ſolum, non perfecta, non dedicata; ac proinde, ut ait ipſe ſine numine et ſimulachro ullo. Eo factum, ut in animum inducerent multi, quibus aſſentitur hic Lampridius, non ſibi Hadrianum illa templa exſtruxiſſe, verum Chriſto. Erat quidem Lampridius, ελλην religione, et a pietatis Chriſtianæ ſacris, ut ejus ſcripta oſtendunt, alienus: ſed norat ille, quod ignorare poterat nemo, et Judæos olim in Hieroſolymitana æde ειδους και αγαλματος χωρις, ut Strabo quoque ac Dio ſcribunt, Deum coluiſſe: et ſuis etiam temporibus Chriſtianorum templa ejuſmodi eſſe, qualia adhuc memoria ſua beatiſſimus Auguſtinus cum alibi prodit fuiſſe, tum etiam in Pſalmi ciii. enarratione, ſane luculenter. Caſaubon. annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 134. iii. iv.

'erected,

'erected, or ordered to be erected, temples in many places. He 'intended to have ſet up in them an altar, or ſtatue, to himſelf: 'but he died before they were conſecrated, and ſome of them 'were left unfiniſhed. It was well known that the Jews and 'Chriſtians had no images in their places of worſhip; Lampri- 'dius therefore, and ſome others in his time, entertained a notion 'that theſe temples were built in honour of Chriſt.'

That Adrian intended them in honour of himſelf, is confirmed by what Spartian ſays in his life of this emperor: 'That[h], 'when he had returned from Africa to Rome, he ſoon went 'away again into the Eaſt. Coming to Athens he dedicated the 'buildings that had been begun by him, particularly the temple 'of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar to himſelf. In like manner, 'travelling through Aſia, he conſecrated temples of his own 'name.'

That ſeems to be the moſt probable account. But though it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed that Adrian intended thoſe temples to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, ſome may imagine that, [i] according to the doctrine of Numa and Pythagoras, Adrian might deſign to erect temples where the gods might be worſhipped without images.

Crevier's judgment upon the point is to this purpoſe: 'He[k] 'paid but little attention to the religion of thoſe nations, whom 'the Romans and Greeks conſidered as barbarians, they appear- 'ing to him as only deſerving of contempt. This makes it dif- 'ficult for me to believe, upon Lampridius's teſtimony, that he 'formed a deſign to conſecrate, in honour of Jeſus Chriſt, a great 'many temples, which he had begun, but not finiſhed, in the 'ſeveral cities of Aſia and Egypt, and which remained without 'a dedication or ſtatue. It is much more probable that he in- 'tended them for himſelf, and for his own proper worſhip.'

Indeed I think the opinion, that Adrian intended to conſecrate temples to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, is without any good foundation; it being inconſiſtent with his [l] known principles,

[h] Denique quum poſt Africam Romam rediſſet, ſtatim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera, quæ apud Athenienſes cœperat, dedicavit: ut Jovis Olympii ædem et arcem ſibi: eodemque modo per Aſiam iter faciens, templa ſui nominis conſecravit. Spartian, in Hadrian. cap. 13.

[i] Extructa tamen ea Chriſto templa, quæ ſimulachrorum vacua erant, noſtrum in animum inducere non ſuſtinemus. Aliæ igitur nobis ſunt tentandæ cauſſæ. Legitur in Victore: 'Adrianus pace ad 'Orientem compoſitâ, Romam regreditur. 'Ibi Græcorum more, ſeu Pompilii Nu- 'mæ, ceremonias, leges, gymnaſia, doc- 'toreſque curare occœpit.' Eſt ergo vero proximum, more atque inſtituto et Pythagoræ, et Pompilii Numæ, Adrianum, philoſophiæ peritum, templa quoque ſine ſimulachris ſtrui voluiſſe. Baſnag. ann. 126. n. vi.

[k] Hiſtory of the Rom. Emp. Vol. 7. p. 167.

[l] ....και κατ' εμε ηδη βασιλεως, Αδριανου, της τη ες το θειον τιμης επιπλειστον ηλθοντες. Pauſan. l. i. cap. v. p. 14.

and

and unsupported by the testimony of those ancient Christian writers, who must have known it, and would have mentioned it; if it had been true.

However, though there is no good ground for this story of Lampridius, it [m] is honourable to the Christian religion, which was a spreading doctrine. And it was apprehended by those, who were far from wishing it success, that if a little encouragement were given to it it would soon be the prevailing religion.

CHAP. XII.

BRUTTIUS PRÆSENS.

His testimony to Domitian's persecution; with remarks.

EUSEBIUS, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the persecution under Domitian, says: 'Moreover, [a] at this time 'the doctrine of our faith was so conspicuous, that writers averse 'to our sentiments have not forborne to insert in their histories 'an account of this persecution, and the martyrdoms that hap-'pened in it. They have likewise exactly marked the time of 'it, relating that, in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Do-'mitilla, niece by the sister's side to Flavius Clemens, then one 'of the consuls of Rome, with a great many others, was banished 'to the island Pontia, for the profession of the Christian re-'ligion.'

In his Chronicle, at the fifteenth year of Domitian, Eusebius says: 'And [b] Bruttius writes that many Christians suffered mar-'tyrdom under Domitian. Among whom was Flavia Domi-'tilla, niece by the sister's side to Flavius Clemens the consul,

[m] Casaubon sans doute n'a point de fort de rejetter cela comme fabuleux. Ce que je trouve de vraisemblable est cette crainte des Paiens, que leur Religion ne fût desertée, si l'on eût toléré publiquement le Christianisme. Bayle Dictionaire. Hadrian. note Q.

[a] Εις τοσουτον δε αρα κατα τους οηλουλευους η της ημετερας πιστεως διδασκαλια διελαμπεν, ως και τους αποθεν του καθ' ημας λογου συγγραφεις, μη αποκνησαι ταις αυτων ιστοριαις τον τε διωγμον, και τα εν αυτῳ μαρτυρια παραδουναι. Οιγε και τον καιρον ετ' ακριβες επησημηναντο· εν ετει πεντεκαιδεκατῳ δομετιανου κατα πλειστων ετερων και Φλαβιαν Δομετιλλαν ιστορησαντες, εξ αδελφης γεγονυιαν Φλαβιου Κλημεντος, ενος των τηνικαδε επι Ρωμης υπατων, της εις Χριστον μαρτυριας ενεκεν, εις νησον Ποντιαν κατα τιμωριαν δεδοσθαι. H. E. l. 3, c. 18, p. 89. A.

[b] Et scribit Brutius plurimos Christianorum sub Domitiano fecisse martyrium: inter quos Flaviam Domitillam, Flavii Clementis Consulis, ex sorore neptem, in insulam Pontiam relegatam, quia se Christianam testata est, Chron, p. 164.

'who

'who was baniſhed to the iſland Pontia, becauſe ſhe confeſſed 'herſelf to be a Chriſtian.'

I need not tranſcribe any thing from [c] Nicephorus. But in the Paſchal Chronicle, at the year of Chriſt 94, are theſe words: 'Brutus [d] relates that many Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom in 'the fourteenth year of Domitian.'

There were ſeveral eminent men of this name in the ſecond century. There is a [e] letter of the younger Pliny to Præſens, whom ſome think to have been alſo called Brutius, or Bruttius. We meet with Bruttius Præſens, who was conſul with Antoninus the pious, in the year 139; C. Bruttius Præſens, who was conſul with Aſturius Rufinus in the year 153; and L. Fulvius Bruttius Præſens, conſul the ſecond time in the year 180, with Sex. Quintillius Condianus. The daughter of this Bruttius [f] was married to Commodus, with the conſent of Marcus Antoninus. And [g] Pagi ſuppoſeth that to be the reaſon why he was honoured with a ſecond conſulſhip.

Scaliger [h] ſuppoſeth this Bruttius, who had been conſul with Antoninus, and afterwards a ſecond time, whoſe daughter was married to Commodus, or a relation of his, to be the hiſtorian intended by Euſebius.

Tillemont [i] ſays he may have been Bruttius Præſens who was conſul in the year 139, or Præſens to whom the younger Pliny wrote: though, as he adds, there were others of the ſame name about that time.

Mr. Dodwell's [k] conjecture is, that [l] he is the ſame who was conſul with Antoninus the pious, as I underſtand him, though his manner of expreſſion is ambiguous.

Some remarks may now not be improper. In the firſt place it may be fit to obſerve that Brutus, and Bruttius, and Brettius, as in the [m] Greek of Euſebius's Chronicle, are all one and the ſame name, as Scaliger has ſhewn.

[c] Vid. Niceph. l. 3, c. 9.

[d] Ιστορει ο Βρουτος, πολλους χριστιανους κατα τον αυτον καιρον Δομετιανου μεμαρτυρηκεναι. Chron. Paſch. p. 250.

[e] L. 7, ep. 3.

[f] Filio ſuo Brutii Præſentis filiam junxit [Marcus Aurelius.] Jul. Capitol. de M. Anton. Phil. c. 27, p. 394.

[g] Erat Bruttius Præſens pater Criſpinæ uxoris Commodi, ob idque altero Conſulatu hoc anno a M. Aurelio decoratus. Pagi ann. 180, num. i.

[h] Aut Bruttius Præſens, qui cum Imp. Antonino Conſul fuit, et cujus filia Imperatoris Antonini filio nupta fuit, aut ſaltem ejus gentilis quidam fuerit hiſtoricus iſte. Scalig. in Euſeb. p. 205. a.

[i] Saint Fl. Domitille. Mem. Ec. T. 2, p. 127.

[k] Ethnicum ſcriptorem protulit Euſebius, quem Brutium appellat in Chronico, forte eundem, qui conſulatum geſſerit ſub [forte cum] Antonino. Diſſ. Cypr. xi. § 16.

[l] p. 80.

[m] In Græcis eſt Βρεττιος. In Caſauboni Chronico Βρουτιος, ut hic. Nam non audiendi ſunt, qui hic Brutius ſubſtituunt, aut Bruttianus. Sat enim eſt, eos Græca lectione confutari. Nam quemadmodum Βρουττιοι et Βρεττιοι, Italiæ populi, indifferenter vocantur; ita etiam Βρουττιος et Βρεττιος pro eodem ſcriptore uſurpari potuerit. Scal. ibid. p. 205.

Secondly,

Secondly, I ſuppoſe no one will heſitate to allow that Bruttius was an heathen hiſtorian, though he is not expreſsly called ſo in any of the places where he is named. The manner in which he is mentioned by Euſebius in his Chronicle, and by the author of the Paſchal Chronicle, would lead us to ſuppoſe him not a Chriſtian. And the paſſage in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Euſebius, compared with his Chronicle, I think puts it out of doubt.

Thirdly, Nothing has appeared in our ancient authors to ſatisfy us whether Bruttius was a Latin or a Greek writer. But [mm] Voſſius placeth him among Latin hiſtorians.

Fourthly, Dion Caſſius, to be hereafter quoted, will inform us of a Flavia Domitilla, wife of the conſul Clement, who was baniſhed by Domitian for Chriſtianity into the iſland Pandeteria, which lay near to Pontia, upon the ſame coaſt of Italy. This has given occaſion to a diſpute whether there were two of this name who ſuffered for Chriſtianity about the ſame time: ſome [n] ſuppoſing one and the ſame perſon to be intended, others [o] again contending that there were two. The matter is of no great importance; nevertheleſs, perhaps, we may hereafter give it ſome farther conſideration in the chapter of Dion Caſſius.

Fifthly, It ſeems ſomewhat probable that the author of the Paſchal Chronicle did not copy Euſebius, but took his account from the work of Bruttius itſelf. For Euſebius, making particular mention of Domitilla only, who was not baniſhed till the year 95, ſays that 'hiſtorians of different ſentiment from us had 'accurately marked the time of that perſecution to be in the 'fifteenth year of Domitian.' But the Paſchal Chronicle affirms from Bruttius that many ſuffered in the fourteenth year of that reign. And [p] Pagi hence argues, and not without ſome appearance of probability, that the perſecution began in the fourteenth year of Domitian.

Sixthly, I wiſh that either Euſebius, or the laſt mentioned author, had given us the very words of Bruttius. He did not ſay 'the Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom.' The ſtyle of heathen authors in ſuch matters is curious and entertaining, and more ſatisfactory than any other whatever.

Once more, ſeventhly, Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſpeaks in the plural number, and ſays that 'writers of a different 'ſentiment from us had given an account of Domitian's perſecu-'tion in their hiſtories:' but we have not found more than one

[mm] De Hiſt. Lat. lib. 3, B. fin. [n] Baſnag. ann. 95, num. vii. Vid. et Scal. ubi ſupr. p. 205. [o] Tillem. Mem. Ec. Tom. 2, p. 126, 127. [p] Ann. 94, num. v.

named in his Chronicle, nor in the Paſchal Chronicle. Dion Caſſius wrote before Euſebius: whether he ever read him does not now appear: but we ſhall quote him upon the ſame ſubject in his place and time.

I have been very much at a loſs where to place this writer. One would think, from Euſebius's manner of expreſſion in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that he had been contemporary with Domitian's perſecution. And in his Chronicle Bruttius is placed at the year of Chriſt 95. Nevertheleſs, none can ſuppoſe that to be the real time of his writing. However, that I may not be charged with entering him too late, I place him at the year of Chriſt 136, the twentieth year of Adrian. And if this Bruttius be the ſame (as divers learned men have thought) who was conſul with Titus Antoninus in the year 139, I have placed him early enough.

CHAP. XIII.

PHLEGON, THALLUS, and DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

I. *Phlegon. His time and works.* II. *A paſſage in him concerning our Saviour's foreknowledge.* III. *Another paſſage ſuppoſed to relate to the miraculous darkneſs at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, with remarks and obſervations.* IV. *Thallus, ſuppoſed alſo to ſpeak of the ſame darkneſs.* V. *Dionyſius the Areopagite, ſuppoſed likewiſe to ſpeak of the ſame event.*

I. PHLEGON,[a] freedman of the emperor Adrian, was born at Tralles in Lydia. He was author of ſeveral works; one of which was entitled [b] The Olympiads, or [c] A Collection of Olympiads and Chronicles, in ſixteen books. It was a kind of general hiſtory of the world from the firſt to the two hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad, or to the times of Adrian. If the laſt olympiad was complete, as [d] ſome think, it reached to the fourth

[a] Vid. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 16. Vopiſc. Saturnin. c. 7, 8. [b] Φλεγων Τραλλιανος....ιστορικος. Εγραψε Ολυμπιαδας εν βιβλιοις ις. Εστι δε μεχρι της σκθ ολυμπιαδος τα πραχθεντα πανταχυ. Suid. [c] Φλεγοντος Τραλλιανυ, απελευθερυ του αυτοκρατορος Αδριανυ, ολυμπιονικων και χρονικων συναγωγη. Προσφωνει το συνταγμα περι Αλκιβιαδην τινα, ος εις ην των εις φυλακην τεταγμενων τυ Αδριανυ....κατεισε δε, ος αυτος φησι, μεχρι των Αδριανυ χρονων. Phot. Cod. 97, p. 265. [d] J. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euſeb. Chron. p. 185. Pagi ann. 136, n. viii. aliique.

year

year of Antoninus the pious: if it was incomplete, as [c] others ſuppoſe, the work ended in the year 138, in which Adrian died; at which time I alſo place him. It was inſcribed to Alcibiades, one of the body guards of Adrian: which may afford an argument that the work did not go lower than the reign of that emperor, and was publiſhed in the year 138, or ſoon after. Baſnage ſpeaks of Phlegon at the year 141.

I write not the hiſtory of Phlegon, or his works: I therefore refer to [f] other learned moderns.

Out of the large work abovementioned, ſome paſſages have been alleged by ancient Chriſtian writers, of which ſome notice muſt be taken here.

II. Origen, in his books againſt Celſus, has this paſſage: 'However, [g] Phlegon in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth, book of his Chronicles, aſcribes to Chriſt the knowledge of ſome future things; though he makes a miſtake in the perſon, naming Peter inſtead of Jeſus: and he allows that the things foretold came to paſs.'

Upon this I muſt be allowed to ſay, firſt, that Origen ſeems to have truſted to his memory in this quotation. Secondly, If Phlegon named Peter inſtead of JESUS, it is a mark of careleſſneſs and inaccuracy. Thirdly, We ſhould have been glad to ſee this paſſage of Phlegon more at length; for want of which we cannot form any clear judgment about it. Fourthly, Phlegon was ſo credulous that his teſtimony concerning things of a marvellous kind muſt be of little weight. His credulity and uncommon regard for all ſorts of oracles, are manifeſt in the [h] character of his Olympiads given by Photius, and in the fragments of his works, publiſhed by Meurſius. I would alſo refer to the article [i] Ταρραχινη, in Stephanus Byzantinus, where Phlegon ſpeaks of a child who was able to converſe with others when it had been born not more than nine-and-forty days; and to Salmaſius's [k] character of Plegon's Olympiads in his notes upon Spartian's

[c] Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4, c. 13. T. 3, p. 101. [f] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l. 2, c. xi. Fabr. B. Gr. l. 4, c. 13. Tillemont. Adrien. art. 18. Dictionaire de Bayle Phlegon. [g] Φλεγων μεντοι εν τρισκαιδεκατῳ, η τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῳ, οιμαι, των χρονικων, και την περι τινων μελλοντων προγνωσιν εδωκε τῳ Χριστῳ, συγχυθεις εν τοις περι πετρᾳ ως περι τε ιησε· και εμαρτυρησεν οτι κατα τα ειρημενα υπ' αυτε τα λεγομενα επηντησε. Contr. Celſ. l. 2, p. 69. al. § 14.

[h] Και η περι τες χρησμες ακαιρος φιλοπονια τε και φιλοτιμια, εις κορον απαγουσα τον ακρατην...χρησμοις δε παντοιοις ες υπερβολην εστι κεχρημενος. Phot. ibid.

[i] Φλεγων ολυμπιαδι εκατοστῃ ογδοηκοστῃ πρωτῃ· Οτι παιδιον εκ δυλης, γενομενον, τῃ ενατῃ και τεσσαρακοστῃ της γενεσεως του προσαγορευσαντα αυτι προαγορευσαι. Steph. V. Ταρραχινη. [k] Ex quo loco apparet, quale fuerit argumentum librorum Olympiadum Phlegontis. Nam ſub quâque Olympiade, quid toto orbe geſtum eſſet recenſebat, prodigia præcipue et monſtra, reſque alias mirabiles memorabileſque. Salmaſ. in Spartian. Hadrian. c. 16, p. 152.

Life of Adrian. Fifthly, Origen is the only perſon that has mentioned this. I do not recollect any other ancient writer who has taken any notice of it. Conſequently, I think we muſt ſay that upon the whole this citation [l] is of no great moment.

III. But there is another paſſage of this author which may be reckoned more material, many learned men of late times having been of opinion that it relates to the darkneſs at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The Greek of Euſebius, in his Chronicle, which I muſt tranſcribe at large, is to this purpoſe: 'Jeſus Chriſt [m] the Son of 'God, our Lord, according to the prophecies concerning him, 'came to his paſſion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tibe'rius: about which time we find theſe things related in other, 'even Gentile memoirs, in theſe very words: "the ſun was "eclipſed, there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houſes "were overturned in Nice." All which things agree with what 'happened at the time of our Saviour's paſſion. So writes and 'ſays the author of the Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in 'theſe words: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and ſe"cond olympiad there was an eclipſe of the ſun, the greateſt "of any known before. And it was night at the ſixth hour of "the day, ſo that the ſtars appeared in the heavens. And there "was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many "houſes in Nice." So writes the forementioned author.'

I ſhall alſo tranſcribe and tranſlate this article as it appears in Jerom's Latin verſion of Euſebius's Chronicle.

'Jeſus Chriſt, [n] according to the prophecies which had before 'ſpoken of him, came to his paſſion in the eighteenth year of

[l] De Domino etiam mentionem egit, ſi fides Origeni....Baſnag. ann. 141, n. vii.

[m] Ιησους ο χριστος ο υιος τυ Θευ ο κυριος ημων κατα τας περι αυτυ προφητειας, επι το παθος προηει, ετους ιθ της τιβεριυ καισαρος βασιλειας· καθ' ον καιρον και εν αλλαις μεν ελληνικοις υπομνημασιν ευρομεν ιστορημενα κατα λεξιν ταυτα· Ο ηλιος εκλειπει· βιθυνια σεισθη· Νικαιας τα πολλα επεσεν. Ο και συνᾳδει τοις περι το παθος του σωτηρος ημων συμβεβηκοσι. Γραφει δε και λεγει ο τας ολυμπιαδας....περι των αυτων εν τῳ ιγ, ρημασιν αυτοις ταδε· τω δ' ετει της ϹΒ ολυμπιαδος εγενετο εκλειψις ηλιυ μεγιστη των εγνωρισμενων προτερον, και νυξ ωρα ϛ της ημερας εγενετο, ωστε και αστρας εν ουρανῳ φανηναι, σεισμος τε ισχυρος κατα βιθυνιαν γενομενος τα πολλα Νικαιας κατερριψατο. Και ταυτα μεν ο δηλωθεις ανηρ. Euſeb. Chr. p. 77.

[n] Jeſus Chriſtus, ſecundum prophetias, quæ de eo fuerant prolocutæ, ad paſſionem venit anno Tiberii xviii. quo tempore etiam in aliis Ethnicorum commentariis hæc ad verbum ſcripta reperimus. 'Solis 'facta defectio: Bithynia terræ motu con'cuſſa: et in urbe Nicæa ædes plurimæ 'corruerunt.' Quæ omnia his congruunt, quæ in paſſione Salvatoris acciderant. Scribit vero ſuper his et Phlego, qui Olympiadarum egregius ſupputator eſt, in tertio decimo libro ita dicens: Quarto autem anno ccii. Olympiadis magna et excellens inter omnes, quæ ante eam acciderant, defectio ſolis facta: dies horâ ſexta in tenebroſam noctem verſus, ut ſtellæ in cœlo viſæ ſint, terræque motus in Bithynia Nicææ urbis multas ædes ſubverteret. Hæc ſupradictus vir. Euſeb. Chr. p. 158.

'Tiberius;

'Tiberius; at which time in other, even heathen memoirs, we 'find it written to this purpoſe: "There was an eclipſe of the "ſun: Bithynia was ſhaken by an earthquake, and in the city "of Nice many houſes were overthrown." All which things 'agree with what happened at the time of our Saviour's paſſion. 'And ſo writes Phlegon, an excellent compiler of the Olympiads 'in his thirteenth book, ſaying: "In the fourth year of the "two hundred and ſecond olympiad there was a great and ex-"traordinary eclipſe of the ſun, diſtinguiſhed among all that "had happened before. At the ſixth hour the day was turned "into dark night, ſo that the ſtars in the heavens were ſeen, "and there was an earthquake in Bithynia which overthrew "many houſes in the city of Nice." So writes the above-'named author.'

Phlegon is twice quoted, after the ſame manner, in the Paſchal Chronicle [o] compoſed in the ſeventh century.

Many learned men [p] have ſuppoſed that Euſebius here ſpeaks of another, beſide Phlegon, who had borne witneſs to the darkneſs at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. They think that Euſebius refers to Thallus, as well as Phlegon. I think that Euſebius ſpeaks of one only. His firſt expreſſions are general. He obſerves that what is ſaid by prophets and by the evangeliſts, there are heathen authors who have borne teſtimony to this darkneſs. Nevertheleſs he means one only. And, having given a general account of what was to be found in other memoirs, beſide the ſacred, he produces diſtinctly the paſſage of Phlegon, and concludes, 'ſo writes the forenamed man.' I need not enlarge farther. To me it appears exceeding manifeſt that Euſebius ſpeaks of one writer only, meaning Phlegon the compiler of Olympiads. The two quotations in the Paſchal Chronicle, as well as St. Jerom's verſion, are all to be underſtood in the like manner.

Before making any remarks upon this paſſage of Phlegon, I would take notice of ſome authors more ancient than Euſebius, who have referred to Phlegon, or are ſuppoſed to have referred to him.

Of theſe, undoubtedly, Tertullian is the moſt ancient. 'At 'the ſame time,' ſays he, 'at noonday there was a great

[o] Chr. Paſch. p. 219, et 222.

[p] J. Scaliger. ut ſupr. p. 186. et Tillemont, note xxxv. ſur J. C.

[q] Eodem momento dies medium orbem ſignante ſole ſubducta eſt. Deliquium illique putaverunt, qui id quoque ſuper Chriſto prædicatum non ſcierunt: ratione non deprehenſa negaverunt. Et tamen eum mundi caſum relatum in arcanis [al. archivis] veſtris habetis. Apol. c. 21, p. 22.

'darkneſs. They thought it to be an eclipſe, who did not 'know that this alſo was foretold concerning Chriſt. And ſome 'have denied it, not knowing the cauſe of ſuch darkneſs. And 'yet you have that remarkable event recorded in your archives.'

I think that Tertullian refers not to Phlegon, or any other author, whoſe teſtimony could be no other than a private record, but to ſome public acts of the Romans, and probably thoſe in which was kept regiſtered the Relation of Pontius Pilate, ſent to the emperor Tiberius, concerning the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the wonderful circumſtances of it.

Huet [r] underſtands Tertullian to refer to ſome public acts: and in like manner [s] Grotius. And Dr. Clarke, in the firſt edition of his ſermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture, where he quoted Phlegon, and in the eighth edition, where he omitted Phlegon, repreſents the ſenſe of this place of Tertullian after this manner, and in the ſame words: 'And [t] divers of the moſt remarkable 'circumſtances attending our Saviour's crucifixion, ſuch as the 'earthquake, and miraculous darkneſs, were recorded in the 'public Roman regiſters, commonly appealed to by the firſt 'Chriſtians, as what could not be denied by the adverſaries 'themſelves.'

What Tertullian ſays here has a great reſemblance with what is ſaid by the martyr Lucian, in his Apology, as repreſented by Rufinus in an [u] addition to Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, where he ſays: 'Look [x] into your own annals; there you will 'find that in the time of Pilate, when Chriſt ſuffered, the ſun 'was obſcured, and the light of the day was interrupted with 'darkneſs.'

For the preſent I paſs by Africanus. The author therefore that next offers himſelf to our conſideration is Origen, who, in his books againſt Celſus, ſays: 'But [y] of the eclipſe, which hap-

'pened

[r] Merito itaque Chriſtianorum cauſſam apud Ethnicos agens in Apologetico [cap. 21.] Tertullianus miraculi hujus teſtes citat tabularia ipſorum, et publica inſtrumenta: ſive quæ a rectoribus provinciarum, ſive quæ ex inſtitutio Cæſaris Romæ conficiebantur, in quæ diurna referebantur Acta Populi et Senatus. Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3, § viii. p. 30.

[s] Exſtabant olim et libri, tum privatorum, ut Phlegontis, tum et acta publica, ad quæ Chriſtiani provocabant, quibus conſtabat de eo fidere, quod poſt Chriſtum natum apparuit, de terræ motu, et ſolis deliquio, contra naturam, pleniſſimo lunæ orbe, circa tempus, quo Chriſtus crucis ſupplicio affectus eſt. Grot. de Verit. Rel. Chriſt. l. 3, c. xiv. [t] See the firſt edition, p. 325; and the eighth edition, p. 357. [u] See, in this work, vol. iv. p. 324, 330. [x] Solem vobis ipſum horum produco teſtem. Qui cum hoc fieri per impios videret in terris, lumen ſuum meridie abſcondit in cœlo. Requirite in annalibus veſtris: invenietis, temporibus Pilati, Chriſto patiente, fugato ſole, interruptum tenebris diem. Euſeb. H. E. l. 9. c. 6. ex verſione Rufin.

[y] Περι δε της επι τιβεριω καισαρος εκλειψεως, ω βασιλευοντος και ο ιησους εοικεν εσταυρωθαι, και περι των μεγαλων τοτε γενομενων σεισμων της γης, ανεγραψε και φλεγων εν τω τρισκαι-

δεκατω

'pened in the time of Tiberius, in whoſe reign Jeſus was cru-
'cified, and of the great earthquakes which were at that time,
'Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth,
'book of his Chronicle.'

Afterwards in the ſame work: 'But [z] Celſus thinks both the
'earthquake and the darkneſs to be only fictitious wonders. To
'which we have already anſwered according to our ability,' ſays Origen, 'alleging Phlegon, who relates that ſuch things hap-
'pened at the time of our Saviour's paſſion.'

In the firſt of theſe two paſſages, Origen refers to the book, but does not quote the words of Phlegon. This ſecond reference is not more diſtinct nor more accurate.

There is another long paſſage of Origen in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Goſpel, which it may be expected I ſhould tranſcribe here; and I ſhall do [a] ſo. But, conſidering that we

δικατῳ ἢ τῳ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῳ οἰμαι των χρονικων. Contr. Celſ. l. 2, p. 80, Cant. al. § 33. [z] Οιεται δε τερατειαν ειναι και τον σεισμον και το σκοτος. Περι ων κατα δυναμιν, εν τοις ανωτερω απελογησαμεθα, παραθεμενοι τον Φλεγοντα, ιστορησαντα, κατα τον χρονον τω παθους του σωτηρος τοιαυτα συντυχειαι. Ib. l. 2. p. 96. al. § 59.

[a] Matt. xxvii. 45. Ad hunc textum quidam calumniantur evangelicam veritatem, dicentes, quomodo ſecundum textum poteſt eſſe verum quod dicitur, quia factæ ſunt tenebræ ſuper omnem terram a ſexta hora, uſque ad nonam, quod factum nulla refert hiſtoria. Et dicunt, quia ſicut ſolet fieri in ſolis defectione, ſic facta eſt tunc defectio ſolis. Defectio autem ſolis, quæ ſecundum conſuetudinem temporum ita currentium fieri ſolet, non in alio tempore fit, niſi in conventu ſolis et lunæ....in tempore autem, quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus, manifeſtum eſt, quoniam conventus non erat lunæ ad ſolem, quoniam tempus erat paſchale, quod conſuetudinis eſt agere, quando luna ſolis plenitudinem habet, et in tota eſt nocte. Quomodo ergo poterat fieri defectio ſolis, cum luna eſſet plena, et plenitudinem ſolis haberet?.....Pone, quia extra conſuetudinem facta eſt illa defectio ſolis in tempore non antiquo, ſub principatu Romanorum, ita ut tenebræ fierent ſuper omnem terram uſque ad horam nonam: quomodo hoc factum tam mirabile nemo Græcorum, nemo Barbarorum factum conſcripſit in tempore illo, maxime qui Chronica conſcripſerunt, et notaverunt ſicuti aliquid novum factum eſt aliquando, ſed ſoli hoc ſcripſerunt veſtri auctores? Et Phlegon quidem in Chronicis ſuis ſcripſit, in principatu Tiberii Cæſaris factum, ſed non ſignificavit in luna plena hoc factum. Vide ergo, ne fortis eſt objectio hæc, et potens movere omnem hominem ſapientem, qui nec illis dicentibus, nec iſtis ſcribentibus conſentit, ſed omnino cum ratione et judicio audit.... Dicimus ergo, quod Matthæus et Marcus non dixerunt, defectionem ſolis tunc factam fuiſſe, ſed neque Lucas, ſecundum pleraque exemplaria, habentia ſic: 'Et
'erat hora fere ſexta, et tenebræ factæ
'ſunt ſuper omnem terram uſque ad ho-
'ram nonam, et obſcuratus eſt ſol....'
Arbitror ergo, ſicut cætera ſigna, quæ facta ſunt in paſſionem ipſius, in Jeruſalem facta ſunt: ſic et tenebræ tantummodo ſuper omnem terram Judæam uſque ad horam nonam. Quæ autem dico, in Jeruſalem tantummodo hæc facta ſunt: quod velum templi ſciſſum eſt, quod terra contremuit, quod petræ diruptæ ſunt, quod monumenta aperta ſunt. Nec enim extra Judæam petræ diruptæ ſunt, aut monumenta aperta ſunt alia, niſi ea tantum, quæ in Jeruſalem erant, aut forte in terra Judæa. Nec alia terra tremuit tunc, niſi terra Jeruſalem. Nec enim refertur alicubi, quod omne elementum terræ tremuerit in tempore illo, ut ſentirent, verbi gratia, et qui in Æthiopia erant, et in India, et in Scythia. Quod ſi factum fuiſſet, ſine dubio inveniretur in hiſtoriis aliquibus eorum, qui in Chronicis ſcripſerunt nova aliqua facta. Sicut ergo quod dicitur, 'terra contremuit,' refertur ad terram Jeruſalem, aut ſi latius voluerit quis extendere ad terram Judæam: ſic et 'te-
'nebræ factæ ſunt ab hora ſexta uſque ad
'nonam

have it only in a Latin tranſlation, which is obſcure, I ſuppoſe I may be excuſed from attempting to tranſlate it at length.

The ſubſtance of what Origen ſays may be reduced to a few obſervations. 'He propoſeth an objection of unbelievers 'againſt the evangelical hiſtory. They ſaid that an eclipſe of 'the ſun never happens at full moon, as the darkneſs mentioned 'by the evangeliſts did: and that if there had been an eclipſe, 'or other darkneſs, over all the earth, laſting three hours, from 'ſix till nine, it would have been mentioned by many authors, 'and eſpecially by writers of chronicles. Origen allows that 'if the evangeliſts had mentioned ſuch a thing in all thoſe 'circumſtances, and had ſaid it was general all over the world, 'it would be reaſonable to expect to find the mention of it in 'many writers, both Greeks and barbarians. But he ſays the 'evangeliſts ſpeak only of a darkneſs in the land of Judea; nor 'do they call it an eclipſe. Other extraordinary things, which 'are related by the evangeliſts to have happened at the time of 'our Saviour's ſufferings, he ſays, were at Jeruſalem, or near it. 'There *the veil of the temple was rent*, there *the earth quaked and* '*the rocks were rent*, there, or near it, *the graves were opened.* So 'likewiſe it is to be underſtood, that at Jeruſalem, or near it, or 'over the whole land of Judea, was *darkneſs from the ſixth to the* '*ninth hour*. Finally, Origen obſerves and allows that Phlegon 'did not ſay that the eclipſe mentioned by him happened at the 'time of a full moon.'

Tillemont, arguing upon this teſtimony of Phlegon, obſerves: 'Nevertheleſs, [b] he did not ſay that this obſcurity, which he 'took for an eclipſe, happened at full moon, when it is impoſſi-'ble to happen, according to the ordinary courſe of nature. 'For which reaſon Origen ſays, very wiſely, that we muſt not 'too poſitively maintain againſt heathen people that Phlegon 'ſpoke of the darkneſs which happened at the death of Jeſus 'Chriſt.'

We are now coming to a main point.

I ſuppoſe my readers to be well acquainted with the goſpels, and to know that it is there related that *from the ſixth hour there was darkneſs over all the land unto the ninth hour:* Matt. xxvii. 45; or, *when the ſixth hour was come, there was darkneſs over the whole*

'nonam ſuper omnem terram,' intellige, quod ſuper omnem terram Judæam ſunt factæ, aut certe ſuper Jeruſalem tantum. Origen. in Matt. Tr. 35, p. 922, 923. Tom. 3. Bened. [b] Il ne marquoit pas neanmoins que cette obſcurité, qu'il prenoit pour une eclipſe, fuſt arrivée dans la pleine lune, où il eſt impoſſible ſelon l'ordre de la nature qu'il en arrive jamais. C'eſt pourquoi Origene remarque fort ſagement, qu'il ne faut pas s'opiniatrer à ſoutenir contre les Payens, que Phlegon a parlé de ce qui eſt arrivé à la mort de J. C. Note 35. ſur N. S. J. C. p. 449. M.E.

land

land until the ninth hour: Mark xv. 33; or, *and it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth [or land] until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened:* Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

1. In the first place, then, it appears to me very plain that the evangelists, by *the earth*, or *the land*, mean Judea. So the original word is sometimes used, as Luke iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. So it was understood in these texts by that great critic Origen, as we have seen. So likewise says that eminent man [c] G. J. Vossius, and divers [d] other learned moderns of very good judgment. And Beza, for preventing ambiguity, useth the word [e] *region*, or *country*, instead of *land*, or *earth*; and upon Mark xv. 33, has a good note, [f] justifying that version. Indeed, it is so pertinent that I am tempted to write out a good part of it below. This, I think, must be right. The evangelists speak of things that happened in the land of Judea, the place of their residence, and within the extent of their knowledge. How should they know what happened abroad, throughout the whole world? There was darkness at Jerusalem, and near it, and in that whole country where Christ was crucified, and among that people who had been taught by his ministry, who had seen his miracles, and now triumphed in his crucifixion. But there might be the light and brightness of the sun in other countries, as probably there were.

A. Bynæus, after having carefully examined this point, expresseth himself to the same [g] purpose.

2. There

[c] Putamus autem, per universam terram solam signari Judæam. Quod et Erasmus arbitratur in cap. xxvii. Matth. G. Voss. Harm. Ev. l. 2, cap. x.

[d] Matt. xxvii. 45. *Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land* [of Judea] *until the ninth hour.* Whitby. .... sur tout le pais. Le Clerc. Apparemment sur la Judée, comme Luc. iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. Lenfant. See also Basnage ann. 33, n. cxviii.

[e] '.... super universam regionem.' πασαν την γην, i. e. χωραν. Vulgata, et Erasmus, universam terram, quasi omnes mundi plagæ fuerint obscuratæ. Bez. ad Matt. xxvii. 45. [f] Quæritur autem a multis, an de Judæa duntaxat, an vero potius de universo orbe terrarum hæc sint accipienda. Quod posterius videtur amplecti Tertullianus Ap. c. xxi. hoc solis deliquium vocans 'mundi casum,' quem Romani in suis archivis habeant. Sed ego iis potius assentior, qui de Hierosolymis et tota vicina regione hoc dictum accipiunt. Nam in Archivis annotari justius etiam prodigium illud potuit, quoniam fuit Judææ peculiare. Familiare etiam est sacris scriptoribus, terræ appellatione, etiamsi nihil adjiciatur, intelligere terram Chanaan. Et γην pro χωραν, id est, 'terram,' pro 'regione,' reperimus alibi: ut Matt. ix. 26, et Luc. iv. 25. Confert autem hoc ad prodigii novitatem, si intellexerimus non modo die Paschæ, id est in plenilunio, accidisse hanc solis eclipsin, sed etiam reliquum orbem illustrante sole, atque adeo in ipso meridie hunc unum orbis terrarum angulum, in quo tantum facinus patrabatur, in densissimis tenebris delituisse...Et si universale fuisset hoc prodigium, esset proculdubio omnium astrologorum monumentis celebratum. Bez. in Mark xv. 33.

[g] Profecto credibilius nihil est, quam scriptores sacros ortas hasce tenebras επι πασαν την γην, 'super omnem terram,' vel εφ' ολην την γην, 'super totam terram,' dixisse, ut designarent, occupasse eas non Hierosolymam

2. There are ſuch inaccuracies, and ſuch differences, in the quotations of Phlegon by ſeveral authors, as very much diminiſh the credit and authority of this teſtimony.

Origen ſays no more than that Phlegon ſpeaks of an eclipſe and earthquakes *in the reign of Tiberius*, without mentioning what year of his reign. Euſebius, and Jerom, and the Paſchal Chronicle, ſpeak of an eclipſe of the ſun, and an earthquake, in the fourth year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad, meaning the eighteenth or nineteenth year of Tiberius, and the thirty-ſecond or thirty-third year of our Lord, according to the common computation. But they do not ſay in what part, or what month of the year, thoſe things happened: which would be very material, and tend to decide a reference to the darkneſs at our Saviour's paſſion, if it had been ſaid that the eclipſe was in the ſpring, or ſuch a month of the ſpring part of the year.

I now add ſome other quotations to thoſe juſt mentioned.

J. Philoponus, who lived near the end of the ſixth, and the beginning of the ſeventh, century, writes to this purpoſe: 'Phlegon [h] alſo, in his Olympiads, makes mention of this darkneſs, 'or rather this night: for he ſays that in the ſecond year of the 'one hundred and ſecond olympiad there was the greateſt eclipſe 'of the ſun that had been known before, and night came on at 'the ſixth hour of the day; inſomuch that the ſtars appeared in 'the ſky.'

Afterwards the ſame Philoponus ſpeaks of Phlegon as ſaying that [i] the eclipſe happened in the two hundred and ſecond olympiad. Some may think this to be an inconſiſtency: but, perhaps, there [k] were different ways of computing the olympiads, or the years of each olympiad.

In the Chronicle of George Syncellus, who flouriſhed in the eighth century, Africanus is quoted in this manner: 'Phlegon [l] 'relates that in the reign of the emperor Tiberius, at the time 'of the full moon, there was a total eclipſe of the ſun from the 'ſixth hour to the ninth.'

It is obvious to obſerve here—it is not eaſy to believe that

Hieroſolymam tantum, locumque, in quo Jeſus fuiſſixus cruci fuit, ſed Judæam, vel terram Iſraeliticam univerſam. De orbe toto enim nequit hic cogitari. Sed nec orbis intelligi Romanus poteſt, ad quem Lucas, dum res deſcribit in Judæa geſtas, utique non attendit. &c. Ant. Bynæus. de morte J. C. l. 3, c. 8, § ii. p. 410.

[h] Λεγει γαρ, οτι τω δευτερω ετει της διακοσιοστης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος εγενετο ηλιου εκλειψις μεγιστη των [ουκ] εγνωσμενων προτερον· και νυξ ωρα εκτη της ημερας εγενετο· ωστε και αστερας εν ουρανω φανηναι. Philop. de Mundi Creatione. l. 2, cap. 21.

[i] Την δε εκλειψιν γεγονεναι εν τω τεταρτω ετει της διακοσιοστης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος. Philop. Ibid.

[k] Vide Pagi ann. 32, n. xii. xiii.

[l] Φλεγων ιστορει, επι Τιβεριου Καισαρος εν πανσελήνω εκλειψιν ηλιου γεγενηναι τελειαν απο ωρας εκτης μεχρις ενατης. Vid G. Syncell. p. 322, 323.

Africanus

Africanus ſaid Phlegon had mentioned an eclipſe with thoſe circumſtances, becauſe Phlegon [m] is not ſo quoted by any other writer. And Origen aſſures us that Phlegon had omitted that circumſtance, that the eclipſe mentioned by him was 'in the 'time of the full moon.'

Maximus, of the ſeventh century, in his Scholia upon the pretended Dionyſius the Areopagite, ſays: 'Phlegon [n] the Gen-'tile chronographer, in the thirteenth book of his Chronogra-'phy, at the two hundred and third olympiad, mentions this 'eclipſe, ſaying that it happened in an unuſual manner: but 'does not ſay in what manner. And our Africanus in the fifth 'book of his Chronography, and Euſebius Pamphili likewiſe in 'his Chronicle, mention the ſame eclipſe.'

J. Malala, in the ſixth or ſeventh century, in his Chronicle, writes to this purpoſe: 'And [o] the ſun was darkened, and there 'was darkneſs upon the world. Concerning which darkneſs, 'Phlegon, that wiſe Athenian, writes thus: "In the eighteenth "year of the reign of Tiberius Cæſar, there was a great eclipſe "of the ſun, greater than thoſe that had been known before: "and it became night at the ſixth hour of the day, ſo that the "ſtars appeared."

Such are the principal quotations of Phlegon in ancient writers. We may wiſh they had been more diſtinct and accurate, and that there had been a nearer agreement between them; but we muſt take them as they are. Nor do they all place the eclipſe, which they ſpeak of, in the ſame year of the ſame olympiad. However, I do not chuſe to enlarge on this particular; it is rather too critical for my preſent work: I therefore refer to [p] Pagi, who has ſpoken to the point with great learning and judgment, and muſt be of uſe to remove difficulties of this ſort. Wherefore I proceed.

3. Phlegon ſays nothing of Judea. What he ſays is, that in ſuch an olympiad 'there was an eclipſe in Bithynia, and an 'earthquake at Nice.'

4. Phlegon does not ſay that the earthquake happened at the ſame time with the eclipſe.

5. Phlegon mentions not any extraordinary circumſtances of the darkneſs at the time of our Saviour's ſufferings. We cannot perceive from the quotations, that have been made of him, that

[m] By all means ſee Tillemont, M. E. Tom. i. note 35. ſur Jeſus Chriſt, p. 449, 450.

[n] Μεμνηται μεν και Φλεγων ο ελληνικος χρονογραφος εν τρισκαιδεκατω χρονικων εν τη σιγ ολυμπιαδι της εκλειψεως ταυτης, παρα το ειωθος αυτην λεγων γενεσθαι, ου μην τον τροπον απεγραψε. κ. λ. Maxim. ap. Dionyſ. Areop. T. 2, p. 97.

[o] J. Malal. Chronogr. lib. x. p. 310.

[p] Pagi ann. 32, num. xi....xiv.

it

it is reaſonable to believe he ſaid that the eclipſe mentioned by him happened at the time of a 'full moon,' or that it laſted 'three hours.' Theſe circumſtances could not have been omitted by him if he had known any thing of them.

The acute Mr. Bayle, in his ** article of Phlegon, has enlarged upon this point, and as it ſeems to me with good reaſon. 'Never was there a man more intent than Phlegon to collect 'marvellous events, and to obſerve the ſupernatural circum-'ſtances of them. How then was it poſſible that a man of this 'temper ſhould omit to remark that which was moſt extraor-'dinary in this eclipſe, I mean that it happened at the time of 'a full moon.'

6. Phlegon ſpeaks of an ordinary eclipſe of the ſun. Therefore he cannot intend the darkneſs mentioned by the evangeliſts, which happened when the moon was full: at which time an eclipſe of the ſun is impoſſible. Nor do any of the evangeliſts uſe the word eclipſe in their hiſtory of this darkneſs. Phlegon ſpeaks of a total, or very near total eclipſe of the ſun, ſo that the ſtars were ſeen; which is common when there is a total eclipſe, and the air is clear; but could not have been if there had been clouds, which would have hid the ſtars alſo. G. J. Voſſius [q] was clearly of opinion that Phlegon ſpeaks of an ordinary and natural eclipſe of the ſun: for which and other reaſons he concludes that Phlegon did not intend the darkneſs in Judea at the time of our Saviour's paſſion.

Scaliger [r] likewiſe underſtands Phlegon to ſpeak of a natural eclipſe of the ſun.

7. It is reaſonable to believe from what Phlegon writes that there was a great eclipſe of the ſun in ſome year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad. According to the calculations of ſome able aſtronomers there [s] was a great eclipſe of the ſun in the month of November, in the twenty-ninth year of our Lord,

** Phlegon. note D. Diction. Critic.

[q] Phlego tamen pro naturali habuit eclipſi....Dixeris, videri eandem, quia Evangeliſtæ dicunt, fuiſſe eo tempore terræ motum; ac Phlego itidem dicat, tempore eclipſeos ejus, de qua agit, terræ motum fuiſſe in Bithynia, maximeque Nicææ. Scio. Sed ſcrupulum injicit, quod ſileat de terræ motu in Palæſtina. At, inquias, potuit hoc ignorare: nec levem videri nobis auctoritatem Patrum debere, qui eamdem faciunt eclipſim illam Evangeliſtis ac Phlegonti memoratam. Movit Patres, quod eundem in annum utraque incideret. Sed falſos eſſe, arguit, quod ſi miraculoſa eclipſis variis conſpecta terris foret, non ſolus ejus Phlegon meminiſſet. Quid enim magis in natura ſtupendum, quam ſolem deficere in plenilunio? Ut jam mittam, quod ante dicebam, Phlegonti ſermonem eſſe de eclipſi naturali, quæ ſolum in novilunio. G. J. Voſſ. Harmon. Evang. l. 2, c. x.

[r] Nam eclipſin quoque veram Phlegon putavit. Scaliger Animadv. in Euſeb. p. 186. a.

[s] See Dr. Sykes's Diſſertation on the eclipſe mentioned by Phlegon, p. 70...79, and his Defence of the ſame diſſertation, p. 60...67.

according

according to the common account, and the firſt year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad. But whether their calculations be right or not, I think we may be ſatisfied that Phlegon thought there was a great eclipſe of the ſun about that time.

From all theſe conſiderations (however without inſiſting much upon that which is the ſecond in order) it appears to me that we have not ſufficient reaſon to think that Phlegon has mentioned the darkneſs which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion at Jeruſalem: ſeveral learned men have been of the ſame opinion. I have already mentioned, and quoted, J. G. Voſſius; I now [t] refer to ſeveral others, who may be conſulted by the curious.

Colonia [u] puts great value upon the teſtimony of Phlegon to the extraordinary events attending our Saviour's paſſion; but I ſee no reaſon to make any remarks upon what he ſays: I refer however to divers other learned men [x] on the ſame ſide of the queſtion.

8. I muſt add one obſervation more (eighthly). The paſſage of Phlegon concerning an eclipſe of the ſun is very ſeldom mentioned by the ancient learned Chriſtian writers, as a teſtimony to the wonderful events at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: which induces me to think they paid little or no regard to it; and that they did not judge it proper to be alleged, either for the ſatisfaction and confutation of adverſaries, or for the confirmation of their own people.

I have already ſhewn what notice is taken of this paſſage of Phlegon by Origen, in his books againſt Celſus, and in his commentaries upon St. Matthew's goſpel: and I have alſo mentioned divers other authors as low as the ſixth and ſeventh century, chiefly writers of chronicles. All which, however, amount to no great number in ſo long a period.

For there is very little notice taken of it by other ancient Chriſtians, whether apologiſts, hiſtorians, or commentators.

To be more particular. No notice is taken of Phlegon, or his eclipſe and earthquake, by Juſtin Martyr, Tatian, Barde-

[t] Kepler. Eclogæ Chronicæ. p. 87, 126. He may be ſeen cited largely in Dr. Sykes's Diſſ. p. 70....72. Dr. Sykes's Diſſertation on the eclipſe mentioned by Phlegon, and his Defence of the ſame Diſſertation. London. 1732 and 1733; to whom I may add Dr. S. Clarke, who, in the firſt edition of his ſermons at Boyle's lecture, alleged the paſſage of Phlegon, but afterwards left it out. Comp. p. 325 of the firſt edition in 1706, and p. 357 of the eighth edition in 1732. Baſnag. ann. 29, num. 30, 31. and Bayle's Dictionaire, Phlegon. Note D.

[u] La Religion Chrettienne autoriſée par ſes Auteurs Payens. Vol. i. ch. i. p. 1....44.

[x] Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 3, p. 30, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 3, p. 403. Phlegon examined critically and impartially, and re-examined by Dr. John Chapman. Cambridge, 1734 and 1735. The Teſtimony of Phlegon vindicated by Mr. Whiſton, 1732.

ſanes,

ſanes, Athenagoras, Theophilus ad Autolycum, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Arnobius, Lactantius. They may mention the miraculous events attending our Saviour's ſufferings; but they allege not Phlegon as confirming the truth of the evangelical hiſtory. How thoſe events are mentioned by [y] Arnobius, and [z] Lactantius, may be ſeen in their own words, which I place below. Lactantius has twice very particularly rehearſed the extraordinary things that bore honour to our Lord when ſuffering by the hands of men; but he takes not any notice of Phlegon.

Euſebius has the honour to ſuſtain at once all the juſt mentioned characters of apologiſt, hiſtorian, and commentator. And yet, ſo far as I recollect, he has no where mentioned Phlegon, except in his Chronicle, which has been expreſsly cited by me. He has not diſtinctly quoted or referred to this paſſage, that I remember, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, nor in his Evangelical Preparation or Demonſtration. All which works may be reckoned partly hiſtorical and partly apologetical for the principles of our religion. Nor does Phlegon appear in his Commentary upon the Pſalms or Iſaiah. In his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, having mentioned the troubles which Pilate met with, and his tragical end, he adds: 'This [a] is related by Greek writers who have publiſhed 'olympiads, with a hiſtory of events, and the times when they 'happened.' Whether Phlegon was here intended cannot be ſaid: he is not mentioned; nor has this any connection with the paſſage of Phlegon which we are now conſidering. Nicephorus, [b] going over again this ſame hiſtory, is not more particular than Euſebius. He mentions not Phlegon by name, nor any other writer of olympiads. In his Chronicle, under the reign of Caligula, Euſebius, recording the death of Pilate, who laid violent hands upon himſelf, ſays: 'This [c] is related by Roman 'hiſtorians.'

Nor is Phlegon's eclipſe any where taken notice of by Jerom, in any of his numerous and learned works, excepting only in his

[y] Exutus at corpore....novitate rerum exterrita univerſa mundi ſunt, elementa turbata, tellus mota contremuit, mare funditus refuſum eſt, aër globis involutus eſt tenebrarum, igneus orbis ſolis tepefacto ardore diriguit. Arnob. l. i. p. 32.

[z] Et eâdem horâ terræ motus factus. Et velum templi, quod ſeparabat duo tabernacula, ſciſſum eſt in duas partes, et ſol repente ſubductus eſt: et ab horâ ſextâ uſque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt...Inſtit. l. 4, c. 19. Quod facinus prodigia ſecuta ſunt, ut intelligerent nefas, quod admiſerant. Eodem namque momento, quo ſpiritum poſuit, et terræ motus magnus, et deliquium ſolis fuit, ut in noctem dies verteretur. Hæc omnia Prophetæ ſic futura eſſe prædixerant. Lact. Epit. c. 45, et 46.

[a] Ιστορουσιν ελληνων οι τας ολυμπιαδας μετα τοις κατα χρονον πεπραγμενοις αναγραψαντες. H. E. l. 2, c. 7. [b] Vid. Niceph. l. 2, c. 10. [c] Pontius Pilatus incidens in multas calamitates propriâ ſe manu interfecit. Scribunt Romanorum hiſtorici. Chron. p. 159.

Latin

Latin verſion of Euſebius's Greek Chronicle, above quoted by us. Scaliger obſerves that [d] Jerom ſeems to refer to this author, and his Olympiads, in his Commentary upon Habakkuk, ch. iii. 9, 10. But Phlegon is not there named: nor does he there ſpeak of his eclipſe, but of quite other things. I have tranſcribed below the paſſage referred to more diſtinctly, from the Benedictine edition of Jerom, than it is quoted by Scaliger. Doubtleſs Jerom has ſeveral times ſpoken of the darkneſs and other extraordinary events at the time of our Saviour's paſſion: as in his Commentary upon [e] Amos viii. 9, 10. And in his Commentary upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he ſays: 'They [f] who have 'written againſt the goſpels ſuſpect that the diſciples of Chriſt, 'through ignorance, ſpeak of an ordinary eclipſe of the ſun, 'which never happens except at the time of the new moon. 'But Jerom anſwers that there could be no ground for ſuch a 'ſuppoſition; for our Lord ſuffered at the time of the Jewiſh 'paſſover, when the moon was at full, as all know. The dark-'neſs therefore muſt have been miraculous. Moreover, it laſted 'three hours; which is ſufficient to remove all ſuſpicion that 'it was a natural eclipſe.'

So Jerom. But nothing is ſaid of Phlegon, either here or elſewhere. The ſilence about Phlegon, in ſo learned a writer as Jerom, appears to me remarkable.

Nor does Phlegon appear at all in the Homilies, or other writings, of Chryſoſtom. In a homily, remarking upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he ſays that, 'darkneſs [g] was not an eclipſe, but a token 'of the divine diſpleaſure, as is manifeſt from the time of it; 'for it laſted three hours: whereas, an eclipſe of the ſun is over

[d] De illo, ut alibi diximus, intelligebat Hieronymus, quum hæc ſcriberet Commentario in Habacuc, capite tertio. 'Legimus in his, qui de mirabilibus conſecerunt volumina, et qui Olympiadas 'Græciæ ad noſtram uſque memoriam 'perduxere, exponentes quid in ſingulis 'annis novi acciderit in mundo, quod inter cætera terræ motu eruperint flumina, 'quæ ante non fuerant, et rurſum alia 'abſorpta ſint, et peſſum ierint.' Scaliger Animadv. in Euſeb. Et conf. Hieron. T. 3, p. 1628. Ed. Bened. [e] Poſſumus hunc locum et in Domini intelligere paſſione, quando ſol horâ ſextâ retraxit radios ſuos, et pendentem in cruce Dominum ſuum ſpectare non auſus eſt. In Amos, p. 1442. [f] Qui ſcripſerunt contra Evangelia, ſuſpicantur, deliquium ſolis, quod certis ſtatutiſque temporibus accidere ſolet, diſcipulos Chriſti ob imperitiam ſuper reſurrectione Domini interpretatos: quum defectus ſolis numquam niſi ortu lunæ fieri ſolet. Nulli autem dubium eſt, Paſchæ tempore lunam fuiſſe pleniſſimam. Et ne forſitan videretur umbra terræ, vel orbis lunæ ſoli oppoſitus, breves et ferrugineas feciſſe tenebras, trium horarum ſpatium ponitur, ut omnis cauſſantium occaſio tolleretur. &c. In Matt. c. xxvii. Tom. 4, p. 139. [g] Ὀργίζομεθα γαρ επι τοις τολμωμενοις ην το σκοτος εκεινο. Οτι γαρ ουκ ην εκλειψις, αλλ' οργητε και αγανακτησις, θκ εντευθεν μοι δηλον ην, αλλα και απο καιρθ. Τρεις γαρ ωρας παρεμεινεν. Η δε εκλειψις ει μια καιρθ γινεται ροπη. Και ισασιν οι ταυτην τεθεαμενοι· και γαρ επι της γενεας της ημετερας συνεβη. Chr. in Matt. hom. 88. al. 89, p. 825. T. vii.

[c] in

'in a moment of time. This all know who have ſeen an eclipſe, 'as we have lately.'

Nor do I remember that Phlegon is mentioned by Auguſtine in any of his numerous writings. In that noble work, his Apology for the Chriſtian religion, called Of the City of God, he obſerves that, 'the [h] darkneſs, at the time of our Saviour's paſ-'ſion, was not owing to an eclipſe of the ſun; for it was the 'time of the paſſover, when the moon was at the full: whereas 'all natural eclipſes are at the time of the new moon.' But he does not call in Phlegon to bear witneſs to this. In like manner, in [i] one of his epiſtles he argues excellently well that 'the dark-'neſs at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion was miraculous and 'preternatural, and not owing to an interpoſition of the moon 'between our earth and the ſun.' But neither does he here take any notice of Phlegon.

I might go on to mention Epiphanius, Leo the great, Gregory the firſt, Ambroſe of Milan, Theodoret both an hiſtorian and a commentator, and other learned and voluminous writers of the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, who are all ſilent about Phlegon and his eclipſe.

Nor is Phlegon named in Œcumenius, or Theophylact, both excellent commentators. But this laſt, in the eleventh century, in his note upon Matt. xxvii. 45, diſtinctly ſhews that the darkneſs at our Saviour's crucifixion was preternatural, and could not be an ordinary eclipſe of the ſun.

There are many hiſtorians, partly ſecular, partly eccleſiaſtical, who, as we may think, might have been led, either occaſionally, or on ſet purpoſe, to mention Phlegon: ſuch as Socrates, Sozomen, Oroſius, Caſſiodorius, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others; who nevertheleſs take no particular notice of him or his eclipſe.

Oroſius indeed, near the beginning of the fifth century, rehearſing the affecting circumſtances of our Saviour's ſufferings, ſays: 'And [k] divers writings of Greek authors confirm the evan-'gelical hiſtory.' But he does not mention Phlegon, nor any other.

Nicephorus [l] in like manner ſpeaks of the darkneſs, the earth-

[h] De Civ. Dei. l. 3. cap. xv.

[i] Ep. 199. al. 80. ad Heſychium. cap. x. num. 34. Tom. 2. P. 2.

[k] Deinde anno ejuſdem [Tiberii] decimo ſeptimo, cum Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus voluntarie quidem ſe tradidit paſſioni, ...et patibulo ſuffixus eſt, maximo terræ motu per orbem facto, ſaxa in montibus ſciſſa ſunt.....Eadem quoque die ad horam diei ſextam ſol in totum obſcuratus, tetraque nox ſubito obducta terris eſt. ....Quod non ſolum ſanctorum Evangeliorum fides, ſed etiam aliquanti Græcorum libri adteſtantur. Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 4.

[l] Vid. Niceph. l. 1. cap. 31.

quake,

quake, and other wonderful concomitants of our Saviour's ſufferings: but ſays nothing of Phlegon, or any other heathen authors.

This ſilence about Phlegon, in many of the moſt judicious and learned ancient Chriſtian writers, has induced me to think they did not reckon the paſſage of Phlegon very material. If it had been reckoned by them clear and important, we ſhould have ſeen numerous quotations of it, and cogent arguments upon it. Indeed, if it had been clear, it muſt have been important. But not being, as I ſuppoſe, reckoned by them clearly to refer to the darkneſs in Judea, at the time of our Lord's ſufferings, they did not eſteem it of much moment, and therefore did not allege it.

Many people of our times, I believe, ſuppoſe that this paſſage of Phlegon is quoted and inſiſted upon by all ancient Chriſtian writers in general. But ſo far is that from being the caſe, that it is to be found quoted in very few, one perhaps in a century or two, and thoſe chiefly writers of Chronicles.

Petavius, ſpeaking of Phlegon's eclipſe, ſays: 'that [m] this is 'the ſame which happened at the death of Chriſt, all the ancient 'fathers have declared, as with one mouth.' But what does Tillemont ſay to this? His remark is in theſe words: 'But [n] 'Petavius makes uſe of an expreſſion which is rather too ſtrong. 'For I think that *all the fathers* are reduced to Jerom, who 'tranſlated Euſebius,' [meaning his Chronicle:] 'and [o] if by '*fathers* he means eccleſiaſtical writers, it will not extend, per-'haps, to more than four or five.'

I hope that what has been obſerved under this laſt particular may be of uſe to ſatisfy ſome, who may not be fully convinced by the foregoing conſiderations. None, I think, can much diſlike my declining to inſiſt upon a paſſage, as a teſtimony to the truth of the evangelical hiſtory, which has been ſo little regarded, and ſo ſeldom quoted by ancient Chriſtian writers, remarkable for their diligence as well as for their learning and judgment.

IV. Thallus, [a] a Syrian author, is ſometimes alleged by [b] learned moderns, as bearing witneſs to the darkneſs at the time

[m] Hanc eſſe illam ipſam, quæ ſub Chriſti mortem accidit, patres omnes antiqui velut uno ore pronunciarunt. Petav. de Doctrina Temp. l. 12. cap. 21. p. 458.

[n] Note xxxv. ſur N. S. Jeſus Chriſt. p. 449. Mem. Ec.

[o] Et ſi par les peres il entend les auteurs eccleſiaſtiques, cela ne s'étendra peuteſtre à plus de quatre ou cinq. Ibid.

[a] Vid. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l. 3.

[b] Quos inter præcipua eſt Thalli auctoritas, quem libro Hiſtoriarum ſuarum tertio eamdem eclipſim memorare prodidit inſignis temporum metator Africanus. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 3. ſect. viii. &c. See likewiſe Colonia, vol. i. p. 27. &c.

of our Saviour's paſſion. Whether there be any good reaſon for ſo doing, may appear from a few obſervations.

In the fragments of Africanus, which are in the Chronicle [c] of G. Syncellus of the eighth century, and in the collections of Euſebius's Greek Chronicle, as made by Joſeph Scaliger, that very learned ancient Chriſtian writer ſays 'there [d] was a dreadful 'darkneſs over the whole world, and the rocks were rent by an 'earthquake, and many buildings were overturned in Judea, 'and in other parts of the earth. This [e] darkneſs Thallus calls 'an eclipſe of the ſun, in the third book of his hiſtories: but, as 'ſeems to me, very improperly; for the Jews keep the paſſover 'in the fourteenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipſe of 'the ſun is impoſſible.'

Upon this paſſage I muſt obſerve, 1. That it appears only in the fragments of Africanus; whereas it often happens that, in collections of that kind, we do not find ſo much accuracy as might be wiſhed. 2. The words of Thallus are not cited: for which reaſon we cannot preſume to form a judgment concerning what he ſaid. 3. This paſſage of Thallus is no where quoted or referred to by any other ancient writer that I know of. It is not in any work of Euſebius, excepting thoſe Greek collections of his Chronicle, which are very inaccurate and imperfect: nor is there any notice taken of it in Jerom's verſion of the Chronicle.

I might reſt here without adding any thing more. Nevertheleſs I ſhall proceed ſomewhat farther.

The time of Thallus ſeems not to be exactly known. If indeed there was any thing in his hiſtory relating to tranſactions in Judea in the time of our Saviour, he muſt have lived between that time and Africanus: but of that we want ſome farther proof.

In Euſebius's Evangelical Preparation [f] is quoted a long paſſage of Africanus, from the third book of his Chronology; where [g] are mentioned, all together, Diodorus, Thallus, Caſtor, Polybius, and Phlegon. 'And afterwards [h] Hellanicus and Philo-'chorus, who wrote of the affairs of Attica; Caſtor and Thallus, 'who wrote a hiſtory of Syria; Diodorus, and Alexander Poly-'hiſtor.' Whereby we learn that Thallus was a Syrian, who wrote in the Greek language.

[c] Ap. G. Syncell. p. 322.

[d] Euſeb. Canon. Chron. Græce. p. 77.

[e] Τυτο το σκοτος εκλειψιν ηλιυ Θαλλος ἀποκαλει εν τριτῳ των ἱστοριων, ὡς εμοι δοκει, ἀλογως. Ἑβραιοι γαρ αγουσι το πασχα κατα σελήνης ιδ. κ. λ. Ap. Euſeb. Chron. Gr. p. 77.

[f] Pr. Ev. l. x. cap. x. p. 487...493.

[g] Ib. p. 488. [h] Ἑλλανικος τε και Φιλοχορος, οι τας Ατθιδας, οι τε τα Συριακα Καστωρ και Θαλλος: κ. λ. p. 489.

Thallus

Thallus is quoted by divers ancient Chriſtian writers. Juſtin Martyr, [i] in his exhortation to the Greeks, allegeth Hellanicus, Philochorus, Caſtor and Thallus, as bearing witneſs to the antiquity of Moſes, the Jewiſh lawgiver.

Tertullian [k] and Minucius Felix [l] quote Thallus, and divers other authors, as acknowledging Saturn to have been a man who had lived on this earth.

Thallus and other writers are quoted with a like view by [m] Lactantius.

Theophilus, biſhop of Antioch, about the year 180, in his [n] letter to Autolicus, quotes Thallus, to prove that Belus lived long before the Trojan war: which paſſage is quoted again from Theophilus by [o] Lactantius.

All theſe quotations of Thallus appear to be made properly: and he is ſo quoted with other writers of antiquity, that one might be apt to think that he lived rather before than after our Saviour's coming: nor is there any thing here ſaid of an eclipſe; which may induce us to think that the paſſage in the fragments of Africanus is not material. Indeed, if I was not unwilling to admit any thing diſreſpectful to the memory of ſo great and learned an ancient as Africanus, I ſhould ſuſpect that the eclipſe mentioned by Thallus, (whenever it happened,) was a natural eclipſe of the ſun. For it is not likely that a learned hiſtorian, as Thallus was, ſhould uſe that expreſſion concerning any other darkneſs or obſcurity. Conſequently, what he ſaid could not have any reference to the darkneſs in Judea at the time of our Saviour's laſt ſufferings.

Thallus is not quoted upon this occaſion either by [p] Grotius, or [q] Dr. Clarke.

V. It has been often ſaid that Dionyſius the Areopagite, when a young man, went into Egypt for the ſake of improvement in

[i] Ad Gr. Coh. p. 10. A. Par. p. 13. n. 9. Bened. [k] Saturnum itaque, quantum literæ docent, neque Diodorus Græcus, aut Thallus, neque Caſſius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator ejuſmodi antiquitatum, aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Tertull. Ap. cap. 10.

[l] Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes ſcriptores vetuſtatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos et Caſſius in hiſtoria: et Thallus, et Diodorus, hæc loquuntur. Minuc. Felix. cap. 22.

[m] Omnes ergo non tantum poetæ, ſed et hiſtoriarum quoque, ac rerum antiquarum ſcriptores, hominem fuiſſe conſentiunt, qui res ejus in Italia geſtas memoriæ prodiderunt: Græci, Diodorus et Thallus: Latini, Nepos, et Caſſius, et Varro. Lact. Inſt. l. i. cap. 13.

[n] Ad Aut. l. 3. p. 138, 139. Par. p. 399. n. 29. Bened. [o] Theophilus in libro de temporibus ad Autolycum ſcripto ait, in hiſtoria ſua Thallum dicere, quod Belus, quem Babylonii et Aſſyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bello fuiſſe invenitur 322 annis. &c. Id. ib. l. i. cap. 23. Conf. ejuſd. Epit. cap. 24.

[p] Vide de Veritate Rel. Chriſtian. l. 3. cap. xiv. [q] See his Sermons at Boyle's Lecture, the firſt ed. p. 325. the eighth edition. p. 357. A. D. 1732.

knowledge. 'And [a] being at Heliopolis, with his friend Apol-'lophanes, when our Saviour ſuffered, they there ſaw a wonder-'ful eclipſe of the ſun: whereupon Dionyſius ſaid to his friend: "Either [b] God himſelf ſuffers, or ſympathizeth with the ſufferer."

But, as [c] all the works aſcribed to Dionyſius the Areopagite are now reckoned ſpurious, and are allowed not to have been compoſed before the fifth or ſixth century, this ſtory is diſregarded by all learned men in general. I ſhall put below the judgments of [d] Huet and [e] Tillemont, who might be as likely to aſſert it as any, but do abſolutely abandon and give it up as of no value. Colonia [f] likewiſe, after a good deal of parade, declares it inconſiſtent with ſincerity to allege it among genuine and authentic teſtimonies in favour of Chriſtianity.

CHAP. XIV.

The emperor TITUS ANTONINUS the pious.

I. *His time and character.* II. *That he was favourable to the Chriſtians.* III. *His edict in their favour ſent to the States of Aſia. The genuineneſs of which is here aſſerted, with remarks.*

I. TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ANTONINUS PIUS: or Antoninus, ſurnamed the pious, or the good, was born in the reign of Domitian, in the year of Chriſt 86. He [a] ſucceeded Adrian on the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 138, and died on the ſeventh of March in 161, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

He is much commended; and, indeed, ſeems to have been

[a] Vid. Dionyſ. ep. ad Polycarp. T. 2. p. 88, &c. et Suidas V. Διονυσιος ο Αρεοπαγιτης. [b] Η το Θειον πασχει, η τω πασχοντι συμπασχει.

[c] See vol. v. ch. cxliii. init.

[d] Poteramus, et Dionyſii Areopagitæ teſtimonio pugnare, qui in epiſtola ad Polycarpum rem a ſe et ab Apollophane ſophiſta Heliopoli Ægypti obſervatam narrat. Verum quoniam has Dionyſii Epiſtolas, aliaſque ejuſdem ſcriptiones, in controverſiam vocari video, neque ſane immerito, ſi quid judicio valeo, hæc prætermittimus. Huet. Prop. 3. n. ix.

[e] Nous ne nous arreſtons pas à l'auteur des ouvrages attribuez à S. Denys l'Areopagite, qui pretend avoir remarqué à Heliopolis en Egypte les tenebres arrivées à la mort de J. C. et qui veut qu'elles vinſſent d'une eclipſe veritable, et cauſée comme les autres par l'interpoſition de la lune entre la terre et le ſoleil, quoique entiérement miraculeuſe, et contra la nature des autres eclipſes. Peu de perſonnes habiles ſe laiſſent perſuader aujourdhui per ces ſortes d'autoritéz. Tillemont. note 35. ſur N. S. J. C. Mem. T. i.

[f] La Religion Chrêtienne autoriſée, &c. vol. i. p. 40, 41.

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 161. n. ii. Baſnag. ann. 138. n. xi. Tillem. L'Emp. Tite Antonin. art. i, et xii.

aman

a man [b] of as fair a character as any of the Roman emperors, not excepting [c] the most admired. And, though he was above seventy years of age at the time of his death, he was as much lamented as if he had died in the [d] prime of life.

When Xiphilinus made the epitome of Dion Cassius's History, the seventeenth book of that work, which contained the reign of this emperor, was wanting, excepting only a small part at the beginning. Having given a short account of that, Xiphilinus proceeds: 'It [e] is agreed by all, that Antoninus was a good and 'mild prince, who was oppressive neither to any of his other 'subjects, nor to the Christians, whom he protected and favour-'ed, even beyond what had been done by Adrian, as is shewn 'by Eusebius * Pamphili.'

II. So writes Xiphilinus. We are therefore led directly to the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which is the earliest account we can expect to find of Antoninus's regard for the Christians.

He is not reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Nevertheless the Christians were persecuted in his time; otherwise there could have been no occasion to present apologies to him; and that Justin's first apology was addressed to him is allowed. It is inscribed in this manner: 'To the emperor Titus Ælius 'Adrianus Antoninus the pious, and to his son Verissimus, and 'Lucius, and the senate, and all the people of the Romans, in [f] 'behalf of men gathered out of all nations, who are unjustly 'hated and ill-treated, I Justin, son of Priscus, son of Bacchius, 'one of them of the city of Flavia Neapolis, in that part of

[b] Vid. M. Aurel. de Reb. suis. lib. i. sect. xvi. Dio. Cass. l. 69. p. 796. al. 1167. Jul. Capitolin. Victor. et Eutrop.

[c] Hunc fere nulla vitiorum labes maculavit. Victor. de Cæsar. cap. xiv.

.... tantæ bonitatis in principatu fuit, ut haud dubie sine exemplo vixerit. Victor. Epit. c. xv.

[d] Periit anno septuagesimo: sed quasi adolescens desideratus est. Jul. Capitolin. in Vit. Anton. cap. 12.

[e] Ο γαρ Αντονινος ομολογειται παρα παντων καλος τε και αγαθος γενεσθαι, και ουτε των αλλων υπηκοων τισι βαρυς, ουτε χριστιανοις επαχθης, αλλα πολλην τινα τουτοις νεμων αιδω, και τη του Αδριανου τιμη, ην εκεινος ετιμα χριστιανους, προστιθεις. κ. λ. Dio. l. 70. p. 1173. al. 799.

* Mr. La Roche, in his New Memoirs of Literature, vol. i. p. 81....99. gives an account of a book in two volumes, 8vo. printed at the Hague, entitled, Histoire de la Philosophie Pagenne, &c. A History of the Pagan Phiosophy, or the Sentiments of the most famous Pagan Philosophers and nations concerning God, the Soul, and the duties of Man. Where, at page 98, Mr. La Roche says: 'In the last chapter of this work, the au-'thor shews that there was not one per-'fect man among the heathens. He ex-'amines the lives of Pythagoras, Aristides, 'Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, 'Dion, Phocion, Timoleon, Cato the 'censor, Cato of Utica, Brutus, Seneca, 'Apollonius of Tyana, Titus Antoninus, 'and Marcus Aurelius; and finds them 'guilty of several vices. He highly com-'mends the wise and just government of 'Titus Antoninus. But, says he, that 'emperor had some faults, which however 'were not very prejudicial to his subjects.' It is plain that this author had a very favourable opinion of Titus Antoninus. I should be very glad to see his work; but it has never come in my way.

[f] .... υπερ των εκ παντος γενους ανθρωπων αδικως μισουμενων και υπηρεαζομενων, εις αυτων την προσφωνησιν και εντευξιν ποιουμαι. Apol. pr. et ap. Euseb. H. E. L. 4. c. 12.

'Syria which is called Paleſtine, make this addreſs and ſuppli-
'cation.'

And, not to take notice of any other paſſages of it, the ſame 'apology concludes in this manner: 'If what has been now of-
'fered be material, pay a ſuitable regard to it; but if all this be
'of no moment, let it be ſlighted as trifling: but [g] do not treat
'as enemies, and appoint death for men who are guilty of no
'crimes. And we foretel unto you that ye will not eſcape the
'future judgment of God if you perſiſt in this injuſtice.'

Which plainly ſhews that the Chriſtians were then perſecuted, even to death.

III. Euſebius, [h] having given an account of Juſtin's apology, and quoted the beginning of it, goes on: 'And [i] the ſame em-
'peror having been applied to by other of the brethren in Aſia,
'complaining of the many injuries which they ſuffered from the
'people of the country, ſent [k] an edict to the common council of
'Aſia, which is to this purpoſe: "The emperor....to the ſtates
"of Aſia ſendeth greeting. I am well ſatisfied the gods will
"not ſuffer ſuch men to be concealed; for undoubtedly they
"are more concerned to puniſh thoſe who refuſe to worſhip
"them than you are. But you only confirm theſe men in their
"ſentiments, and make them more obſtinate, by calling them
"impious, and giving them vexation: for they are not ſo de-
"ſirous to live, as to be proſecuted, and ſuffer death for their
"God. Hence they come off victorious, laying down their
"lives rather than do what you demand of them. As for the
"earthquakes of the former, or the preſent times, it may not be
"improper to adviſe you to compare yourſelves with them, and
"your ſentiments with theirs: for when ſuch things happen
"you are dejected, but they are full of confidence in God; and
"you, in the ignorance you are in, neglect the other gods and
"their rites, and the worſhip of the Immortal likewiſe: and
"the Chriſtians, who worſhip him, you baniſh and perſecute to
"death. Before our time many governors of provinces
"wrote to our deified father about theſe men. To whom he
"wrote that they ſhould not be moleſted, unleſs they did things
"contrary to the welfare of the Roman government. Many
"alſo have informed me about the ſame men; to whom I re-
"turned an anſwer agreeable to the reſcript of my father [Adri-
"an.] If therefore any perſon will ſtill accuſe any of theſe men

[g] .... και μη ως κατ' εχθρων, κατα των μηδεν αδικουντων θανατων οριζετε. Προλεγομεν γαρ υμιν, ετι ου εκφευξεσθε την εσομενην τω Θεω κρισιν, εαν επιμενητε τη αδικια. [h] L. 4. c. xi. xii. [i] Cap. xiii. p. 126. [k] .... τοιαυτης ηξιωσε το κοινον της Ασιας διαταξεως.

"as

"as such, [as a Christian,] let the accused be acquitted, though "he appear to be such an one [that is, a Christian;] and let the "accuser be punished. Set up at Ephesus in the common "assembly of Asia." And that these things were so done, adds Eusebius, 'is attested by Melito bishop of Sardis, who 'flourished at that time, in what he says in his excellent apo-'logy, which he made for our religion to the emperor Verus.'

Melito's apology was presented to Marcus Antoninus [l] about the year 177. From that apology Eusebius, in a following chapter, makes a large extract: a part of which I also must transcribe here, reserving the rest till hereafter: 'Of [m] all the 'Roman emperors,' says Melito to Marcus, 'Nero and Domitian 'only, who were misled by designing men, have shewn enmi-'ty to our religion. From them have proceeded the evil 'reports concerning us, that are received and propagated by the 'vulgar; which have often been checked by your pious ances-'tors, who by edicts have restrained those who have been trouble-'some to men of our religion. Among whom is your grand-'father Adrian, who wrote, as to many others, so particularly 'to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. And your father 'also, at the same time that you governed all things with him, 'wrote to several cities, that they should not give us any vexa-'tion, and among them to the Larisseans, and the Thessaloni-'ans, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks. And we are 'persuaded that you, who cannot but have the like regard for 'us, and are yet of a more humane and philosophical disposition, 'will grant all we desire.'

So writes Melito. And hence, and from what Eusebius before said, may be concluded with certainty, that not only Justin presented an apology to Titus Antoninus, but that other Christians also, from divers parts, had applied to him; and that he had sent favourable orders to the Larisseans in Thessaly, and to other Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks in general, which may comprehend the Asiatics, for whom Melito in particular seems to have pleaded.

Nevertheless there are difficulties relating to that edict, before translated, said to have been sent to the common council of Asia. Some think it was given by Titus Antoninus, others by Marcus Antoninus; and others suspect it to be a forgery, and really sent by neither of those emperors.

And among the ancients there is some difference of opinion. By Eusebius, whom I have transcribed at length, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. This letter, or edict,

[l] See vol. ii, p. 147. [m] Euseb. H. E. l. 4, cap. 26.

is alſo at length in the Paſchal Chronicle [n] and in [o] Nicephorus Callifti. By the former it is aſcribed to Antoninus the philoſopher, by the latter to his predeceſſor. Zonaras [p] follows Euſebius, as does alſo Xiphilinus, before quoted. Oroſius does not expreſsly mention this edict; but he ſays that [q] Juſtin preſented an apology to Antoninus the pious, and that thereby the emperor was rendered favourable to the Chriſtians.

Among the moderns likewiſe, as before hinted, there are various ſentiments. Valeſius, the learned editor of Euſebius and the other eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, diſſents here from his author: he ſays the [r] letter is Marcus's, and that Euſebius was miſtaken in aſcribing it to the elder Antoninus. Of the ſame opinion are [s] Scaliger, [t] Huet, [u] Baſnage, and [x] Pagi. By [y] Baronius, [z] Cave, and [a] divers others, it is ſuppoſed to have been ſent by Antoninus the pious. As the argument of the Benedictine editors, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, is not very prolix, I ſhall put a part of it below. They ſay, with Tillemont, that 'the [b] authority of 'Euſebius, who aſcribes it to Titus Antoninus the pious, ought 'by no means to be ſlighted: he only could call Adrian his 'father, and was the only emperor after him who favoured the 'Chriſtians; for Marcus was always unfriendly to them: and it 'is certain that he wrote the ſame things to the Lariſſeans, and 'the Theſſalonians, that are contained in this letter to the ſtates 'of Aſia, that they ſhould not be troubleſome to the Chriſtians.'

But ſome ſuſpect the genuineneſs of this letter, as Mr. Dodwell, who ſays it [c] is ſo Chriſtian, that he can hardly think it was written by a heathen emperor. Thirlby [d] rejects it as a plain

[n] p. 259. [o] L. 3. cap. 28.

[p] Tom. 2. p. 206. [q] Verum Juſtinus philoſophus librum pro Chriſtiana religione compoſitum Antonino tradidit, benignumque eum erga Chriſtianos fecit. Oroſ. l. 7. cap. xiv. [r] Errat Euſebius, qui Antonino Pio hanc epiſtolam tribuit, cum ſit divi Marci. Annot. in Euſeb. p. 66. [s] Animadv. in Euſeb. p. 219.

[t] Dem. Evang. p. 42. [u] Baſ. Ann. 139, n. vii. et ann. 164. n. iv.

[x] Pagi ann. 152. num. iv, v.

[y] Baron. ann. 154. n. v. [z] H. L. de Juſtino M. [a] Balduin. Edict. Princep. Rom. p. 86....92. Tillem. Antonin. art. xi. S. Juſtin M. art. xii. et note xi. Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtian. p. 86....92.

[b] Nam, ut Tillemontii, qui Antonino vindicat, rationum momenta breviter referam. 1. Euſebii auctoritas, qui eas Antonino tribuit, maximi debet eſſe ponderis. 2. Antonino conveniunt, qui Adrianum ſolus apellare potuit parentem ſuum, ac ſolus poſt Adrianum illa ætate favit Chriſtianis. Hunc enim conſtat ea ad Civitates, ac nominatim ad Lariſſæos, ad Theſſalonicenſes, ad Athenienſes, ad univerſos denique Græcos ſcripſiſſe, quæ in literis ad Commune Aſiæ leguntur, nempe nequid novi adverſus Chriſtianos molirentur. At Marcus ſemper Chriſtianis iniquus fuit. Præf. ad Juſtin. M. Pars 3. cap. v. num. iii.

[c] Sed mihi fateor ſuſpectum eſſe, magiſque ad mentem Chriſtianorum eſſe conceptum, quam illud concepturus fuerit gentilis Imperatur. Diſſ. Cypr. xi. num. 34. [d] Tot viros doctos et graves ludos fecit unus, idemque non vaferrimus, nebulo, qui hoc reſcriptum confinxit....Emendatione autem noſtra dignum non cenſuimus figmentum ineptum et puerile. Thirlb. in Juſtin. M. p. 101.

forgery.

forgery. Dr. Jortin goes into the same opinion, saying: 'It 'was forged by some Christian before the days of [c] Eusebius.' and Reimar wisheth that [f] some farther light might be obtained for clearing up the difficulties relating to it.

I think this rescript could not be written by Marcus Antoninus, who was always averse and unfriendly to the Christians, as we shall see hereafter. If this letter had been written in the first year of Marcus's reign, as Valesius thought, or in the fourth of it, as Pagi and Basnage say, the Christians would not have suffered such persecutions in his time, as they did in many places. Nor would there have been so many apologies presented to him, as we know there were. Nor could Melito have omitted to take notice of it. He reminds Marcus of the rescript of his grandfather Adrian, and the letter of Antoninus, his father, to several cities; much more would he have reminded him of his own letter in favour of the Christians, if there had been any such thing.

As for the suspicion of forgery, I see no plain evidence of it. I do not discern the hand of a conceited and pedantic sophist; nothing but what might come from a good-natured magistrate, as Antoninus was. There [g] had been some earthquakes in Asia, and other countries not far off. The heathen people were much terrified by them, and ascribed them to the vengeance of heaven, because the Christians were numerous among them: and they had thereupon committed great outrages: of these injuries the Christians made complaints; and the emperor, in his letter to the states, pleasantly reprimands his own people, the heathens, upon both those accounts, that is, for their timorousness, and for their cruel usage of the Christians, their neighbours: and he as agreeably commends the Christians for their intrepidity, or composure, amidst such dangers; and sends orders that they should not be any longer abused as they had been.

I think, then, that this rescript was sent by Titus Antoninus the pious, as Eusebius * supposed. But, allowing that to be doubtful, we learn several things from what has now passed before us. The emperor Antoninus the pious must have had good

[c] Remarks upon E. H. vol. 2. p. 168. See also p. 174. [f] Quoniam vero ne veteres quidam sibi constant, utri Imperatorum adscribenda sit: et quamcumque tenuis sententiam, difficultates aliæ obstant inextricabiles: operæ pretium fuerit, clariore quam factum est adhuc luce discutere dubia, ni tota illa epistola conficta quibusdam liberius judicantibus debeat videri. Reimar. in notis ad Dion. Cass. p. 1172. ad. 799. [g] Adversa ejus temporibus hæc provenerunt: fames, de quâ diximus, circi ruina, terræ motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiæ oppida conciderunt. Quæ omnia mirifice instauravit. Capitolin. Antonin. Pius. cap. 9. p. 168. Vid. et Dion. Cass. lib. 70. p. 1173. * Some more observations for shewing that this rescript was sent by Antoninus Pius, will appear near the end of the chapter of Marcus Antoninus, in what is there called the Summary of the Argument.

knowledge

knowledge of the Chriſtians and their principles: he was favourable to them, and muſt have been well ſatisfied of their innocence. To him Juſtin preſented a long and excellent apology, ſtill extant, a moſt valuable remain of Chriſtian antiquity. By Euſebius, and others, we are aſſured it had a good effect. And, if it had not been of ſome advantage to the Chriſtian intereſt at that time, Juſtin would ſcarcely have thought of making any more addreſſes to Roman emperors: and his addreſſing another apology afterwards to Marcus Antoninus is an argument that he had ſome encouragement to it by the ſucceſs of his former apology.

To Antoninus the pious applications had been made alſo by other Chriſtians beſide Juſtin: and he wrote to the Lariſſeans, the Theſſalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks in general, that they ſhould forbear to give trouble to the Chriſtians, as ſuch, and unleſs they were guilty of ſome offence contrary to the welfare of ſociety and the peace of the Roman government: by which we muſt underſtand, at leaſt, that he confirmed the reſcript of Adrian, ſent to Minucius Fundanus, proconſul of Aſia. All this we are fully aſſured of from the apology of Melito, preſented to Marcus Antoninus: for none can admit the ſuſpicion of an attempt to impoſe upon ſo knowing and ſo great a man as that emperor. By all which we may be aſſured that Antoninus the pious was perſuaded of the innocence, both of the principles and of the conduct of the Chriſtians; which are largely inſiſted upon in the apology of Juſtin Martyr.

And, as it was the deſign of all the apologies at that time to clear the Chriſtians from the charge of the crimes imputed to them, it is reaſonable to believe that all the other apologies from different perſons and ſeveral countries, agreeing in their accounts, they concurred together to give full ſatisfaction to this good and vigilant emperor, Antoninus the pious; for that is one part of his character: he was inquiſitive about every part of his government: 'He [h] knew all the concerns of the empire, and 'of all the people ſubject to him, as diſtinctly as he did thoſe of 'his own family.' Nor were the leaſt things overlooked by him: which [i] is ſometimes mentioned to his advantage, and at other times as a fault, and almoſt the only fault that could be charged upon him, that [k] he was too inquiſitive, and prying into little things.

[h] Tanta ſane diligentia ſubjectos ſibi populos rexit, ut omnia et omnes, quaſi ſua eſſent, curavit. Jul. Capitol. Vit. Tit. Antonin. cap. 7. p. 261.

[i] Και το ζητητικον ακριβως εν τοις συμβαθαι της μικρολογιας· εις ειναι μοι δοκει τουτ

ἐθελιοις, και επιμοιον, αλλ' ὁ το πρεπον της ερευνης αφιεσθαι τοις προχειροις φαντασιαις. Marc. Anton. de Reb. ſuis, lib. i. cap. 16.

[k] Ἐων αυτον ὁ Σιλανος ἰδε

things. That [l] temper however muſt have been of uſe to divers people; and, upon many occaſions, this in particular. By moſt men at that time the Chriſtians and their affairs were deſpiſed, as unworthy of regard: and it is one great concern of all the Chriſtian apologiſts, to excite the attention of the Roman emperors, and the Roman governors of provinces, and of all other people in general, and to induce them to inquire and examine, and take cognizance of the Chriſtian cauſe, and their affairs: which, as it ſeems, this emperor had done, to his own credit and their benefit.

CHAP. XV.

The emperor MARCUS ANTONINUS the philoſopher.

SECTION I.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The paſſage in his meditations concerning the Chriſtians, with notes and obſervations.*

I. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, or Marcus Antoninus, ſurnamed the philoſopher, was [a] born in the reign of Adrian, the twenty-ſixth day of April, in the year of Chriſt 121. He ſucceeded Antoninus the pious on the ſecond day of March in the year of our Lord 161, and died on the ſeventeenth day of March in the year 180.

The virtues of his private and public life have been greatly commended and highly celebrated: but, if a compariſon were to be made between Antoninus the pious and Antoninus the philoſopher, I ſhould be diſpoſed to give the preference to the former.

Ariſtides the ſophiſt, in his panegyric upon this emperor, ſays that, 'before [b] he came to the empire, he reſtrained and prevented many diſorders and miſmanagements in the govern-

τῶν διαπριόντων τὸ κυμινον, ὁ πρεσβυτης υτος. Julian. Cæſ. p. 312. A. ed. Spanh.

Λεγεται δὲ ὁ Αντωνινος ζητητικος γενεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τα μικρα καὶ τυχοντα της ακριβολογιας αφιεσθαι· ὁθεν αυτον οἱ σκωπτοντες κυμινοπριστην ἐκαλουν. Xiphilin. ap. Dion. l. 70. p. 1173.

[l] Neque vero dubito, Xiphilinum loqui generatim, et intelligere accuratum et diligens ſtudium, in quacumque re, etiam minima et obvia, inquirendi et rimandi id quod verum rectumque eſſet. Reimar. ad Xiphilin. loc. modo citat. not. k.

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 180. n. ii. Baſnag. ann. 121. viii. et 180. i. Tillemont L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 23. T. 4. p. 20. &c.

[b] .... ὁρων πολλα της βασιλειας ὑ καλως ὑδὲ ὁσιως διοικυμενα, αλλα πολλην αυθαδειαν καὶ υβριν καὶ ακολασιαν ἐγγινομενην, ὑκ εια αυξεσθαι.... Τοιυτος δὲ προ τυ βασιλευσαι ἠν. Ariſtid. in Regem Orat. p. 107. al. 59. Tom. i.

'ment

'ment of public affairs: and inſinuates that great injuries were 'done, and many things carried with violence and inſult.' But, as [c] Tillemont obſerves, 'Ariſtides ſeems to have aimed to de-'cry the government of Antoninus, in order to extol that of 'Marcus. But,' as he adds, 'the ſophiſt therein ſhewed greater 'regard to the laws of oratory than of truth. For, according 'to hiſtorians, Marcus did not at all excel Antoninus in mo-'deration, and the care of the public.'

Some other learned men [d] have formed a like judgment concerning this emperor.

Marcus, however, deſerves great commendation upon many accounts. Tillemont, having given a hiſtory of the rude and diſagreeable treatment which he received from Herodes Atticus, and Marcus's obliging behaviour to him afterwards, adds: 'There [e] are many Chriſtians, whom this mildneſs of a heathen 'emperor will condemn in the laſt day.'

In the year 175, Avidius Caſſius rebelled, and ſet up himſelf for emperor, and was ſoon defeated. Marcus's [f] clemency toward the family and the accomplices of Avidius is univerſally allowed [g] to have been very extraordinary, and even above all commendations. Upon that, and many other occaſions, he ſhewed that he was maſter of himſelf, and had a great government of his temper.

But, to be a little more particular concerning this renowned emperor and much admired [h] heathen philoſopher:

He [i] was a youth of great expectations, and was beloved by Adrian from his childhood. That [k] emperor introduced him into the college of the prieſts, called Salii, at the age of eight

[c] M. Aurele. art. iv. [d] Vide vero hic infelicitatem temporum Marci, quo nullus Imperatorum juſtior et ſapientior putatur! Princeps minime malus, philoſophicis meditationibus animum paſcebat, non admodum curioſus eorum, quæ in imperio gererentur. Interea magiſtratus impune voluntati ſuæ obſequebantur, quaſque venerari videbantur leges, turpiſſime violabant. Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtianorum. p. 244. Dubitavi dudum, tantus num fuerit Marcus, quantus eſſe pleriſque omnibus et olim viſus eſt, et hodie videtur.....Bonum virum fuiſſe, valde licet ſuperſtitioſum, dubitare nolo: boni vero imperatoris et principis nomen an mereatur, dubito. Id. ibid.

[e] L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. xiv.

[f] Vid. Capitolin. Vit. M. Antonin. cap. 24, 25. Vulcatius Gallicanus in Vita Avidii Caſſii. cap. 7. &c. Baſnag. ann. 175. Tillem. Marc. Aurele. art. 18....21.

[g] Laudes Marci exuperat omnes, quod ſcriptas ad Caſſium epiſtolas cunctas prius conſcidit, quam legerit, ne cogeretur quempiam invitus odiſſe. Baſnag. ann. 175. num. iv. [h] Propterea vir ille divinus, neque ſatis unquam cognitus, vel laudatus. If. Caſaub. ad Capitol. de Vita M. Aurel. cap. 2. p. 293.

[i] Fuit a prima infantia gravis. Capitolin. cap. 2. in.....tantæ admirationis adhuc juvenis. &c. Eutrop. l. 8. cap. xi. [k] Educatus eſt in Adriani gremio, qui illum (ut ſupra diximus) Veriſſimum nominavit: et qui ei honorem equi publici ſexenni detulit, octavo ætatis anno in Saliorum collegium retulit. Fuit in eo ſacerdotio et præſes et vates et magiſter, et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit, nemine præunte, quod ipſe carmina cuncta didiciſſet. Capit. ib. cap. 4.

years.

years. And Marcus made himſelf complete maſter of all the rules of that order, ſo as to be able to diſcharge himſelf all the functions of the prieſthood.

He [l] was early initiated in the principles of philoſophy, and put under the tuition of the moſt able maſters of the ſeveral ſects. At [m] the age of twelve years he put on the habit of a philoſopher, and wore their cloak. He alſo practiſed auſterities, ſo far as to lie upon the bare ground; and was difficultly perſuaded by his mother to make uſe of a mattreſs, with a ſlight coverlid. When emperor, [n] he ſometimes went on foot to the ſchools of Apollonius and [o] Sextus, ſtoic philoſophers. I do not know whether it be worth mentioning, that [p] he placed in his private chapel golden ſtatues of his deceaſed maſters, and honoured them by viſiting their ſepulchral monuments, offering there ſacrifices, and ſtrewing upon them flowers.

Zonaras, entering upon the hiſtory of a war in Germany to be taken notice of by us hereafter, ſays that [q] Marcus was weak in body; and ſo intent upon his ſtudies, that he went to ſchool after he was emperor, to hear ſeveral philoſophers, and others, whom he there names. Dion Caſſius [r] ſpeaks to the like purpoſe, and Zonaras ſeems to have copied him: but, by the place where it is brought in, it ſeems to have been the intention of Zonaras to inſinuate that the great difficulty into which Marcus was brought, in the war with the Quadi, was owing to his want of military ſkill, he having been ſo much taken up with philoſophical ſtudies.

Before [s] he entered into the war with the Marcomans, and other people in Germany, he performed luſtrations for the city of Rome, and called together prieſts from all quarters to offer ſacrifices, and adopted even foreign rites; for the doing of all which things his departure from Rome was delayed. He [t] ſeems to

[l] At ubi egreſſus eſt annos, qui nutricum foventur auxilio, magnis præceptoribus traditus ad philoſophiæ ſcita pervenit. Id. ib. cap. 2. in. [m] Philoſophiæ operam vehementer dedit, et quidem adhuc puer. Nam duodecimum annum ingreſſus, habitum philoſophi aſſumſit, et deinceps tolerantiam, quum ſtuderet in pallio, et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agente inſtrato pellibus lectulo cubaret. Id. cap. 2. .... και το σκιμποδης και δορας ιτιθυμησαι, και οσα τοιαυτα της ελληνικης αγωγης ιχνεια. De Reb. ſuis. l. i. ſect. 6. [n] Uſus eſt et Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philoſopho. Tantum autem ſtudium in eo philoſophiæ fuit, ut adſcitus jam in imperatoriam dignitatem tamen ad domum Apollonii diſcendi cauſſa veniret. Capit. cap. 3. [o] Philoſtr. Vit. Sophiſt. l. 2. c. ix. Dion. Caſſ. l. 71. ſub in. Suid. V. Μαρκος. [p] Tantum autem honoris magiſtris ſuis detulit, ut imagines eorum aureas in lærario haberet, ac ſepulchra eorum aditus hoſtiis, floribus, ſemper honoraret. Capit. cap. 3. [q] Zon. Tom. 2. p. 207. [r] Dio. l. 71. ſub in

[s] Tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique ſacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere luſtraverit, retardatuſque a bellica profectione ſit &c. Capitol. ib. cap. 13. [t] Marci illius ſimilis Cæſaris, in quem id accepimus dictum.

Of

to have been ſometimes ridiculed for the great number of his ſacrifices.

Marcus had faith alſo in dreams: and ſays himſelf that [u] he had thereby learned remedies for ſtaying his ſpitting of blood, and for curing a dizzineſs in his head.

Of Antoninus his predeceſſor, and father by adoption, he ſays: 'he [x] was religious without ſuperſtition;' and, in another place, that 'he [y] was not a ſuperſtitious worſhipper of the gods.' Marcus therefore knew that religion and ſuperſtition were different, and that there might be one without the other. Whether he was ſo wiſe as to ſeparate them, may be partly diſcerned from what we have now ſeen.

II. There is ſtill remaining a work of this emperor in twelve books, which we generally [z] call his Meditations. They muſt have been put together at ſeveral times as he had leiſure. However ſome have computed that [a] they were compoſed before the year 175.

In the eleventh book of that work there is an obſervation which I ſhall now tranſcribe, and place here.

'What [b] a ſoul is that which is prepared, even now preſently, 'if needful, to be ſeparated from the body, whether it be to be 'extinguiſhed, or to be diſperſed, or to ſubſiſt ſtill. But this 'readineſs muſt proceed from a well weighed judgment, not 'from mere obſtinacy, like the Chriſtians. And it ſhould be 'done conſiderately, and with gravity, without tragical exclam-'ations, and ſo as to perſuade another.'

In the Engliſh tranſlation, publiſhed at Glaſgow in 1742, the ſame paſſage ſtands thus: 'How happy is that ſoul which is pre-'pared either to depart preſently, or to be extinguiſhed, or diſ-'perſed, or to remain along with it! But let this preparation 'ariſe from it's own judgment, and not from mere obſtinacy, 'like that of the Chriſtians: that you may die conſiderately, with 'a venerable compoſure, ſo as even to perſuade others into a 'like diſpoſition, and without noiſe and oſtentation.' p. 259, 260.

Upon this paſſage Dr. Jortin has a remark which is to this pur-

Οι λευκοι ξοες Μαρκω τω Καισαρι: Αν συ νικησης, ημεις απολομεθα. Amm. Matell. l. 25. cap. 4. [u] Το δι' ονειρατων βοηθηματα δοθηναι, αλλα τε, και ως μη πτυειν αιμα, και μη ιλιγγιαν. De Reb. ſuis. l. i. § ult. [x] Και ως θεοσεβης χωρις δεισιδαιμονιας. ib. l. 6. ſect. 30. [y] Και το μητε περι θεους δεισιδαιμονειν, Ib. l. i. ſect. 16. [z] Τα εις εαυτον. De Rebus ſuis.

[a] See Tillemont. Marc. Aurele. art. 18.

[b] Οια εστιν η ψυχη, η ετοιμος, εαν δεη απολυθηναι δεη του σωματος, και ητοι σβεστηναι, η σκεδασθηναι, η συμμεινται; Το δε ετοιμον τουτο, ινα απο ιδικης κρισεως ερχηται, μη κατα ψιλην παραταξιν, ως οι χριστιανοι· αλλα λελογισμενως, και σεμνως, και ωστε και αλλον πεισαι, ατραγωδως. L. xi. ſect. 3.

poſe;

poſe: 'The [c] emperor Marcus was prejudiced againſt the Chriſ-
'tians; and in his own book, xi. 3, cenſures very unreaſonably
'what he ought to have approved—this readineſs and reſolution
'to die for their religion.'

Certainly that remark is very juſt, and I think very mild; for, if I were to allow myſelf to ſpeak freely, I ſhould ſay that this is the baſeſt reflection upon the Chriſtians that I remember to have met with among all their old enemies. To ſay it is unbecoming a gentleman, and an emperor, is to ſay nothing. It is inſenſibility and inhumanity; in a word, ſtoiciſm. It is the worſe, as it comes from a magiſtrate; who, if he had been pleaſed to ſend proper orders to the officers under him, and particularly to the governors of provinces, he might have delivered the Chriſtians from that trial which is here ſuppoſed.

It may ſeem ſtrange to ſome that [d] ſuch a man as Marcus Antoninus ſhould paſs any cenſure upon the Chriſtians' fortitude. One would rather think that, as a ſtoic, he ſhould have admired and commended their reſolution: but it may be accounted for.

1. The Chriſtians refuſed to join in the common worſhip of the heathen deities: and they were likewiſe very free in their reflections [e] upon the philoſophers.

2. They [f] out did the ſtoics themſelves in patience under all kinds of ſufferings. The women and children and common people among the Chriſtians had in a ſhort time ſhewn more examples of true fortitude, than the ſtoics had done ſince the origin of their ſect.

3. Once more. This emperor was a bigot in religion and in philoſophy: whereas bigotry in any one thing will have bad effects, and make the beſt tempers act contrary to the laws of equity upon ſome occaſions.

It will not be thought that I ſpeak with too much ſeverity, if

[c] Diſcourſes concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. p. 57.

[d] Niſi conſtaret, Stoicorum doctrinam, cui M. Aurelius addictus erat, plenam fuiſſe repugnantiis, quod ſingulari opere oſtendit Plutarchus, mirum eſſet mortis contemtorem iis detrahere, qui eam deſpiciebant. Atque non licuit Philoſopho præſertim, in aliis damnare quæ in ſe et ſuis probaret. Cleric. H. E. ann. 165. n. iv. [e] Vid. Juſtin. M. Ap. 2. p. 46. B. E. et 47. Pariſ. num. 3. p. 90. Bened. et Tatian contr. Gentes. p. 157, 162. al. num. 19. p. 260. et num. 25. p. 264.

[f] Noſtri autem, (ut de viris taceam,) pueri et mulierculæ, tortores ſuos taciti vincunt, et exprimere illis gemitus nec ignis poteſt. Eant Romani, et mutio glorientur aut Regulo.....Ecce ſexus infirmus, et fragilis ætas dilacerari ſe toto corpore, urique perpetitur, non neceſſitate, quia licet vitare, ſi vellent: ſed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc eſt vera virtus, quam philoſophi quoque gloriabundi, non re, ſed verbis inanibus jactant: diſſerentes, nihil eſſe tam congruens viri ſapientis gravitati, atque conſtantiæ, quam nullis terroribus de ſententiæ propoſito poſſe depelli, &c. Lactant. Inſtit. l. 5. cap. 13.

we examine the ſeveral particulars of this paſſage; which I now intend to do: and afterwards I ſhall mention ſome corollaries.

1. Marcus's [g] expreſſions denote great uncertainty concerning a future ſtate of exiſtence; being doubtful whether the ſoul, when ſeparated from the body, ſhould be 'extinguiſhed, or be diſperſed, 'or ſtill ſubſiſt.' He ſpeaks again to the like purpoſe elſewhere: 'To [h] what purpoſe all this?....You have made your voyage, and 'arrived at your port. Go aſhore: if into another life, the gods 'are there: if into a ſtate of inſenſibility, you will be no longer 'diſtracted by pains and pleaſures, nor be in ſubjection to this 'mean veſſel.'

2. The Chriſtians had a ſtrong perſuaſion and good hopes of another life, a life of happineſs without end for all good and virtuous men. No men therefore could be ready to leave this world upon better grounds than they, when they could no longer live here with innocence.

3. Marcus aſcribes the Chriſtians' willingneſs to die to obſtinacy; and ſays that men ought to reſign life only 'upon a well 'formed judgment, and conſiderately.'

Did [i] not the Chriſtians die in that manner? Should they have denied themſelves to be Chriſtians, when they were brought before Pliny, or other governors, and were examined by them? Should they then have told a lie, and ſo redeem their lives by falſehood, or by worſhipping images contrary to their judgment, and the principles which they had embraced after ſerious inquiry and conſideration? Were not all wiſe and honeſt men perſuaded that a man ought to die rather than do what he thought evil

[g] Neſciebant enim, [Stoici] an 'qui 'corpore migraſſent animi extinguerentur, 'vel diſpergerentur, vel permanerent.' quod cum ita haberet, nemini poterant probare virtutem Numini gratam, vitium contra inviſum eſſe: cum bonos et malos nullo diſcrimine negligeret....Quod ſi numen talia non curaret, quid opus erat homines, vel ipſius vitæ jacturâ virtutem colere, et vitio adverſari....Exclamationi ergo, aut interrogationi M. Aurelii, 'qua-'lis eſt anima, quæ parata eſt, ſi jam e cor-'pore migrare, aut extingui, aut diſpergi, 'aut permanere oporteat?' reſpondebimus: Miſera et infelix, quæ neſcit, quid a ſummo Numine exſpectare virtus poſſit, aut vitium timere. Quod ferme perinde eſt, ac ignorare, an ſit Deus, &c. Cleric ubi ſupr. num. v. [h] De Rebus ſuis, l. 3. ſect. 3. [i] Verum inquiet, Philoſophus mortem ſpernit 'proprio judicio, conſi-'derate.'....Audio. Sed annon Chriſtianus quivis mortem ferebat 'ex proprio 'judicio,' qui cinctus Ethnicis furentibus, aut ridentibus, et a morte revocantibus, ſi modo Diis ſacra faceret, moriebatur tamen, quod mentiri nollet, nec ore, nec factis: quia nefas putabat, veritatem ejurare. Annon conſiderate ſatis, qui deprehenſâ Ethnicæ religionis falſitate, et veritate ejus, quam Chriſtus et apoſtoli docuerant, ſeſe dudum pararat ad mortem, ſiquando vitari non poſſet, ſine abnegatione veritatis?.... Fac Epicureos fuiſſe rerum potitos, et furore quodam actos ad tribunalia ſua traxiſſe Stoicos, omnibus ſuppliciis propoſitis et morte ipſâ intentatâ, niſi Zenoni, Cleanthi, Chryſippo, cæteriſque ſectæ conditoribus maledixiſſent, negaſſentque ſe iis adſentiri, et facerent quæcunque principes ſectæ vetuerant, cum ſcirent ſe mentiri, et improbe facere; an ſe Stoicæ familiæ defenſoribus, et mortem fortiter obeuntibus, exprobraſſet M. Aurelius præſumptionem?

evil and dishonourable. Celsus, [k] who wrote against the Christians, says as much. Was there any way for a Christian's escaping, but by criminal hypocrisy and dissimulation, when statues of heathen deities were set before him to be worshipped by him; or when he was required to revile Jesus Christ? They had taken up their principles upon consideration; and it was reasonable to adhere to them at all times.

4. Marcus says must be done 'considerately.'

The Christians took up their principles upon consideration. When they first embraced them they could not but see that, as the world then stood, the making a profession of them was very likely to expose them to many sufferings. And therefore, when [l] they first resolved upon Christianity, they must have resolved to adhere to it whatever it should cost them. By this means they were always ready to die, upon mature consideration, whenever the spite of their ignorant and prejudiced neighbours worked so far against them. And a constant readiness for a violent death, in a good cause, is the most glorious fortitude that can be imagined in a human creature.

5. He says it should be done 'gravely, without tragical exclamations.'

Upon this Le Clerc well observes that 'it [m] is not a little 'strange that a stoic, whose writings are full of affectation, and 'are all over tragical, should blame the Christians for not dying 'without tragical noise and exclamation.' If they then called

ραταξιν? Immo vero summopere eos laudasset, ut laudati sunt apud Ethnicos omnes, qui maluerunt mori, quam quidquam facere, quod inhonestum et impium judicabant. Si voluisset Socrates, contra animi sententiam loqui, et mentiri, ac sese ad pedes judicum abjicere, vitæ suæ sine dubio consuluisset, sed ejus absolutionem æterna infamia esset consequuta. Quod de cæteris omnibus, qui virtutis caussâ mortui sunt, dictum puta. Cleric. ib. num. iv.

[k] .... τοιαυτα τινα λεγει· Εαν μεντοι γε κελευοι τις, ει τυχοι, θρησκευοντα Θεον η ασεβειν, η αλλο τι αισχρον ειπειν, ουδαμη ουδαμως πιστευτεον, αλλα προ τουτων πασαις βασανοις εγκαρτερητεον, και παντας θανατους υπομενητεον, πριν τι ανοσιον περι Θεου, μη οτι γε ειπειν, αλλα μελετησαι. Celsus ap. Orig. Contra Cels. l. 8. p. 421. al. num. 66.

[l] Nos quidem neque expavescimus, neque pertimescimus ea quæ ab ignorantibus patimur: cum ad hanc sectam utique suscepta conditione ejus pacti venerimus, ut etiam animas nostras auctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea quæ Deus repromittit, consequi optantes, et ea quæ diversæ vitæ comminatur pati timentes, Tertull. ad Scap. cap. i.

[m] Verum et hoc mirum est, hominem Stoicum, et cujus liber plenus est exaggerationibus vere tragicis, hoc est, tumidis et fictis, exprobare Christianis, quod ατραγωδως non morerentur. Atqui nihil illi exaggerabant, cum vitam Deo repetenti, potius quam ab eo deficerent, libenter reddendum profitebantur....Si qui, quod interdum factum negare nolim, crudelitates suppliciorum, propinquitate mortis, speque proxime beatitatis, extra se rapti, quædam proferrebant, quæ supra vulgi Ethnici captum erant, an tribuenda hæc sunt παραταξει, obstinationi, vel perturbationi? Imo eo aut vitio, aut adfectu, vel maxime laborabant, qui innocentes excarnificatos occidebant, quod facere nollent, quæ illicita, et a Deo improbare, pro certe statuebant. Cleric. ib. ann. 165. n. iv.

upon God and Christ; if they then exhorted their brethren to constancy and perseverance; if they expressed a contempt of this world, and it's fading enjoyments; if they spake in sublime strains of the felicities of the world to come; in a word, if they triumphed in death, as some of them did, there is nothing in it absurd or unreasonable; nothing but what is truly admirable: the heathen people around them wanted nothing to make them sensible of it, but a better knowledge of the Christian principles; such as a persuasion of the boundless power and goodness of the one God, creator of all, and a well-grounded expectation of eternal life.

6. And lastly, Marcus says, 'it should be done so as to persuade another.'

This alone, if there were nothing else, would be sufficient to satisfy us that Marcus was influenced by prejudice in his judgment concerning the Christians. It has been often said, and very truly, that [n] the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. And some early believers have themselves assured us that [o] they were led to inquire into the principles of the Christians when they observed their manner of dying; and that this was the first means of their own conversion. The like is often testified by [p] Christian writers, who lived when the followers of Jesus were in suffering circumstances, and martyrdoms were frequent. But if there were nothing of this kind in the remains of ancient Christian authors, since there continued to be Christians in the world, and they suffered in every age, and were not extinguished, but remained and increased, as heathen writers themselves acknowledge; we may depend upon it that many did die so as to persuade others; their brethren were animated to patience and courage by their example; and unbelievers were awakened, and excited to serious examination, till they were convinced and converted.

As I have gone along, I have transcribed in the margin

[n] Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra. Illecebra magis est sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50.

[o] Και γαρ αυτος εγω τοις Πλατωνος χαιρων διδαγμασι, διαβαλλομενους ακουων χριστιανους, ορων δε αφοβους προς θανατον, και παντα τα αλλα νομιζομενα φοβερα, ενενουν αδυνατον ειναι εν κακιᾳ και φιληδονιᾳ υπαρχειν αυτους. Justin. M. ap. 2. p. 50. a. al. p. 96. num. 12.

[p] Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis....Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? Ubi accessit, pati exoptat? Tertull. ap. cap. 50.

Nec tamen deficiet hæc secta, quam tunc magis ædificari scias, cum cædi videtur. Quisquis enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus, et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in caussa; et ubi cognoverit veritatem, et ipse statim sequitur. Ad Scap. cap. ult. Vid. et Lact. l. 5. c. 13. et alibi.

several

ſeveral remarks upon this paſſage of Marcus Antoninus from Le Clerc's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. I would alſo refer to [q] Mr. Moſheim, in whom likewiſe divers juſt obſervations may be ſeen upon the ſame.

But perhaps it will be ſaid that the Chriſtians gave cauſe for theſe cenſures by their too great forwardneſs, and by offering themſelves to death.

To which I would anſwer. Firſt, Inſtances of this kind were not very common, and they were diſliked and condemned by the wiſer ſort. Some ſuch inſtances there were during the perſecution in Aſia when Polycarp ſuffered. They [r] are particularly mentioned, and cenſured in the epiſtle of the church of Smyrna, which gives an account of the martyrs in that city. And [s] St. Cyprian, in his laſt letter to his people at Carthage, in the perſecution of Valerian, in the year 258, exhorts them to a quiet and peaceable behaviour, but not to offer themſelves to the magiſtrates; foraſmuch as the Lord had not required it of us; but to confeſs his name when called upon ſo to do. And he reminds them that this had always been his doctrine. Secondly, There could be no inſtances of this kind but in times of perſecution, and when there were magiſtrates who were diſpoſed to inflict death upon men as Chriſtians. Thirdly, The moſt remarkable inſtances of this kind happened when the perſecution was violent. So it was in the caſe [t] before taken notice of by us. When Arrius Antoninus, proconſul of Aſia, furiouſly perſecuted the Chriſtians in that country, a great number of them, in ſome city where he was, came before his tribunal, telling him he might do with them as he pleaſed, for they were not afraid to die. In like manner Scapula, proconſul of Africa, perſecuted the Chriſtians with great ſeverity. Some [u] he ordered to be burnt alive; though that was a puniſhment ſeldom inflicted even upon traitors, or the worſt of criminals. Upon that occaſion Tertullian [x] puts him in mind of the forementioned conduct of the Chriſtians in Aſia: and, the more to alarm him, tells him the like

[q] De Reb. Chriſtianorum, ſec. ii. p. 245, 246. [r] Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. p. 129, 130. [s] Vos autem, fratres cariſſimi, pro diſciplina, quam de mandatis dominicis a me ſemper accepiſtis,....quietem et tranquillitatem tenere: ne quiſquam veſtrum aliquem tumultum de fratribus moveat, aut ultro ſe Gentilibus offerat. Apprehenſus enim et traditus loquî debet: ſiquidem in nobis Dominus poſitus illa hora loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam profiteri. Ep. 81. al. 83. p. 239. Oxon. [t] See p. 325.

[u] Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro juſtitia, pro pudicitia, pro fide, pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cremamur; quod nec ſacrilegi, nec hoſtes publici, verum nec tot majeſtatis rei pati ſolent. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

[x] Vide tantum, ne hoc ipſo, quod talia ſuſtinemus, ad hoc ſolum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipſum probemus, nos hæc non timere, ſed ultro vocare. Arrius Antoninus in Aſia cum perſequeretur inſtant-

might happen again, and at Carthage itſelf. And what would you do, ſays he, if you ſhould ſee the Chriſtians of that place preſent themſelves in a body before your tribunal? What would you do with ſo many thouſands of each ſex, of every age, of every condition, and ſome of the moſt honourable perſons of the city, ſome of them your friends, or friends and relations of your friends and counſellors!

After all, it muſt be acknowledged that the Chriſtians' [y] readineſs to die, and their intrepidity in death, were ſometimes perverted to their diſadvantage. Nor do I think that the primitive Chriſtians were exempted from human frailty. Nevertheleſs I apprehend that the exceptions and reflections of this kind were chiefly owing to the prejudices and ignorance of miſguided and ſenſual men, who minded little or nothing but the affairs of this preſent life; who did not conſider the importance of religious truth, nor the great virtue and value of integrity, and a ſteady regard to the convictions of our own minds. So [z] ſays Lactantius. And Tertullian has ſpoken to this point excellently at the concluſion of his Apology. He [a] mentions 'Mutius, Regulus, and others, 'whoſe reſolution had been admired and applauded by the Greeks 'and Romans. And indeed,' ſays he, 'with you it is reputable 'to die for our country, for the commonwealth, for a friend; 'but to die for God and truth is reckoned reproachful and diſ-'honourable.'

Certainly the firſt Chriſtians, who were men as we are, and had the ſame ſenſations with us, were not weary of life; nor did they deſire death: but [*] as men engaged in a warfare, hazard their lives for the ſake of victory, and the advantages of it;

ſtanter, omnes illius civitatis Chriſtiani ante tribunalia ejus ſe manu facta obtulerunt....Hoc ſi placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis ſexus, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus ſe tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipſa Carthago paſſura eſt decimanda a te, cum propinquos, cum contubernales ſuos illic unuſquiſque cognoverit, cum viderit illic fortaſſe et tui ordinis viros et matronas, et principales quaſque perſonas, et amicorum tuorum vel propinquos vel amicos. Parce ergo tibi, ſi non nobis: parce Carthagini, ſi non tibi. Ad Scap. cap. 5.

[y] Licet nunc farmentitios ac ſemaxios appelletis, quia ad ſtipitem dimidii axis revincti ſarmentorum ambitu exurimur. ....Propterea enim deſperati, et perditi exiſtimamur. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50. Vid. et Minuc. Fel. cap. 8. Lactant. l. 5. cap. 9. et Epit. cap. 54.

[z] Sed illi malitia et furore cæcantur, ne videant: ſtultoſque arbitrantur eſſe, qui cum habeant in ſua poteſtate ſupplicia vitare, cruciari tamen, et emori malunt. Lact. l. 5. cap. 13.

[a] O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec preſumptio perdita, nec perſuaſio deſperata reputatur, in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodæ: cui tantum pro patria, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permiſſum eſt, quantum pro Deo non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et ſtatuas defunditis, et imagines inſcribitis....quantum de monimentis poteſtis ſcilicet, preſtatis et ipſi quodammodo mortuis reſurrectionem: hanc qui veram a Deo ſperat, ſi pro Deo patiatur, inſanus eſt. Ap. cap. 50. p. 45.

[*] Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini, quod vos inſequamur, ſi pati vultis: cum diligere debeatis, per quos patimini quod vultis

it; ſo the Chriſtians of thoſe times, deſirous to approve themſelves to God, and hoping for the reward of eternal life, were ready, if required, to lay down their lives rather than deny Chriſt and the truths which they had received from him.

The corollaries to be drawn from this paſſage are ſeveral: but they will be all eaſily admitted after what has been already ſaid.

1. At that time the Chriſtians were well known in the world. 2. The emperor Marcus was well acquainted with them, and had often heard of their ſufferings. He knew that many Chriſtians had died in teſtimony to their principles, and as Chriſtians; and that the ſufferings which they had undergone were in common eſtimation very grievous. 3. He knew, and here acknowledgeth, their reſolution and ſteadineſs in the profeſſion of their principles for which they ſuffered death. This he calls obſtinacy. 4. He had heard of their cheerfulneſs in death and in all the ſufferings which they had met with. This he endeavours to diſparage by comparing it to the declamations of tragedies. 5. He was alſo perſuaded of their innocence, or freedom from promiſcuous lewdneſs and other groſs crimes in their aſſemblies, with which they were charged by ſome. If he had known and believed that they practiſed ſuch things he would have expreſſed himſelf very differently. 6. He deſpiſed and ſcorned the Chriſtians as a mean, illiterate, and unphiloſophical ſet of men. 7. He was not at all inclined to interpoſe in their behalf, either for preventing or for mitigating their ſufferings. And hereafter we ſhall ſee that, when application was made to him by a governor for direction how to treat ſome men, who had been accuſed before him as Chriſtians, and were in his cuſtody, this emperor ſent orders that 'they ſhould be put to death,' unleſs they renounced the Chriſtian doctrine. Once more, 8. I muſt beg leave to obſerve that we can hence infer, that the Chriſtian ſcriptures were as yet held in contempt by the wiſe and great men of this world. The books of the New Teſtament were all publiſhed and joined together in two codes or volumes, one called Goſpels, the other Epiſtles, before Marcus Antoninus was born: and they were in the hands of great numbers of his ſubjects, and were highly prized, and diligently read and ſtudied by them. But

vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare, et periclitari ſit neceſſe; tamen et prælietur omnibus viribus, et vincens in prælio gaudet, qui de prælio querebatur, quia et gloriam conſequitur et prædam. Prælium eſt nobis, quod provocemur ad tribunalia, ut illis ſub diſcrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria eſt autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi Deo, et prædam vivendi in æternum. Tertullian. Apol. c. 50, p. 44, B. C.

he had never read them, nor perhaps ever ſeen them. They might, poſſibly, be well known to ſome of the philoſophers, his maſters: but they knew how to be ſilent and to keep their diſciple in ignorance about what they did not deſire he ſhould know. Hence this great man, in the midſt of light, was in darkneſs: he had no juſt apprehenſions concerning a life to come.

The Chriſtian religion, conſidering the difficulties it had met with, and that it contained no worldly allurements, had made great progreſs. But it was not yet the prevailing religion. The ſtate of things in the world had ſtill a reſemblance with what it was in the time of St. Paul: 1 Cor. i. 22 and 26. *The Jews*, ſays he, *require a ſign, and the Greeks ſeek after wiſdom.* And, *Ye ſee your calling, brethren, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called.* And Jeſus himſelf, reflecting upon the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, after having preached the heavenly doctrine with unparalleled faithfulneſs and zeal, and obſerving that they were chiefly of the meaner rank with whom it had met with a ready acceptance, expreſſed his acquieſcence in the event, and ſaid: *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth,* 'I give glory to thee, cheerfully acquieſcing 'in this diſpenſation of thy providence,' *that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and has revealed them unto babes. Even ſo Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight.* Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.

Sect. II. Of the Perſecutions in his time.

I. *A general account of the perſecutions in the reign of this emperor.* II. *Large extracts out of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, who, with twelve others, ſuffered in that city in the year* 167 *or* 168. III. *The hiſtory of the martyrs at Lyons, who ſuffered in the year* 177. IV. *Remarks and obſervations upon the foregoing hiſtory.*

I. I THINK it muſt be fit for me to take ſome particular notice of the treatment which the Chriſtians met with in the reign of this emperor, who by the ancients is always reckoned among the perſecuting emperors. Euſebius [a] placeth the fourth perſecution under him; as does alſo [b] Oroſius, who follows him.

[a] Euſeb. Chr. p. 169. [b] Sed in diebus Parthici belli perſecutiones Chriſtianorum, quarta jam poſt Neronem vice, in Aſia et Gallia graves præcepto ejus exſtiterunt, multique ſanctorum martyrio coronati ſunt. Oroſ. l. 7. c. xv.

Sulpicius

Sulpicius, [c] thinking that the Chriſtians were perſecuted by Adrian, reckons Marcus's the fifth perſecution.

And learned moderns ſeem now to be fully convinced that Marcus was unfriendly to the Chriſtians. Says Dr. Jortin: 'As 'to [d] the emperor Marcus, with all his amiable and princely 'qualities, he did not love the Chriſtians, as appears from un-'queſtionable authority, even his own book. The philoſophers 'had probably contributed to ſet him againſt them. And his 'love of philoſophy, and the reſpect which he paid to the pro-'feſſors of it, was exceſſive, and indeed ſometimes ridiculous.'

Tillemont ſays, 'There [e] were many inſtances of mildneſs in the reign of this emperor, and very few of ſeverity, excepting 'againſt the Chriſtians, who the leaſt deſerved it.' And in another place the ſame diligent writer, having put down ſome inſtances of this emperor's exactneſs in the rites of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, adds: 'We [f] have taken notice of theſe things to ſhew 'that we ought not to be ſurpriſed that a prince, reckoned ſo 'mild and equitable, ſhould perſecute the true religion, as we 'know he did.'

Pagi acknowledgeth the ſame. He ſays that [g] this emperor was not only averſe to the Chriſtians, but perſecuted them in the former part of his reign, as well as afterwards: and elſewhere [h] he obſerves how grievous the perſecutions were in this reign, and the reaſons of it.

Moſheim ſays that [i] in the time of no emperor after Nero the Chriſtians ſuffered more or greater calamities than under Marcus. And he aſcribes [k] this emperor's ill-will toward the Chriſtians more to the inſtructions of the philoſophers, and the

[c] Quarta ſub Adriano perſecutio numeratur, quam tamen poſt exerceri prohibuit, 'injuſtum eſſe' pronuncians, 'ut 'quiſquam ſine crimine reus conſtituere-'tur.' Poſt Adrianum, Antonino Pio imperante, pax eccleſiis fuit. Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, perſecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria viſa, ſerius trans Alpes Dei religione ſuſcepta. Sul. Sev. Sacr. Hiſt. l. 2, cap 46. [d] Remarks upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 2, p. 169. See alſo his Diſcourſes, p. 57. [e] L'Emp. Max. Aurele. art. vii. [f] Ibid. art. ii.

[g] Ad hæc Marcus non ſolum a Chriſtianis alienus fuit, ſed etiam ſæpe in eos ſæviit, et quidem prioribus imperii annis, quibus Lucilla Lucio Vero uxor data eſt. Ann. 161, n. xi. [h] Vid. ann. 162, num. vi. et 163, num. ii. 177, n. iii. &c.

[i] Itaque nullo ſub Imperatore poſt Neronem plures et graviores calamitates perpeſſi ſunt Chriſtiani, quam ſub Marco, quem cæteris omnibus meliorem et ſapientiorem fuiſſe cenſent. De Reb. Chriſtian. p. 246. Confer. ejuſdem. Inſtitutiones H. E. Sec. 2, P. i. c. 2, num. v. p. 74.

[k] Mala hæc Imperatoris in Chriſtianos voluntas unde prodierit, nuſquam memoriæ proditum legitur: proclive vero conjectu eſt, a Philoſophis, quibus omnia dare ſolebat, inductum fuiſſe eum, ut Chriſtianos abſurdos, rationis inopes, obſtinatos, et vanos eſſe duceret: ideoque quum ex lege philoſophiæ, quam profitebatur, juſto durior eſſet, judicaſſe, ſatius eſſe vecordes ejuſmodi hominis delere, quam tolerare. Moſhem. Ibid. p. 242. Vid. et p. 244, 245.

hard-hearted philoſophy which he had embraced, than to his ſuperſtition.

The Benedictine editors [l] of Juſtin Martyr, and other ancient Greek apologiſts, are likewiſe very ſenſible of this temper of Marcus. And I tranſcribe in the margin ſome of their obſervations, to be peruſed by ſuch of my readers as are willing to caſt their eyes downward.

This temper of Marcus, which, as before hinted, prevailed in every part of his reign, has appeared to me the more ſtrange, conſidering how favourable to the Chriſtians Adrian was, and alſo his predeceſſor Antoninus. Nor can we forbear to obſerve that Marcus muſt have been well acquainted with the conduct of his predeceſſor, and the reaſons of it: for it was the cuſtom of that good emperor Titus Antoninus, to determine nothing concerning the provinces, or any other affairs of the public, without firſt [m] conſulting his friends, of [n] whom Marcus was one. Moreover, during the whole time of his reign, Marcus lived in the ſame palace, and was almoſt conſtantly with him. As thoſe two emperors were ſo intimate, and Marcus had ſo long experienced the favour of his predeceſſor and father Antoninus, it is truly ſomewhat ſtrange that their temper and conduct toward the Chriſtians ſhould have been ſo different.

One thing we plainly hence diſcern, that Marcus was not unacquainted with the Chriſtians. He muſt have often heard of them, and of their ſufferings, and of the apologies made by them. The Chriſtians were well known to Adrian, and to Antoninus the pious, his grandfather, and father, and they had been favoured by them. Marcus therefore muſt have had good knowledge of them, and have been acquainted with their circumſtances, many years before he came to the empire himſelf.

[l] Quo anno Romam reverſus ſit Juſtinus, ſtatuere non poſſumus: minime dubium, quin in hac urbe commoratus ſit, cum graviſſima perſecutio ſub Marco Aurelio graſſaretur. Non juſſerat præſtantiſſimus princeps vexari Chriſtianos. Sed, ut obſervat Athenagoras [ap. num. 1.] dum injuriam ab eis non propulſat, dum nullam partem in eos derivat paternæ illius ſolicitudinis, quâ univerſos Imperii Romani cives tuebatur, omnibus inimicorum injuriis expoſiti fuere. Hæc agendi ratio in optimo Imperatore ſummum odium declarat Chriſtianæ Religionis. Nunquam enim ſuum de illis patrocinium clauſiſſet, ſi quid de illis æqui ſenſiſſet. Sed plus apud eum et neſaria philoſophorum conſilia, et Romanorum ceremoniarum amor, quam avi et patris exempla, et inſita omnibus juſtitiæ et æquitatis elementa, valuerunt. Cum ergo omni ope deſtituti eſſent Chriſtiani, graviſſimæ in eos undique exortæ tempeſtates. Præf. P. 3. cap. viii. n. i. p. 92. .... tam inimica tempora non Antonini, qui illis favit, ſed M. Aurelii imperium redolent, qui ne maximo quidem beneficio provocatus æquum ſe illis præbuit. Ib. n. iv. p. 94. m.

[m] Neque de provinciis, neque de ullis actibus quicquam conſtituit, niſi quod prius ad amicos retulit. Atque ex eorum ſententia formas conſtituit. Capitol. in Vit. Ant. Pii. cap. 6. [n] ... tantumque apud eum valuit, ut numquam quemquam ſine eo facile promoverit. Capit. in Vita M. Aurel. cap. 6.

We

We have ſeen how learned men aſcribe Marcus's averſion to the Chriſtians to his attachment to philoſophy, and the rites of the eſtabliſhed deities. Nor is that judgment formed without probability. Nevertheleſs I have obſerved a paſſage at the beginning of this emperor's meditations, which may perhaps deſerve to be taken notice of here: 'From [o] Diognetus,' ſays he, 'I learned not to buſy myſelf about vain things, nor to give credit to wonder workers, and ſtories of incantations, and expelling dæmons, and ſuch like things.'

Poſſibly Marcus applied the inſtructions of Diognetus to the hiſtory of our Saviour's miracles, and to the relations of ſome extraordinary works, ſaid to have been done by Chriſtians: and he concluded the whole to be nothing but impoſture. If ſo, he might admit of an averſion to the Chriſtians in general, who often ſpoke of theſe things and relied much upon them.

I am indeed well ſatisfied that Marcus had never read, or looked into, the books of the New Teſtament. But, if he could have been perſuaded to read them, I think, (provided he had in him any real goodneſs, and could have detached himſelf for a few moments from ſubjection to the philoſophers,) he would have admired the ſublime morality of the goſpels and the epiſtles: and then the miracles would have been diſtinguiſhed from the pretenſions of impoſture, and would have been received by him as true and divine works, notwithſtanding all the precautions of Diognetus: but that was not to be obtained. Marcus ſcorned every thing that was Chriſtian, their books as well as their perſons, and looked upon all as void of merit.

But, whatever was the reaſon of it, we plainly perceive the Chriſtians to be under great diſcouragements during the reign of this emperor. In that period were publiſhed many apologies, as the Second of Juſtin Martyr, the apologies of Tatian, Athenagoras, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch. In this reign likewiſe, or at the beginning of that of Commodus, is to be placed the Apology of Miltiades. In this period were many martyrs; ſome of great diſtinction, as Juſtin, Polycarp, and the martyrs of Lyons, with their aged biſhop Pothinus.

Juſtin, at the beginning of his ſecond apology, preſented in the early part of this reign, mentions Ptolomy, and two others, who had ſuffered martyrdom at Rome a ſhort time before, by the order of Urbicus, præfect of the city, and ſpeaks as if the

[o] Παρα Διογνητου, το ακεραιοσπουδον, και το απιστητικον τοις υπο των περατευομενων, και γοητων περι επωδων, και περι δαιμονων αποπομπης, και των τοιουτων λεγομενους. De Reb. ſuis. l. i. § 6.

perſecution

persecution was general: and he suffered himself not long after, in the year 166 or 167, if not sooner. 'Things [p] that have 'happened very lately, but a few days ago in your city, and 'which are every where done in like manner by the presidents, 'without reason, have compelled me to make this address to 'you.' And he says that, 'every [q] where, if any Gentile was 'admonished or reproved for a fault, by a father, or a neighbour, 'or a child, or a friend, or a brother, or a husband, or a wife, 'he would presently have his reprover before a governor, who 'would be willing to inflict death upon him.'

Athenagoras [r] is supposed to have been an Athenian. His apology was presented to Marcus and Commodus jointly, and therefore not till near the end of Marcus's reign, in the year 177 or 178. He tells the emperors that 'all [s] other people expe-'rienced the benefit of their equitable government: but we 'Christians,' says he, 'because no regard is had to us, nor any 'provision made for us, though we do no evil, and are in all 'things obedient to the Divine Being, and your government, 'are harassed and persecuted for the name only...We therefore 'entreat you to take care of us, that we may no longer be put to 'death by sychophants.'

Athenagoras therefore does not speak of any edicts issued out against them, but only that they were neglected. They were accused by many, and put to death by the presidents, as Christians, without any crime proved against them. And the emperor took no care of them to protect them from the abuses of their enemies. However, though Athenagoras mentions not any new edicts against the Christians, he supposeth that their sufferings were not unknown to the emperor, and that they had now for a long time been carried on with his connivance and permission.

In the same reign, about the year [t] 177, another apology was presented by Melito, bishop of Sardis or Sardes (for the name is frequently written in the plural number by the ancients). The apology is lost: but Eusebius has preserved a large fragment of it in his Ecclesiastical History. I quoted a part of it [u] some

[p] Και τα χθες δε και πρωην εν τη πολει υμων γενομενα επι Ουρβικυ, ω Ρωμαιοι, και τα πανταχυ ομοιως υπο των ηγυμενων αλογως πραττομενα, εξηναγκασε με..... κ. λ. Ap. 2. p. 41. al. num. i. p. 88.

[q] Πανταχυ γαρ, ος αν σωφρονιζηται υπο πατρος, η γειτονος, η τεκνυ, η φιλυ, η αδελφυ, η ανδρος, η γυναικος κατ' ελλειψεν..... ως υν αρχοντας δαιμονιωντας φονευειν ημας παρασκευαζυσιν. Id. ib.

[r] See in this work, vol. ii. p. 180, 181.

[s] Ημεις δε οι λεγομενοι χριστιανοι, οτι μη προνενοησθε και ημων, συγκωρειτι δε, μηδεν αδικυντας, ευσεβεστατα διακειμενυς και δικαιοτατα προς τε το θειον και την ημετεραν βασιλειαν, ελαυνεσθαι και διωκεσθαι...και δεομεθα υμων και περι ημων τι σκεψασθαι, οπως παυσωμεθα ποτε υπο των συκοφαντων σφαττομενοι. Athen. Ap. p. al. p. 180.

[t] See in this work, vol. ii. p. 147.

[u] See before, p. 391.

while

while ago: I now take another paragraph, [x] which is remarkable for politeneſs, as well as upon other accounts.

'Pious men,' [y] ſays he, 'are now perſecuted and haraſſed 'throughout all Aſia by new decrees, which was never done be-'fore. And impudent ſycophants, and ſuch as covet the poſ-'ſeſſions of others, taking occaſion from the edicts, rob without 'fear or ſhame, and ceaſe not to plunder thoſe who have offended 'in nothing' And afterwards: 'If theſe things are done by 'your order, let them be thought to be well done. For it is 'not reaſonable to believe that a juſt emperor ſhould ever decree 'what is unjuſt. And we ſhall cheerfully bear the reward of 'ſuch a death. This requeſt, however, we make to you, that 'you will firſt inform yourſelf concerning thoſe who are engaged 'in this contention,' meaning the Chriſtians, 'and then judge 'whether they deſerve death and puniſhment, or ſafety and 'quiet. But if this reſolution and new edict, which is not fit 'to be enacted againſt barbarians and enemies, proceeds not 'from you [as we hope], much more would we entreat you not 'to neglect us, and give us up to this public rapine.'

This paragraph is very obſervable. Melito ſeems to ſpeak of new edicts againſt the Chriſtians throughout Aſia. Nor is it eaſy to conteſt or evade this teſtimony of Melito. For it may be well ſuppoſed to be only owing to prudent caution that he expreſſeth a doubt whether the edict, to which he refers, came from the emperor or not. Tertullian indeed ſays that [z] Marcus publiſhed not any laws againſt the Chriſtians. But Tertullian did not know every thing that paſſed in the empire. There might be imperial edicts publiſhed in Gaul and Aſia, which he was not acquainted with: Ruinart [a] reckons this paſſage of Melito a proof that there were then imperial edicts againſt the Chriſtians. As does alſo [b] Moſheim, whoſe obſervations upon this

[x] H. E. l. 4. cap. 26. p. 147.

[y] Το γαρ ουδε ποτε γενομενον, νυν διωκεται το των θεοσεβων γενος καινοις ελαυνομενοις δογμασι κατα την Ασιαν. Οι γαρ αναιδεις συκοφανται, και των αλλοτριων ερασται, την εκ των διαταγματων εχοντες αφορμην, φανερως ληϊζουσι, νυκτωρ και μεθημεραν διαρταζοντες τους μηδεν αδικουντας...και ημεις ηδεως φερομεν το τοιουτο θανατου κερδος....ει δε και παρα σου μη ειη η βουλη αυτη, και το καινον τουτο διαταγμα, ο μη δι κατα βαρβαρων πρεπει πολεμιων, πολυ μαλλον δεομεθα σου μη περιιδειν ημας εν τοιαυτη δημωδει λεηλασια. p. 147. B, C.

[z] Quales leges iſtæ, quas adverſus nos ſoli exequuntur impii, injuſti, turpes, truces....? Quas nullus Hadrianus, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impreſſit. Ap. c. 5.

[a] Imperialia vero edicta adverſus Chriſtianos tunc temporis vulgata fuiſſe, teſtatur Melito Sardenſis in apologia apud Euſebium. l. 4. c. 26. Ruinart. Præf. num. 40. p. 43.

[b] Neque ſatis videbatur Imperatori fræna laxare hoſtibus Chriſtianorum, quæ parens ejus injecerat. Addebat etiam edicta Chriſtianis inimica, per quæ voluntas deferendi et accuſandi accendi poterat. Diſerte Melito in Apologia apud Euſebium meminit 'novorum 'in Chriſtianos edictorum in Aſia pervul-'gatorum,' unde impudentiſſimi homines occaſionem caperent palam diu noctuque graſſandi,

this emperor's conduct toward the Chriſtians I ſhall place below, to be conſidered by ſuch as are pleaſed to attend to them: who alſo thinks he has diſcovered the ſeverity of thoſe new edicts to which Melito refers. He ſuppoſeth that the emperor ſent an edict againſt the Chriſtians, appointing alſo that the accuſers and proſecutors of the Chriſtians ſhould be entitled to their poſſeſſions, as a recompenſe for their zeal againſt them.

I ſhould rather think there was no occaſion for an edict of the emperor to put Chriſtians to death. The caſe ſeems to me to have been this. Several, perhaps many, Chriſtians had been put to death in Aſia at the importunity of the common people, and by virtue of Trajan's reſcript. The Roman proconſul in Aſia was at a loſs how to diſpoſe of the effects and eſtates of thoſe ſufferers: he therefore ſent to the emperor for direction in this affair. The emperor wrote back that their goods and poſſeſſions ſhould be given to the accuſers and informers. This reſolution or edict Melito ſays was ſuch as was 'not fit to be enacted 'againſt enemies and barbarians.' And he ſays to the emperor, 'If this edict be yours we will bear the reward of ſuch a death:' [we will endeavour contentedly to bear the loſs of our goods, with which others are rewarded for accuſing us, and procuring our death.] For certain, ſuch encouragements would make proſecutions frequent; and Melito might have reaſon to ſay, as he does at the beginning of the paragraph cited by us: 'Pious 'men are now perſecuted und haraſſed throughout all Aſia.'

II. I ſhall take no farther notice of apologies, but immediately proceed to the martyrdoms of this reign. I ſhall ſay nothing more than I have already done of Juſtin [c], or other martyrs mentioned by him at the beginning of his ſecond apology: but I ſhall give ſome account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and then a large account of the martyrs at Lyons. The reaſons of my doing ſo will be manifeſt hereafter. They are a neceſſary part of the hiſtory of this renowned emperor: and the ſtate of Chriſtianity in this early age will be much illuſtrated.

graſſandi. Et acerbiſſima fuerint hæc edicta neceſſe eſt....Tertium ergo locum ſapientiſſimus ille Imperatorum Marcus, Philoſophus ille, cujus hodie ſapientiam admirari non ceſſamus, poſt Neronem et Domitianum inter vere et proprie dictos Chriſtianorum perſequutores meretur.... Vellem hoc Marci edictum ad nos perveniſſet...Quamquam in Melitonis loco ineſt aliquid, unde huius generis atrox illud Marci edictum eſſet, conjecturam facere licet. Perhibet illa, 'impudentiſſimos et 'alienarum opum cupidos' delatores, lege Marci ad Chriſtianos diu noctuque invadendos invitari. Igitur habebat aliquid edictum hoc, quod ſpem oſtendebat hominibus avaris et argenti cupidis ex alienis opibus ſuas augendi. Hoc poſito, quod apertum eſt, credibile videri debet, immo prope certum, Imperatorem, præmio propoſito, accuſatores Chriſtianorum veluti evocaſſe, atque illis bona et opes eorum, quos in judicio criminis cujuſdam convicciſſent, addici juſſiſſe. Moſh. De Reb. Chriſtianor. &c. Sec. 2, § xv. p. 241. &c.

[c] See Vol. ii. p. 115, 116.

The

The time of the martyrdom of Polycarp has been disputed. I still think, as [d] formerly said, that he died in the year of our Lord 167 or 168. His [e] death is placed by Eusebius, and Jerom after him, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, in what they call the fourth persecution. Says [f] Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, 'Antoninus, surnamed the pious, being dead, he was 'succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, called also Antoninus, 'and Lucius Verus. At that time the persecutions being vio-'lent in Asia, Polycarp ended his days by martyrdom.' Whereby, I think, Eusebius intends to intimate that there were then persecutions in several places in Asia, and not at Smyrna only.

Some while after the death of Polycarp, the Christians at Smyrna sent an account of it in a letter to the Christians at Philadelphia, Philomelium, and other places, who had expressed a desire to have it from eye-witnesses. The letter is to this purpose: 'The [g] church of God which is at Smyrna to the church 'at Philomelium,' [or Philadelphia, in another copy;] 'and to 'all the congregations of the holy catholic church in every 'place; the mercy, and peace, and love of God the Father and 'our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. We have written to you, 'brethren, concerning those who have suffered martyrdom, and 'particularly concerning the blessed Polycarp; who by his mar-'tyrdom as it were sealed up and put an end to the persecution.' 'After which,' says Eusebius, 'before they speak of Polycarp 'they relate the sufferings of the other martyrs, describing their 'constancy under the torments which they endured; and how 'all who stood round them were astonished, seeing them scourged 'till their veins and arteries were laid bare, and even their en-'trails became visible; after which they were laid upon the 'shells of sea-fish, and upon sharp spikes, fixed in the ground, 'with many other kinds of torture: in the end they were cast 'to wild beasts to be devoured by them. They are parti-'cular in the account of the generous Germanicus, who, being 'corroborated by the divine grace, overcame the fear of death 'implanted in the nature of men. For when the proconsul ad-'vised him to think of his youth, and to spare himself, and not 'throw away his life in his flourishing age, he was not at all 'moved thereby. But, as they say, he enticed and stimulated 'the wild beasts to approach him, that he might be the sooner 'dismissed from this evil world. Presently after that glorious 'exit, the whole multitude cried out, "Away with the impious.

[d] Ibid. p. 88.
[e] Hieron. De V. J. cap. 17. Chron. p. 169.
[f] H. E. l. 4. c. 14. fin. c. 15. in. p. 128.
[g] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 15. p. 128. &c.

"Let

"Let Polycarp be ſought for." There following then a great
'noiſe and tumult, and having in view the wild beaſts and other
'tortures, Quintus, a Phrygian, was intimated, and gave way; as
'did alſo ſome others with him, who without a truly religious
'fear had raſhly preſented themſelves before the tribunal....
'When the admirable Polycarp heard of the demand made for
'him, he was not at all diſturbed, but continued to be in a firm
'and compoſed temper of mind; and he reſolved to ſtay in
'the city. Nevertheleſs, at length he ſo far complied with the
'requeſt of his friends, as to retire to a country houſe not far
'off; where he abode with a ſmall company, ſpending the time
'night and day in continual prayers to God, offering up ſuppli-
'cations for the peace of the churches throughout the world:
'which indeed was his conſtant uſage. Moreover, three days
'before his apprehenſion, having been at prayer, and falling
'aſleep in the night time, he had a viſion of the pillow under
'his head conſumed by a flame of fire. When he awoke he re-
'lated the viſion to thoſe about him, and letting them know
'that he thence concluded that for the teſtimony of Chriſt he
'ſhould loſe his life by fire. And when they, who were ſent out
'to apprehend him, were uſing their beſt diligence to find him
'out, they ſay that for the love of the brethren he was conſtrained
'to remove again to another place. However, in a ſhort time,
'his purſuers, by informations given them, were led to the place
'where Polycarp was. Coming thither in the evening, they
'found him reſting in an upper room; whence it was not diffi-
'cult for him to remove to another houſe: but he would not,
'ſaying: "The will of the Lord be done." He then went
'down to the men, and talked to them in a free and cheerful
'manner, and ordered meat to be ſet before them, begging that
'they would allow him the ſpace of one hour, in which he might
'pray without diſturbance. Prayer being ended, they ſet him
'upon an aſs to carry him into the city. As they were going he
'was met by Herod the Irenarch, and his father Nicetas, who
'took him up into their chariot. As they ſat together they en-
'deavoured to perſuade him, ſaying, "What harm is it to ſay
"Lord Cæſar, and to ſacrifice, and ſo to be ſafe?" At firſt he
'made no anſwer: but, when they were importunate, he ſaid
"I will never do what you adviſe." They then began to re-
'proach him, and they thruſt him out of the chariot ſo haſtily,
'that in getting down his leg was bruiſed: but he got up and
'went on cheerfully, as if he had ſuffered no harm, till he came
'to the ſtadium. When he was brought before the tribunal
'there was a great ſhout of the multitude. As he came near, the
'proconſul

'proconsul [h] asked him if he was Polycarp. Upon his confessing 'that he was, he endeavoured to persuade him to deny Christ, 'and saying: "Reverence thy age," and other like things cus- 'tomary with them; "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar.—Repent. "Say, Away with the impious." The governor still urging 'him, and saying: "Swear, and I will dismiss thee; reproach "Christ." Polycarp then answered: "Fourscore and six years "have I served him, and he has never done me any injury. "How can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The go- 'vernor was still urgent, saying: "Swear by the fortune of "Cæsar." Whereupon Polycarp answered: "How can you "desire this of me, as if you did not know who I am. Hear me "then openly professing I am a Christian. And if you have a "mind to know the doctrine of Christianity, appoint me a day "and I will inform you." ....The proconsul said: "I have "wild beasts, and I will cast you to them unless you change "your mind." But he answered: "Call for them: there can "be no alteration from good to bad: but it is good to change "from vice to virtue." He said again to him: "Since you do "not mind the beasts, I will order you to be consumed by fire, "unless you repent." Polycarp said: "You threaten me with "fire which burns for an hour, and then is extinguished; but "you are ignorant of the fire of the future judgment, and ever- "lasting punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you "delay? Appoint which you please." The proconsul then 'sent the cryer to make proclamation thrice in the midst of the 'stadium: "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a Christian." 'That proclamation having been made by the cryer, the whole 'multitude of the Gentiles and Jews, inhabiting Smyrna, with 'furious rage, and in a loud voice, cried out: "This is the "teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of "our gods, who teacheth all men not to sacrifice, nor to wor- "ship them." Having uttered those words, they cried out, and 'requested Philip the Asiarch to let out a lion upon Polycarp. 'He said he could not do that, because the amphitheatrical shows 'of wild beasts were over. Then they cried out, with one con- 'sent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. Which was no 'sooner said than done: all immediately joining together in 'bringing wood, and dried branches of trees, from the shops

[h] In the ancient Latin edition of this epistle, which may be seen in Ruinart, and elsewhere, the proconsul's name, near the end, is said to be Statius Quadratus; who is mentioned by Aristides, the sophist, as proconsul of Asia. And Valesius hence argues that Polycarp suffered in the seventh year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or the year of Christ 167.

'and

'and the baths: the Jews alſo, according to their cuſtom, aſſiſt-
'ing with the greateſt forwardneſs. When the pile was made
'ready, he unclothed himſelf, and untied his girdle, and endea-
'voured to pull off his ſhoes himſelf, which for a long time
'he had not done before; the faithful performing ſuch offices
'for him, and that not only ſince he became grey-headed, but
'in a more early age: ſuch was the veneration in which he had
'been long held for the ſanctity of his life! Now all things be-
'ing prepared and put in order for the pile; when they were
'about to nail him to the ſtake, he ſaid: "Let me be as I am.
"He that enables me to bear the fire will enable me alſo to re-
"main unmoved within the pile, without your faſtening me with
"nails." They therefore did not nail him, but only bound him.
'He then offered up a prayer to God; which he concluded, ſay-
'ing aloud, Amen. Then the officers, who had the charge of
'it, kindled the fire. But Polycarp's body not being ſo ſoon
'conſumed as expected, the people deſired that the confector
'ſhould be called for, and run him through with a ſword. The
'faithful were now very deſirous to have his body delivered to
'them: but ſome there were who moved Nicetas, father of
'Herod, to go to the governor to prevent his giving the body to
'the believers: leſt, as they ſaid, they ſhould leave him that was
'crucified, to worſhip this man. This they ſaid at the ſuggeſtion
'of the Jews, who alſo diligently watched us, that we might
'not carry off the body: little conſidering that we can never
'forſake Chriſt, who has ſuffered for the ſalvation of all men.
'Him we worſhip as the Son of God. The martyrs we love as
'the diſciples and imitators of the Lord. The centurion there-
'fore, perceiving the perverſeneſs of the Jews, cauſed the body
'to be brought forth, and burnt it. We then gathered up his
'bones, and depoſited them in a proper place. This is our ac-
'count of the bleſſed Polycarp, who, with twelve others from
'Philadelphia, ſuffered martyrdom at Smyrna:' or, according to another reading, 'who, together with thoſe of Philadelphia,
'was the twelfth who ſuffered martyrdom at Smyrna.'

It may be here aſked by ſome what was the death which Polycarp endured? I anſwer, he was burnt alive. Some who were caſt to wild beaſts were torn and mangled, but not killed outright by them: their death was completed by the officer called confector, who thruſt them through with a ſword, or ſome other weapon with which he was armed. So it now was with Polycarp: he was burnt alive. But by ſome means it ſo happened that he lived a good while in the pile. For which reaſon it was determined that he ſhould be diſpatched with a ſword. Nor was there

any

any exception made to that by the multitude: they even desired it to secure his death.

Thus died the excellent, the aged and venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

It is needless for me to make remarks which may be obvious to every reader. Polycarp, and the rest with him, suffered as Christians. It does not appear that any crime, beside that of Christianity, was proved or even imputed to them. Their innocence of great crimes, punishable by law, is manifest. If they had been known, or even suspected, to kill and eat children, and practise promiscuous lewdness in their worship, they would not have been readily discharged upon a bare verbal renunciation of their religion.

We must be also persuaded that the Christians were now well known in the world: how much soever the great men of those times might affect to seem unacquainted with them, they knew them very well. It is not conceivable that an emperor, who has any the least concern for the welfare of his people, and the peace of society, should neglect to inform himself about what is done in great cities, and in their theatres or amphitheatres. Marcus, therefore, and his courtiers, and the philosophers about him, knew very well what had now happened at Smyrna in *Asia*. Nevertheless he took no pains to restrain the animosity of the people.

Let me say one thing more—that the steadiness of the Christians might have induced Marcus and his courtiers to make inquiries after their scriptures, and the evidences of those principles which they so firmly believed, and by which they were supported under so grievous sufferings.

III. I shall be rather more particular in my account of the sufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, another instance of grievous persecution in the reign of the same emperor. Of the histories of their martyrdom, and of that of Polycarp, as is well known, that great man, Joseph Scaliger, speaks with admiration: 'The 'minds of pious and devout men,' says he, 'must be so affect-'ed with them, as never to be satiated with the reading of them.

[a] Ea, et Polycarpi Martyrium hodie extant apud Eusebium in Historia Ecclesiastica, quæ sunt vetustissima Ecclesiæ Martyria, quorum lectione piorum animus ita afficitur, ut nunquam satur inde recedat. Quod quidem ita esse, unusquisque pro suo cujusque conscientiæ modo sentire potest. Certe ego nihil unquam in historiâ ecclesiasticâ vidi, a cujus lectione commotior recedam, ut non amplius meus esse videar. Idem sentimus de Actis Martyrum Lugdunensium et Viennensium apud eundem Eusebium, quibus quid augustius, quid venerabilius in antiquitatis monumentis? Jos. Scal. Animad. in Euseb. p. 221.

'For my own part I never met with any thing in ecclesiastical 'history by which I have been so transported as by these.'

I formerly said that [k] the history of the sufferings of the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons is the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity. The martyrdom, or passion, of Perpetua and Felicitas, who suffered near the beginning of the third century, in the time of the emperor Severus, is likewise affecting, and curious in divers respects, as was also observed [l] formerly.

To relate this in the way of an extract would be to enervate what is in the highest degree affecting: and moreover, as before said, it is a necessary part of the history and character of this emperor. I therefore intend to transcribe Eusebius at length, word for word, for the most part: after which I shall add some remarks.

Says Eusebius, in his preface to the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History: 'At this time Eleutherus succeeded Soter in 'the see of Rome: and it was the seventeenth year of the em-'peror Antoninus; in which time the persecution against us raged 'with great violence in several parts of the world, through the 'enmity of the people in the cities. What [m] vast multitudes of 'martyrs there were throughout the whole empire may be con-'cluded from what happened in one nation: which also have 'been committed to writing, that they may be delivered to others 'and may be always remembered. The whole history of these 'things has been inserted in our work, Of the Collection of 'Martyrs, of which I here select a part [n].'

Eusebius then goes on in [o] the first chapter of that book: 'The country in which those things happened, of which I am 'now to speak, is Gaul. In which are two great and famous 'cities, Lyons and Vienne, both washed by the river Rhone, 'which traverseth that country with a rapid stream. These fa-'mous churches sent in writing an account of their martyrs to 'the churches in Asia and Phrygia. I shall insert their own 'words: "The servants of Jesus Christ, dwelling in Vienne "and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have "the same faith and hope of redemption with us, peace and "grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ our "Lord." After a few things said in the way of preface, they

[k] Vol. ii. p. 149, 150. [l] Vol. iii. p. 2. [m] Μυριαδας μαρτυρων ανα την οικουμενην διαπρεψαι στοχασμῳ λαβειν ενεστιν, ἀπο των καθ' ἑν ἔθνος συμβεβηκοτων. H. E. l. 5, Pr. p. 153. [n] That the persecution at Lyons, of which Eusebius here speaks, happened in the seventeenth year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the year of Christ 177, was shewn formerly. Vol. ii. p. 149, 150.

[o] H. E. l. 5. c. i. p. 154, &c.

'begin

'begin the narration in theſe words: "The greatneſs of the "affliction in theſe places, and the exceſſive rage of the people "againſt the ſaints, and what the bleſſed martyrs have endured, "we are not able to deſcribe in words, nor put down in writing: "for the enemy at the very firſt invaded us with the greateſt "violence, ſhewing from the beginning what ſore evils we "were to expect. Every thing was done to exerciſe his mi-"niſters, and to train them to the practice of the utmoſt "cruelty againſt the ſervants of God. We were not only "excluded from houſes," [of friends, as it ſeems,] "and from "the baths and the market, but we were forbidden to appear "in any place whatever. However, the grace of God fought "for us againſt the enemy; delivering ſuch as were weak, "and ſetting up the pillars, which were firm and ſtable, and able "by their patience and fortitude to withſtand all the force of "the enemy. They therefore came to a near combat with him, "undergoing all manner of reproach and ſuffering. Account-"ing the greateſt afflictions to be ſmall, they haſtened to Chriſt; "thus ſhewing, in fact, that *the ſufferings of this preſent time are* "*not worthy to be compared with the glory which ſhall be revealed in* "*us:* Rom. viii. 18. Firſt then they courageouſly endured the "inſults of the multitude gathered together about them in "crowds, their ſhouts, and blows, and draggings about, pil-"laging their goods, throwing of ſtones, confinement to their "dwellings, and all ſuch things as an enraged multitude is wont "to practiſe againſt adverſaries and enemies. Then, being "brought into the market by the tribune and the chief magiſ-"trates of the city, they were examined before all the people: "and, having made their confeſſion, they were ſhut up in priſon "till the arrival of the [p] preſident. Afterwards, when they were "brought before the preſident, who exerciſed all manner of "cruelty againſt us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, "full of love toward God and his neighbour, whoſe courſe of "life alſo was ſo perfect that, though a young man, he might "deſerve the character of old Zacharias, Luke i. 6. *that he* "*walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blame-*

[p] The name of the preſident is no where mentioned in this epiſtle; but Valeſius thinks he was Severus, afterwards emperor: and he thinks he was not proconſul, but the emperor's legate, or lieutenant; foraſmuch as Spartian ſays he governed the province of Lyons in that quality. Deinde Lugdunenſem provinciam legatus accepit. De Severo. c. 4. I ſhall add, that Dion Caſſius alſo mentions his government at Lyons. Και εν Λουγδουνῳ ασχοντι...προσηλθε. Dion. p. 1243. Reimar. And Fr. Balduinus was of the ſame opinion. Interea dum hæc Romæ exercerentur, Lugdunenſem provinciam legatus regebat Septimius Severus....Non dubium eſt, quæ tunc illic de Chriſtianis ſumpta ſupplicia eſſe dicuntur, hujus Severi imperio irrogata fuiſſe. Edict. Princ. Rom. de Chriſtianis. p. 97.

"*leſs:* and was unwearied in the performance of all good offices "to his neighbour, being full of zeal for God, and *fervent in* "*ſpirit:* Rom. xii. 11: he being ſuch an one, was not able to "bear theſe ſo unjuſt proceedings againſt us; but, being moved "with indignation, requeſted that he might be allowed to make "a defence in behalf of the brethren, and ſhew that nothing "impious and irreligious was done by us. But they who were "near the tribunal cried out againſt him, (for he was a perſon "well known;) and the preſident refuſed to grant his requeſt, "though ſo reaſonable, and aſked him whether he was a Chriſ- "tian. He, anſwering with a loud voice that he was a Chriſ- "tian, was put into the number [q] of the martyrs, and was "called the advocate of the Chriſtians. And indeed he had "within him the advocate, the Holy Ghoſt, in a greater mea- "ſure than Zacharias: Luke i. 67. Which he alſo ſhewed by "the abundance of his love, being willing to lay down his own "life in defence of the brethren: 1 John iii. 16. For he was and "is a genuine diſciple of Chriſt, *following the lamb whitherſoever* "*he goeth:* Rev. xiv. 4. After this, others were choſen out; "and they proved to be illuſtrious and well-prepared proto- "martyrs; who with all alacrity of mind accompliſhed the ſo- "lemn confeſſion of martyrdom. They alſo were manifeſt "who were unprepared, and unexerciſed, and ſtill weak, and "not able to bear the ſhock of ſo great a combat; of whom "about ten in number fell away, cauſing in us great grief and "unmeaſurable concern, and damping the alacrity of thoſe who "were not yet apprehended. Of whom however it muſt be "acknowledged that they kept company with the martyrs, and "did not forſake them though they ſuffered conſiderably in ſo "doing. At that time we were all in great conſternation, being "uncertain about the event of this confeſſion: not dreading the "torments that might be inflicted upon us, but apprehenſive "of the iſſue, and that ſome might fall in the trial. However, "from day to day ſuch were taken up as were worthy to ſupply "the number of ſuch as had gone off: ſo that the moſt eminent "men of the two churches, and by whom good order had been "ſettled among us, were picked out and brought together. "Moreover, ſome Gentile ſervants of our people were appre- "hended. For the governor had given public orders for mak- "ing ſtrict inquiries after us. They, at the inſtigation of Satan, "and dreading the torments which they ſaw the ſaints ſuffer,

[q] So confeſſors are called in this, and many other ancient writings, about the ſame time.

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"the ſoldiers alſo exciting them to it, falſely charged ** us "with having the ſuppers of Thyeſtes, and the inceſtuous mix- "tures of Oedipus, and other ſuch like things, which it is not "lawful for us to mention, nor to think of, nor to believe that "they were ever done among men. Theſe ſtories being ſpread "abroad, all men were incenſed againſt us: inſomuch, that if "any there were who before had been civil to us, upon account "of affinity or friendſhip, they were then much offended, and "exclaimed againſt us. And then was fulfilled what the Lord "had ſaid, John xvi. 2; *that the time would come when every one "who killeth you will think that he doth God ſervice:* [or, offers to "God a ſacrifice.] After that the holy martyrs underwent ſuch "torments as are above all deſcription; Satan doing his utmoſt "to make them alſo to ſay ſuch impious things:" [or to confeſs what had been declared by the heathen ſervants.] "But the "utmoſt exceſs of rage of the multitude, and of the preſident, "and of the ſoldiers, fell upon Sanctus, deacon at Vienne; and "upon Maturus, newly baptized indeed, yet a moſt valiant "champion and upon Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who "always was a pillar and ſupport of the churches here; and "upon Blandina, by whom Chriſt ſhewed that thoſe things which "among men ſeem mean, baſe, and contemptible, are by God "accounted worthy of great honour, for their love toward him, "which is evidently manifeſted in great power, and not in ap- "pearance only boaſted of: 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; 2 Cor. v. 12. "For when we were all in pain for her, and eſpecially her "miſtreſs according to the fleſh, Eph. vi. 5, (who likewiſe was "one of the champions among the martyrs,) left, upon account "of the infirmity of her body, ſhe ſhould not be able to make "an open confeſſion, ſhe was furniſhed with ſuch ſtrength, that "they, who by turns tortured her all manner of ways from "morning to evening, became feeble and faint, and acknow- "ledged themſelves overcome, there being nothing more that "they could do to her. And they wondered that ſhe had any "breath left, her whole body having been torn and mangled: "and declaring that any one kind of torture, uſed by them, was "ſufficient to deprive her of life, much more ſo many and ſo "great. But that bleſſed woman and renowned champion re- "newed her ſtrength in the midſt of her confeſſion: 2 Cor. iv. "16. And it was a refreſhment and eaſe to her, and an abate-

** Thyeſtes, as is ſaid, ate part of his own ſon, whom his brother Atreus, to be re- venged on him for committing adultery with his wife, had killed, and then dreſſed, and ſet before him at an entertainment. ....Oedipus, as the ſtory is, married his mo- ther Jocaſta, not knowing her to be ſo, and had children by her.

" ment of the torments inflicted upon her, to ſay: " I am a " Chriſtian: nor is there any wickedneſs practiſed among us." " Sanctus likewiſe, having in a moſt extraordinary manner, " and beyond all human power, courageouſly undergone all the " tortures they could invent, the wicked wretches hoping, by " the continuance and greatneſs of their tortures, to extort from " him ſomewhat unbecoming," [a confeſſion of unbecoming practices among the Chriſtians] " he withſtood them with ſuch " reſolution that he would not tell them his own name, nor his " country, nor the city whence he was, nor whether he was a " ſlave or a freeman. But to all their interrogatories he an- " ſwered in the Roman tongue: " I am a Chriſtian:" that was " what he declared again and again, inſtead of his name, and " city, and country: nor did the Gentiles hear any other word " from him. Upon which account the rage both of the preſi- " dent and the tormentors was very great. And when there was " nothing more that they could do unto him, they at laſt clapt " red hot plates of braſs upon the moſt tender parts of his body, " and his members were burnt; yet he ſtood firm, without " yielding at all, and continued ſtedfaſt and unſhaken in his " confeſſion; bedewed and ſtrengthened with the heavenly liv- " ing water which flowed out of the belly of Chriſt: John vii. " 38. His body ſhewed what had been done, being all over " wound and ſcar, contracted and drawn together, having loſt " the external ſhape of a man. In whom Chriſt ſuffering, per- " formed great wonders, defeating the enemy, and demon- " ſtrating, for an example to others, that nothing is formida- " ble where there is the love of the Father, nor any thing pain- " ful where the glory of Chriſt is concerned. For when thoſe " wicked men, a few days after, began again to torture the mar- " tyr, ſuppoſing that, if they ſhould make uſe of the ſame to- " tures whilſt his body was ſwelled, and his wounds inflamed, " they ſhould maſter him, ſince he could not endure to be " touched by the hand; or that he would die under the tor- " ments, which might ſtrike terror into others; not only no ſuch " thing happened to him, but, contrary to the opinion of all " men, his body became erect by means of thoſe repeated tor- " tures, and he recovered his former ſhape, and the uſe of his " limbs: ſo that, by the grace of Chriſt, the ſecond torture be- " came a remedy inſtead of a puniſhment. Moreover, the devil " cauſed one Biblias to be brought out, being one of thoſe who " had denied the faith, and whom he conſidered as already de- " voured by him; but was deſirous to accumulate her guilt by " compelling her to utter reproachful things againſt us. And indeed

"indeed ſhe had ſhewn herſelf weak and timorous: but now "in the midſt of her torture ſhe recovered herſelf, and awaked "as it were out of a profound ſleep, being by theſe torments, "which are but for a time, reminded of the everlaſting torments "of hell. She then contradicted the ſlanderous reports con- "cerning us, ſaying: "How ſhould they eat infants to whom "it is not lawful to eat the blood of brute animals!" And "thenceforward ſhe confeſſed herſelf a Chriſtian, and was added "to the number of the martyrs. But when theſe tyrannical mea- "ſures were rendered ineffectual by Chriſt, through the patience "of thoſe bleſſed men, the devil tried other devices; ſuch as "impriſonment in dark and noiſome dungeons; putting the feet "into ſtocks and ſtraining them to the fifth hole; and ſuch other "pains as enraged miniſters, and full of the devil, inflict upon "thoſe who are ſhut up in priſon: ſo that many were ſuffocated "in their confinement, even as many as it was the will of the "Lord ſhould go out of the world in that manner, thereby "ſhewing forth his glory. But ſome others, who had been "grievouſly tortured, ſo that it was thought they could not live, "though the beſt methods of cure had been afforded them, "continued to live in priſon; deprived indeed of the help of "men, but corroborated by the Lord, and ſtrengthened both in "body and mind; who alſo animated and comforted the reſt: "whilſt others who were but young, and were newly appre- "hended, whoſe bodies were not accuſtomed to hardſhips, were "not able to bear the inconvenience of confinement, and ex- "pired in the priſon. But the bleſſed Pothinus, who was in- "truſted with the adminiſtration of the epiſcopal office at Lyons, "being more than ninety years of age, and very weak in body, "and ſcarcely breathing by reaſon of his bodily infirmity, but "ſtrengthened in mind with a deſire of the martyrdom now in "view, even he alſo was dragged to the tribunal. His body was "worn out by age and diſtemper; but his ſoul yet remained in "him, that by it Chriſt might triumph. He being brought be- "fore the tribunal by the ſoldiers, the city magiſtrates alſo at- "tending, and the multitude hooting him all along with loud "ſhouts, as if he had been Chriſt himſelf, exhibited a good "teſtimony. Being aſked by the preſident, "who was the God "of the Chriſtians," he anſwered: "If you are worthy, you "ſhall know." After that he was dragged about in an inhuman "manner, and received many blows; they who were near ſtrik- "ing him with their hands and feet, without any reſpect to his "age; they who ſtood farther off threw at him whatever came to "hand: every one thinking himſelf guilty of an offence againſt

" religion, if he did not offer him ſome abuſe: for thereby " they thought they ſhould avenge their gods. And when there " was ſcarcely any breath left in him he was caſt into priſon, " where after two days he expired.

" And now appeared a wonderful diſpenſation of divine pro- " vidence, and the boundleſs mercy of Jeſus Chriſt. It was a " rare inſtance indeed in the brotherhood, but not beyond the " power or wiſdom of Chriſt; for they who, at their firſt being ap- " prehended, had denied the faith, were alſo ſhut up in priſon, and " partook of the ſame ſufferings with others; for their denial was " of no benefit to them at that time. They who confeſſed what " they really were, were impriſoned as Chriſtians, no other crime " being laid to their charge; but theſe were confined as mur- " derers and malefactors, and therefore underwent a double " puniſhment: for the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the pro- " miſed happineſs, and the Spirit of the Father comforted thoſe; " but the conſcience of the others was a torment to them, inſo- " much that, in their paſſage from the priſon to the tribunal, " the difference of their countenances was manifeſt to all. The " others appeared cheerful, having in their countenances a mix- " ture of gravity and pleaſantneſs. Their fetters gave them " grace and comelineſs, *like a bride adorned with treſſes of gold,* " *wrought with divers colours*, (Pſal. xlv. 10....15); having alſo a " ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, ſo that ſome thought they were anointed " with terreſtrial ointment. The others appeared dejected and " diſpirited, and covered all over with deformity. And, more- " over, they were reproached by the Gentiles as unmanly and " mean-ſpirited; having brought upon themſelves the accuſa- " tion of being murderers, and loſt the honourable and glorious " and reviving appellation [of Chriſtians]. When the reſt be- " held theſe things, they were eſtabliſhed. And, if after this any " were apprehended, they preſently, without any doubt or heſi- " tation, confeſſed, not admitting the leaſt thought of a diabo- " lical ſuggeſtion." Having here interpoſed ſome things,' ſays Euſebius, 'they go on. " Henceforward the martyrdoms were " divided into all ſorts; for, having platted one crown of dif- " ferent colours, they offered it to the Father: and indeed it was " fit that theſe generous champions, who had ſuſtained various " combats, and had gloriouſly overcome, ſhould receive a glori- " ous and incorruptible crown. Maturus then, and Sanctus, " and Blandina, and Attalus, were brought to the wild beaſts in " the amphitheatre, to be a public ſpectacle to the inhumanity " of the Gentiles: a day for combats of wild beaſts having been " purpoſely granted upon our account. And Maturus and San-

" tus

" tus did again undergo all ſorts of torments in the amphitheatre,
" as if they had before ſuffered nothing at all. Or rather, hav-
" ing already overcome the adverſary in many encounters, and
" being now to contend for the crown itſelf, they again endured
" in the way to it the accuſtomed blows of the place, and the
" tearings of wild beaſts, and whatever elſe the mad multitude
" from all ſides called for and demanded: and after all theſe
" things the iron chair, upon which, when their bodies were
" broiled, they yielded the offenſive ſmell of burnt fleſh. Nor
" were they yet ſatisfied, but were ſtill more enraged, being
" earneſtly deſirous to overcome the patience of the ſufferers.
" However, they could get nothing from Sanctus more than the
" confeſſion which he had made at the firſt. Theſe two there-
" fore, (Maturus and Sanctus,) having undergone a ſevere com-
" bat, their life having continued a long while, they were at
" laſt ſlain, having been made throughout that day a *ſpectacle to*
" *the world*, inſtead of all that variety which is uſually exhibited
" in the combats of gladiators (1 Cor. iv. 9). But Blandina,
" having been hung upon a ſtake, was left for a prey to wild-
" beaſts which were let out upon her. And, as ſhe ſeemed to
" hang upon a croſs, and prayed to God earneſtly, ſhe infuſed
" great alacrity into the combatants, they ſeeing with their own
" eyes, in the perſon of their ſiſter, him who was crucified for us,
" that he might perſuade all who believe in him that all who
" ſuffer for his glory ſhall have everlaſting communion with the
" living God. None of the wild beaſts touching her at that
" time, ſhe was taken down from the ſtake, and ſent again to
" priſon, being reſerved for another combat; that, having over-
" come in many encounters, ſhe might render the condemnation
" of the crooked ſerpent inexcuſable (Iſ. xxvii. 1); and that ſhe
" might be an encouragement to the brethren, when ſhe, who
" was of little account, infirm, and deſpicable, being clothed
" with the great and invincible champion, having often over-
" come the enemy, obtained an incorruptible crown of glory,
" (1 Cor. ix. 25). Now Attalus was earneſtly called for by the
" multitude: for indeed he was an eminent perſon, and by rea-
" ſon of the clearneſs of his conſcience came forth as a cham-
" pion prepared for the combat; for he was well exerciſed in the
" Chriſtian diſcipline, and was always a witneſs of the truth
" among us. He was led round the amphitheatre with a board
" carried before him, upon which was inſcribed in the Roman
" tongue: This is Attalus, the Chriſtian; the people all the
" while expreſſing great indignation againſt him. The preſi-
" dent, underſtanding that he was a Roman, commanded him to

" be

" be taken away, and to be carried to the reſt who were in pri-
" ſon; concerning whom he had ſent to Cæſar, and was in ex-
" pectation of an anſwer. That interval of time was not idly
" ſpent, nor unprofitable to them; but through their patience
" the boundleſs mercy of Chriſt was manifeſted. By the living
" the dead members of the church were revived. The martyrs
" obtained favour for thoſe who were no martyrs. And there
" was great joy to the virgin mother, when ſhe received thoſe
" alive which had been caſt out as dead. For by the holy
" martyrs many of thoſe who had denied the faith were *formed*
" *again in the womb*, and had their vital heat rekindled in them,
" and learned to confeſs themſelves Chriſtians; (Gal. iv. 19),
" and, having recovered life and ſtrength, came before the tri-
" bunal, that they might be again interrogated by the preſident.
" And God, who deſireth not the death of a ſinner, being pro-
" pitious to them, put into them a better diſpoſition; (Ezek.
" xxxiii. 11.) The reſcript of Cæſar was, That [r] they who con-
" feſſed Chriſt ſhould [s] be put to death; but that if any denied
" themſelves to be Chriſtians they might be ſet at liberty.
" The public aſſembly of this place being now begun, at which
" there is a vaſt concourſe of people from all parts, the preſident
" ordered the bleſſed martyrs to be brought before the tribunal,
" expoſing them as a public ſhew to the multitude. Having
" again interrogated them, as many as were found to be Roman
" citizens he ordered to be beheaded; the reſt he ſent to the
" wild beaſts. But Chriſt was greatly glorified in thoſe who be-
" fore had denied the faith; but now, contrary to the expecta-
" tion of the Gentiles, confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians.
" They were interrogated apart, as being now to be diſmiſſed,
" and ſet at liberty; but, making confeſſion, they were added to
" the number of the martyrs. However, they remained without,
" who never had the principle of faith, nor a regard to the wed-
" ding garment, not having the fear of God in them, but were
" ſons of perdition, and by their converſation had cauſed the
" way of truth to be blaſphemed: all the reſt were added to the
" church. And, when the queſtion was put to them, Alexan-
" der, a Phrygian by nation, and by profeſſion a phyſician, who
" had lived in Gaul many years, and was known to almoſt all
" men for his love of God and boldneſs in preaching the word,
" encouraged them: for he was not deſtitute of apoſtolic grace.

[r] Επιτειλαντος γαρ τω Καισαρος, τους μεν αποτυμπανισθηναι· ει δε τινες αρνοιντο, τουτους απολυθηναι. p. 162. D. [s] 'Should be put to death.' Ut confitentes quidem gladio cæderentur. Valeſ. And ſee his notes, and Gataker. Miſcell. cap. 46. p. 912.

" He,

"He, ſtanding near the tribunal, and by nods encouraging them "to confeſs the faith, appeared to thoſe, who ſtood round "about the tribunal, as if he endured the pangs of child-birth. "But the multitude being greatly incenſed that they, who be- "fore had denied the faith, ſhould now be admitted to make "confeſſion, cried out againſt Alexander as the occaſion of it. "Whereupon the preſident cauſed him to be ſet before him, "and aſked him who he was. He confeſſing himſelf to be "a Chriſtian, the preſident in a great rage condemned him to "the wild beaſts. The day following he came into the amphi- "theatre, together with Attalus: for the preſident, [t] to gratify "the people, delivered up Attalus again to the wild beaſts. "Which two having undergone all the inſtruments of torture in "the amphitheatre, which were invented to torment them, and "having endured a great combat, were run through with a "ſword. Alexander neither ſighed, nor ſaid any thing at all, "but in his heart converſed with God. Attalus, when he was "ſet in the iron chair, and was ſcorched all over, and an offen- "ſive ſtench of burnt fleſh proceeded from his body, ſpake to "the multitude in the Roman tongue:—This, ſays he, is to de- "vour men, which is your practice. As for us, we neither de- "vour men, nor do we commit any other wickedneſs whatever.— "Being aſked what is the name of God, he anſwered: God has "not a name as men have. After all theſe, on the laſt day of "the ſhows, Blandina was again brought in with a young man "named Ponticus, about fifteen years of age; who alſo had "been every day ſucceſſively brought in to ſee the ſufferings of "the others. Now they were required to ſwear by their idols; "but, as they remained firm, and ſet their gods at nought, the "multitude was greatly incenſed againſt them, ſo that they had "no compaſſion on the age of the young man, nor any reſpect "for the ſex of the other; but expoſed them to all manner of "ſufferings, and made them go through the whole circle of tor- "tures, at times calling out to them to ſwear, without being "able to effect it. For Ponticus, animated and eſtabliſhed by "his ſiſter, as the Gentiles alſo perceived, after having courage- "ouſly endured every kind of torment, expired. But the bleſſed "Blandina, the laſt of all, having, like a good mother, en- "couraged her children, and ſent them before her victors to the "king; after having again meaſured over the ſame courſe of "combats that her ſons had paſſed through; haſtened to them, "rejoicing and exulting at her departure, as if ſhe had been in-

[t] Και γαρ τον Ατταλον τῳ οχλῳ χαριζομενος ο ηγεμων, εξεδωκε παλιν προς θηρια. p. 163. C.

"vited

" vited to a wedding ſupper, and not caſt to wild beaſts. After " ſhe had been ſcourged, after ſhe had been expoſed to wild " beaſts, and after the iron chair, ſhe was encloſed in a net, and " thrown to a bull: having been often toſſed by the beaſt (though " ſhe was all the while inſenſible, by reaſon of hope, and a firm " aſſent to what ſhe believed, and familiarly converſing with " Chriſt,) ſhe alſo was run through with a ſword. The Gen- " tiles themſelves acknowledged that there never had been any " woman among them who had undergone ſo many and ſo great " ſufferings: nevertheleſs, their cruel rage againſt the ſaints was " not yet ſatiated....Their abuſes began again in a new and pe- " culiar manner againſt the bodies of the ſaints. They were not " aſhamed that they had been vanquiſhed by them. And, as if " deſtitute of human reaſon and underſtanding, their rage was " farther inflamed: and the governor, and the people, like a " wild beaſt, manifeſted a like degree of hatred againſt us, that " the ſcripture might be fulfilled which ſaith, Rev. xxii. 11: *He* " *that is unjuſt let him be unjuſt ſtill; and he that is righteous let* " *him be righteous ſtill.* Thoſe who had been ſuffocated in priſon " they caſt to the dogs, carefully watching them day and night, " leſt any of us ſhould inter them. Then they laid out the " remainders of the bodies left unconſumed by the fire, partly " torn, and partly burnt, and the heads of the reſt, with the " trunks of their bodies: all theſe they kept unburied with a " guard of ſoldiers many days. Some were filled with indigna- " tion, and gnaſhed with their teeth at the dead, as if deſirous to " be farther revenged upon them. Some inſulted over them " and derided them, at the ſame time extolling their idols, and " attributing to them the puniſhment that had been inflicted on " the martyrs. Some, who were more mild, and ſeemed in ſome " meaſure to ſympathize with us, nevertheleſs upbraided us, " ſaying: Where is their God? and of what benefit has their " religion been to them, which they have preferred above their " lives? In the mean time we were greatly concerned that we " could not bury the bodies in the earth: for neither did the " darkneſs of the night afford us any aſſiſtance, nor would money " perſuade, nor entreaties prevail; but they continued to watch " the bodies very carefully, as if ſome great matter were to be " gained by their not being buried." ' After interpoſing here ' ſome things,' ſays Euſebius, ' they proceed. " The bodies " therefore of the martyrs having undergone all manner of ig- " nominy, and having lain expoſed in the air ſix days, were " burnt: and, having been reduced to aſhes by thoſe impious " men, were by them thrown into the river Rhone, which runs

" hard

" hard by, that no remains of them might be any longer viſible " on this earth. Thus they acted, as if they could be too hard " for God, and prevent their reviviſcence; or, as themſelves " ſaid, that they might have no hope of a reſurrection; truſt- " ing [t] to which they have brought in among us a ſtrange and " new religion, and, deſpiſing the heavieſt ſufferings, are ready " to meet death with cheerfulneſs. Let us now ſee whether they " will riſe again, and whether their God is able to help them, " and to deliver them out of our hands."

'Such things,' adds Euſebius, at the beginning of the next chapter, 'befel theſe churches of Chriſt in the reign of the fore-'mentioned emperor; whence it may be reaſonably concluded 'what happened in the other provinces.'

By which we are led to believe that Euſebius ſuppoſed there was a general perſecution of the Chriſtians throughout the Roman empire at that time.

Euſebius goes on, and I ſhall continue to tranſcribe him; hoping that my readers may not be unwilling to admit of ſome prolixity upon this occaſion.

'But,' ſays [u] Euſebius, in the words next following, 'it may 'be worth the while to take ſomewhat more from that epiſtle, 'wherein the meekneſs and humanity of the forementioned mar-'tyrs is deſcribed, and in theſe words: " Who alſo were ſo far " followers and imitators of Chriſt, *who, being in the form of God,* " *did not covet to appear like God*; Phil. ii. 6: that though they were " in ſo great glory, having ſuffered as martyrs, not once only, or " twice, but often; although they had been toſſed by wild beaſts, " and then committed again to priſon; although they had the " marks of fire and ſcars and wounds all over them, they did " not declare themſelves to be martyrs, nor allow us to call them " by that name. But if at any time any one of us, either in a " letter or in diſcourſe, termed them martyrs, they reproved us " ſharply. But they readily aſcribed the honour of martyrdom " to Chriſt, *the faithful and true witneſs, and the firſt-begotten of the* " *dead, and the prince of the life of God*; Rev. i. 5. They alſo com- " memorated the martyrs who were already departed out of this " life, and ſaid—Theſe now are martyrs whom Chriſt has vouch- " ſafed to take to himſelf in the midſt of their confeſſion, ſealing " their martyrdom by their death; we are mean and humble " confeſſors. And with tears they beſought the brethren, en- " treating that earneſt prayers might be made for them that

[t] ... ἢ πεποιθότες, ξένην τινα καὶ καινὴν ἡμῖν εἰσαγαγεῖν θρησκείαν. p. 165. D.
[u] Ib. cap. 2. p. 166.

" they

" they might be perfected. And they demonſtrated the power " of martyrdom in fact, uſing great freedom of ſpeech in all their " anſwers to the Gentiles, and manifeſting [x] a greatneſs of mind " in their patience, fearleſſneſs, and undaunted courage under " all their ſufferings. But they refuſed the appellation of mar- " tyrs from the brethren, being filled with the fear of God. " Again, after ſome few things, they ſay: *They humbled themſelves* " *under the mighty hand, by which they are now exalted*; 1 Pet. v. 6: " they apologized for themſelves to all, but accuſed none. They " looſed all, but they bound none. They prayed for thoſe who " grievouſly treated them, as did Stephen the perfect martyr: " *Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge*; Acts vii. 60. And if he " prayed for thoſe who ſtoned him, how much more for the " brethren? And again, after a few other things, they ſay: for " that was the greateſt encounter which they had with the ene- " my, proceeding from their genuine love. And the beaſt " being ſtrangled brought up again alive thoſe whom before he " ſuppoſed he had digeſted. They did not proudly glory over " thoſe that fell. On ſuch as were indigent they beſtowed thoſe " good things with which themſelves abounded: having mother- " ly bowels of compaſſion, they poured out many tears for them " to the father: *They aſked life, and he gave it them*; Pſal. xxi. 4; " which alſo they imparted to their neighbour: and, having " been in all things conquerors, they went to God. They al- " ways loved peace, they always recommended peace, and in " peace they went to God: leaving no grief to their mother, nor " contention and war among the brethren, but joy and peace " and concord and love."

Euſebius ſtill goes on in another chapter, which I ſhall likewiſe here tranſcribe.

' Moreover,' ſays [y] he, ' in the ſame epiſtle there is another ' thing well deſerving to be taken notice of. It is to this pur- ' poſe: " For Alcibiades, one of the martyrs, who led a very " auſtere courſe of life, and hitherto had fed upon bread and " water only, and ſtill obſerving the ſame courſe of life in priſon; " it was revealed to Attalus, after his firſt combat in the amphi- " theatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not uſing the crea- " tures of God, and was an occaſion of ſcandal to others; 1 Tim. " iv. 4: and Alcibiades ſubmitted, and after that partook of all " ſorts of food promiſcuouſly, and gave God thanks." For,' adds Euſebius, ' they were not deſtitute of the grace of God, ' but the Holy Spirit was their director.'

[x] .... και την ευγενειαν δια της υπομονης και αφοβιας, και ατρομιας φανεραν εποιουν. p. 166. D.

[y] Ib. cap. 3. p. 167.

IV. I

IV. I ſhall now make ſome remarks.

1. The fierceneſs of the perſecution at Lyons muſt have continued for ſome good while, ſeveral months at leaſt. This muſt be manifeſt to all, ſo that I need not add any thing to ſhew it.

2. Here is a proof of the great progreſs of the Chriſtian religion in a ſhort time. There were now two churches in that part of Gaul; one at Lyons, the other at Vienne. Pothinus, biſhop of the church of Lyons, was a venerable man, of great age. The number of Chriſtians in thoſe two places muſt have been very conſiderable. There were among them men of diſtinction for their knowledge and underſtanding. Attalus, and divers others, were Roman citizens. Alexander was by profeſſion a phyſician. There were among them men of ſubſtance, who had a number of ſlaves, ſome of which were heathens, others Chriſtians, one of whom was the admirable Blandina.

As it may be of uſe to caſt ſome light upon this remarkable ſtory, and upon the epiſtle which we have juſt ſeen, I ſhall now tranſcribe ſome [z] obſervations of Valeſius: 'Here ariſeth,' ſaith he, 'a twofold queſtion. The firſt is, Why was this epiſtle written jointly by the two churches of Vienne and Lyons? The other is, Why theſe Gauls wrote in Greek, and to the churches of Aſia and Phrygia? As for the firſt, I ſuppoſe the reaſon to be, that the churches of Vienne and Lyons were joined together, not only by vicinity of place, but alſo by the bonds of mutual love. And ſince they had ſuffered together in the ſame perſecution, they join together in an account of their martyrs. And both the provinces ſeem to have been under the juriſdiction of one and the ſame preſident: for theſe reaſons they joined together in this account. For whereas ſome have ſuppoſed that there was but one biſhop only of theſe two cities, they are confuted by the epiſtle itſelf, which calls Pothinus biſhop of Lyons, not of Vienne. Moreover, they of Lyons out of reſpect name thoſe of Vienne firſt: foraſmuch as they of Lyons wrote the epiſtle, and gave an account of what was done in their own city. As for the ſecond queſtion, we perceive from the epiſtle itſelf that there were many Greeks in the church of Lyons. Attalus and Alexander were Phrygians: and Alcibiades alſo, as I ſuppoſe, came from Phrygia. Irenæus likewiſe was born in Aſia, and when young, converſed with Polycarp. The name of Pothinus denotes it to be of Greek original. It is no wonder therefore that they, who came into Gaul from Aſia, ſhould write to their brethren in Aſia;

[z] Annot. in Euſeb. p. 85, 86.

from

'from whom also, as may be supposed, they had before received 'an epistle concerning the death of Polycarp and others.' So writes Valesius.

Sulpicius Severus, referring to this persecution, says, 'And [a] 'now first of all martyrdoms were seen in Gaul.' It is manifest that there were now two churches, one at Vienne, another at Lyons; though the bishop of the former city is not expressly named. These words are very remarkable: 'However, [b] from 'day to day such were taken up as were worthy to supply the 'number of such as had gone off. So that the most eminent 'men of the two churches, by whom good order had been settled 'among us, were picked out and brought together.' We cannot hence conclude when conversions were first made in this country: but we can hence reasonably infer that these two churches had been for some while in a flourishing condition; and that the eminent men, who had been the authors of the good order among them, were still living, and several of them 'now suf-'fered martyrdom.'

And we have reason to believe that, though these two societies underwent a severe shock at this time, they were not shattered or broken to pieces. They may have recovered themselves and flourished again. For Irenæus, who was now [c] presbyter, succeeded Pothinus in the episcopate, and lived and wrote with great reputation after [d] this. His large and excellent work against heresies in five books is a work of leisure, and must have been written in a time of peace and tranquillity.

3. The sufferings which the Christians now underwent were various and very grievous; they need not to be here particularly rehearsed. We might have been apt to think that the accounts of the Christians' sufferings, which we meet with in Lactantius, and other ancient apologists, are oratorical exaggeration. But here is an authentic account of eye-witnesses and fellow-sufferers, which assures us that it is all matter of fact.

Such things may be thought to be a reflection upon the Roman government. But we are to consider that the Romans, and many other people at that time, were accustomed to the inhuman spectacles of gladiators, and that excessive cruelty was then practised upon many occasions. Since which time the farther progress of the Christian religion has in a great degree corrected and

[a] Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias, martyria visa: Serius trans Alpes, Dei religione suscepta. Sul. Sev. l. 2. cap. 46. [b] ... ωςε συλλεγηναι εκ των δυο εκκλησιων παντας τους σπουδαιους, και δι' ων μαλιςα συνειςηκει τα ενθαδε. p. 156. C. [c] Euseb. l. 5. cap. iv. [d] See in this work, vol. ii. p. 154, &c.

mollified

mollified the tempers of men in this part of the world. We ought likewise to consider that the sufferers, whose history we have been reading, were Christians, whom many then thought to be the most contemptible of all men, and not entitled to the common rights of the human kind.

The excessive and repeated sufferings of Blandina were very extraordinary: but she was a slave, and therefore despised. And in the eye of prejudiced idolaters the provocation was very great, that she, a woman, and a slave, should withstand all attempts to induce her to pay homage to their deities.

Attalus was a Roman citizen, and should have been beheaded; but being a Christian this privilege was not allowed. The multitude demanded that he should be tortured, and thrown to wild beasts; and the president granted their request, relying, undoubtedly, upon impunity, though he acted contrary to law. Such was the hard condition of the Christians at that time!

The persecution at Lyons was very severe. The tortures made use of were grievous and various; and the sufferers were numerous. By the edict of Trajan, such Christians as were brought before a governor's tribunal, and were convicted, were to be punished. 'But they are not to be sought for,' says that emperor. But 'the [e] president at Lyons issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them.'

4. The sufferings of these Christians in Gaul cannot but be [f] a disparagement to the emperor Marcus Antoninus. He could not be unacquainted with them, though he had not been applied to about them. But he was applied to. The governor wrote to him for direction. And he wrote back that 'they who confessed themselves Christians should be put to death; but that they 'who denied it might be set at liberty.' Certainly Marcus deserves to be put in the number of persecuting emperors. If he had only connived at the sufferings, (as he may have done in some places,) that would not exculpate him, when he might have restrained and forbid them by his imperial authority. But here is a rescript, with an order that all who, upon examination, confessed themselves to be Christians, 'should be put to death.' And such rescripts may have been sent by him to other governors, and to other provinces.

[e] .....ετει δημοσια εκελευσεν ο ηγεμων, ανακρυτοισθαι παντας ημας. p. 156. D.

[f] Hic finis suppliciorum in Lugdunensi provinciâ fuit, quæ mirum est, Marci Aurelii temporibus de innocentibus potuisse sumi, eâ tantum de caussâ, quod Ethnicorum sacra suscipere nollent..... Hæc ergo erit macula, quâ boni alias viri vita inusta, infamem eum, crudelis superstitionis caussâ, omnibus seculis faciet, et philosophiæ Stoicæ contemtum merito creabit. Cleric. H. E. ann. 167. n. xv.

Some may think that [g] this emperor was hardened by the principles of his sect. Nevertheless, I think that will not fully account for his cruel treatment of the Christians: it was owing to want of equity to them; and he was a bigot to his religion, as well as to his philosophy; and he had been so from his childhood; for he could shew tenderness enough for some men. As Tillemont said some while [h] ago: 'there were many instances of 'mildness in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, 'excepting against the Christians, who the least deserved it.'

However, it must be owned that [i] the beginning of this persecution at Lyons was not owing to any new edicts, or to any express orders from the emperor; for when the president perceived that Attalus was a Roman citizen, he sent him back to those who were in prison, and wrote to the emperor for directions how to act toward those prisoners; and he deferred to proceed any farther till he had received an answer from him; which answer was such as we have just taken notice of. Indeed the persecutions in many places were very much owing to the clamours of the common people. So Eusebius, as we may remember, says in the preface to this fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, and to his account of the persecutions in this reign: 'At [k] which 'time,' says he, 'the persecution against us raged with great 'violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity (or 'instigation) of the people.'

5. I presume it may be hence apparent that the emperor and the governor at Lyons were persuaded of the innocence of the Christians; or that they were not guilty of the crimes sometimes imputed to them by the credulous, ignorant, and spiteful vulgar. If they had believed that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, and that they killed and ate little children, they would not so readily have set at liberty all who renounced Christianity; which we see they did, or were willing to do. And with great regret they saw any who had once renounced Christianity return to the profession of it. It is manifest that they envied them the honour of it. Moreover, we plainly see, throughout this narrative, that they who suffered suffered as Christians. When Vettius Epagathus would have apologized for them, the governor refused to grant his request: and, upon his owning himself a Christian, he committed him to

[g] Igitur tragice Christianos mori, non philosophice, censebat. Hinc etiam malis, quibus afficiebatur, parum movebatur, immo ex præscripto sectæ, cui parebat, moveri nullo modo debebat. Moshem. ubi supra. p. 246.

[h] See before, p. 407.

[i] Inde collige, hanc persecutionem sine novis Imperatorum edictis motam esse. Ruinart. Acta Mart. sincera. p. 67.

[k] .... αναρριπισθεντος του καθ' ημων διωγμου εξ επιθεσεως τιν κατα τας πολεις δημων....p. 153.

prison

priſon with this character, 'The advocate of the Chriſtians.' The title carried before Attalus was: 'This is Attalus, the Chriſtian.' Other things might be added to ſhew that the conteſt between the accuſers and the accuſed was of a religious kind. Pothinus was aſked by the governor, 'who was the God of the Chriſtians.' And Attalus was aſked, 'what was God's name.' When Blandina and Ponticus were brought in, they were required to ſwear by the heathen deities. And under their tortures they were again and again called upon to ſwear: that was all that was wanted; and they not complying, neither the governor, nor the multitude, had any compaſſion upon them. When the executions were over, the heathens inſulted the bodies of the martyrs, and aſcribed the victory, which they had obtained, to their deities. And they did all they could to defeat the hope of a reſurrection, as knowing it to be a principle that had greatly contributed to the reſolution and fortitude of the Chriſtians under all the ſufferings which they had ſeen them endure.

6. The fortitude of the Chriſtians at Lyons was truly admirable and heroical. The ſufferings ſet before them were very grievous. But neither death itſelf, nor all the preceding tortures inflicted upon them, could terrify them, or induce them to depart from their ſtedfaſtneſs. The[1] number of theſe patient ſufferers was very great. Many were ſuffocated in priſon, none of whom are expreſsly mentioned by name, beſide Pothinus. The miſtreſs of Blandina was among the confeſſors or martyrs, but her name is not mentioned. Several Roman citizens were beheaded, as is expreſsly ſaid in the narrative; but none of their names are mentioned. Attalus was a Roman citizen; but he had not the privilege of the city allowed him. Moreover, among the remains of the dead were heads and trunks of bodies, which muſt have been the remains of Roman citizens, no others having been put to death by ſeparating the head from the body. Some gave way: but a great part of theſe afterwards recovered themſelves, and made a right confeſſion, in defiance of the ſufferings by which they had been once terrified, and which they might now again juſtly expect: the reſt were all along ſtedfaſt in their confeſſion; and theſe were by much the majority of ſuch as were publicly examined at the governor's tribunal.

The teſtimony of theſe men is very valuable: they are not ſuch witneſſes as the apoſtles, and others, who were eyewitneſſes of Chriſt and his miracles; but they lived at a time when

[1] .... ἰδίᾳ μεν των ἀποτμησει κεφαλης τετελειωμενων· ἰδιαν δε των θηρσιν εισβοραν παραβεβλημενων· και αυθις των επι της εἱρκτης κεκοιμημενων. Euſeb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 168.

the evidences of the truth of the Chriſtian religion might be eaſily traced to the firſt original. Irenæus, now a preſbyter in the church of Lyons, afterwards biſhop of the ſame church, in his younger days was [m] well acquainted with Polycarp, diſciple of St. John. Pothinus, now biſhop of Lyons, who was older than Irenæus, and now ſuffered martyrdom when he was ninety years of age, may be well ſuppoſed to have been acquainted with ſome of the firſt ſucceſſion of biſhops, or Chriſtians, next after that of the apoſtles.

All theſe martyrs muſt have been firmly perſuaded of the truth and divine original of the Chriſtian religion, and all the principles of it. They had embraced it upon the ground of ſuch evidence as appeared to them ſufficient and ſatisfactory: and, as their enemies themſelves ſaw and acknowledged 'they preferred their religion above their lives.' They believed, as they ſuppoſed upon good ground, that Jeſus Chriſt was a divine teacher ſent from God. They were, in particular, firmly perſuaded of the truth of his doctrine concerning future rewards for the good, and puniſhments for the wicked, and were thereby engaged to the ſincere profeſſion of the truth, and the abhorrence of falſehood. Their knowledge of the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and their reſpect for them, are manifeſt from their frequent alluſions to them, or quotations of [n] them.

7. They ſeem to have had among them gifts of the Spirit. Euſebius ſays, 'they were not deſtitute of the grace of God, and the Holy Ghoſt was their director.' Of Alexander, the writers of this epiſtle ſay, 'he was known to almoſt all men for his boldneſs in preaching the word; for he was not deſtitute of apoſtolic grace.' They likewiſe ſay of Attalus, 'that after his firſt combat it was revealed to him that Alcibiades did not do well in not uſing the creatures of God; and Alcibiades acquieſced, and thenceforward partook of all ſorts of food promiſcuouſly.' And it may deſerve to be conſidered that Attalus was a Roman citizen, and not a mean perſon. To me thoſe expreſſions likewiſe appear remarkable, where they ſay of theſe confeſſors: 'They demonſtrated in fact the power of martyrdom, uſing great freedom of ſpeech in all their anſwers to the Gentiles, and manifeſting a greatneſs of mind in their patience, fearleſſneſs, and undaunted courage, under all their ſufferings.' Certainly the Chriſtian ſufferers had the preſence of God with

[m] See vol. ii. p. 87....89. [n] Their teſtimony to the ſcriptures makes a diſtinct chapter, vol. ii. p. 148....153.

them.

them. All men around them were adverſaries; but God did not forſake them; he ſtrengthened and ſupported them.

8. Finally, by the example of theſe patient and victorious confeſſors and martyrs, let us be animated and encouraged to ſteadineſs in the cauſe of truth; humbly depending upon God, and earneſtly praying that we may have ſtrength from above, equal to the trials which we may meet with: for it is better to ſuffer for truth and virtue, though we ſhould be put into the iron chair with Attalus, or be hung upon a ſtake like Blandina, than to be a perſecuting judge upon a tribunal, or a perſecuting emperor upon a throne.

What is above was intended for the concluſion of this article: but ſome may be of opinion that, to my own thoughts upon this ſubject, I ought to add the obſervations of that fine writer, and good Chriſtian, Mr. Joſeph Addiſon: 'Under this[o] head,' ſays he, 'I cannot omit that which appears to me a ſtanding miracle in 'the three firſt centuries; I mean that amazing and ſupernatural 'courage or patience which was ſhewn by innumerable multi-'tudes of martyrs, in thoſe ſlow and painful torments that were 'inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the 'burning iron chair at Lyons, amidſt the inſults and mockeries 'of a crowded amphitheatre, and ſtill keeping his ſeat; or ſtretched 'upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his 'ſoul among the exquiſite ſufferings of ſuch a tedious execu-'tion, rather than renounce his religion, or blaſpheme his Sa-'viour. Such trials ſeem to me above the ſtrength of human 'nature, and able to overbear duty, reaſon, faith, conviction, 'nay, and the moſt abſolute certainty of a future ſtate. Huma-'nity, unaſſiſted in an extraordinary manner, muſt have ſhaken 'off the preſent preſſure, and have delivered itſelf out of ſuch a 'dreadful diſtreſs by any means that could have been ſuggeſted 'to it. We can eaſily imagine that many perſons, in ſo good a 'cauſe, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the ſtake, 'or the block; but to expire leiſurely among the moſt exqui-'ſite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a 'mental reſervation, or an hypocriſy, which is not without the 'poſſibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveneſs, has 'ſomething in it ſo far beyond the force and natural ſtrength of 'mortals, that one cannot but think that there was ſome mira-'culous power to ſupport the ſufferer.' So Mr. Addiſon.

[o] Addiſon of the Chriſtian religion. § vii. num. iv. p. 314.

Sect. III. A remarkable deliverance of this emperor in his wars in Germany, and the history of the Thundering Legion considered.

I. *A general account of the deliverance obtained by Marcus Antoninus in Germany, in the year* 174. II. *The account given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, where that deliverance is ascribed to the prayers of a legion of Christians in the emperor's army.* III. *Observations upon that history.* IV. *A summary of the argument.*

I. There is yet one thing more relating to this emperor, which must be taken notice of. If, upon inquiry, it should appear to be of small importance, some may be of opinion that it might have been passed by in silence, or but slightly mentioned. On the other hand, since some have judged it to be of great moment, and there have been many controversies about it, in which learned men of great eminence on each side have been engaged, it may be justly supposed to deserve particular consideration.

When Marcus Antoninus was engaged in a difficult war with the Quadi, a people in Germany, in [a] the fourteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 174, he was reduced to great straits, his army being in want of water. Whilst they were in that distress, there came a very seasonable and plentiful shower of rain, which refreshed him and his soldiers, and he obtained a victory over his enemies. This deliverance has been thought by many to have been miraculous, owing to the prayers of the Christians, who were in the Roman army. And it has been supposed that thereupon the emperor wrote a letter to the senate which was very favourable to the Christians.

II. I shall begin with reciting what Eusebius says of this matter in his Ecclesiastical History.

'It [b] is said that, when Marcus Aurelius had drawn out his 'forces against the Germans and Sarmatians, his army was 'brought into a great strait by reason of drought, so that he 'knew not what course to take: that the soldiers of the legion, 'called the Melitenian Legion, which still subsists as a reward of 'their faith, when the armies were going to engage, falling down 'to the earth upon their knees, according to our usual custom 'in prayer, offered up requests to God: that the enemies were

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 174. n. ii. Basnag. 174. n. i. &c. et Cleric. Hist. Ec. ann. 174.

[b] .... λογος εχει. κ. λ. H. E. l. 5. c. 5. p. 169. &c.

'greatly

'greatly surprised at that wonderful fight; and that, as is [c] said, 'there soon after followed a thing more wonderful, a violent 'lightning, which put the enemies to flight, and destroyed 'them; and also a shower, which fell upon that army which had 'prayed to God, and refreshed it when they were all ready to 'perish with thirst. This is related by such writers as are far 'from embracing our religion, but were concerned to record the 'events of those times: it is also related by our authors. 'By other writers who were averse to our religion the [d] wonder-'ful event is recorded: but they do not acknowledge that it was 'owing to the prayers of our people: but by our authors, who 'were lovers of truth, what happened is related in a plain and in-'genuous manner. One of them is Apollinarius, who says, that 'from that time the legion, by whose prayers that wonderful de-'liverance was obtained, was by the emperor's order called [e] in 'the Roman language, the Thunderbolt Legion, a name suited 'to the event. Tertullian is another witness worthy of credit; 'who, in his apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate 'in the Latin tongue, (of which we also before made mention) 'strongly confirms the truth of this history; saying, that there is 'still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Marcus, in which 'he testifies that, when his army was in great danger of perish-'ing in Germany for want of water, it was saved by the prayers 'of the Christians. He likewise says that the same emperor 'threatened the punishment of death to such as should accuse 'them. But [f] of these things let every one judge as he sees fit. 'We now proceed in the course of our history to other matters.'

III. I now intend to make some observations for clearing up this history.

Obs. 1. It seems that Eusebius did not rely upon the truth of this history. For, as we have seen, he begins the account in this manner: 'It is said.' And in the end he leaves every one to judge of it as he sees good. A like observation has been already made by [g] divers learned men.

Obs. 2. Eusebius quotes Apollinarius, as saying that, by

[c] .... αλλο τι λογος εχει. p. 169. B.

[d] .... τεθειται μεν το παραδοξον. p. 169. C.

[e] .... κεραυνοβολον τη Ρωμαικη επικλη-θηται φωνη. p. 169. D.

[f] Αλλα ταυτα μεν οπη τις εθελει τιθεσθω. Μετιωμεν δε ημεις επι τα των εξης ακολουθιαν. Ib. p. 170. A. B.

[g] Sed et verba, quibus totam hanc narrationem concludit, satis indicant, ipsum de veritate rei dubitasse. Sic enim ait: Αλλα ταυτα μεν οπη τις εθελη τι θεσθω. Id est, sed de his quisque pro arbitrio suo judicet. Vales. in loc. p. 93.

Equidem, si certum fuisset, et a legione Christianorum advocatum fuisse imbrem, et Marcum hoc scripsisse Senatui, nunquam narrationi suæ colophonem ejusmodi imposuisset Eusebius: 'Sed his quisque pro suo arbitratu statuat.' Indicio, Eusebium ipsum ea de traditione dubitasse, etsi Tertulliani verba immutârit, omisso forte adverbio, quod habet Tertullianus. Baïnag. ann. 174. n. viii.

Marcus's order, there was a legion called the thundering, or thunderbolt legion, in memory of the wonderful event here spoken of. But [h] he does not quote the words of Apollinarius, nor name the book in which he said it. And, moreover, it has been observed by learned men of late times that [i] there had been a legion with that denomination long before the times of Marcus Antoninus.

Obs. 3. Eusebius calls it the Melitenian legion, or the legion of Melitene, τȣς δε επι της Μελιτινης ȣτω καλȣμενης λεγεωνος ςρατιωτας. If there was any legion so called it is likely that it had it's denomination from Melitene in Cappadocia, where the soldiers, of which it was composed, had been enlisted, or where it had resided. And it appears from writers of good authority that [k] the twelfth legion, called the thunderbolt legion, was sometimes quartered in Cappadocia. However, Valesius denies that [l] there was any legion called the Melitenian legion.

Obs. 4. Eusebius seems to have supposed that the legion, of which he speaks, consisted chiefly, or entirely, of Christians; whereas it is not easy to think so of any legion at that time. There [m] may have been Christian soldiers in Marcus's army: but it is altogether improbable that there should then have been an entire legion of Christians, or near it.

Obs. 5. Eusebius quotes Tertullian as of great weight in this matter. 'Tertullian,' says he, 'is another witness worthy of

[h] Qui et in eo peccat, quod Apollinaris locum non protulit, nec librum ipsum, in quo hæc Apollinaris scripserat, indicavit. Vales. ib. Le premier de ceux qu' Eusebe allegue sur ce sujet est S. Apollinaire Evesque d'Hieraple, dont le temoignage est d'autant plus authentique, qu'il vivoit au mesme temps que ce miracle arriva. Mais il seroit à souhaiter, qu' Eusebe nous eust rapportée ses propres paroles. Tillem. L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. xvi.

[i] Jamdudum monuit Scaliger in Animadversionibus Eusebianis, legionem fulminatricem ab hoc miraculo cognominatam non fuisse, quippe quæ diu ante tempora M. Antonini ita vocata fuerit. Docet id manifeste Dio Cassius in libro 55, ubi legiones omnes enumerat. Vetus quoque inscriptio, a Scaligero probata, id ipsum confirmat. Quamobrem de ipso quidem miraculo pluviæ a Christianis militibus impetratæ, et Apollinari et Tertulliano testantibus, facile credimus: legionem vero Melitinam ob id fulminatricem esse dictam a M. Antonino Imp. nondum mihi persuasit Apollinaris. Dicet fortasse aliquis, fulminatricem quidem legionem fuisse ante tempora M. Antonini, sed Marcum ob acceptum a Melitina legione beneficium, ei quoque fulminatricis cognomen indidisse. Verum, si ita esset, secunda fulminatrix dici debuerat. Dio tamen nullam ejus mentionem facit, quamvis omnes legiones a superioribus principibus conscriptas accurate recenseat. Vales. ib.

[k] Και το δωδεκατον το εν Καππαδοκιᾳ, το κεραυνοφορον. Dio. Cass. l. 55. p. 564. al. 795. Vid. ibid. annotata a Reimaro. Et conf. Gruter. p. cxciii. 3.

[l] Itaque quod de Legione Melitina tradit Eusebius, parum mihi probabile videtur. Adde quod Rufinus hoc legionis nomen consulto, ut arbitror, prætermisit: quippe qui nosset, Melitinam nomen esse oppidi minoris Armeniæ, in quo legio 12, fulminea, adhuc sua ætate prætenderet. Vales. ib. p. 92. Et Conf. Basn. ann. 174. n. v.

[m] Cæterum ut ingenue dicam quod sentio, parum mihi probabile videtur, totam legionem militum Romanorum eo tempore Christianam fuisse, quod tamen affirmare videtur Eusebius. Vales. ut supr.

'credit:

'credit: who, in his apology for our faith, addreſſed to the Ro-'man ſenate in the Latin tongue, ſtrongly confirms the truth 'of this hiſtory, ſaying that there is ſtill extant the letter of that 'worthy emperor Marcus, in which he teſtifies that when his 'army was in great danger of periſhing in Germany, for want 'of water, it was ſaved by the prayers of the Chriſtians....'

Now I ſhall tranſcribe below [n] the paſſage of Tertullian from his Apology, in his own words.

In Engliſh they are to this purpoſe: 'Nero and Domitian 'have been our enemies. But among good emperors we can al-'lege a patron. If the epiſtle of that worthy emperor Marcus 'Aurelius be ſought for, it will perhaps be ſeen that he aſcribes 'his deliverance from a great drought in the German war to 'the prayers of Chriſtian ſoldiers.' I ſhall put below alſo [o] the account which we find in Euſebius's Chronicle, as we have it in Jerom's Latin tranſlation. And now it will be proper to make ſome remarks upon what we have juſt ſeen.

1. Hence it ſeems that Euſebius chiefly relied upon Tertullian for the truth of this relation. He quotes him with the character of an author of good credit. He alſo mentions the name of his work, whereas he omits the title of the work of Apollinarius, to which he refers.

2. Euſebius never ſaw any letter of the emperor in which he aſcribed his deliverance in Germany to the prayers of Chriſtian ſoldiers. If he had met with it, he would have inſerted it in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. So [p] ſays the great Joſeph Scaliger.

3. Nor had Tertullian ſeen any ſuch letter. He does not ſay that he had ſeen it. And in the Latin original of Tertullian's Apology, and alſo as cited in the Latin edition of Euſebius's Chronicle, there is an unlucky *forte*, or 'perhaps:' wherein he ſeems to expreſs a doubt whether the emperor did in his letter

[n] At nos e contrario edimus protectorem. Si literæ Marci Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri diſcuſſam conteſtatur. Sicut non palam ab ejuſmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam diſperſit, adjecta etiam accuſatoribus damnatione, et quidem teriore. Ap. cap. 5. p. 6. D.

[o] Imperator Antoninus multis adverſum ſe nascentibus bellis ſæpe ipſe intererat, ipſe duces nobiliſſimos deſtinabat: in quibus ſemel Pertinaci, et exercitui, qui cum eo in Quadorum regione pugnabat, ita oppreſſo, pluvia divinitus miſſa eſt: quum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina perſequerentur, et plurimos eorum interficerent. Exſtant literæ M. Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri diſcuſſam conteſtatur. Euſeb. Chron. p. 170.

[p] Non igitur illam epiſtolam vidit, [Oroſius,] non magis quam Tertullianus. Quinetiam ea non exſtabat tempore Euſebii. Eam enim Græce a ſe converſam in ſua Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica poſuiſſet, quæ eſt ejus diligentia, nulla ejuſmodi prætermittere, ne Latina quidem, quæ ipſe convertere ſolet, ut multa ex Tertulliano. Scal. in Euſeb. p. 222. fin.

to

to the ſenate expreſsly acknowledge that his deliverance in a time of great drought was owing to the prayers of Chriſtians....quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri diſcuſſam conteſtatur. This does not appear in Euſebius's Greek tranſlation of Tertullian, which he inſerts in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory....εν αις αυτος μαρτυρει....ταις των χριστιανων ευχαις σεσωσθαι. Poſſibly ſome may think that we ought not to lay much ſtreſs upon this obſervation. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be allowed that if this *forte*, 'perhaps,' has no meaning, it comes in here very unhappily. Nor am I the firſt who have mentioned it. Baſnage [q] alſo ſuppoſeth it a proof that neither Tertullian, nor Jerom, who ſo allegeth it in the Chronicle, had ſeen the emperor's letter.

Before I proceed any farther, it may be obſerved that, in his book to Scapula, Tertullian ſpeaks again of this matter, where he ſays: 'And [r] Marcus Aurelius in a German war, where he was 'in danger by a great drought, obtained rain by the prayers 'which the Chriſtian ſoldiers offered to God.' But here he ſays nothing of the emperor's letter.

We now proceed to ſome other obſervations.

Obſ. 6. There is little notice taken of this event in the moſt ancient Chriſtian writers.

It would be without reaſon for any to allege here ſo late writers as [s] Nicephorus Calliſti, and [t] Zonaras. I now intend early writers of the ſecond, third, and fourth century. If indeed Marcus Antoninus had obtained a ſignal deliverance in a hazardous war, and had acknowledged the benefit to be owing to the Chriſtian ſoldiers in his army, we might expect to ſee particular notice taken of it in Chriſtian apologies, and other writings of Chriſtian authors, publiſhed not long afterwards. I allow that there is a reference to this ſtory in one [u] of Gregory Nyſſen's homilies, near the end of the fourth century. But [x] I think that if an heathen

[q] Si Marci literæ exſtitiſſent de impetrato a Chriſtianis imbre, vix ac ne vix quidem magnum Euſebium in conquirendis ejuſmodi monumentis diligentiam effugiſſent. Atqui in has literas Chriſtianorum nemo eſt, qui ſe conjeciſſe oculos ſcripto prodiderit. Non Tertullianus, non Euſebius, immo non Hieronymus, cujus hæc verba ſunt....Dixiſſet ne 'Chriſtian-'orum forte militum precationibus,' ſi literas perlegiſſet? Siccine Marcus Senatui ſcripſit? Baſnag. ann. 174. n. viii.

[r] Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Chriſtianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in ſiti illa impetravit. Ad Scap. c. iv. p. 87. D.

[s] Niceph. Cal. l. 4. c. 12. p. 297, &c.

[t] Zon. Ann. Tom. 2. p. 207.

[u] De Quadr. Martyr. Or. 2. T. 3. p. 505.

[x] Cum igitur oſtenſum ſit, neque Romano in exercitu Chriſtianam fuiſſe legionem, neque Marci animum id ſubiiſſe cogitationis, quod a Chriſtianis pluvia ſit impetrata, conſentaneum eſt, nullas Patribus Conſcriptis a Marco literas datas eſſe, quibus hoc maximi beneficii Chriſtianis aſcriberet. Quæ res aliunde non pertenuibus patefit argumentis. Poſt exhauſtum bellum

then emperor and his army had obtained a very extraordinary deliverance by the prayers of Chriſtian ſoldiers in the year of Chriſt 174, and he had aſcribed it to their prayers in a letter to the ſenate, it would have been mentioned by many Chriſtian writers, both Greek and Latin, before the end of the fourth century. This argument is largely inſiſted on by Baſnage, whoſe words I have juſt now tranſcribed below. And this is alſo one of Mr. Moyle's arguments. It is his fifth propoſition that 'the 'Chriſtians [y] in general did not believe this miracle, notwith-'ſtanding the teſtimony of Apollinaris and Tertullian.'

'For this,' ſays he, 'no better argument can be alleged than 'the ſilence of all the Chriſtian writers of the third century; not 'one of whom, except Tertullian, that I ever read or heard of, 'has made the leaſt mention of this miracle. Is it poſſible that ſo 'ſignal a teſtimony in favour of Chriſtianity could eſcape the 'knowledge and induſtry of ſo many able apologiſts as wrote 'after Tertullian? Could they have failed to urge ſo ſtrong an 'argument againſt the heathens, as a miracle ſo publicly avouch-'ed and atteſted and owned, as is pretended, by imperial edicts? 'No other rational account can be given to this ſilence but that 'they gave no credit to the ſtory, and were too wiſe to expoſe 'their religion to the ſcorn of the heathens by employing ſo 'mean an artifice to defend it.'

'Euſebius, though he has given a full relation of the miracle 'in all it's circumſtances, yet it appears plainly, by the cloſe of 'his narration, that he did not believe it, as Valeſius rightly ob-'ſerves: ſo that the whole credit of this miracle reſts on the 'authority of Apollinaris and Tertullian. As for the firſt, I 'know little of his character, his works, I think, being all loſt. 'But it is remarkable that the only particular which is preſerved 'of his relation is undoubtedly falſe. Tertullian wanted neither 'wit nor learning; but he muſt be allowed to be a very credu-'lous writer, and an errant enthuſiaſt.' So Mr. Moyle.

Obſ. 7. Paulus Oroſius, a Chriſtian hiſtorian, who flouriſhed not far from the beginning of the fifth century, and is placed by Cave at the year 416, gives a particular account of this emperor's

lum Marcomannicum ſcripta eſt Melitonis apologia, conſorte jam imperii Commodo. Quo potius argumento uti Melito debuit, extinguendæ perſecutioni, quam beneficio, quo Marcus a Chriſtianis affectus fuerat, dum una cum exercitu pene ſiti conficiebatur? Quod tamen argumenti non attulit....At immerito negatur, Athenagoræ apologiam Marcomannico bello fuiſſe poſteriorem. Quid, meminitne Athenagoras pluviæ a Chriſtianis impetratæ, ut eo beneficio Marci in memoriam revocato, miſeris undique vexatis, benevolentiam conciliaret? At qui certe certoque meminiſſet. Immo ea de re ſcriptas ad Senatum literas memoraſſet. Baſnag. ann. 174. n. vii.

[y] Moyle's Works. Vol. 2. p. 97.

war

war with the Marcomans, Quadians, and other people in Germany. He ſays that 'the [z] Roman army was in a great ſtrait, and 'likely to be overpowered by the enemy, and that the greateſt 'danger was owing to a drought which oppreſſed the Romans; 'that by the prayers of a few and illiterate ſoldiers, who openly, 'and with a lively faith, invoked the name of Chriſt, a plenti-'ful ſhower was obtained from heaven, by which Antoninus's 'army was refreſhed; at the ſame time lightning and hail fell 'upon the Germans, by which they were greatly annoyed, and 'many of them were killed: whereupon the Romans fell upon 'them, and cut them almoſt all off, and gained a very glorious 'victory. And it is ſaid that there ſtill is in the hands of many 'perſons a letter of the emperor Antoninus, in which he ac-'knowledgeth that the drought was removed, and the victory 'obtained, by means of an invocation made of the name of 'Chriſt by Chriſtian ſoldiers.'

Whence it is evident that Oroſius had never ſeen ſuch a letter of Marcus Antoninus. And it may be argued that there was not then extant any ſuch letter: for, if there had, Oroſius, a learned and inquiſitive man, and a writer of hiſtory, would not have failed to procure it. It is alſo very obſervable that Oroſius mentions not any legion by name, neither the Melitenian legion, nor thethun derbolt legion. Nor do any ſuch expreſſions proceed from him as ſhould lead us to think there was then a legion of Chriſtians in Marcus's army. Nay, he plainly ſuppoſeth that they were few in number. Finally, We may from all theſe particulars be diſpoſed to think that Oroſius took the account entirely from Tertullian; for he omits divers things which are in Euſebius. And there is a great reſemblance in their expreſſions; both ſay the [a] drought was removed 'by the prayers of Chriſtian ſoldiers.'

Tertullian

[z] Hoc quidem bellum [Marcomannicum] providentia Dei adminiſtratum fuiſſe, cum plurimis argumentis, tum præcipue epiſtolâ graviſſimi ac modeſtiſſimi Imperatoris apertiſſime declaratum eſt. Nam cum inſurrexiſſent gentes immanitate barbaræ, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc eſt, Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatæ, Suevi, atque omnis tunc Germania, et in Quadorum uſque fines progreſſus exercitus, circumventuſque ab hoſtibus, propter aquarum penuriam, præſentius ſitis quam hoſtis periculum ſuſtineret: ad invocationem nominis Chriſti, quam ſubito magna fidei conſtantiâ quidam milites effuſi in preces palam fecerunt, et tanta vis pluviæ effuſa eſt, ut Romanos quidem largiſſime, ac ſine injuria refecerit, barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus perterritos, præſertim cum plurimi eorum occiderentur, in fugam coegerit. Quorum terga Romani uſque ad internecionem cædentes glorioſiſſimam victoriam et omnibus pene antiquorum titulis præferendum, rudi parvoque militum numero, ſed potentiſſimo Chriſti auxilio, reportârunt. Exſtare etiam nunc apud pleroſque dicuntur literæ Imperatoris Antonini, ubi invocatione nominis Chriſti per milites Chriſtianos, et ſitim depulſam, et collatam fatetur fuiſſe victoriam. Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 15.

[a] ....quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus ...diſ.

Tertullian [b] calls Antoninus 'a worthy emperor;' ſo does Oroſius in the ſame or like words. And they both ſpeak at the ſame time with a like aſſurance, and a like diffidence and uncertainty about the emperor's letter, which neither of them had ſeen.

Obſ. 8. Undoubtedly Marcus Antoninus ſent a letter to the ſenate of Rome, giving an account of his deliverance, and of the victory which he had obtained over the Quadians, and others in Germany: which letter, as is [c] reaſonably ſuppoſed, was written in the Latin tongue; but we do not meet with any ancient authors who appear to have ſeen it.

However, [d] there is extant a letter, both in Greek and Latin, which I ſhall now produce in an Engliſh verſion, without being very ſolicitous about exactneſs in my tranſlation: it is to this purpoſe.

'The emperor Cæſar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus, 'Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, high-prieſt....to the peo-'ple of Rome, and to the ſacred ſenate greeting. I gave you an 'account of the greatneſs of the enterprize which I had under-'taken, and what great difficulties came upon me in Germany; 'how I was ſurrounded and beſieged in the midſt of it, and af-'flicted with heat and wearineſs: at which time I was overtaken 'at Carnutum by ſeventy-four regiments, who were not more 'than nine miles off from us. Now when the enemy was come 'near us, our ſpies gave us notice of it: and Pompeianus, my 'general, informed me alſo of what I knew before. In our army 'we had only the firſt, the tenth, the double, and the Fretenſian 'legions, to contend with an innumerable company of barba-'rians. When I had computed my own numbers with thoſe of 'the enemy, I addreſſed our gods in prayer: but not being re-'garded by them, and, conſidering the diſtreſs we were in, I 'called for thoſe whom we call Chriſtians; and upon examina-'tion I found that they were a great multitude, at which I was 'much diſpleaſed, though I ſhould not have been ſo; for after-'wards I underſtood how powerful they are. For which reaſon 'they began, not by preparing their darts, or other weapons, or 'their trumpets, inaſmuch as ſuch things are diſagreeable to them

...diſcuſſam...Tertull. Ubi invocatione nominis Chriſti, per milites Chriſtianos, et ſitim depulſam. &c. Oroſ.

[b] Si literæ Marci Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris requirantur. Tertull. ... tum præcipue epiſtolâ graviſſimi ac modeſtiſſimi Imperatoris. Oroſ.

[c] ... Latinæ ſcilicet, quarum meminit Tertullianus, cap. quinto Apolog. Non enim aliâ linguâ, quam Latinâ, ad Senatum ſcribebat. Scalig. in Euſeb. p. 222. fin.

[d] Ad calcem Juſtini Mart. Ap. ī. al. ii. Vid. et Fabr. Lex Evang. p. 228. et Fr. Balduin. Edict. Prin. Roman. de Chriſtianis. p. 87.

'on

'on account of God, whom they bear in their conſciences: for 'it is reaſonable to believe that they, whom we call atheiſts, have 'God within them for a bulwark. As ſoon therefore as they 'had caſt themſelves down upon the ground, they prayed, not 'for me only, but alſo for the whole army, for relief under our 'great thirſt and hunger. For it was the fifth day that we had 'no water, becauſe there was none in that place. For we were 'in the midſt of Germany ſurrounded by their mountains. But 'as ſoon as they had caſt themſelves upon the ground, and prayed 'to a God, who was unknown to me, water came down from 'heaven immediately. Upon us it was very cool, but upon our 'enemies it was fierce hail. And immediately after their prayers 'we found God to be preſent with us, as one that is impregna- 'ble and invincible. Beginning here therefore, let us permit 'theſe men to be Chriſtians, leſt they ſhould pray for the like 'weapons againſt us and obtain them. And I declare that no 'man who is a Chriſtian is to be called in queſtion as ſuch. 'And if any man accuſe a Chriſtian, becauſe he is a Chriſtian, 'I declare that the Chriſtian who is accuſed may appear openly; 'and that if he confeſſeth himſelf to be ſo, but ſheweth that he 'is accuſed of no other crime but that he is a Chriſtian, let his 'accuſer be burnt alive. And as to him that confeſſeth himſelf 'to be a Chriſtian, and gives full evidence of the ſame, let not 'the governor of the province oblige him to renounce his reli- 'gion, nor deprive him of his liberty. I will that this be con- 'firmed by the decree of the ſenate. And I command that this 'my edict be ſet up in Trajan's forum, that it may be read by 'all. Vitruſius Pollio, præfect of the city, will take care that it 'be ſent into the provinces. Nor is any one, who deſires to have 'it and make uſe of it, to be hindered from taking a copy of 'this our edict which is publicly ſet up by me. Farewell.'

Upon this letter Joſeph Scaliger [e] made ſuch critical remarks as have quite diſparaged it in the opinion of moſt learned men. Even they who are willing to aſſert the miraculous deliverance of the emperor's army, and that it was obtained by the prayers of Chriſtians, give up [f] this letter as ſpurious. The Greek letter,

[e] Nam illa epiſtola, quæ nomine Marci Aurelii Antonini ſuper hac re ad calcem Apologetici poſterioris apud Juſtinum legitur, tantum abeſt ut ab ipſo Imperatore Græce dictata, aut ex Latino ipſius in Græcum ſermonem tranſlata ſit, ut infra ſeculum Juſtiniani Imp. ab imperitiſſimo Græculo confictam fuiſſe manifeſte appareat. &c. Joſ. Scaliger. in Euſeb. p. 222, 223. Conf. Salmaſ. in notis ad Capitolin. Marc. Antonin. cap. 24.

[f] Habetur harum Marci literarum ad Senatum exemplar apud Juſtinum, ad calcem Apologiæ ſecundæ: ſed ejus falſitatem et ſuppoſitionem, tum etiam novitatem, quod Juſtiniano recentius ſit, tot argumentis approbaverunt viri eruditi, criticæ artis principes, Joſephus Scaliger, et Salmaſius, ut nihil contra opponi poſſit. Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. p. 40.

as Scaliger ſays, was not compoſed before the ſixth century. And it is generally thought that the Latin edition of the ſame letter is taken from the Greek, and is not more [g] authentic.

Without alleging here any abſtruſe critical obſervations, it muſt be obvious to all that an edict ſo favourable to the Chriſtians could not come from Marcus Antoninus, in whoſe reign, from the beginning to the end of it, the Chriſtians were perſecuted in ſome of the provinces by the tumults of the people, and put to death by governors, without any control from this emperor. And there were ſome edicts, or orders of his, particularly in Gaul and Aſia, for putting them to death.

And if this letter had been ſet up in Trajan's forum at Rome in the time of Marcus Antoninus, and had been ſent to all governors of provinces, with leave alſo for men to read it, and to take copies from thoſe which were publiſhed by authority, copies of this letter would have been very common among Chriſtians; whereas we cannot now find that it was ſeen by any of them in the ſecond, or third, or fourth, or even fifth, century.

Obſ. 9. Euſebius, in the paſſage above tranſcribed, ſays that the heathen hiſtorians of thoſe times had mentioned this extraordinary event, but did not acknowledge it to be owing to the prayers of Chriſtians. We cannot ſay who are the heathen writers intended by him: but I ſhall now take notice of ſuch as we have.

1. Dion Caſſius flouriſhed at the end of the ſecond and the beginning of the third century, not finiſhing his hiſtory long before the year 230. Of Marcus Antoninus's wars in Germany he writes to this purpoſe: 'Marcus [h] therefore, having met with 'many difficulties, ſubdued the Marcomans and Jazugæ; after [i] 'which he had war with the Quadians, and obtained a wonder-'ful victory over them, or rather had it given him by God; for, 'when the Romans were in great danger, the Divine Being de-'livered them in a very wonderful manner. The Quadians hav-'ing ſurrounded them in a place that was much to their advan-'tage, the Romans fought very valiantly; at the ſame time the 'barbarians relaxed the combat, expecting to ſee them waſted 'by heat and drought. They therefore carefully ſecured every 'place around them, that they might come at no water: which

[g] Non diſſimulabimus tamen, a viris doctis eſſe productum exemplar Latinum hujus epiſtolæ, quaſi e Bibliotheca Vaticana, quod paullo melius conceptum videtur. Sed tamen, ſi propius inſpiciatur, ſatis liquebit, e Græca epiſtola ſuppoſita tranſlatum fuiſſe. Cleric. H. E. ann. 174. num. xvii. [h] Dio. Caſſ. l. 71. p. 805, 806. al. p. 1182, 1183. [i] ...και πολεμος αυτω συνεστη μεγας· και νικη παραδοξος ενετυχηθη, μαλλον δε παρα Θεου εδωρηθη. Κινδυνευσαντας γαρ εν τη μαχη τους Ρωμαιους παραδοξοτατα το Θειον εξεσωσε. p. 1182.

'was

'was eaſily done by them, as they were much ſuperior in number. 'The Romans were then in a great ſtrait, wounded, and fatigued 'with labour, oppreſſed with the heat of the ſun, and with 'thirſt: and for that reaſon neither able to fight nor to eſcape. 'They only ſtood ſtill in their ranks conſumed with heat. On 'a [k] ſudden there appeared a gathering of clouds, which was 'ſoon followed, not without divine appointment, with a plenti- 'ful ſhower of rain. For it is ſaid that Arnuphis, an Egyptian 'magician, who was preſent with Marcus, invoked the æriał 'Mercury, and other dæmons, with magical rites.'

Upon which Xiphilinus, a Chriſtian author of the eleventh century, who abridged Dion, ſays: 'So this affair is related by Dion. 'But he lies, as ſeems to me, either knowingly and wilfully, 'or through ignorance. But I rather think wilfully. And how 'ſhould it be otherwiſe? For he was not unacquainted with the 'legion of ſoldiers, called the thunderbolt legion, which himſelf 'has mentioned in his catalogue of the other legions. Nor has 'it been ever ſaid that it obtained that denomination for any 'other reaſon than upon account of what happened in that war; 'when it was the cauſe of deliverance to the Romans, and of 'deſtruction to the barbarians, and not Arnuphis the magician. 'Nor is it any where related that Marcus was fond of magicians, 'or their tricks. The truth is this: Marcus had a legion, the 'ſoldiers of which were brought from Melitene, and were all 'Chriſtians. At that time the præfect of the prætorium, being 'in great perplexity, and apprehenſive of the loſs of the whole 'army, is ſaid to have come to the emperor, telling him that 'there is nothing which Chriſtians are not able to perform by 'prayers, and that there was in the army a whole legion of that 'ſort of men. When Marcus heard that, he deſired them to 'pray to their God: when they prayed, God immediately heard 'them, and beat down their enemies with lightning, and re- 'freſhed the Romans with rain. At which Marcus, being greatly 'aſtoniſhed, favoured the Chriſtians with an edict, and ordered 'that the legion ſhould be called the thundering legion. It [l] is 'alſo ſaid that there is an epiſtle of Marcus concerning theſe 'things. The Gentiles know very well, and bear witneſs, that 'there is a legion with that name, but they do not mention the 'reaſon of it.

And now Dion proceeds again: 'When the rain began to 'fall,' ſays he, 'all, looking up, at firſt received it in their

[k] ....πφη πολλα εξαιφνης συνεδραμε, και υετος πολυς ουκ αθεει κατερραγε. p. 1183.
[l] Λεγεται δε και επιστολην τινα περι τουτων ειναι του Μαρκου. p. 1184.

'mouths.

'mouths. Afterwards they caught it, ſome in their ſhields, 'others in their helmets: out of which they drank greedily, and 'alſo gave to their horſes to drink. And when the barbarians 'fell upon them they drank and fought at the ſame time: and 'ſome who were wounded drank water and blood together, 'which fell from their wounds into their helmets. And indeed 'they would have ſuffered greatly from the enemies who attacked 'them, when the greateſt part of the army were employed in ſa-'tiating their thirſt, if a violent ſtorm of hail, with lightning, 'had not fallen upon them; ſo that at the ſame time, and in the 'ſame place, might be ſeen water and fire coming down from 'heaven; whereby ſome where refreſhed with drink, and others 'were burnt and conſumed. Nor did the fire reach the Romans: 'or if it did it was preſently extinguiſhed. Nor did the rain 'help the barbarians, but rather increaſed the flame, like oil: ſo 'that, though they were rained upon, they called for water: and 'ſome wounded themſelves, that they might put out the fire 'with blood; and others went over to the Romans, as being 'the only people who had wholeſome water; wherefore Marcus 'had pity upon them. And he was, for the ſeventh time, pro-'claimed emperor by the ſoldiers. And, though he had not 'been wont to admit ſuch a thing to be done before it had been 'decreed by the ſenate, he did not refuſe it now, it ſeeming to 'come from heaven. About this he wrote to the ſenate, and 'Fauſtina was declared mother of the camps.'

So writes Dion Caſſius. We may therefore rely upon it that Marcus Antoninus was in a great ſtrait, and was delivered, and obtained a victory over the Quadians. And from the pompous ſtyle of Dion upon this occaſion it may be inferred, that the heathen people were very willing to magnify this event, and the circumſtances of it, as very extraordinary.

Dion, in his account of this matter, above quoted, writes: 'For 'it is ſaid that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was pre-'ſent with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and other dæ-'mons, with magical rites.' I therefore ſhall obſerve that, in Suidas, the article of Arnuphis is in theſe words: 'He was an 'Egyptian philoſopher, who, being preſent with Marcus the phi-'loſopher, emperor of the Romans, when the Romans laboured 'under a great drought, is ſaid to have cauſed a gathering of 'black clouds, which on a ſudden poured down great rain with 'thunder and lightning. This[m] Arnuphis is ſaid to have ef-

[m] Και τουτο σοφια τινι εργασασθαι Αρνεφιν· Οι δε φασιν Ιουλιανον των Χαλδαιων τουτο πεποιηκεναι το δαιμονιον. Suid. V. Αρνεφις.

'fected by a certain art. Others say it was Julian, a Chaldæan, 'who performed this wonderful work.' For whom likewise Suidas has another article, which may be consulted by such as are curious.

There is no need to make many remarks upon Xiphilinus, after what has been already said upon the passage of Eusebius. Notwithstanding what is said by him, learned men are persuaded that before this time there was a legion called the thunderbolt legion, from a thunderbolt engraved upon the soldiers shields. Xiphilinus also supposeth that there was in Marcus's army a whole legion of Christians: which, as before shewn, is very unlikely. He also says that after this, 'Marcus published an edict favour-'able to the Christians:' which we are not assured of. He likewise adds: 'It is said there is an epistle of Marcus concerning 'these things.' Nevertheless, Xiphilinus had not seen that letter, or did not think it authentic, or to his purpose; as is evident from his manner of speaking.

2. Julius Capitolinus, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished near the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, in his Life of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, says: 'When [n] his army was in a great strait, and in 'danger of perishing by thirst, he by his prayers obtained 'from heaven lightning against his enemies, and rain for his 'own people.'

3. Ælius Lampridius, another of those writers, who also flourished about the same time, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, is supposed to refer to the same thing in a passage which [o] I place below without translating it.

4. Themistius, in an oration spoken in the year 381, and the third of Theodosius, ascribes the victory now under consideration to the piety and prayers of Antoninus. 'When [p] that em-'peror's army was much incommoded by a drought, lifting up 'his hands to heaven he said: "By this hand, which has taken "no life away, I desire to appease thee, and I pray to thee the "giver of life." With which the deity was so well pleased that 'the clouds presently poured down rain upon the soldiers. I

[n] Fulmen de cœlo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluviâ impetratâ, quum siti laborarent. Capit. Marc. A. Phil. cap. 24.

[o] Quum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quos Antoninus pulcherrime profligaverat, dictum est a quibusdam, per Chaldæos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni P. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factis carminibus et consecratione. Lampr. Anton. Heliog. cap. 9.

[p] ...ανασχων τω χειρε ο βασιλευς προς τον ουρανον, ταυτη εφη τη χειρι προυτρεψαμην σε, και ικετευσα τον ζωης δοτηρα, η ζωην ουκ αφειλομην. Και ουτω κατηδεσε τον Θεον τη ευχη, ωστε εξαιθριας ηλθον νεφελαι υδροφορουσαι τοις στρατιωταις. κ. λ. Them. Or. 15. p. 191.

'have

'have ſeen a repreſentation of this event, in which was the em-'peror praying at the head of his army, and the ſoldiers receiv-'ing the rain in their helmets, and refreſhing themſelves with 'drink that was the gift of heaven. Of ſo great advantage is 'the virtue of a prince to his ſubjects.'

So ſpeaks Themiſtius in an oration to a Chriſtian emperor. He aſcribes all to the virtues and prayers of Antoninus, without any the leaſt notice of the Chriſtians. He ſeems to refer to the Columna Antoniana: though we do not obſerve in that ſculpture the emperor ſtanding at the head of his army, as here intimated.

5. The poet Claudian, in his panegyric of the ſixth conſulate of Honorius, in the year 404, ſpeaking of the victory of Marcus Antoninus over the Quadians, ſays: 'It [q] was not owing to the 'valour or conduct of the generals: the glory of this victory 'muſt be given by the Romans to heaven. There was a 'flaming ſhower which fell upon the enemies, and put to flight 'them and their horſes: whether it was owing to Chaldæan ma-'gicians, who by their incantations brought the gods to the aſ-'ſiſtance of the Romans; or whether the piety of the emperor 'Marcus, as I rather think, engaged the favour of Jupiter the 'thunderer on their ſide.'

So he alſo, without taking any notice of the Chriſtians.

Euſebius, as we may remember, ſaid: 'By other writers, who 'were averſe to our religion, the wonderful event is recorded; 'but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers 'of our people.' Which indeed is true of all thoſe heathen writers which we now have. One of whom, Dion Caſſius, is older than Euſebius: but we cannot certainly ſay that Euſebius ever ſaw him.

Obſ. 10. 'Antoninus never aſcribed this miracle to the prayers 'of the Chriſtians.'

That is Mr. Moyle's [r] third obſervation, upon which he enlargeth in this manner: 'Had this miracle been publicly owned

[q] Clemens, Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cincta
Exuit Heſperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
Laus ibi nulla ducum. Nam flammeus imber in hoſtem
Decidit. Hunc dorſo trepidum flammante ferebat
Ambuſtus Sonipes: hic tabeſcente ſolutus
Subſidit galeâ, liquefactaque fulgure cuſpis
Canduit, et ſubitis fluxêre vaporibus enſes.
Tunc contenta polo mortalis neſcia teli
Pugna fuit. Chaldæa mago ſeu carmina ritu
Armavere Deos: ſeu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
Obſequium Marci mores potuere mereri.
Claudian. de Sexto Conf. Honor. ver. 340, &c

[r] Vol. 2. p. 91.

'by the emperor, and aſcribed by him to the prayers of the 'Chriſtians, it is incredible that all the pagan hiſtorians ſhould 'with one conſent conſpire to diſown it in their writings, as Eu-'ſebius confeſſes they did. See Dio. Caſſ. l. 71. p. 805. Capi-'tolin. in Antonin. cap. 24. the nameleſs authors cited by Suidas 'in Ἀρνοβίς. Nor would Themiſtius [de regia virtute ad Theod.] 'and Claudian [in vi. Conſ. Honor.] have dared to aſcribe the 'honour of it to heathen gods, in panegyrics to Chriſtian em-'perors.'

'That Antoninus thought himſelf obliged to his own gods for 'this miracle, we have a teſtimony beyond exception in his own 'pillar, which is ſtill extant at Rome; of which I have ſeen a 'cut in Baronius's Annals, to whom I refer you for farther [s] ſatis-'faction. The ſame is confirmed by a medal in the French 'king's cabinet, publiſhed by Morelli, which was ſtruck the 'very year in which this miracle is ſaid to be wrought, viz. 174. 'On one ſide is the head of Antoninus crowned with laurel: on 'the reverſe is a mercury with this inſcription: Religio Auguſti. 'Which exactly agrees with Dion's account of the miracle.'

A like cut or print of the ſculpture, or bas relief, in Antoninus's pillar, may be ſeen in Havercamp's edition of Tertullian's apology, and in [t] Colonia. Where is Jupiter Pluvius, the giver of rain, ſending down rain and thunder and lightning; by which the ſoldiers on one ſide are refreſhed, and the others annoyed and terrified.

And Montfauçon, in his Antiquities, has exhibited an exact repreſentation of this Jupiter. I ſhall tranſcribe him in his own [u] words: 'Jupiter, giver of rain, was honoured by the Athenians,

[s] At the top of the ſculpture, to which Mr. Moyle refers, appears Jupiter Pluvius, ſending down rain and lightning upon the two armies. Says Baronius: Viſitur adhuc in ea [Antonini columna] imago expreſſa rei geſtæ: ſed iis plane ſignis, ut Jovis, imbres dantis, et illis fulgura admiſcentis, repræſentet effigiem: quam ex eâ graphice inciſam, hac tibi formâ exprimendam curavimus. Baron. Ann. 176. num. xxiii.

[t] Colon. Tom. i. ch. vii. p. 110.

[u] Jupiter Le Pluvieux, Pluvius, appellée par les Grecs Ζευς ομβριος, et par Lucien Υετιος, étoit honoré par les Atheniens, qui lui avoient dreſſé un autel ſur le mont Hymette. Nous le donnons d'une maniere bien extraordinaire, tel qu'il eſt repreſentée dans la Colonne Antonine. C'eſt un veillard à longe barbe, qui a des ailes, et qui tient les deux bras étendus, et la maine droite un peu elevé. L'eau ſort à grands flots des ſes bras, et de ſa barbe. Les ſoldats Romains de l'armée de M. Aurele, que la ſechereſſe et la ſoif avoient reduits à une extrême neceſſité, reçoirent cette eau dans les creux de leurs boucliers. Les Romains plongez encore dans le Paganiſme, attribueront ce prodige a leur Jupiter Pluvieux. Mais ce furent, dit avec plus de raiſon Baronius dans ſes Annales, les ſoldats Chrêtiens, qui obtinront cette pluie, qui ſauva l'armée. L'Antiquité Expliquée Tom. i. Liv. 2. ch. iii. Pl. xiii. á la p. 44. The concluding words of the Latin, in Montfauçon, are theſe: Romani multiplicium numinum errore adhuc obruti id prodigii Jovi Pluvio adſcripſerunt. At Baronius in Annalibus aquam a militibus Chriſtianis a Deo impetratam affirmat.

[s] who

'who erected an altar to him on the hill Hymettus. We give an 'extraordinary figure of him as he is represented in the pillar of 'Antoninus. It is that of an old man with a long beard, who 'has wings: [the wings are upon the upper part of the arms:] 'with two arms stretched out, the right hand raised somewhat 'higher than the other. The water flows in large streams from 'his arms, and from his beard. The Roman soldiers in Marcus's 'army, whom the drought and thirst had reduced to the utmost 'extremity, receive the water in the hollow of their shields. The 'Romans, still plunged in paganism, ascribed this prodigy to 'their Jupiter Pluvius. But they were, as Baronius with more 'reason says, the Christian soldiers who obtained this rain, which 'saved this army.'

So says Montfauçon, overpowered, as it seems, by the authority and credulity of his church.

Obs. 11. I must be allowed to add, that other like things are recorded in the Roman history. One instance is mentioned as happening in the time of the emperor Claudius, in the year of Rome 795, of Christ 42. 'The [x] Moors had rebelled, and were 'reduced by Suetonius Paullinus, a man of prætorian rank, '[several times mentioned by Tacitus [y] upon account of his go-'vernment and successes in Britain,] who wasted their country as 'far as Mount Atlas....There being fresh disturbances in that 'country afterwards, Cneius Hosidius, a man of the like rank, 'made an expedition against them, and obtained several vic-'tories over their general Salabus. The Moors fled into a sandy 'country. And Hosidius pursued them with a part of his army; 'having beforehand furnished himself with such supplies of 'water as he was able to get. But when that was spent he was 'reduced to great straits, the barbarians being better able to en-'dure thirst than the Romans, and being also better acquainted 'with the places where water might be had. It [z] was impossible 'for the Romans to proceed; nor was it easy for them to retreat, 'so that they knew not what course to take. At that time an 'inhabitant of the country, who was friendly to the Romans, 'came to Hosidius, and advised him to make use of magical 'incantations; assuring him that, by that means, he had often ob-'tained rain. The Roman general having followed that advice,

[x] Dion. l. 60. p. 670, 671. al. p. 947, 948. [y] Vid. Tacit. Ann. l. 14. cap. 20. et alibi.

[z] Τοις δε δη Ρωμαιοις εκ των εναντιων, αδυνατον μεν προχωρησαι, χαλεπον δε και υπεστρεψαι ην· απορουντα ουν αυτον ο, τι χρη πραξαι, ανεπεισε τις των επιχωριων των ασπονδων, επῳδαις τε τισι και μαγγανειαις χρησασθαι, λεγων, πολλακις σφισιν εκ του τοιουτου πολυ υδωρ δεδοσθαι. Και αυτῳ παραχρημα τοσουτον εκ του ουραιου ερρυη, ωστε και αυτο διψος εξακεσασθαι, και τους πολεμιους προσκαταπληξαι, νομισαντας το Θειον οι επικουρειν. p. 948.

 'there

'there fell on a sudden great quantities of rain, which refreshed 'the Romans, and terrified their enemies. For they concluded 'that the gods favoured them. They therefore submitted, and 'accepted of the terms of peace proposed to them.' So [a] writes Dion Cassius.

There was another like shower in the contention between Niger and Septimius Severus, particularly in the last and decisive action, as related also by Dion Cassius. 'For [b] a while,' he says, 'the battle was fought with doubtful, and almost equal, 'success. Afterwards the army of Niger, by the superiority of 'their numbers and the advantage of the situation, prevailed 'very considerably, and [c] the victory had been complete, were 'it not that on a sudden, when the sky was clear, nor a puff of 'wind blowing, there appeared clouds, and a violent shower of 'rain followed, with terrible thunder and lightning, which beat 'upon the faces of Niger's men. At the same time the army of 'Severus was not at all annoyed, as the storm was at their backs. 'This circumstance animated the army of Severus, esteeming 'themselves favoured by the Deity. But the army of Niger was 'dispirited, and gave way, thinking that heaven fought against 'them. In a short time the victory became complete: and not 'less than twenty thousand men were slain on the side of Niger.' So writes Dion [d] again. But I do not here see any notice taken of magical incantations. The storm therefore happened in the usual course of nature; though it was sudden and unexpected, (as such things frequently are) and it was favourable to the army of Severus. This is supposed to have happened in the year of Rome 947, of Christ 194.

I add no more observations.

IV. It may be reasonably expected that this long argument should be now summed up, and reduced to some propositions. This summary shall be now made according to the sentiments, and almost in the very words, of the late [e] Mr. Mosheim.

1. 'In the first place, It is certain that, in the war with the 'Quadians and Marcomanni in Germany, Marcus, with his army, 'was in a great danger. Marcus was a better philosopher than 'emperor: nor could he learn the art of war from the writings 'of the stoics. And his imminent danger from the enemy may 'be imputed to his own imprudence.'

[a] Loco citato. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 42. num. i. [b] Dion. lib. 74. p. 843. al. p. 1248, 1249. [c] Και παντελως εκρατησαν, ει μη νεφη εξ αιθριας, και ανεμος εκ νηνεμιας, βρονται τε σκληραι και αστραπαι οξειαι μεθ' υετου λαβρου κατα προσωπον αυτοις προσεπεσον. κ. λ. p. 1249. [d] L. cit. et Conf. Basnag. ann. Ch. 194. num. iii.

[e] Mosh. de Rebus Christianor. ante Constant. M. sec. 2. § xvii. p. 248....253.

2. 'It

2. 'It is alſo certain that he was unexpectedly delivered out 'of that great danger by a ſhower of rain, accompanied with 'thunder and lightning, and obtained a victory.'

3. 'Farther, It is certain that not only the Chriſtians, but alſo 'the emperor and the Romans, aſcribed that ſhower, the great 'cauſe of their deliverance and victory, not to the ordinary 'courſe of nature, but to an extraordinary interpoſition of the 'divine power: they to the true God and their own prayers; 'theſe to Jove or Mercury. This we learn from the Roman 'authors, Dion Caſſius, Capitolinus, Claudian, and Themiſtius, 'and eſpecially from the pillar at Rome, ſet up by Marcus, and 'ſtill remaining, in which Jupiter, the giver of rain, is repre-'ſented refreſhing the almoſt-expiring Roman ſoldiers by a 'plentiful ſhower of rain.'

4. 'There may have been many Chriſtian ſoldiers in Marcus's 'army. If there were, it may be taken for granted that, in the 'time of the danger, they offered up prayers to God for deli-'verance: and that afterwards they alſo gave thanks to God 'for it; and when they ſent an account of it to their Chriſtian 'brethren, they let them know how great advantages God had 'vouchſafed to their prayers. Hence it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that 'a rumour prevailed, and was alſo firmly believed, that the Ro-'mans had been miraculouſly ſaved by the prayers of the Chriſ-'tians.'

5. 'It is falſe, though ſupported by the authority of Apolli-'naris and Euſebius, that there was a whole legion of Chriſtian 'ſoldiers in Marcus's army. Conſequently, there is no reaſon 'to believe that, when this imminent danger appeared, theſe 'ſoldiers drew up in a body, and falling down upon their knees 'preſented prayers to God; and that immediately, before their 'prayers were over a ſhower, with lightning and thunder, came 'down from heaven.'

6. 'It is not true that Marcus aſcribed the ſafety of himſelf 'and army to that legion, and thereupon honoured it with the 'name of the thundering legion. Scaliger, and Henry Valeſius, 'and other learned men, have ſhewn that the thundering le-'gion is older than the times of Marcus, and did not take it's 'denomination from this event. But ſome Chriſtian, little ac-'quainted with the military affairs of the Romans, having heard 'that there was ſuch a legion, concluded, without reaſon, that it 'had derived it's name from thunder and lightning, obtained by 'the prayers of Chriſtians, and then propagated his groundleſs 'imagination, which was received as true by too many, without 'examination, as is common in ſuch caſes.'

7. 'That Marcus did not think that he owed his ſafety to the 'favour which the Chriſtians were in with God, is manifeſt from 'the pillar ſet up at Rome, with his conſent and approbation, in 'which Jupiter is acknowledged to be the deliverer of the Ro-'mans.'

8. 'Conſequently, all that is ſaid of Marcus's public letter, 'written at that time, in which he is ſuppoſed to have extolled 'the piety of the Chriſtians, and to have reſtrained their ene-'mies and accuſers, is entirely without foundation.'

'The letter which we now have, and is generally placed at 'the end of one of Juſtin Martyr's apologies, is allowed, even 'by the defenders of the miracle of the thundering legion, to 'have in it manifeſt tokens of ſpuriouſneſs, and to be the work of 'a man unſkilful in Roman affairs, and who probably lived in 'the ſeventh century.'

'But ſince Tertullian, in the fifth chapter of his Apology, makes 'mention of ſuch a letter of Marcus, many are of opinion that 'in his time it was really in being, but has been ſince loſt, through 'the injury of time. 'On [f] the other hand,' ſays Tertullian, 'we can allege a protector, as may appear, if the letter of Mar-'cus Aurelius, a moſt worthy emperor, be ſought for, in which 'he acknowledgeth the remarkable drought in Germany to have 'been removed by a ſhower, obtained perhaps by the prayers of 'Chriſtian ſoldiers.' Nevertheleſs this teſtimony of Tertullian is weakened, and even overthrown, by divers conſiderations. I forbear, ſays Mr. Moſheim, to inſiſt here upon the word 'per-'haps;' whence ſome learned men have argued that Tertullian himſelf doubted of this miracle, or that he had not ſeen the emperor's letter. For [g] to me it appears clear that it does not relate to Tertullian, but to the emperor and his letter. The meaning of what he ſays is this: that Marcus did not openly confeſs and declare that the ſhower was obtained by the prayers of Chriſtian ſoldiers, but ſpoke doubtfully, 'that perhaps this great be-'nefit was owing to the prayers of the Chriſtians.' This I paſs by. But there are two other conſiderations by which this teſtimony is abſolutely enervated and overthrown. Firſt of all, what Tertullian ſays of the deſign of the emperor's letter, if I am not

[f] At nos, ait Tertullianus, e contrario edimus protectorem. Si literæ Marci Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam ſitim Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri diſcuſſum conteſtatur. Ap. cap. 5. [g] Manifeſto nimirum pertinet, non ad Tertullianum, verum ad Imperatorem, ejuſque epiſtolam, ſenſuſque orationis hic eſt: Marcum non aperte fateri ac decernere, imbrem militum Chriſtianorum ſupplicationibus impetratum eſſe, verum dubitanter loqui, atque ſignificare, *forte* magnum hoc beneficium Chriſtianorum precibus deberi. Moſhem. ibid. p. 251.

greatly

greatly miſtaken, manifeſts that when he wrote this he had in his eye the edict of Antoninus the pious, * (who is often confounded with Marcus,) which he ſent to the community of Aſia, of which we ſpoke formerly. For ſo he ſays: 'Who, [h] though 'he did not openly abrogate the laws againſt the Chriſtians, yet 'in another way he openly broke their force, appointing alſo a 'penalty to their accuſers, and of the ſevereſt ſort.' Let us now attend. Firſt of all Tertullian ſays that 'Marcus did not openly 'abrogate the laws againſt the Chriſtians,' that is, he did not openly forbid Chriſtians to be puniſhed. Then he adds, 'but 'in another way he openly broke the force of the laws,' that is, he made a wiſe proviſion that the Chriſtians ſhould not be eaſily puniſhed by the judges. Laſtly he ſays 'that he appointed a 'puniſhment for the accuſers of the Chriſtians.' All theſe three things exactly ſuit the edict of Antoninus the pious to the common council of Aſia. There, indeed, he does not abſolutely forbid the puniſhing of Chriſtians: nevertheleſs, when he appoints that no Chriſtian ſhould be puniſhed, unleſs he be convicted of ſome crime, he very much reſtrains their puniſhment, and contracts their ſufferings in narrow limits: Laſtly, he requires that the accuſers of the Chriſtians, who could not convict them of ſome crime, ſhould undergo the puniſhment of their own temerity. In this therefore, as I think, Tertullian was certainly miſtaken in aſcribing the edict of Antoninus the pious to his ſucceſſor Marcus Antoninus. And when he had been told that Marcus and his army had been ſaved in a time of imminent danger by the prayers of the Chriſtians, he imagined that this benefit had induced Marcus to paſs that law in their favour. The other conſideration, which invalidates this teſtimony of Tertullian, is the perſecution of the Chriſtians at Lyons and Vienne, of which we ſpoke formerly. It happened in the year of Chriſt 177, three years after the victory obtained over the Quadians and Marcomanni. For who can believe that the emperor, who in a public letter to the ſenate, in the year 174, had extolled the Chriſtians, and appointed a heavy puniſhment to their accuſers, ſhould in the year 177 deliver them up into the hands of their enemies, and order them to be capitally puniſhed, unleſs they renounced their religion?"

9. 'There ſtill remains one point to be conſidered: 'Whe-

* I alſo think that edict, ſent to the community of Aſia, to be rightly aſcribed to Antoninus the pious. It may be ſeen at length above, at p. 390, 391.

[h] Sic nempe loquitur: ſicut non palam ab hujuſmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam diſperſit, adjecta etiam accuſatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Apol. cap. 5.

'ther

'ther * the ſhower, by which the Romans were ſaved in the war 'with the Marcomanni, ought to be placed in the number of mi- 'racles. But this queſtion, in my opinion, may be ſolved with- 'out much difficulty. Learned men are now agreed that 'nothing ought to be placed among miracles, which may be 'accounted for by the ordinary powers of nature. But in this 'ſhower, though it happened unexpectedly, there is nothing 'beyond the power of nature, or which needs a divine interpoſi- 'tion. For it is a very common thing, according to the laws of 'nature, for long droughts in the ſummer ſeaſon to be followed 'with plentiful ſhowers of rain, joined with terrifying thunder 'and lightning. Nor ought it to be eſteemed miraculous that 'the lightning fell upon ſome of the enemies, and put their ar- 'my to flight: foraſmuch as all the people of Germany ſup- 'poſed that lightnings came from God, and they would form 'their judgment accordingly.'

So writes Mr. Moſheim; and, as ſeems to me, judiciouſly and plauſibly. I have tranſcribed him here, as ſumming up my argument, and making alſo ſome valuable additions to it.

I ſhall take this opportunity to correct a miſtake common among learned foreigners—that Mr. King, who had a debate with Mr. Moyle about the thundering legion, was ſir Peter King, afterwards baron of Ockham, and lord high chancellor of England. So thought Mr. Moſheim, [i] who tranſlated theſe letters into Latin, and in the main embraced Mr. Moyle's ſentiments. But I am aſſured, by thoſe who are likely to know the truth, 'that 'Mr. King, who diſputed with Mr. Moyle, was a clergyman, 'and miniſter of Topſham, near Exeter: which laſt was the 'place of his nativity, as well as Sir Peter's. He is the ſame 'king to whom Mr. Lock wrote ſome letters, which are in the

* That obſervation of Mr. Moſheim anſwers to what is the ſixth obſervation of Mr. Moyle, p. 99, &c. 'That the de- 'liverance of the Roman army, though 'undoubtedly true, was no miracle.' Whereupon the ſame ingenious writer proceeds: 'I ſee nothing ſupernatural in this 'deliverance of the Romans. Thunder 'and rain are no miracles, and they are 'never the leſs natural for happening in 'ſo critical a ſeaſon. There are examples 'enough in the Greek and Roman ſtory 'of ſuch caſual events, which, becauſe 'they were a little uncommon and ſur- 'priſing, and fell out in ſeaſonable junc- 'tures of time, have been ſtyled miracles 'by the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the 'vulgar.' &c.

[i] Poſt hos Petrus Kingius, Magnæ Britanniæ Cancellarius, et Gualther. Moylius, Eques Anglus inprimis acutus et eruditus, de hac re epiſtolis quibuſdam egerunt: quas ex Anglico Latine converſas Syntagmati Diſſertationum ad diſciplinas ſanctiores pertinentium cum obſervationibus nonnullis adjeci. Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtian. ante C. M. p. 249.

Walterus Moyle. Diſſ. contra Petrum Kingium, inſerta tomo ſecundo ejus Operum, editorum Anglice Londin. 1726. 8. Fabric. Lux Evangel. p. 139.

'poſthumous

'poſthumous collection of his letters, publiſhed by Mr. Collings. 'He is there ſtyled the reverend Mr. King.'

It is pity that the perſon who correſponded with Mr. Moyle, upon ſo curious a ſubject, ſhould be ſo little known. Mr. King and Mr. Moyle muſt have been intimate friends; for Mr. Moyle's Diſſertation upon the age of the Philopatris was ſent to the ſame perſon in ſeveral letters.

Since writing what is above I have received an authentic account from a gentleman perſonally acquainted with Mr. Moyle. It is in theſe words: 'Mr. Moyle's correſpondent in the affair 'of the thundering legion was Mr. Richard King, vicar of 'Topſham. Mr. Moyle died in 1721; Mr. King ſurvived him 'many years.'

CHAP. XVI.

APULEIUS of Madaura in Africa.

I. *His hiſtory, time, and works.* II. *Paſſages relating to the Chriſtians.* III. *Miracles aſcribed to him.* IV. *The deſign of his metamorphoſis, or golden aſs.*

I. LUCIUS APULEIUS [a] of Madaura in Africa, a platonic philoſopher, flouriſhed in the times of the emperors Antoninus the pious and M. Antoninus the philoſopher. Madaura was a Roman colony, and his family was [b] conſiderable. He [c] appears to have had an inſatiable thirſt for knowledge, and ſtudied at Carthage, Athens, and Rome. He was the author of many works, divers [d] of which ſtill remain monuments of great learning and ingenuity.

He had married a rich widow, named Pudentilla, againſt the will of her firſt huſband's relations, which occaſioned him a great deal of trouble. They accuſed him of the practice of magical arts to gain her conſent. He pleaded for himſelf before Claudius Maximus,

[a] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii. T. i. p. 514. &c. Apuleii Vita et Scripta, ex Wowero, ap. Apul. in uſum Delphin. Bulnag. Ann. 163. n. v. Tillemont L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. ſect. 32. Bayle Dictionaire, Apulee. [b] In quâ coloniâ patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem, cunctis honoribus perfunctum. Apol. p. 444. And farther ſee Bayle, as above, note [c].

[c] Vid. Apul. Ap. p. 442. et Florida. l. 4. num. 18. p. 813. et num. 20. p. 831.

[d] Metamorphoſis, ſive Luſus Aſini, Pro ſe apud Cl. virum, Cl. Maximum Proconſulem Apologia. De Habitudine Doctrinarum Platonis Philoſophi. De Deo Socratis. De Mundo. Florida.

pro-

proconſul of Aſia, who had been conſul of Rome in the year of Chriſt 144: which has induced learned men to place Apuleius as flouriſhing about the year 163.

II. Apuleius ſeems to have had ſome knowledge of the Chriſtians and their affairs.

The firſt place which I ſhall quote will be taken from his Metamorphoſis, or the Aſs, or the Golden Aſs, as it is ſometimes called; which is a fabulous ſtory, wherein are repreſented many events obſerved by him, and diſaſters that befel him, whilſt in the ſhape of an aſs, enjoying human underſtanding. He [e] could ſee, and hear, and obſerve; but [f] he could not ſpeak with human voice.

1. Among his many adventures in this ſtate one is this: 'he [g] 'was ſold to a baker; who,' as he ſays, 'was a very good ſort 'of a man, but he had a very bad wife, who ſo abuſed her huſ- 'band, that he could not but lament his unhappy condition as 'well as his own. She had every vice without any thing agree- 'able. She was perverſe, ill-natured, obſtinate, given to drink- 'ing, ſhe robbed her huſband, was profuſe in her expenſes, and 'unchaſte; and moreover, ſlighting the immortal gods and 'their worſhip, inſtead of the true religion ſhe adopted a falſe 'and ſacrilegious opinion concerning the Deity, which ſhe ſaid 'was one only, and practiſed vain obſervances, deceiving all 'men, and eſpecially her miſerable huſband, and devoting her- 'ſelf to drinking and lewdneſs from morning to night. The 'miſtreſs being ſuch a woman, ſhe was very ſevere to the new- 'bought aſs. She took care he ſhould be early put to the mill; 'nor would ſhe let him be releaſed when the other cattle were at 'noon. And what follows.'

There can be no doubt that Apuleius here deſigns to repreſent

[e] Ego vero quamquàm perfectus aſinus, et pro Lucio jumentum, ſenſum tamen retinebam humanum. Metam. l. 3. p. 95.

[f] .... ſed jam humano geſtu ſimul et voce privatus. Ibid.

[g] Piſtor ille, qui me pretio ſuum fecerat, bonus alioqui vir, et apprime modeſtus, peſſimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam ſortitus conjugem, pœnas extremas tori lariſque ſuſtinebat: ut hercules, ejus vicem ego quoque tacitus frequenter ingemiſcerem. Nec enim ullum vitium nequiſſimæ illi fœminæ deerat: ſed omnia prorſus, ut in quandam cœnoſum latrinam, in ejus animum flagitia conſluxerant. Scæva, fœva, vitioſa, ebrioſa, pervicax, pertinax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in ſumtibus turpibus profuſa, inimica fidei, hoſtis pudicitiæ. Tunc ſpretis, atque calcatis divinis numinibus, in vicem certæ religionis, mentitâ ſacrilegâ præſumtione Dei, quem prædicaret unicum, confictis obſervationibus vacuis, fallens omnes homines, et miſerum maritum decipiens, matutino mero, et continuo ſtupro corpus manicipârat. Talis illa mulier miro me perſequebatur odio. Nam et anteluculo recubans adhuc, ſubjungi machinæ novitium clamabat aſinum: et ſtatim ut cubiculo primum proceſſerat, inſiſtens jubebat incoram ſui plagas mihi quamplurimas irrogari: et cum tempeſtivo prandio laxarentur jumenta cætera, longe tardius applicari præſepio jubebat. Metam. l. 9. p. 282.

a Chriſ-

a Chriſtian woman. And, as he was pleaſed to prolong his fiction with a great variety of incidents, we are not to wonder that he brought in this character. The Chriſtians at that time, being under perſecution, often had their religious ſolemnities, and particularly the euchariſt, early in the morning. Therefore Apuleius charges this woman with 'getting up early to drink.' And as their aſſemblies for divine worſhip were then private, and ſometimes in the night ſeaſon, he charges her with lewdneſs. It is alſo very likely that Chriſtian people were often charged with 'robbing their huſbands'—to give to poor Chriſtians or their miniſters. It cannot be thought very ſtrange that, in ſuch a work as this, Apuleius ſhould gratify his own malice, and divert his reader with the character of a Chriſtian, dreſſed up agreeably to the common reports which prevailed among their enemies.

2. I now proceed to another place, which is in the apology; where Apuleius, having mentioned his own initiations into the myſteries of ſeveral deities, he goes on: 'But [h] I know ſome, 'and eſpecially that Emilian, (brother of Pudentilla's firſt huſ'band, by whom the preſent accuſation was carried on,) who 'laughs at all theſe things and derides them: for, as I hear, 'from the accounts of thoſe who know them well, he has never 'yet made ſupplication to any god, nor worſhipped in any tem'ple. When he paſſes by a conſecrated place, he eſteems it a 'crime to put his hand to his mouth by the way of adoration: 'nor does he conſecrate to the gods of agriculture, who feed and 'clothe him, any firſt-fruits of grain, or of the vine, or of his 'flocks. Nor is there in his country ſeat any chapel, nor indeed 'any conſecrated grove or other place whatever. But why do 'I talk of groves and chapels? They who have been there ſay 'they never ſaw in his territories ſo much as a ſtone anointed 'with oil, or a crowned bough. Inſomuch that there are two 'ſurnames given him: Charon, as I ſaid before, becauſe of 'the fierceneſs of his look and temper; the other is Mezentius, 'upon account of his contempt of the gods: which laſt men'tioned name, poſſibly, he likes the beſt of the two.'

[h] Atqui ego ſcio nonnullos, et cum primis Æmilianum iſtum, facetiæ ſibi habere, res divinas deridere. Nam, ut audio, percenſentibus iis qui iſtum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi ſupplicavit: ſi fanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet, adorandi gratiâ manum labris admovere. Ille vero nec Diis rurationis, qui eum pascunt ac veſtiunt, ſegetes ullas, aut vi[illegible], aut gregis primitias impartit. Nullum in villa ejus delubrum ſitum, nullus locus aut lucus conſecratus: et quid ego de luco et delubro loquor? Negant vidiſſe ſe, qui fuere, unum ſaltem in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum. Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, ut jam dixi, ob oris et animi diritatem: ſed alterum, quod libentius audit, ob Deorum contemtum, Mezentius. Quapropter facile intelligo, haſce ei tot initiorum enumerationes nugas videri. &c. Apol. p. 496, 497.

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There is very little here that needs explication. But it may be proper to obſerve that Mezentius is the name of a king of the Tyrrhenians, who is ſeveral times ſpoken of by Virgil as [1] a contemner of the gods.

The place firſt alleged by me has been taken notice of by all commentators upon Apuleius in general. But this other was firſt obſerved by the learned Dr. Warburton, now biſhop of Glouceſter; [k] who, from what Apuleius has ſaid, concludes that Licinius Æmilianus, his wife's brother-in-law, was a Chriſtian; and that the accuſation of magic, brought by him before the proconſul of Africa, did not a little contribute to inflame our author's bigotry for Gentiliſm, and increaſe his averſion to Chriſtianity.

3. I ſhall allege one place more in the ſame apology, where he wards off the charge of magic in procuring the marriage with Pudentilla in this manner: 'If,' [l] ſays he, 'they can ſhew any 'particular advantage which I could propoſe to myſelf in this 'marriage, let me then be eſteemed Carinondas, Damigeron, or 'that Moſes, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or Dardanus, or any 'other, who ſince Zoroaſter and Hoſtanes have been moſt cele-'brated among magicians.'

In 2 Tim. iii. 8. mention is made of *Jannes and Jambres, who withſtood Moſes.* I do not ſay that Apuleius had read this text, or any book of the New Teſtament: but the paſſage is a proof that Moſes was well known in the world as a perſon of great eminence; and doubtleſs [m] he was eſteemed the Jewiſh lawgiver.

III. I have not obſerved any more paſſages in Apuleius relating to the Chriſtians. In the fourth and fifth centuries miracles were aſcribed to him; of which I ſay nothing now: but I propoſe to conſider that point hereafter in the chapter of Hierocles.

IV. But, if it might not be reckoned too preſuming, I would now conſider the judgment paſſed upon the Metamorphoſis, the principal remaining work of this author, by Dr. Warburton, now

[1] Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis aſper ab oris,
Contemtor divûm Mezentius, agminaque armat.
Virg. Æ. l. 8. ver. 647, 648.
Contemtorque Deüm Mezentius. Ib. l. 8. ver. 7.

[k] See the Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated. B. 4. ſect. 4. p. 120. in the notes, the ſecond vol. edit. 1741.

[l] Si una cauſſa, vel minima fuerit inventa, cur ego debuerim Pudentillæ nuptias, ob aliquod meum commodum appetere: ſi quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille ſim Carinondas, vel Damigeron, vel is Moſes, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipſe Dardanus, vel quicunque alius, poſt Zoraſtrem et Hoſtanem inter magnos celebratus eſt. Apol. p. 544.

[m] Vid. Strabon. l. 16. p. 760. al. 1103. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 5. cap. 4.

biſhop

biſhop of Glouceſter: who ſuppoſes that 'his [n] deſign was to 'recommend the pagan religion as the only cure for all vice in 'general.'

Againſt that interpretation, it ſeems to be no ſmall objection that the author himſelf calls it a [o] Mileſian tale, and [p] a Greek fable; and the ancients always ſo underſtood it, as our great author himſelf acknowledges.

'The Metamorphoſis,' ſays he, p. 117, 'even from it's firſt 'appearance, hath had the character of a trifling fable. Capi- 'tolinus, in Clodius Albinus, tells us that Severus could not 'bear with patience the honours which the ſenate had conferred 'on Albinus, eſpecially the diſtinguiſhing title of learned, who 'was grown old in the ſtudy of oldwives fables, ſuch as the Mi- 'leſian Punic tales of his countryman and favourite Apuleius. 'Major fuit, (ſays Severus in his letter to the ſenate on this oc- 'caſion,) dolor, quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique dux- 'iſtis, quem ille næniis quibuſdam anilibus occupatus inter Mi- 'leſias Punicas Apuleii ſui et ludicra literaria conſeneſceret. That 'poor, modern-ſpirited, critic Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius 'in the ſame ſtrain. lib. 1. cap. 2.' Again, p. 118. 'The an- 'cients, who ſtuck in the outſide, conſidered it without refine- 'ment as an idle fable.' And p. 123. 'The author introduces 'his Metamorphoſis in this manner: At ego tibi ſermone iſto 'Mileſio varias fabulas conferam, aureſque tuas benevolas lepi- 'do ſuſurro permulceam....And his kind readers took him at his 'word: and from that day to this never troubled themſelves 'about any farther meaning.'

And why ſhould not 'his readers take him at his word,' and accept of his own account of the deſign of his work? And why ſhould we trouble ourſelves farther? Why may not we underſtand him as the ancients did?

One reaſon againſt that is taken from the character of the writer, p. 117. 'However, Macrobius ſeems to wonder that 'Apuleius ſhould trifle at this rate; and well he might; for the 'writer of the Metamorphoſis was one of the graveſt and moſt 'virtuous philoſophers of his age.'

I do not know what aſſurance we have of this. I am not able to reconcile that character with the many horrible obſcenities of that work, not inferior to the moſt offenſive things of that kind

[n] See the Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated, book iv. ſect. 4. vol. 2. p. 117. &c. in the notes, ed. 1741.

[o] At ego tibi ſermone iſto Mileſio varias fabulas conferam, aureſque tuas benevolas [al. benivolas] lepido ſuſurro permulceam. Apul. Met. lib. i. p. 1.

[p] Fabulam Græcam incipimus. Lector intende, lætaberis. ib. p. 4.

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in any of the works of Lucian. A grave philoſopher may, for the ſake of diverſion, propoſe in converſation, or writing, a tale, 'a Mileſian tale,' if you pleaſe; but not ſuch a ſtory as that of Apuleius's aſs. Marcus Aurelius was a philoſopher of the ſame age: no man can believe him capable of ſuch an obſcene performance as this, notwithſtanding his averſion to Chriſtianity. I own that Apuleius muſt have been ſtudious; otherwiſe he had not attained to ſuch learning as appears in his writings: and he had the character of a philoſopher: but his obſcenity is a ſtrong objection to his virtue and gravity. And his apology alſo manifeſts great gaity of temper: nor is it entirely free from obſcenity.

P. 123, 124. 'The fable opens with the repreſentation of a 'young man, figured in his own perſon.' For certain, it is Lucius Apuleius himſelf throughout, who ſpeaks, and acts, and ſuffers, in his fable.

P. 125. 'Matters growing ſtill from bad to worſe, his affairs 'come to a criſis: for being now about to perpetrate, in the 'ninth book, (it ſhould be ſaid the tenth,) one of the moſt ſhocking enormities,....he abhors the idea of his projected crime, 'evades his keepers, and flies to the ſea ſhore.'

I muſt take the liberty to ſay I do not perceive that to be the truth of the caſe: for [q] he had before perpetrated that ſhocking enormity, and has related the commiſſion of it with ſhameful particularity: but [r] he ſcorned to repeat it in public, and made his eſcape from his keepers.

At the end, in the eleventh book, he recovers his original form; and he undergoes three initiations into the myſteries of Iſis, and then of Oſiris, and laſtly the Roman rites.

'All this conſidered,' ſays the venerable and laborious author before named, p. 130, 'who can any longer doubt but that the 'true deſign of this work was to recommend initiation into the 'myſteries, in oppoſition to the new religion?' meaning the Chriſtian religion.

I do not yet perceive the certainty of that concluſion. Suppoſing a man by ſome means to have been transformed into an aſs, and in that ſtate to have been treated as a beaſt of burden, and to have undergone many hardſhips; it was natural for him, upon his recovering the human ſhape, to make acknowledgements to heaven, in a way agreeable to the religion of which he makes profeſſion, or as beſt ſuited his own temper. Lucian, whoſe regard for the gods is not reckoned to have been very extraordinary, having been transformed, as Apuleius is repreſented

[q] L. 10. p. 336. &c. [r] Ib. p. 343. &c.

to

to have been, upon the recovery of human ſhape, 'ſacrifices [s] to 'the gods, his ſaviours, and makes offerings to them.' Apuleius, who was more accuſtomed to religious rites, is initiated, as juſt ſhewn.

I muſt therefore ſtill underſtand this to be a Mileſian fable, as the ancients did. And I cannot but conſider the allegorical interpretation as a fiction without foundation.

But, though I am not able to diſcern that deep and hidden deſign which our author ſees in this work, it may be allowed to be (what [t] divers learned and ingenious men have ſuppoſed) a perpetual ſatire of the tricks and irregularities of magicians, prieſts, debauchees, cheats, and ſharpers, with which the world was then filled.

Crevier's [u] character of Apuleius is abſurd and unaccountable. I put it below with a remark or two; and perhaps it may be remembered when we come to the chapter of Hierocles.

Since writing what is above, upon reviewing the chapter, I have obſerved that [x] Mr. Moſheim had ſeen and examined the argument of the biſhop of Glouceſter. But, after expreſſing juſt tokens of reſpect for his lordſhip, he declares himſelf not to be fully ſatisfied with his repreſentation of the deſign of the fable of the aſs.

[s] Ενταυθα, θεοις σωτηρσιν εθυον, και αναθηματα εθηκα. Lucian. Aſin. p. 117. T. 2. Grav. [t] Tota porro hæc Metamorphoſis Apuleiana et ſtilo et ſententiâ Satyricon eſt perpetuum, (ut recte obſervavit Barthius Adv. l. 51. cap. 11.) in quo magica deliria, ſacrificulorum ſcelera, adulterorum crimina, furum et latronum impunitæ factiones differuntur. J. Florid. Annot. in Apul. in uſum Delphin. p. 2.

See likewiſe Bayle in Apulée. note [s].

[u] 'Apuleius ought to be ranked with 'the philoſophers who pretended to join 'magic to philoſophy. He was an Apol-'lonius Tyanæus in miniature. Mira-'cles were aſcribed to him, and a ſuper-'natural commerce with the gods. In 'the main, all he did was mere impoſture, 'by which he propoſed to raiſe his charac-'ter for knowledge, and to make himſelf 'a ſubject of admiration.' Crevier's Hiſt. of the Emperors. vol. vii. p. 344.

So ſays that learned modern. Had he never read the Apology of Apuleius? And did he ſuppoſe every thing ſaid in the Metamorphoſis, or Fable of the Aſs, to be real matter of fact?

[x] De conſilio vero fabulæ de Aſino, quod commendationem myſteriorum, et Chriſtianæ religionis contemtionem, vir doctiſſimus eſſe conjicit, dubitare mihi liceat: quum nihil afferri videam ex ea, quod difficulter in aliam partem accipi poſſit. Moſhem. de Reb. ante C. M. p. 563.

[*The continuation of this ſecond volume of Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies will be found in the next volume.*]

THE END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.