THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

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A HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS.

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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—destructions 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—Pausanius—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.

He was educated together b with Matthias, who was his own brother by father and mother, and made such proficiency 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 of 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 triling offence to Rome, to be tried before Caesar. 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

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a Joseph. in Vitæ saæ. cap. i.

b Cap. 2.

c Ἐγὼ δὲ παῖς ὦν περί τεσσαρεσκαδεκατον ετῶν—συνιστῶν αι τῶν ἀρχιερεῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρωτῶν ὑπὲρ τῷ παρεμβαίνειν τις γνωστήν. Cap. 2.

d—μεγαλῶν δὲ διεσκευαζόμενος τοῦ εὐρήσεως τούτου τυχόν παρά Ποππηίάς. C. 3.

e Μετὰ μεσίστου καὶ ἐκατον εἴσηκουν καὶ ἐκατον μεγαλύτερον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μοι συνεπεθανεν αναγιγνάναι. Ib.

f Felix must have been removed from his government some while before that; which may be thought to create a difficulty in this account; but it may be observed, that Josephus had heard of the good behaviour of those priests at Rome before he left Judea; consequently they had been some while at Rome before he set out on his journey.

g —καὶ πόλλοις εἰπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀποταμεῖ μεγάλη φρονεσίας. Vit. c. 4.
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
Galilee; where, having ordered matters as well as he could,
and made the best preparations for war, by fortifying the
cities in case of an attack from the Romans, he was at
length shut up in the city of Jotapata: which, after a
vigorous defence, and a siege of seven and forty days, was
taken by Vespasian, 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 it 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 will-
ing to surrender himself. But the men who were with him
exclaimed against it, and were for killing him and them-
selves rather than come alive into the hands of the Ro-
mans. Hereupon he made a long speech unto them, show-
ing 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 him-
selves to the Romans. So they two escaped with their lives.

This has been judged to be a remarkable providence,

h Vit. cap. 7. 8. De B. J. 1. 2. c. 20. i De B. J. 1. 3. cap. 7.
Conf. cap. 8. sect. 9. k μεγιστη γαρ ην μωρα τη πολέμου λυρθεις;
De B. J. 1. 3. c. 8. in. 1 De B. J. 1. 3. c. 8. sect 1—7.
by which Josephus was preserved to write the history, of which we are now able to make so good use.

When Josephus had surrendered, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept carefully, as if he had intended to send him to Nero. Josephus then presented a request that he might speak to Vespasian in private, which was granted. When all were dismissed, except Titus and two friends, he spoke to Vespasian after this manner: 'You 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 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 Caesar: 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 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 them.'

All these things I have inserted here for showing the

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* De B. I. 1. 3. c. 8. sect. 8.
* Ibid. sect. 9.
* 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.
* 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.
* 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.
character of this writer: thought the prolixity of my narration be thereby increased.

It is very likely, that he often thought of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel at Babylon; and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose it may be no disparagement to Josephus to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity. And the circumstance 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 shown 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 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 show him great respect so long as he lived. His son Titus, who succeeded him, showed him the like regard. And afterwards Domitian, and his wife Domitia, did him many kind offices.

Josephus, however, does not deny that 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 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

* 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. I. 3. viii. 3 et 9, et de Vit. sect. 42.  
* De B. J. I. 4. cap. x. sect. 7.  
* Vit. cap. 76.  
* Ibid.  
* De B. J. I. 3. cap. ix. sect. 7.
itself. Nor do we find that\textsuperscript{x} the Jewish people ever had any great respect for his writings; though they have been much esteemed, and often quoted, by christian and\textsuperscript{y} other writers, in early and latter times.

Of them\textsuperscript{z} 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\textsuperscript{a} first wrote it in the language of his own country, for the sake of such as lived in Parthia, Babylonia, Arabia, and other parts: and afterwards published it in Greek for the benefit of others, which is what we have: it is generally supposed to have been published by him in the seventy-fifth year of Christ, and the thirty-eighth year of his own age. He professeth to have written with great\textsuperscript{b} fidelity: and for the truth of his history appeals to Vespasian and Titus, and King Agrippa, then\textsuperscript{c} living. He\textsuperscript{d} presented it to Vespasian and Titus: which last\textsuperscript{e} 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\textsuperscript{f} 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 en-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{x} Quamvis enim ejus scripta apud Judæos in nullo pretio fuerint—Gentiles tamen pariter et christiani Josephum, licet Judæum, ejusque opera, magni æstimarunt. Ittig. Proleg. pag. 88. ap. Havercamp.
\item \textsuperscript{y} Josephus is quoted by Porphyry, not in his books against the christians, but elsewhere. See the testimonies prefixed to the works of Josephus.
\item \textsuperscript{z} Particular accounts of them are to be seen in Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabric. Gr. I. 4. cap. 6. tom. 3. p. 238, &c. Tillemont La Ruine des Juifs. art. 79. &c. Hist. des Emp. tom. i. De B. J. l. i in Pro. sect. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{a} De B. J. l. i. in Pro. sect. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{b} In Proleg. sect. 5, &c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.
\item \textsuperscript{c} In Vit. cap. 65. Adv. ap. l. i. c. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{e} ὡς χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτῷ γενή τα βιβλία ἐνποιευμενεσθαι προσετάξε. Vid. sec. 65.
\item \textsuperscript{f} Ant. l. 20. cap. ult. fin.
\end{itemize}
The works of Josephus, notwithstanding many things in them liable to exception, which may be observed by careful and impartial readers, are very valuable. In his larger work, The Jewish Antiquities, he confirms the truth of the 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 shown 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 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 Jerusa-
lem in the year 63 before the Christian era, about the time of our \textsuperscript{k} Midsummer. Josephus always dates \textsuperscript{1} the loss of their liberty at that time. The same is said by \textsuperscript{m} Tacitus.

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

When Pompey became master of Jerusalem, he \textsuperscript{a} 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 its 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 \textsuperscript{o} 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," Esr. 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 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, all ye people of the land, and work; for I am


\textsuperscript{1} Тета της παρθε της Ἰουδαϊκής αυτοί κατεστησαν Ὑρκανος καὶ Απιστοβι-

\textsuperscript{m} ΕΤΟΣΙΟΣ ingressus est. Tacit. H. i. 5. c. 9.

\textsuperscript{a} De B. J. l. i. c. vii. 6. Conf. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv.

\textsuperscript{o} Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. i. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.
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 presence would make this second temple more glorious than the first. But here is also a gracious assurance of external grandeur and splendour. 'Silver and gold, and all the riches of the world, says God, are mine to bestow on whom I please. And notwithstanding the present mean and despicable appearance of the building before your eyes, I will fill it with glory, and will cause it to equal, or even surpass, the former in splendour and magnificence.——"For in this place will I give peace." My purpose is to bless you abundantly, and to give you great prosperity.' Which gracious declaration was fulfilled.

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 its final ruin. And when Titus, upon the fire having seized the temple, entered it, with some of his officers, he says, 'that 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 it was the most admirable of all the works which we have seen or heard of, for its curious structure and magnitude, and for all the wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the reputation of its sanctity.' And he expressly calls it 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 wit-
ness 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 magni-
ficence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii. 10,
"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 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 ful-
filled? And Jesus answering them, began to say: Take heed,
est 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 desola-
tion, 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 afflic-
tion, 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 dis-
ciples came to him, for to show 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 elect's 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 show 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 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 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’s 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 cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s 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 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 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 Lord foretells 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 foretells, 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 foretells, that there would be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.
7. He speaks of wars and tumults in many places, preceding the final ruin of the Jewish nation, and as preludes of it.
8. He likewise says, that at that time, and before it, would appear many false prophets, and impostors, by whom many would be deceived; and he warns men against hearkening to them.
9. He declares that all these things would come to pass before the end of that age or generation of men.
10. He forewarns and advises those who regarded their own welfare, to flee out of Judea and Jerusalem, when they perceived the near approach of the calamities which had been spoken of by him, which they might know when they should see the Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, standing were they ought not; that is, near Jerusalem, or in the land of Judea.

Of all these several things I propose to show 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 Josephus says, in the second year of Gessius Florus, who succeeded Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the 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 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 Josephus repeats again afterwards.

The 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 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


* Καὶ προσελαβάνε τὴν αρχὴν ὁ πολέμος δώδεκα τε ετει τῆς Νερώνος ἡγεμονίας, ἐπτακαίδεκα τδε τῆς Ἀγριππᾶς Βασίλειος, Ἀρτέμισι μνησ. De B. J. 1. 2. cap. xiv. 4.

* Παρθὲν δὴ ἡ εἰμαρμοὴ χρονών περιοδος, ἡμέρα δικαίας δως μνησος, καθήν ἢν καὶ το προτερον ὑπὸ την των Βαβυλωνιων βασιλεῖας ενεπτρηθη. De B. J. 1. 6. iv. 5.

* Θαυμασαὶ δὲ οἱ εν αυτη τῆς περιοδος τῆς αρμίας καὶ μνημή της, ὡς εφη, καὶ ἡμέραν επετρήσας την αυτην, ἐν δὴ προτερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνιων ὁ νοος ενεπτρηθη—ὁ γεγονων ετει δεύτερο τῆς Ουεσιπασίαν ἡγεμονίας. 1b. sect. 8.

* Ῥαλω μιν οὐτος Ἰεροσόλυμα ετει δεύτερο τῆς Ουεσιπασίαν ἡγεμονίας, Γορτισίαν μνησι οὐδεμ. 1b. 1. 6. cap. x. in.

* De B. J. 1. 5. cap. iii. 1. cap. xiii. 7. 1. 6. cap. ix. 3.
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 xxii. 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.”

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,’ says he, ‘the prefect of Judea, sending his army from Cæsarea, and putting them into winter 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 ornaments. 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 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

* Antiq. l. 18. c. iii. sect. 1.  
v Antiq. l. 18. cap. vi. 3.
JOSEPHUS. Events preceding the Destruction of Jerusalem. 409

...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.

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, Colosse, 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* bears witness that the christian religion,
which had its 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 prophetic 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’s sake—And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name’s sake,” Luke xxii. 33, 34, and 16, 17. And to the like purpose in the other evangelists.

The full accomplishment of these things is well known to christians, from the book of the Acts, and the epistles of the New Testament. The apostles of Jesus met with great difficulties in preaching the gospel: and the converts made by them were exposed to 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; vii. 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 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

* See that fully proved in The Supplement to the Credibility, &c. in this Vol. ch. xii. sect. 10.
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 it on fire himself. "For suppressing that common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians." And he says, that they were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Thus Tacitus bears witness, not only to their undeserved sufferings, but also to the reproaches they underwent, agreeably to what our blessed Lord has said, that "they would be hated of all men for his name's 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 xxii. 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

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b Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdedit reos, et exquisitissimis penis affecit quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus christianos appellabat—Igitur primo corrupti qui fatebantur; deinde indicie eorum multitudine ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convictis sunt, &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.
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 shows 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 Phygelus 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 speaks of Hymenaeus 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 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 its truth. For, in a great number of men, it is very likely that some should be overcome by the difficulties and dangers attending the profession of it. So says the chief sower of his heavenly doctrine: “some seed fell in stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but endureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.”

4. Our 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 se-
veral years. We have a particular account of it in \textsuperscript{d} Josephus. He also says it was a very severe\textsuperscript{e} famine. And in another place \textsuperscript{f} 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 \textsuperscript{g} his Chronicle, and \textsuperscript{h} in his History, and by \textsuperscript{i} Orosius.

There was also a famine at Rome, and in Italy, mentioned \textsuperscript{k} 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 \textsuperscript{l} by Tacitus and \textsuperscript{m} Eusebius; which seems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that emperor.

To all these \textsuperscript{n} 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 \textsuperscript{o} 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 \textsuperscript{p} a pestilence at Babylon, in which the Jews suffered.

In the \textsuperscript{q} 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 \textsuperscript{r} Tacitus and \textsuperscript{s} Suetonius, as well as from \textsuperscript{t} Orosius, who might transcribe from them.

\textsuperscript{d} Ant. l. 20. ii. 6. \textsuperscript{e} Επὶ τετοιοῦ δὴ καὶ μεγαλίμων κατὰ τὴν ἑσάπταν συνήζη γενεσθαι. Ib. cap. v. 2.

\textsuperscript{f} ——οὐ μην ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ὁ ἐν τῇ πόλειν μικρὸν εμπροσθεν, Κλαύδιος Ῥωμαίων ἀρχόντος, καὶ λιμὸν τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβοῦσον, ᾧ τεσσαρων ἐραξίων πολείσθαι τον αὐσάρωνα. Ant. l. 3. xv. 3.

\textsuperscript{g} Chr. p. 160. \textsuperscript{h} H. E. l. 2. cap. xii.

\textsuperscript{i} Or. l. 7. cap. 6. \textsuperscript{k} Dio. l. 60. p. 671. al. §49.

\textsuperscript{l} Frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Tac. Ann. l. 12. c. 43. \textsuperscript{m} Fames facta in Græcìa. Modius sex drachmis venundatus est.—Magna fames Romæ. Chr. p. 160. infr. m.


\textsuperscript{o} Vid. Pagi. A. D. 72. n. vii. Reimari Annot. ad Dion. Cass. p. 948. See also Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x.

\textsuperscript{p} ——φθορα εν Βαββυλων γενετο αυτων. Ant. l. 18. ix. 8.

\textsuperscript{q} Vid. Pagi. A. D. 67. n. iii.

\textsuperscript{r} Tot facinoribus fecundum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insigni-vere. Vastata Campania turbinque ventorum, qui villas, arbusta, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi; in qua omnem mortalitatem genus vis pestilentia depopulabat, nullà celi intermerie, que occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus examinis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non sexus, non òtas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim extinguuit, inter conjugum et liberorum lama; qui dum assident, dum deflent, sœpe
—"earthquakes.""

Tacitus speaks of an earthquake at Rome in the time of Claudius, and of another at Apanza in the same reign. In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, mentioned by Tacitus; and likewise by Eusebius in his Chronicle; who says that in Asia three cities, namely, Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse, were overturned by an earthquake. And in like manner 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 mentioned by Tacitus and 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 foretells "wars and commotions" preceding the final ruin: Matt. xxiv. 6; Mark xiii. 7; Luke xxii. 9.

Josephus has a long story of a disturbance in Mesopotamia, occasioned by the ambition and indiscretion of two emperors.


† Oros. l. 7. c. 7. "Multa ex anno prodigia evenere. Incessum diris avibus Capitolium; crebris terræ motibus proruit domus. Ann. 12. cap. 43.

* Tributumque Apamienibis, terræ motu convulsis, id quinquennium remissum. Id. l. 12. c. 58.

* Eodem anno ex illustribus Asia urbis Laodicea, tremore prolatapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. Ib. l. 14. c. 27.


† Oros. l. 7. cap. 7.

* Isidemque Consulibus gymnasion icu fulminis conflagravit, effugiesque in eo Neronis ad informe æs liquefacta. Et motu terre celebre Campanæ oppidum Pompeii magnæ ex parte proruit. Ann. l. 15. c. 22.


‡ Antiq. l. 18. cap. ix.
Jews, who were brothers. It seems to have happened about the year of Christ 40. Josephus says it was not inferior to any calamity which the Jews had suffered hitherto; and that 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 Josephus says, he found the Jews in Peræa in a riot fighting with the Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mia. And indeed the people of Peræa 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 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 happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which many were killed on both sides.

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

These disturbances went on increasing. At Caesarea there had long been contentions between the Jewish people and the other inhabitants. 'And,' as Josephus says, 'in one hour's time more than twenty thousand Jews were de-

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[^d]: Ἐνταῦθεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς εὐρύτερας τῆς Ἰουδαίας συμμόρφωσα δίνην, καὶ ὑδέμας ἡς τινος ἐλάσσων, φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς, καὶ ὁποιος ἐξ ἑτορρήμων προτέρων. Ib. sect. 1.
[^e]: Ib. sect. 9.
[^f]: Ant. l. 20. cap. i. 1.
[^g]: Antiq. l. 20. c. v. 3. De B. J. l. 2. c. xii. 1.
[^h]: Antiq. l. 20. vi. 1. De B. J. l. 2. xii. 3.
[^i]: Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμερᾶς καὶ ὥρας, ὡσπερ εἰς δαίμονα προσώπως, ἀνρρόν ὁ Καισάρεις τοῖς παρὰ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων ὡς ὑπὸ μιᾶν ὥραν αποφαγημάτως μὲν ὑπὲρ δισθάνοις, κενωθήσεται δὲ πασιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Καισάρειαν. De B. J. l. 2. c. xviii. 1.
stroyed, and all Cæsarea was at once emptied of its 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, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis: and after them Gadara and Hippos: and falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they demolished there, others they set on fire. Then they went to Kedessa, 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 plundered; and an immense slaughter was made of the men found in them.'

'The Syrian 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 Scythopolis the contention was carried so far, that above thirteen thousand Jews were killed.'

'After that,' 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 likemanner; as did also Hippos and Gadara and divers other cities of Syria.'

'At 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 men of Damascus having got the Jewish inhabitants into the place of exercise, έν τῇ γυμνασίῳ, 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

1 Ibid. sect. 2.  m Ib. sect. 3.  n Ib. sect. 5.
* Ibid. sect. 7, 8.  p De B. J. 1. 2. c. xx. sect. 2.
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 occasioned the war which began in the twelfth year of Nero.' Soon after which the Jews at Cæsarea were treated very contumeliously 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,' 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 have mentioned all these things to show 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 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. 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,

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4 Εν δὲ τωπ και οΙ Καισαρεως Ἑλληνες νικησαντες παρά Νερών της πόλεως άρχην, τα της ερίσεως εκοιμασαν γραμματα. Και προσελαμβανε την αρχήν ὅ πολεμος δυνακατη μην ετη της Νερώνος ήγερμονιας. De B. J. l. 2. c. xiv. 4.
7 Και τι δει πλεων λεγιμ; Τον γαρ προς Ῥωμαιως πολεμου καταναγκαζα σης αρεσθαι, Φλωρος ην, κρειττον ηγεμονιος αθρως, η κατ' οληγον απολεσθαι. Antiq. l. 20. xi. 1.
9 ——οτι κ προαιρεσις εγενετο τα πολεμι προς Ῥωμαιως ιδανως, αλλα το πλεων αναγκη. Vit. sect. 6.
11 ——αναπτεω μηδενος αλλοφυλη δωρον η θυσιαν προδεχεσθαι. Τοσο δε γιν τι προς Ῥωμαιως πολεμι καταβολη. Την γαρ ἐπερ τετων θυσιαν Καισαρος απεφυναν. De B. l. 2. xvii. 2.

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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 that which principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, found also in their sacred writings, that about this time some one from their 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 Vespasion, who was proclaimed 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 Caesar 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 "show 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 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 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 permitted you to live either by yourselves, or among others, as you liked best. And, which is the greatest favour

\[De B. J. l. 6. cap. v. 4.\]

\[De B. l. 6. cap. vi. 2.\]
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 yourselves, 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 the persuasion of Joazar the high-priest, the Jews did generally 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 the Galilean was the leader of the fourth sect. In all other points they hold the same sentiments with the pharisees; but they have an invincible affection for liberty, and acknowledge God alone their Lord and Governor. From that time the nation became infected with this principle: and Florus, 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 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, 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

* Antiq. l. 18. c. i. sect. 1.
* Ibid. sect. 6.
* Vol. i. p. 228, &c.
invincible zeal for liberty, scorned subjection to the Romans, their masters, and took up arms against them. As Capellus says, 'Florus,' by his exactions, forced them against their consent, or rather drove them who were already disposed to it, and wanted no incitement to rebel against the Romans.'

I would now take farther notice of the passage above cited, wherein our Jewish historian says, 'what principally encouraged them to the war was an ambiguous oracle found in their sacred writings, that about that time some one from their own 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, agreeable to our Lord's predictions, as I shall now show.

'Whilst a Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, called b Theudas, persuaded a very great multitude, taking their effects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan; assuring them that he was a prophet, and that, causing the river to divide at his command, he would give them an 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 c affairs in Judea went on continually growing worse and worse. The country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deceived the people; but Felix time after time apprehended and put to death many of

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*a* Ant. l. 20. cap. v. 1.

*b* That Theudas is different from him mentioned by Gamaliel, Acts v. 36, as was shown formerly, Vol. i. B. ii. ch. vii.

*a* Antiq. l. 20. cap. viii. 5.
them.' A little lower: 'And indeed, by means of the crimes committed by the robbers, the city was filled with all sorts of impiety: and impostors 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 Jerusalem, who said he was a prophet: and having persuaded a good number of the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of Olives, he told them that thence they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command, and promised through them to give them entrance into the city. But Felix being informed of these things, ordered his soldiers to their arms; and, marching out of Jerusalem with a large body of horse and foot, he fell upon the Egyptian, and killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners: but the Egyptian, getting out of the fight, escaped.'

This same story is also in The War, with some differences in the numbers, which were considered formerly.

There the account concludes in this manner: 'When 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 them, there was another body of wicked men, whose hands indeed were cleaner, but their intentions were as impious; who disturbed the happy state of the city no less than those murderers. For deceivers and impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, aiming at changes and innovations, made the people mad: and induced them to follow them into the wilderness, pretending that God would there give them signs and wonders. Felix judging these proceedings to be no less than the beginning of a revolt, sent out his soldiers, both horse and foot, and destroyed great numbers of them.'

In the fore-cited chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, speaking of the robbers in the time of Por-

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^1 Ib. sect. 6.  
^2 De B. J. l. 2. c. xiii. 5.  
^3 Vol. i. ch. viii.  
^4 Ib. sect. 4.
cious Festus, about the year of Christ 60, he says that 'he also sent out both horse and foot to fall upon those who had been seduced by a certain impostor, who had promised them deliverance and freedom from the 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 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, who spake lies in the name of God, deceived this miserable people. They neither attended to, nor believed, the manifest signs foresignifying the coming desolation: but like infatuated men who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to perceive, they neglected the divine denunciations.'

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

Our blessed Lord says, Matt. xxiv. 24, "For there will arise false christs, and false prophets, and will show 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 δισεταται, 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 ἐστιν σημεῖον ἡ τερας, that is, shall propose, or promise, some sign or wonder, as the sequel shows. Parallel with the text just cited from St. Matthew is Mark xiii. 22, "For false christs and false prophets will arise, and will show

*h Ant. l. 20. cap. viii. sect. 10.  
* De B. J. l. 6. cap. v. sect. 2.  
* Ibid. sect. 3.
signs and wonders," the same word again, καὶ δωσανοὶ σήμεια καὶ τερατα, "in order to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect."

The accounts which Josephus has given of the impostors in his time, show 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 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 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 periphrasis of the Messias, that he was “he that was to deliver Israel.”’ Which is agreeable to a note of 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

1 See Tillemont, Ruine des Juifs, art. 36. A. D. 52.

m Vol. iii. p. 552.

n Christi nomine populus judaicus intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, ἡμεῖς ἐμφανίζομεν, ὧν αὐτος εἶναι ὁ μελλὼν λυτρωθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, descriptio est nominis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi judaici dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur, et erant ψευδο-χριστοί, &c. Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 5.
Jewish Testimonies.

calls them, as well as others, to the war with the Romans; was the expectation of a great deliverer to arise among them, who should obtain the empire of the world. This great deliverer was the Messiah. The numerous “false prophets” and “false Christs,” of whom Josephus speaks so frequently and so distinctly, are full proofs of it.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some\(^o\) 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 showing 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 inno-

\(^o\) Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be seen in Vol. i. p. 138, &c.
cent from the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people: 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:” Matt. xxvii. 22—26.

The continued expectation of the Messiah, as a worldy 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 shown 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, president of Syria, judged it not proper for him to lie still

\[p\] “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 they have both seen, and hated, both me and my Father;” John xv. 22—24.

\[\text{De B. J. I. 2. cap. xvi. sect. 9.}\]
any longer; he therefore determined to march into Judea: whereupon he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of the rest two thousand chosen men, with six cohorts of foot, and four troops of horse, beside the auxiliaries which were sent by the kings: of which Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers. Agrippa sent a thousand horse and two thousand foot. 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 its 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 its 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 Ptolemais. At this very time, as Josephus adds in the same paragraph, the Jews found means to destroy about two thousand Syrians, at Berytus, and near it, Cestius being at a distance.

'Now' Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; 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 with all their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain were eight thousand and four hundred. In like manner he sent a number of horse into the toparchy of Narbata, not far from Cesarea, who slew many of the inhabitants, plundered their goods, and set fire to the villages.'

'Now' also Cestius sent Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, where he slew more than two thousand.'

'Gallus' then returned to Cæsarea, and Cestius moved with his whole army and came to Antipatris. Thence he set forward to Lydda, where he found the place empty of men, the people being gone up to Jerusalem upon account of the Feast of Tabernacles. However, he found there fifty men, whom he slew, and burnt the city, and then marched onward; and going up by Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.'

\* Sect. 10. \* Ib. sect. 11. \* Ib. cap. xix. sect. 1.
The 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 the Jews were Monobazus, and Kenedæus, related to Monobazus, king of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of Perea, 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 this time Agrippa with the consent of Cestius sent to the Jews two ambassadors, Borceus 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. Borceus too was wounded: but he retreated and escaped.'

Soon 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 corrupted by Florus, diverted him from that design: which was the occasion that this war lasted so long, and the Jews were involved in such grievous calamities.'

So writes Josephus. And afterwards he says: 'If Cestius had continued the siege a little longer he had certainly taken the city. But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.'
Cestius then withdrew from the city. The Jews resumed courage, and went after him; and coming upon his rear, destroyed 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, commander of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Aemilius Secundus, commander of a troop of horse. It was not without a great deal of difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and leaving behind their baggage. There Cestius staid two days, and was in great perplexity how to proceed. On the third day he judged it expedient to move.'

'That 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 their flight they left behind them many engines, for sieges, and for throwing stones, and a great part of their other instruments of war. The Jews pursued them as far as Antipatris, and then returned, taking up the engines, spoiling the dead bodies, and gathering up the prey which the Romans had left behind them. So they came back to their metropolis with great 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 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 before the war began, the christians left Jerusalem, and went to a place beyond Jordan called Pella.

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* See sect. 8.
* See sect. 9.
* Ib. sect. 7.

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Μετά δὲ τὴν Κεσιν συμφοράν, πολλοί τῶν επιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὄσπερ βαπτισμένης νυώς, απενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. — De B. J. l. 2. c. xx. sect. 1.

Πρὸ τῆς πολέμου, μετατηνά τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν τῆς Περαιας πολεῶν οικεῖν—Πελλαν αὐτὴν ονομαζον. — H. E. i. 3. c. v. p. 75. A.
Epiphanius\(^d\) 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 descendents of those Jewish believers.

However, some of them may have gone abroad into other countries. St. John, as is well known, lived for some time in 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\(^e\) 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 name's sake; but he that shall endure unto the end shall be saved." And Luke xxii. 17—19, "And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls." And compare Matt. x. 21, 22. These gracious assurances were now fulfilled. The difficulties which the followers of Jesus met with were very great; and the "love of many waxed cold," and some apostatized to Judaism, to avoid sufferings: 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 befell 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\(^f\) Jews, who had defeated Cestius, upon their return

\(^d\) H. 29. sect. vii.
\(^e\) See this volume, chap. xx. sect. v.
\(^f\) Ib. c. xx. sect. 3, 4.
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 \(^8\) sent messengers to Nero in Achaia, to give him an account of what had happened, and of the state of affairs in Judea, and to lay the blame of all the disturbances upon Florus.

Nero, \(^b\) as Josephus says, was not a little moved at these things, though he dispersed 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 \(^i\) 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 \(^k\) 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 \(^1\) Jews, elevated by the advantages which they had gained over Cestius, determined to carry the war to a greater

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\(^8\) Ib. c. xx. sect. 1.  
\(^b\) De B. J. l. 3. c. i. sect. 1, 2.  

Claudio princeps, Narcissi gratiā legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus, tricis cum hoste contigit.——Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum, cantante eo, aut discerderent sepulcrum, aut præsens obscuracem, gravissimam contraxerunt 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. Percerbruenter Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano (quantum eventu postea patuit) predictum Judaei ad se trahentes, rebellarunt; casu quo praepositus, legatums super Syria consularem suppletias ferentem, raptā aquā fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliori, et non instrennu duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est; et, ut industriæ experter, nec metuenda ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos maiore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigisi, proximas quoque convertit in se; rectâ statim castrorum disciplinā: uno quoque et altero proelio tam constanter initio ut in oppugnatione castellis lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exeperit. Sueton. Vespasian. c. iv.

\(^k\) De B. J. l. 3. c. i. sect. 3.  
\(^1\) Ib. c. ii. sect. 1, 2, 3.
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, 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 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 were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were also five cohorts from Caesarea, 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 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 leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his army in great order into Galilee.

The 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 leaves Tiberias, and enters Jotapata on the twenty-first day of May.

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

m Ibid. sect. 4.  n lb. c. iv. n. 2.  o L. 3. c. vi. 1.  p lb. n. 2, 3.  q Cap. vii. 1.  r Sect. 3.  s lb. 4.  t lb. sect. 22.
Whilst 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 Romans should also force their way in with them. And 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 Vespasian, desiring him to send his son Titus thither, that he might have the honour of completing the conquest.

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

At 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 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 showing the violent and desperate disposition of the Jewish people at this time, that 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 resolved not to be killed by them.'

Undoubtedly my readers recollect here what was taken notice of formerly, which happened presently afterwards, in the cave where 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 now came into the hands of the Roman general. He was still a prisoner, and carried a chain: but he had change of apparel given him, and was otherwise well used.

The 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 over-burdened.

In 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 repopulated by men who had escaped from other cities. Here they built many ships, and exercised 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 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 orders to destroy the neighbouring villages. So those troops overrun the country, as they were ordered, and laid waste the whole region.

In a short time Vespasian went from Cæsarea before mentioned, to Cæsarea Philippi, to pay a compliment to king

Καταδυοντες γαρ, ως ἥδενα των Ῥωμαίων ἀνελεῖν δυναντα, τοιοῦ μὴ πέσων αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων προδοσίαν, καὶ συναφροφείνεις εἰς τα κατάλυγοντα τῆς πολέως σφας αὐτῶς ανδρῶν. Sect. 34. See p. 395.

* evta tēsaphrosanta mev tōn episoimwv anōrav katalembanov lantha-

νοτος. ib. c. viii. 1.

* Ibd. cap. 9. sect. 1. b Ibd. sect. 9.


* Tunes de, ὡς εὐφορείαν, τὴν θαλασσαν εὐθαναν, τῷ σιδέρω σφας αὐτῶς

αναφείνεις. ib. sect. 3. f Ibd. sect. 7.

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Agrippa, by whom he had been invited, and by whom he was now entertained twenty days.

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

The place to which Vespasian went was Gamala. Where he met with great difficulties, and many of the Romans were 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 Vespasian sent Titus: here about six thousand were slain. But John, son of Levi, who had commanded in the place, escaped and got to Jerusalem, with some others: which, as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.

'Thus,' says Josephus, 'was all Galilee subdued, after it had cost the Romans much labour.'

The 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 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

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8 Ib. sect. 7.
9 Cap. x. 1—10.
10 Sect. 10.
12 Ibid. ii. n. 1—5.
13 ἦν ἐς το ἐργὸν, ἀρα τι σωζόντος τον ἦσαυνην επι τον των ἱεροσαλη-μνων ἀλθρον. Sect. 3.
14 Γαλαλαια μεν ἕν ὅτως ἀλη πασα, πόλλος ἐρωτι προγνασάσα α Ῥωμαϊς. Sect. 5.
15 Ib. cap. 3.
16 Ib. sect. 2, 3.
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 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 not thinking themselves safe whilst they were living, they sent some men, of desperate characters, to put them to death in the prison.

Dissensions increasing; there were slain in one night eighty thousand and five hundred; and afterwards 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, the most ancient of the high-priests; Jesus, also high-priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great eminence; and Zacharias, son of Baruch; different from Zacharias mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35, and Luke xi. 51, as was shown in another place.

Soon 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 madness in their mutual dissensions.'

These 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

\[q\] Sect. 4.  
\[r\] Sect. 5.  
\[s\] L. 4. cap. v. Et conf. cap. iii. sect. 7.  
\[t\] Cap. v. sect. 1  
\[u\] Μυριοι ἐκ καὶ ἐξοχλητῶν υἱὸν ὥστε διεμφόρον. Sect. 3.  
\[v\] Sect. 2, et 4.  
\[w\] See Vol. i. ch. vi.  
\[x\] lb. cap. vi. sect. 1.  
\[y\] lb. sect. 1.  
\[z\] lb. sect. 2.
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 Caesarea 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 Caesarea, and left Placidus to carry on the war in those parts; who† took Abila, Julias, and Besemoth, and other smaller cities and villages, as far as the lake Asphaltites; in so much 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 Vespasian with a part of his army went from Caesarea to Antipatris; where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying waste and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and then came to Ammanus. Thence he went to the toparchy of Bethlephphon; 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 Caesarea. And 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. Therefore 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 was done by the Romans in the war against the

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*L. 4. cap. vii.*  
† Ib. cap. viii. 1.  
‡ Ib. cap. ix. 1, 2.  
§ Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judæa gestum. Pagi ann. 69. n. xiii.
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 the round, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation:" Luke xix. 41—44. He would still send among them prophets, wise men, and scribes, his apostles and evangelists; but they would not hearken to them. They would reject their message and abuse them; xxiii. 34.

At this time, says Josephus, a new war began at Jerusalem. And Simon, son of Gorias, who for a while had been troublesome to the people there by his furious attacks upon the place, was admitted 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 by the Roman army in Judea; as 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 recompence for their services, as instruments in the hand of Providence for inflicting that punishment upon the Jewish people which

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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 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, 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 Dion Cassius, more particularly by Suetonius, and still more prolixly by Tacitus.

'Two men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind,

1 Titus, cognomento paterno, amor ac deliciæ humani generis. Sueton. Tit. cap. i.

k Jos. de B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. 1 Dio. l. 66. n. 8. p. 1082.

n Auctoritas et quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deeat: hoc quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunal pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem, restitutum oculos, si inspisset; confirmatum crusc, 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. Vespas. cap. vii.

the other lame in one of his hands, came both together to him in a humble manner, saying that they had been in a dream admonished by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their disorders; 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 physicians having been consulted, they gave their opinion that the organs of sight were not destroyed in the blind man, and that sight might be restored if obstacles were removed; and that the other's hand was only disjointed, and with proper remedies might be set right again. At length, moved by the entreaties of the distempered persons, and encouraged by the flatteries of those about him, 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 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 Flavian family was not renowned for its antiquity. And it is easy for any to discern, from several things said by Suetonius and Tacitus, that Vespasian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinary things concerning himself.

I think that what Spartan writes of some miracles


— Imperium suscepit, firmavitque tandem gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem, ac sine ullis majorum imaginis. Vespasian. cap. i.

ascribed to Adrian may illustrate this history; and therefore I have transcribed him below very largely. Spartan 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 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 was not at all acceptable to the Alexandrians; but they hated him, and ridiculed and reproached him both in public and private.'

However, Crevier's observation is to this effect: 'At 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 daemon.' And indeed popish saints and heathen daemons 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 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 freed-men, 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 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 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, 'Caesar, I have brought forth, and nursed in the cavern, that I might increase the number of your suppliants.' 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 Vespasian provoked the vengeance of heaven, 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 demons could bear the sight of.' Indeed, not only he, but Tacitus and Dion show 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 this time the Jews became divided into three parties, or factions; the leaders of which were John, Eleazar, and Simon; by whom the city, and every part of it, and the temple itself, were filled with slaughter and bloodshed. This happened, as Josephus expressly says, whilst Titus was with his father at Alexandria, and must therefore be

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w Dio. l. 66. p. 1090.  
y L. 5. cap. i. sect. 1.  
x Erot. sub fin.  
* Ibid.
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 partition in evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice.'

Eleazar had the temple, John was below him in the city, Simon had the upper part of the city. Simon had with him ten thousand, beside the Idumens: his own men had fifty commanders, of which he was supreme. The Idumens 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 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 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 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 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 city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where they were deep vallies which rendered the place inaccessible; there it had but one wall.
On 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 then encamped within the city, in a place called the Assyrians' camp. On 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 God had blinded their minds for the transgressions which they had been guilty of, so that they did not consider the superior force of the Romans, nor discern how the famine was creeping in upon them: for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public distresses, and 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 necessaries: but they supposed the destruction of the meaner people to be a benefit to them.' However, Titus renewed the attack. The Jews defended themselves 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 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 show them mercy.

Moreover Josephus, 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 coming, they run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs about the city, did so far fail, that water was sold in pitchers: whereas they now have such a quantity for your enemies as is sufficient for themselves, and for their

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1 Cap. vii. sect. 2.  
2 Cap. viii. sect. 1, 2.  
3 ib. sect. 3.  
4 L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1.  
5 L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1.  
6 L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1.  
7 L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1.
cattle, and for watering gardens. The same wonderful
sign you had experience of formerly, when the aforemen-
tioned king of Babylon made war against us, who took
this city, and burnt the temple; though 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 his-
tory 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 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 pub-
licly 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 concealed it.'

Here Josephus enlargeth upon the miseries of the peo-
ple, and the great wickedness of their present governors.

'But,' says he, 'it is impossible to enumerate every instance
of the iniquity 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 wicked-
ness than that—These were the men who overthrew the
city, and compelled the Romans unwillingly to gain a dis-
agreeable victory. They did little less than throw fire
upon the temple, and seemed to think it came too slowly.'

'At this time many came out of the city to seek for
food, or with a view of making an escape, who were appre-
hended 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 soldiers, out of anger, and hatred

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\(^{p}\) ἂν οἱμαὶ τῶν τοῦτος ἰδικῆς ἔλεικα ὑμεῖς. \(x\) 4. p. 350. Haverc.

\(^{q}\) L. 5. cap. x. sect. 1, 2.

\(^{r}\) Cap. x. sect. 4, 5.

\(^{s}\) Cap. xi. sect. 1.
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 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 preserved by him who inhabited it: having him for their helper, they despised all his threatenings; for the event depended upon God only.'

The 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 consulted with the 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 its accomplishment when the Romans laid siege to the city of Jerusalem, and encompassed it with an army.

'The famine now increasing, it devoured whole houses.

Ib. sect. 5.  Sect. 4.  Cap. xii. sect. 1, 2.  Sect. 3.
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 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 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 did still find means to get out of the city: some leaped down from the wall, others went out of the city with stones in their hands, as if they were going to fight with the Romans: but most of them died miserably. Some perished by excessive eating upon empty stomachs. Moreover some of them had swallowed gold, and were detected afterwards in searching for it in their 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 befell the Jews more terrible than this.'

'When Titus heard of it he was greatly displeased; especially when he found that not only the Syrians and Arabians had practised this cruelty, but the Romans likewise; he therefore gave orders that all, who for the future

* Sect. 4.  
 Cap. xiii. sect. 1.  
* Sect. 4, 5.
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 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 why do I stay to relate particularly these several calamities? for at this time Mammæus son of Lazarus, fled out of the city, and came to Titus; and told him that through the one gate, which had been entrusted to his care, there had been no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans encamped near the city, the fourteenth day of the month of April, to the first day of July. That was a prodigious number! The man was not a governor at the gate, but he was appointed to pay the public allowance for carrying the bodies out, and therefore was obliged to number them. Others were buried by their relations, though their burial was no other than to bring them and cast them out of the city. After that man there came to Titus several other deserters of good condition, who told him that the whole number of the poor, who had been thrown out at the gates, was not less than six hundred thousand: the number of the rest could not be exactly known. They farther told him that, when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid them in heaps in large houses, and then shut them up. They likewise said that a measure of wheat had been sold for a talent: and that afterwards, when it had been impossible to come out to gather herbs, because the city was encompassed with a wall, some were driven to such 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 they were blinded by that fate which was coming upon the city and themselves.'

There ends the fifth book of our author's History of the Jewish War. The sixth book contains the progress of the

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\[a\] Sect. 6.  
\[b\] Sect. 7.  
\[c\] Πεπροντο γαρ ὑπὸ τὴν χρεών, ὅ τρετε πολεὶ καὶ ἄνω ἡδη παρν.  

JOSEPHUS.  *Of the Siege of Jerusalem.*  A. D. 70.  447
Jewish and the miseries of the people, till the city was taken by Titus.

The 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 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 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 with out effect.'

And 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 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.

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\(d\) L. 6. cap. i. sect. 1—8.

\(e\) Cap. ii. sect. 1.

\(f\) ὡς ὁκ ἀν τοσε δεισεν ἀλωσιν, θεον γαρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν τολμ.

\(g\) Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 2.

\(h\) Ibid. sect. 3.
If all this be true, as Josephus writes, it is a proof of
the good temper of Titus. Moreover, the Romans were now
pushing their conquests upon the temple itself, which Titus
seems unwilling to have destroyed.

'And,'\textsuperscript{1} 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
shown to the temple by the Romans, who had allowed them
to erect in the courts of it a partition wall, with inscriptions
in Greek, forbidding all foreigners to enter within those
limits, and allowing them to kill such as did so, though they
were Romans. I call to witness,' says he, 'the gods of the
country, and every god, who ever had a regard to this place;
(for I do not now suppose it to be regarded by any of them;)
I also call to 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 endeav-
our to preserve your temple, whether you will or not.'

Such\textsuperscript{k} 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\textsuperscript{1} 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\textsuperscript{m} had now made a broad way from the tower An-
tonia to the temple, and began to play on the temple with
their battering engines.

The\textsuperscript{n} fight was very desperate. A cloister near Antonia
was set on fire. On the twenty-fourth day of July the Ro-
mans set fire to another cloister, when the fire proceeded fif-
teen cubits farther.

'Whilst\textsuperscript{o} 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 lea-
ther that belonged to shields they took off and gnawed. Wisps of old straw became food to them.'

At\textsuperscript{p} this time a woman named Mary, of a good family
beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Je-
rusalem, 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

\textsuperscript{1} Sect. 4. \textsuperscript{k} Sect. 5. \textsuperscript{1} Sect. 5, 6.
\textsuperscript{m} Sect. 7. \textsuperscript{n} Sect. 8, 9. \textsuperscript{p} Sect. 4.

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their adherents, was reduced to such extremity that she killed her sucking child, and dressed it for food.

On 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 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 temple was now on fire: nevertheless Titus, still desirous to save it, if possible, came near and went into the sanctuary of the temple with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it: which he found to be far superior to the accounts of foreigners, and not inferior to our boastings and persuasion concerning it.'

As 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 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 Babylonians. And the number of years, from its first foundation by King Solomon to this its destruction in the second year of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand and thirty, and seven months and fifteen days. And from its 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 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 this time the treasury chambers were burnt, where was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, with other precious things: for there it was

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Cap. iv. sect. 1. 
Sect. 5. 
Sect. 7.  
Ibid. 
Sect. 8.  
Cap. v. sect. 1.  
Sect. 2.
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 people, who told them that they should wait for deliverance from God.'

'Thus,' 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 desolation; but like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations. There 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 its own accord at the sixth hour of the night: whereupon they who kept watch at the temple went to the captain and told him of it. He then came thither, and not

* Ib. sect. 3.

\[\text{Ταύτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν αὐτον ἐτη} βούφαια παραπλησίων, καὶ παρατείνως ἐπὶ εὐναυτὸν κομήτης.\]

Mr. Whiston's translation is: 'Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city; and a comet that continued a whole year.' And he has a note to this purpose: 'Whether Josephus means that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.'
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 May, there appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief; and the account of it might seem fabulous if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the following events had not been answerable to such signs: for before 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 temple, 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 profound 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 bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against the whole people." This was his cry, as he went about both by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. Some of the chief men were offended at this ill-boding sound, and, taking him up, laid many stripes upon him, and had him beaten 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 shedding any tears or making any supplications: but with a mournful 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 denunciations to the city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, dismissed 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 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 any one considers these things,' adds Josephus, 'he will be convinced that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their benefit; and that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves.'

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

To this purpose speaks Dr. Willes, in his first discourse upon Josephus: 'The prodigies, that he saith happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, would agree better to Livy or Tacitus, than to a Jewish historian.—The flying open of the great brazen gate of the temple is the same as happened at Thebes, just before the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great gates of the temple of Hercules opened of themselves, without any one's touching them. I omit many other things of the like 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, to which he refers.

* Sect. 4.
* Prefixed to L'Estrange's edition of Josephus, p. 3, 4. 8vo.
* Quid? Lacedaemonis paulo ante Leuctricam calamitatem, quae significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit? At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvae, clausae repagulis, subito se ipsae aperuerunt; armaque, quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa. De Divin. l. 1. c. 24. n. 74.
Basnage 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 its 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 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 in this manner: 'At a little before the destruction,' he tells us, 'there hung over their city a fiery sword, which continued for a year together. A little before their rebellion against the Romans there appeared a comet, which shined so clear in the temple, and about the altar, as if it had been day.' It must be confessed that is not exact. Tillemont:

* L. i. ch. viii. sect. 3. p. 224.
* Τετο μεν ὅτε ὑπερ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν εἰς ῥόμφαιρ παραπλὴσιον, καὶ παρατησάμενς εἰς ἐναυτὸν κομητῆς.
* As before, p. 554.
There 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.

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

Tacitus 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 multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night, or three hours after midnight, 'so great a light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day: which light continued for half an hour.' This 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 the design of this appearance is ambiguous. And, as Josephus says, some thought it to portend good, others bad things. But that does not affect the truth of the fact.

3. 'And at the same festival a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the

Il parut aussi une comète pendant un an, et sur Jérusalem un astre extraordinaire, qui semblait être une épée. Joseph n'en marque pas le temps. Ruine des Juifs, art. 41.

midst of the temple.' Here again I hesitate. I am surpris-
ed to see so trifling a story in a grave writer. I think Jos-
sephus inserted this to gratify his Greek readers.
4. The next prodigy is the opening of the 'eastern gate
of the inner court of the temple at midnight:' which, as be-
fore observed by Dr. Willes, has such a resemblance with
like stories told by credulous heathen people, that it seems
to be only an imitation of them, and has therefore the ap-
pearance of a fiction, by way of accommodation to the judg-
ment of heathen readers.
5. 'Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the
one-and-twentieth day of the month of May, there appeared
a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief: and the
account of it might seem fabulous, if it had not been related
by those who saw it, and if the following events had not
been answerable to such signs. For before sunset chariots
and troops of soldiers in armour were seen carried upon the
clouds, and surrounding cities.'

Such seeming appearances have often been the effect only
of imagination, without any reality. But this is related by
Josephus so particularly, and with so much solemnity, that
it is hard to contest the truth. And if it be true, this, and
the 'light surrounding the altar and the temple' before
mentioned, may be some of those things intended by our
Saviour when he said: "And fearful sights, and great
signs, shall there be from heaven:" Luke xxi. 11. Of this h
Crevier speaks in this manner: 'I say nothing of the armed
chariots and troops of warriors that were seen fighting in the
air. That might be the natural effect of a phenomenon then
not 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.'
6. 'And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as
the priests were going by night into the inner court of the
temple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations,
they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a
noise, and then a sound, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us
remove hence."'

This passage is quoted by i Eusebius, and this particular
is taken notice of by k divers ancient Christian writers:

 i H. E. i. 3. c.
k Καὶ Ἅγιος ὁ ἄγιος χρόνος, οὗτος τῶν εἰ-
but they do not always quote so accurately as might be wished.

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 Jerusalem and the temple." And so it continued for seven years and five months, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege.' He therefore began this cry near the end of the year 62. This last Josephus calls more 'awful than the rest,' 

τὸ δὲ τῶν φοβερῶν τοῦτον.

And, as Le Clerc \(^1\) 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

\[\text{παραμενόντας, εἰ μὴ βαλθειν εἰκονι μετασημα, καταληπεῖν αὐτοὺς. Chr. in Jo. Hom. 64. [al. 65.] p. 390. T. 8.}


Unde et Josephus in sua narrat historiâ, quod, postquam Dominus crucifixus est, et velum templi scissum est, sive liminare templi fractum corruit, audita sit vox in adyts Templi Virtutum ælestium, Transeamus ex his sedibus. Id. in Ezech. c. 47. p. 1058.

\(^1\) Quae si vera sunt, non immerito Josephus rem divinitus contingisse censuit. Cleric. H. E. An. 62. n. v.
crucifixion. And though all these signs and warnings, related by himself, are considered by him as very affecting; he acknowledgeth that they made not any great impression upon his nation. And says: 'But they did not attend or give credit to those prodigies, which evidently foretold their desolation; but like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.' And his history verifies the truth and justness of this observation.

'Now the Romans brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against the eastern gate. There they offered sacrifices 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 its former value.'

There 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 it was very fit that priests should perish with their temple. Whereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

Now 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 cap-

m L. 6. c. vi. sect. 1.  

n Ibid.  

o Sect. 2.
tives, 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 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 following they set fire to the repository of the archives, to the council houses, to Acra, and to the place called Ophilas: at which time the fire proceeded as far as to the palace of queen Helena, which was in the 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 the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates, and with them many other eminent men of the city, got together, and besought Titus to give them his right hand for their security. Whereupon, though he was now very angry and much displeased with all who were still remaining, he did not depart from his wonted moderation, but received them. However 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 showed 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 still had difficulties remaining in taking the rest of the city.

'Some 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 because they hoped to gain money by spar-
ing them. They therefore sold them with their wives and children, though at a very low price. For there were many to be sold, and but a few purchasers. Indeed the number of those who were sold was prodigious. And yet there were forty thousand of the people saved, whom Titus permitted to go where they pleased.

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 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 deposited 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 cinnamon and cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed and offered to God as incense every day. A great many other precious things and ornaments of the temple were delivered by the same person. Which things so delivered to Titus, obtained for that man the same pardon that was allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

At length, after great labour, and against a furious opposition, 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

1 Oi ἐνομικοὶ δὲ διεσωθήσαν ὑπὲρ τετρακισμοῦς, οἵς διαφηκε Κασάρ, ἕνακατ. Ἡφα. 2 Cap. viii. sect. 3. 3 Sect. 4, 5.
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 its producing such a generation of men as occasioned its overthrow.

When Titus was come into this upper city, he admired some places of strength in it, and particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their madness had relinquished. And he expressed himself in the following manner: "We have certainly 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 entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its 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 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 resist-

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Cap. ix. sect. 1.  
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, embelliseth 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. sect. 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, Τηρηματα γεμινη τυραννων απεδειξη του Σιμωνος. Íb. sect. 3. p. 330. in.

Αυτος δε την αλλην αφαιρεσιν πολυν, και τηχη κατασκαπτων, τουτες τις πυργος κατελιπε μηνιαν ειναι της αυτη τυχης, ιδιουταιτων χρησιμους εκτραπης των άλλων μη ουναμενων. L. 7. c. ix. sect. 1.

Cap. ix. sect. 2.
ance, 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 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 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 concern. 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 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 occasioned so great a straitness that there

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{b} De Vit. sect. 75.} \text{\textsuperscript{c} Sect. 3.} \text{\textsuperscript{d} Ὀτε τὸ πρώτον αὐτῶς τὴν τενοχώραν γενέσθαι λοιμωδὴ φθοράν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ λίμον ὑπέτερον.} \]
came on a pestilential disorder, and then a famine, which was more severe.'

And presently afterwards: 'This great multitude was collected 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, the multitude of those who perished therein exceeded all the destroyings that men or God ever brought on the world.'

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

'John, and his brethren who were with him in the cavern, wanted food. Now therefore he begged that the Romans would give him the right hand for security, which he had often rejected before. But Simon struggled hard with the 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 now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and demolished the walls to the foundation.'

'Thus 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 its desolation.' Josephus then enumerates these several times, and computes how many years it was from the time of its being first built, and then adds: 'But neither its antiquity, nor its immense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated throughout the whole world, nor the great glory of its 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 now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any

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\[ e \text{ Sect. 4.} \]
\[ f \text{ Πασαν γεων ανθρωπινη και δαιμονιν φθοραν ὑπεβάλλει το πλήθος των απολλωνων. Ib.} \]
\[ g \text{ Sect. 4.} \]
\[ h \text{ Ibid. sect. 4.} \]
\[ i \text{ Ρωμαιοι τας τε εσχατιας τω σιτεος ενεπρεπας, και τα τειχη κατεσκαψαν. Ibid.} \]
\[ j \text{ Cap. x. ibid.} \]
\[ k \text{ L. 7. cap. i. sect. 1.} \]
more plunder remained for the soldiers, Caesar gave orders that they should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the temple; leaving only the fore-mentioned towers Phasælus, Hippicus, 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 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 foundation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither 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 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 no small part of its riches had been found in its 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 uncertain 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 is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation?—Where is that city which we believed to have God inhabiting in it? It is rooted up to the foundation, and has no other monument left but the army of those who have destroyed it, encamping upon its 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 its enemies, and the holy temple so profanely 'dug up to the foundation.'

m Ἀλλ' άπαντα τῆς πολεοῦς περιβολοῦ οὐτῶς εξωμαθεῖαν οὐ κατασκαπτον—κ. λ. Ib.


p Προφήτως εκ βαθρών ανηρπᾶτα—

q πρὶν τον ναον τον ἄγιον οὕτως ἀνοσίας εξορωρυγεῖνον. Ibid.
And Whitby, in his notes upon Matt. xxiv. 2, says: ‘The
Jewish Talmud and Maimonides add, that Turnus [i. e.
Terentius Rufus] captain of the army of Titus, did with a
ploughshare tear up the foundations of the temple, and
thereby signally fulfil those words in Micah iii. 12: “There-
fore shall Zion for your sakes be ploughed 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 tem-
ple had been twice destroyed; once by the Chaldeans, a
second time by Titus. And the Jewish masters call the de-
struction 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, ch. iii. 1.’

‘Cæsar’ determined to leave there as a guard the tenth
legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot.
Having 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 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, tak-
ing with him two legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to at-
tend him, till he should go to Egypt. At Cæsarea he laid
up the spoils in great quantities, and gave orders that the
captives should be kept there.’

‘From that Cæsarea Titus went to Cæsarea Philippi,
where he stayed some while, and exhibited all sorts of shows.
Here many of the captives were destroyed: some were
thrown to wild beasts, others in great numbers were com-
pelled 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 Jerusalem. 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.’

* L. 7. cap. i. sect. 1.  * Sect. 2.  * Cap. ii. sect. 1

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At Cæsarea Titus solemnized the birthday of his brother Domitian, on 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 who were now slain, in fighting with beasts, or were burnt to death, or fought with one another, exceeded two thousand and five hundred: yet did all this seem to the Romans, though they were destroyed ten thousand ways, beneath their 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 captives were destroyed in the like manner as before.

Having stayed some while at Berytus, he set forward to Antioch; and as he went exhibited magnificent shows in all the cities of Syria, making use of the captives as public instances of the overthrow of the Jewish nation.

At Antioch he was received with loud acclamations. Thence he went to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates; whither came to him messengers from Vologesus, king of Parthia, who brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his 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 shows 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 sent away the two before-mentioned legions by which he had been attended, one to Mysia, the other to Pannonia, and having given orders for sending Simon and John, and seven hundred of the tallest and handsomest of the captives, to appear in the triumph at Rome, he went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, and passing through Palestine, in his way to Egypt, he was much moved, as Josephus says, at the sight of the desolations of that country.

When 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

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* Cap. iii. sect. 1. 70. n. xviii. 7 Cap. v. sect. 1. 6 Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. iii. et Basnag. ann.
* Sect. 2. 7 Sect. 2, 3. x —Sect. 2. 7 Sect. 3, 4.
it; and learned critics are now of different opinions: some place it near the end of the month of April, in 71: others argue that it must have been later.

Many 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 its seven lamps, a number much respected by the Jews: the last of all the spoils was the law of the Jews: after which were carried images of 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 end of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter 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 Simon, the son of Gorias, who had been led in the triumph among the captives. A rope was put about his neck, and he was led to a proper place in the forum, where malefactors were put to death. When tidings of his death were brought, all the people set up the shout of joy, and sacrifices were offered up, with the accustomed prayers. The emperor then went to his palace, and feastings were made everywhere."

"And 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 temple was adorned with paintings and statues. In it were collected and reposed 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 was to have the sacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the History of the War, he seems to say

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\* Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. vi.  
\* Basag. 71. n. iii.  
\* Sect. 5.  
\* Sect. 6.  
\* Sect. 7.  
\* Ib. Sect. 7.  
\* Kai βιβλίων ιρών ελάβον χαρισμένες Τίτῳ. Vit. sect. 75.
they 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 Adrian Reland.

We have seen the overthrow of the city and temple of Jerusalem; but there still remained some strong places in Judæa 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, "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together:" Matt. xxiv. 28. And see Luke xvii. 37.

Lucilius Bassus was sent into Judea by Vespasian as lieutenant, where he received a sufficient army from Cerealis Vitellianus: he soon took Herodion, and made the garrison prisoners.

He 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 settled affairs there, he marched hastily to the forest of Jardes; where, as he was informed, many were gathered together 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.'

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1 L. 7. c. v. sect. 7.
3 L. 7. cap. vi. 1. 1b. sect. 1—4.
4 Lb. sect. 5.
'About this time the emperor sent orders to Lucilius Bassus, and Liberius Maximus, that all Judea should be exposed to sale: for he founded not any city there, but reserved the 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 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 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 oration had great effect upon many: some however there were who hesitated: he therefore went on, and made another oration to the like purpose: all now were persuaded.

They 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.'

q Ib. sect. 7.  r Cap. ix. sect. 1, 2.
When the Romans entered the place the next morning, their surprise was very great, as may be well supposed.

Soon 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 persuaded many people of the meaner sort to follow him into the wilderness, where he promised to show them signs and wonders. Moreover Vespasian sent express orders that the Jewish temple of Onias, as it was called, built in the prefecture of Heliopolis in Egypt, should be demolished: which was done in the year of Christ 74, about two hundred and twenty-four years after it had been first built, as 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 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 beginning of his work says: 'I 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 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

* Cap. x. xi.

† ἅκ οἶκοις τῶν απορῶν ενεπείει προσεχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ προηγαγεν εἰς τὸν ἐρημὸν σημεῖα καὶ φασματα δείξειν υποσχόμενος. cap. xi. sect. 1.

See his Connexion, &c. year before Christ 149. p. 266.

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

De B. Jud. in Pr. sect. 1.

* L. 7. cap. xi. sect. 5.
says of this work in his first book against Appion, written long afterwards, near the period of his life.

As 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 its 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 command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me; for to them I first presented those books, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also communicated them to many of our own men, who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were 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 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 straitness 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, in some of the places where he speaks of the putrefaction of the dead bodies, may use expressions equivalent to pestilential; but he never shows 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 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

* Il est difficile que tant de peuples renformés dans une ville durant-les cha-
leurs de l’été, de si méchantes nourritures et surtout la puanteur de tant de

corps morts, n’aient joint la peste à la famine, Joseph n’en parle néanmoins qu’en un endroit, en passant; ce qui marque qu’elle ne fut pas considérable.

Till. Ruine des Juifs, art. 67. p. 960.

* Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5. cap. xii. sect. 4.
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 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 prediction,) but by a Jew, both by nation and religion, who seems designedly to have avoided, as much as possibly he could, the very mention of the Christian name, and all particulars relating to our Saviour, though no historian was ever more punctual in other things.'

Says Mr. Tillemon: 'God had been pleased to choose 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 country, 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 rejected either by Jews or heathens; and that none might be able to say that he altered the truth of things to favour Jesus Christ and his disciples.'

Dr. W. Wotton says of Josephus: 'He is certainly an author 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 showing, 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 writers have always

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

c Ruine des Juifs, art. i. p. 722.

d 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.

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 Providence for the christian church, that he, an eye-witness, and in these things of so great credit, should (especially in so extraordinary a manner) be preserved to transmit to us a collection 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 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 shall compare these words of our Saviour with the history of the whole war, published by the above-mentioned 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, Eusebius says: 'In subduing Judæa, and overthrowing Je-

\[\text{Lib. 4. ep. 75. vid. et ep. 74.}\]
\[\text{H. E. l. 3. cap. 8. p. 81. D.}\]
Josephus. The Testimony of other Writers.

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 carried captives: and he says that the occasion of there being so great a multitude of people at Jerusalem was this, that it was the time of passover; for which reason the Jews, having come up from all parts to 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 its 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 Appion.

X. Josephus, in the preface to his own work, intimated 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 that Justus was well skilled in Greek learning: and he plainly says that he wrote of the war.

I do not clearly perceive Eusebius to have known any thing of Justus but what he learned from the testimonies of Josephus, above referred to by me.

Justus is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He seems to ascribe to him two books.

Photius I think speaks of but one work of this author,

2 H. E. 1. 3. cap. x. p. 86. B.
4 Ανεγνωσθη ιτα τιβηρεως χρονικον, κ. λ. Cod. 33. p. 20.
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 a this city was Justus, who wrote of the Jewish war in the time of Vespasian.'

Diogenes Laertius, 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 are of opinion that Justus, like Josephus, wrote two books, one of the Jewish War, another of the Jewish Antiquities. Menage, 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, ντομοφηματα, are the same with Jerom's Commentarioli de Scripturis. Indeed Suidas only transcribes Jerom, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccurately.

Some learned men lament the loss of this work. Others 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 the Romans. Though his work is not extant, he is a witness to that important transaction.

\[\text{Ex eun Iost; }\text{di toun Ieaiokon Polemon toun kata Ouespasiahe }\text{iptopo} \text{nas. Steph. Byz.}\]

\[\text{Unde colligo, (ex Hieronymi Catalogo,) ut Josephus, ita et Justum, non modo de Antiquitatis Judaicis, sed seorsum etiam de Bello Judaico scripsisse. Voss. de H. Gr. Vid. et Vales. Ann. in Euseb. l. 3. cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs. art. 82.}\]

\[\text{Scritpsit ille Historiam Judaicam, eodem tempore quo Josephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scritpsit prateria }\nu\text{topo} \text{femata, quorum meminit Suidas. Scritpsit et Chronicon Regum Judaeorum, qui coronati fuere; ut est apud Photium: quem opus signat hic Laertius. Menag. in loc. p. 94.}\]

\[\text{Josephus, in Vitâ sua, et alibi, quasi parum fido scriptori convicatuar. Sed, de inimico, non magis ei crediderim, quam Justo de Josepcho credemerem, si historia ejus exstarret, atque in eà emulo ab eo detractum videreun. Utinam vero, quaecumque fuerit, ad nos usque pervenisset. Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.}\]

\[\text{Tillem. as above, art. 80.}\]
Pausanias, who lived in the second century, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180, speaks of a monument of queen Helena at Jerusalem, which (city) an emperor of the Romans had destroyed to the foundation.

Minucius Felix refers the heathen people not only to Josephus, but also to Antonius Julianus, a Roman author, from whom they might learn that the Jews had not been ruined nor abandoned of God till they had first abandoned him: and that their present low condition was owing to their wickedness and obstinacy 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 of whom was procurator of Judea, and was present with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, as we know from Josephus. Tillemont says that possibly he wrote a history of the siege of Jerusalem. G. Vossius, 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 has mentioned the occasion of the war, the appointment of Vespasian to be general, his and his son's triumph at Rome, and several other material things, which have been already observed, or will in time be observed by us from him.

What Tacitus has written upon this subject, so far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter.

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

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2 Εβραίος δὲ Ἐλευθήριος εὐπροφόρος εἰς τὸν Κόλπο Ἰουλίου, Ἰον Εὐσκόρη κατέβαλεν ὁ Ἀρτακές. Pausan. i. 8. cap. 16. p. 653.
3 Scripta eorum relege. Vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judaeis require. Jam scies, nequitia suâ hanc eos meruisse fortunam: nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumaci perseverarent, ante praedictum. Ita prius eos deseuisse comprehenderis, quam esse desertos; nec, ut impie loquaris, cum Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinæ transfugas, deditos. Minuc. c. 33. Conf. c. 10.
4 Kai Μαρκός Αντωνίος, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εὐπροφόρος. Jos. de B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 3.
5 Ruine des Juifs, art. 72.
6 Antonius Julianus Judaicam videtur Historiam consignasse, &c. De Hist. Lat. l. 3. De Historicis incertæ ætatis.
7 Sueton. Vespas. c. 4, 5.
8 ac triumphum utriusque Judaicum, equo albo comitatus est. Domit. c. 2.
10 Dio. l. 66. sub. in.
Philostratus says that 'when Titus had taken Jerusalem, 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 show 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, 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 accepted 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 Philostratus needs not 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 main-

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b Modestiam Titi laudibus effert Baronius, quod, 4 oblatà sibi coronà aureà a provinciis, noluit coronari, testatus se prorsus indignum. Usserius, aliquè eruditi, illud et ipsum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philostrati.—Basnag. ann. 70. n. xvi.

c Quem tamen Josephi locum immerito Philostrato opponi putem.—Neque enim Philostratus 4 repudiassè coronam. Titum ait, atque eà non accepta legatos dimississe, quod viro docto interpretes persuasere, sed hoc tantum, quod eo honore se indignum dixerit; justitie Dei vindicatricis instrumentum, cujus nullae fuerint in istis patrandis propriae vires, sese exstitisse agnoscean, &c. Olear. in loc.
tained 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.

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 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 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.

\[g\] Imp. Tito. Cæsari. Divi. Vespasiani. F.
Principi. suo. S. P. Q. R.
Quod. Praeceptis. Patris. Consiliiisque. et
Ducibus. Regibus. Gentibusque. aut. Frustra


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 Josephus, 'there happened a difference between Aretas king of Petræa and Herod upon this occasion. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But, in a journey he took to Rome, he made a visit to b Herod his brother, though not by the same mother——Here falling in love with Herodias, wife of the same Herod, daughter of their brother Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa the great, he ventured to make to her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they agreed together at that time, that when he was returned from Rome she would go and live with him. And it was one part of the contract, that Aretas's daughter should be put away. This c 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 Josephus, 'some of the Jews were of opinion

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a Antiq. l. 18. cap. v. sect. 1.
b 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. B. ii. ch. v.
c Ό δὲ αρχὴν εὐθὺς ταυτὴν ποιησάμενος, περὶ τὸ ὅρων ἐν τῷ γῆ τῷ Γαμαλιτίδι, καὶ δυνάμεως ἐκατέρω τελεγείας, εἰς πολὺν καθισταντ' καὶ μαχῆς γειρομενῆς, εἰςθάραμα παρὰ δ' Ἰρων τρατος, κ. λ. 1b. sect. 1.
d Τισ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εὐθὺς, ὕπιλεν τὸν Ἰρών τρατον ὅπω τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μαλὰ ἐκαίνως τυρφυμένω κατὰ ποιησὶν ἰωάννη ἐν ἐπικαλημένῃ Βαπτίσε. Κτίσιν γαρ τῆτον Ἰρώνης, ἀγαθὸν αὐθέντα, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίως κελευτὰ αρετὴν επισκεφτα, καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐλής δικαιοσύνης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειας χρήματι, βαπτισμῷ συνικαίρων ὑπὸ γαρ τῆς βαπτισίν αποδέκτην αὐτὴν φανερῶς, μὴ επὶ των ἀμαρτάναιν παραπτημήν χρήματι, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρταντῶν παραπνημήν παραπτημής, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρταντῶν παραπτημήν παραπτημήν, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρτάναιν παραπτημής, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρτάναιν παραγιμένης, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρταντῶν παραγιμένης.
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 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 Blondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber 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,’ 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

καὶ γαρ ἠθέσαν εἰπὲ πλείον τῇ ἀκροασίᾳ τῶν λόγων, διότις Ἰωάννης τὸ εἰπὸν τοποῦν αὐτῆς τοὺς αὐθαυτοῖς μη ἐπὶ ἀποστασίας τίνος φρού, παντὰ γὰρ ἐφέσαν συμβολὴ τῇ εἰκών πραξιντες· πολὺ κρατεῖν ἤγιναί, πρὶν τι νεωτέρον εἰς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, προδρόμων αὐτοὶ, ἡ, μεταβολῆς γενόμενης, εἰς τα πραγματεία εμπεδών μεταμόρφωσιν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰωάννης βαπτισίας εἰς τὸν Μαχαιρινὸν περιέχει, τὸ προοριζόμενον φρονίμω, παντὰ κτίσασθαι. Τως οὖς Ἰακώβος δοξάζω, εἰπὶ τιμωρία τῇ εἰκών τοῦ οὐδέρον εἰπὶ τῷ πραγματείᾳ γενέσθαι, τῷ Ἡσαίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ λέγοντας. Ib. sect. 2.

1 Des. Sibyllæs, l. 1. c. vii. p. 28, 29.
3 Ἑβδομάδον ἅν καὶ Κύλλος, προσωποποιήσαντι τοῦ Ἰωάννης παραδείκτυον τῶν Ἰωάννης ἡς βαπτιστὴν, βαπτίζοντα τοῦ Ἰησοῦν, εἰπον· ὅτι τὸ Ιωάννης γεγονεί βαπτιστής, εἰς ἀφοι ἀμαρτημάτων βαπτίζοντα, ἀνεγέρσε τοις μετ’ αὐτῷ τίνα ἔσορ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ γεγονόμενον. Εν γὰρ τῷ ὁχοντακεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰωάννης αὐτοψεγγίσει ὁ Ἰωάννης μαρτύρον τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ὡς βαπτιστὴν γεγοναίον, καὶ καθορισμὸν τοῖς βαπτιστασµὸν επαγγελματίαν. Contr. Cels. l. 1. sect. 47. p. 35.
'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 promised 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 expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body.'

But I do not think that a sufficient reason why we should hesitate to allow that Origen refers to the passage which we now have in Josephus. Certainly Origen did not design to say, or intimate, that John promised to men the 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 Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

Jerom 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 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 Machaerus is spoken of as subject to Aretas; therefore John the Baptist could not be sent prisoner thither by Herod the tetrarch.

To which I answer: it is there said to be subject to Aretas, father of Herod's wife: 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 Χρωδου αρχης.

H. E. i. 1. cap. xi.

Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifestissime confitetur, propter magnitudinem signorum Christum a pharisaeis interfectum; et Johannem Baptistam vere prophetam fuisse. De V. I. cap. xiii.

Cod. 238. p. 972.
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 Machærus, 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 one of the last places that were taken by the Romans after the siege of Jerusalem was over.

Obj. 3. According to our evangelist, the daughter of Herodias obtained the promise of John the Baptist's head at the time of a public entertainment: and it was delivered to her presently. But how could that be done if John was imprisoned at 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 apartments. Says Tillemont: 'We 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

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1 Vid. De B. J. I. 7. cap. vi.
2 Μετον δε τα περιβόλα βασιλείων ψυκομητησατο, μενεθεὶ τε και καλλεὶ των αυκτησιων πολυτέλεις, κ. λ. De B. J. I. 7. c. vi. sect. 2.
beheaded. But here it is said that Herod put John to death, because he feared he might be the cause of a sedi-
tion.

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 his-
torians, 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 Test-
ament: Acts ix. 22—25, "But Saul increased the more in
strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damas-
cus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many
days were fulfilled, the Jews took council 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
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 commen-
tators and ecclesiastical historians: nevertheless, here is a
very considerable difference of circumstance. St. Paul
says nothing of the Jews, 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 in-
terest, 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 ac-
count of John's doctrine, very agreeable to that in the gos-
pels—that he earnestly recommended the practice of righte-
ousness 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 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 4 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 p took to himself, to be his own wife, the wife of his brother Philip, though his brother was still living, and she had children by him. He killed many wise men in Israel: and he killed that great priest John, the baptizer, because he had said to him, "it is 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 connections with Jesus Christ.

II. In the same eighteenth book of Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, but in a chapter preceding that which is the account of John the Baptist, just considered, is this paragraph.

' At a that time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be call-
ed 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 wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the christians, so called from him, subsists to this time.'

This passage is received by many learned men as genuine: by others 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.

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

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perceive that he had it not; for in the words next following the notice taken of John the Baptist, as mentioned by Jose-
phus, and before quoted by us, he adds: 'The same writer,
though he did not believe Jesus to be the Christ, inquiring
into the cause of the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the de-
molition 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 pro-
phesied of; he, as it were unwillingly, and not erring far
from the truth, says: These things befall the Jews in vindica-
tion 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 con-
sanguinity, as their common education, and agreement in
manners and doctrine. If 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,' v
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 com-
mentary upon St. Matthew; and says that 'this w James, the
same that is mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Gal-
tians, [i. 19.] was so respected by the people for his righte-
ousness, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote the Jewish
Antiquities in twenty books, being desirous to assign the

1 'Ο δ' αυτος, κατοιχε απεισων τω Ιησω ως Χριστω, ζητων την αιτιαν της των
'Ιεροσολυμων πτωσεως, και της τη ναυ καθαιρεσιος' ευν αυτοι ειπειν, ότι η
τη Ιησω επιθηλη των αιτια γεγονη το λαος επειε απεκτειναν των προφητω-
μενων Χριστων, κ. λ. Contr. Cels. i. 1. c. 47. p. 35.

2 Ειπεν εν ει το Ιακωβον συμβαθηκεναι λεγει τοις ιδεασις κατα την ερμη-
νωσι της Ιερουσαλημ, κ. λ. 16.

3 ——ως μεν Ιωσηφος γραφει, ει το τος του επικιν, των ατελον Ιησω
τη λεγομενον Χριστιω ση αε ιν αληθεια παρεπεισι, ει το Ιησων του Χριστων του νιον τι

cause why that people suffered such things, so that even their temple was demolished to the foundation, says that those things had happened because of the anger of God against them, for what they had done to James the brother of Jesus called the Christ. And it is 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 ac-
sount of James.'

After Origen, the same saying of Josephus concerning James is also alleged by x Eusebius and y 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 z there ever was. But what I now allege these passages of Origen for, is to show 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 a whom Josephus was well known. But I might also have 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 b it is twice quoted at large. After him, as is well known, it is quoted by c Jerom, d Sozomen, and many other following writers.

But it is observable that this paragraph is never quoted by Chrysostom, whom I suspect to have had but little regard

x H. E. l. 2. cap. xxiii. p. 65.
y Tradit idem Josephus, tante eum sanctitatis fuisses, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. De V. I. cap. 2. vid. et cap. 13.
b H. E. l. 1. c. xi. Dcm. Ev. l. 3. p. 124.
c De V. I. c. 13.
d Soz. I. l. c. 1. p. 399.
for Eusebius of Caesarea. 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 e not being a believer, but a Jew, and zealous for the Jewish rites, even after the rise of Christianity.' He refers likewise f 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 g Fabricius 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 Bibliothèque h 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 i Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, 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 suffered.' How fair an occasion had Photius here to refer also to the testimony given to Jesus, which we now have, if he had seen it? Upon this article

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f In Jo. hom. 12. [al. 13.] T. 8. p. 73. A.
h Cod. 48, 76, et 238.
i Cod. 238. p. 973.
of Photius the very learned Ittigius in his Prolegomena to Josephus\(^k\) 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*\(^1\) 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 concerning him, or the miracles done by him.* This is very remarkable. This silence of Justus concerning our Saviour was not peculiar to him, but was common to other Jewish writers with him, very probably intending Josephus. If Josephus had been an exception, he would not have been omitted, but would have been expressly mentioned.

3. This paragraph concerning Jesus interrupts the course of the narration; and therefore is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

In the preceding paragraph Josephus gives an account of an attempt of Pilate to bring water from a distant place to Jerusalem with the sacred money; which occasioned a disturbance, in which many Jews were killed, and many others were wounded.

The paragraph next following this, about which we are now speaking, begins thus: *And*\(^m\) 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,*\(^n\) 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 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


\(^1\) ὡς ἐτα Ἰουδαίων νοσῶν, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπάρχουν το γενός, τῆς Χριστοῦ παροικίας, καὶ τῶν πέρι αὐτοῦ τελεσθέντων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τεταρτουργηθέντων, δόξης δὲ ὑπὲρ μνημήν εποίησαν. Cod. 33. p. 20.

\(^m\) Καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτούς χρόνων ἐτερον τι δεινὸν εἴρθυσε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. L. 18. c. 3. sect. 4.

\(^n\) Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ κακὶ τεσσαρων αὐτῶν εἰλαυνοντο τῆς πολίως. Sect. 5. fin.
goes on to another. That must make this argument the stronger.

Tillemont was sensible of this difficulty, though he thinks that the writers who maintain the genuineness of this passage have made good their point. 'It o 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 misfortune which disturbed the Jews.' 'For those words, "another 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 satisfaction 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 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

o Ruine des Juifs, note xl. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.

it. Moreover, Moses himself, who is so highly extolled and magnified by Josephus, is often called by him a man. Why then should he scruple to say the same of Jesus? However it should be owned that he has this expression concerning Moses: 'So 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 he was believed to be the Christ.' Which is a qualifying expression for which there is no ground. Nor did Sophronius, Jerom's Greek interpreter, follow that translation, but puts it as it is in Eusebius, and other Greek 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 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 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

\[\text{Antiq. l. 3. c. xv. l. 4. c. viii. et alibi.}\]
\[\text{Θεόπατος δὲ τής αρετῆς ὁ ἀνήρ, κ. λ. Ant. l. 3. c. xv. sect. 3.}\]
\[\text{Οὔτως ἡ νομοθεσία τα θεω δόκησα τον ἀνδρὰ πεποιηκε της αὐτη φύσεως κρατίτονα νομίζεται. Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ἐτ crēdebatur esse Christus.}\]
\[\text{Ὁ Χριστός οὔτος ἐστ}.\]
\[\text{See particularly Sozomen, l. 1. cap. i. p. 399.}\]
Jewish and Testimonies.

"this day." But Mr. W——, who thinks this passage to be Josephus's, should not have rendered ἕφιλον, tribe, because ἕφιλον is the word always used by Josephus for tribe; and ἕφιλον, which we have here, always signifies nation in Josephus: nor were the christians a nation or political society in the first three centuries.

Here it is put for sect: it cannot signify any thing else in this place. Jesus is called a 'wise man,' and is said to have been a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure. And though he had been crucified, 'they who had before conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him, because he appeared to them alive again.'

Here the word denotes sect. But αἵρεσις, heresy, is the word generally used by Josephus in speaking of the pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, the three prevailing sects, or different ways of philosophizing among the Jews.

The phrase Ἰησοῦς φιλόν, here used, resembles the phrase λατρευτὸς ἑρως, 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 very 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 he tells a story of Eleazar's dispossession of

* Vid. De B. J. 1. 2. c. vi. Ant. 1 8. c. ii. sect. 5.
Therefore he relates a dream of Archelaus, and then another of Glaphyra, as very extraordinary, as 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 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 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 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 genuine-

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a Antiq. l. 17. c. xiii. sect. 3—5. De B. Jud. l. 2. c. vii.
b τατε ἀμφι τας ψυχας οἰκονομα χαρισματος, και τὸ θεόν προφυλαξε τὰ αὐτῶν ντὸν προσώπον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετήν τῇ ἄνω, καθὼς εἰς ἐνεσίματα αὐτῶν. Ant. l. 17. xiii. 5.

d De B. J. l. 1. cap. iii. sect. 4, 5. Ant. l. 13. cap. xi. sect. 2.
ness 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 before referred to, transcribe at the bottom of the page the observations of Vitringa. 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 his Lordship, 'owed the truth of Christeliness 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 before referred to, transcribe at the bottom of the page the observations of Vitringa. 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 his Lordship, 'owed the truth of Christi
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 mentioned,] entreatings him to send orders to Ananus no more to attempt such things: and some went away to meet Albinus who was coming from Alexandria, and put him in mind that Ananus had no right to call a council without his leave. Albinus, approving of what he had 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 that he had enjoyed it three months, and put in Jesus the son of Damnaeus.'

This passage is cited from Josephus by \(^m\) Eusebius, and from the twentieth book of his Antiquities. It is also quoted by \(^n\) Jerom, but very inaccurately. We perceive likewise that \(^o\) it was in the copies of Josephus in the time of Photius.

Nevertheless, there are learned men, of good judgment, 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 \(^q\) carefully examined the most ancient

\(^m\) H. E. I. 2. cap. 23. p. 65, 66.
\(^n\) De V. I. cap. ii. De Jacobo fratre Domini.
\(^o\) —— αὐθεντικάς καθίς συνεδρίων, καὶ Ιακωβὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς Κυρίως, συν ἰερεῶς, παρανομαῖοι αὐτασαμενοι, λεῖος ἀναἱρεθήναι παρασκευάζει, κ. λ. Phot. cod. 238. p. 977.


Illa de Jacobo, Jesu, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre, (licet agnita ab Eusebio, alissique eum sequitis, disertimque a Photio,) pro mero adsumento male feriati christiani habentur a nonnulis; quam recte, κριτικωτερον esto judicium. Hudson, annot. ad Antiq. I. 20. c. ix. sect. 1.

\(^q\) See this Vol. ch. xvi. sect. iii. v. vi.

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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 stoned, 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 Alexandria in his Institutions, as cited by Eusebius, and by 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 Jerom, and Epiphanius, very agreeably to Hegesippus.


2 Και λαβον τις απε αυτων, εις των γυαφων, το ξυλον εν ω απετυκζα τα ιματια, ηνγκε κατα της κεφαλης τη οικαι. Και ουτως εμαρτωθην. Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 65. B.

3 Qui cum precipitatus de pinnâ templi, contractis cruribus, adhuc semivexus—fullonis fuste quo uda vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interit—and juxta templum, ubi et precipitatus fuerat, sepultus est. Hier. de V. I. cap. 2.


5 Haer. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.
In this place therefore Josephus gave an account of some who were accused by Ananus, and condemned by his counsel 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 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.' 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,' who is often quoted by Eusebius and 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 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 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 Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, that the ruling part of the Jewish nation industriously spread abroad false and injurious reports among the nations concerning the followers of Jesus. But the polite and learned writers, such as Justus of Tiberias, and Josephus, might think it expedient to be silent. They had nothing to say against Jesus or the christians with an 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 way. Many things are omitted by him of which he

A même dessein, de tirer avantage de Josephe, quelque main hardie a inséré dans ses Antiquités, lib. 18. c. 4, des paroles qui lui sont d’autant moins convenables, qu’elles contiennent un témoignage honorable, tant de la personne de notre Seigneur, que de la sainteté et vérité du christianisme, de la profession duquel cet auteur a toujours été très éloigné: et d’ailleurs qu’elles sont notoirement une pièce d’attache sans liaison avec le reste de son discours, tant précédant que suivant, et placée à l’endroit qu’elle occupe par affection de parti plutôt que par raison. Blondel des Sibylles. p. 28.


b Le Cardinal Noris se fâche avec raison contre Joseph, de ce qu’il expédie en dix lignes les neuf années du règne d’Archelaïs—for raconter au long les deux songes, dont on a parlé cidessus. Mais on a encore plus de sujet de se plaindre de la négligence, ou plutôt du silence affecté de cet Historien, touchant le dénombrement, dont S. Luc parle, et touchant le meurtre des enfants de Bethléem, du temps 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 guère douter, que le passage, où il en est parlé, ne soit fourré, par un chrétien malhable, dans Joseph. S’il eut dit seulement un mot du dénombrement, et du massacre de Bethléem, on n’aurait point la peine de chercher le temps de la naissance de Notre Seigneur. Mais ce Juif malicieux a voulu, autant qu’il étoit en lui, ensevebir cette histoire dans un éternel oubli, en haine des chrétiens. Le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. 4. Art. i. p. 74, 75.
Josephus. Concluding Observations. A. D. 76. 501

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 Jeru-
salem; Matt. ii. 8. Josephus was a priest: he could not but
have heard of the vision of Zacharias the father of John the
Baptist at the temple, Luke i. and it was a thing very proper
to have had a place in his History. The prophecies of
Simeon and Anna at the temple, and other things that hap-
pened 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 Jeru-
salem, 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 reli-
gion was a very considerable event; and it had its rise in
Judea.

The sect of the Christians, which had its 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 succes-
sions in the Roman empire as any Roman historian whatever.
What a long and particular account has he given of the
conspiracy against Caligula, and his death, and the succes-
sion of Claudius?

I do not say that Josephus had read the books of the New

De B. J. l. 2. cap. viii.  a Antiq. l. 13. cap. v. et l. 18. cap. 1.

b Antiq. l. 19. cap. i—iii.
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 of the best credit have borne witness to the time of the rise of the christian religion, the country in which it had its origin, and who was the author of it, and its 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 elsewhere: 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 formerly shown 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 works very valuable.

--- quos vulgus christianos appellabat. Auctor hujus nominis Christus, qui, Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitionis rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, &c. Tacit. Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.

* See Vol. i.

Evangelicam quoque et apostolicam historiam Josephus confirmat in multis, etiamsi vel maxime ponamus dubitandum esse de ἑγερθησθαι locorum de Christo servatore, lib. xvii.; Antiq. cap. 4. de Joanne Baptistâ lib. xviii. cap. 7. de Jacobo. l. 20. c. 8. et quae de dirutis propter Jacobi necem injus-
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 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 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 Josephus has never once mentioned the word Sion, or Zion, neither in his Antiquities nor in his Jewish War, though there were so many occasions for it, and though it is so often mentioned in the Old as well as the New Testament: and he suspects that omission to be owing to design and ill-will to the Christian cause.

And, if I was not afraid of offending by too great prolixity, I should now remind my readers of a 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.


1  Τατο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης ποιήσας τὴν πράγματας επηγειλαμην, οὐν προσθέσως, καὶ αὐτὰ παραλατῶν. Antiq. Pr. sect. 3. p. 3.


And by all means see Tillemont’s remarks upon this Author’s Antiquities, Ruine des Juifs, art. 81.

1  Sion, Tzión nomen, montem, munimentum, semel iterumque apud Josephum quaerens, nullibi invenit, neque ipsis etiam in locis, ubi expugnationem arcis Tzion expresse tractat; quam tunen centes et millies ipsi occasio data fuerit, ita ut plane sentiam ipsum studio et datæ operâ hoc tam gloriosum pro Novo Testamento nomen pressisse silentio, &c. J. B. Otti Animadversiones in Joseph. ap. Havercamp. T. 2. p. 305.

m  See Vol. ii. p. 290—305.
I 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 transfer 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 "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 subtle, and ready to attempt any thing against those whom they did not like." But it appears that the king, who was then talked of, and who was to be appointed according to the predictions of the pharisees, was a person of an 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 country, 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 acquainted 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 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.

* The quotation is as above, p. 292, 293, taken from the Antiquities, l. 17, cap. 2 sect. 4. p. 831. Havercamp.  
* P. 292.  
* 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.
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 seriousness 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 showing 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. 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