

assurance that the divine favour and protection would be manifested by an infallible sign. It was no unusual custom with the faction to pretend to have received revelations of the will of God, in order to prevent their people from deserting, and to induce them to encounter every kind of danger. Persons in circumstances of distress, when they are flattered with relief, even on the report of a false prophet, are generally inclined to believe that their real misfortunes have been magnified by their fears.

## CHAP. XI.

*Account of a Comet resembling a Sword. Of a remarkable Light seen round the Altar. A Lamb produced by a Cow. A Brazen Gate opens without Hands. Chariots and armed Men seen in the Air. A Countryman, named JESUS, makes a strange Exclamation. He is first punished, and then dismissed as a Man out of his Senses. At length he foretells his own Ruin.*

Reflections on the credit usually given to false reports.

**W**ITH what readiness did these enthusiastic wretches give credit to impostors, counterfeits, and false reports!

While admonitions flowing from the lips of truth, and confirmed by prodigies, and other prognostics of their approaching ruin, made no impression on them. On these occasions they seemed to be deprived of the faculties proper to make a right application of the events, and of course they paid no regard to them. This may be instanced by the following singular examples:

A comet resembling a sword

A comet, which bore the resemblance of a sword, hung over the city of Jerusalem for the space of a whole year.

A remarkable light round the altar.

A short time before the revolt, a most remarkable and extraordinary light was seen about the altar. This spectacle,

which continued for about half an hour, gave a light equal to that of the day, and happened on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, preceding the celebration of the feast of the passover. Ignorant persons considered this unusual and wonderful appearance as a happy omen: but those of superior judgment averred that it was a prediction of approaching war; and their opinion was fully ratified by the event.

A cow brought forth a lamb in the temple.

At the time of the festival above-mentioned another singular prodigy occurred.

As the proper persons were leading a cow to the altar to be sacrificed, she was delivered of a lamb in the midst of the temple.

A brazen gate opens without hands.

Solid brass composed the eastern gate of the interior temple; and this gate was of such an immense weight, that it was the labour of twenty men to make it fast every night. It was secured with iron bolts and bars, which were let down into a large cavity dug out of one entire stone.

No. 28.

About the fifth hour of the night this gate opened without any human assistance; and immediate notice of this event being given to the officer on duty, he lost no time in endeavouring to restore it to its former situation; but it was with the utmost difficulty that he accomplished it. There were not wanting some ignorant people, who deemed this to be a second good omen, insinuating that Providence had hereby set open a gate of blessings to the people: but persons of superior discretion were of a contrary opinion; and concluded the destruction of the city, and the success of the enemy, were predicted by the opening of the gate.

On the twenty-first day of the month Artemisius, not long after the festival was ended, a vision of so extraordinary a kind made its appearance, that I should be scrupulous of venturing to relate it, but that the events which were foretold have already actually happened, and I could yet produce several witnesses who saw the circumstance to testify its truth. Before the setting of the sun, chariots and armed men were seen in the air, in various parts of the country, passing round the city, among the clouds.

Chariots and armed men appear in the air.

While the priests were going to perform the duties of their function according to custom, in the inner temple, on the feast of Pentecost, they at first heard an indistinct murmuring made, which was succeeded by a voice, repeating, in the plainest and most earnest manner, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

A voice, urging departure, heard in the temple.

But the most extraordinary story of the whole yet remains unrelated. About four years before the commencement of the war, and while the city appeared to be in the most perfect peace, and abounded in plenty, there came to the feast of Tabernacles, which is annually celebrated to the honour of God, a simple countryman, named Jesus, who was the son of Ananus, and who, without any previous intimation, exclaimed in the following manner: "A voice from the east; a voice from the west; a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple: a voice to men and women newly married, and a voice to the nation at large." In this manner did he continue his exclamations night and day, in various places, through all the streets of the city. Some persons of eminence in the government were so offended at the freedom of the ill-omined exclamation, that they directed that the man should be apprehended and whipped severely. He bore his sufferings not only without complaint of the injustice of them, but without saying a word in his defence: but his punishment was no sooner ended, than he proceeded as before with his denouncing exclamations. By this time the magistrates were suspicious (and indeed not without reason) that what he had said proceeded from the divine impulse of a superior power that influenced his words. Hereupon he was sent to Albinus, the governor of Judæa, who directed that he should be whipped with such severity that his bones appeared;

Strange exclamation of Jesus, a countryman.

His astonishing fortitude and perseverance.

7 A

yet,

yet, even in this situation, he neither wept nor supplicated; but in a voice of mourning he repeated, after each stroke; "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" On this extraordinary conduct, Albinus was induced to interrogate him with respect to his character, and the places of his birth and residence; and what could induce him to proceed as he had done: but he replied not to any of these questions: wherefore Albinus found himself under a necessity of dismissing him, as a man out of his senses. From this period to the commencement of the war, it was not known that Jesus visited or spoke to any of the citizens; nor was he heard to say any other words than that melancholy sentence, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Those who daily punished him received no ill language from him; nor did those who fed him receive his thanks: but his general speech to every one was an ominous prediction. It was remarked that on public festivals he was more vociferous than on other occasions: and in the manner above-mentioned he continued to proceed for the space of seven years and five months; nor did his voice or strength appear to fail him till his predictions were verified by the siege of Jerusalem. When this event had taken place, he went, for the last time, on the wall, and exclaimed, in a more

*He foretells  
his own death*

powerful voice than usual, "Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people;" and concluded his lamentation by saying, "Woe, woe be to myself!" He had no sooner spoken these words, than, in the midst of his predictions, he was destroyed by a stone thrown from an engine.

*Vindication of  
Providence,  
and mankind  
the authors of  
their own mis-  
eries and  
ruin.*

From what has been above-recited it will be evident to mankind in general, that our destruction arises from our misconduct; and that Providence, by the gift of our reasonable faculties, as well as by the aids of prediction and revelation, has contributed, in an abundant degree, to the general good, and lasting advantage, of all its creatures. Our ruin is certainly to be attributed to ourselves, when we refuse to take warning after being premonished of future events. It is astonishing that the Jews, after possessing themselves of Antonia, should have reduced the temple to a square form, when they knew that the sacred writings contained a prediction, importing that the city and temple should be both taken, whenever it should be

*The Jews fa-  
lly apply  
a prophecy to  
their own na-  
tion, instead  
of referring it  
to Vespasian.*

reduced to that figure. But the principal motive by which they were induced to undertake this destructive war, was the doubtful meaning of another text, which intimated that, in those days, a person should come out of Judæa, who should have the command of all the world. This text they applied to their own nation; and the error prevailed even among men of superior rank: while, in fact, the prophecy related to Vespasian, who became an emperor while in Judæa. Fancy appears to be the general guide in interpretations: thus, at least, it happened with the Jews, till the destruction of themselves and the country convinced them of the error in which they had been involved.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Army proclaims TITUS Emperor. TITUS commands that the Priests should be put to Death. He offers Terms to the Faction; which are rejected, the JEWS alledging that they were bound to the contrary by Oath. Hereupon Titus orders that no JEWS should be allowed either Protection or Quarter.*

BY this time the insurgents had fled into the city, while the temple, and all its adjacencies, continued on fire. The Roman army now placed their ensigns against the eastern gate, where they made sacrifices of thanksgiving, and proclaimed Titus emperor with every possible demonstration of joy. So large a treasure in gold was now obtained in Syria, that it was reduced to half its accustomed value.

*Titus pro-  
claimed em-  
peror.*

Among the priests on the wall there happened to be a child, who requested the Roman guards to give him a draught of water to quench his thirst: this, on the promise of good faith on both sides, they readily did, in compassion to his tender age and great necessity. On going down to drink the water, he took with him a flaggon, which he filled, and run off with it to his friends with such expedition, that the guards found it impossible to catch him. On this the Romans accused the boy with having forfeited his word: but, in his defence, he alledged that he had only contracted with them for permission to fetch the water, but not to remain with them when possessed of it, and of course had not violated his agreement. The Romans submitted to the imposition in consideration of the innocence of the fraud.

*Ingenious ar-  
tifice of a  
child under  
the pressure of  
thirst.*

The priests having continued on the wall yet five days longer, an extremity of hunger at length compelled them to go down, and surrender themselves prisoners; whereupon the guards conducted them to Titus, before whom they humbled themselves, and intreated his merciful regard. To this the emperor replied, that they were too late in their application: for as the temple was now destroyed, it was not unreasonable that the priests should share its fate; since they ought to perish with the temple to which they belonged: and hereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

*By extremity  
of hunger,  
certain priests  
are obliged to  
surrender  
themselves,  
and are put to  
death.*

The leaders of the faction now finding how they were beset on all sides, and surrounded, so that there was no possibility of their escape, proposed to enter into a treaty with the emperor; to which he, from his wonted benevolence of disposition, lent a favourable ear, partly indeed, on the recommendation of his friends, and partly with a view to spare the city, in the hope that the insurgents, by their future conduct, might deserve his mercy. Titus took his station on the west side of the interior temple, near the gates which led to the gallery; and between the temple and the upper town there was a bridge of communica-

*A treaty re-  
quested by the  
faction, which  
Titus inclined  
to grant.*

tion, by which the Romans and Jews were at this time separated. On each side the soldiers crowded round their commanding officers; the Romans, on the one part, eager to see how Titus would receive the supplicants; and the Jews, on the other, equally eager to learn what chance there was of their being pardoned. Titus having ordered his men to forbear making any acclamations, and to keep the strictest peace and most profound silence, intimated to the Jews, by an interpreter, that it was his province to speak first; and then addressed himself to them in the following manner:

Address of Titus to the Jews. "Are you not yet convinced that your country has already suffered sufficient variety of wretchedness? Will you never so far recover your senses as to be convinced of your own weakness, and the power of the Romans; but still persist, like idiots and madmen, to the destruction of your city, your temple, your countrymen, even when you know yourselves will be included in the general ruin? Is there a period, since the time that Pompey reduced your city to ashes, when you have been free from tumults and contentions? Why then will you persist to make open war on the Romans? You cannot, certainly, depend on your numbers, when you must be already convinced that you are not able to cope with the half of our army. It you flatter yourselves with the steady adherence of your auxiliaries and allies, you should recollect that there is not a people in the world, who is not in some degree under our subjection, or that would not much rather have the Romans than the Jews for their friends. If you value yourselves on the number of your people, remember that the Germans are in subjection to us. If you depend on the strength of your walls, they are less able to protect you than the ocean, which guards Britain; and yet the people of that country opposed us in vain. If you rely on the good conduct and magnanimity of your officers, remember that even the Carthaginians have submitted to the Romans. But the enemies that our countrymen have made, have arisen from their own humanity; in permitting you to possess lands, and allowing your tribes to be governed by kings chosen from among themselves. We have likewise permitted you the free exercise of the laws of your own country; and consented to your living in the way agreeable to yourselves, whether in your own country or in distant places. But above all, and which is a favour you could not have expected, we have permitted you to receive, collect, and employ all the contributions and sums of money within your department, to support your religion and the worship of your God in the way most agreeable to yourselves, and those of your opinion. But you have made no other use of all this singular favour and indulgence, than the accumulation of riches which have enabled you to employ our own treasures against ourselves. In a word, your conduct bears a near resemblance to that of the serpent, that stings to death the man whose bosom affords him protection.

"I must acknowledge that the supine behaviour of

Nero inspired you with a degree of contempt that induced you to forget the ease and repose you then enjoyed, and gave rise to the future extravagance of your ambition.

"It is proper that I tell you that my father did not visit Judæa with a view to chastise your defection from Cestius, but wishing to give you such advice and premonition as might tend to your reformation. If it had been his object to depopulate the nation, he would at once have struck the important stroke, beginning with Jerusalem rather than Galilee; but he chose the latter proceeding, to admit leisure for your repentance: but his benevolence was construed into weakness; and your future insolence hath been founded on the lenity of the Romans.

"Agreeable to the practice of other abandoned people, you took advantage of our intestine divisions after the death of Nero. No sooner had my father and I retired from Egypt, but, in our absence, you sought the opportunity of laying the foundation of a war: and notwithstanding all the benevolent exertions of which we gave proof in the government of that district, you were yet hardened enough in iniquity to concert measures against us, at the period when my father was declared emperor, and myself his successor. Nay you proceeded still farther; for after our dignities were confirmed by the general consent, and we were in the actual possession of the empire, and were congratulated by deputies from all the foreign powers on our accession to the government, the Jews still continued our enemies. This was evident by their sending ambassadors even beyond the Euphrates, to solicit forces to assist them in their revolt. I would forbear to mention your newly-erected fortifications, and the factious contrivances by which you have produced a civil war; since they are proofs of ingratitude worthy only of the most abandoned of the human race.

"At the time my father, much against his inclination, dispatched me to subdue this obstinate city to obedience, I flattered myself that the inhabitants would be glad to accept of terms of peace. Did I not beseech you to prevent a war, before a blow had passed on either side? Was I not afterwards anxiously solicitous to render it as easy to you as possible? Did I ever refuse to receive any man who surrendered himself to me, or violate my faith to any one after he had surrendered? I treated your prisoners with unusual tenderness, nor ever punished one of your brethren who did not seek to extend the unhappy breach between us. It was with great reluctance that I first began to demolish your walls; and I prevented all executions among you to the utmost of my power. As often as I obtained any advantage over you, I besought you to listen to terms of peace, with as much earnestness as if you had been the conquerors. When I approached your temple, I did not destroy it, as, by the right I had acquired by the law of arms, I might have done. I only desired you to have mercy on yourselves, and spare the sacred places appertaining to you. At length I offered you full permission to depart, and on terms of the utmost security:



security: but when you preferred war rather than peace, I left the choice of time and place to yourselves: yet what is the consequence of my humane consideration, but that you have set fire to the very temple which I would have preserved? And, after all that has passed, you have the assurance to invite me to a treaty, as if you had a single argument to urge, in atonement for the devastation you have made. Is it to be thought that I can on any terms grant a pardon to those who would not spare their own temple? You even present yourselves now in arms, nor put on the least appearance of petitioners for favour. But let us examine the foundation you have for this confident behaviour. Your people are totally dispirited; your temple is destroyed; your city is mine by the law of arms, and you remain entirely at my disposal: yet even to the present moment you persist to demand terms of honour. But wherefore should I longer remonstrate with a folly so obstinate? Lay down your arms and submit, and I will yet spare your lives. It is true that I will cause exemplary justice to be done on the principal offenders; but the rest shall feel the best effects of my humanity."

The insolent reply and demand of the factious Jews provokes Titus, who forbids quarter to be given.

To this address the faction returned an answer, importing that they could not surrender on any promise or assurance of safety that the emperor could make, as they were solemnly sworn not to make any submission: but, with his permission, they were ready to retire with their wives and children, into the desert, and leave to the Romans the possession of the city. Enraged by the idea of prisoners giving law, and prescribing terms to the conqueror, Titus caused proclamation to be immediately made, intimating that, for the future, no Jew should presume to apply to him either for quarter or protection: but that they now might have recourse to arms, and defend themselves in the best manner in their power; for that the laws of war should hereafter determine his conduct towards them.

The Romans burn several buildings of consequence.

On the present day no step was taken: but on the following morning they set fire to the council chamber, the castle, the register-office, and a place named Ophas; whence the flames spread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, destroying wherever they came, and burning a great number of dead bodies, which crowded the streets and houses in every part.

Titus extends his clemency to the kindred of king Izates.

On the day last mentioned the sons and brothers of king Izates, with divers other persons of distinction, united in a petition to Titus to spare their lives; to which, agreeable to his accustomed humanity, he consented; though he was highly enraged at their conduct. The supplicants, however, were all lodged in prisons; and the sons and near relations of Izates were sent to Rome as hostages, in a short time afterwards.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Insurgents kill upwards of Eight Thousand Persons, and seize Money to a large Amount. Ruins, Vaults, and other Places being searched for the Deferters, all those who are taken are put to Death.*

THE next proceeding of the insurgents was, to advance to the royal palace, a place of great strength and security, in which treasure to an immense amount was deposited. From this palace the Jews routed the Romans, of whom they killed about eight thousand four hundred, and made prize of all the treasure, to an immense amount. In the course of this engagement two of the Roman soldiers were made prisoners; one of them of the cavalry, the other of the infantry. The latter was first put to death, and then dragged through the streets of the city; as if the intention had been to deride the whole nation, by the insult offered to one unhappy wretch. The other prisoner, pretending that he had a circumstance of some consequence to disclose, was immediately conducted to Simon: but, on his arrival, he had nothing to mention that was deemed of the least consequence; wherefore, Ardalis, one of Simon's officers, received orders to put him to death. Hereupon his hands were bound behind him, a cloth was tied over his eyes, and he was conducted from Simon's presence, to be beheaded within view of the Romans: but just in the instant that the executioner was drawing his sword, to perform his duty, the prisoner slipped from him, and effected an escape to the Romans. This circumstance being made known to Titus, he considered the case, and would not adjudge him to death for deserting from the enemy in so critical a situation, but deemed it so disgraceful for a Roman soldier to be taken prisoner, that he ordered him to be dishonoured and cashiered; a punishment even worse than death in the opinion of a man of honour.

The Jews drive the Romans from the royal palace, put 8000 to death, and seize the treasure.

On the following day it happened that the Romans routed the Jews from the lower town, on which occasion they set fire to all the buildings as far as Siloah, and were happy to see the destruction occasioned by the conflagration; but they acquired no treasure; for the insurgents had already safely deposited this in the upper town. It is worthy of remark, that the rebels were not of a disposition to lament any calamities their vices had occasioned; and they comforted themselves with their accustomed pride, even when fortune appeared to be their determined foe. They seemed to behold the burning of the city with a degree of pleasure; and publicly said, that, as affairs were then situated, the approach of death would not create in them the least degree of concern or regret. They had seen the destruction of the people, almost to annihilation: they had been witnesses to the temple being burnt to the ground; they had viewed the city in flames; and were now; pleaded that the Romans, who were to succeed them, could

The Jews routed from the lower town, to which the Romans set fire.



could not take possession of any thing that might afford them satisfaction.

They pay no regard to the good advice of Josephus.

While affairs were in this situation, Josephus exerted his utmost endeavours for the preservation of the few remaining inhabitants of a ruined and almost depopulated city. He applied himself to the passions of the people by every art of invective, complaint, advice, and encouragement: but all that he could say tended to answer no valuable purpose: the Jews were not only bound by the sacred obligations of their oaths, but almost subdued by the superior numbers of the Romans: exclusive of which they were inured to blood, and familiar with destruction.

Deserters to the Romans, searched for, and, when taken, put to death.

In this unhappy situation of affairs they dispersed themselves throughout the city, searching all the ruins, vaults, and other places of seclusion, for such as had deserted. Great numbers of these being seized, they were all put to death, for they were so weak that they could not seek their safety by flight; and the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Still, however, famine threatened a death more dreadful than any other. Many of the Jews now deserted to the Romans, in mere despair, for they could not entertain any other expectation than that they might be immediately put to death, to prevent the miseries of starving. The insurgents likewise shared the same fate, having been instigated by the same motives. At this unhappy juncture there was not a single street in the city but what was bestrewed with dead bodies, some of which had been starved, and the rest fallen a sacrifice to the rage of the famine.

Fruitless resources of the insurgents.

The insurgents placed their last hope in concealment. They sought every private place of retreat, vainly hoping that they might remain concealed till the contest should be at an end, and the Romans had abandoned the place: they then imagined that their escape might be safely effected; without reflecting that the all-seeing eye of justice could penetrate into the most secret recesses. The Jews who had taken possession of the subterraneous retreats, were the authors of more calamity than the Romans in setting fire to the place. They first robbed, and then murdered all who retired for safety to these places. The famine now raged to such a degree, that violent contentions arose respecting the coarsest and most loathsome food: and I am of opinion that if the famine had continued for any considerable time longer, they who survived would have made no scruple of feeding on the bodies of the deceased.

Singular misery attending the famine.

## C H A P. XIV.

*TITUS prepares to erect new Mounts. Five IDUMÆAN Deputies offer the Service of the People, and solicit his Forgiveness. SIMON causes them to be put to Death. TITUS grants Liberty to above Forty Thousand Persons who had deserted to him.*  
No. 28.

*A Priest, named JESUS, compounds with TITUS for his Life.*

SUCH was the situation of the upper town, on crags and precipices, that Titus thought it would be an impossibility to get possession of it, without the erection of new mounts; wherefore he ordered that these works should be commenced on the twentieth day of the month Lous. It has been heretofore remarked that carriage was very expensive, and attended with great trouble; for, to the distance of a hundred furlongs from the town, the materials had all been cut down; for the construction of the works heretofore erected. The four legions now threw up a mount on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace; while the auxiliaries and the other forces threw up another mount near the gallery and the bridge, and fortified the place known by the name of Simon's Tower, which had been constructed by Simon, during his war with John.

New mounts raised by Titus.

At this period some of the Idumæan officers held a council together, concerting how their whole body should go over to the interest of the Romans. Having fixed on their plan, they dispatched five deputies to Titus, to make an offer of their services: and by these they sent a petition, imploring the emperor's mercy in the name of their whole people. It must be acknowledged that this application was made very late in point of time; but Titus, thinking that Simon and John would make no farther resistance after so capital a desertion, dismissed the deputies with an answer importing that he would grant the petitioners their lives; for the truth was, that he deemed the Idumæans to be the most formidable of his opponents.

Five Idumæan deputies from the city favourably received by Titus.

The above-mentioned plot having been discovered, Simon gave orders that the five deputies should be instantly put to death, and that imprisonment should be the lot of those from whom they had received their directions; of whom James the son of Sofas was deemed to be the principal. As the leaders were now in subjection, no great mischief was apprehended from the common soldiers; notwithstanding which a stricter guard was kept over the remainder of the Idumæans than had been heretofore thought necessary: but every effort that could be devised proved ineffectual to prevent their deserting to the Romans. It is true that many of them were slain in the attempt; but still greater numbers effected their escape, all of whom were received by Titus, who had so much generosity and benevolence, that he declined to press the rigorous execution of his former orders: while even the common soldiers, partly satiated with the blood that had been spilt, and partly in the hope of obtaining booty began now to conduct themselves with more lenity and moderation than they had heretofore done.

The Idumæans are put to death by Simon, yet many others desert to the Romans.

By this time there were none remaining but the inferior kind of people; and these,

Multitudes of Jews, with- together

their wives  
and children,  
publicly sold  
in the market

together with their wives and children, were publicly sold like beasts in the market; and at very low prices too, for the purchasers were but few in number. Titus now reflecting on this circumstance, and on the proclamation which he himself had issued, directing that no more of the Jews should desert to him singly, thought it his duty, as a man of humanity, to preserve as many of them as possible; and therefore determined to revoke his former order, and to receive as many of them as should come to him separately; but he would not receive any number together. He appointed proper persons to inquire into their characters, to discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, and to treat every man according to his deserts.

Jesus presents  
many valuable  
things to  
the emperor,  
who saves his  
life.

At this period, there was a priest named Jesus, the son of Thebuth, who compounded for his life with the emperor, on the condition of his delivering up several of the ornaments belonging to the temple, with some vessels, and other articles that had been presented thereto. In pursuance of this contract, he conveyed out of the temple, and handed over the wall, several tables, goblets, and cups, with a pair of candlesticks, all made of the finest gold. He likewise presented the emperor with a considerable number of the vessels used in sacrifice, with precious stones, veils, and the habits used by the priests.

Phineas, treasurer of the temple, makes a valuable discovery, and is also spared.

About this time, likewise, Phineas, the keeper of the sacred treasure, being taken prisoner, he gave up a vast number of the habits and girdles belonging to the priests; together with scarlet and purple stuffs, which had been carefully laid by for future use. He likewise made a discovery of a quantity of cinnamon, cassia, gums, and perfumes, which were used for the incense daily offered; together with a number of sacred ornaments and effects which were the property of private persons. Now, though Phineas was a lawful prisoner, regularly taken in open war, yet, in consideration of these discoveries, he was treated with as much lenity as if he had made them through the mere effect of his own inclination.

## C H A P. XV.

*The ROMANS advance with their Engines for Battery. SIMON and JOHN are terrified. They at length abandon three strong Forts. TITUS acknowledges the divine Interposition in Favour of the ROMANS. Orders issued by him, respecting the Prisoners.*

The mounts  
completed,  
and the Ro-  
mans advance.

AFTER the expiration of eighteen days the erection of the mounts was completed, on the seventh day of the month Gorpæus (answering to Septem-

ber), at which time the Romans advanced with their engines for battery. Many of the insurgents now despairing to hold possession of the place any longer, abandoned the walls, and retired to the castle; while others concealed themselves in vaults, and subterranean passages. Still, however, there were some, more obstinate than the rest, who were determined to oppose those who had the management of the batteries. In the mean time the enemy was greatly superior to them in numbers and strength; and the Romans had the farther advantage that their troops were in full health and spirits, and animated with the success they had obtained over an enemy that, having been unfortunate in their undertakings, were dejected by their losses, and almost abandoned to despair.

As often as any of the Jews observed a flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets yielded to the impression made by the battering engines, they sought their safety by immediate flying from the place of apprehended danger; till, at length, even Simon and John were terrified even to the borders of despair, and fled, before the Romans were advanced within such a distance as to be able to do them a personal injury: for their fears operated to such a degree that they were frightened at danger, whether real or apprehended. Though these men were some of the most abandoned of the human race, yet the extreme calamity they endured could scarcely fail of exciting pity in the breasts of those who so lately knew them boasting of their imagined consequence, and triumphing in all the height of presuming arrogance. The change in their affairs was indeed very great, and distressing in the highest degree.

John and Simon now made an attempt on the wall which had been erected round the city by the Romans. They succeeded, in fact, so far in this attempt, as to make a breach in the wall; and their intention was to have attacked the guards, and by that means to have effected their escape. But when they expected to have been properly supported in this attack, they found that all their friends had abandoned them: wherefore they retreated in confusion, as they were led by their fears and apprehensions.

In this distracted and wretched state of affairs, every man told such a tale as was inspired by his own apprehensions. While one brought intelligence that the whole of the wall to the westward was overthrown, others asserted that the Romans were at the foot of this wall; and a third party declared that they had entered the city, and that some of them were in actual possession of the towers. Their imaginations appeared to realize their fears: they fell prostrate on the ground, lamenting their unhappy fate, bewailing their follies; and remained in a state of desperation of which no language can convey an idea.

The goodness and the power of God were remarkable, and likewise equally

Simon and  
John terrified  
by false alarms

They attempt  
to destroy the  
Roman wall,  
in which they  
make a breach  
but, being de-  
fected, retreat  
in disorder.

Distracted  
state of the  
people, and  
their leaders.

John and Si-  
mon, now in

con-



fatuated, and  
had on three  
of their  
strongest forts  
to the Ro-  
mans.

conspicuous, on this singular occasion: for the tyrannical leaders of the opposition were, eventually, the occasion of their own destruction, by abandoning those forts of their own accord, which could never have been taken, unless the besieged had been starved out: and this they did after the Jews had in vain spent much time on other erections of inferior strength. By this providential turn of affairs the Romans became masters of three impregnable forts, which they could never have acquired in any other manner; for the three towers I have mentioned were absolute proof against battery of every kind.

They assaulted  
the new wall,  
and were re-  
pelled.

No sooner had Simon and John, influenced by the impulse of a judicial frenzy, abandoned the towers above-mentioned, than they hurried away to the vale of Siloah, where they reposed themselves for a short time, after the fatigue they had undergone. Having refreshed themselves, and recalled their scattered ideas, they assaulted the new wall at the above-mentioned place: but their efforts were so feeble, that they were easily repulsed by the guards; for their misery, despair, and fatigue, had so reduced them, that they had no strength remaining, and were glad to creep away, with their adherents, and conceal themselves in vaults and caverns.

The Romans  
set up their  
standards on  
the towers.

The walls being now in possession of the Romans, they hoisted their colours on the towers, and exulted with the most cheerful acclamations, at the happy conclusion of a war which promised so little in the commencement: for they were compelled to believe that the war was at length ended, unless they had been disposed to discredit the evidence of their own senses.

The Roman  
soldiers make  
a terrible  
butchery of  
the inhabi-  
tants.

By this time the soldiers had spread themselves into every part of the city, ranging through the streets with drawn swords, and sacrificing to their rage every one they saw, without distinction. They set fire to the houses, and burnt them, and all their contents, to the ground. In many houses into which they entered in search of plunder, they found every person of the families dead, and the houses in a manner filled with the bodies of those who had perished through hunger; wherefore, shocked at such a sight, they frequently returned without seizing their intended booty. Yet, notwithstanding this apparent respect they shewed to the deceased, they gave no proofs of their humanity to the living; for they put every man to the sword who fell in their way, till at length the bodies of the dead filled up all the alleys and narrow passes; while their blood flowed to such a degree, as to run down the channels of the city in streams. Towards night they gave over the practice, but renewed their depredations by means of fire.

The calamity  
of Jerusalem,  
in being de-

The conflagration of the city of Jerusalem ended on the eighth day of the month Gorpizæus. Jerusalem was a city

that must undoubtedly have been the envy of the universe, if all the prosperity that attended it from its original foundation had borne any proportion to the misfortunes and calamities which befel it in the course of the siege above-mentioned: and what aggravated these judgments was, that her own sons proved her destruction; and that she had nursed a race of vipers to prey on the body of the parent.

destroyed by  
her own sons.

Titus employed himself in taking a survey of the ruins of this distinguished city: while admiring the works and fortifications, and particularly the fortresses, which the usurpers, in the extravagance of their folly, had abandoned: while he was contemplating the situation, dimensions, and elevation of the towers, with the elegance of the structures, the curiosity of the design and workmanship, and the masterly execution of the whole, he expressed himself in the following manner: "If our military operations had not been aided by the immediate interposition of Heaven, it would have been impossible that we should have ever possessed ourselves of these fortresses. In a word, it was God who fought for, and aided us, against the Jews: for a deed has been accomplished which the hands of men, or the force of engines, could never have effected."

Titus, taking  
a survey of  
the ruins,  
makes a pi-  
ous reflection,  
ascribing all  
his successes to  
the agency of  
the divine  
Being.

Titus having delivered himself to this effect, and said much more to the same purpose, his next business was, to restore to liberty all those prisoners whom the oppressors had left in the towers. This being done, and the razing and demolition of the city completed, these towers alone excepted, he gave orders for the sparing them, as a memorial of his good fortune and success; for, unless they had been abandoned, this success could never have arisen.

He restores to  
liberty the  
prisoners left  
in the towers  
by the tyrants.

By this time the soldiers were perfectly fatigued with the work of slaughter, notwithstanding much appeared to be done. However, Titus commanded his men to desist, so far as to the sparing all who should not be found in arms, or offer to make resistance: yet, notwithstanding these directions, the soldiers exceeded their orders, and put to death the sick and the aged, without pity or remorse. They who appeared to be in full health, and fit for service, were imprisoned in the temple, in that quarter heretofore destined to the use of the women. Fronto, one of the freed-men and friends of Titus, was deputed to enquire into the cases of the prisoners, and to treat them according to their deserts. The abandoned, the seditious, and those who mutually charged each other with crimes, were put to death without mercy: but Titus reserved the young and healthy, particularly those of a comely appearance, to grace his triumph on his entrance into Rome. All those who remained after this selection, and were above seventeen years of age,

His determi-  
nation with  
respect to the  
captives.

Robbers and  
the seditious,  
who impeach-  
ed each other,  
are put to  
death.



age, were sent in chains into Egypt, to be employed as slaves; and those who were under seventeen exposed to sale; some only excepted, who were sent into the various provinces of the empire, to be engaged as gladiators in the several theatres.

1,000 Jewish  
prisoners  
starved to  
death.

In the interim, no less than eleven thousand of the prisoners who were under the care of Fronto were starved to death; partly owing to their own obstinacy in the refusal of provisions, and partly to the severity of their overseers, who neglected to supply them in a proper manner: but one great cause which aggravated this calamity was the want of sufficient provisions for such an immense number.

### C H A P. XVI.

*Number of the Prisoners, and slain in the War. JOHN detained Prisoner for Life, and reserved for the Triumph. The remainder of the City burnt, and the Walls destroyed by the ROMANS.*

97,000 made  
prisoners, and  
1,100,000 per-  
ished.

IN the war of which we are speaking no less than ninety-seven thousand persons were made prisoners, and the number of those who lost their lives during its progress was eleven hundred thousand. Of these far the greater part were Jews, though not born in Judæa: and as the event happened at a time when they had assembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate the feast of the passover, at Jerusalem, many of them were engaged in the war without having any such intention. The multitude which had got together on this occasion was so immense, and they were so crowded together, that the confined air occasioned a pestilence; and this calamity was soon followed by a famine. Yet, if the calculation of Cestius may be relied on, the city was quite large enough to have afforded accommodation to this amazing concourse of people. Of this calculation it may be proper to take notice.

Computation  
of the popu-  
lousness of  
the Jewish na-  
tion.

The emperor Nero entertained so great a degree of contempt for the Jews, that Cestius, with a view to convince the emperor that the Jewish nation was by no means such an object of derision as he thought it, made application to the high-priest to fix on a method of numbering the people. This computation was commenced at the time of the celebration of the feast of the passover; and the following mode was adopted. From the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day the people came to offer their sacrifices; when they counted no less than two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred oblations; and reckoning that ten persons at least were to eat of each lamb (though in some instances there were twenty), the number would amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-six thousand persons, all of them in perfect health: for neither persons troubled

with the scurvy or leprosy, nor men infected with a particular disorder, nor women in certain circumstances, nor any who were labouring under malignant distempers, were admitted to any share in this solemnity; neither were any strangers admitted so to partake, unless they came to Jerusalem on motives of devotion.

Thus did the all-wise providence of God decree that these immense numbers of people who had come to Jerusalem before the siege should be afterwards pent up within the city, as in a prison: and the number of slain in the course of the siege gave proof of a divine judgment unequalled in the annals of history.

Over-riding  
hand of divine  
justice, in  
causing such  
multitudes of  
the Jews to re-  
sort to Jerusa-  
lem, were to  
suffer various  
deaths.

Many of them were killed openly in the streets; while great numbers, retreating to the vaults and sepulchres, were pursued by the Romans, who put to the sword all they could find. Exclusive of those who perished in consequence of the severity of the famine, there were above two thousand who either died by their own hands, or mutually consented to destroy each other. Not a few, likewise, were poisoned by the putrid effluvia arising from the dead bodies: some bore the nauseous smells as long as they could endure them, and then retired to consult their own safety; but others, intent on acquiring all the booty in their power, rifled some of the bodies of the deceased, while they trampled on others which were in an absolute state of putrefaction: but avarice disclaims all ideas of delicacy.

A great number of prisoners were released, who had been laid in chains by the two usurpers, whose cruelty continued as long as they had the least power to exert it: but at length the vengeance of Heaven effectually pursued those monsters of iniquity: John and his associates, who had secreted themselves in the vaults, were reduced even to the point of starving; so that, at length, they were compelled to implore that protection from the Romans which they had heretofore affected to despise; while Simon surrendered himself, after a long struggle with the most pinching necessity; as will be hereafter mentioned. John was committed to prison for his life, and Simon reserved to grace the triumph. Soon after this, the Romans demolished the walls, and burnt the rest of the city.

Numbers of  
prisoners re-  
leased; and  
the punish-  
ment of the  
tyrants John  
and Simon.

### C H A P. XVII.

*MELCHISEDEC was the first Founder of this City, and changed its Name from SOLYMA to that of JERUSALEM. The City and Temple lay level with the Ground.*

IT was in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpizeus, that Jerusalem was thus finally taken and absolutely destroyed. Before this,

By what king  
Jerusalem had  
been taken.

this, however, it had been taken five times; viz. by the Egyptian king Azochaus; by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes; by Pompey; and by Herod, assisted by Sohus: but all these preserved it after they had conquered it. The fifth capture of which I speak was that of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who laid it waste after it had been built one thousand three hundred and sixty years eight months and six days.

The first founder.

Melchisedec, a king of Canaan, was the first founder of the city of Jerusalem.

In the Hebrew language, the name Melchisedec signifies an "Upright king;" and this prince was so in a distinguished degree. \* He first dedicated this city to God; built a temple therein, and officiated as a high-priest; and changed its former name of Solyma to that of Jerusalem.

In a series of time, when David, the king of the Jews, drove out the Canaanites, he placed his own countrymen in Jerusalem; and after this, the Babylonians destroyed the city, at the expiration of four hundred and seventy-seven years and three months.

There elapsed eleven hundred and seventy-nine years between the reign of David in Jerusalem, and the destruction of the city by Titus; and this last event happened at the expiration of two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years from its foundation. But by this great event it is evident that the inevitable decrees of fate pay no regard to antiquity, riches, fame, or even the dignity of religion.

The city and temple levelled with the ground.

Thus ended the important and melancholy siege; and the Roman soldiers having no living object on which to wreak their farther vengeance (for if they had, that vengeance would have been continued), Titus gave orders that they should reduce the city and temple to a level with the ground; and not to leave any building standing, except the three distinguished towers, so often mentioned, which bore the names of Hippocos, Phasaël, and Mariamne; and a part of the wall to the westward of the city, on which he intended to erect a garrison. The towers were ordered to remain as an evidence to future times of the skill and power of the Romans in becoming possessed of them. This order was executed with the utmost strictness, and the rest of the city totally demolished, and rased even to the ground; so that it scarcely appeared to have been the residence of human creatures. Thus the factious multitude, whose seditions had created all the misfortunes, were reduced; and thus, likewise, was reduced the most distinguished city on the face of the earth.

Titus resolves to reward the valour of his soldiers.

A resolution was now formed by Titus to leave some squadrons and battalions of horse and foot, together with the tenth legion, in garrison in Jerusalem. The duty of a careful and vigilant general having been

fully discharged by Titus, he now considered how he should most effectually encourage and reward those whose services had tended to contribute to his present glory. For this purpose, he ascended a tribunal in the front of his camp, and on an eminence where he might be heard to the greatest advantage; and being surrounded by a select number of his principal officers, he from thence made a speech to his army, the substance of which is as follows:

"My gallant fellow-soldiers! I have no language in which to express the sense of that gratitude I entertain for your faithful and respectful behaviour to me during the course of the late war. Your regular obedience and strict discipline have been commendable beyond all example. You have been resolute in your behaviour, on every occasion, and firm in all dangers, even the most alarming. You have acquired the highest degree of reputation, in having advanced the honour and enlarged the territories of your country. It is proper that all the world should know that neither the superiority of numbers, the advantages of forts, the strength of situation, the power of well-peopled cities, nor the desperate zeal, and aggravated fury of the most brutish adversaries, can ever be an equal match for the calm conduct and courage of the Romans. It is true that some favourable and advantageous turns of fortune have occasionally attended the Jews: but you have amply performed your duty in putting a happy end to a war of so long continuance, in a way as flattering to our wishes as could have been hoped for on its first commencement. A circumstance still more happy than this arises, on which to congratulate you; for the choice that you have made of Roman emperors and generals is not only admitted, but universally approved and applauded. It is impossible that I should sufficiently admire and esteem you, on account of what you have already so admirably performed. With regard to those who have distinguished themselves by their singular bravery and by their exemplary conduct in hazardous adventures, by which they have done honour to their private characters and public profession, it shall be my particular care to see that they do not go unrewarded. They who have proved themselves emulous to excel their fellow-soldiers shall be certain of meeting with an acknowledgment adequate to their merits; for I have less pleasure in punishing the guilty, than in promoting and rewarding the meritorious."

His address to the army.

Titus addressed himself to the proper officers, demanding a list of the names of such of the soldiers as had distinguished themselves in an exemplary manner in the course of the war. These being separately called, and their names announced, Titus acknowledged their merit, saying he was as anxious for their welfare as for his own. Having addressed them in the most obliging terms, he proceeded to give them substantial proofs of his friendship, and princely bounty. He placed coronets of gold on their

His courteous and munificent behaviour to them.

\* The learned Bochart says, that in the following lines are "almost as many errors as words."



their heads; adorned them with chains of gold; presented them with lances pointed with the same metal, and with medals of silver, and promoted every man in proportion to his rank. He also gave them gratuities of minted money in gold and silver, out of the treasure that had been taken, and likewise presented them with robes, and other valuable articles. Every man being thus rewarded according to his merit, by the proper distribution of the imperial bounties, Titus descended from his tribunal, amidst the acclamations, vows, and prayers, of the whole army.

He offers a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his successes.

The next proceeding was to offer sacrifices and return thanks for the victory. A number of oxen had been previously provided, and brought near the altars, which were sacrificed on this occasion, and distributed to the army; and Titus feasted his officers, at his own expence, for three days. Soon after this, the troops were dismissed to their respective quarters; and the tenth legion, which had been brought from the Euphrates, took possession of the city of Jerusalem.

The twelfth legion appointed to watch the Jews at Maelatine.

The affront which the Jews had offered to the Romans under Cestius was yet fresh in the memory of Titus; wherefore he dispatched the twelfth legion (which had formerly been stationed at Rapanæa), to Maelatine, which is situated near the Euphrates, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia. The fifth and the fifteenth legions he retained, as a guard to attend himself into Egypt. From Egypt he went a coasting passage to Cæsarea: but as the winter was now set in, he did not think it prudent to proceed to Italy: wherefore, for the present, he deposited his treasure in Cæsarea, and secured his prisoners in the most effectual manner.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*VESPASIAN visits the Sea-ports during the Siege. Further Particulars concerning SIMON and his Companions. Birth-days of DOMITIAN and VESPASIAN celebrated with uncommon Splendor and Magnificence.*

Several of the sea-ports visited by Vespasian.

AT the time that Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, Vespasian employed himself in visiting the sea-ports. Having embarked on board a trading vessel for Rhodes, he engaged a galley at that place, in which he sailed from Ionia to Greece, calling at all the towns on the coast, where he was received and entertained in a manner consistent with his rank. Hence he went to Corcyra, and so on to Japygia; from whence he continued his journey by land.

When Titus had returned from Cæsarea on the sea-coast to the place called Cæsarea Philippi, he there remained a considerable time, amusing himself

with a variety of public entertainments; particularly combats between men and beasts, likewise between one single man and another; and engagements between different parties of men; and the lives of a considerable number of slaves were sacrificed in these amusements.

About this period Simon, the son of Gioras was made a prisoner, in consequence of the following singular circumstance. When Jerusalem was so closely besieged that Simon was compelled to take refuge in the upper town, and when the Romans had actually got into the city; he was almost distracted to know how to dispose of himself; and at length he adopted the following plan. Having sent for a number of stone-cutters, miners, smiths, and persons well skilled in iron works; and having provided a great number of tools and materials proper for their purpose, and provisions for a considerable time, they descended all together into a dark and private vault. In this place they worked their way as far as they were able; but finding the passage too narrow to answer their intentions, they began to dig and mine, with a view to open a passage through which they might effect their escape: but though they managed their provisions in the most frugal manner possible, they fell short before they had made any considerable progress in their work; by which the whole plan failed. Reduced to the utmost necessity, Simon had recourse to a singular device to terrify the Romans. In pursuance of his plan, he dressed himself in a white garment, which was buckled round him, over which was thrown a purple cloak. Thus habited, he ascended from the ground, under the ruins of the late temple, to the astonishment of the soldiers, and others who beheld the apparition. As he advanced towards them, the soldiers assumed sufficient courage to demand his name and business; but Simon refused to answer their questions, and demanded to speak with the captain of the guard. Hereupon they immediately sent to Terentius Rufus, who at that time had the command; and he soon discovering who Simon was, ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and then related all the particulars of the affair to Titus.

Simon's project to escape; which failing, he is apprehended, and put in chains.

Thus did divine justice pursue and punish an execrable tyrant, who had, by the means of suborning false evidence, caused the destruction of so many of his own countrymen, on the pretence that they were about to desert to the Romans: thus was he, by an act of his own, delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any contrivance on their part, to take him prisoner. But the vengeance of Heaven will always pursue the guilty: justice and innocence will finally prevail: the punishment which is deferred is frequently felt more severely from that circumstance; since the danger is then thought to be at an end, and the guilty deem themselves secure. This was the situation of Simon, with respect to the Romans; and his ascent from the vault, in the strange manner above-mentioned, proved the means of discovering

His crimes justly retaliated on himself, by his own means.



covering the place where his companions were concealed.

He is referred to grace the triumph of Titus.

When Titus had returned from Casarea, on the sea-coast, Simon was presented to him bound in chains : whereupon he gave orders that he should be detained a prisoner, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. Some short time after his arrival he appointed a day for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian with the utmost grandeur and magnificence. On this occasion a great number of condemned persons were sacrificed to the splendor of the ceremony : for of those who were destroyed by beasts, by fire, or in combats with each other, it was calculated that not less than two thousand five hundred perished ; yet such was the inveteracy of the Romans against the Jews, that they thought even this number too small.

Titus celebrates the anniversary of Vespasian's birth.

Some time after this Titus went to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and one of the Roman colonies. In this place he continued some time, and there celebrated the anniversary of the birth of his father Vespasian, even with a greater degree of pomp and splendor than he had done that of his brother, both with respect to the article of expence, and the public shews exhibited.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Dispersion of the JEWS. The City of ANTIOCH ruined by ANTIOCHUS, the Son of a JEW. The Pagan Worship established, and the Observance of the Sabbath suppressed by him. The JEWS are unjustly accused of firing the City.*

THE situation of the Jews in Antioch was at this time very uncomfortable ; for the citizens were their determined enemies, on account of their former misbehaviour, aggravated by some improper conduct of which they had been lately guilty. In this place it may not be improper to make mention of some particular circumstances, by which the meaning of what is to follow will be the more readily comprehended.

Great numbers of the Jews settle in Syria and at Antioch.

There is scarcely a part of the habitable globe, in which some of the Jewish people are not dispersed : but they particularly abound in Syria, which borders on their own country ; and there are immense numbers of them in Antioch : a circumstance which arises not only from the city being very large and populous, but from the particular privileges with which they have been gratified in this place, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (as he was called), who totally reduced the city of Jerusalem, and plundered the temple. All the brazen vessels which had been taken from the Jews at Jerusalem, were restored to them by the immediate successors of Antiochus, for the purpose of their being applied to the service of

their temple at Antioch. These successors likewise allowed the Jews to enjoy the same freedom of the city that the Greeks did : and the kings who followed those above-mentioned behaved with a similar degree of lenity and indulgence ; so that the Jewish temple became rich and flourishing, and the numbers of their people continually increased. Several of the Pagans, likewise, became profelytes to their religion, and incorporated with the body of the people.

When the war was now completely ended, and Vespasian had gone by sea into Syria, the Jews rendered themselves extremely odious ; of which the following circumstance will serve as an instance. During a public assembly in the theatre, Antiochus came in, and, before all the company, charged his own father, and several other foreign Jews, whose names he mentioned, with a design of setting fire to the city during the night. This assertion caused a violent insurrection, and during the disturbance, the people procured fire, and burnt the supposed conspirators in the midst of the theatre. The mob were now disposed to have burnt every man who was but suspected, in order to save their country from an apprehended ruin. Antiochus did every thing in his power to aggravate the present malicious disposition ; and as a proof of the regard which he entertained for the Pagan worship, and his abhorrence of that of the Jews, he sacrificed after the Pagan manner himself, and likewise issued orders that others should do the same, or suffer death if they refused. In consequence of this peremptory order, the people of Antioch in general complied, the Jews only excepted, great numbers of whom were put to death for refusing their obedience to the mandate.

Antiochus, the son of a Jew, causes disturbances in the city, by charging his father and other Jews with a design to burn the place.

He establishes the Pagan worship.

By this time Antiochus had a command bestowed on him by the governor, which enabled him still farther to gratify his rage against the Jews ; wherefore he began by infringing on the sacredness of the sabbath, compelling the people to labour on that day as they did on others ; and he insisted on this point with such rigid severity, that the observation of this sacred day was at length totally suppressed in Antioch, while other places were in danger of following the fatal example.

The observance of the sabbath suppressed.

It was not long before another misfortune succeeded this persecution of the Jews at Antioch ; the particulars of which are as follow. A fire happened to break out in the square market, which burnt several magnificent buildings, and public offices for the registering of records : and the flames raged so furiously, that the total destruction of the whole city was greatly endangered. Antiochus accused the Jews with being the authors of this conflagration ; and the inhabitants of Antioch, already greatly prepossessed against those people, were very fond of giving credit to the charge : in fact, so strong were their prejudices against the Jews, that they were ready to swear that they saw those people in the very act of setting fire to the city :

The Jews accused as incendiaries.

wherefore,

wherefore, taking it for granted that all was true that their imaginations suggested, they made so sudden and violent an attack on the accused parties, that it was with no small degree of difficulty that Collega, vice-governor to Cefennius Petus, kept the people in tolerable subjection till the particulars of the affair could be transmitted to the emperor. At this time Cefennius had received his commission as governor, but was not arrived to take on him the command. Collega having examined into the affair in the most careful and cautious manner, the innocence of all the persons who had been accused by Antiochus was made indisputably evident: and it appeared that the city had been set on fire by a few abandoned miscreants, and men of desperate fortunes, who thought the destruction of their creditors would be the most effectual way of screening themselves from the payment of their debts. Notwithstanding the falleness of the accusation, the Jews were under great uneasiness of mind for fear of the consequences.

## CHAP. XX.

*The Happiness of TITUS on receiving an Account of his Father's safe Arrival in ITALY; and the Respect shewn to VESPASIAN.*

General joy  
on Vespasian's  
safe arrival.

AT this time Titus received the agreeable news that his father was happily arrived in Italy, and how magnificently he had been entertained in the several cities of that country, through which he passed: but what afforded him more satisfaction than any other circumstance, was the sincere affection with which he was received at Rome; which prevented the son from any farther anxiety on account of his father. In every place the people treated even the name of Vespasian with the utmost distinction; and supplied the want of his presence by their perfect respect for him.

His distinguished  
qualities  
admired  
by all ranks.

The senate of Rome, well remembering the unhappy revolutions to which they had been witness, on the transferring of the government from one prince to another, thought themselves happy in having an emperor, whose character was so distinguished by experience, conduct, and reputation. Nor were the people in general less pleased with the happy change in the face of affairs, as they were at that time embroiled in civil wars; and they reposed the utmost confidence in the emperor; expecting that, through his means, they should be restored to their former ease and freedom. The soldiers in general were professed admirers of their imperial master, as he had, on a variety of occasions, given abundant proof of his courage and military skill: and their regard for him was heightened by reflecting on the disgrace they had frequently suffered under other commanders: wherefore they promised themselves that, under the command of Vespasian, they should meet with abundant success and applause.

So general was the esteem in which Vespasian was held, that the most eminent people of the city, impatient of his arrival, went to a considerable distance, in order to meet him on the road; and these were followed by such numbers, that there were scarce as many left in the city as came out of it. When intelligence arrived that Vespasian was near the place, and that his address and affability were universally admired, the roads were crowded with the wives and children of the inhabitants, who flocked to see him. Every one now burst into raptures of admiration at the elegance of his person, and the modesty of his behaviour; and they called him by all the endearing names of benefactor, deliverer, protector; extolling him as the only prince in the universe who was worthy to wear an imperial crown.

Is instance of  
the respect  
with which  
he is every  
where treated.

On this occasion the whole city was decorated with garlands, and looked as gay as a temple; and the streets were crowded to such a degree that it was with the utmost difficulty that the procession could pass to the palace. Vespasian now offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, in grateful acknowledgment of his safe return; and, in the mean time, the people in general indulged themselves in feasting, treating their families and neighbours, offering up their vows for a long and prosperous reign to Vespasian, and wishing that he might be succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son; and that there might never be wanting one of his illustrious family to sway the sceptre. Thus auspicious was the entrance of Vespasian into Rome: and every kind of success and happiness succeeded this event.

Demonstrations of the  
universal joy  
on his return  
to them.

## CHAP. XXI.

*A Revolt happens among the GERMANS, headed by CASSIUS and CIVILIS. PETILIUS CEREA-LIS puts a Stop to the Sedition by routing the Rebels; and DOMITIAN totally suppresses it without Blood-shed. An Incurfion of the SYRIANS, who are routed by RUBRIUS GALLUS.*

WHILE Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, and not long before Vespasian came to Alexandria, a very considerable revolt happened among the Germans, to which they were in a great degree incited and animated by their neighbours the Gauls, who wished to free themselves from the yoke of the Romans. The Germans, being naturally of a vehement disposition, bold, rash, and inconsiderate, were forward enough to engage in an enterprise of this kind: besides, they were inflamed by an inveterate hatred they entertained for the Romans; as they stood in fear of no other people but them. To all these circumstances may be added the critical situation of affairs; for the empire was rent in pieces by factious divisions, and there had been a variety of revolutions in the government.

The Germans  
revolt.

At



Authors and  
promoters of  
it.

At this time there were two persons, named Cassius and Civilis, who had great influence among the Germans; and these took advantage of the distracted state of affairs to promote the sedition: though, in fact, this was but carrying on a plan which they had long before concerted. On inquiring into the sentiments of the people, they found that a great majority of them were admirably disposed to acts of mutiny; and their example would most probably have been followed by all the rest, but for the immediate interposition of divine providence. The particulars of this affair are as follows: Vespasian had sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, heretofore governor of Germany, by which he advanced him to the dignity of consul, and directed that he should immediately march into Italy, to execute the duties of his new office. As Cerealis was on his journey, he received authentic information of the insurrection above-mentioned; on which he immediately marched against the rebels, who were united in a body; and attacking them with great vigour, he totally routed them, great numbers being slain in the action; by which the rest were at once reduced to a proper sense of their duty.

The rev. It to-  
tally suppress-  
ed by Dou-  
glas.

If Cerealis had not been so fortunate as to crush this rebellion in the bud, it must, nevertheless, have soon yielded to the valour of another commander; for no sooner had intelligence of the insurrection arrived at Rome, than Domitian, the son of Vespasian, a young prince of the greatest hopes and expectations, in whom the heroic virtues of his father were hereditary, put himself at the head of an army, and advanced against the main body of the rebels; who no sooner heard of his being on his march, than they were so terrified as to surrender, even without bloodshed. When the affairs of Gaul were adjusted, and there was no farther danger that the people would again rebel, Domitian lost no time in returning to Rome, where he was received with the loudest acclamations; his good conduct extolled; and himself honoured as one who had produced happy consequences to his country, and honour to himself, beyond what could have been expected from his age and experience.

The Roman  
territories in-  
vaded by the  
Scythians.

An incursion of the Scythians (or Sarmatians) succeeded to the rebellion in Germany. These people having privately transported themselves over the Danube, with an immense number of men, broke into the country of Mysia, where they surprised several of the Roman garrisons; and put all they found in them to the sword, with the most savage inhumanity. They slew Fonteius Agrippa, a person of the rank of lieutenant general, and of consular dignity, at the head of his troops: and they ravaged the whole country, burning, wasting and destroying wherever they came. Intelligence of these circumstances was brought to Vespasian, and he had no sooner learnt some particulars of the depredations that had been made in Mysia, than he immediately sent away Rubrius Gallus to chastise the offenders: a commission that this officer executed so faithfully,

Many of them  
destroyed by

No. 29.

that he destroyed great numbers of them, and the rest escaped to their own habitations with no small degree of difficulty: so that this war was soon at an end: and the commanding officer gave such effectual orders for securing the passes, as to render the repetition of similar attempts and incursions much less likely to take place in future.

Rubrius Gal-  
lus, and the  
rest dispersed.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The triumphal March of TITUS. The Sabbatical River. TITUS rejects Petitions against the JEWS, and greatly commiserates the desolate Condition of JERUSALEM. Immense Treasures buried in the Ruins of that City. The Order and Magnificence with which the Triumph was attended. SIMON GIORAS put to Death.*

TITUS having remained a little while at Berytus, he, on his return from that place (as hath been before observed) exhibited the most magnificent spectacles as he passed through Syria. In this journey he took with him the prisoners that he had made, to do honour to his arms, and to add to the splendor of his triumph.

Titus marches  
in triumph  
through Syria

In the course of his journey this prince took particular notice of a certain river, which is situated betwixt the cities of Arce and Raphane in the kingdom of Agrippa; which river is distinguished by some very remarkable properties. During the flowing of the river the stream is full, and the current sets strong: but the springs failing on a sudden, it leaves the channel dry, even to the middle, for the space of six days: and it fills again on the seventh day, and flows as usual, and pursues its former course, as if no interruption had happened. From these circumstances it has obtained the name of the Sabbatical River, from the festival celebrated by the Jews on the seventh day.

Description of  
the Sabbatical  
River.

Intelligence of Titus being on his journey having reached the city of Antioch, the people were so overjoyed at the news, that immense numbers of both sexes, and almost all ages, left their habitations, and went out to meet him. Many of them went to the distance of thirty furlongs, being impatient to congratulate him, and to welcome him on his journey. When he came near them they withdrew on each side, to make a passage for him, and thus conducted him into the city, with every possible demonstration of joy and respect; but amidst their shouts and acclamations they solicited him in the most earnest and importunate manner, that he would banish all the Jews from the city. Titus heard all they had to say, but with such apparent indifference, that it was impossible to discover his sentiments on the subject; a circumstance that gave the Jews great anxiety, as they were extremely apprehensive for the event of the affair. Titus remained but a

Titus joyfully  
received at  
Antioch

He disregards  
petitions in  
prejudice of  
the Jews



very short time at Antioch, from whence he proceeded to Teugma, which lies towards the Euphrates. At this place he was waited on by ambassadors from Vologesus, king of the Parthians, who sent him a present of a crown of gold, and transmitted his congratulations on his late victory over the Jews. Titus received the present, entertained the ambassadors in a manner suited to their rank, and then returned to Antioch.

Immediately after his arrival the senate and magistrates of the city gave him an earnest invitation to honour the theatre with his presence. With this he very readily complied, and there found a very great number of citizens waiting in expectation of his arrival. He had scarcely taken his place, when they began to re-urge him earnestly on the subject of the expulsion of the Jews, to which Titus, with equal prudence and generosity, replied, saying, "Their own country is laid waste, and they cannot find admission into any other." The citizens finding that Titus was not to be prevailed on to grant this request, they immediately solicited another favour, which was, that he would order the pillars of brass, on which were engraven the inscriptions reciting the privileges of the Jews, to be either taken away, or the inscriptions erased: but Titus paid no more regard to the latter request than to the former; and departed towards Egypt, leaving the Jews of Antioch in possession of the same privileges as at his arrival.

While he was proceeding on his journey he reflected seriously on the deplorable situation of Jerusalem, and all the adjacent country, and could not help drawing a comparison in his mind between its present and former condition. It was heretofore one of the most glorious cities in the universe, and now a heap of ruins: it was in former times a paradise, and now become a desert. Reflecting on these unhappy changes, he sincerely lamented the destruction of so distinguished a city, and execrated the authors of the sedition that had occasioned it. So far, indeed, was he from wishing to extend his own fame on a public calamity, that he held in the utmost abhorrence those to whom that calamity was owing.

Jerusalem had been possessed of riches to an immense amount; and amazing treasures of gold, silver, and other valuable effects were buried in the ruins, great part of which had been secreted by the proprietors, that the enemy might not obtain possession of them. Of these effects many were discovered by the Romans, but the prisoners found many more.

In the interim Titus continued his journey into Egypt, and travelling with all possible expedition over that desolate country, he arrived at Alexandria, at which place he took shipping for Italy: but previous to his embarkation he dispatched the two legions that had attended him to their former stations; that is, the fifth legion was sent to Myfia, and the tenth to Hun-

gary. Simon and John, who had been the principal insurgents, together with about seven hundred other prisoners, who were distinguished by the comeliness of their appearance, were ordered to be sent into Italy, that they might dignify the triumph of Titus, on his entry into Rome.

Titus had a most favourable and agreeable voyage, and was received with as great honour and respect as his father had been before him; and exclusive of this general respect from the people, Vespasian went out in person, to meet and congratulate him: a circumstance highly grateful to the public, who now beheld the father and his two sons meeting together in circumstances of the most auspicious nature.

In a short time after this the senate passed a decree for two separate triumphs, the one in honour of the father, the other in that of the son; but, notwithstanding this determination Vespasian and Titus resolved that the solemnity to their mutual honour should be jointly celebrated. When the day was fixed, on which it was to take place, there was hardly a single person in the city who did not attend as a spectator, so that when the whole multitude was assembled together there was scarcely room enough left for the emperor and his son to pass. Before the break of day the soldiers marched to the palace gates near the temple of Isis, in regular order, preceded by their officers, to wait the arrival of the princes; who had lodged the preceding night in the temple above-mentioned.

Soon after the dawn of the morning Vespasian and Titus came forward, being clothed in purple robes, according to the custom of their country, and having on their heads crowns of laurel. They proceeded to the Octavian walks, at which place the senate, nobility and knights of Rome waited for their arrival. Before the portal there was erected a tribunal, on which they ascended, and reposed themselves on seats of ivory which had been placed there on this occasion: and being thus situated, orations were made in their praise, while the surrounding multitudes testified their joy by the loudest acclamations. On this occasion the princes wore no arms; and while the orators were rapidly declaiming in their praise, Vespasian made a signal for silence, which being strictly obeyed by every person present, he stood up, and having thrown his robe over a part of his head, he offered up certain prayers, agreeable to the custom on such occasions; and in this Titus followed his example. This being done, Vespasian addressed the company in a concise speech, and then dismissed the military people to regale themselves at his expence. In the next place Vespasian and Titus proceeded to the triumph gate, which received its name on account of the grand procession passing that way. Here they took some refreshment, and being then arrayed in their triumphal habiliments, they offered up sacrifices at the gate, and then proceeded, in great pomp and solemnity, through the midst of the crowd, that all the people might be gratified by a sight of them.

Vespasian meet, and congratulates him.

Order and magnificence of the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

and a second time rejects solicitations against them.

Titus laments the ruinous state of Jerusalem.

Vast treasures found in the ruins of the city.

Titus goes to Egypt, and sends Simon and John, with about 700 captives to Italy, to adorn his triumph.

Particulars respecting the splendour of it. It is impossible for language to convey any adequate idea of the splendor and magnificence of this public exhibition; whether the expence and contrivance of it, or the novelty of its ornaments be considered. On this occasion all the most valuable curiosities which the Roman nation had been collecting through a long succession of ages, were combined to furnish the splendid triumph of one day, and displayed as a monument of the national grandeur. So great a number of very curious performances, in gold, silver and ivory, equally valuable for their cost and their admirable contexture, were now exhibited to the public view, that they seemed rather a confusion than a regular display of riches. There likewise appeared such an amazing variety of purple garments and Babylonian embroideries, together with jewels and other stones of great value, which were disposed into the forms of crowns, and other devices, that what used to be accounted curious was now no longer deemed so. Images of the gods of the Romans were carried in procession, which were extraordinary for their size and constructure; and besides these there were resemblances of various sorts of living creatures, which were dressed so as to answer their characters.

The pageants, and habits of those who attended them. A great number of people, dressed in cloth of gold and purple, carried these pageants through the streets; and they who were more immediately appointed to attend the pompous train were habited in garments of a singularly splendid appearance. Even the very prisoners that made a part of the train were dressed with unusual decency, to hide the misery of their condition, and conceal the marks of slavery that appeared in their countenances: but in all the procession nothing was so extraordinary as the carrying of the machines, many of them were three, or four stories in height, so that it is astonishing how the bearers could support them. The expence of these was proportioned to the contrivance of them; for the furniture and hangings were embroidered with gold, ivory, and other things of high value.

Description of the machines. In the procession were likewise the most lively and picturesque representations of war, and all its attendant circumstances. In one place was to be seen the appearance of a fruitful country totally laid waste: in another the destruction of armies; some being killed, some flying, and others taken prisoners: there were resemblances of walls levelled with the ground, forts destroyed, fortified cities entered through breaches, towns taken by surprise, and streets streaming with blood, while the vanquished were imploring mercy. Houses appeared to be falling on the heads of their owners, while temples were apparently in flames, and rivers found their course through the conflagrations, instead of supplying water to man and beast, and refreshing the fields and meadows with their streams. Nor was this any other than an admirable representation of the sufferings of the Jews, so finely contrived by the ingenuity of art, that to those who were unacquainted

with the fate of Jerusalem, it might seem to be a well told story of the destruction of that celebrated city.

On each of the pageants was a representation of the manner in which some town or city was taken, with a figure of the governor of the place. To these succeeded a view of the shipping, and then were exhibited the spoils that were taken in various places; of which the most considerable were the golden table, and the golden candlestick which were found in the temple at Jerusalem. The first of these weighed several talents; and the latter was never applied to the use for which it had been designed. This candlestick consisted of a large foot, from which there ascended a sort of pillar, and from that pillar, as from the body of a tree, there arose seven branches, the top of each branch resembling a lamp; and the number was seven in reference to the esteem in which the seventh day is held by the Jews. The next, and indeed the last trophy exhibited of the conquest which the Romans had made, was the code of Jewish laws; which was followed by figures of ivory and gold, intended as emblematical representations of victory; and the procession was closed by Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, all mounted on fine horses, elegantly caparisoned, and appearing with a dignity becoming their high rank: and in this splendid manner they proceeded together to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and thus put an end to the procession.

When they had arrived at the temple they remained there for a short time; in conformity to an ancient custom which rendered it necessary that they should stay in that place till they received advice of the death of the general who had commanded the army of the enemy. The general on the present occasion was Simon Gioras (who had been led in triumph through the streets), round whose neck a rope being fixed, he was drawn through the marketplace, those who drew him putting him to death, agreeable to the laws and usages of the Romans in the case of notorious offenders. Intelligence being brought that Simon was dead, the very air was rent with the shouts and acclamations of the multitude.

The people then offered up vows and sacrifices; and this solemn business being discharged, Vespasian and his sons returned to the palace, where they gave a most magnificent entertainment on the occasion. Indeed the whole city exhibited one general scene of joy and festivity: and public thanks were every where offered for the final victory which had now been obtained over their enemies: a victory which seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity, while it redounded to the immortal honour of the heroes who had acquired it.

As soon as the triumphs were ended, and the peace of the empire was secured, Vespasian caused a temple to be erected and dedicated to Peace. This edifice was remarkable for its richness and elegance,

Views of shipping, and the rich spoils taken at Jerusalem.

The code of Jewish laws; and close of the triumphal procession at the temple of Jupiter.

Manner in which Simon was put to death, and universal joy expressed on that occasion.

Vows and sacrifices offered to the people.

Vespasian erects a magnificent temple, which he dedicates to Peace.

and



and still more so for the short space of time in which it was constructed. It was adorned with a great abundance of curious pieces of painting and sculpture, which had been collected at an immense expence; and it was, on the whole, so magnificent and elegant a building, that persons came from all parts of the world to obtain a sight of it. The golden table and the candlestick, as articles of inestimable value, Vespasian caused to be placed in this temple. With regard to the code of Jewish laws, and the purple vestments of the sanctuary, they were deposited, with the utmost care, in the royal palace.

### C H A P. XXIII.

*Description of MACHÆRAS. A great diversity of Springs and Fountains. MACHÆRAS besieged by BASSUS. A Division between the native JEWS and the Strangers, the former defending the Castle, and the latter the Lower Town. Instance of ELEAZAR's Contempt of Danger. He is taken, stripped, and cruelly whipped. BASSUS gives ELEAZAR his Liberty, and dismisses the Garrison.*

B. S. S. made lieutenant general of Judæa, proposes to reduce Machæras.

THE emperor having granted a commission to Lucilius Bassus, appointing him to be lieutenant general of Judæa, he thereupon succeeded Cerealis Petilianus in the command of the army, and soon rendered himself master of the castle of Herodion by treaty. This being done, he collected his troops, which were stationed in different parts of the country; proposing, by the assistance of the tenth legion, to reduce Machæras, as a work of indispensable necessity; since that place was so remarkably strong, that it was a kind of incitement to acts of rebellion; and its situation was such as to inspire those in possession of it with fresh courage, though, on the other hand, it was calculated to repress the ardour of an assailant.

Description and situation of Machæras.

Machæras is situated on a mountain of immense height, and is of so strong a nature that it is rendered almost impregnable. It is likewise in a manner inaccessible; for nature has surrounded it with vallies that are almost impassable, and cannot be filled up. These vallies are of such a depth as not to be surveyed from the mountain without horror. The mountain stretches sixty furlongs to the west, and approaches almost close to the lake Asphaltitis, and the castle commands a very extensive view of the district on that side. To the north and south the vallies are very extensive, and appear to be equally well calculated for the defence of the place. On the east the depth of the valley is not less than a hundred cubits, and opposite Machæras is a mountain to which this valley extends. This place was originally fortified by Alexander, king of the Jews, who built a castle on it: but this castle was afterwards destroyed by Gabinius, when

he made war on Aristobulus: but Herod the Great, thinking this mountain well worthy his attention, particularly in case of any dispute with the Arabians, who were remarkably well situated to annoy him, he caused a strong wall, fortified with turrets, to be built round it, and erected a handsome city, in which he placed a colony of inhabitants; and from the city he made a passage up to the castle. Round the castle, at the top, he built another wall, at the angles of which were turrets sixty cubits in height; and in the midst of the inclosure he caused a large and elegant palace to be erected, which was supplied with water from a variety of cisterns: so that the situation and conveniences of this place seemed to have arisen from a happy conjunction of nature and art, each contributing in a liberal manner to its improvement. Herod likewise deposited in the castle an immense store of military arms, engines, arrows, &c. and stocked it with a great quantity and variety of provisions; so that there could be little danger of the garrison being reduced either by famine or force.

In this palace was a very extraordinary plant, which bore the name of Rue, the growth of which was so astonishing that it equalled the height and breadth of a large fig tree. It is said that this plant had remained there ever since the time of Herod, and might have continued to the present day, but that the Jews, when they took the place, tore it up by the roots. On the north side of Machæras is a valley called Baaras, where a plant is produced which is likewise named Baaras. This strange plant is of a flame colour; and on the approach of evening it reflects a light like the beams of the sun. It is difficult to draw the root from the ground, and the plant recedes, on any one offering to touch it. The method of fixing it is said to be by sprinkling it with a woman's urine; but when it is thus fixed, the touching of the plant will be fatal, unless the party holds a part of the root in his hand. But the following is said to be a method of drawing it without danger. The ground must be dug round the root till it is laid almost bare, and then a dog must be tied to it: this being done, the master of the dog goes away; and being followed by the dog, the root is drawn out of the ground; but the poor animal dies on the spot, as if he sacrificed his own life to the preservation of that of his master. The root being once freed from the ground, the plant may be touched without the least degree of danger. Notwithstanding what has been said, it is related that this plant has a property that is more than equivalent to all its noxious qualities. It will not be disputed that to be possessed with evil spirits is one of the greatest calamities to which human nature is subject. These evil spirits, which we place under the denomination of demons or devils, are only the souls of men, who, during their mortal existence, had abandoned themselves to iniquity: having gained possession of living bodies, they would inevitably destroy them, if their operations were not to be counteracted by preventive remedies. Now the plant

plant in question possesses so extraordinary a virtue that upon only touching the patient with it his affliction is immediately removed.

*Diversity of  
springs and  
fountains.*

In the valley above-mentioned there is an uncommon variety of springs and fountains, each differing from the other in quality and flavour, being sweet, bitter, hot, &c. and there are likewise a number of cold springs, in the lowest parts of the valley: but nothing of all this is so extraordinary as a cave of small depth, over which is a stone of a hard, rocky nature, out of which stone appear two fountains in the shape of breasts, from one of which flow hot waters, and cold from the other. These waters, when intermixed, form a very pleasant bath, which is a specific in the cure of nervous, and many other disorders. Mines of sulphur and allum also abound in this valley.

*Machæras be-  
sieged by Bas-  
sus.*

When Bassus had taken a careful survey of Machæras, he came to a determination to besiege the place; and for this purpose he intended to have filled up the valley to the eastward of the town, and to make his approach from that quarter. His first proceeding was to throw up a mount, opposite the castle, with all possible expedition, as the readiest way to insure his success. The Jews who were natives of the city now divided themselves from those who were strangers, whom they dismissed as persons who were unworthy a connection with them, and sent them into the lower town, to sustain the first shock; themselves taking possession of the castle, which, from its strength, they thought would be the most defensible; and a place from which, in case of necessity, it was probable that they might make the best terms with the Romans. In the mean time they exerted their utmost industry to repel the attacks of the besiegers. There was not a day passed in which the Jews did not fall forth in a determined manner, when violent skirmishes ensued, and both parties lost a considerable number of men. The advantage lay sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other: the Jews being successful when they attacked the Romans by surprise, and the latter being the victors when they were properly advised of the advance of the enemy, and had time to prepare for their reception. But it appeared evident that the siege was not to end in this manner; since a most singular accident reduced the Jews to the disagreeable necessity of surrendering the castle.

*Instances of  
Eleazar's  
extraordinary  
courage.*

In Machæras there was a young man of a spirit remarkably bold, daring, and enterprising. His name was Eleazar, and he exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner, both by advice and example, to check the progress of the Romans, and encourage his countrymen to oppose their proceedings. This Eleazar frequently sallied forth in a most determined manner, and was constantly the first man to begin an encounter, and the last to retreat, when retreat became absolutely necessary. Now it happened, after the conclusion of a skirmish on a particular day, when both parties were retired, that

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Eleazar, determined to evince his utter contempt of danger, and to prove that he was incapable of fearing any man, stopped without the gate of the city, and entered into an idle conversation with some of the Jews that were on the walls; seeming to pay no kind of regard to any thing that might pass around him.

Eleazar being now within view of the Romans in their encampment, an Egyptian foldier named Rufus took an opportunity to run to him, unnoticed, and seizing him with all his accoutrements, conveyed him to the enemy. The prisoner was no sooner brought, than Bassus directed that he should be stripped, laid on the ground, and publicly whipped within view of those in the city. The distressful situation of this youth afflicted the Jews to such a degree, that the generality of them burst into tears, and lamented his unhappy fate. Bassus finding how exceedingly concerned the people in general were for the misfortunes of this one man, a thought struck him that he hoped to improve to his advantage; for he conceived that if he could but increase the ardor of their passions, they might be induced to purchase the life of Eleazar by a surrender of the place. The scheme succeeded to the height of his expectation: a cross was erected, on which it seemed to appear that Eleazar was to be immediately crucified; but no sooner was this cross fixed than the whole garrison exclaimed, as with one voice, that they could no longer bear their sufferings. Immediately hereupon, Eleazar intreated them to consider their own situation, and that of himself, who was sentenced to an ignominious death; and he conjured them to desist from contending against the superior courage and success of the Romans, to whose dominion all the world had submitted.

*He is seized,  
and publicly  
whipped by  
the Romans.*

Eleazar, being of a distinguished family, and having many friends and relations in the castle, their interest was exerted in support of his earnest application, so that in the end the besieged, compassionating his case in a high degree, dispatched deputies to the Romans, who were commissioned to offer the surrender of the castle, on the condition that Eleazar's life and liberty should be granted him, and that the garrison should be permitted to dispose of themselves as they thought proper.

*The besieged  
offer terms of  
surrender.*

Bassus readily consented to these terms: but the people in the lower town, enraged to think that they had not been consulted before the agreement was made, determined to secure themselves by privately retreating in the night. Those who were in the castle gave notice of this to Bassus, as soon as the gates were opened; partly lest themselves should be suspected to have been concerned in the plot, and partly through envy of their associates. Hereupon Bassus attacked them: but the most gallant of those who first got out made their escape; while the rest, in number no less than one thousand seven hundred, were slain, and their wives and

*Bassus grants  
Eleazar his li-  
berty, and  
gains the  
place.*

7 E

chil-



children made slaves. Notwithstanding the above-mentioned circumstance, Bassus gave Eleazar his liberty, and dismissed the garrison, agreeable to his contract.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

*A Number of JEWS attacked, in the Forest of JARDES, by BASSUS, who slays Three Thousand of them. A Poll-tax ordered to be paid by the JEWS.*

*Bassus makes a great slaughter of the Jews, who had retired to the forest of Jarde.*

THE transactions above-mentioned being at an end, and Bassus having received information that great numbers of the Jews who had effected their escape during the sieges of Jerusalem and Machæras, had assembled together, and retired to the forest of Jarde, he marched with his army immediately to that place; and on his arrival, found that the intelligence which had been brought him was true: wherefore he issued orders that his cavalry should instantly surround the whole wood; which were so punctually obeyed, that not a single Jew could make his escape. In the mean time, the infantry were employed to cut down the trees and bushes which formed those thickets under which the Jews had taken shelter; so that by this means they were deprived of all possibility of concealment, and had no hopes of safety but in cutting their way through the forces of the enemy. Being reduced to the alternative of perishing, or taking this desperate step, they united in a body, and made a violent attack on those who surrounded them, who received the assault with the utmost bravery. In a word, the rashness excited by despair on the one side, and determined courage on the other, combined to render the engagement equally obstinate and violent. In the end, however, the Romans obtained the advantage, with the loss of only twelve men slain, and a small number wounded; whereas, every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thousand.

*3000 Jews slain.*

Among these was the commander in chief, named Judas, the son of Jair, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work. This Judas was an officer during the siege of Jerusalem, from whence he effected his escape through a subterraneous passage.

At this juncture the emperor sent a letter to his officer Tiberius Maximus, commissioning him to expose the lands of the Jews to sale, and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but seize them all to his own use. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred soldiers in Emmaus, which is situated about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.

*An annual poll-tax imposed on the Jews.*

The emperor, likewise, issued orders that the Jews should pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually; and this money was to be paid into the capitol, as similar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple. Thus

deplorably unfortunate was the state of the Jews at the period of which I am writing.

#### C H A P. XXV.

*The Misfortunes which befel ANTIOCHUS, King of COMAGENE. He is ordered to be sent Prisoner to ROME by CESENNIUS; but set at Liberty, and treated with great Liberality by VESPASIAN. A Number of confederate SCYTHIANS invade MEDIA.*

IN the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Vespasian it happened that Calamities of Antiochus, king of Comagene, and all his family, were involved in very considerable difficulties, which took rise from the following circumstance. Cefennius Petus, who was at that time governor of Syria, sent an express to the emperor, informing him, that Antiochus and his son Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore represented the necessity of putting a stop to the measure by an immediate interposition. Those who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but, as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Vespasian to have slighted the advice: and the danger was considerably increased by Samosata, the capital city of Comagene, being situated almost on the banks of the Euphrates; so that the Parthians could pass and repass at their pleasure, and be at all times secure of a safe retreat.

*Calamities of Antiochus, king of Comagene.*

Whether the above-mentioned intelligence was well founded or not, Vespasian paid so much regard to it, that he left Cefennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment should be the rule of his conduct in the affair. Immediately hereupon Cefennius began to exercise his authority; for calling to his assistance Aristobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emesa, he made an incursion into Comagene, with the sixth legion, and several detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter astonishment of Antiochus and his adherents, who had not the least suspicion of such an invasion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of opposition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to describe how much Antiochus was surprised on receiving intelligence of this incursion; for he had not entertained the slightest idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

*Cefennius makes an incursion into Comagene.*

In this extremity, he came to the resolution of abandoning his kingdom just in its present situation, and of taking with

*Antiochus takes his wives, and resolves not to*

*him*

before any act of hostility. him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of departing from his allegiance. Thus resolved, he retired to a plain at the distance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim, Cefennius sent a number of soldiers to take possession of, and keep garrison in Samofata; and marched in person, accompanied by other forces, in pursuit of Antiochus, who could not be induced to take any violent measures to the prejudice of the Romans, notwithstanding all these aggravations. In a word, he did nothing else than lament his misfortunes, and form the resolution of submitting to them with all the fortitude in his power.

His two sons engage the Romans. However, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the sons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military skill and courage, thought they were bound in honour to have recourse to arms: wherefore they mustered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The battle continued the whole day, and the young princes sustained very little loss: a proof that their conduct was equal to their courage.

He retires with his family into Cilicia. Though the issue of this day's contest was greatly in favour of Antiochus, yet he still held his former resolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this resolute determination, arising from a principle of integrity, and a sense of conscious innocence, afflicted his soldiers in the highest degree: they were almost abandoned to despair, on observing the distress of the king; and dreaded the thought of deserting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in such affliction. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicus, it became them to consult their own security: wherefore they took with them eight select friends, and all of them being well mounted, they crossed the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vologeses, king of Parthia: and, on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, not by treating them as vagabonds, but with all those marks of distinction and respect which their high birth and rank demanded.

He is generously treated by Vespasian. No sooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarsus, in Cilicia, than Cefennius dispatched an officer to apprehend him, and conduct him a prisoner to Rome: but Vespasian, having too much generosity to permit a sovereign prince to be treated in so ignominious a manner, determined rather to shew a regard to the former friendship that had subsisted between himself and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore sent orders that his chains should be taken off; that his journey to Rome should be delayed; and that he should remain some time at Lacedæmon; at which last place he furnished him with an ample supply of money, that

he might be enabled to support the dignity of his rank.

The brothers, who had been in great fear and anxiety on the account of their father, were not only relieved from their apprehensions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus, but likewise entertained hopes that they might be themselves reconciled to the emperor; and in these hopes they were encouraged by the intercession of Vologeses, who solicited the permission of Vespasian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reason to be uneasy in their present situation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and soon after their arrival their father was conducted thither; and they were all entertained in a manner expressive of the highest esteem and regard.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and resided (as hath been heretofore observed) near the river Tanais, and the lake of Mæotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waste the country of Media. Now this king was master of the only passage into that country; and it is said that Alexander had so contrived, that this passage should be shut up with iron gates: but the passage being now laid open, and no suspicion arising of what would happen, no resistance could be made, and the invaders took possession of the place, where, in cattle and other effects, they possessed themselves of immense property. This incursion so terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his possessions to the mercy of the invaders, and flying for refuge among the rocks, he at length redeemed his wife and concubines at the expence of a hundred talents.

The enemy now continued to press forward, ravaging and destroying through the whole course of their progress, without meeting with any opposition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In consequence of this, Tiridates advanced and attacked them, and had a narrow escape from being taken prisoner; for, during the battle, the noose of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were just on the point of drawing him away, when he had the presence of mind to cut the rope with his sword, by which he effected his escape. The invaders met with such success in this engagement, that they became more violent and blood-thirsty than before; and were so encouraged in their depredations, that destruction marked their steps: they depopulated the country, and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of prisoners.

The sons, at the instance of Vologeses, king of Parthia, are well received at Rome.

The Scythians invade Media, whence they carry off immense property.

Tiridates king of Armenia opposes them, and narrowly escapes being taken prisoner.



## C H A P. XXVI.

*MASSADA governed by ELEAZAR. The JEWS never so abandoned as at this Period. Account of the SICARII, JOHN, SIMON, and the ZEALOTS. Description of the natural and artificial Advantages of MASSADA. Operations of SILVA against it. The JEWS resolve not to survive their Laws and Liberties, and accordingly destroy each other.*

*Massada, a receptacle for robbers and out-throws, governed by Eleazar.*

THE death of Bassus, which happened in Judæa, made room for the advancement of Flavius Silva, who succeeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due subjection, one castle only excepted, he collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. The name of this castle was Massada, and it was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii, who had obtained possession of this fortress. Eleazar was the lineal descendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius discharged the office of censor in Judæa, distinguished himself by opposing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

*A summary account of the Sicarii.*

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all those who exhibited any proofs of their friendship to the Romans; and, in fact, they treated them like enemies: for they robbed them of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houses. Their argument was, that those men were to be considered as strangers and enemies, who would rather resign their liberties than contend for them, and chose a state of slavery rather than freedom, though freedom is a blessing above all price: they said that persons of such a disposition had better join the Romans without any farther ceremony. This, however, was a kind of language used only to disguise the barbarity and avariciousness of their dispositions; as evidently appeared in the sequel: for when those very men, who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cause against the Romans, they were treated even with more severity than before; particularly those among them who had courage and resolution to oppose the hypocrisy and base practices of the Sicarii.

*Abandoned disposition of the Jews.*

Since the commencement of the world, there never was a period when the Jews were so totally given up to all kinds of vice as at present. They had practised such variety of wickedness, that invention itself was lost in the contrivance of new crimes. Corruption stalked at large, both in public and private: there appeared to be a harmony of evil; and if there was any emulation, it was who should be guilty of the most atrocious acts of iniquity. Persons in power op-

pressed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This violent and licentious course of proceeding was first encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the mischief that lay within their power, lost no opportunity, either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of desperation. However, all that they did, or caused to be done, fell far short of the outrageous cruelties of John of Gischala, who ordered many of the citizens to be put to death, as if they had been enemies, merely because they recommended such modes of proceeding as would tend to the advantage of the public: in fact, he committed every possible outrage on his unhappy countrymen. And, indeed, what better could be expected from a man who made no scruple of conscience of affronting even the Deity? And this he did by the use of meats that were forbidden; by abandoning the laws and customs of our ancestors; and by renouncing the purity of his original profession. It is, therefore, not in the least surprising that a man who could despise his God, should behave with inhumanity to his neighbours.

*John of Gischala.*

Simon, the son of Gioras, was not less distinguished by every species of vice that could disgrace the name of a man: he inflicted the most horrid barbarities on those very persons who had raised him to power; who, having been born freemen, submitted to the ignominy of becoming his slaves. In a word, the men above-mentioned were lost to all those affections arising from the ties of consanguinity, and dead to every sentiment of friendship. Their conduct was the most cruel to those who had a prior right to their compassion; and they disdained to exercise their tyranny over strangers, while they had, what they thought, a more agreeable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their own friends and countrymen. Such was the unfeeling disposition of their minds.

*Simon, son of Gioras.*

Nor were the crimes of the Idumæans much less atrocious. These execrable villains assassinated the high-priests, in order, as far as lay in their power, to strike at the very root of religion: they likewise confounded all good management in the city, destroyed even the appearance of justice and civil government, and established tyranny and oppression in their stead. They who were called Zealots were particularly active in promoting the confusions above mentioned; and, indeed, their conduct gave them a just title to their name; for they were the most violent patrons and promoters of vice that ever existed, at the same time pretending to the utmost degree of virtue, and the most consummate piety. In fact, they imposed on all that listened to their doctrines, making evil appear as good, and good as evil.

*Inhumanity of the Idumæans.*

*The Zealots.*

In

Their merit-  
ed punishment

In the end, however, the righteous vengeance of Heaven overtook and punished their crimes; for they suffered every calamity that human nature is capable of enduring; and these calamities continued during the whole course of their lives. It may possibly be said, that the punishment they sustained was inadequate to the crimes they had committed; and that no punishment could equal their offences: but as I do not intend to enter into the history of those unhappy wretches who suffered by the vices of these monsters of iniquity, I shall here resume the thread of my narrative.

Silva, the Ro-  
man general,  
besieges Mas-  
sada.

The Roman general Silva now marched to lay siege to Massada, in which was a garrison of the Sicarii, commanded by Eleazar, who was the chief of the people bearing that name. Silva soon possessed himself of the adjacent country, and with very little difficulty: he then disposed of his troops in the most commodious manner possible, and ran up a wall round the castle, at once to secure his soldiers, and to prevent the escape of the enemy. He now looked out for a place the most convenient for the station of his camp, which he found to be on the spot where the adjacent mountain communicated with the rock on which the castle stood. One great inconvenience now attended Silva; for the provisions with which his army was supplied by the Jews were brought from a very great distance; and, as there was no fountain near the place, the procuring of water was likewise attended with very great difficulty.

Its situation,  
state, strength,  
and advan-  
tages, by art  
and nature.

As soon as the above-mentioned disposition of affairs had taken place, Silva prepared to commence the siege, which, as will appear from the situation of the castle, was likely to cost much time, and to be attended with great difficulty. This castle is situated on a large and high rock, which is surrounded by deep and craggy precipices. They who stand at the top cannot see the bottom, on account of the higher rocks hanging over those that are beneath. Even the beasts cannot climb this rock, so difficult is the access, except by two passages, one of which is from the east side, from the lake Asphaltitis; and the other from the west side; the former being much more dangerous than the latter. One of these passages bears the name of the Snake, from the number of turnings that there are in the ascent; for in many parts of it the stones so intersect each other, that passengers are obliged to go backwards and forwards to pass them: and the road is so narrow that the traveller cannot keep both his feet on the ground at the same time. Exclusive of all this, one false step would plunge a man to the bottom of a most horrid precipice. This road is deemed thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and on this eminence there is a plain, on which the high-priest Jonathan caused a castle to be built, to which he gave the name of Massada; and claimed the honour of being the founder of this castle, which was afterwards forti-

No. 29.

fied and adorned, with immense labour, and at a large expence, by Herod the Great: a wall being also built round it by Herod, eight cubits in breadth and twelve in height, with white stones of considerable value. Herod likewise caused seven and twenty turrets, each of fifty cubits high, to be erected; and made a communication between these turrets and the buildings on the interior side of the wall. The nature of the soil of the plain being found to be extremely rich, Herod gave orders that it should be well cultivated, with a view that those who might in future times have occasion to take refuge in the castle, might be certain of being supplied with the necessaries of life. Within the limits of the castle he caused a sumptuous and magnificent palace to be erected for his own accommodation. The entrance of this palace was situated so as to front the north-west: the walls of it were of great strength, and remarkably high; and at each of the four corners was a tower, of the height of sixty cubits. The variety, decorations, ornaments, richness, and splendor of the several apartments, baths, and galleries, exceed all description. The whole was supported with pillars, each of one entire stone, and so disposed as to give proof of the strength of the structure, and the judgment of the architect. The pavement and the walls were diversified with stones of a variety of colours. A great number of large cisterns, hewed out of the rock, for the preservation of water, were dispersed in the different quarters of the palace to the castle, which was quite invisible from the outside; and, as hath been heretofore observed, the other passage was rendered altogether impassable: and with regard to the western passage, it was totally blocked up by a tower that was erected in the narrowest part of it, at about the distance of a thousand cubits from the castle. This will serve to shew how strongly the place was fortified by art as well as nature; and how difficult the conquest of it must have been, even with the slightest opposition.

Thus fortified, this castle had the appearance of being proof not only against force, but was unlikely to be subdued by famine; for, when it was surprised by Eleazar and the Sicarii, there were found in it great treasures of corn, wine, oil, pulse, dates, &c. equal to the consumption of many years; and these articles were as fresh as if they had been but newly deposited, though they had been treasured up a hundred years. Perhaps this circumstance might be owing to the extreme purity and salubrious quality of the air in so elevated a situation. Agreeable to the king's order, there was likewise laid up a magazine of various kinds of arms for the accommodation of ten thousand men, and also an immense quantity of unwrought iron, brass, lead, and other articles, which, it is presumed, were intended for some capital enterprise.

Tradition has handed down to us a report that Herod provided this castle for a retreat, in case of necessity, from two

Its ample  
stores of pro-  
vision and  
arms.

Supposed  
cause of He-  
rod's jealousy.  
evils.



ing Maffada  
so strongly.

evils which he thought threatened him: the one was, that his subjects might depose him, and restore the Asinonæan family to the throne: but the other was an affair of which there was much greater danger; for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had formed a design against the life of Herod, of which she made little secret. In several conversations which she had with Antony on this subject, she avowed her design, and repeatedly urged him to give private orders for the destruction of Herod, and to permit her to govern the Jews in his stead, in the character of queen. Considering the passion that Antony entertained for Cleopatra, it is astonishing that he denied her request. Be this as it may, however, Herod, apprehensive of the danger, fortified Maffada so strongly, that there could be scarcely a hope of conquering it; and he knew that without possession of it, the Jews could never be wholly subjected to the Romans.

Silva advances  
with his ma-  
chines, and  
prepares to  
raise a mount.

I have already observed, that the Jews were now so closely pent up within the walls of Maffada, that it was utterly impossible that they should effect an escape; whereupon Silva advanced with his machines, to the only place which he could fill up, in order to raise a mount. Beyond the tower which blocked up the western passage to the palace and castle, there was a large rock, which bore the name of Leuce: this rock was larger than that on which the castle of Maffada stood, but not so high by about three hundred cubits. Silva had no sooner taken possession of this rock, than he issued orders to his soldiers to raise a mount upon it; and they were so diligent in this business that they soon got it up to the height of two hundred cubits; but finding that it was not of sufficient strength to support the machines, they raised on it a kind of platform, composed of large stones, fifty cubits in height, and of the same breadth. On this platform they built a tower of the height of sixty cubits, which they fortified with iron. Exclusive of their common machines, they had another kind, which had been invented by Vespasian, and were afterwards improved by Titus.

The besieged  
are driven  
from the wall,  
which is da-  
maged by the  
battering  
rams.

From the tower above-mentioned the Romans assailed the besieged with such impetuous showers of stones and flights of arrows, that they were afraid to appear on the wall. In the interim Silva directed his battering rams against the wall, till at length it was damaged in some places. In consequence hereof the Sicarii instantly ran up another wall behind it, which was composed of such materials as to deaden the stroke, and sustain no kind of damage. This wall was built in the following manner. A row of large pieces of timber was mortised into another of equal size, and a space was left between them equal to the thickness of the wall. This space was filled with the earth of the nature of clay, and boards were nailed across the frame, to prevent the earth from falling. Thus

prepared, it was as strong as the wall of a house; and the more violently it was battered the stronger it became, the earth being more firmly closed by each stroke it received.

Silva finding that the battering with his machines did not produce the consequence he expected, ordered his soldiers to provide themselves with fire-brands, to destroy the works of the enemy. The new wall being hollow, and chiefly composed of timber-work, it immediately took fire, and the flames raged with the utmost violence: but the wind being at north, it drove the fire with such rapidity on the Romans, that they expected the almost instant destruction of their machines: but, just at this juncture, the wind veered to the south, and beat so violently on the wall, that the whole of it was in flames in a moment. The Romans, grateful for this providential stroke in their favour, returned to their camp, full of spirits, and with a fixed determination to attack the enemy by break of day on the following morning; and, in the mean time, to place strong guards, that their opponents might not escape in the night.

Silva sets fire  
to the wall,  
composed  
chiefly of tim-  
ber, and de-  
stroys it.

However, Eleazar had no idea of departing himself, or of permitting any of his people to evacuate the place: but as the wall was now totally consumed, and there appeared to be no longer any chance either of relief or security, it became necessary to consider how their wives and children might be most effectually preserved from the violences to be expected from the Romans, on their taking possession of the place. Having seriously reflected on this affair, Eleazar determined in his own mind that a death of glory would be greatly preferable to a life of infamy; and that the most magnanimous resolution they could form, would be to disdain the idea of surviving their liberties. His own sentiments being thus formed, he resolved to endeavour to inspire others with the same; and for that purpose he summoned a number of his friends and associates, whom he addressed to the following effect.

Eleazar pro-  
fers death to  
the being  
conquered,  
or  
made captive  
by the Ro-  
mans.

"It has been, my friends, the usual custom with the people of our nation to deny the authority of every other lord than the great Sovereign of the universe, the eternal God; and this not with particular exception to the Romans, or any other people. The period hastily advances when we should demonstrate our sincerity by our conduct: wherefore let us act like men of resolution. Till this time we have run every risk in preservation of our freedom; but we must now expect thralldom and tormenting punishments if the enemy take us alive; since we first departed from their dominion, and have been the last to resist them. This being the case, we may deem it a favour if we are permitted to choose the death we would die; a favour that has been refused to many of our people. We shall all be made slaves tomorrow, if we obtain not our liberty this night: but

His animating  
oration to his  
friends.

but this we may do in a way that our enemies cannot prevent. The utmost of their ambition is to make us prisoners; and it is in vain for us to struggle against them any longer. It is possible something effectual might have been done, if the assertors of our liberties had properly reflected on our situation: they would have seen that we could not have suffered from our enemies, and from our internal divisions; nor would our principal people have been destroyed, and our sacred city fallen a sacrifice to fire and sword, if God had not abandoned us, though we were formerly his chosen people. How happens it now that we alone, of all our people, contend for our liberties, as if we were innocent of the crimes in which we have instructed others? You may now be convinced of the vanity of your hopes, and the extremity of your disappointments. We have here a fortress that has been deemed impregnable, with a great number of arms, and ample provisions for our support: but these avail nothing, since Providence hath decreed our destruction. The wind and the fire that combined to destroy our new wall, furnish a proof of the justice of this observation: for you cannot think but that the sudden turning of this wind was intended as a punishment of the crimes of which we have been guilty towards each other. Admitting, then, that our punishment is at once just and inevitable, what remains but that we rather execute justice on ourselves, than leave it to the victorious Romans to pour down on us the vengeance of Heaven; thus acting, we should secure the honour of our wives, and protect our children from slavery. Let us copy the magnanimity of the Romans, make our own terms, and die free. But let us first set fire to the castle, and melt down our gold and silver: and thus the Romans, neither taking us prisoners, nor obtaining our treasure, will even regret the possession of the place. I advise, however, that we leave the necessities of life undestroyed; to serve as a proof that we were not driven to this procedure by famine, but maintained our first resolution of dying rather than submitting to slavery."

Different sentiments of the audience. This speech of Eleazar was received in a very different manner by his different auditors; some of whom were charmed with his proposal, and ready to execute it, deeming death an object of desire in their present situation; while others, from the tenderness of their nature, were equally terrified at the thought of destroying their friends, or becoming their own executioners. They regarded each other with looks of the utmost anxiety, while their flowing tears testified the sentiments of their minds. Eleazar was greatly chagrined at what he deemed a weakness that degraded the dignity of his plan, and might tempt those who had appeared to be determined to abandon their resolutions. He therefore pursued his plan of exhorting the people; but in a different manner: for he now discoursed on the immortality of the soul; and addressing himself particularly, and with the utmost earnestness, to those who were weeping, he spoke to the following effect:

"I find that I have been greatly mistaken in the opinion that I had formed, that brave men would rather lose their lives than their liberties. In you, at least, have I been mistaken, since you fear to die, to extricate yourselves from a calamity that is worse than death; and this too, while you are so situated that delay cannot be admitted, nor have you time to confer on your affairs. It is an opinion confirmed by all antiquity; by the sacred scriptures; by the doctrine and practice of our ancestors, and the laws and customs of our country, that death renders a man abundantly more happy than life. It is death that gives freedom to the soul, and permits it to range through eternal regions of purity and bliss. But while the soul is in conjunction with the body, it partakes of all the evils incident thereto; its powers are in a great degree suspended, as there can be no affinity between divine and mortal natures. It is true that much is effected by the secret conjunction and operation of soul and body; for the latter is but the instrument of the former. But when the soul is once discharged of the incumbrance that oppresses it, and regains its proper station, it enjoys the most unbounded liberty; a liberty that is as invisible to human eyes as the Deity himself: and the soul is likewise invisible while connected with the body. It enters us unseen, and departs in the same manner. It causes various changes in the body, though incorruptible in itself: it gives life and vigour as long as it is present, but death immediately follows its departure. The soul, however, at all times retains its immortality. When the body rests from its labours in sleep, the soul enjoys the most perfect and delightful freedom. All this evidently proves that the felicity of the soul is concentrated within itself, and that it has some kind of communication with the Deity, in the knowledge of future events. It is absurd that any man should fear death who is not averse to repose. What man in his senses would abridge any part of his eternal happiness, for the sake of a short residence in this world? The laws and institutions of our nation, my brethren, have taught us not only to despise the fear of death, but to endeavour to inspire others with the same degree of magnanimity.

"On this subject it cannot, surely, be necessary that I should refer to the practice of strangers, or I might instance the conduct of the Indian philosophers and Brachmans, who were distinguished by their wisdom and virtue. These people deemed life a burthen that must necessarily be borne; though they were anxious to be rid of the incumbrance: not because they felt any singular uneasiness, pain, or inconvenience in this life; but because they looked forward to that life of immortality in which the happiness of the blessed should be eternal. These people take a solemn farewell of their friends, and speak with pleasure of the country to which they are travelling. No one presumes to offer any objections to their design, but wishing them the perfection of happiness, send messages to their acquaintance in the other world;

Eleazar's further address to the people, and his thoughts on the immortality of the soul.

in



in the full confidence that they will be delivered. They who are about to depart, having received the necessary instructions, commit their bodies to the fire, and are consumed, amidst the applauses and acclamations of the surrounding multitude: for among these people it is customary for friends to follow each other to death with more pleasure than they would attend them on a common journey; rejoicing that they are about to enter on a state of eternal bliss, and only commiserating the fate of those who are to remain in this world.

“Ought not we then to blush at the idea of being excelled by the Indians in an affair of such great consequence, and of scandalizing the laws and religion of our ancestors by the pusillanimity of our dispositions? Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that we had been otherwise instructed from our infancy, and had been taught to think the present life the supreme blessing, and death the greatest misfortune of human nature; yet, one would imagine that the necessity of the case, and the will of Heaven would determine us how to act on this occasion. It appears that the ordinations of a Divine Providence have decreed that we should be now punished with the loss of life, for our former abuse of it; and it is not to the benevolence of the Romans, nor to our own valour, that we are to ascribe our being preserved to the present moment. It appeared that the Romans conquered us; but this circumstance evidently arose from the intervention of a superior power. The Romans do not appear to have interfered in the least in that destructive massacre at Casarea, when the citizens of that place destroyed every man, woman and child of the Jews on the sabbath-day, though there were no grounds to think that a conspiracy subsisted, nor was any resistance made. The Romans have never considered the Jews as their enemies, but when they departed from their obedience. It may be said that an enmity subsisted between the citizens of Casarea and the Jews: and that the former chose to revenge themselves in the manner above-mentioned. Allowing this, how are we to account for the Scythopolitans joining the Greeks against us, rather than the Romans who were then our friends; in consequence whereof the Scythopolitans and their families were utterly destroyed? This, in fact, was the manner in which they expressed their gratitude; we had heretofore rescued them from distress, and they reduced us to a similar extremity.

“To enumerate many particular instances would be tedious. You are not ignorant that we have been better treated by the Romans, than we have been by the inhabitants of any one city in Syria. But let me mention the horrid massacre at Damascus, where no less than ten thousand Jews, with their wives and children, were put to death, without even the shadow of a pretence for such an inhuman sacrifice: and it is calculated that at least sixty thousand Jews were destroyed in Egypt. You may argue that, in a foreign country, where they had no friends to support them, this is not to be wondered at. Let us therefore consider the situation of ourselves at home. We have

not wanted courage to assert our liberties in opposition to the Romans; we have had a sufficient supply of men and arms; our cities and fortresses were strong; and we were in all respects so provided as to inspire us with reasonable hopes of success. But what has been the issue, what are the fruits of all our preparations, but confusion and destruction? We have lost all the mighty stores of which we had boasted, and our loss has contributed only to aggrandize the enemy.

“Happy indeed are those men who fell gloriously, with their swords in their hands, gallantly fighting in defence of those liberties which they lost but with their lives: Happy indeed! in comparison with us who survive, to be disposed of as our different fates shall determine; some to be tortured; others burnt; others imprisoned; some to be reserved for public spectacles; some for the combat; others to be whipped; and others again devoured by wild beasts. What man of a common spirit can refuse to submit to death, rather than endure life under such an accumulated load of misery! Yet there are among us those who are more contemptibly miserable than all the rest; which are those that behold the approach of wretchedness in such a variety of forms, yet have not the courage to be their own executioners.

“I beseech, you, my friends, to recollect yourselves for a moment. Reflect on the fate of your distinguished metropolis; your walls, fortifications, castles and towers; your large magazines and treasures, and your immense armies. Your sacred temple is likewise destroyed, which you called the house of God. The whole is entirely demolished, nothing remaining but the ruins, which serve as a camp for the conquerors; while a few ancient men lament the destruction of the temple, and some unfortunate women wait upon the soldiers.

“After all that I have said, will any one who is not destitute of the common spirit of a man wish to view the rising of another sun? Nay, would he wish it, even if he might live in safety? Can any one have so little regard to his country; so mean, so contracted a soul, as not to regret that he has survived to behold this fatal day? Happy would it have been for us if we had been all sacrificed, rather than to have witnessed this sacrilegious destruction; and to have beheld Jerusalem become a pile of ruins. While hope remained, however, our courage did not fail, and we despaired not of a happy change in our affairs. But as we have now no farther reason to expect so auspicious a circumstance, and as we are urged by an invincible necessity to the step we ought now to take, it becomes us to have some regard to our wives, our children, and ourselves; and in the plan of our proceeding we should be expeditious, while the means are yet in our power. All men are equally destined to death; and the same fate attends the coward as the brave. Can we think of submitting to the indignity of slavery; can we behold our wives dishonoured, and our children enslaved? Nature has not made this necessary; and if the evil arises, it must be from the force of cowardice, and the fear

fear of dying when we have it in our power. We had courage to abandon the Romans; to defy those who called themselves our masters; to reject their offered terms of quarter and pardon, and to refuse an indemnity when they besought us to accept of it. Will any one think that these circumstances will be forgotten, if they should take us prisoners?

"It is a melancholy reflection to consider the situation of our old people or our youth when we are subjected: the former will die beneath their torments, and the latter languish under them while strength remains. The husband must expect to be an eye-witness of the dishonour of his wife, and the parent to behold his children begging for relief from their chains. Yet, while freedom is our own, and we are in possession of our swords, let us make a determined use of them to preserve our liberties. Let us die freemen gloriously surrounded by our wives and children. This event is wished for even by themselves: our laws require the sacrifice; and the decrees of Providence have rendered it necessary. Expedition, in this case, must be used: and we shall obtain eternal renown by snatching the prize from the hands of our enemies, and leaving them nothing to triumph over but the bodies of those who dared to be their own executioners."

Reflections on their desperate and sanguinary determination.

Thus far had Eleazar spoken, and would have proceeded, but that the people interrupted him with the warmest expressions of their readiness to adopt the plan he had recommended, each being ambitious to excel the other in giving this distinguishing proof of his wisdom and courage: thus passionately were these people devoted to the destruction of themselves and their families! It was very extraordinary that, when they came to give proof of their resolution, not a man of them failed in the arduous trial. They retained their kindest affections for each other to the last moment, conceiving that they could not render a more acceptable office, or give a more perfect proof of their regard. While they embraced their wives and children for the last time, they wept over, and stabbed them in the same moment; rejoicing, however, that this work was not left to be performed by their enemies. They considered the necessity of the action as their excuse, and reflected that they only destroyed their dearest friends to prevent their falling by the hands of the Romans. In a word, there was not one man who wanted the necessary courage on the occasion, and they killed their dearest friends and relations without distinction: and they thought the destruction of their wives and children far preferable to the evils to which they would otherwise be exposed.

Method of carrying their design into execution with respect to their whole number.

They who had been the principal agents in the slaughter above-mentioned, penetrated as they were with grief for the necessity that had occasioned it, resolved not to survive those they had slain, and immediately collecting all their effects together, they set them on fire. This being done, they cast lots for the selection of ten men out of their number

No. 29.

to destroy the rest: and these being chosen, the devoted victims embraced the bodies of their deceased friends, and then ranging themselves near them, cheerfully resigned themselves to the hands of the executioners. When these ten men had discharged the disagreeable task they had undertaken, they again cast lots which of the ten should kill the other nine, having previously agreed that the man to whose lot it might fall, should sacrifice himself on the bodies of his companions; so great was the trust that these people reposed in each other. The nine devoted victims died with the same resolution as their brethren had done; and the surviving man, having surveyed the bodies, and found that they were all absolutely dead, threw himself on his sword, among his companions, but not till he had first set fire to the palace.

This melancholy scene, which happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, was now concluded; and the deceased had imagined that not a single Jew would fall into the hands of the Romans: but it afterwards appeared that an old woman, and another woman who was related to Eleazar, together with five children, had escaped the general massacre, by concealing themselves in a common sewer. Including women and children, no less than nine hundred and sixty persons were slain on this occasion.

An old woman, related to Eleazar, and five children, escape the massacre.

On the dawn of the following morning the Romans prepared their scaling ladders, in order to make an attack: but they were astonished in the highest degree on not hearing any noise but the crackling of the flames, and were totally at a loss what conjecture to form. On this they gave a loud shout (such as is customary when a battery is played off), in expectation of receiving an answer. This noise alarmed the women in their place of retreat, who, immediately coming out, related the truth to the Romans, as it really had happened. The story, however, appeared so extraordinary, that they could not give credit to it: but they exerted themselves in extinguishing the fire; and being employed in this service till they came to the palace, there they found the bodies of the deceased lying in heaps. Far, however, from exulting in the triumph of joy that might have been expected from enemies, they united to admire the steady virtue and dignity of mind with which the Jews had been inspired, and wondered at that generous contempt of death by which such numbers had been bound in one solemn compact.

Astonishment of the Romans, on finding the Jews had slain each other, and the palace beset with dead bodies.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*The JEWS arraign the SICARII as the Authors of their Misfortunes. Their Obstinate and Aversion to the Emperor's Authority.*

WHEN the Roman general Silva had made a complete conquest of Mas-

Silva proceeds to Caesarea.

7 C

sada,



sada, he settled a garrison in the place, and then proceeded with his army to Cæsarea, leaving the country behind him in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. By this time the continuance and expence of the war had so reduced and broken the spirits of the Jews of Judæa, that no such thing as opposition was to be heard of in all that district: yet the consequence of the war was felt as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where a number of the Jews were put to death. It may not be improper to relate something respecting this affair.

*Pernicious principles of the Sicarii.*

Numbers of the factious Sicarii had fled for refuge to Alexandria, where their restless dispositions would not permit them to live at ease; but they were continually inciting the citizens to acts of disobedience, by advancing a number of arguments in defence of universal liberty, and decrying the doctrine of submission. They asserted that the Romans were by no means their superiors, and that they would own no lord but the Sovereign of the universe. When any persons, even the most respectable, of their own profession, opposed their arguments, they did it at the hazard of their lives. Some of these they murdered; and others they induced to abandon their allegiance; while a third sort were tempted so to do, but in vain. These practices were carried to such a length, that the principal men among them were afraid to make an example of them; but they summoned a general meeting of the Jews, in which they arraigned the rash and obstinate conduct of the Sicarii, whom they represented as the great source of all their calamities. "What good purpose would be answered (said they) by obliging them to fly, with a view to secure themselves? It would be no advantage to them, and an injury to us; for the moment the Romans should be informed of such a design, they would immediately attack every one without distinction; so that the innocent would be involved in the punishment due to the guilty." For these reasons, the Jews were advised not to hold any correspondence with the Sicarii; but to consult their own safety by surrendering those villains to the Romans.

*The moderate Jews attack and take great numbers of them prisoners, who suffer the greatest torments with astonishing perseverance, rather than acknowledge obedience to Cæsar.*

This representation so opened the eyes of the Jews to their own danger, that they made an instant attack on the Sicarii, six hundred of whom they made prisoners; while the rest fled to Egypt, Thebes, and the adjacent country; but they were soon taken and brought back; on which occasion they gave evident proofs of their obstinate resolution. They bore the severest torments, rather than acknowledge the authority of the emperor; nor did any of them hesitate on the part they were to act; but they all combined in sentiment with such a degree of firmness, as if they had not felt the tortures that were inflicted on them: but the most incredible part of the story is, that the boys, and even mere children, sustained their sufferings like the older people: and still not one of these people would acknowledge the authority of the emperor, notwithstanding the

extremity of sufferings they endured: for instead of feeling their torments, they appeared to despise them.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*PTOLEMY permits the JEWS to build a Temple, and gives them a Spot of Ground for the Purpose. The Temple afterwards rifled and shut up.*

ALEXANDRIA was at this time under the government of Ptolemy, who sent early intelligence to the emperor of the commotion above-mentioned; and the emperor, being well apprised of the seditious temper of the Jews, thought it adviseable to prevent their meetings and conferences, lest they should be divided into parties, and factions should ensue; wherefore he commanded Ptolemy to destroy the temple of the Jews in the city of Onion in Egypt; of which temple and its founder I shall now speak.

*Lupus ordered by Vespasian to destroy the Jewish temple in Egypt.*

At the period of the war betwixt Antiochus, king of Syria, and the Jews at Jerusalem, Onias the son of Simon, one of the high-priests, was obliged to quit that city; whereupon he retired to Alexandria, where Ptolemy, king of Egypt, treated him in a friendly manner; partly on account of his being an enemy to Antiochus, and partly in reference to the following contract which was made between them. Onias made one request to Ptolemy, and engaged that, on condition he would comply with it, he would bring over all the Jews to his interest. Ptolemy promised his concurrence to the utmost of his power; on which Onias named his request, which was, that the Jews might be permitted to build a temple in some part of Egypt; where they might worship God, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion: and Onias displayed the advantages that would thence arise; that Antiochus would become still more obnoxious to the Jews, and Ptolemy altogether their favourite; adding, that immense numbers, tempted by the opportunity of enjoying their religious rights undisturbed, would put themselves under the protection of the latter.

*Onias solicited Ptolemy to permit the Jews to build another temple there.*

This proposal proving agreeable to Ptolemy, he presented the Jews with a piece of ground which was well adapted for their intended design, situated in the district of Heliopolis, and one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. On this spot Onias caused a castle to be erected, and when that was finished, he built a temple; not indeed to be compared with that at Jerusalem; though it had a tower on the same plan, sixty cubits high, and was composed of stones of an immense size. It had likewise an altar built in the same form as that at Jerusalem, and adorned with a number of valuable things which had been presented thereto; it is true that there was no candlestick; but instead thereof there was a golden lamp of amazing brightness, which hung before the altar, suspended

*Ptolemy consented, and gives them a spot of ground for the purpose.*

pended by a chain of gold. A wall of brick was built round this temple, the gates of which were of stone. And a large income in land and money was appropriated to its support, that the service of God might be celebrated in the most solemn and distinguished manner. Now in this procedure Onias was inspired not by mere motives of religion, or unaffected goodness of heart; but animated, in a great degree, by the enmity he bore to the Jews of Jerusalem, who had obliged him to quit that place. By the erection of this temple he hoped to entice to him many of those Jews who had abandoned him; and he was encouraged by reflecting on a prediction of the prophet Isaiah, respecting a temple to be erected in future time in Egypt by a Jew; and on another prophecy of nine hundred and seventy years old, which would well bear a similar interpretation.

*Lupus, after plundering the temple of several valuable, shuts it up; and Paulinus afterwards rifles it, fastens the doors and forbids all worship therein.*

Therein, but threatening to punish the priests in the most exemplary manner, if they concealed a single article. This being done, he abolished all divine worship, made fast the doors, and would not permit any person to repair thither on account of religion. This event happened at the end of three hundred and thirty three years after the temple was first built.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*JONATHAN, an Enthusiast, seduces a Number of People to follow him. The whole Party routed, and most of them taken Prisoners. Three Thousand rich JEWS are put to Death. JOSEPHUS taken Prisoner. VESPASIAN admits his Innocence, and that of his Companions. JONATHAN burnt alive, having been first whipped. Miserable End of CATULLUS.*

*Fresh commotions in Cyrene by the Sicarii, under Jonathan, theiringleader.*

THE whole country of Cyrene now felt the ill effects of the singular insolence of the Sicarii, of which the following is a striking instance. An enthusiastic weaver, named Jonathan, a man of equal wickedness and cunning, made his escape into that country. This man enticed great numbers of weak and credulous people to follow him into the woods and deserts, pretending that he would shew them visions and wonderful prodigies; and many of the vulgar gave credit to the imposition: but several of the most eminent Jews of Cyrene, hearing

of the affair, traced it to its source, and having learnt what route the deluded people had taken, and the real state of the case, they sent immediate intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of the Pentapolis Lybia. Hereupon the governor dispatched a body of cavalry and infantry, who intercepted them, and, as they were unarmed, made an easy conquest of them. Most of them were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Catullus; but considerable numbers were killed on the spot.

*They are subdued, and many of them killed, and made prisoners.*

However, Jonathan, the seducer of these unhappy people, effected his escape. Diligent search being made after him for a considerable time, he was at length apprehended, and sent prisoner to Catullus: but he found a method of ingratiating himself with the governor, and while he diverted the storm from falling on his own head, furnished the other with a pretence to direct it another way. This was to charge the richest Jews of the place with being the contrivers and promoters of the plot. Catullus was charmed with this scheme, however ill-founded, and reflected on it till he had in a manner declared war against the Jews in his own mind. What aggravated the wickedness of this avaricious governor was, that he not only pretended to believe the calumny, against the convictions of reason and common sense, but likewise excited the Sicarii to join their endeavours for effecting the ruin of the innocent people. There was one Alexander, a Jew, to whom Catullus had long been a determined enemy; and having instructed false witnesses to accuse this man and his wife Berenice, they were put to death. These were the first sufferers by this scheme of iniquity: but soon afterwards no less than three thousand persons shared a similar fate, at one time, through the base arts of perjury; all their crime being that they were men of character and fortune. Catullus left their estates as a forfeit to the empire, which he thought would secure, if not justify him, in appropriating their ready money to his own use.

*The rich Jews accused before Catullus by false witnesses, and 3000 put to death.*

Catullus, being now apprehensive that the capital Jews in other parts might detect and reveal the vile plot of which he had been guilty, instructed Jonathan, and some other prisoners, to exhibit articles of complaint against such of the Jews of Rome and Alexandria, as were most distinguished for their unblemished reputation.

*Base policy of Catullus, who causes Josephus to be falsely accused, but, his innocence being proved, he is acquitted.*

Among the persons thus accused was Josephus, the writer of this history. Catullus now repaired to Rome, taking with him, in chains, Jonathan and the rest of his prisoners. He entertained no doubt but that all inquiry was at an end, and that every thing he had asserted would obtain full credit: but the event of the affair proved that his contrivance had not succeeded as he could have wished: for Vespasian, entertaining great suspicion, inquired diligently into the circumstances of the case, in which he was assisted by Titus, who advised him to declare the innocence of Josephus, and the other persons accused.

*This*



Jonathan severely, but deservedly punished.

This was accordingly done, and they were set at liberty; while orders were given that Jonathan should be whipped, and then burnt alive; and this sentence was executed in its utmost rigour.

Catullus miserably cut off by a complication of terrible diseases in body and mind.

Vespasian and Titus were so merciful to Catullus, that, for the present, they permitted him to escape unpunished: but soon after this event he was attacked with a variety of diseases. His limbs were filled with pain, and his bowels with tormenting gripes: but the aggravated horrors of his mind greatly exceeded his bodily sufferings. He was haunted by the ghosts of those he had murdered, beheld their apparitions, and heard their outcries. He would frequently start from his bed, and shriek out, as if he were burnt in the fire, or

tortured on the rack. His torments increased, till at length his bowels putrified, and fell from his body. Thus ended the life of this wicked man, who fell an exemplary sacrifice to the rigour of divine vengeance.

Thus concludes this history of the Wars of the Jews and Romans, which I have endeavoured to execute in a candid and faithful manner, for the information of those who chuse to be acquainted with so interesting a series of events. The reader must judge how far I have succeeded as to the manner in which I have conducted the narrative: but as to the truth of the relation, I solemnly declare that I have, to the best of my abilities, most rigidly adhered thereto, in every page of the preceding work.

Conclusion of this history, with the author's submission to the judgment of the reader.

# T H E H I S T O R Y O F T H E MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.

WRITTEN BY

F L A V I U S J O S E P H U S.

Prefatory discourse, on the power of reason.

**I**N this discourse I propose to prove that reason is the perfection of wisdom, which will be evident, if it shall appear that reason, refined by study and religion, can conquer the passions: I therefore advise my readers to be assiduous in the attainment of wisdom. Reason is the foundation of knowledge, and when we say a man excels therein, we insinuate that he possesses prudence, the first and most extensive of the virtues. Reason may combat and restrain the disposition to gluttony and excess, and the indulgence of all those lascivious appetites which are opposed to temperance: it may correct that depravity of our nature, and those base inclinations which prevent the love and practice of justice: finally, it may tend to subdue the passions of fear, grief, anger, and all those impulses that enervate the mind, and stand in contradiction to that steadiness of

temper called fortitude, which is distinguished as the fourth cardinal virtue.

It may be said that common experience will easily confute those who ascribe to reason all that power for which I argue; since, if it had this dominion over the passions, its power would not be less over ignorance and forgetfulness, which is far from being the case. To this I answer, that this is an idle objection, founded in a mistake of the question: for when I say that the passions are subjectible to reason, I am to be understood of such natural defects as are in opposition to fortitude, temperance, and justice, all which are distinct in their nature, and appertain to the sensitive soul; but do not belong to the rational soul, nor are defects peculiar to itself. Those who make the objection, mistake also the nature of this sovereignty; for it is not intended to insinuate that reason destroys the affections which it governs, (which

(which would be the case if it ruled over ignorance and forgetfulness), but that it does not tamely yield to these affections, nor permit itself to be conquered by their power.

By many arguments it might be proved that it is in the power of reason to controul the passions: but I would rather abide by the incontestable evidence of matter of fact; and appeal to the examples of persons who have distinguished themselves by offering up their lives a sacrifice to truth and virtue; among whom the most eminent are our countryman Eleazar, and the seven brethren martyred with their mother. The undoubted command of reason over the passions is rendered indubitable, by these persons bearing the most extreme tortures, and submitting to death without repining. Wherefore I will endeavour to give the praise due to the constancy of those gallant men, and that illustrious woman; and join in paying that tribute of honour which future ages will acknowledge due to their steady virtue. Their conduct has excited the admiration not only of those who were unbiaised witnesses of their sufferings, or those who have read an account of them, but of their enemies and tormentors, who were amazed at that patience and resolution, to which their own barbarity gave exercise. By this fortitude they became an expiatory sacrifice for their country, the rage of a tyrant was subdued, and their nation relieved from oppression.

I propose to pursue the following method: first, to speak of the question in debate, and then quote the instances I refer to; ascribing, as I ought, all glory to that God whose wisdom hath given us so indisputable an evidence of his truth, in the conduct of the persons whose virtues are the subject of the present essay.

Whether the passions can be controuled and governed by reason, is the question now to be resolved; and to determine this, we must define what is meant by reason, and what by passion; what variety of passions there are, and whether all, or only some kinds of passions, are subject to the power of reason. I understand by reason the faculties of the mind, improved and directed by reflection, and concluding to adhere to a life of wisdom. I mean by wisdom a knowledge of affairs divine and human, with their several foundations; which we learn by the discipline and instruction of the laws, whereby we are taught reverently to embrace truths respecting God; and to consider those respecting man as beneficial to the community. Wisdom is subdivided into four principal virtues; prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. Of these, prudence is held to be the chief, and the dominion that reason holds over the passions is principally owing to this virtue.

How far the passions are controuled by reason.

The passions are comprehended in the general sensations of pleasure and pain, each of which has its full influence on the soul; and it is again attended by other affections, which shew themselves according to the diversities of time, or other circumstances. In re-

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gard to pleasure, desire goes before, and joy follows it; and with respect to pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by sorrow: though anger cannot be included in this definition, as it is a passion compounded of pleasure and pain, as will be evident to those who mark its operations on themselves. In pleasure, which is the most various and complicated of all the passions, there appears to be included a fruitful malignity, various in its form and effects, which vitiates the mind, when it produces arrogance, envy, and strife; and affects the body, when it ends in a sordid greediness; for pleasure and pain arise from the soul and body, as branches from a common stock; and these branches respectively produce shoots and suckers, which may be denominated the inferior affections. Now it is the business of reason, like a skilful vine-dresser, to alter, transplant, correct, and prune, all these, that the vicious habits may be transformed into those of a generous nature. Reason enables us to promote virtue, by restraining those passions which lead to vice. This will be evident, by considering what weight reason hath in a case where temperance hath been obtruded. Temperance consists in a command of irregular desires, which may be effected by reason. Some of our desires are more peculiar to the soul, others to the body, and reason appears to have the dominion over them both. I conceive that when our appetites strongly tempt us to taste various fish and fowl, and other delicacies which are forbidden by our law, and we refrain from so doing, because we would not violate our duty, it is a convincing proof of the power that reason has over the passions, which can thus subject these inferior desires, and prevent the craving appetite after those things which have been forbidden by the divine command.

This, however, I consider as nothing in comparison to those raging desires of the soul which are inspired by lust and beauty; yet Joseph has acquired immortal honour, by the absolute subduing of these when he was invited to the gratification of them; and prompted by all the heat of youth to the indulgence. But certainly reason can and ought to do more than assuage the most violent passions towards the other sex: since it is evident that our inclinations themselves are under its command; otherwise there would be an absurdity in the injunction which forbids us to "covet our neighbour's wife, or any thing else that is his."

It is evident, then, that when the law commands us not to desire at all, it implies the possibility of reason conquering all our desires. This is the case not only with respect to those things that oppose the virtue of temperance, but likewise that of justice. How otherwise could the gluttonous, the greedy, the sordid and selfish man be reformed? As masters now stand, if a man conducts himself according to the rules of our law, though his disposition be ever so covetous, he is compelled to lend to the poor without interest, and to forgive the debt in the year of jubilee; and he is constrained not to reap the fruits



fruits of his field or vineyard in the sabbatical year, though he be ever so frugal.

I could produce many other instances tending to prove that our passions are governed by reason. In some instances, the law controuls our natural affections: it forbids us to betray the cause of truth and virtue for the sake of our parents; commands us to punish our wives when they transgress; to make examples of our children when they are guilty of faults, and to reprove the vices of our friends. This truth will be more evident by considering that reason, under the guidance of the law, destroys our hatred to our enemies; for it forbids our cutting down their fruit-trees, enjoins us to restore what they have lost, and to help even their beasts when lying under their burdens.

Signal instances of the government of reason.

In the case of Jacob.

Reason rules over even the violent passions of ambition, vain glory, and envy; the considerate mind subdues and expels these passions, as it does likewise that of anger, though less controulable than all others. This is evident in the case of Jacob, our sagacious progenitor, who reprobated the conduct of his sons Simeon and Levi, for destroying the whole race of the Sichemites, in the following words: "Curled be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel;" which words plainly intimate that his anger was superseded by reason.

When man was first created by God, he was furnished with powers of reflection and free will; and in his nature were implanted various passions and inclinations, over which the soul was appointed to rule supreme, and govern the sensual appetites. This being done, God gave our law to man, as a guide to conduct himself by the rules of temperance, justice, and virtue.

It is strange that it should be said that reason is insufficient to govern the passions, because it cannot be asserted that forgetfulness and ignorance are under its dominion. I have observed the absurdity of this exception; since it appears that the power of reason is not over the intellectual, but the sensitive faculties of the soul. Nor do I pretend that its power over these is such as to exterminate, but only to regulate our desires. It is impossible for any man to root out the passion of anger; but reason will supply him with such remedies against it, as may prevent his being a slave to its violence. It is not to be thought that reason should annihilate all evil inclinations; but it will assist us in the conflict, and enable us to conquer our passions. The business of reason is not to change, but to assist nature; to act in her aid, not to her destruction.

In the example of David.

It may be proper to illustrate this matter in the example of David. We are told that after engaging the army of the Philistines a whole day, and making great slaughter among them, he retired in the evening, much fatigued, to his tent, where he was surrounded by his troops. The company refreshed themselves from the adjacent springs; but the king, though exceed-

ingly thirsty, could not be satisfied but by water fetched from the garrison of the enemy. Some of his principal attendants, eagerly bent to gratify his wishes, betook themselves to arms, and taking a pitcher, broke through the trenches of the enemy, passed their guards, found the well of Beth-lehem, and thence brought the water which the king wished to taste: but he, though almost perishing with thirst, now recollected what a crime it would be to indulge his inclination by drinking what his servants had hazarded their lives for; considering that he should, in effect, drink their blood; wherefore he restrained his inclination by his reason, and poured out the water as an oblation to God.

Thus it appears, that a mind untempered by reason may resist the most violent passions, restrain the most impetuous desires, and enable the body to bear the most excruciating pains, by a steady adherence to the laws of virtue. It is now incumbent on me to ratify my argument, by proofs, drawn from practice, of the superior power of reason. Of this our ancestors have given pregnant instances. When by the regularity of their lives, and their strict adherence to the law, they had obtained the favour of foreign princes, and particularly of Seleucus Nicanor, king of Asia, who allotted them part of his public revenues, to pay the expence of their sacrifices, and expressed his approbation of their constitution: in this favourable conjuncture, I say, it happened that some of them, by the artifices of wicked men, were reduced to severe trials, as will hereafter appear.

Force of reason and virtue

Onias being appointed to execute the office of high-priest for life, one Simon quarrelled with him; and having, to the great prejudice of our people, endeavoured to calumniate the character of this good man, whom he was unable to lessen in the esteem of his countrymen, he fled to a foreign court, with a view to betray his country. He made application to Apollonius, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, telling him, that through his great zeal for the king his master, he was come to communicate to him a circumstance which might be of the utmost advantage to his sovereign; which was, that several millions of money were concealed in the treasury at Jerusalem, not for the use of the temple, or destined for public service, but secreted by private men, and therefore of right the property of Seleucus. This tale being heard by Apollonius, he commended the zeal of the informant, and acquainted Seleucus with the affair: in consequence of which he obtained a commission to march into our country with a powerful army, and brought with him the traitor Simon.

Simon a traitor to his country.

Apollonius declared that he came on this expedition by order of the king, who had directed him to seize on all the money deposited in the treasury for the use of private men. This circumstance caused a general alarm, and the people complained of it as the highest act of injustice to lay violent hands on that property which, for its greater security,

Apollonius, governor of Syria, comes to Jerusalem with an army.

city, had been lodged in the temple, and exerted themselves to prevent his making a forcible seizure. Apollonius, however, advanced to the temple by force, where numbers of priests, women, and children, were prostrating themselves, humbly intreating Almighty God to preserve his temple from contempt and profanation.

Angels on  
horses shining  
with fiery  
brightness.

Apollonius, however, persisted in his design; and when he had entered the place with a number of armed men, and was on the point of seizing the treasure, several angels from heaven appeared, riding on horses, and dressed in bright armour, which astonished the assailants: Apollonius, in particular, fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, and lifting his hands to Heaven, besought the Jews, with tears, that they would intercede for him, that he might not be destroyed by the ministering angels. Onias, the high-priest, compassionating his case, and also fearing that the king Seleucus might attribute the death of Apollonius to the treachery of

Onias, by  
prayer, saves  
the life of Apollonius.

men, complied with his petition, and prayed for him. Thus Apollonius being saved, as by miracle, returned to the king, and gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened.

Rage of Antiochus  
against the  
Jews in general  
and several particulars.

Seleucus being dead, was succeeded by his son Antiochus, a prince of a haughty and cruel temper. Antiochus discharged Onias from the office of high-priest, which he gave to his brother Jason, on consideration of receiving an annual tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents: the king, therefore, directed that he should preside in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. This minister grew very oppressive to our people, and seduced them to various wickedness, by the introduction of foreign customs contrary to their law. He instituted Grecian games in our principal city, and detached the priests from the service of the temple. The vengeance of Heaven was the evident consequence of this impiety, by Antiochus waging war against them; for during an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, he was told that some of the people of Jerusalem had triumphed on the report of his death; on which he marched thither, made dreadful slaughter among them, and published an edict, decreeing death to those who adhered to the law of Moses, and continued the customs of their country. This decree did not produce the desired effect. Threats and punishments were equally despised: the women were thrown headlong from the walls of the city, for circumcising their children; yet they still continued the practice, though they knew the inevitable consequence. The king, perceiving that his decrees were despised, attended personally, and compelled them to eat food prohibited by the law, and in his presence to abjure the Jewish religion.

His cruel  
treatment of  
the Jews.

About this period it happened that the tyrant Antiochus, being seated in state, attended by his counsellors and gover-

nors, and protected by an armed guard, with his speech to Eleazar, commanded many Jews who were brought before him to eat swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols; and those who refused were instantly tortured, and killed in his presence. Many had undergone this inhuman treatment, when a reverend old man, named Eleazar, was brought before the king. This man was an eminent citizen, by profession a lawyer, of the family of the priests, and much esteemed by many of the friends of Antiochus, on account of his age and character. When Antiochus beheld him, he addressed him to the following effect: "I advise thee, reverend old man, before I proceed to extremities, to save thy life by consenting to eat the flesh of swine. I respect thy age and grey hairs, and am astonished that thou shouldst persevere in the Jewish superstition, after a length of years that might have taught thee more wisdom. It is strange to me that men should be so unjust to themselves, and so ungrateful to nature, as to deny themselves the enjoyment of those innocent gratifications which her bounty has provided. For what reason shouldst thou refrain from the taste of the flesh of swine, which is the most delicate of all food, and seems to have been bestowed upon us by Heaven, in the fulness of its bounty? This conduct in others might seem to carry its excuse with it; but in a man of thy discernment, it is the height of folly to draw down a certain judgment on thy own head, by despising my authority, through an idle religious prejudice. Let me then persuade thee to open thine eyes, awake from thy dream, and free thyself from a bondage which arises from a ridiculous singularity of opinion. Shall I hope that this expostulation may urge thee to have a proper regard to thyself, by accepting that kindness which I offer in compassion to thy age? I think it ought: for though thy reason may not be convinced of the absurdity of the opinion thou hast entertained, yet thou mightest allow that, if there be a divine Being which requires the observance of thy religion, that Being has goodness sufficient to pardon the breach of his laws, when the offence does not arise from an act of the will, but is the effect of absolute and irresistible compulsion."

The king having ended his speech, Eleazar intreated permission to make a reply; which being granted, he spoke to the following purpose, in the presence of the whole assembly: "It is proper that your majesty should be informed that we who are firmly persuaded that the law given us by God should be in all things strictly obeyed, have no conception that any force or necessity can operate so strongly as to allow us to dispense with any part of this law. You have hinted that our law is not divine: admitting that to be the fact, Sir, yet it ought to be fully binding on us, in all cases whatsoever, while we think it so. Your majesty will not, therefore, suppose that if we should be base enough to defile ourselves by eating unclean meats, the crime would be deemed either trifling or pardonable. Whether the instance in

Eleazar's answer to Antiochus.



in which a man offends be greater or less, the insolence of the culprit is the same, and equal the indignity that is offered to the law. The guilt is the same, whatever the fact be. You have insinuated, Sir, that our religion is beneath the notice of philosophers and men of reason; but permit me to say that it is the perfection of all philosophy; since it instructs us in the arts of temperance, and directs us to conquer our passionate desire for sublunary pleasures. It urges us to the practice of fortitude, and recommends the chearful submission to pain. It prescribes rules of rigid justice, and commands us to worship only that Almighty Being to whom alone reverence can be due. Wherefore we must not presume to eat unclean and prohibited food; for we are convinced that God, the author of nature, paid a proper attention to it; and that the institution of this law, so far from being a grievance, was an act of benevolence; that forbidden things are prejudicial to our souls, and those only on which we are permitted to feed are useful to us. It is, therefore, the highest cruelty to compel us to a violation of our law, and to eat those things which are forbidden because they are of a noxious quality. But, Sir, you shall never thus triumph over me. I scorn the idea of violating the solemn oaths and sacred engagements by which our forefathers have bound themselves and their descendants to the observance

His amazing  
constancy.

of this law. I will not submit, though you command my eyes to be plucked out, and my body burnt. Age hath not yet so impaired my intellectual or corporeal faculties, but that my reason is still vigorous on the call of duty and religion. If you are offended with this reply, prepare your instruments of torture, and increase the heat of your furnace: but, old as I am, I will never violate the laws of God and my country to save my life. I will not desert the law in which I have been instructed; I will never abjure that temperance, the best of virtues, which teaches us to conquer our appetites: I will not disgrace my philosophy, nor bring a stain on the order of priesthood, and the study of the law. I will maintain my soul unspotted as those of my forefathers, and remain undaunted till death, under all the torments you can inflict."

He is cruelly  
whipped.

Eleazar having made this magnanimous reply to the speech of the tyrant, the soldiers dragged him to the place of execution. Having stripped off his cloaths, they bound him, and whipped him till the skin parted from his flesh; an officer on each side him, crying, "Obey the king's orders." Eleazar seemed perfectly unmoved by their severity, and stood with his eyes elevated towards heaven, till his flesh was torn from his bones, and the blood streamed to the ground. At length, unable to bear his pangs, he dropped down: but though his body was thus reduced, he appeared to possess his mind in full perfection. On this, one of the soldiers stamped on his belly, to oblige him to rise; but he bore all his sufferings with such an unexampled courage, that

even those who inflicted them were astonished at such extraordinary magnanimity of soul in so old and infirm a body.

Wherefore, some of his tormentors, though servants of the king, pitying his age, and recollecting their former acquaintance with him, addressed him as follows: "Why, Eleazar, wilt thou submit to endure such variety of torment without any cause? Consent that we put before thee clean and lawful meat, when thou mayest pretend to eat swine's flesh, agreeable to the king's order, and thus save thy life, without violating the law." To this Eleazar replied, "Let it not be said that we, who are children of Abraham, can behave in so artful and pusillanimous a manner as only to pretend to do an unbecoming action. It would be strange conduct in me, who have hitherto obeyed the laws of truth, and preserved an unspotted character, to set an evil example to others, by denying my principles in my old age; to drag out the remainder of life at the expense of dissimulation, and become an object of the public contempt for my pusillanimity." His tormentors, observing his resolution, and finding that their offered mercy had no effect on him, conducted him to the fire, on which they threw him, cruelly tormenting him, and poured scalding liquor upon his nostrils as he burnt. When his flesh was almost separated from his bones, he lifted his eyes towards heaven, and said, "O God, thou art witness to the torments I suffer, and that I prefer death by fire, in obedience to thy law, rather than a continuance of life by the transgression of it. Have mercy therefore, O God, on thy people, and let my death atone for their crimes. Accept my life for theirs, and let my blood operate as a purifying sacrifice." The good man died at the conclusion of this prayer.

He is advised  
to dissemble.  
but rejects the  
evil counsel.

His last words  
in the fire.

Surely this example will render it clear that reason, improved by religion, can conquer the passions; for this singular testimony in behalf of truth and virtue ought to be ascribed to the passions, if they were superior to reason: but since the instance above-mentioned makes it evident that, in the contest between reason and the passions, the latter were subdued, we must acknowledge that reason is the ruling principle in all men. After such a proof of pleasures resisted, and pains endured, it would argue the utmost obstinacy to pretend the contrary; since to the indulgence of pleasure, and the avoiding of pain, we are naturally prompted by our passions.

Victorious ef-  
fect of reason,  
when influ-  
enced by reli-  
gion.

In the case of Eleazar, we may compare conscience and a sense of duty to a ship tossed in a sea of passion, reason, the pilot, steering; while the man, through the storm of threats and ill treatment, is almost sunk by the swelling waves of racks and fire; but still maintains his post, nor parts from the rudder till he has brought his vessel into the harbour of immortality. No besieged city ever stood out against the attacks

A similitude  
taken from a  
ship on a  
stormy sea.

attacks of an enemy, as this venerable man defended himself by the force of reason in the cause of religion. His mind resembled a promontory rising in the waters, against which the waves of passion broke in vain.

Commenda-  
tion of Elea-  
zar.

Hail, holy priest, who didst refuse to defile thy mouth and stomach, ever destined to receive hallowed sacrifices, by eating meats offered to false gods! Hail, preacher of the law, and master of that philosophy taught us by the word of God! Hail, thou pattern for those who would vindicate the law by the sacrifice of their blood! Hail, holy Father, who hast dignified our constitution by convincing the world of the efficacy of that philosophy which descends from Heaven! Hail, wonderful old age, and righteous zeal, more strong than torture, and hotter than fire! Hail, first of conquerors, who hast triumphed over thy passions, as our father Aaron ran among the people, armed with a censor, and conquered the destroying angel, who consumed our forefathers by fire! Thus Eleazar, a descendant of that Aaron, conquered, through the rectitude of his mind, the flames that devoured his body; and though weakened by age and infirmities, gave proof even of youthful courage. Hail, venerable age and grey hairs! Hail, uprightness of life, attested by so glorious a death!

Surely the power of reason over the passions is fully proved in this instance of a man, weakened by age, enduring such trials with so great resolution: but lest it should be said that the passions and love of life are abated with the strength, I will now produce examples of young men, who, animated by the same principles, have undergone still more excruciating torments. The tyrant having in vain exerted his rage on the poor old man, ordered other Hebrew captives to be brought before him, declaring he would release them, if they agreed to eat forbidden meats; but if they refused, he would torment them more severely than he had done Eleazar.

Seven noble  
young He-  
brews and  
their mother  
brought be-  
fore Antio-  
chus, and his  
exhortation  
to them.

In consequence of this order, an ancient woman and her seven sons were brought before him. The youths were so distinguished by the comeliness of their persons and engaging behaviour, that he could not but be struck with them. Having surveyed them with pleasure, he bid them approach his throne, and thus addressed them: "I acknowledge myself, young men, to be prepossessed by your appearance; I esteem your family, which is blest with so many brothers, and have friendly intentions respecting you. I therefore advise you not to let your zeal carry you to such absurd lengths as did that of the old bigot whom you saw expire in torture. I will assure you of my friendship, if you comply with my wishes. I can equally reward those who obey, and punish those who disoblige me: rely on it, then, that you shall be promoted to places of trust and honour, if you will renounce the customs of your country, and live after the Greek fashion; rejecting the idle distinction of meats, and freely gratifying those ap-

No. 36.

petites in which youth must delight, though denied by your own superstitious practices. Reflect that if you reject my offers, I shall be compelled to punish you by a death as severe as regal vengeance can suggest. Have mercy, then, on yourselves, while I, a stranger and enemy, offer you mercy. Destroy not that youth and comeliness which I would preserve: but you must perish, except you preserve yourselves. Reflect, then, nor resolve too hastily; when I tell you that torment, and fire, and death, will be the consequence of your disobedience."

This being said, he called for the instruments of torture: and the soldiers, having produced wheels, pillies, serews, iron gaudlets, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combustibles, &c. the tyrant, hoping they would be terrified by this dreadful apparatus, spoke as follows: "Be wise in time, O youths, and dread the vengeance of an enraged king. It will be no longer criminal in you to comply: nor need you doubt but that the God you worship will consider and allow for the peculiarity of your situation." But neither could they be allured by promises, nor terrified by the instruments of vengeance. So far from being impressed by fear, their resolution increased, and the strength of their reason triumphed over the tyrant's cruelty. If only one of them had been cowardly, or unreasonably fond of life, he would have represented to them the folly of rejecting the king's advice, and preferring a cruel death to profit and promotion: he would have advised them to abandon the point of honour, and save themselves from destruction: to have pitied their old mother, and not brought her to the grave by their disobedience: he would have pleaded the justice of the king's oblation, that God could not be offended, and said that the law would not censure an involuntary act: in a word, he would have recommended a life of ease and pleasure, in preference to a violent and tormenting death.

The king en-  
deavours to  
terrify them  
into compli-  
ance.

But the courageous young men, undaunted by all the terrible apparatus before them, gave full proof that their passions were under the controul of reason; and so far from complying with the wish of the tyrant, addressed him to the following purport: "Wherefore, O king, this delay? If your view be to obtain our final resolution, know that we are already determined to meet death in any shape, rather than violate the laws of our ancestors: for, exclusive of the respect due to their example, a regard to the commands of Moses requires this obedience. Therefore tempt us not to give up our principles, nor affect to pity those you hate. The idea of death is less irksome than such an insulting compassion as offers to preserve our lives at the expence of our honour. You seem to imagine that we may be terrified by the idea of death and torture, notwithstanding the late experiment on the good old man might convince you how fruitless such practices must be on the servants of the true God. If the ancient men among us can bear such pains undauntedly, shall the patient perseverance of youth be less conspicuous? We shall copy his example, as we have

Their reply.

7 I

profited



profited by his instructions. Therefore try if it be in your power to destroy our souls, while we suffer in the cause of religion. But this is impossible: your barbarity cannot hurt us: the effect of the pains you inflict will be the rewards due to our steady patience and virtue: but the consequence to you will be dreadful: by murdering so many unoffending persons, you will become liable to eternal torments in return for the temporal you may inflict."

Torturing and  
death of the  
eldest brother.

The tyrant, incensed by this answer, resolved on the punishment of their disobedience, and instantly commanded the executioners to bring the eldest to the torture. This they did, fastening his hands, stripping him, and fixing his arms so as to receive the scourge. Finding that the stripes had no effect, he was extended on the wheel, and his bones being all either broken or dislocated, he spoke as follows: "Monster of iniquity! Enemy of God and truth! Thou treatest me not thus barbarously on account of murder, or any criminal breach of law, but merely because I have obeyed my God, and observed his commands." On this, the soldiers persuaded him to eat the king's meat, that he might be released from his torments: but he answered, "You are mistaken if you think the wheel has conquered my resolution: your most tormenting engines cannot dislodge my mind, or strangle my reason. Cut my body in pieces, and burn my flesh till my bones separate: but the utmost excess of your tortures shall convince you that it is the glory of the Hebrews to remain undaunted when suffering in support of the rights of conscience." Fire was now put under him, the pulleys stretched, and his body turned to the flames, so that the wheels and spokes of the engine were covered with blood, and flesh was torn from his body: the fire was quenched by his bowels dripping on it; and at length nothing was left but his skeleton. During these torments he uttered no complaints, but, like a true son of Abraham, sustained the torments as if they only increased his courage. He addressed his brethren, saying, "Follow my example; desert me not in this trial; nor deny that relationship in soul which is nearer than that of consanguinity. It is a glorious warfare to embark in defence of religion. Doubt not the kind providence of that heavenly Father whom we worship, who will reward us and all our nation, and punish this bloody tyrant to a degree equal to his own pride and cruelty." Having thus said, the holy youth expired.

The second  
brother.

The spectators were wondering at this proof of courage, when the second brother was brought forward by the guards, who fixed him to the pulley, drew on the iron gauntlets with sharp nails, and asked him if he would accept the terms of mercy. His answer being resolute as that of his brother, they fixed the gauntlets to his neck, tore the flesh from his muscles to the chin, and flayed the skin from his face and head. In this torment he exclaimed, "Death is welcome in any shape, when we suffer in the cause of religion. Brutish tyrant! Knowest thou not that thou punishest thyself more than me? Thy indignation, in seeing thy de-

signs defeated by my constancy in a good cause, torments thee more than my pains do me. A conscious innocence, and a retrospect on a virtuous life, are my support; while thy guilty mind is racked with the most terrible apprehensions. An incensed Deity will follow thy crimes."

This brother being dead, the third was brought forward, when several persons earnestly pressed him to eat the king's meat, and preserve his life: but he eagerly replied, "You appear to be strangers to the relation I hold to those who have died before me. We were children of the same parents; educated by the same masters, and have constantly acted on the same principles: is it then to be supposed, that in this last act of my life I will renounce my alliance to those who have never yet been obliged to blush at owning me for their brother?" This speech, delivered in a determined manner, inspiring the executioners with rage, they instantly put his hands and feet into the screws, and violently disjoined all his fingers and toes; and still extended the engine till they forced from their sockets the bones of his arms, legs, and shoulders. As he survived all these distortions, they stripped him of his skin from the ends of his fingers to the crown of his head. When his body was thus mangled, they dragged him to the wheel, where being yet farther extended by screws, he saw his own flesh drop in pieces, and his bowels and blood gush out. When near expiring he exclaimed, "O most barbarous of tyrants! This we suffer in testimony of the religion and law of a God who is rewarded us; whereas, in punishment of this treachery, thou shalt suffer torments still more infernal."

This brother, being brought forward, the fourth brother, the dignity of his family, and the same was brought forward to execution, but first advised to recollect himself, and profit by the example of his brethren: but he replied, "No degree of heat in your fires can make me shrink, after the preceding instances of martyrdom. I will not disgrace my affinity. Try me, tyrant, and prove by torture, if I am of the same family, and animated by the same spirit, as those whom thy impious rage has torn limb from limb, with a malignity more than savage." Antiochus, enraged at this speech, gave orders to cut his tongue out instantly; on which the youth farther exclaimed, "How ridiculous is this cruelty! 'Tis in vain to take away the organ of speech from one who trusts in that God who sees the heart, and knows the sentiments of those that are silent. Here is my tongue ready for your instruments; but remember when you have cut it out, you cannot extinguish my reason, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could die by inches, that every part of my body might glorify God, by being separately sacrificed to his honour! But for thee, O tyrant, guilt and vengeance will pursue and punish thee, who cuttest out tongues, employed in declaring the praises of the God who formed them."

Excessive torment having finished the life of this brother, the fifth advanced cheerfully of his own accord, saying, "To convince

The third  
brother.

The fourth  
brother.

The fifth  
brother.

vince thee, tyrant, how little I am impressed by thy torments, see, I readily present myself without waiting thy orders, anxious to give proof of my virtue without loss of time. The sooner I am dispatched, the sooner will my happiness and thy guilt be complete, and by adding one to the number thou hast murdered, I shall help to make thee ripe for vengeance. Say, devourer of thy species, what could induce thee thus to destroy us? Is it criminal to serve the great Creator, and govern ourselves by laws which he has prescribed? This conduct ought to entitle men to reward instead of torture." Thus saying, the soldiers bound him to the pulleys, screwed in his knees, and put on iron footlocks; the screws being drawn, his loins were dislocated, he bent round the wheel like a snake, and his bones were soon broken. Tortured with pain, and almost strangled, he cried out, "Thou conferrest favours on us against thy will; the more severe our torments, the nobler proof we give of our patience, and religious perseverance."

The sixth brother.

He had no sooner expired than the tyrant asked the sixth brother if he would accept the terms of deliverance. "Though younger in years (said he) I am equal in courage. Our birth and education being the same, our death ought to be similar, since we are all embarked in the same cause; if, then, thou hast determined that I undergo the same trials, I will take care to die supported by a good conscience." He was then fastened to the wheel, his bones broken, and fire placed under him; and the soldiers forced red-hot spears into his back and sides, till his bowels were consumed. In the interim he exclaimed, "Glorious conflict, which my brethren have subdued for England, and been conquerors; as must always be the case with minds rooted in virtue. I will accompany my brothers in death, and add to the number of thy torments, thou barbarous wretch, thou foe to the adherents to the true religion! Six of us have now frustrated thy malice, by refusing to comply with thy infernal proposals. Thy fires appear cool, thy racks easy, and thy guards are the promoters of our law, instead of executioners, since, unable to suppress our religion, they assist us in giving testimony to its truth."

The seventh brother.

This man was now thrown into a boiling caldron, when the seventh brother appeared, at whose sight the tyrant seemed to relent, and calling to him, said, "Thou seest the fatal end of thy brothers, owing to their own obstinacy; for these tortures are the mere consequence of their disobedience; and a similar fate instantly awaits thee, if thou dost not profit by their example: but to encourage a different conduct, I now offer thee my friendship, and will raise thee to places of trust and distinction in my kingdom." The tyrant likewise addressed himself to the mother, as condoling her mis-

fortunes, and intreating her to save her only remaining child: but she, speaking to her son in the Hebrew language (as will hereafter be mentioned), he suddenly cried, "Unbind me, that I may speak to the king, and those who surround him." This being done with great pleasure, he ran hastily to the side of the caldrons, and exclaimed, "O tyrant, destitute of religion, and monster of villainy! Thou hast received a kingdom, and various worldly blessings from God, and yet murderest the friends of such a benefactor. Are the rack and torture the return thou makest to God, in the persons of those who worship him? Be assured that justice will pursue and find thee; and is now preparing torments and fire for thee, not like thine, which soon end our pains; but inexhaustible, and fiercely burning for a long succession of ages. Wretch and brute that thou art, to have no sympathy for the pains inflicted by thyself on creatures of the same nature and feelings! Can a creature of like form delight in mangling, torturing, and burning his fellow mortals? Yet such thou appearest, though thy disposition, as thy fate, be so various from ours. We who die to glut thy malice have discharged our duty, and shall be happy with God: while thou, who hast murdered so many glorious champions for the truth, shalt howl in eternal despair, and curse the guilty transactions of this day, when too late to remedy the evil. So horrid, so dreadful is thy case, so glorious and happy that of my brethren, which neither fear nor promises shall tempt me to decline: for I think the time tedious till I participate of their sufferings here, and aspire to their future bliss." Thus saying, he threw himself into the caldrons, and almost instantly expired.

Will any doubt remain if reason, under the guidance of religion, can subdue the passions, when we behold seven brethren despising and overcoming the torments of death, from a perfect agreement in the same principles? Is it not evident that if these men had been influenced by their passions, they would have eaten unclean meats, and submitted to any terms to have enjoyed ease and safety? This was far from being the case; their passions were quelled by reason, they shine triumphant, and receive the applause of their God. In the whole of this proceeding we see the dignity of the mind, and how little pain and passion are able to controul it. It would be unjust to deny these martyrs the applause due to the magnanimity of their conduct, in bringing their passions under the subjection of reason, so that they could not be conquered even by fire and torment. As the force of the waves is broken by the fortifications on the sea-shore, so as to render the harbour commodious, so were the storms and inundations of passions broken by this sevenfold fortification of reason\*.

How

\* It is not a little strange that Josephus, who could not be ignorant that the effective power of God was gloriously manifested in the preservation of Daniel and his three friends from the rage of the lions and the flames, should not ascribe the fortitude of these godly

sufferers likewise to the same almighty agency, rather than (as he chiefly does) to the force and dictates of reason, which, unassisted by divine grace, will ever be found an insufficient support under such a variety of torments as were inflicted on the noble army of martyrs.



Remarks on  
their magnanimity.

How great, how interesting was the sight of such a company, encouraging each other to persevere, their joint voices making an harmonious concert! Thus did they animate each other: "Remember, brothers, we are engaged in the same cause: let us die like brethren, in defence of our God, and his law. The three brave Assyrian youths defied the furnace of the king of Babylon: let us imitate their glorious example."

When religion and conscience are at stake, it becomes us to despise fear, and act with resolution. One of the brethren said, "Courage, brother!" A second cried, "Persevere;" A third exclaimed, "Remember your ancursors, Abraham, who consented to sacrifice his son; and Isaac, who cheerfully submitted to become that sacrifice." Then they mutually supported each other, saying, "Let us gladly consecrate our souls to God: the lives which he has lent us, restore, and yield up our bodies in defence of his holy law. Wherefore should we fear those who only destroy the body? Our fear should be rather for the everlasting loss of our souls, which cannot happen to those who strictly adhere to the truth. Therefore let us arm ourselves with fortitude; so, in death, shall we be gladly received by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and our constancy will be applauded by all our pious ancestors."

As they were separately led to execution, those who remained encouraged the preceding saying, "Remember, brother, how thou shouldest behave; disgrace not those who have preceded, or those who are to follow thee." Encouragement like this must have been very animating: the relationship of brother must have had its influence. The reader will conceive the power of that affection placed by Providence in the hearts of those who derive themselves from the same father, are born of the same mother; suck the same breast, are brought up at one table, taught by the same masters, and educated in the same religion. Such was the affection and endearments between these brothers; and, of course, the encouragement and advice they gave each other could not fail of having its proper weight: for they were educated in the same faith, and taught to practise the same virtues; and their mutual virtue must have been increased by their mutual esteem; for natural esteem is always improved by an union in goodness, and a mutual zeal for God's service; so that the more religious each of these was, the more he would love each of his brethren, and become more worthy of their love. In this instance we may observe how passion was conquered by reason; for though the tender regard they entertained for each other was heightened by every consideration of birth, affinity, education, acquaintance, and personal merit, yet all these considerations were outweighed by the superior one of religion; so that, in so noble a cause, the

tortures and death of such near relations, instead of pain, gave satisfaction to the survivors, who were pleased spectators of the tragedy.

Animated by exhortation, they were induced to despise pain, and subdue fraternal affection. Thus were their minds more ennobled than birth could make them. Not one of these youths gave sign of fear, or shrunk at the approach of death, in all its terrors, but advancing to meet the racks and fire, as men who were running the race of mortality, and impatient which should first reach the goal. As our hands, feet, and other members, move according to the direction of the soul, so these heroic youths moved towards death, as if actuated by one common soul. Divine constellation of consenting brothers! As the world, created in seven days, conveys an idea of the perfect majesty, and goodness of God, thus do these seven martyrs, by their courage and constancy, afford us an example that ought to banish the fear of death. But, alas! we fall short of their pattern, though we cannot read or hear of the extremity of their sufferings, without the utmost agitation of mind.

What torment can exceed that of fire, which instantly pierces and consumes? Yet these valiant champions resolutely endured the severest torments. But to increase our wonder, and lessen that idea of magnanimity which men think their peculiar characteristic, let me produce the case of a woman, who gave glorious proofs of the sovereignty of reason over the passions; one whose sufferings were more severe than those of the parties above-mentioned. The variety and extremity of a mother's pains, in viewing the death of her seven sons, scarcely to be comprehended. She saw her seven children seven times murdered. The natural affection of parents are centered in the welfare of their children. This is evident even among beasts, who demonstrate a tenderness for their young, equal to that among men. But why need I mention beasts, when all nature is full of this passion for their offspring? The bees though busy in building their cells, are careful to guard their hives; and when invaded by the drones, protect their young ones by their stings, which serve them as weapons of defence.

The mother of our heroic youths was so true a daughter of Abraham, that even her tenderness for her own children could not tempt her to violate her duty. So laudable was her zeal, that when the preservation and advancement of her sons was put in competition with religion, she wisely preferred the latter, obeyed God rather than the king, and wished them heavenly prosperity, rather than temporal. How shall I describe that tender paternal passion, that fondness for the offspring, that impresses on them the same features of body, and frequently the same disposition of mind? It would

Amiable character of the mother.

martyrs as well before as since the coming of Christ. Natural reason must be enlightened and influenced by the Spirit of God, before it can be serviceable to us in matters of religion, to which it may then only be considered as a handmaid: but it is faith alone, of the

operation of the Spirit of God, which has heretofore been, and must hereafter be, the strength and support of every true Israelite, from the beginning of the world to the end of it. See Heb. xi. throughout.

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be hard to paint the concern they feel for any distress that attends these dearest parts of themselves: particularly that of mothers, whose natural fondness makes them still more susceptible of what affects their children, than fathers are. The mother I speak of had still more affection for her children than mothers commonly have: her love was augmented by seven painful births; and every fresh pang she suffered gave new force to that affection she felt for those for whom she bore those pangs.

Notwithstanding this, the love of God outweighed all present views of her children's interest. She never loved them so tenderly as when they were giving this proof of their constancy in the truth: they were wise, courageous, affectionate, and so dutiful, as to die in support of the law, in obedience to their mother; while she, disdaining to let her tenderness operate too forcibly, or her reason be shaken by the torments they bore, exhorted them separately and jointly, to shew their zeal for religion, by despising sufferings and death.

Hail, nature, thou common mother! Hail, the love of parents! Hail, the sympathetic feelings of maternal love! Behold a miracle! seven children separately racked and burnt in their mother's presence; yet her piety unsubdued by the sight. She saw the flesh of her children broiling, the joints of their hands and feet torn off, and trembling on the ground: the skins of their hands and feet stripped, and thrown at her feet: all this she saw unmoved. The agonies she now bore for her children must be greater than those of child-birth, and proved her the noblest of her sex. Her expiring first-born moved her not; a languishing look of the second and the groans of the third she appeared not to feel. Not a tear did she drop at the cutting off of hands and heads, nor when the bodies of those dearer parts of herself were heaped around her. The last accents of her offspring, amidst their dying agonies, were grateful to her ear as the songs of sirens, or the notes of dying swans. Though nature pleaded forcibly, she disdained to yield, and, when urged to save them, she gave them up to torment, in full hope of their future happiness. She approved herself a true daughter of Abraham, by professing his faith and courage. Hail, mother of a family, zealous for religion and law! Great was thy patience and courage, thou envy of thy own sex, and wonder of ours! As the ark of Noah, which contained the surviving world, rode in triumph over the waters of the flood, so thou, when tossed on the waves of passion, and driven by the winds of adversity, being sustained by thy zeal for religion, didst bravely outride the storm.

Let me now return to the point I intend to prove. If the aged mother of seven children, through her zeal for the truth, could bear to see them expire in such agony, it follows that well-guided reason has complete dominion over the passions. It is evident that this is the case with human nature in general, since not only men, but even a woman, could thus

conquer all the common feelings, and defy the most exquisite torture. The lions of Daniel's den were comparatively gentle, and the seven-times-heated furnace of Misrael cool to that torment which must have raged in her breast, when she witnessed the agonies in which her sons expired: yet all her passions were subdued by the superior considerations of reason and religion.

Had this woman possessed the least weakness of temper, it is probable that she would have exclaimed to the following effect: "Unhappy wretch that I am, so lately blessed with seven sons, but now bereft of them all! O unprofitable child-bearing! O lost cares of nursing children destined to fires, racks, and torments! Fruitless are my pains, fruitless my anxious days and nights, and lost is all the care of their education! Never more shall I behold my beloved children, never rejoice in their marriage, nor be happy in descendants of the second and third generation! Yet once was I happy in the number and virtue of my sons; but I am now a forlorn widow, without one child to comfort my declining years, or to lay my weary head in the grave."

But so far was this admirable woman from thus complaining, or wishing her children to live, that they would have afflicted her, if they had not died with glory. Her firm mind considered that their death was but a passage to immortal life; she therefore intreated them to complete her joy, by sacrificing their lives to religion. Illustrious mother! who, when she was seized, with her sons, and a witness to the torture and death of Eleazar, engaged heartily in the glorious cause, and encouraged her children in an address, in the Hebrew language, to the following effect: "Behold, my sons, how glorious this conflict! If you should be called to suffer the same, behave with cheerfulness and courage, considering what an honour will thereby redound to our people, and the law of your ancestors. It will be a disgrace to your youth and vigour, if you sink under your trials, when a man almost worn out by age and infirmities hath already borne such extreme torture, from a sense of duty. Reflect, my dear children, what life is, and of whom you received it. It was the gift of God, and has been continued by his providence; and it is your duty to resign it at his pleasure. Surely you would not decline any pain for him, in obedience to whom Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son, the promised father of our people; nor did Isaac decline the fatal stroke of the uplifted weapon of death. The innocent and fearless Daniel was cast into the lions' den, and the three children into a fiery furnace. A sense of duty to God made them resolute to suffer; and you should be willing to abide equal sufferings, since you hold the same faith. They who have a genuine sense of religion will not decline any sufferings in which the sacred cause shall engage them." Thus were these seven children encouraged by their mother, who shewed them how just it was to die rather than violate the law of God, particularly when



an eternal residence with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the realms of unending bliss, would be the assured consequence of their perseverance.

Death of the mother, and honourable testimony concerning her.

It was related by the foldiers, that when they were about to seize and execute the mother, she presented them, by throwing herself into the fire. Venerable matron, who thus defeated the tyrant's rage, standing like a firm building, supported by seven pillars! Glorious mother! whose patience was sustained by an unshaken faith in God, and assured hopes of future recompence. Not brighter shines the moon in the firmament, encircled by the stars, than does she in giving to, and receiving light from, her seven sons, in the presence of God, in the celestial mansions. Her sons were truly of the faithful race of Abraham. Could one draw a picture of the above scene, every circumstance fairly painted, our passions must be deeply engaged, and we should be struck with horror at the sight of the mother and children expiring in such torments. Should a monument, as it ought, be erected to their memory, and the honour of our nation, some such inscription as the following would be proper: "Interred here, lie a venerable priest, with an old mother and her seven brave sons, murdered by a tyrant, who in vain attempted to destroy the constitution and laws of the Jews: for these champions resisted, committing their cause to God, and persevered, in despite of torments and death, to assert the rights of their religion and country." In fact, the contest was divine: patience was put to its full proof, virtue adjudged the prize, and immortal bliss was the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the first who advanced to the bloody trial; the sons disdained not the combat, and the mother embraced the conflict. The tyrant was their adversary, the world the spectators, and religion the victor; for in their persons she crowned her gallant champions. Who could have beheld, who can hear of this glorious enterprise, without paying the tribute of praise and astonishment? The tyrant and his abettors were amazed at that patience which supported the sufferers; and, inhuman as they were, revered that piety they could not subdue.

The observation of Moses is true: "All his saints are in thy hand." These men are celebrated with honour, as sanctified to God. Nor is the advantage of their sufferings confined to themselves. Their blood, being accepted by God as a propitiation, he was induced to return in mercy to his people, and deliver them from the oppressions with which they were loaded. For even Antiochus, struck with the resolution with which these men bore their sufferings, praised their courage, and bade an officer declare it as a pattern to his own foldiers: nay, farther, judging of the whole people by a few, he engaged many of them in his service, employed them in sieges and battles, and having, through their means, acquired many victories, was convinced that religion is the foundation of courage; and that they who despise life, and can sustain death from principle,

are indisputably the most valiant foldiers. Ye of the race of Abraham, who inherit his zeal, ye descendants of Israel the beloved, pay obedience to this divine law; conform yourselves to it in all things; live up to its dictates and discipline, since such is its efficacy and influence, that all the passions yield to its authority.

Nor does this subjection of the passions refer only to those within our breasts; but to outward afflictions and bodily pains; as is evident from these men submitting themselves to torture for the sake of religion. These heroes fought and conquered, so as to be admired by men and rewarded by God. While they vanquished torments and death, they vanquished their enemies who inflicted them, and established the credit of their law and religion, the contempt of which had provoked the Deity to punish them by the tyranny of Antiochus: but while this prince exercised his vengeance on others, he heaped up vengeance to himself: for, finding that neither force nor flattery would induce the Jews to adopt foreign customs, he retreated from Jerusalem, and waged war against the Persians; and soon after this he died, a miserable victim to the vengeance of Heaven.

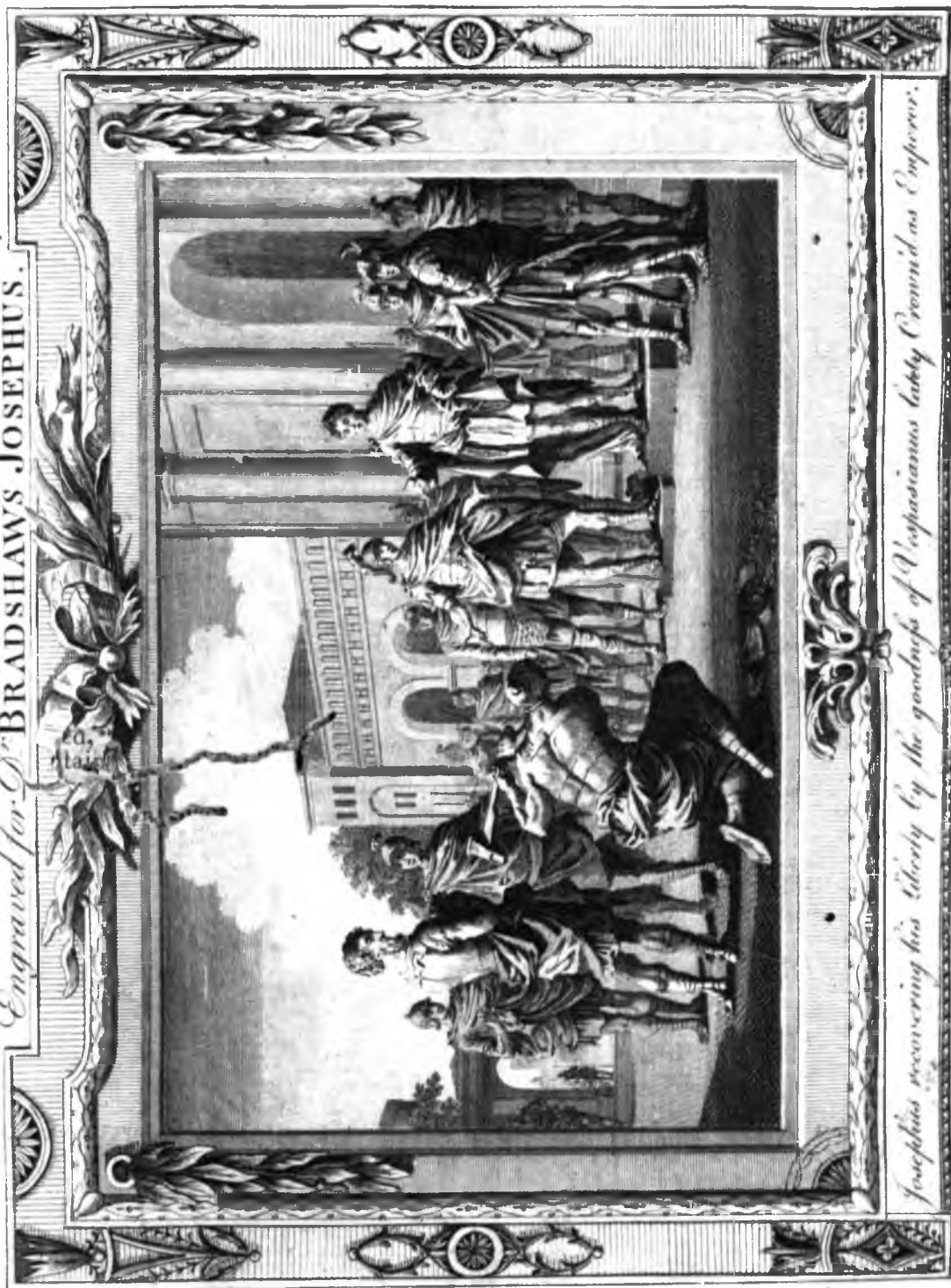
I will here add some farther exhortations from the heroic mother to her sons.

The mother's animating exhortation to her sons.

"Reflect (said she) on the conduct of your mother, who long lived a pure virgin. I wandered not from my father's house, nor did the serpent which tempted Eve seduce me. In conjugal fidelity to your father, I passed the prime of my life. This father died, happy in the general esteem, when you had attained the years of maturity. He was blessed in his children, and missed the wretchedness of seeing them torn from him. During his life, great pains were taken in your religious education, to furnish you with principles proper to sustain this important trial. The law and prophets were taught you by him, who described the examples of their patience and virtue. He told you of Abel, who was murdered by his brother Cain: of Isaac, intended for a burnt-offering; of Joseph, imprisoned for his chastity; and of the zeal of Phinehas for the law of God. The virtue and reward of Ananias, Azarias, Michael, and Daniel, were recounted by him. He often reminded you of that Providence by which God protects his people, thus celebrated by Isaiah: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and when through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." While children, he taught you the song of David, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all." He instructed you in that maxim of Solomon, which intimates that wisdom is a tree of life to them that retain her. He quickened your faith by that of Ezekiel, hinting that the dry bones should live; and taught you the song of Moses, who, speaking in the character of God, says, "I kill, and I make alive;" and who, pronouncing the law, says,

"Through

Engraved for Dr BRADSHAW'S JOSEPHUS.



Josephus recovering his Liberty by the goodships of Vespasianus lately Crowned as Emperor.



Through this thing ye shall prolong your days in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it."

O glorious, rather than melancholy day, when the barbarous Antiochus kindled his flames, and, with more than savage rage, heated his caldrons, and bound to the torture the seven children of this daughter of Abraham! when he tore out their tongues, and put out their eyes with the most mali-

cious and wanton cruelty! At that time the justice of God did, and always will punish such barbarities on the authors of them: but these pious sons and their mother were removed to bliss eternal; admitted to the company of their righteous forefathers, and have received of the God, to whom they intrusted them, their souls, in a pure and immortal state. To that God be everlasting glory!

PHILO'S EMBASSY  
TO THE  
EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA,  
FROM THE  
JEW S OF ALEXANDRIA.  
  
PREFATORY DISCOURSE,  
BY THE AUTHOR.

WILL the time never arrive when the experience and knowledge of age will supersede the folly of youth? When we have arrived to the age of fourscore, and our heads are overspread with grey hairs, shall we continue to act like children? What can be more absurd than to place a dependence on fortune, which is subject to continual variation and uncertainty, and neglect the dictates of reasonable nature, which is fixed in absolute immutability? Is it not to invert and confound the just order and value of things, to consider those as certainties which are every moment liable to change, and neglect those which in their nature are incapable of alteration and decay? The reason of this error is, that present objects strike men of weak discernment, whose sphere of observation is too contracted to reach those at a distance: and people of this character depend more on the evidence of

the senses, however deceiving, than on the operations of judgment: but the reasoning faculties must be employed to form ideas respecting future events, and the nature of invisible things. The eye of the soul, however, is by far more penetrating and quick than that of the body, excepting when its power is destroyed by an intemperate indulgence of luxury in eating and drinking, or, which indeed may be justly considered as the greatest misfortune, by ignorance and stupidity, naturally proceeding from the neglect of rousing the mental faculties from a state of shameful inactivity.

So numerous and wonderful have been the events that have occurred in our own days, that it is unnecessary to recur to the history of ancient times to prove the existence of an over-ruling Providence, which protects all people of virtue and piety, but particularly those who adhere and serve the Almighty with

with due humility and veneration. The Chaldeans call such people Israelites, signifying that they are the beholders of the Lord; which is a blessing infinitely superior to all the riches of the universe.

If we are inspired with awe, and disposed to a modest and respectful deportment, by the presence of a father, a governor, or a preceptor; what glorious advantages may we not promise to ourselves in exalting our imaginations beyond all earthly creatures, and familiarizing our souls to the contemplation of an uncreated Being in the person of the Almighty, whose blessedness, beauty, and goodness, infinitely transcend every idea we can form of perfection! It is not possible for words to give an adequate description of the Supreme Being, who is so far above our weak conception, that, if we advance, by the scale of his attributes, with a view to search into the nature of the Great Origin of things, the mystery still appears utterly incomprehensible. If the sentiments of the whole creation were to be declared by one tongue, no just explanation could be given of his omnipotence manifested in the formation of the world; his supreme dignity and providential wisdom, by which it is governed; and his unerring justice, in the distribution of punishments and rewards. The divine vengeance is even to be accounted among the things which operate to the benefit of mankind; for it affords us a consciousness of our delinquency, and deters us from regulating our conduct in compliance with wicked examples.

## CHAP. I.

*The great and uninterrupted Felicity of the first Seven Months of the Reign of the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA, the Successor of TIBERIUS.*

Caligula succeeded Tiberius, and the peculiar happiness of the first seven months of his reign.

ON the decease of Tiberius, the imperial dignity devolved to Caius Caligula, who may justly be considered as affording a most striking instance in confirmation of the sentiments given in the above introductory discourse. When this prince assumed the throne, the Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers and burghers, lived in a state of brotherhood, and in the mutual interchange of the offices of affection and friendship; and a profound tranquillity prevailed both by sea and land in all the provinces in the different quarters of the globe. The happiness of Caligula was so extraordinary, as almost to exceed credibility; for the profusion of the good fortune which he enjoyed exceeded his most sanguine hopes. He possessed an immense treasure in coin, gold and silver manufactured into articles of use and ornament, and a great quantity of those valuable metals unwrought. His force both by sea and land was prodigious; and the source of his revenues was inexhaustible; for every inhabited part of the world contributed towards the expences of his government. The Euphrates and the

Rhine are the two rivers which formed the boundaries of his empire; the first bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations, and the other upon the countries of the Parthians, the Sarmatians, the Scythians, &c. who were people equally uncivilized with those of Germany. Upon the continent, as well as in the islands, nothing was known but the most perfect happiness; for the people of Rome and Italy, and those of the several provinces of Europe and Asia, passed their time in a kind of uninterrupted festival. In short, no instance could be produced wherein people had enjoyed such remarkable ease and freedom under any other prince, or had, in other respects, been so peculiarly favoured with the blessings of Providence. People in general had such considerable portions of all those advantages which contribute to form the happiness of life, that they had no desires remaining ungratified. In the several villages, towns, and cities, altars, victims, sacrifices, men clothed in white, and adorned with garlands, horse-racings, musical concerts, merry meetings, dancing to the lute and harp, and all other kinds of entertainments and recreations that can be conceived, were to be continually met with; while the countenances of the people fully expressed the joy and satisfaction of their hearts. In short, such was the abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, and so universal were the contentment and pleasure, that debtors and creditors, domestics and their superiors, common people, and those in exalted stations, were equally happy; and it appeared as if the poetical description of Saturn's golden age was realized. This state of general felicity continued during the first seven months of the reign of Caligula.

Particulars respecting their extraordinary ease, abundance, and festivity.

## CHAP. II.

*CAIIGULA is attacked by a dangerous Distemper; in consequence of which the Inhabitants of the different Provinces are deeply concerned; but the Recovery of the Emperor proves a Circumstance productive of Joy equal to their former Affliction.*

HAVING abandoned that temperate and healthful course of living which he had strictly adhered to in the time of his successor Tiberius, and having indulged himself by unseasonable bathing, immoderate eating and drinking, and all the luxuries, riotous excess and liberties of the court, in the eighth month of his reign Caligula was attacked by a violent and dangerous disease. To such an excess did he carry his intemperance, that, unsatisfied with immoderate eating and drinking, it was his custom to take emetic draughts, in order that, by clearing his stomach, he might the sooner return to the indulgence of luxury. He was violently addicted to every species of

The emperor seized with a violent disease



of the most abominable sensuality, and practised uncleannesses with either sex; for, according to the impulses of his depraved inclinations, he gratified the common passion in an intercourse with the other sex, and that unnatural lust, the bare mention of which cannot fail to fill the minds of those who possess the smallest vestiges of the principles even but distantly allied to virtue, with astonishment, horror, and detestation. In short, his ungovernable and sensual appetites led him into every kind of debauchery that could tend to the destruction of the union between soul and body; for as the blessings of sound health and vigour of body are the natural consequences of temperance and regularity; so, on the contrary, debility, disease, and death are produced by an unrestrained indulgence of inordinate desires.

Concern of the people, on hearing of his illness.

The emperor's distemper seized him in the beginning of autumn, at which season the ships employed in trading to different quarters of the globe, which could not winter in foreign parts, were under the necessity of sailing for their respective countries. By means of the shipping, intelligence of the emperor's dangerous indisposition was in a short time communicated to all parts of the world; in consequence whereof a general mourning and lamentation took place of the satisfaction and pleasure that the people had uninterruptedly enjoyed till the arrival of the afflicting news. The towns and houses were filled with affliction and mourning, in proportion to the great happiness they had before enjoyed: the indisposition of the emperor proved the source of great affliction to the several provinces, who, indeed, were more severely troubled than Caligula himself; for he only suffered corporeal pain, while the people laboured under the most exquisite distress of mind, being terribly apprehensive that the peace they had so long enjoyed would be interrupted, and that their lives, liberties and possessions, would be subjected to the most imminent danger; and they reflected that the death of princes was generally followed by war, famine, depopulation, rapine, imprisonment, and other dreadful calamities; and these considerations increased their uneasiness nearly to a state of despair. In short, the recovery of Caligula was the only circumstance in which they could place the smallest hopes of future security or happiness.

Their excessive joy at his recovery.

The emperor now began to recover his former state of health; and the happy news of this event was immediately transmitted to the most distant quarters of the universe; for same travels with the rapidity of lightning. The grateful information respecting the increasing health of Caligula created in the people the utmost impatience for the news of his perfect recovery; and, at length, by divers expresses, they learnt that he was intirely restored to his former state of health and vigour; in consequence of which the several provinces immediately recovered their tranquillity and happiness; and this was the case with the inhabitants of the illes, as well as the people upon the

continent. In fine, the memory of man could not produce an instance where the preservation of a particular prince had been productive of such universal transports of joy to any people or nation, as were manifested on occasion of the recovery of Caligula. It appeared as if, by a momentary transition, the people had been removed from a state of barbarism to that of sociable and civil life; from the disorder and confusion of deserts to the regularity of political communities; and these were the consequences which the people experienced, upon imagining that, since Caligula was recovered, they should still enjoy the happiness of living in subjection to, and under the protection of, their generous and lawful sovereign. But people immoderately rejoiced in their supposed good fortune, not being aware on what a very precarious foundation their hopes of future happiness were built.

### CHAP. III.

*CALIGULA soon proves himself a Monster of Tyranny, of which he exhibits a striking Instance.*

IN a short time the conduct of Caligula afforded a convincing proof that mankind are apt to form erroneous judgments, and adopt wrong measures; and that their actions are more generally the result of precarious opinion, than the consequence of a real knowledge as to the certain state and nature of things. The profusion of bounties and favours which he had distributed in all parts of Europe and Asia, had acquired Caligula the reputation of being the most illustrious character that had been known, whether he was considered as a public or a private benefactor; but this prince so far degenerated from that specimen he afforded in the early part of his reign, whence it was universally concluded that he would prove a most glorious example to all future sovereigns, as to become a most execrable monster of tyranny and cruelty: or, perhaps it would be most proper to say, he divested himself of the mask of hypocrisy, and betrayed to the world his natural tyrannical, malevolent, and cruel disposition.

Proneness of mankind to form erroneous opinions of young princes.

Caligula gives proof of a depraved disposition.

The emperor Tiberius had a grandchild, the offspring of his son Drusus; and this grandchild received the name of Tiberius; and Caius Caligula, the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, was the descendent of Germanicus. In preference to the young Tiberius, the emperor nominated Caligula to the imperial succession, on the condition that he should acknowledge the great obligation of his advancement to the throne, by observing a due respect and attention towards his kinsman. But Caligula, instead of being touched with gratitude upon his advancement, by adoption, to that

His ingratitude to his predecessor, and base treatment of young Tiberius.

dignified station which Tiberius had a right to enjoy in virtue of his birth, carried his inhumanity to such an excess as to cause the death of his near kinsman, the coheir of the throne and the immediate successor of the emperor Tiberius, under the pretext that the youth had engaged in a conspiracy for depriving him of life. The tender age of Tiberius constituted a sufficient proof that the accusation adduced against him was founded in utter improbability. It was the generally received opinion, that had Tiberius been but a few years older, he would indisputably have been appointed the successor of his grandfather, who, it was also supposed, would have removed Caligula, against whom he had already conceived some jealousy.

By an artful speech, he obtains full power over Tiberius.

Caligula adopted the following means with the execrable view of effecting the destruction of young Tiberius, with whom common justice should have instructed him to share jointly the sovereignty. He summoned Tiberius into his presence, and assembled a council of his friends, to whom he addressed a discourse to the following purpose: "Towards this youth (meaning Tiberius) I entertain not only that regard which is due to him as being my cousin german, but I even esteem him with the utmost tenderness of a brother; and there is nothing I more anxiously desire than to admit him to an equal share of the sovereignty, in compliance with the last will and testament of his grandfather. But, alas! we are fully sensible that youth and inexperience are unequal to the weighty cares of government. The tender age of Tiberius renders it necessary that he should be placed under the direction of a governor. Would it not then be an instance of extreme imprudence to invest the youth with a commission for the exercise of authority over others? But that his time of life is an impediment, I would joyfully divide with Tiberius the sovereign dignity; whereby I should relieve myself from one part of the laborious office of governing so many nations, and render less formidable the danger I am continually exposed to, of sinking under the burden of public administration. So great is my affection for Tiberius, that I here solemnly pledge myself to receive him as a son and a pupil, and faithfully to acquit myself towards him in the characters of a father and a governor; and, let it be observed, that from this moment he is to be considered as being under my particular and immediate protection."

Further effects of his treachery, and accusation of Tiberius.

This artful address so powerfully operated upon the auditors as to remove every obstruction to the abominable design which Caligula had conceived of effecting the ruin of the young prince. His harangue, instead of confirming the adoption, and securing to Tiberius the dignity which by virtue of his birth he had a right to enjoy, effectually excluded him from the benefit of the grant which had been passed in his favour: and Caligula had now a full power and opportunity of putting his treacherous designs against Tiberius into execution, without fear of controul or opposition; for the Roman law invests parents with

an absolute authority over their children, and gives to the supreme magistrate an equally absolute and uncontrollable power over the people. To effect his infamous purpose, therefore, Caligula had only to accuse Tiberius of being an enemy, and to conduct himself towards the youth accordingly. In short, this mode of behaviour he adopted; nor was he touched with compassion on account of the tender age of his kinsman, the circumstance of having known him from his earliest years, his exalted birth, and the education he had received, as the apparent heir to the throne. Upon the decease of Drusus, Tiberius was considered rather as the immediate son than the grandchild of the emperor.

It is related of Caligula, that, in the accomplishment of his cruel design against Tiberius, he commanded the youth to become his own executioner in the presence of a number of tribunes and centurions, who were prohibited from assisting him in the action: and the pretence of the barbarous tyrant on this occasion was, that it would prove a circumstance derogatory to the imperial dignity, if the blood of the descendants of royalty was permitted to be spilt by any but royal hands. Caligula was ambitious of the reputation of being a most rigid observer of legal forms, though he scrupled not to commit murder, and offer other most daring violations against all the laws of God and man; and to conceal his enormous wickedness, he had recourse to an abominable hypocrisy in pretending that he acted under the influence of a religious intention.

He causes the young prince to become his own executioner.

This unhappy and innocent young prince who had never been witness to the spilling of blood; either in real engagements or the representations of battles, which during the times of peace are practised by the military people, presented his throat to the spectators, intreating them respectively to put an end to his life: but they all declined a compliance; in consequence of which he took a poniard, and requested to be informed to what part of his body he could most effectually direct the weapon to put a speedy period to a miserable existence. They instructed him where to strike, and he instantly followed their directions, continuing to repeat his strokes while his strength remained. Thus did the tyranny of Caligula urge Tiberius to the desperate extremity of depriving himself of life.

Tiberius, unexperienced in bloodshed, craves direction where to point the weapon, and, after repeated strokes, kills himself.

## CHAP. IV.

*MACRO, Commander of the Pretorian Troops, expostulates with CALIGULA on the Impropriety of his Conduct. The Tyrant most ungratefully puts both MACRO and his Wife to Death.*

HAVING effected the destruction of Tiberius, whom he had considered as the only person likely to become a com-

Caligula's design on the life of Macro.

petitor



petitor for the possession of the sovereign dignity, Caligula imagined that there now remained no man of sufficient consequence to raise a party against him, or to interrupt him in the tyrannical exercise of government: and he determined that Macro, the commander of the Pretorian bands, should be the next object of his cruelty and ingratitude.

His kind offices to the emperor before his accession. Caligula was indebted to Macro for many important services after his advancement to the throne; but his zealous endeavours in favour of the emperor are not to be considered as any evidence of extraordinary attachment; since it will be found that court parasites are ever attendant upon persons in exalted stations, whose inclinations it is the business of their lives to consult and gratify. While Caligula remained in a private station, however, he received many instances of friendship from Macro: and it was principally through his influence that Tiberius was induced to nominate Caligula as the successor to the imperial dignity.

Sentiments of Tiberius respecting Caligula. The emperor Tiberius being a man of long experience in the world, and of an uncommon sagacity and depth of penetration, it will consequently be supposed that he possessed a knowledge of the human heart; and indeed he was in this point inferior to no man of his time. Tiberius conceived a very strong suspicion and jealousy that Caligula was an inveterate enemy to the whole Claudian family, and that if he entertained any tenderness of regard towards any of those with whom he was connected by the ties of consanguinity, his affection was confined intirely to his relations on his mother's side: and hence he became exceedingly distressed on account of his grandchild, who, after his decease, he feared might be exposed to great difficulties and danger. He considered Caligula as wholly unequal to the important office of governing so extensive an empire, deeming him, from the inconsistency of his words and actions, and the levity of his general behaviour, to be disqualified from successfully engaging in undertakings wherein solidity of judgment and patient fortitude were required; and, in short, so volatile and uncertain was his conduct, as to possess people with an opinion that he was infected with some degree of lunacy.

Macro speaks highly in favour of Caligula to the late emperor. Macro used every possible means to remove the unfavourable impressions that Tiberius entertained respecting Caligula: giving the strongest assurances that he held the person and dignity of the emperor in the highest deference and veneration; asserting that he cherished a most tender regard and respect for his kinsman, and had repeatedly declared that he would gladly resign in his favour every pretension to the right of succeeding to the throne; adding that it was the misfortune of Caligula to have the natural modesty and reserve of his temper interpreted into a want of spirit and discernment. These persuasions did not operate with the desired effect upon the emperor; and when Macro perceived this, he proposed to engage his own person as a security that Caligula

would not prove unworthy of the encomiums which he had passed upon him. Macro having in many instances approved himself a man of fidelity and discretion, and manifested his firm attachment to Tiberius in the discovery of, and rendering abortive the conspiracy of Sejanus, there appeared no reason to entertain the least doubt of his honour in the present mediation.

Macro was so indefatigable in promoting the interest of Caligula, that he availed himself of every opportunity of influencing Tiberius in his favour, by assiduously endeavouring to defend him against uncertain suspicions and surmises, indeterminate accusations, and prejudicial reports. In short, had Caligula been his own brother, or even his son, he could not have laboured with a more unremitting attention in his service. Many were of opinion that Macro exerted his interest with the emperor in consideration of the great deference and respect observed towards him by Caligula: but a still greater number supposed Macro's conduct to proceed from the persuasions of his wife; alledging that, being engaged in an intrigue with Caligula, she was induced, by private reasons, incessantly to urge her husband to suffer no occasion to escape of rendering proofs of friendship to the young man: and it is known that it is scarcely possible to resist the persuasive address of an artful woman. Being entirely ignorant and unsuspicious of his wife's infidelity, Macro believed her caresses to be proofs of the violence of her affection: and the insinuating artifices practised upon him operated so powerfully, that he considered the very persons who were treacherously labouring to destroy his happiness, as bearing towards him the most sincere and exalted friendship.

Having manifested his attachment to Caligula by repeatedly affording him relief in great extremities, wherein his life was in the most imminent danger, Macro conceived that his many and signal services intitled him to some authority, and that he might thence presume to speak with more freedom than would be consistent with the situation of any other person. Macro was exceedingly anxious to prevent Caligula from indulging inclinations that would be productive of mischievous consequences, and to guard his mind from being corrupted by the example and influence of others: and in this instance his conduct bore some resemblance to that of an ingenious artist, who is solicitous to preserve his productions in a lasting state of perfection.

When he perceived Caligula asleep at table, it was his custom to rouse him, and to observe that, besides being indecent, his indulgence argued an high degree of imprudence, since it exposed him to the power of any person who might conceive the horrid design of perpetrating an assassination; when dancers and tumblers so engrossed the emperor's attention, that he could not refrain from an imitation of their gestures and attitudes; when he

His supposed inducement to this behaviour which is chiefly ascribed to his wife.

Eminent services done to him on several occasions.

Great pains taken by him to guard Caligula against an imprudent and unbecoming conduct.

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peror who is indisputably more conversant than himself in the science of politics. Since the man is so extravagantly vain as to suppose himself qualified to instruct me in the duties of my royal station, it would afford me no inconsiderable satisfaction to learn which are the particular branches in the art of government wherein he excels, and I am myself deficient. From my tenderest infancy I have been trained up to a knowledge of the mysteries of government and state affairs; and my instructors have been numerous and respectable; for instance, my father, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandfathers, and great grandfathers; and surely I derive something from a long and uninterrupted succession of so many great princes, in a direct line, both on the side of my father and likewise on that of my mother; and I might presume on the seeds of the royal virtues which are naturally implanted in those who are born to guide the reins of government. It will be allowed that children frequently resemble their parents in the features of the face, motions, attitudes, deportment, gesture, inclinations, humours, habits, manners, and in many other respects; nor can it be denied that the virtues of royalty, and the qualifications necessary for public administration, are infused into the very blood of those who are destined to the command of a people. Shall this contemptible dotard, then, presume to become my instructor in the art of which, from his obscure birth and inferior station in life, he must of necessity be intirely ignorant, and in the mysteries of which I derived an intuitive knowledge even with my first breath, being descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and qualified by nature for command and empire?"

Caligula determines to destroy Macro

The enmity of Caligula continued daily to increase, and it arrived, at length, to so high a degree, that he formed the barbarous determination of sacrificing the life of Macro to his revenge. He now employed himself in suggesting the means of executing his horrid design, resolving to exhibit an accusation against Macro, but wholly regardless as to its being founded in fact. While he was revolving this subject in his mind, he conceived that an expression used by Macro afforded him a favourable opportunity of advancing a criminal charge against him, which would bear a plausible appearance and effectually answer his purpose. The following are the words on which Caligula determined to found his accusation against Macro: "Caligula is an emperor of my own making; and the obligations he owes to me are far greater than what he owes even to his father. Thrice did Tiberius resolve to put him to death, but as often did I exert my influence, whereby the violence of the emperor's rage was averted, and the life of the youth preserved. After the decease of Tiberius I surrendered to Caligula the Pretorian bands, over whom I held the command, exhorting them to observe a rigid obedience to him, and admonishing them that the empire could not be preserved entire and in perfect security, unless the sovereign authority was invested in one person."

No. 30.

Many persons bore testimony that Macro had, in their presence, spoken precisely to the above purpose; but these people were intirely ignorant of the treachery, dissimulation, and consummate art of Caligula. In short, a few days only having elapsed, Caligula caused the death of the unhappy Macro and his wife. This ingratitude and barbarity was the reward which Macro obtained for preserving the life of Caligula, advancing him to the throne, and rendering him many other essential services. It is related that Macro was compelled to put an end to his own life; and that his wife was subjected to the same extremity, notwithstanding the intimacy of her criminal intercourse with Caligula. But there is no possibility of accounting for the disgust and loathing which succeed an inconstant and ill-placed love. Caligula carried his cruelty to such an excess, as to cause all the domestics of Macro to be put to death.

He puts Macro to death, with his wife, and all their domestics.

## CHAP. V.

*CALIGULA offended with his Father-in-law, MARCUS SYLANUS, for offering him prudent and friendly Advice; and causes him to be put to Death. This Murder followed by several others.*

THE perfidious and cruel Caligula having effected the murder of Tiberius, who was the only person that he apprehended might become a competitor for the imperial dignity, and subjected Macro and his whole family to a similar fate, in requital for having repeatedly preserved his life, and, at length, secured to him the succession of the throne; he now meditated a third exploit, the accomplishment of which he conceived would require the utmost skill and address.

Further instances of Caligula's perfidy and cruelty

Marcus Syllanus, the father-in-law of Caligula, was a man of great bravery, generous sentiments, and noble extraction. His daughter died at an early period of life; but he still continued to observe an equal, if not a superior, degree of respect and affection towards Caligula, not doubting but he should experience a due return of kindness and esteem; for he was entirely ignorant and unsuspecting of the real disposition of his iniquitous son-in-law. Syllanus, being naturally of a frank and open temper, frequently addressed Caligula on the subjects of morality and politics, recommending to him a just and equitable administration of government, and an irreproachable conduct in private life, as the only effectual means of realizing those hopes the people had formed of enjoying a state of perfect happiness under the dominion of a prince who had already afforded the most flattering specimen of the admirable qualifications which he possessed for the proper exercise of the functions of royalty. To this freedom of discourse Syllanus was in some degree intitled, in consequence of his rank in life and his near

Particular instances of the affectionate regard and attention paid to Caligula by Marcus Syllanus.

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relationship



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Particular instances of the affection and attention paid to Caligula by Marcus Syllanus.

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relationship to the emperor: and being still deeply sensible of a tender affliction consequent on the unhappy circumstance of his daughter's death, he imagined that his friendly expostulations could not be interpreted into the cause of offence, since it was scarcely possible that, in so short a time, the sense of affinity could be obliterated from the mind of Caligula.

*Caligula's ingratitude and hatred to his friend, whom he puts to death.*

Caligula, however, flattered himself in the vain opinion that his wisdom, moderation, valour, justice and other qualifications, rendered his character so distinguished, that it was incapable of greater perfection; and it was an office of great danger to offer him good and friendly counsel, which he understood as reproach and insult, since it implied the possibility of his amendment; and hence he deemed his most firm and faithful friends to be his most inveterate enemies. He conceived a most violent aversion to Syllanus, as being a kind of check to the indulgence of his extravagant and unruly passions. His enmity increased to such an outrageous degree, that he renounced all regard to the memory of his deceased wife, and determined on the unnatural and barbarous scheme of sacrificing the life of Syllanus, who had incontestably proved himself a most tenderly affectionate and indulgent father-in-law, and a sincere and disinterested friend.

*He murders several other eminent persons.*

The death of Syllanus was followed by that of many of the most considerable persons of the empire: and when the news of these murders was propagated among the public, they considered them with astonishment, detestation, and horror; but they suppressed a public declaration of their sentiments, lest they should incur the resentment of the cruel tyrant. Many people, however, being of unsteady tempers, and liable to imposition, could not entertain an idea that a prince who had shewn such remarkable instances of humanity, moderation, generosity, and candour, could, by a momentary transition, become a most bloody and merciless tyrant; and hence they endeavoured to justify the iniquitous conduct of which he had been guilty, by arguments to the following effect.

*Some endeavour to extenuate Caligula's crimes.*

"No censure can justly fall upon Caligula for his behaviour in regard to young Tiberius, since the nature of things will not admit of the supposition that a divided sovereignty can be consistent with the safety of a state; and therefore the removal of the youth was a preventive measure indispensably necessary; especially if it be considered that, had Tiberius possessed the power, he would unquestionably have taken away the life of the emperor; and that, with the increase of time, that power he would have naturally acquired. Caligula is by no means deserving to be reprobated as a cruel murderer, but, on the contrary, is to be considered as the instrument of Divine Providence, by whose decree he put an end to the life of Tiberius, in order to secure the safety and happiness of mankind. Had he been permitted to survive, is there

not every reason to apprehend that he would have proved the cause of involving the empire in all the horrors of foreign and domestic hostilities? For the contentions of parties and factions would have perpetually subsisted between those espousing the respective interests of the two princes. It will not be disputed that peace is the greatest blessing a people can enjoy; nor that public tranquillity must depend on a regular and equitable administration of government. Where the sovereignty is divided, competition and the most violent and dangerous contentions are ever to be apprehended: to avoid these evils, therefore, it becomes necessary to secure to one prince the power of exercising the regal authority."

Respecting the murder of Macro, the same persons also thus argued in extenuation of the accusation adduced against the emperor: "Macro proved himself a man of an imperious and presuming disposition; he became wholly regardless of the Delphic oracle, which commands every man to *know himself*; from which admirable lesson we are to understand that we cannot be unhappy while we strictly conform to it, nor fail to be miserable when we hold it in contempt. Can it be said that to interfere in the province of sovereignty is consistent with the duty of a subject; or that he is excusable for obtruding upon a prince instructions for the discharge of the functions of his high office? The province of the sovereign is to command, and it is the duty of the subject to observe implicit obedience."

*The murder of Macro palliated;*

Thus did people, either through ignorance, or a desire of offering the incense of flattery to the emperor, misrepresent the motives which prompted the honest admonitions of the unfortunate Macro: and also suggested the following excuses respecting the cruelty of Caligula towards Syllanus.

*and also that of Syllanus.*

"The conduct of Syllanus was extremely absurd in assuming over a son-in-law an authority similar to that which men have a right to exercise over their immediate descendents. It is usual among private citizens to relinquish the paternal authority when their children are engaged in offices of trust, or meet with honourable preferment. Syllanus could have no claim to the honour of being father-in-law to the emperor; for the affinity ceased with the death of his daughter; but he, notwithstanding, had the presumption to expostulate with Caligula on affairs of administration, wherein he could not justly pretend to have even the least concern. It is beyond contradiction that marriage connects families in a state of alliance: but it is equally certain that the alliance is temporary; for the dissolution of all relationship necessarily takes place upon the decease of either of the contracting parties."

In the above manner did people endeavour to rescue Caligula from the imputation of criminal actions. They were so prepossessed in favour of the supposed extraordinary generosity, moderation, justice, tenderness of disposition, and other perfections in the character of this prince, that they could not conceive

conceive him capable of a conduct that could merit censure; nor that it was possible, after having most gloriously distinguished himself beyond the example of former sovereigns, he could degenerate, by so sudden a change, to the opposite extreme of wickedness.

## CHAP. VI.

*CALIGULA's Vanity in assuming the Appearance of several Demi-Gods, and claiming the public Honours and Veneration usually paid to them.*

Caligula, having cruelly murdered several worthy and eminent men, becomes excessively vain, and arrogates divine honours.

THE cruel murders of Tiberius, Macro, and Syllanus, were considered by Caligula as so many victories over the most formidable enemies he had in the empire. The death of Tiberius relieved him from all apprehension of his right to the sovereignty being contested; he was easy respecting the soldiery, since Macro, who had possessed a great influence over them, was now effectually removed; and he judged himself perfectly secure with respect to the senate, in consequence of the death of Syllanus, who commanded a great interest in, and had been esteemed one of the most glorious ornaments of, that illustrious assembly. Having then effected the destruction of every person whom he apprehended might prove an obstacle to the unlimited indulgence of his extravagant humours, he conceived the vain design of assuming the character of a demi-god, and exalting the honours and obedience observed towards the deities: and to reconcile himself to this ridiculous scheme, he argued in the following manner: "Since those who have the command of the beasts in the fields, as goat-herds, shepherds, herdsmen and people of other denominations, are neither goats, sheep nor oxen, but are of a very different species, being creatures endowed with rational faculties, and infinitely superior, in every respect, to the animals under their direction; on the same principles it may be presumed that the sovereign of the universe has an equitable claim to an exaltation beyond the scale of human nature, and to exact the veneration of a deity."

He affects to be deemed a demi-god.

Having determined upon this absurd and vain design, his distempered imagination represented the employment which he was preparing to undertake as being worthy the imperial character; and he proceeded by degrees to the gratification of his ambitious views. His first imaginary exaltation was in assuming the character of a demi-god; such as Hercules, Bacchus, Castor, Pollux, Amphiarius, Amphiloehus, Trophonius, and others. He turned the oracles and ceremonies of these deities into subjects of ridicule, but still claimed a right to the ensigns and privileges belonging to them, with the view of advancing the honour of his own character.

It was the custom of this man, like a theatrical performer, to be continually changing habits, intending thereby to render his appearance exactly conformable to that of the parties whom he was desirous to personate. At one time he would strive at an imitation of Hercules, being habited in the skin of a lion, and carrying a club in his hand; sometimes he would assume the appearance of Castor or Pollux, wearing a cap upon his head similar to those used by the illustrious brothers; and to personate Bacchus he would wear the skin of a fawn, and provide himself with a thyrsus, wreathed with ivy. Caligula, in short, materially differed from the imaginary deities; for they have ever been perfectly satisfied with their respective ensigns and privileges, and equally free from envy towards each other: but the emperor was ambitious of engrossing to himself all the respect and veneration usually paid to the ideal divinities, whose characters he was so highly ambitious to emulate. The circumstance that attracted the most particular notice and admiration of the public was, not that Caligula, like Geryon, had three bodies, but that he possessed the wonderful power of assuming such an extensive variety of characters as to become the rival of Proteus, whom Homer represents as transforming himself into the elements, rivers, plants, different species of animals, and a diversity of other appearances.

This frequent change of habits for this purpose.

What value didst thou, Caius, imagine would be added to your character by a vain resemblance of the figures of the demi-gods, when you wholly neglected an imitation of their virtues, which would have been an employment whence you might have derived immortal honour? Hercules engaged in his laborious and hazardous undertakings from the noble motive of delivering the universe, both by sea and land, from the monsters that infested it, to the great interruption of the happiness and security of mankind. Vines were planted and cultivated by Bacchus, who extracted from their fruit a beverage highly grateful to the palate, and possessing the quality of improving the corporeal strength and the natural vigour of the mind: besides adding to our bodily power, the juice of the grape has the virtue of giving us greater activity and contributing towards the increase and preservation of health: it charms our cares to sleep, renders us insensible to afflictions, and inspires us with the hope of a more auspicious fortune; a cheerful draught relieves us from the languor and fatigue of long-continued labour. The salutary effects of wine are not experienced alone by people in a civilized state, but even by the most barbarous nations. Feasts, entertainments, music, dancing, and merry meetings, would no longer be attractive, if the spirits of the company were not to be occasionally exhilarated by the generous juice expressed from the fruit of the vine. But it is unnecessary any longer to dwell on the virtues of wine, which

The virtues of the demi-gods contrasted with the vices of this degenerate emperor.

Hercules and Bacchus.



which can never prove injurious while it is made use of with moderation.

Castor and Pollux.

Castor and Pollux are represented as being the twin sons of Jupiter; one of them is said to have been immortal, but that he shared with his brother the privilege of not being subject to the common lot of humanity, because his fraternal affection was so great that he could not support the idea of being left eternally to deplore the irreparable loss he should sustain in the death of his tenderly-beloved brother. The noble behaviour of this man is unparalleled; for what greater service can be imagined than that of one brother resigning, in favour of the other, a part of his privilege of enjoying an eternal existence, and rendering himself, in a proportionate degree, subject to the power of death? The contemporaries of these heroic brothers paid them great deference and veneration; nor has their justly-acquired renown yet suffered the least diminution. By the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind, and their exemplary virtues, these worthies acquired to themselves the honour of being considered as demi-gods.

But have you, Caligula, pursued a conduct that you could reasonably expect would entitle you to divine honours? Let us first speak of Castor and Pollux. Can an instance be produced of a greater dissimilarity of character than what will appear upon drawing a comparison between yourself and those illustrious brothers? So far from being inspired with a noble emulation of their unbounded friendship, and heroic generosity, you have cruelly bathed your hands in the blood of an innocent youth, whom it was your duty to treat with the utmost tenderness of a brother; for, exclusive of his alliance to you by the ties of blood, he had a just and indisputable claim to a co-partnership in the imperial dignity. With a view to secure yourself in the quiet possession of the throne, you condemned the sisters of Tiberius to perpetual banishment.

Bacchus.

In what respect is it that you have acted in conformity to the example of Bacchus? Of what discoveries are you the author, whereby the world derives any kind of advantage? Have you, in any one instance, contributed towards the peace or happiness of mankind? It must, indeed, be allowed that you are not destitute of inventions; but your inventions, like epidemical diseases, convert joy into affliction, and render life insupportable. To gratify your insatiable avarice, your coffers are daily replenished with immense treasures from the four quarters of the globe: but, instead of paying grateful acknowledgments for the readiness and punctuality with which the people combine to raise so considerable a revenue as you enjoy, you continually oppress them by exacting the payment of heavy and unprecedented taxes. In short, the unrelenting cruelty of your disposition has distinguished you as an object of public abhorrence; and your tyrannical and oppressive

measures in the magisterial capacity, have rendered your government wholly intolerable. These facts are incontrovertible; therefore you, in no single instance, bear the least resemblance to Bacchus.

Hercules engaged and persevered in such heroic and laborious undertakings as appeared too great for human power to accomplish; and in these he proved indefatigable and successful. His glorious actions proceeded from the public spirited desire of enacting such laws as should operate to the general advantage of mankind; of causing a plenty both at sea and land, and establishing peace and promoting commerce throughout the world. This is a concise account of the real character of Hercules. So far from imitating the virtues of this hero, Caligula is of an inactive, dull, and heavy disposition, and so falsely grounded are his pretensions to bravery, that in the whole human race there cannot be found a more timorous creature; this man seems to delight in banishing good order and happiness from society, and introducing in their place tumults, seditions, and every species of misery that can interrupt the felicity of mankind. There cannot be imagined a greater disparity than appears on a comparison of these two characters: and yet Caligula has the effrontery to declare himself the rival of Hercules, and to claim public veneration as being a demi-god.

Could you imagine, Caligula, that the horrid barbarities of which you have been guilty, and the unexampled tyranny and oppression of your reign, were merits on which you might presume to be constituted a divinity? Were you desirous of immortality that you might everlastingly subject mankind to the grievous afflictions in which you had already involved them? Is there not every reason to believe that if thou wert exalted into a deity, the enormity of thy wickedness would degrade thee into thy original subjection to the power of death? For if great virtues can transform a man into a deity, it necessarily follows that atrocious crimes can degrade a god to a state of mortality. No longer, then, indulge the ridiculous vanity of comparing yourself to those illustrious heroes Castor and Pollux, who are so deservedly celebrated for their fraternal friendship; since you have treacherously taken away the life of an innocent prince, whom you were bound to cherish and protect with the utmost care and tenderness of brotherly affection; nor expect to receive the honours that are paid to Bacchus and Hercules, whose extraordinary merits raised them into objects of public veneration; since you are wholly destitute of every principle of virtue and honour, and pursue a system of conduct diametrically opposite to that which would effectually secure you from the severe reproaches and execrations which are always levelled against those who are so shockingly abandoned to the most abominable wickedness.

Caligula's actions disgraceful to his assumed divinity.

C H A P. VII.

*The extravagant Vanity of CALIGULA still continues to increase; and being ambitious of the Distinction of a Deity of the superior Order, he personates MERCURY, APOLLO, and MARS.*

His excessive vanity and presumption.

THE vanity and presumption of Caligula increased, at length, to such an immoderate degree, that he could no longer be contented in the idea of being considered as a demi-god, but became ambitious of exacting the honours paid to the deities of the superior order, as Mercury, Apollo, and Mars. He first determined to personate Mercury; and clothed himself in a mantle, resembling the garment of that deity, carried a white rod in his hand, and wore buskins with wings affixed to them. He now divested himself of the ornaments and ensigns of Mercury, and assumed the appearance of Apollo, wearing a radiant crown representing the beams of the sun upon his head; and to convey an intimation that he would be flow to punish offences and ready to execute benevolent offices, he carried a bow and arrow in his left, and the graces in his right hand.

After this, he caused holy songs to be sung, and dances to be exhibited in honour of the new deity, though but a short time had elapsed since he had been contented with being distinguished by the names of Liber, Euius, and Lyncæus. In order to counterfeit Mars, he provided himself with a costly head-piece, sword and buckler, and marched with priests and bravoes attending him on each side, ready to obey his inhuman commands; for he ridiculously imagined that by spreading destruction, and an indiscriminate spilling of blood, he should gain a more near resemblance to the god of war. This spectacle struck the spectators with the utmost astonishment and horror; they were unable, calmly and unmoved, to behold an audacious impostor arrogating to himself the honour of the deities, to whose virtues he was an absolute stranger, and to whom he bore not the least similarity in any respect but in a ridiculous imitation of their habits, which convey no other meaning than that the gods are bountiful to those who bear towards them an unaffected love and veneration.

He personates Mercury.

The moral implied by the winged buskins of Mercury is only that, being the ambassador or messenger of the gods, according to the import of the Greek word, and the bearer of happy intelligence (for we cannot suppose that either gods or good and wise men would willingly be the propagators of unfortunate events), rapidity of motion is necessary in the conveyance of intelligence requiring dispatch. The wand, or white rod, of Mercury, is to be understood as the ensign of one who is commissioned to make a league or restore peace; for it is the office of the herald, by agreement or truce, to stop the progress of hostilities; and but for this mediation there

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would be no end to the horrors and devastations of war.

What motive could induce Caligula to affix wings to his buskins? Did he thereby expect to disperse throughout the empire an idea of the abominable wickedness of his life, and the execrable profligacy of his manners? Instead of publishing his crimes to the world, he should have followed the dictates of prudence, in burying the recollection of them in perpetual oblivion. What reason had he for adopting the ensign of a speedy passage, since, without changing his situation, he might be considered as the inexhaustible source from which the streams of misery were incessantly to flow, till they had overwhelmed the whole universe? Is not his bearing a white rod a most palpable evidence of absurdity, since his words and actions have so invariably militated against every idea of good order, tranquillity, and happiness? In all his concerns both with the Greeks and barbarians, whether in private families, towns, or cities, he has constantly proved himself the promoter of disagreements, insurrections, and civil hostilities. It will, then, become this fictitious deity to relinquish the appellations, and divest himself of the honourable ensigns, which are, in every respect, so highly inconsistent with his character.

Caligula bears not a nearer resemblance to Apollo than to Mercury. He wears, indeed, a radiant crown upon his head, and this ornament exhibits a very ingenious representation of the beams of the sun: but we are sensible that the sun and light are not favourable witnesses to the perpetration of the most horrible iniquities. Virtuous actions cannot have too many spectators, and will bear the light of the sun in the fulness of his meridian lustre; but let those who are guilty of impious deeds, which are the works of night and darkness, seek to conceal themselves in the regions of perpetual obscurity. To afford a nearer emblem of his real disposition, Caligula should carry the bow and arrows in his right, and the graces in his left hand; or, indeed, it would be more proper if he were to cast the latter entirely from him; for it has been his constant practice to effect the destruction of men, women, children, families, and even whole cities; and that he has no kind of pretension to the credit of benevolence, bounty, and tenderness, which are intimated by the figures of the graces, is notoriously evident from the intolerable oppressions of which he has been guilty for the gratification of his insatiable avarice. As to the article of physic, the counterfeit bears no greater resemblance to the real Apollo than in other respects. So far from being the author of salutary medicines, or exerting a benevolent desire of affording assistance to mankind, by preventing or removing bodily afflictions, he infects those in perfect health, makes cripples of men whose limbs are sound, and, by treacherously poisoning, and other means, barbarously destroys people, without regard to sex, age, or rank in life. His rage has been most particularly directed

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directed against the people of wealth and distinction in Italy; and had not Divine Justice put a check upon his iniquitous proceedings, a virtuous and rich inhabitant of that country would scarcely have been suffered to survive; for his avarice and cruelty were equally without bounds, and a greater profusion of gold and silver had been amassed in Italy than in all the other parts of the globe together. Apollo was not only celebrated for his skill and knowledge in physic, but also for the predictions which he delivered for the benefit of mankind. When people were embarrassed in difficult and intricate cases, by his oracles he always admonished them against mistaking evil for good, and thereby enabled them to avoid the dangers with which they were threatened. So infallible was his knowledge of future events, that his predictions were received in the full confidence that, in due time, they would be verified in the most minute particulars. But the predictions of Caligula denounce confiscations, banishment, and disgrace against persons of the most distinguished rank and merit. The characters of the real and the fictitious Apollo agree not in a single instance. Is it, then, not shameful that songs of triumph and joy, to the honour of Caligula, should be sung to the very notes adapted to those in honour of Apollo? It is deemed a crime to counterfeit the image of a prince in order to give the appearance of reality to spurious coin; but to practise a false worship, is infinitely more unpardonable.

and Mars.

But no part of Caligula's conduct excites greater wonder than his extravagant vanity, in pretending to the strength and courage of Mars; for both his mind and body are effeminate and debilitated; but he makes no scruple of imposing the most gross deceptions upon the multitude; for which purpose he transforms himself into a variety of appearances; and, therefore, he may be aptly compared to a theatrical performer. ~~There~~ cannot exist a greater contrariety than will be found on drawing comparison between Caligula and the god of war. I mean not the fabulous Mars, but that which signifies a promptitude for exertion of bravery and power in favour of the innocent and oppressed, according to the meaning of the Greek word, *Agēs* from *agynus*, to help, or assist. Two names are given to the fabulous Mars; he receives one of them as being the friend and promoter of peace, as far as it operates to the advantage of the public; and the other as being equally sanguine for the prosecution of war, wherein blood, confusion, and horror, must necessarily prevail.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The JEWS, by refusing to venerate the Emperor as a Divinity, greatly exasperate him against them.*

Caligula's  
bad quality.

I BELIEVE it will be admitted, that what has been already said will be

deemed sufficient to prove that Caligula had no reasonable claim to be enrolled either among the demi-gods, or the deities of a superior order. He exceeded every preceding prince in the abuse of power; he gave full indulgence to the most lewd and profligate desires; his obstinacy was invincible, and his ambition deserved the name of madness.

ties undeify  
him.

The Jews, who had before enjoyed the most perfect felicity, severely experienced the effects of Caligula's unexampled wickedness. Being a people educated by parents and preceptors to a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the holy scriptures, a due observance of the law of nature, a belief in the existence of but one God, the Father, Creator and Preserver of the whole world, the emperor imagined that the principles they so unanimously professed would naturally induce them to oppose his designs: but he was not in the least apprehensive of obstruction from any other quarter; for all other people, though actually groaning under the terrible weight of his cruel tyranny, fervently subscribed to the propriety of his conduct, how contrary soever to their genuine sentiments, and made him the subject of their most extravagant panegyrics, thereby increasing his immoderate vanity and presumption.

Reasons why  
the Jews re-  
fuse to ac-  
knowledge  
his divinity.

In compliance with the humour of the detestable tyrant, many of the Romans combined in offering a most degrading affront to the liberties of their country, by introducing into the empire the modes of worship practised by the barbarous nations. But Caligula was convinced that, rather than violate the religious rites of their country, the Jews would cheerfully surrender their lives, cherishing the firm belief that they should be translated into the regions of eternity. If one stone of a building is displaced, the remaining part may appear to be in a perfectly sound and lasting condition; but the effects of time will gradually be perceived, and the whole fabric will inevitably fall into premature destruction: so every thing is of high importance which regards the worship of the Almighty. Caligula was guilty of a most horrid blasphemy, in pretending to exalt a man into an immortal god: he would, indeed, have been more excusable, had he endeavoured to change a deity into a mortal creature. He made an opening for the introduction of every species of ingratitude and infidelity towards the Creator of the world, whose blessings and bounties are continually distributed among his creatures with unlimited beneficence.

Shameful  
compliances  
of the Ro-  
mans; and  
the emperor's  
impiety.

Such was the cause of the merciless war which was so fatally pursued against the Jewish people. Servants cannot be in a more dangerous or unhappy situation, than when they are the objects of the inveterate hatred of their masters. The subjects of emperors are indisputably their servants. So far from continuing in the state of happiness they had enjoyed under the mild government of preceding princes,

His inveterate  
rage against,  
and merciless  
oppression of,  
the Jews.



Princes, the miserable situation of the people was rendered intolerable under the oppressive dominion of the tyrant Caligula. He was an absolute stranger to every sentiment of compassion and humanity, and he abrogated all legislative institutions, as being wholly superfluous, since he was resolved to have no other guide to his conduct than his own arbitrary and capricious will. The Jews were the people against whom he most particularly directed his vengeance: he reduced them to a state of the most vile and abject slavery that has ever disgraced human nature; and therefore they had sufficient reason to reprobate him for having infamously neglected to act as the common father and protector of his subjects, and disgraced the royal station by proving himself a most detestable monster of tyranny and wickedness.

### CHAP. IX.

*CALIGULA's barbarous Persecutions afford the ALEXANDRIANS an Opportunity of revenging themselves upon the JEWS. Horrid Cruelties exercised upon them. Statues dedicated to the Honour of CALIGULA.*

The Alexandrians oppress and persecute the Jews.

THE inhabitants of Alexandria having gained intelligence of the implacable enmity of Caligula towards the Jews, which was sufficiently evident from the oppressive measures that he constantly pursued against them, they entered into a conspiracy, determining to add every possible aggravation to the misery of those unhappy people, who were already sinking under the weight of intolerable persecution. Our enemies were so unanimous, and the injurious treatment we received was offered in so open and daring a manner, that it appeared as if the emperor actually gave encouragement to those who were labouring to effect our destruction. Our habitations were forcibly entered, and men, women, and children, cruelly driven from those hospitable retreats, and the enemy made booty of all the most valuable effects they could find. Our oppressors entertained not the least dread of being apprehended and rendered amenable to justice, and therefore sought no means for the concealment of their atrocious crimes, but continued their depredations in open day; and their audacity was such, that they ostentatiously exposed to each other the property which they had so infamously obtained, with as much confidence as they could have shewn it had it descended to them by inheritance, been acquired by purchase, or any other justifiable means. Many who had formed themselves into companies, and agreed equally to divide the spoil they should gain, assembled in the public market for the purpose of allotting and receiving their respective portions of the booty; and the real proprietors of the effects, so surreptitiously acquired, were the melancholy witnesses to this infa-

mous business; and they were grossly insulted under their misfortunes with contemptuous reflections and virulent abuse.

It was certainly a terribly unfortunate circumstance for people of wealth and distinction to be suddenly expelled their habitations, reduced to the utmost penury, turned, like vagrants, into a wide inhospitable world, wholly destitute of the means for procuring the necessities indispensably required for the preservation of existence: but still a greater aggravation of misery was to ensue. These cruel enemies confined many thousands of our people, men, women, and children, in a small space, like beasts in a pound, and as they were entirely destitute of provisions, it was expected that they would perish in a short time, either through want of nourishment or the corruption of the air; which could not fail of being rendered of a very impure quality, by passing through the lungs of such a number of people. The body possesses a natural heat, and a constant succession of fresh air is necessary for the assistance of respiration; but if pure and refreshing air cannot be inhaled, that which is already vitiated operates as fuel added to flames, and the consequence must be fatal.

The Jews very cruelly treated; many thousands of them being confined in a small space without food.

The miserable people confined in the above-mentioned manner being unable to exist for want of fresh air, some of them retreated to the sea shore, some to the deserts, and others to lonely cemeteries: they who ventured to remain in any part of the city, excepting the small space allotted to them, were furiously assaulted with cudgels, tiles, bricks, and other weapons, which were directed against those parts of the body where it was supposed wounds and bruises would be most likely to deprive the unhappy sufferers of life; and they who came into the city, being unconscious of the popular fury that prevailed, were treated with equal severity. A strict guard was kept on that narrow quarter of the city where the miserable wretches were confined, and such as were detected in attempting to escape were put to death, after suffering the most excruciating tortures that it was possible for human cruelty to suggest: and admitting that they had fortitude sufficient to bear their own calamities, it is still reasonable to suppose that the hope of rescuing their families from the miserable fate of falling sacrifices to hunger would induce them to attempt effecting an escape.

Severities exercised on such as attempted to escape.

A numerous party of our enemies stationed themselves upon the banks of the river, in order to seize the Jewish merchants who came to trade at Alexandria. They made fires of the timbers belonging to the vessels, and cast the merchants alive into the flames, and made spoil of all their effects. Other Jews suffered in a still more cruel manner in the middle of the city; where brush-wood being provided instead of billets, the fuel was kindled, and the unhappy victims were thrown into the fire: the wood

The Jewish merchants plundered and barbarously murdered.

wood being green, and consequently moist, the smoke operated more powerfully than the flames, whereby the sufferings of the people were rendered more terrible and lasting. Many of our people were drawn through the streets and across the market place by means of ropes, and so implacable was the rage of our enemies, that, after putting them to death in this manner, with more than savage barbarity, they insulted the dead carcases by quartering and cutting them to pieces, after which they trampled them under their feet, suffering no parts of the bodies to remain in a state that would intitle them to interment.

The Alexandrians destroy several of the oratories or places of prayer belonging to the Jews, with all their costly memorials.

The Alexandrians finding that the governor of the province adopted no measures for the suppression of the popular tumult, which he could have effected without the least difficulty, but that he pretended to be wholly ignorant of the outrageous transactions, they interpreted his conduct on this occasion into an encouragement of their abominable practices; and in this confidence they proceeded to the exercise of more daring crimes. There were great numbers of oratories, or places of prayer, situated in divers parts of the city, and against these buildings the rage of the enemy was now directed with the greatest violence: they destroyed many of the oratories by fire and other means, and cut down, or tore up by the roots, the surrounding groves and trees. The flames communicated to the adjacent habitations; and it will be naturally supposed that considerable damage was sustained, it being a matter of great difficulty to stop the progress of fire where inflammable materials abound. The gilt statues, with their titles and inscriptions, the crowns, bucklers, garlands, and other illustrious memorials, which several of the Roman emperors had established in testimony of the honour and virtue of the Jews, and which were held in high veneration, were entirely consumed in this conflagration. But no considerations had power to restrain the impetuous fury of these people, who, so far from entertaining the least apprehension of being brought to condign punishment for their outrageous violences, were conscious that, as Caligula harboured the most implacable enmity against the Jews, they could by no means more effectually ingratiate themselves into his favour than by persecuting them with the most excessive rigour.

They proceed to greater outrages, and resolve to set up the emperor's statue in the Jewish places of worship.

That they might prosecute their barbarous and sanguinary designs with the greater security, they deemed it expedient to have recourse to every possible stratagem of insinuation and flattery, for the purpose of gaining an interest with the emperor; and with this view they proceeded in the following manner: the rioters had not ventured to attempt the burning or otherwise destroying a great number of the oratories, on account of their being attended by very strong parties of Jews, with whom they judged it would be dan-

gerous to engage in a contention: but, with a design to interrupt our religious worship, offer a gross indignity to our holy law, and, at the same time, ingratiate themselves with the emperor, they determined to erect his statue in all those places for religious meetings which they had not destroyed. In the principal of these buildings they placed the statue of Caligula in a chariot with four horses of brass. This was an example that many of the Alexandrians were anxiously desirous to copy; and being unable to procure perfect figures of horses, they took from the gymnasium, or places of exercises, those mutilated ones which are said to have been dedicated to the honour of Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the last queen of that name.

It was, indeed, extraordinary that they should expect to gain the esteem of a prince so remarkably vain and imperious as Caligula, by pretending to manifest a veneration for his person in the dedication of mutilated, old, and decayed figures, which had been formerly dedicated to a woman, and were now unworthy the regard of an imperial prince. They had the confidence to expect that the ridiculous mockery which they had practised under the pretext of veneration and respect would intitle them to extraordinary rewards: but the circumstance from which they claimed the greatest merit was the transforming such numbers of oratories into temples, and increasing the number of those buildings dedicated to the honour of the emperor; though it is beyond all dispute that they were not influenced by a regard to the honour of their prince, but by a desire of gratifying the implacable and inveterate rage which they entertained against the Jewish people.

Reflections on their absurd conduct.

Ten sovereigns reigned in Egypt for three hundred years, during which time not a statue or an image was consecrated to any one of them; but though conscious that they were no more than men, they placed them among the number of the gods, and behaved to them with the veneration and respect that are usually observed towards the divinities: but this is a matter that will not greatly excite our admiration, since it is their custom to pay adoration to crocodiles, serpents, birds, beasts, fishes, and other creatures; and since temples, altars, and groves, dedicated to the honour of various kinds of animals, abound in all parts of Egypt.

No statue or image dedicated to a sovereign in Egypt during 300 years.

The Alexandrians are more remarkably addicted to flattery than any other people in the universe, and it is their custom to cultivate the favour of princes according to the good fortune they enjoy, without regard to their personal virtues or merits: and, therefore, they may urge, in reply to what we have said above, that since the Roman emperors greatly surpass the Ptolemies, in point of power, grandeur, and prosperity, they must consequently be intitled to more distinguished honours. The absurdity of this answer must instantly appear; but let it be demanded of those who may be inclinable to contest the matter, What reason can be assigned that similar honours

Excellent character of Octavianus.

honours were not observed towards Octavianus, to whom Caligula stands indebted for the possession of the imperial dignity? The reign of this prince continued for the space of three and forty years, during which time he exercised the government with so much wisdom and discretion, that he preserved both Greece and Barbary in a state of the most perfect and uninterrupted tranquillity, enjoying the great blessings necessarily resulting from peace; and on his decease, there appeared no prospect to threaten a disturbance of the public happiness. But Octavianus received none of those honours which have been paid to his successor. Did this neglect of Tiberius happen because he was inferior to Caligula in point of family? That objection cannot be urged; for it is indisputable that the descent of Tiberius was much more illustrious, both by father and mother, than that of Caligula. Can it be asserted that Tiberius was deficient in a knowledge of the world, or a capacity for business? The age in which he lived could not boast a man possessing a more sound judgment, a deeper penetration into human nature, or greater powers of elocution. No prince or emperor was ever more justly celebrated for the perfection of the intellectual faculties at an early period of life, or known to have declined into old age with more distinguished honours. It is not usual for the maturity of understanding to arrive but with years and experience: to this, however, Tiberius proved a remarkable exception; for so early in youth did the powers of his mind display themselves in full vigour, that he was distinguished by the appellation of *the old young prince*. The eminent virtues of Tiberius, and his great qualifications for the discharge of the functions of royalty, seemed to have exalted him above the level of human nature. His steady resolution, profound policy, sound judgment, strict administration of justice, and other great virtues, gave him the first title to the glorious name of Augustus; and that honourable distinction, which he derived not from his ancestors by virtue of an hereditary claim, but which originated in his own personal merit, will be transmitted to his descendants. But the folly and ingratitude of man is such, that the merit of this incomparable prince has been entirely neglected, and his memory insulted; for the honours of which he was deemed unworthy have been offered to the barbarous tyrant Caligula.

His wife conducted in war, and impartial justice.

When Tiberius assumed the government, so general and destructive a war prevailed, that the extirpation of mankind seemed to be threatened in the apprehended consequences of the furious and bloody contention; in which nation was opposed against nation, and people against people; and, in short, the greater part of the world was concerned in this dispute for empire, whereon the felicity, and even the existence of mankind, seemed to depend. At this important juncture, it was the pleasure of Divine Providence to appoint the descendant of an illustrious family as the agent by whom mankind was to be

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relieved from the alarming prospect of impending ruin. When Tiberius took possession of the helm, the storm, as at the word of a guardian angel, subsided into a profound peace. This incomparably excellent prince put a period to the hostilities and devastations which so violently raged in every quarter of the globe; he cleared the seas of pirates, and caused an abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, by promoting a commercial intercourse between the different countries; reformed the manners of the most barbarous nations, and gave them to experience the happiness resulting from civil society; relieved the provinces from oppression, and so great was his bounty to the different towns, that they were scarcely sensible they did not enjoy unlimited freedom. He administered justice with strict impartiality; successfully exerted his endeavours to preserve an uninterrupted tranquillity, and distributed his bounties with unlimited generosity; so that the people had every reason to congratulate themselves on the circumstance of living under the dominion of a prince so admirably qualified to render their happiness in every respect complete. Tiberius continued in the uniform pursuit of this excellent line of conduct till the conclusion of his life. This truly great and glorious prince, the common benefactor of mankind, held the government of Egypt for the space of three and forty years, with unblemished honour to himself, and unexampled benefit to the public: but no design has been conceived of commemorating his extraordinary virtues, by dedicating images or statues to his honour in any of the places of public worship.

Excellent character of Tiberius.

Of all mankind, Tiberius had indisputably the most just pretension to extraordinary respect and veneration; not only as being the author of the august imperial family, but also on account of his having assumed to himself the whole powers of sovereignty, which were before divided amongst divers persons; and continued to exercise his authority with so much moderation, wisdom, and discretion, as to procure the most perfect happiness to his people. It was a just observation of an ancient, that "Danger is ever attendant upon a divided sovereignty, since public evils are to be apprehended from the disagreement of private sentiments." The great merit of Tiberius has been universally acknowledged by mankind, who have decreed to him divine honours, such as temples, groves, porticos, and such other proofs of magnificence and ingenuity as greatly surpass all other productions, whether ancient or modern. The most remarkable of these is Cæsar's temple, in Alexandria, bearing the name of Sebaste. The situation of this incomparable structure is opposite an exceedingly commodious harbour. It is so high that it is to be perceived at a surprising distance, and it is extensive in proportion to its elevation. All the parts of the building are beautified with gold and silver. In point of architecture, it is a most curious and masterly performance.

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Nothing



Nothing can be imagined more truly magnificent than the galleries, libraries, porches, courts, and halls; and the elegance of the structure is greatly improved by the pleasing disposition of the consecrated groves. It abounds with capital paintings and statues, and various other rich donatives and oblations. In short, the whole work was finished with all the grandeur and elegance that it could receive from the utmost exertions of ingenuity, indefatigable labour, and unlimited expence. It is a conspicuous guide to mariners, whom it enables to navigate their vessels with greater safety both to and from the harbour.

Since such distinguished honours were paid to Tiberius, by the common consent of the different nations, can it be urged that the people were deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to that most excellent emperor, because they omitted to erect his statues in the oratories belonging to the Jews? The reason that statues were not erected in those places of worship to the honour of Tiberius, was a consciousness in the people that he was not more desirous of exacting a conformity to the laws, institutions, and ceremonies of Rome, than of allowing the inhabitants of the different provinces the full enjoyment of their customs, rights, and privileges. Though he did not entirely approve of the great veneration that was shewn towards him, he deemed it imprudent to discountenance a practice which the dignity of the empire required, and served to inspire the public with respect and obedience to the government. As a proof that he was not elated by vanity, and that he abhorred servile adulation, it is only necessary to mention that he would not permit his subjects to treat him in the character either of a deity or a master; nor did he scruple to declare his approbation of the conduct of the people of our nation, in holding so abominable a practice in the utmost abhorrence. But for these sentiments it cannot be supposed that he would have suffered so considerable a part of the city beyond Tyber to remain in possession of the Jews (the majority of whom had been prisoners of war, but were restored to freedom by their masters), and have allowed them the privilege of living according to the laws and customs of their own country. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the oratories, and that the Jews assembled in those buildings, particularly on the sabbath-days, for the purpose of exercising the duties of religion, according to the custom of their ancestors; nor was he a stranger to the contributions that were made, and transmitted to Jerusalem, under the denomination of first-fruits; or that sacrifices were offered, and the functions of the priesthood regularly performed. But he never expressed the most distant intention of expelling our people from the city. Even in Palestine they were indulged in the uninterrupted practice of the religion of their country; nor was any kind of restraint imposed upon them, with regard either to their oratories or their meetings for deliberating upon legislative points. So far from entertaining a disappro-

bation of the solemnities of our religion, he presented our temple with a variety of rich donatives, which we are yet able to produce in testimony of the sanction he gave to our customs, thereby manifesting the veneration in which he held our religion. He issued an express command, that, entirely at his own expence, sacrifices should be daily offered to the most high God: this custom has been observed to the present time, and it will ever be strictly adhered to, and justly considered as an honourable memorial of the virtue and piety of Tiberius. On occasion of public distributions of money and corn, this incomparable prince provided that the Jews should be included in the number of those who partook of the royal bounty; and if the benefactions were to be delivered on the sabbath of the Jews, when they are prohibited from giving or receiving, or performing any kind of work or business, particularly if their interest is concerned therein, he expressly commanded the proper officers to deliver due proportions to them on the following day. The favourable treatment which they experienced from Tiberius gave the Jews a considerable share of consequence with the other nations, who, though natural enemies to them, dared not venture to interrupt them in the enjoyment of their privileges, since they were so evidently patronised, and greatly favoured by the emperor.

The circumstances of the Jews were as auspicious under the dominion of Tiberius as under that of Augustus, although Sejanus exerted his utmost endeavours to

His conduct towards the Jews commended.

effect the ruin of such of our people as resided in the city of Rome, by grossly calumniating them to the emperor. Soon after the miserable death of Sejanus, Tiberius discovered that the injurious reports which he had communicated respecting the Jews, were intirely destitute of a foundation in truth, and calculated to answer no other purpose than that of violently irritating him against them, because Sejanus had found them to be a people, whom, of all others, he had most reason to apprehend would vigorously oppose the impious design he had meditated of sacrificing the life of his prince. Hereupon Tiberius dispatched immediate orders to the governors of the several provinces, enjoining them to treat the Jews with great lenity, excepting only some few who had been concerned in Sejanus's conspiracy; and that no interruption should be offered to them in the exercise of their religion; for that he considered them as a people whose laws, lives, and manners were by no means repugnant to the institutions of government, or dangerous to the public tranquillity.

## C H A P. X.

*The ALEXANDRIANS comply with CALIGULA's Desire of being venerated as a Deity. Some Account of the Worship practised by the ALEXANDRIANS. An EGYPTIAN, named HELICÓ, who had been a Slave,*

*a Slave, irritates CALIGULA against the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA.*

Caligula's vanity and presumption increase.

THE phrensy of Caligula was now arrived to so immoderate a height, that he not only claimed divine honours, but actually believed himself to be a divinity; and neither the Greeks, the Barbarians, or any other people, were so ready to encourage his extravagant pretensions as the Alexandrians. They are a people who greatly surpass all the other inhabitants of the earth in the arts of flattery, dissimulation and hypocrisy: they have a remarkably insinuating manner, a great command of words, and are eminently qualified for creating popular tumults and destroying the order of government. A proper idea of the religious principles of these people will be formed, when it is considered that they pay adoration to their ibes (serpents), asps, and divers other animals; and thus they deceive people who are not apprised of the abominable impiety of the Egyptians: but they are held in the utmost abhorrence by all good men who are acquainted with the real nature of their practices.

Fulsome adulation of the Alexandrians.

Caligula was vain enough to entertain the absurd supposition that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in reality; for they hailed him with the acclamations, and observed towards him the external formalities, usual in the religious ceremonies of their country; and there was so great a plausibility in their manner, that the emperor could not perceive the difference between a false and a true worship. Thus infatuated, he considered the veneration paid him by the people, and the sacrileges they had committed in the oratories, as evident proofs of their great zeal and affection towards his person: and the most excellent poems or histories could not have been more acceptable to him than the accounts he daily received of what passed in Alexandria respecting these subjects. The intelligence was conveyed by his own domestics, who were admirably qualified to gratify the inclinations of their master; for they extravagantly praised whatever he approved, and as severely condemned every thing to which he expressed an aversion. These domestics were principally Egyptians, an abject, and in every respect a contemptible people, educated from their infancy in the abominable practice of paying adoration to serpents and crocodiles.

The artful insinuations of Helico, an Egyptian.

The chief of these people was an Egyptian, named Helico, a man of obscure birth and abandoned principles, who had insinuated himself into favour at court, by unjustifiable practices. Helico had acquired some literary knowledge while in the capacity of a slave to his first master, by whom he was presented to the deceased emperor Tiberius Cæsar. But this prince, even in the early part of his life, was of a grave disposition, and ever inclined to consider frivolous matters with contempt; and therefore he entertained no regard for Helico, in whom he observed buffoonery to be the distinguishing characteristic.

Upon the decease of Tiberius, and the succession of Caligula to the imperial dignity, Helico determined to accommodate himself to the disposition of his new master, whom he observed to be a prince wholly abandoned to the unlimited indulgence of his inordinate and vicious desires: and thus he argued with himself:

"The time is now arrived when thou mayest promote thy own advantage; therefore, Helico, permit not so favourable an opportunity to escape, but rouse thyself into activity. Thou hast now a master perfectly agreeable to thy wishes: he will attentively listen to thy discourse, and yield to thy persuasions. Thou hast a disposition that can easily accommodate itself to all persons and circumstances; and there are but few, if any, who can rival thee in the talent of humour, raillery and satirical mirth. Thou art not more deeply skilled in the liberal sciences than those which are deemed illiberal. Thou art not only able to employ the arts of flattery with success, but also to render those against whom thou hast conceived an enmity the objects of suspicion and repentment by oblique insinuations: and thou art well aware that thy efforts will operate the more powerfully in proportion to the degree of art with which thy motives are disguised; and that thou hast now to deal with a prince ever willing to yield attention to reproach and calumny. Thou hast no cause to apprehend the want of subjects: for the Jewish people, their laws and ceremonies, will afford thee ample materials for the exercise of thy ingenuity. To execrate these people and their customs, thou hast been instructed from thy infancy, not merely by particular individuals, but by nearly the whole body of the Alexandrians. Let it then be proved how far thy abilities are able to render thee service."

He discloses his private sentiments.

Helico's thoughts were, therefore, now wholly engrossed by the plan he had conceived; and he continually employed himself in endeavouring to exasperate Caligula against the Jews: he paid no regard to proper times or seasons, but either by day or night, as his inclinations happened to dictate, interrupted the emperor in his most private retirements, and during the hours dedicated to pleasure, and adopted every species of artifice that was likely to increase that aversion which he already entertained against the people of our nation; and his wicked and malicious insinuations had the greater effect, as they were delivered in a style of ironical pleasantry. He judged it not good policy openly to declare himself the enemy of the Jews, but so artfully disguised his meaning, and conducted his treacherous scheme with so much address, that he involved our people in greater calamities than he could possibly have done had his intentions been obvious.

Instigates Caligula to persecute and destroy the Jews.

The ambassadors appointed by the people of Alexandria had no sooner discovered that Helico was a man capable of rendering them essential service, than they pursued every possible means for attach-

He is greatly caressed and rewarded by the Alexandrians.

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ing him to their interest, for which purpose they presented him with very considerable sums of money, and promised to procure him distinguished honours upon the emperor's arrival at Alexandria, where he was expected in a short time; and he engaged to fulfil their requests. Helico greatly delighted himself by anticipating in his imagination the respect and honour that would be paid to him by the ambassadors who would resort to Alexandria from all quarters of the universe for the purpose of manifesting their veneration towards the person of the emperor.

The Jews endeavour to bring over Helico to their party.

The means of defending ourselves against our open and professed enemies had hitherto intirely engrossed our attention, so that we entertained not the least suspicion that measures were pursuing for our destruction by an inveterate and concealed enemy in the person of Helico. But upon discovering that this man was violently prejudiced against us, we exerted our utmost endeavours, by flattery and such other means as we judged most likely to prove effectual, to incline him to our interest, considering him as a man from whom we had the greatest reason to apprehend danger; for he attended Caligula at feastings, balls, wrestlings, bathings, and all other entertainments and exercises, and was his companion in his sensual debaucheries. Being first gentleman of his bed-chamber, he could on no occasion be at a loss for the opportunity of engaging the emperor in conversation. The great object of his desire was to effect the destruction of the Jews; and for this purpose he calumniated us with the most barbarous severity, but in a style of such exquisite humour and raillery, that his malevolent reflections seemed to be unpremeditated, without the least design of promoting mischief, but wholly calculated to afford pleasure to the emperor. He pursued his infamous machinations with the most consummate art, connecting his misrepresentations together with such ingenuity, that they mutually served to elucidate and add force to each other. In short, the artifices he employed proved so successful, that their effects were never to be eradicated from the mind of Caligula.

## CHAP. XI.

*The JEWS of ALEXANDRIA appoint Deputies to represent their Case to the Emperor, PHILO being the Chief of the Embassy.*

The Jews despair of succeeding with Helico, and interest Agrippa in their favour.

HAVING assiduously laboured to the utmost extent of our abilities to influence Helico in our favour, and having experienced the mortifying disappointment of finding him to be a man of an insufferably arrogant and haughty disposition, and so difficult of access that it was not possible to gain his attention to our cause, we deemed it necessary to seek redress by other means, not knowing

but some particular and personal pique or enmity might be the cause of his prejudicing us in the opinion of Caligula. It was deemed expedient to present a memorial to the emperor, representing the grievances we suffered, and supplicating redress. When king Agrippa was going to Syria, not long previous to this time, he stopped at Alexandria, and we then presented to him an address, of which the above-mentioned memorial was an abstract.

We departed, in order to repair to Rome, cherishing the flattering belief that we should find Caligula a benevolent prince and an equitable judge: but we were miserably deceived in our opinion; for fatal experience convinced us that he entertained a most inveterate and implacable enmity against the people of our nation. He received us in the field of Mars, adjacent to Tyber, and disguised the real sentiments of his heart by saluting us with great complacency and apparent good-will, signifying, by a motion of his right-hand, that we were perfectly welcome; and he dispatched Homulus, the introducer of ambassadors, to inform us, that on the first opportunity of leisure he would take our cause into mature consideration. From these circumstances, it was imagined, not by the Jews alone, but by all persons present, that our application would succeed to the extent of our wishes.

Their deputies meet Caligula in the field of Mars, who dissembles with them.

I had the honour to be appointed chief of the embassy from the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caius Caligula; and the experience and knowledge which I had acquired in the world enabled me to avoid the error of judging from superficial appearances; and, therefore, what afforded satisfaction to other people, inspired me with jealousy and apprehension, and suggested the following reflections: "Is it not strange that, though ambassadors are here assembled from all quarters of the universe, we alone should receive audience? Does not Caligula know that we are Jews, and that we cannot reasonably expect a deference that is refused to other people? It would, indeed, be a degree of lunacy in us, were we to expect peculiar favours and protection from a youthful and free prince, of a different nation from ours, and of principles contrary to those we profess. It is indisputable that he entertains a partiality towards the Alexandrians, and that he is induced, by his regard to them, to hasten the decision on our appeal. I am terribly alarmed by the apprehension that he will be a powerful enemy to the Jews, and a firm advocate for the Alexandrians: but would to Heaven he may so conduct himself in the cause which is submitted to his determination, as to approve himself worthy the character of an equitable judge."

Philo appointed head of the embassy.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Ambassadors are informed that CALIGULA has issued Orders to PETRONIUS to cause his Statue*



*to be erected in the Temple of JERUSALEM. Account of the Deaths of HELICO and the Tragedian APELLES.*

Philo's anxiety through foreboding fears.

MY mind was so intirely occupied by the above reflections, that I was unable to take repose either by day or night; but additional troubles were yet to arrive. A circumstance occurred that foreboded the utter ruin of the whole Jewish nation, and I was now most heavily oppressed with affliction.

We had followed the emperor to Puteoli, whither he had repaired for the purpose of enjoying the fresh air on the banks of the sea, and entertaining himself with the view of the palaces and other magnificent buildings which abound in that neighbourhood. We waited in daily expectation of being admitted to an audience, in the last degree of anxiety lest our petition should be rejected; and at length we were accosted by a man trembling and so out of breath that he was at first unable to speak: wildness and distraction appeared in his eyes, and all his features were expressive of the utmost horror. He retired a little, that he might not be overheard by the strangers who were present, and then, in a

Distressing information brought to the ambassadors.

low tone of voice, said, "Hark ye! have you not heard the dreadful news?" He endeavoured to proceed, but burst into tears, and was unable to articulate another sentence. After a short pause, he prepared again to speak, and frequently renewed his attempts, but his voice was as often interrupted by the same cause. We were greatly surprised at this very extraordinary spectacle, and earnestly intreated the man to inform us what was the motive of his conduct, saying, we could not suppose, from what we had observed, but that he came with a design to weep in our presence; adding, that if he had cause of great affliction, we, who had been long and daily exercised in misery, would join him in mourning and lamentations. At length, he made another effort to speak, and, after many tears, sighs, and other expressions of grief, he said, "Our temple is inevitably ruined; for the emperor has issued an express order for his statue, with the name of Jupiter inscribed thereon, to be erected in the holy sanctuary." This intelligence operated so powerfully upon all who heard it, as nearly to deprive them of all sense and motion; and in a short time we received a fatal confirmation of its authenticity. We now secluded ourselves in an apartment, where we condoled each other on the calamitous situation of affairs; for grief is naturally eloquent, and we had ample cause for lamentation.

Their mournful reflections on the dreadful event.

When we committed ourselves to the mercy of the tempestuous ocean, engaging in a hazardous, fatiguing, and dangerous winter voyage, in the hope of relieving ourselves from intolerable persecution and apprehension, we entertained no apprehension of so terrible a storm as we have experienced at land.

No. 31.

The tempests of winter, and all the revolutions of the seasons, happen according to the common course of nature, and are to be considered as the works of Providence, being meant to operate to the general good of mankind; and therefore they are not only supportable, but to be submitted to with cheerfulness. The tempest which now prevails is caused by a youthful, ambitious, and turbulent prince, who delights in public calamity, and who is so intirely divested of all principles of virtue, that he resembles humanity in no circumstance but that of the external form: and he is to be considered as the more dangerous enemy, since, the whole power of the empire being at his command, no bounds can be prescribed to his wanton and insupportable tyranny. Who would presume to dissuade the most cruel enemy of mankind from offering sacrilegious violence to the temple? Would it not be contrary to reason and common sense, to hope for mercy from a monster whose heart is estranged to all the tender feelings of humanity; or to expect safety and protection from our barbarous and unrelenting oppressors? The man who would dare to violate the holy temple, which, like the sun in the firmament, is conspicuous to the whole world, and is held in universal veneration, must be capable of every species of wickedness, and it would be the height of absurdity to expect that he should, even in a single instance, approve himself the friend of mankind.

"He who submits to death for the laws and religion of his country, will inevitably be rewarded for the glorious sacrifice, by a life of eternity and inexpressible happiness. Why, then (continued we), should we express an anxiety for prolonging the date of mortal existence? But depriving ourselves of life, without being influenced to the irrevocable action by the prospect that happy consequences would thence result to the public, must necessarily subject us to just and severe censure. Should we be guilty of a conduct of this nature, we should but add to the calamities under which we already labour. Being here in the character of ambassadors, we should involve those by whom we are deputed in circumstances of aggravated distress, and afford those among our own people, who are unfavourably disposed towards us, an opportunity of attributing a wrong motive to any glorious resolution we might adopt. They may, perhaps, urge that, being in embarrassed circumstances, we dreaded to encounter the threatened danger, and infamously deserted the public cause.

"Smaller interests must give way to greater, and those of individuals must yield to considerations for the public good. If this rule is violated, the order of government will be confounded, and the very existence of government itself, and consequently of the laws by which the national importance and grandeur is supported, will be in danger of falling into a common destruction. We must not, for a moment, be so insensible of the great duties which we owe to our country, as to entertain the thought of abandoning the cause of the Jews of Alexandria,

Alexandria, who have invested us with powers to negotiate an affair, on the issue of which depends the safety and welfare of the whole Jewish nation, who are now in most imminent danger of being intirely extirpated from the face of the earth by the violent and barbarous persecutions and oppressions of the inhuman tyrant Caligula.

"Perhaps it may be urged, that if we can by no means insure success, we may still indulge the thoughts of retiring in safety, even under the great affliction of our disappointments. In reply to this, I say, that a proposition of the above nature cannot be advanced by a man possessed either of personal bravery or a knowledge of the holy scriptures. It is the natural disposition of truly generous spirits never to abandon themselves to despair; and they who believe and heartily embrace the doctrines of the sacred scripture, will find therein an unfailing foundation for sustaining their hopes. The distress to which we are at present reduced may, perhaps, be meant as a trial of our virtue, and to prove with what degree of constancy and fortitude we are able to support affliction. Farewel, then, to all expectations of sublunary comforts, which are so uncertain and deceiving as to desert us when we have most occasion for their support. Let us, with a firm confidence and steady faith, rely on the power and goodness of Almighty God, by whom our ancestors were frequently delivered from the most calamitous circumstances, and by whom we shall never be forsaken while we hold his sacred name in due veneration."

In the above manner we consoled ourselves on so melancholy and unexpected an event. After remaining silent for a short time, addressing ourselves to the person who had communicated the afflicting intelligence, we spoke to the following purpose:

"How happens it that you appear to be satisfied with having simply related to us the matter of fact, which has involved us in extreme misery; as a single spark may occasion the most terrible conflagrations? We still remain wholly ignorant of the motive of the impious resolution which you say the tyrant has adopted."

"It is a matter of public notoriety (replied he) that the emperor is ambitious of being distinguished as a divinity. Conceiving the Jews to be the only people who would endeavour to frustrate his blasphemous design, he determined to exert every possible effort for obviating the opposition which he apprehended from them. He judged that he could not proceed in a more effectual manner towards facilitating the execution of his purpose, than by wreaking vengeance upon the Jews, by offering indignities and profanations to the holy temple of Jerusalem, which is universally allowed to be the most magnificent and beautiful structure that has ever been formed by human invention and labour, and which contains immense treasures, donatives, and oblations, that have been constantly accumulating during the succession of many ages: and

these sacred articles Caligula had the effrontery to claim for his own private use.

"Capito, who enjoyed the office of a questor, and a commission for receiving the tributes of Judæa, wrote letters to the emperor, which exasperated him to additional rage against the people of our nation. Capito came into Judæa in very indigent circumstances, but, by fraudulent and corrupt measures, he amassed considerable wealth, though not without rendering himself the object of universal abhorrence to the inhabitants of the several provinces. Apprehending that the Jews would exhibit just complaints against him, and call him to account for the notorious delinquency of his conduct, he judged that it would be a seasonable stroke of good policy to irritate the emperor against them, that their expected accusations might operate with the less power; and he availed himself of the following occasion for carrying his treacherous purpose into execution:

"Jamnia is one of the most populous cities in Judæa, and, excepting some few strangers, who removed from the neighbouring countries, and, unhappily for us, came to reside there, it is inhabited intirely by the people of our persuasion. These strangers have ever been violent enemies to the laws, customs, and manners, of the Jews; and they had no sooner gained information that Caligula was ambitious of the character of a deity, and that he harboured a mortal and unconquerable hatred towards the people of our nation, than they determined to exert every possible effort for involving us in destruction, conceiving that a more favourable opportunity was not likely to occur for the execution of their treacherous and iniquitous purpose. They caused the utmost expedition to be used in the erection of an altar, formed of clay, wrought into bricks; and this measure they supposed would be understood by us as a sufficient indication of their hostile principles; and they were not deceived in the conjecture that a quarrel would ensue.

"In a short time the Jews assembled, and laid the altar in ruins; in consequence of which the faction exhibited complaints before Capito, and requested that he would grant them redress for the injury and affront they had received. Capito, who originally concerted the scheme, industriously aided its operation; and when it had arrived to maturity, he congratulated himself on the success of his invention, and transmitted to the emperor an account of the affair, including every aggravation that appeared likely to inflame him to an excess of rage and indignation. The intelligence being received by the impetuous, vain, and presumptuous Caligula, he immediately commanded that, in revenge for the destruction of the brick altar in Jamnia, his statue, of the size of a colossus, and richly decorated with gold, should be placed in the temple of Jerusalem. In this matter the emperor followed the advice of those respectable counsellors Helico, who had so greatly distinguished himself as the buffoon

of

of the court, and the tragedian, named Apelles. Having signalised himself by the profligacy of his manners, in the early part of life, Apelles afterwards engaged in the theatrical profession: and it will, perhaps, be thought scarcely necessary to observe, that there is no class of people more remarkable, than those dependent on the stage, for the lewdness of their principles and the licentious course of their lives. Helico and Apelles are the preceptors of Caligula: it is the business of the first to qualify him in the arts of raillery, and that of the latter to instruct him in singing, and in the manner of reciting poetry. Thus, like a scorpion, did Helico discharge his Egyptian venom against the Jews, as did Apelles that of an Ascalonite, which word signifies an irreconcilable enemy to the people of our nation."

Helico and his colleague Apelles put to death.

The above relation so grievously afflicted us, that we could not have been sensible of more acute pain had a poniard been struck to our hearts at every word.

The execrable advisers of Caligula, however, survived not long before they received the retribution of their abominable impiety. Apelles, being apprehended and committed to prison, was heavily laden with chains, and subjected to the most excruciating tortures, which were inflicted at certain intervals, that his sufferings might be prolonged, and, at length, they produced his death. Helico was put to death by order of Claudius, who succeeded Caligula in the imperial dignity.

### C H A P. XIII.

*PETRONIUS, the Governor of SYRIA, receives the Emperor's Order for erecting his Statue in the Temple of JERUSALEM; and, apprehending the dangerous Circumstances in which he would involve himself by a Refusal, he determines to comply with the Orders of CALIGULA.*

Petronius ordered to erect a statue to Caligula in the temple of the Jews.

THE emperor now dispatched orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, for erecting and consecrating a statue to his honour in the temple of Jerusalem; and every possible precaution was inserted in the commission, lest the

sacrilegious scheme should fail of being carried into execution. He commanded Petronius to summon half the troops forming the army stationed on the river Euphrates, for the purpose of repelling the oriental kings and nations, in case of their attempting inroads or other enterprises, and to employ them in attending the statue: the design of Caligula, however, was not to give an appearance of solemnity to the ceremony of consecration, but that a sufficient force should be ready to destroy such of the Jews as should presume to oppose the extravagant measure.

"Alas! (exclaimed Petronius) is it thus, inhuman

prince, that you declare hostilities against the Jews, who, you are conscious, will submit to the most violent and cruel deaths rather than live to be the miserable witnesses of an infringement of their laws and a profanation of their temple? What purpose will be answered by employing the military power, but that of consecrating the statue with the blood of so numerous a body of innocent people as will lose their lives on this unhappy occasion?"

The order received from Caligula involved Petronius in a most afflicting embarrassment. He was fully apprised of the great danger that would attend a refusal to comply with the emperor's command, or the least delay in carrying it into execution; and he was perfectly sensible that, in case of his acquiescence, infinite difficulties would necessarily occur, as he knew the Jews to be a people in whom no considerations would repress the spirit of a most vigorous and unremitting opposition when their religion was in danger of violation. It is natural for the people of every country to be jealous and apprehensive lest they should be abridged of their customs and privileges; but the Jews are more remarkably so than any other of the inhabitants of the globe. They consider their laws as being oracles delivered to them by the Almighty; they are instructed from their earliest years in the necessity of paying a rigid obedience to them; the more they reflect upon them, the more does their veneration for them increase; and they are so deeply engraven upon their hearts, that the impression is not to be defaced. It is their practice to grant strangers, who become proselytes to their profession, the full enjoyment of all the privileges of free citizens; and in short, so sacred is their veneration for their religious institutions, that they would sooner relinquish life than be guilty of the smallest violation of their duty. There cannot be a stronger proof of their great and scrupulous regard to the dignity of the holy temple, than the law which consigns any man to death without mercy who shall presume to enter the sanctuary: but to all other parts of the building the Jews of the different provinces are allowed the indiscriminate right of admission.

His distress on receiving the command, and wise reasonings on the impracticability of its execution.

The order which he had received for erecting the statue of the emperor in the temple of Jerusalem proved exceedingly distressing to Petronius, who anxiously revolved the matter in his mind, and advanced a variety of propositions and objections before he could determine on the line of conduct that it was most eligible to pursue. The result of his deliberations was, that he must carefully avoid any innovation in points of religion; and his reasons were

- 1st, Because the introduction of a change in the customary manner of the Jewish worship would be contrary to justice and piety: and,
- 2dly, Because the vengeance of an incensed Creator was to be dreaded, besides the consequences that would probably ensue from irritating the passions of a violent and determined people, and driving them to a state of desperation.

He



He reflected on the immense multitudes composing the great body of the Jewish nation; a people, not like others, confined to any particular province, but dispersed throughout every part of the universe, in the islands as well as upon the continent, and in such numbers, that they were supposed, upon computation, to be nearly equal to all the other inhabitants; and he thus argued with himself:

Cool and deliberate reflections on the subject.

"In my present situation, it will certainly be prudent to defer taking any measures respecting the matter in question until I shall have taken them into mature deliberation. The Jews are so surprisingly numerous, that to provoke them to a general confederacy would be a measure exceedingly dangerous to the public safety; for were such myriads of people to unite in a common cause, their force would be sufficient to subdue all the rest of the world. Vast numbers of these people at present inhabit the country of Judæa; and, notwithstanding they are represented by their enemies as barbarians, they indisputably possess noble and generous minds; they are a people skilled in the arts of war, able to bear fatigue, and of approved bravery; and they possess such an invincible constancy, that they will obstinately contend for the preservation of their rights, and infinitely rather yield up their lives, with their swords in their hands, than submit to be the witnesses of a violation of their religion and the admirable laws transmitted to them by their ancestors."

Petronius was also greatly apprehensive of danger from the troops resident on the other side of the river Euphrates, in Babylon, and divers other provinces, who he was confident were strongly attached to the interests of the Jews. "These people (said he) have regularly transmitted their annual contributions, which they call holy treasure, to the temple of Jerusalem, under the denomination of first-fruits; and so great is their piety, that, notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the passage, they have never entertained the apprehension that the treasure would not arrive in safety. Upon gaining intelligence of the dedication of the statue of Caligula, there is every reason to believe that they will immediately take the field, and then we must expect that they will surround us and sacrifice our lives to their revenge."

Having ruminated in the above manner, the governor turned his thoughts to the character and disposition of Caligula. "The emperor (said he) is a young man of violent and impetuous passions; he has no idea either of humanity or justice, nor any guide to his conduct but the dictates of an arbitrary inclination; and his pride, arrogance and presumption are so excessive, that he is ambitious of being distinguished as a divinity. Whether I comply with or disobey his command, my life must be exposed to most imminent danger. By a compliance I shall expose myself to the dangers attendant upon war, the events of which, however, it must be allowed are uncertain: but immediate death must be the inevitable consequence of disobedience."

## CHAP. XIV.

*PETRONIUS employs Artificers in forming the Statue of CALIGULA, and endeavours to obtain the JEWS' Consent to its Erection. The JEWS supplicate Permission of PETRONIUS to represent their Case to the Emperor.*

IN order to avoid the fury of the emperor, which they dreaded would fall upon them as a punishment for their disobedience to the express command respecting the dedication of the statue, the Roman officers who assisted in the government of Syria, under Petronius, recommended the engaging in the war as a measure highly expedient. But it proved a happy circumstance that the time employed in preparing the statue afforded an opportunity of mature deliberation, for orders were not issued either for conveying a statue from Italy, or for making use of the best that could be procured in Syria. Thus it appeared as if a providential interference operated in favour of God's people; for had not the delay happened, the war would have taken place before we could have made the necessary provision against the terrible calamities with which we were threatened.

The Roman officers are disposed for war; which is over-ruled.

Having formed the resolution of carrying the emperor's orders into effect, Petronius sent to Phœnicia for the most celebrated artists to repair to him. Upon the arrival of these people he consulted with them respecting the business they were to undertake, for which he furnished them with all necessary materials, and appointed Sidon as the place where they were to perform the work. He dispatched intelligence of the intended dedication to the high-priests, magistrates, principal officers and other leading people among the Jews, exhorting them to a ready obedience to the emperor's pleasure, as the only means of avoiding the grievous calamities that otherwise must inevitably ensue; adding, that in case of an opposition, death and destruction would universally prevail in all their variegated forms of horror; for strict orders had been issued to the Syrian troops to employ fire and sword in laying the whole country in a state of absolute desolation if the Jews should make the slightest attempt to obstruct the dedication of the statue in their temple.

Petronius prepares to make and erect the statue, and endeavours to prevail on the Jews to consent to the placing it.

Petronius proceeded in the above manner, hoping that he should be able to prevail upon the leading people to acquiesce in the measure, and that their example would be readily followed by the multitude: but he was greatly deceived in his expectation. The matter being intimated to the people, they were struck with inexpressible astonishment and horror; their grief was so excessive as to deprive them of the power of speech, and they wept to such an excess that their tears seemed to proceed from an inexhaustible source; their passions then became more violent, and they tore the hair from their heads and beards, and by other extravagant actions proved that they were driven to the

Opposition of the Jews to the measure.

the verge of distraction. Having, at length, recovered the power of utterance, they vented exclamations to the following effect: "Alas, how deplorable is our fortune to have survived till this time to experience miseries, of which our ancestors could not form the least conception! But we will never submit to be the miserable witnesses of the profanation of our holy temple; for rather than behold the abominable impiety, we will deprive ourselves of the organs of sight, and at the same time put an end to our existence."

Their determination to resist circulated throughout Judæa.

The above resolution soon reached Jerusalem, and was circulated throughout the country of Judæa; and the Jews, as if by a common consent, deserting their cities, towns, castles, and other places of habitation, collected themselves into one body, and directed their march towards Phœnicia, in order to make application to Petronius. Upon the appearance of such an immense concourse of people, the friends of Petronius urged him to be careful of his safety; adding, that a powerful army was on the march to attack him; for they did not conceive it to be possible that the Jews alone could form such an innumerable multitude.

A vast multitude of Jews proceed in search of Petronius.

Upon the nearer approach of the Jews they appeared to cover the whole space of ground as far as the sight could extend, but they were entirely destitute of arms either for assault or defence. The air resounded with the most terrible outcries and lamentations; and when their complaints were suspended, the sound was for a long time continued by the echo. At length they had recourse to such earnest prayers and ejaculations as were deemed proper on the melancholy occasion. These unhappy people arranged themselves into six classes; the old men, young men, and boys, forming the three divisions on one side; and the old women, young women, and virgins, composing the three on the other; and in this order they proceeded.

They remonstrate with him in a very humble and affecting manner.

Being arrived within view of Petronius, who, in order to receive them, had placed himself upon an elevated seat, they cast themselves upon the earth, still keeping their ranks with the utmost regularity, and conducting themselves in every respect perfectly consistent with the character and situation of earnest supplicants. That they were deeply penetrated by affliction, was apparent from their whole behaviour, which was exceedingly pathetic, and attended with such an uncommon degree of harmony that they appeared to be actuated by one mind. The governor ordered them to rise and approach nearer to him; but such was their humility, that it was not without the greatest difficulty that they were able to persuade themselves to comply. At length, however, they rose and advanced towards Petronius, being in sackcloth and ashes, their eyes bathed in tears, and their hands bound behind them, like those of prisoners under condemnation; and one of the senators, in the name of the whole people, addressed the governor in terms to the following purpose:

No. 31.

"Behold, powerful Sir, the unhappy people who now present themselves before you: lest it should be apprehended that we entertain hostile designs, we come entirely unarmed; and even our hands are confined, so that we have voluntarily deprived ourselves of all power of making use of offensive weapons; and we submit ourselves entirely to your mercy. We have abandoned our habitations, and brought with us our wives, children and families to unite in supplications to the emperor, through the agency of Petronius, to grant us a common preservation, or suffer us to fall in a common destruction. We are a people naturally disposed to peace; and it is our interest as well as inclination to entertain pacific sentiments; for we are conscious that we thence derive very considerable advantages.

The humble address of a senator to him

"Upon intelligence being transmitted to Vitellius, your predecessor in the government of Syria, who then resided at Jerusalem, respecting the advancement of Caligula to the throne, we were the first people of the whole country who testified our joy on the occasion, and congratulated him on his succession to the imperial dignity, and it was through our means that the news of his exaltation was so rapidly circulated through the different cities and other places. Our temple was the first wherein vows and sacrifices were offered for prolonging the life, and rendering auspicious the reign of the new emperor. Can it be just, then, that we should be the first, if not the only, people to be abridged of the privilege of exercising the duties of our religion, according to the forms which, for so many ages, we have practised in our holy temple? Our habitations, plate, household effects, and all other possessions, both public and private, of whatever denomination, we are ready to resign into your hands; and we shall do it with the utmost willingness, accounting ourselves even to be gainers by the surrender of our property. We only desire your acquiescence to one condition; which is, that our temple may be preserved from profanation. Suffer us to continue in the enjoyment of our religious privileges as they were transmitted from our ancestors, and we shall have no further request to make: but if you are determined to reject our supplications on this head, we most earnestly intreat that you will condemn us to the loss of life; for we can submit to the most violent and tormenting deaths with infinitely more satisfaction than to the violation of our sacred laws.

"A powerful military force is in readiness to attack such of our people as shall presume to oppose the consecration of the emperor's statue: but we are not so thoughtless and imprudent as to harbour the most distant notion of offering resistance to our lawful master. The soldiers may assault us, and even cut us into pieces, without subjecting themselves to any kind of danger; for, be assured, no opposition will be offered on our part. It was unnecessary to draw out so powerful an army for the slaughter of our people, who will, on no consideration, attempt a defence of their lives. We will even execute the functions of our priests; and in offering our sacrifices,

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the victims shall be our wives, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters; nor, in so desperate an extremity, will we regret to incur the appellation of the slayers of men, women and children; and having spilt the blood of so great a number of innocent people, it will be our next business to deprive ourselves of existence, mingling our blood with that of our friends. Our lives will be concluded with a supplication to the Almighty that he will not be offended with us for a conduct to which we were actuated by a regard to the authority of the emperor, and the sacred laws and religion of our country. Thus shall we behave, if we have sufficient virtue to persevere in the resolution of holding a life in contempt, by the preservation of which all good men would think themselves degraded.

"Among the ancient Greek fables there is related a story concerning Gorgon's head, which had the power of transforming all who looked upon it into stone. Though this matter is a mere fiction, it must be allowed that it bears some emblematical resemblance to truth; particularly in instances of unexpected, great, and astonishing events. To be the objects of the displeasure of their prince, is the most deplorable misfortune that can befall a people. Suffer me, Petronius, to request that you will picture in your imagination the circumstance of our people being spectators of the dedication of the emperor's statue in the holy temple (but this event may gracious Heaven avert!). Do you not suppose that shocking spectacle would give them the appearance of men transformed into lifeless marble? Their eyes would be fixed in their sockets with astonishment and horror, nature would receive a shock, and all the functions of life be suspended.

"We by no means intend to insinuate that we are desirous of obtaining a discharge from our allegiance to the emperor: we most earnestly supplicate that you will not precipitate us into the last extremity of distress, but grant us time and your permission to represent our case to the imperial Caligula, through the agency of such deputies as we may nominate to plead for redress. It is possible that the emperor may be prevailed upon to grant us the liberty of living in a strict conformity to the laws and religious institutions transmitted to us by our ancestors: and there will appear some reason to hope that our petition will not be rejected, since privileges equal to those we request are granted to the people of all other nations without exception. Our remonstrance may, perhaps, dispose the emperor to consider our appeal in a favourable point of view. It cannot be supposed that the minds of princes are incapable of change; the possession of the royal dignity does not render the heart inexorable; and the displeasure of emperors and kings, like that of other people, will certainly admit of palliation or entire removal. We have been greatly prejudiced in the opinion of the emperor by calumny and undeserved reproaches. Permit us then to do ourselves justice by representing to him the truth; that we may not be condemned unheard, is all the favour we have to request. Sup-

posing we should find it impossible to prevail upon the emperor to comply with our desire, our endeavours will not deprive him of the power of carrying his purpose into execution. And now, that we may come to a conclusion, we most earnestly supplicate that you will extend your goodness and generosity so far as to grant your permission for us to dispatch an embassy to plead the cause of a miserable people before the imperial Caligula. By a refusal you will blast all the hopes of this vast multitude of people, whose lives entirely depend on the issue of the present cause. Permit me to add that we have no view to private advantage in our present request, but are wholly impelled by sentiments of piety; and that we mean not to promote our own interests any farther than as they are connected with the interests of our religion."

## CHAP. XV.

*PETRONIUS compassionates the Situation of the JEWS, and writes on their Behalf to the Emperor. Upon Receipt of the Letter, CALIGULA is highly offended, and furiously exclaims against PETRONIUS. CALIGULA dictates a Letter in Reply to that from PETRONIUS, but from political Considerations disguises his Rage.*

**P**ETRONIUS, who was of a disposition naturally humane and benevolent, was greatly affected by their discourse, as indeed were all who heard it; and the tenderness of their feelings was evident from the expression of their features, their gestures, and, in short, from their whole deportment. The governor was a man of great moderation, and a steady friend to, and advocate for, honour, truth, and justice. He considered the request made by the Jews as being perfectly reasonable, and commiserated them as labouring under misfortunes peculiarly severe. In a discourse with the persons appointed to assist Petronius in the government, he observed, that the severity of those who had entertained the most violent prejudices, began now greatly to relax; and this change afforded him no inconsiderable share of satisfaction. Petronius was perfectly acquainted with the savage barbarity and unforgiving disposition of the emperor: but he conducted himself as if he was influenced by a pious regard to the religion of the Jews. Being a man of literature, perhaps his knowledge enabled him to form a right judgment; or he might be inclined in favour of our people by the natural benevolence of his disposition; by the information he acquired after his advancement to the government in Asia and Syria, where all the towns abound in Jewish inhabitants; or by the just sentiments with which the Almighty inspires virtuous people for the good both of themselves and the public: and the latter, indeed, appears to have been the case on the present occasion.

The governor compassionates the situation of the Jews.

Orders



He gives orders for the well executing of the statue, but not too hastily.

Orders were given to the statuarys to employ their utmost attention for rendering the image of the emperor as complete a performance as it was possible for the joint efforts of art and industry to produce: they were not enjoined to use expedition, but instructed to take time sufficient for the full display of their ingenuity; for hasty productions meet with but slight regard, and are soon consigned to oblivion; while those which long remain under the hands of skilful artificers, acquire a celebrity that is continued to distant ages without diminution.

Not judging it expedient to send embassadors to Caligula, he dispatches a letter to him.

Petronius considered that by sending embassadors to Caligula, the Jews would expose themselves to the mercy of a powerful, vindictive, capricious, and oppressive prince; and that granting his full consent to, or putting an absolute negative upon, their request, would be equally productive of unhappy consequences; and, therefore, he adopted a measure that seemed likely to obviate the danger of either extreme. He dispatched a letter to Caligula, wherein he omitted to mention the late proceedings of the Jews, but contented himself with observing that the delay of consecrating the statue was to be entirely attributed to the considerable space of time which the artificers must necessarily employ in producing a piece of workmanship executed in so masterly a manner as to be worthy the glorious purpose for which it was designed.

Wise precaution of Petronius.

Thus did Petronius act with the view of gaining time; and he hoped that Caligula might, in the interim, alter his resolution; for this being the season for reaping the harvest, there was reason to apprehend that if the Jews were to be driven to despair by the profanation of their temple, they would become wholly regardless of their lives and all other considerations, and set fire to their corn and the other products of the earth, in revenge for the abrogation of their laws and religious rites and ceremonies. In order to guard against the apprehended mischief, Petronius took an early opportunity of causing the fruits to be gathered and the grain to be reaped; and he was partly induced to this measure by a desire of providing for a supply in case of a public exigency.

A groundless report of Caligula's designing to visit Egypt.

At this time, a report universally prevailed that Caligula entertained a design of going to Alexandria in Egypt: but, indeed, it did not appear very probable that the emperor, attended by so great a concourse of people as those who composed his retinue, would expose himself to the great dangers and unavoidable difficulties of a long voyage; since he might, with much greater convenience and safety, have proceeded by the way of the coasts of Asia and Syria; for, by pursuing the latter route, he might have had the advantage of disembarking and embarking, according to his inclination, having, exclusive of the vessels of burden, two hundred long

boats, purposely adapted to the use and service of the coasts.

It became necessary to furnish the several towns of Syria with a great supply of provisions, but particularly those situated on the sea coasts, on account of the amazing concourse of people that had resorted to that country from all quarters of the globe. The multitude was composed of men of wealth and distinction, military and naval commanders, civil officers, and persons of every other denomination, and the number of domestics was nearly equal to that of the soldiers. These people were not to be supplied in such a manner as would merely serve for the preservation of existence; but were to be entertained with a degree of profusion and magnificence corresponding with the dignity and illustrious character of the emperor.

Necessity, in that case, of supplying the towns of Syria, especially those on the coast, with provisions.

It was the generally received opinion that the letter would meet with the intire approbation of the emperor, and that he would applaud the prudential measures suggested by Petronius, and approve of the delay in erecting the statue in the temple; though it was not expected that this moderate behaviour would proceed from any tenderness that he entertained towards the Jews, but merely from the consideration that, by securing the corn and fruits, a material advantage would be obtained. The letter, then, having received full approbation, a fair transcript of it was ordered to be made, with which a messenger was dispatched, with express commands to use all possible expedition in conveying it to the emperor.

Great hopes entertained from the letter sent to the emperor.

Upon perusing the letter from Petronius, the emperor's colour deserted his cheeks, his eyes sparkled with fury, his gesture was expressive of the utmost violence of rage and indignation, and, clasping his hands together, he thus vehemently exclaimed against Petronius:

Indignation of Caligula, on sight of the letter.

"Is it, then, thus, Petronius? Have you not yet learnt to obey your master? You seem to imagine that, because you will not submit to the emperor, the emperor will submit to you. The possession of an honourable and dignified commission has elated you to such an extravagant degree of vanity, that you appear to be insensible that there is such a man in existence as Caligula: but a short time will convince you of your egregious error. The world is not inhabited by any people who are such implacable enemies to me as the Jews; notwithstanding which, your desire of preserving the laws and customs of these people is infinitely more powerful than your inclination to observe a due obedience to the commands of your lawful prince. You conceive that there is danger, on account of the great numbers of people by whom the Jewish nation is composed: but the apprehension is vain and ridiculous; for you have at command an army sufficiently formidable to oppose the utmost

utmost force of the kings of Parthia, and the united power of the whole east. Supposing you entertain a compassion for the Jews; are you, then, not highly criminal in suffering that ill-placed compassion to prevail over the duty which you owe to your prince and master? In excuse for your disobedience to my express commands, you plead a solicitude for saving the harvest, in order that you might provide a sufficient supply of stores in preparation for my intended voyage: but this is a frivolous pretext; for, admitting so extraordinary a scarcity to prevail in Judæa as even to occasion a famine, we might, in such an extremity, produce ample supplies from the adjacent provinces. But why do I employ the time in idle words? The life of this insolent governor shall be sacrificed to my revenge. He shall be convinced that, although I decline farther menaces, my resentment and indignation still subsist with their original fury."

The letter to Petronius in reply, wherein he conceals his resentment.

Having delivered the above exclamation, the enraged emperor, after a short pause, dictated to one of his secretaries a letter, in reply to that he had received from Petronius: but judging it expedient to avoid all measures that might tend to irritate the different governors, and induce them to excite the people to insurrections, and particularly those commanding in the extensive and populous provinces, containing powerful armies, as was the case in that immense territory extending along the banks of the river Euphrates, he carefully concealed his violent displeasure, and highly applauded the foresight and prudent conduct of Petronius. But after dissembling the rancour of his heart, under the appearance of respect and approbation, he strictly enjoined him to suffer all other business entirely to subside, rather than prolong the period for consecrating the statue in the temple of the Jews; adding, that since the harvest was now concluded, no pretext could possibly be adduced to justify a farther procrastination.

## CHAP. XVI.

*AGRIPPA comes to ROME, and, being informed of the Emperor's Determination, is seized with a fainting Fit. He writes an expostulatory Letter to CALIGULA on the Subject of the intended Dedication.*

Agrippa waits on Caligula at Rome.

SOON after this period king Agrippa repaired to Rome, in order to pay his respects to the emperor, according to his usual manner. He was an entire stranger as to the letter written by Petronius, and the answer returned by Caligula. Upon making his salutations, he observed that the emperor's countenance was expressive of great anger; and, therefore, he employed his thoughts in examining into his own conduct; but finding, upon the most strict scrutiny, that he was

unconscious of any action that could be interpreted into the cause of offence, he justly concluded that Caligula's displeasure must be pointed towards some other object. But his apprehension was renewed, upon remarking that the fierceness of the emperor's eyes seemed to be more violent when they regarded him than when they were directed any other way; and on this account he several times intended to ask the reason of so singular an alteration; but he suppressed this desire, fearing that he might incur the displeasure of the prince by an imprudent indulgence of his curiosity.

No man possessed a greater skill than Caligula in penetrating into the sentiments of people from the expression of their countenances; and, judging of the painful state of Agrippa's mind, he addressed him in the following manner: "I am convinced, Agrippa, that you are perplexed with anxiety and doubt; and I will now relate to you the matter of which you are so desirous to be informed. The period of our acquaintance has, surely, been of sufficient duration for you to have convinced yourself that I make use of my eyes, as well as my tongue, to express my meaning. Those of your nation are the only people of the universe who have the presumption to refuse acknowledging me as a divinity: and from their insolent disregard of my sovereign pleasure, they seem to be desirous of precipitating themselves into irretrievable destruction. I have issued my express commands for placing the statue of Jupiter in the sanctuary of the temple; and in consequence of this, immense numbers of people have abandoned their respective places of residence, and collected themselves into a body, in order to make application to me under the character of humble supplicants; but their design is to shew in what contempt they hold my commands."

The emperor's address to Agrippa, on observing a fearful concern in his countenance.

The emperor was proceeding in his address, but ceased, upon observing that Agrippa had on a sudden changed colour, and evidently appeared to be greatly disordered. A violent trembling pervaded the whole frame of the king, and his legs being no longer able to support him, he must have fallen to the ground, had he not been assisted by the persons who stood near him. While under this indisposition, occasioned by the sudden shock which his spirits received from the afflicting news he had heard from the emperor, Agrippa was conveyed to the place of his residence in a state of perfect insensibility. So far from being sensible of any degree of tenderness, on account of the alarming accident that had happened to king Agrippa, it served to inflame the emperor to a more extravagant degree of rage against the people of our nation. "Since Agrippa (said the emperor), who has professed the most sincere esteem for me, and whom I have entertained as a faithful and familiar friend, and on every occasion gratified to the utmost extent of my abilities, enters

Agrippa's violent agitation of mind, on conversing with the emperor, who is thereby more incensed against the Jews.

tains so high a veneration for the laws and religious rites and ceremonies of his country, that all the powers of life seemed to desert him only upon hearing them mentioned with disrespect, how little reason, then, have I to expect that the rest of the Jews, who have no such considerations to influence them in my favour, will do a violence to their sentiments, in order to indulge the inclinations of their prince?"

During the rest of that, and the greatest part of the following day, the indisposition of Agrippa continued; and he lay dozing and insensible: but towards the evening his spirits somewhat revived, and, raising his head a little, with much difficulty he opened his eyes, and cast them towards those who were about him, but without being able to recollect their persons. In a short time after this he fell into a sounder sleep, his respiration being less interrupted, and his body seeming to be gradually acquiring its former temperature; and these were deemed to be very favourable symptoms. Having remained some time in this situation, he awaked, saying, "Where am I? Is this the palace of the emperor? and is he present?" In reply to these questions, they said, "Take courage, Sir: you are now at your own place of residence; and Caligula is not here. The time you have slept has been sufficient; endeavour, therefore, to sit up a little; and inform us whether you have any recollection of those who are now about you. Be assured, Sir, here are none present but your friends, your domestics, and freed-men, and that we are all most anxiously concerned for your recovery." The kind solicitude which the attendants testified, contributed to relieve the king, in some degree, from the affliction under which he laboured. That Agrippa might not be disturbed, and that some remedies and refreshments might be administered, the physicians ordered the company to quit the apartment; whereupon he said, "Do not concern yourselves in providing delicacies for the gratification of my palate: a plain diet is all I require; for, under my present afflictions, it is sufficient that I take only what is just necessary to sustain life: I could not, indeed, persuade myself to receive any kind of nourishment, but for the pleasing hope that I shall survive to relieve my country from the deplorable situation to which it is now reduced." These words were accompanied with sighs and tears; and he made a slight meal, the refreshments which he received being no more than what were absolutely necessary for the support of nature. His food was of the most plain and simple kind, and his attendants not being able to prevail upon him to have any wine mixed with his water, he drank the element in its native purity. Having concluded his repast, he said, "I have now discharged a debt to nature; and it only remains for me to exert my utmost efforts in order to avert the terrible calamities with which my unhappy country is threatened." He now ordered a tablet to be brought, and wrote to the emperor in the following manner:

No. 31.

*King AGRIPPA to the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.*

SIR,

"THE dread of incurring your high displeasure, and the veneration which I have for your sacred person and the dignity of your exalted character, will not permit me to obtrude into the presence of your imperial majesty; and, therefore, I presume, by means of a letter, to address myself to your majesty with the utmost respect, deference, and humility.

*Letter from  
King Agrippa  
to the emperor  
Caligula.*

"You are sensible, imperial Sir, that nature inspires men with an ardent affection for the place of their nativity, and an awful veneration for the laws to which they have been taught to yield a perfect obedience. The justice of this observation is fully confirmed by an eminent example which is shewn in your own person; for you piously adhere to the exercise of the duties of religion, and are careful to exact a strict conformity to the legislative institutions of your country. It is the natural disposition of man to continue his attachment to the principles which he has early imbibed, and to respect the laws, customs, and manners, to which he has been long familiarized, however erroneous and undeserving his preference; for there are certain instances wherein we are rather influenced by our passions and prejudices, than directed by judgment and reason.

"You are not ignorant, Sir, that I am by birth a Jew, and that the place of my nativity is Jerusalem, in which city stands the glorious edifice dedicated to the honour of the most high and Almighty God. I am descended from ancestors who were invested with the regal authority. Some of them were high-priests; and they considered themselves as deriving infinitely more honour from that dignified station than from the possession of sovereignty: they considered that as the Almighty is superior to man, so the sacerdotal character must necessarily be more exalted than that of royalty; the exercise of the former being directed towards divine matters, and the other having relation only to things of a sublunary nature.

"So nearly am I connected with, and deeply interested in, the fate of this nation, country, and temple, to which I am indebted in great and manifold obligations, that I cannot suppress the desire of imploring your imperial majesty with earnestness, but, at the same time, with due respect, deference, and humility, that you will be graciously pleased to extend to them your royal favour. Permit me, Sir, to supplicate that you will not compel the people of our nation to violate that religion which they have received from their ancestors, the free exercise of which they consider as a privilege infinitely more dear to them than the preservation of life. Reflect, Sir, on the truth, loyalty, and zeal, that the Jews have, on every occasion, manifested towards the princes

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princes of your illustrious family. It cannot be admitted that the people of any other profession have been so liberal of vows and supplications to Heaven for the prosperity of your empire, or so attentive to the performance of sacrifices and oblations, which they have constantly observed, not upon solemn festivals alone, but upon all other days, without intermission: and they have fully testified that their ceremonies did not consist of an idle parade of words and external formalities, but that their expressions of piety, veneration, and affection, proceeded from them in the sincerity of their souls: and from this line of conduct they have never deviated, except when, on particular occasions, they were compelled by a reverential obedience due to the holy laws and religion of their country.

"I must intreat permission of your imperial majesty to observe that Jerusalem, wherein I received my nativity, is not to be considered merely as the metropolis of Judæa, but of many considerable colonies which have been peopled from that holy city; for instance, those of Egypt, Phœnicia, the Upper and Lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and several other parts of Asia, extending as far as Bithynia and Pontus; in Europe, Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the greatest part of Peloponnesus; and, likewise, the most celebrated of the islands; as Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. Respecting the country on the other side the Euphrates, I may safely assert, that, excepting a small part of the province of Babylon, and some other governments, there is scarcely a city of any consideration that is not occupied by Jewish inhabitants. Hence, then, it appears that I do not intercede in favour of my own country, in particular, but for the general advantage and happiness of Asia, Europe, and Africa, the people inhabiting the islands as well as the continent.

"By graciously condescending to comply with my petition in favour of the city where I received my birth, you will confer great and lasting obligations upon the people of many other places situated in the different quarters of the globe; for on the act of clemency which I now presume to solicit, depends the common welfare and happiness of almost the whole body of mankind. What action can be more consistent with the exalted character of the great and illustrious Cæsar, than that which will gratify the desires and procure the felicity of all mankind, and consequently secure to him the tribute of admiration, esteem, and reverence, from the most distant generations? I am not without hope that the confidence of my address will meet with pardon; for my zealous endeavours in the present cause are meant to promote a mediation which will secure great and immortal fame to the emperor.

"In compliance with the intercessions of some particular friends, you have been graciously pleased to constitute the inhabitants of whole towns free citizens of Rome, thereby advancing to the character of masters those who were before in a state of servitude; and on these occasions your royal benefi-

cence was as great to those who solicited the bounty as to those on whom it was conferred. Of all the princes who acknowledge you as their master, there are but few who can justly claim a superiority to me in point of dignity; and none who bear towards your sacred person a more profound and sincere respect, esteem, and veneration. The instances of friendship which you have been graciously pleased to confer upon me have been great and numerous; and both honour and gratitude have hitherto prompted, and will ever continue to excite, my most sincere acknowledgments. Nevertheless, I do not presume to solicit your imperial majesty on the score of grants and privileges, or that you will allow my countrymen an exemption of the payment of tributes. I only intreat a favour that cannot be productive of any kind of injury or inconvenience to your imperial majesty, but which will prove highly advantageous and satisfactory to the Jews; for what greater earthly blessings can subjects desire than the good opinion, esteem, and friendship of their acknowledged sovereign? Jerusalem was the first place that congratulated Caligula on his succession to the imperial dignity; and she communicated the joyful event to the adjacent provinces. May we not reasonably expect that some favour will be shewn to our holy city, in acknowledgment of the loyal and zealous principles she expressed when she hailed Caligula in the character of her lawful sovereign? It is judged that the eldest son is entitled to the greater share of honour, because, by his birth, his parents first acquired the venerable appellations of father and mother: may we not, therefore, conclude that some consideration, superior to such as can be reasonably expected by any other cities, is due to Jerusalem; since she first congratulated Caligula on the occasion of his advancement to the regal station?

"Having thus spoken concerning my nation and my country, it now remains for me most humbly to implore your majesty's clemency towards the holy temple of Jerusalem. The glorious structure of which I now mean to speak, is consecrated to the honour of Almighty God, who resides therein. The productions of statuaries and painters only represent the visible deities: but to attempt the representation of the invisible and eternal God whom we adore, is considered by the people professing the Jewish religion as a most abominable impiety.

"Our temple was held in a high degree of veneration by Agrippa, your majesty's grandfather. Augustus expressly commanded that the sacred building should be supplied with the oblations denominated first-fruits from the several quarters of the globe, and that daily sacrifices should be offered therein. The empress, your great grandmother, entertained a pious esteem and reverence for the temple. Neither prince nor potentate, Greeks, Barbarians, nor our most deadly enemies, nor all the horrors of foreign and domestic war, sedition, bondage, nor the most terrible calamities to which human nature is subject, could ever prevail upon

us to admit of an idol being placed in our temple. It must be acknowledged that there have been enemies to the sacred edifice; but the religion exercised therein was still secure. The building being consecrated to the Creator and Father of the universe, people refrained from placing idolatrous statues therein, lest they should incur the judicial vengeance of an offended God. It will not be necessary to recur to strangers for examples, since so many of a domestic nature may be produced.

"During the reign of king Herod, my grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, the grandfather of your imperial majesty, honoured him so far as to visit him in Judæa; and on this occasion Agrippa proceeded by the way of the sea-coast to the city of Jerusalem. The magnificence and splendor of the holy temple, the exercise of the religious rites and ceremonies, the simplicity of the manners of the people, and many other circumstances, served to inspire the illustrious visitor with admiration, reverence, and esteem; and he availed himself of every opportunity of testifying his veneration for the glorious fabric. During the time that he remained in Jerusalem, he daily attended the temple, employing himself in contemplating the holy vestments, the manner of performing sacrifices, the dignity of the high-priest, seated on an eminence, and superbly habited in his pontifical robes, and the piety which was expressed by him as well as the other priests who officiated in the religious functions.

"Previous to his departure, Agrippa conferred upon the citizens every indulgence that it was possible for him to bestow, excepting only an exemption from the payment of the usual taxes, and presented the holy temple with many donatives of great value. On his return, Agrippa was accompanied by Herod to the sea-shore, where these two eminent personages mutually acknowledged the great obligations they had received from, and the friendship they entertained for, each other. On occasion of the departure of Agrippa, the people assembled in great multitudes, strewing the way by which he was to pass with boughs and flowers, thereby intimating their gratitude for the great bounties they had received, and their veneration for his person, on account of the pious regard he had shewn to the temple; and they put forth earnest supplications for his happiness and prosperity.

"It is a fact that will be acknowledged by the whole world, that the sentiments of your grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, were exactly similar to those of your great uncle Tiberius, with regard to the laws and religion of the people of our nation.

"During the whole reign of the emperor Tiberius, which continued for the space of three and twenty years, he intimated not the most distant intention of introducing a change in the accustomed manner of celebrating the rites and ceremonies of our religious worship, or of offering any kind of violation or indignity to our holy temple. Though I received very severe treatment from Tiberius, I

cannot be so unjust as to omit mentioning a part of his conduct, the relation of which will reflect high honour upon his memory. I am sensible, Sir, that truth is ever acceptable to you; and I shall now proceed to some particulars which will enable you to form an opinion of the sentiments entertained by Tiberius in relation to the religious institutions and practices of the Jews.

"At the time when Judæa was under the government of Pilate, he placed certain gilt bucklers in the palace of Herod, situated in the city of Jerusalem, and dedicated them to the honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was not from any motive of respect or veneration towards the emperor that Pilate consecrated these bucklers, but merely from a rancorous and malignant principle to the people of our nation. The bucklers were inscribed with the two names of the dedicator and the party in honour of whom they were dedicated, but they did not exhibit figures or any other work prohibited by our laws. But intelligence of the dedication being circulated among the populace, they became exceedingly dissatisfied, and soon made application to the four sons of the king, some other branches of the royal family, and divers other persons of the first distinction, requesting that they would exert their utmost endeavours to prevail upon Pilate to remove the bucklers, the dedication of which they could not consider but as a violation of their laws and religion, and the customs transmitted to them by their ancestors, which had been held in high esteem and sacred veneration by all preceding kings and emperors. Pilate being of a morose, violent, and ungracious disposition, replied to the intercessions of the mediators in an abrupt and affronting manner, in consequence of which the populace were greatly exasperated, and they exclaimed against Pilate in the following manner:

"Cease, Pilate, to interrupt the tranquillity of people who are disposed to observe a due allegiance to their lawful sovereign, nor endeavour to aggravate them to engage in dissensions and hostilities. Do not deceive yourself in the opinion that people are so weak as to be amused by the frivolous pretext, by means of which you endeavour to conceal the injustice of your conduct. Be assured that it is not by embroiling the public peace and happiness, and offering violations to the law, that you will be able to do the emperor honour, or to convince him of the veneration you pretend for his person. We are fully persuaded that Tiberius is by no means disposed to abridge us of the privilege of living according to the laws and customs of our ancestors, which we have hitherto enjoyed without interruption. If Tiberius has granted to you an edict or warrant, or signified by letter, or any other kind of instrument, that he approves the measures against which we complain, we request that you will shew us your authority: it will then be unnecessary to remonstrate with Pilate; the course we must pursue is this: we must nominate deputies to represent our case to our imperial lord and master, and humbly suppli-

supplicate that he will be graciously pleased to remove the cause of our just complaints: and this we shall do in the full confidence of obtaining redress; for we are perfectly convinced that Tiberius will never countenance the oppression of his loyal and affectionate subjects.

"The intimation that the people would remonstrate with the emperor, through the agency of deputies, and petition for the removal of the gilt bucklers, proved a circumstance highly alarming to Pilate, who apprehended that if they proceeded so far as to send a deputation to the emperor, the whole delinquency of his conduct must of necessity be exposed; and he now reflected on the injustice, corruption, devastations, violence, and oppression, of which he had been guilty, and that he had condemned many innocent persons to expire under the most excruciating torments; thence concluding, that if Tiberius should be informed of these facts, the utmost violence of the royal indignation would be directed against him, for having so shamefully abused the power with which he was invested. This violent and impetuous man was greatly embarrassed as to the conduct that, in his present situation, it would be most eligible to pursue: he was greatly averse to removing the bucklers, which he had already made sacred by the ceremony of consecration; and he was besides exceedingly unwilling to submit to the remonstrances of the people, who had highly irritated him, by presuming to oppose his inclination.

"When the great personages who had undertaken to intercede in behalf of the Jews discovered that Pilate, notwithstanding his dissimulation, was greatly alarmed, and appeared to repent of the proceedings which were so exceedingly disagreeable to the people, they deliberated on the state of the matter in question, and the result of their consultation was, that the most expedient means they could adopt for obtaining redress would be to make immediate application to the emperor. In consequence of this determination, they dispatched a letter to Tiberius, representing the case of the Jews, and praying for redress; and this letter was written in the most earnest, but, at the same time, in the most loyal and affectionate terms that could be conceived.

"Tiberius, though a man not easily provoked to sudden and violent expressions of anger, had no sooner perused the letter on behalf of the Jews, than, with great warmth of passion, he reprobated the presumptuous behaviour and indecent language of Pilate. The emperor immediately wrote to Pilate, severely reprimanding him for the impropriety and insolence of his conduct, and strictly enjoining him to cause the bucklers to be immediately removed and conveyed to the sea-port named Cæsarea, and deposited in the structure dedicated to the honour of Augustus. By this expedient, the respect due to the honour of the emperor was preserved, and the affront to the laws and customs of the Jewish nation was removed.

"Upon the above-mentioned bucklers no images were engraven, nor did they exhibit any other representations prohibited by our law; and they were placed only in the governor's palace. But I learn that it is now intended to erect a statue in the sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem. This sanctuary is a place held in such sacred veneration, that all persons, excepting only the high-priest, are excluded from admission; and even the high-priest himself is not permitted to enter the holy sanctuary, excepting on one day in every year, when, after celebrating a solemn fast, the duty of his sacred office requires him to burn incense to the glory and honour of the Almighty, and fervently to pray, according to the institutions of the Jewish religion, that the Lord, in his unbounded mercy and benevolence, will be graciously pleased to bestow a common peace and felicity on mankind during the ensuing year.

"Any person of our nation, excepting only the high priest, who shall presume to enter the holy sanctuary, is condemned by the law to suffer death without mercy. If even the high-priest himself enters this place oftener than on one day in a year, or more than once on the day when he has a right to admission, he will inevitably be put to death, as a punishment due to his presumption. These provisions were made by our great legislator, that the sacred place might be preserved inviolate and held in due veneration.

"You cannot but imagine, Sir, that, since such severity of punishment is denounced against those who transgress the law respecting the point in question, the public safety would be greatly endangered by the popular tumult that would certainly take place in consequence of erecting a statue in the holy sanctuary, where not even the high-priest is permitted to enter but on certain express conditions. In short, rather than survive to be the miserable witnesses of so abominable an impiety, and so shocking a violation of our sacred laws, our priests would put their wives and children to death, and yield up their own lives in a common sacrifice.

"I shall now proceed to speak concerning the conduct of the truly illustrious Augustus, who was indisputably a prince of the most exalted virtue that ever possessed the imperial dignity. His superior wisdom and virtue justly entitled him to the glorious appellations by which he was distinguished. He long maintained an uninterrupted tranquillity throughout the whole world; in gratitude for which blessing he became the object of universal admiration and applause.

"In a conference respecting the temple of Jerusalem, this illustrious prince was informed that our law contained a prohibition to the placing any carved image therein, because it was improper that a visible figure should be considered as a representation of the eternal and almighty God. The emperor deemed the prohibition to be perfectly consistent with reason; and, being a man of great literary accomplishments, he took occasion of expressing many judicious remarks on what had transpired



pired in the conversation, sometimes deducing his observations from the discourse of the learned men by whom he was constantly attended, at other times pronouncing the sentiments that were dictated by his own fine genius and excellent understanding.

"Augustus was so great an admirer of literature, that while he sat at table, and during festival entertainments, he engaged in conversation with the most celebrated philosophers and other men of learning; so that, while he received the refreshments which were necessary for the support of nature, he improved the time to such great advantage as to enjoy the exquisite satisfaction resulting from the indulgence of the intellectual appetite. Innumerable instances might be adduced to prove the liberality of the sentiments entertained by Augustus regarding the people of our persuasion; but, on the present occasion, I shall introduce only two circumstances; and it is humbly presumed that your majesty will deem them sufficient to prove that he was by no means an enemy to the Jewish laws and religion.

"Upon gaining information that the business of transmitting the treasures, under the denomination of first-fruits, to the holy temple of Jerusalem, was not attended to with the regularity that the importance of the matter required, the emperor dispatched letters to the governors of the several provinces of Asia, strictly commanding them to offer no kind of impediment or interruption to the Jews in regard to their assembling in the synagogues. But the liberty of holding public meetings was not extended to any people but those of our nation. The emperor observed that the assemblies of the Jews did not resemble Bacchanalian entertainments, where encouragement was given to inebriation, sedition, and other disorderly proceedings, but were rather to be considered as academies, in which people were instructed in the love and practice of virtue, piety, and justice; and that the annual contributions, called the first-fruits, were intended for no other purpose than that of offering sacrifices in the temple to the honour of the Almighty. In short, this illustrious and benevolent prince issued an express command that the Jews should uninterruptedly enjoy the privilege of holding their meetings and making their contributions, according to the accustomed practices of their ancestors. I do not pretend to have a perfect recollection of the exact disposition of the words of the deceased emperor's order, but I am confident that I am not deceived as to the purport thereof; and of this, Sir, you will be convinced, on the perusal of a letter from C. Norbanus Flaccus, of which I now send your majesty a faithful transcript.

*C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, Proconsul, to the Magistrates of EPHESUS, greeting.*

The emperor's edict in

"The emperor has transmitted to me a letter, wherein he has been pleased to sig-

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nify, that whereas the people of the Jewish nation hold religious meetings and collect monies to be transmitted to their temple at Jerusalem, under the name of first-fruits, it is his imperial will and pleasure that they be allowed full liberty of continuing the exercise of their privileges in these points, according to the ancient customs of their country. This command you are to observe, and thereto yield a due obedience."

"There cannot, surely, be a more incontrovertible proof of the favourable sentiments entertained by Augustus respecting our temple, than the circumstance of his granting us the indulgence of publicly observing the rites and ceremonies of our religion, the liberty of making contributions for sacred purposes, and of exercising divers other functions of piety, and living according to the laws of our ancestors.

"There is yet another evidence to be produced in confirmation of what I have said on the subject of the friendly opinion which Augustus entertained of the people of the Jewish nation; and this matter I shall here introduce. Augustus commanded the observance of a daily sacrifice in the temple; that the victims should be a bull and two lambs; and that the expence attending these offerings to the honour of the Almighty should be defrayed from his own revenue. These oblations have been continued, without interruption, till the present period. It was the intention of Cæsar that the sacrifices should be offered upon the altar: but he was, nevertheless, perfectly sensible that there was no kind of image or representation of a divinity either within or without the temple. This learned and sagacious prince was sensible that it was highly expedient to have a glorious temple consecrated with peculiar veneration to the honour of the invisible God, and that no statue should be contained in the sacred building, wherein men were to perform their devotional exercises in the confidence that their piety would be crowned with the desired reward.

"I shall now intreat your majesty's permission to speak of the great distinction that was shewn to our temple by your great grandmother, the empress Julia. This truly admirable princess, after the example of her illustrious consort, bestowed a profusion of donatives, of inestimable value, upon the holy fabric, consisting of gold and silver vessels, and divers other rich and curious articles. But these donatives exhibited no figures, nor were they in any respect offensive to our laws. The mental faculties of women are generally weak, and it is seldom that they are affected but by sensible objects. But the empress Julia was greatly superior to the rest of her sex, possessing an acute discernment, and a remarkable strength and solidity of judgment. She directed her mind to great and noble pursuits, and, by unwearied study and attention, made ample amends for the deficiencies incidental to her sex. Her mind was strongly attached to speculative points, of which she considered practical matters to be the mere shadow.

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"Having

" Having produced so many remarkable instances in proof of the favour, clemency, and protection, which the people of our nation experienced from the illustrious personages of your own family, and particularly from your immediate progenitor, to whom you are indebted for your life, and the exalted station which you at present enjoy, I humbly presume to supplicate that your imperial majesty will be graciously pleased to continue to us the enjoyment of those inestimable privileges which were confirmed to us by your illustrious predecessors. Emperors petition the man who is at present invested with the imperial dignity, august princes intercede with a prince of the august line, grandfathers and great grandfathers supplicate a grandchild, and divers other exalted personages plead before the great and powerful Caligula, in favour of the Jewish religion, laws, and customs, which, from the time of their original institution, have been held in sacred veneration to the present period.

" It must be acknowledged that if the abrogation of our laws takes place, it is possible the transgression may not be immediately followed by a judicial vengeance: but let it be remembered, that, to discover the events of futurity is beyond the utmost power of the human mind; and that, though divine justice is sometimes delayed, it must, at length, inevitably arrive. What man, who has not a heart polluted with guilt, and does not impiously reject all belief in the existence of an eternal and Almighty God, can be so insensible of these considerations as to defy the stings of conscience, and prove himself to be possessed of so daring a spirit as not to tremble under the dreadful apprehension of meeting the retribution due to his iniquities?

" The great obligations which your majesty has been pleased to confer upon me are so numerous that sufficient time is not allowed me barely to recount them; and the subject is of too sacred a nature to be treated slightly. The mention of some particular facts, however, will suffice to prove your unbounded benevolence to me, without relating the variety of interesting circumstances with which they were accompanied. It is a matter of public notoriety that it was my fortune to be made a prisoner, and, when reduced to that state, thrown into chains. With the utmost gratitude, I acknowledge that your majesty was graciously pleased to restore me to freedom: but permit me to hope that you did not relieve me from my miserable confinement in irons, to subject me to more insupportable oppression. During the time I remained in irons, my sufferings were confined to a particular part of my body; but my very soul sinks under the enormous burden of my present misfortunes. You rescued me from the alarming apprehension of death, and, indeed, from a situation that was to be considered as but little better than a state of actual dissolution; and you afterwards bestowed upon me a profusion of kindness infinitely beyond what I could reasonably expect.

" The humble petition of Agrippa, whose obligations to your majesty surpass all powers of expres-

sion, is, that you will be graciously pleased to preserve the life you have given: and I am induced to hope that you will not reject my earnest supplication; for I cannot imagine that you would rescue me from one calamity, and prolong the date of my existence, that I might survive to meet destruction in a more terrifying form.

" I am indebted to you, Sir, for the possession of the regal dignity; and after having invested me with that distinguished honour, it was the pleasure of the mighty Caesar to afford an additional proof of his royal bounty, and therefore he extended my authority over Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not, Sir, divest me of those invaluable privileges, the loss of which will render the great and numerous favours I have received from you intirely destitute of their use and value. After having advanced me to the most glorious situation that the heart of man can aspire to enjoy, do not precipitate me into the contrary extreme of misery. I entertain no solicitude for the preservation of the authority with which it was your pleasure to invest me: but, on the contrary, with the utmost willingness, can resign all the dignity and honours annexed to royalty, and return to my former station in life. The only object of my petition is, that the laws and religion of my country may be preserved from all violation. If I prove so unfortunate as to meet with your refusal, the consequence must be that the Jews, as well as all other people, will consider me either as a vile betrayer of the interests of my country, or as being no longer esteemed worthy the friendship of the emperor; and either of these events would be productive of insupportable affliction. If the public imagine me to be still one among the number of those who are honoured with the royal favour, and at the same time observe me to be a witness to the profanation of our holy temple, which is the greatest glory of the Jewish nation, they will accuse me as being a traitor to their cause, on the supposition that I had neglected to exert my influence for averting the destruction of my country; for it is not supposed to be probable that emperors can deny such favours as I presume to request, when they are petitioned by persons who are honoured with the royal friendship. If I am so unhappy as to have forfeited that place which I once possessed in your esteem, I intreat, Sir, that you will not, after the example of Tiberius, cast me into chains; but that, instead of depriving me of liberty, you will consign me to instant death; for what inducement can there remain to wish for a continuance of life, after having lost the friendship of the imperial Caligula, in which I have reposed my best hopes of sublunary happiness? And now, Sir, I submit my own fate, and the cause of my country, to your sovereign pleasure."

## C H A P. XVII.

*CALIGULA deliberates on the Contents of AGRIPPA'S*

*PA's Letter, and, at length, he writes to PETRONIUS, the Governor of SYRIA, commanding him to offer no Profanation to the Temple of JERUSALEM; but he afterwards revokes this Order. He causes a Statue to be made at ROME, and transported to JERUSALEM, without the Knowledge of the JEWS. Instances of the capricious, inhuman, and violent Disposition of CALIGULA.*

Agrippa's letter dispatched to Caligula.

HAVING sealed up the letter, and dispatched a messenger, with a strict command to use all possible expedition in conveying it to the emperor, Agrippa closely confined himself within the place of his residence, waiting, under the greatest anxiety of mind that can be imagined, the issue of his remonstrance; for he was conscious that the preservation or ruin, not only of Judæa, but of the Jews inhabiting the several parts of the universe, would depend on the gracious or unfavourable judgment that would attend his application to the emperor.

The emperor peruses the letter with great emotion, but at length relaxes.

Upon perusing the letter from Agrippa, the countenance of the emperor plainly indicated the various emotions of his mind. At one time he was highly offended upon recollecting the disobedience that had been shewn to his express commands in the delay of consecrating a statue to his honour in the temple of Jerusalem; and then the natural austerity of his disposition relaxed, in some degree, in favour of king Agrippa, whose application he could not deem to be inconsistent with either justice or reason, and from the humility of whose address he could not withhold some share of approbation. At other times, according to the impulses of his variable mind, he censured and approved the conduct of Agrippa. He severely reflected upon the king for the extraordinary zeal he had testified on behalf of his countrymen, whom he knew to be the only people inclined to oppose the dedication: but he acknowledged that the conduct of Agrippa must certainly be dictated by a great and noble soul, and that he was intitled to commendation for the generosity and candour with which he had declared his opinion, and for proceeding agreeable to the genuine sentiments of his heart.

He is disposed to favour the Jews.

Having employed himself some time in deliberating in the manner above recited, Caligula's mind gradually became more composed; and he, at length, determined to extend his clemency to the Jews. He dispatched a letter in reply to that he had received from Agrippa, saying that the intercessions of the king had prevailed upon him to countermand the orders respecting the dedication. At the same time he wrote to Petronius, the governor of Syria, advising him that a change of inclination had taken place, and that it was now his sovereign pleasure to preserve the temple of Jerusalem from every kind of profanation. But that the prohibition might not operate at a future period in a

manner disagreeable to him, the emperor inserted a condition in the same letter of a tendency highly alarming to the Jews; and it was conceived in terms to the following purpose: "But it is provided, that if any person, of whatever denomination, shall hold our will and pleasure in such disrespect as to offer any kind of impediment or opposition to the consecration of temples, altars, or statues, to the honour of our royal self, or any branch of our imperial family in any city, town, or other place whatsoever, excepting only the metropolis of Judæa, bearing the name of the city of Jerusalem, all and every person or persons so offending shall be punished on the spot, during the very act of disobedience to this our express command, or in failure of this, be submitted to our august will and pleasure, in order that such punishments may be inflicted as may be adjudged adequate to his or their demerits."

An alarming clause in the letter sent by Caligula to Petronius.

The above clause was in effect a revocation of the emperor's grant in favour of the temple of Jerusalem. In short, it was laying a foundation for civil hostilities. It was universally expected that the enemies of the people of the Jewish persuasion would sacrilegiously consecrate statues throughout every part of the country, under the sanction of the edict issued by the emperor; but it was not imagined that they would be induced to this conduct so much by their respect to Caligula as by their enmity to the Jews. Our enemies supposed that the Jews would on no consideration patiently submit to be witnesses to the profanation of their laws, which they had ever held in the most sacred veneration; and that their opposition to his pleasure would so highly incense Caligula, that, in order to punish them for their disobedience, he would renew his positive commands for consecrating the statue in the sanctuary of the holy temple.

It paves the way for civil disturbances.

But notwithstanding the reason that appeared to justify the apprehension of a popular tumult, it was the pleasure of Divine Providence to maintain good order and discipline among the people; and no outrageous proceedings seemed to be threatened. Though the multitude appeared to be disposed to confine their measures within the bounds of moderation, our affairs, notwithstanding their flattering appearance, were by no means in a more auspicious train; for the emperor repented of the determination he had so lately passed in our favour, and renewed his former sentiments respecting the dedication of his statue.

Commendable moderation in the people.

Lest the multitude should be provoked to oppose the measure, no farther discourse was held on the subject of preparing a statue at Sidon: but Caligula issued an order that one should be provided at Rome, and that this figure should be composed of copper, and richly gilt. He also commanded that all possible care should be employed in secretly transporting the image by sea to Jerusalem, and for adopt-

Caligula orders a statue to be made at Rome, and privately transported to Jerusalem.



adopting such measures as would enable the people employed in this business to erect the figure in the temple, before the Jews could be well apprised of the matter: and Caligula's voyage to Egypt was to afford an opportunity of doing this business, which was to appear as the voluntary act of the people, without even the knowledge of the emperor.

He makes  
preparation  
for visiting A-  
lexandria.

Caligula entertained an anxious desire of visiting Alexandria, and he ordered no expence to be spared in providing every accommodation that could contribute to the convenience of his passage. Alexandria being the capital of Egypt, and on account of its advantageous situation a place of universal commerce, Caligula imagined that the example of that city could scarcely fail of influencing those of less consideration, since people in a collective body were to be considered as bearing a similarity to individuals in the circumstance of regulating their conduct agreeable to the example of their superiors. Hence, then, he concluded that he could not determine upon a situation where a greater probability of success would attend his ridiculous scheme of claiming the public honours of a divinity.

Instances of  
Caligula's ca-  
pricious, in-  
human, and  
violent dispo-  
sition.

The emperor was naturally of a variable, vindictive and cruel disposition; and this assertion will be fully justified by the following instances: Having restored a number of prisoners to liberty, he almost immediately ordered them again into close confinement, and rendered their situation infinitely more insupportable than that which they had before experienced, by depriving them of every hope of recovering their freedom, although no circumstance whatever could be alledged against them to justify their detention. Other persons, who were intirely unconscious of guilt, became the objects of the tyrant's displeasure; and knowing that their fate would be decided by a judge equally a stranger to mercy and justice, they considered it as a matter of certainty that the sentence of death would be pronounced upon them: but they were, however, ordered into banishment. Notwithstanding their perfect innocence, they deemed this sentence to be a proof of great lenity, considering the character of the man who had acted in the capacity of their judge. In short, they went into exile, deeming themselves happy in having escaped more severe treatment, and patiently submitted to their misfortunes, conducting themselves with unblemished honour and integrity. In a short time, however, the emperor commanded a military power to assassinate the unfortunate exiles; and when this inhuman order had been executed, it was not in his power to assign a motive for his extraordinary conduct; for he had received no kind of provocation, the unhappy sufferers having behaved with such exemplary prudence as to avoid every proceeding that could possibly excite the barbarity of the tyrant. On occasion of this melancholy event, all the noble families of Rome put themselves into mourning, in testimony of their affliction for the horrid murder of their friends and relations.

When the emperor parted with money, it was ever with a rapacious design, and with a pre-determination to effect the ruin of those who received it. He would never acknowledge that the money was to be considered either as a gift, or as a loan, for which interest was to be paid: but constantly pretended that it had been stolen or fraudulently obtained. The unfortunate people were not barely compelled to make restitution, but even to surrender to Caligula their whole estates, whether they had become possessed of them in virtue of hereditary right, or acquired them by their own industry.

His rapacious-  
ness.

It was the practice of Caligula to ruin the fortunes of those people who imagined themselves honoured by his most particular esteem. By a complimentary address and the appearance of friendship, he seduced them to provide entertainments for him at an enormous expence. To compliment the emperor on occasion of these meetings, invention was tortured to discover the means of yielding full gratification to the most exquisite luxury; and it frequently happened that the magnificence and profusion of a single entertainment was so great, that the attendant expence consumed an ample fortune, and, exclusive of that, incumbered the host with a debt that he could not expect ever to be in a condition to discharge. People of discernment, however, were apprised of the true motive of Caligula's plausibility of behaviour; and instead of endeavouring to ingratiate themselves into his favour, avoided contracting a familiarity with him, which they considered as a dangerous allurement to destruction.

Dreadful ef-  
fects of his  
friendship.

Such was the disposition of Caligula. There were no people against whom he entertained so mortal an aversion as the Jews; and they experienced the most violent effects of his impetuous, cruel and unrelenting temper. He commenced his oppressive proceedings in Alexandria, where he expelled the Jews their oratories, and erected in those buildings statues to his honour, while our people, being awed by the consideration of his great power and authority, dared not venture to oppose the horrid profanation. The temple of Jerusalem was the only sacred place now remaining unviolated; and the emperor had even the presumption to pursue measures for consecrating that holy fabric to his honour, under the denomination of, "The temple of the new Jupiter, the illustrious Caius Caligula."

His extreme  
aversion to  
the Jews.

The character of Caligula affords the most striking instance that can be produced of arrogance, inhumanity, and blasphemous irreverence towards the almighty Creator. The command of the whole universe was not equal to the gratification of his extravagant ambition, but he impiously presumed to aspire to the sovereignty of Heaven! Canst thou imagine, Caligula, that the Omnipotent Power who created, is not intitled to the government of the world? Wilt thou not permit a city, a temple, or any part of this sub-  
lunary

His insatiable  
ambition, and  
arrogant blas-  
phemy.

lunary sphere, to be peculiarly dedicated to the most High God, wherein men may acknowledge the pious veneration they entertain towards his sublime Majesty? You have but little conception, Caligula, of the terrible calamities in which you will involve yourself and the whole empire by persevering in your blasphemous purpose, the accomplishment of which is beyond the power of possibility: but your extravagant presumption is such, that the very idea of it cannot fail to strike men less abandoned and reprobate than yourself with horror and detestation."

# C H A P. XVIII.

*The insulting and cruel Treatment which PHILO, and the other Persons composing the Embassy from the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA, received from the Emperor CALIGULA.*

Caligula's haughty and insulting Cruelty towards Philo and the other deputies IT is now necessary that we should proceed to the relation of some particulars which transpired in regard to the subject of our embassy from the Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Caius Caligula. The time being arrived when we were to have audience, we were introduced into the presence of the emperor; the fierceness of whose countenance and deportment we interpreted into a certain indication that he was to be considered as an inveterate enemy rather than an impartial judge. Preparatory to a judicial decision on so important a cause, an impartial man would, with the assistance of counsel, have carefully examined into the merits of the case, and having heard, attentively considered, and candidly compared the allegations of either party, have publicly declared his opinion. But Caligula dispensed with the introduction of these and all other judicial formalities. So important was the cause in agitation, that on the issue thereof absolutely depended the privileges and even the lives of the vast multitudes of Jews who inhabited Alexandria. The rights for which the Jews contended were so evidently founded in justice, that during the space of four hundred years their claim had remained wholly uncontroverted. Instead of behaving to us with the candour and moderation becoming the character of a judge, and conforming to the usual methods of equity and justice, the inhuman tyrant treated us with disrespect and indignity that would have proved degrading to the most contemptible of his vassals.

He orders them to be introduced. The emperor had for three or four days retired to the two gardens situated between the palace and the town, and occupied by Mæcenas and Læmias. By Caligula's desire the gardeners were called into his presence: and he ordered them to open the several doors, saying that he was disposed to walk for the benefit of the fresh air, and to amuse himself by examining the curiosities with which the place abounded; and he now gave orders for our introduction.

No. 32.

Upon our appearance before the emperor we prostrated ourselves at his feet, addressing him by the titles of emperor and Augustus, and affording other proofs of the most profound humility and respect. Caligula returned our salutations in a manner that convinced us our application would be rejected, and that our lives were in imminent danger. At length, with a malicious smile, the emperor accosted us in this manner: "I presume you belong to that detestable fraternity who insolently affront my sacred person with contempt, by offering adorations to an unknown and nameless god, when all the rest of the world yield a willing obedience to the divinity of Caligula." He now raised his hands towards heaven, and, with great vehemence, uttered expressions too horrible for repetition. The behaviour of Caligula was understood by our adversaries as a declaration in their favour; and, being unable to conceal their joy on this occasion, they applied to the emperor every attribute, name, and honour, peculiar to Almighty God.

Respectful behaviour of the deputies, and the emperor's malicious return.

A man named Isidore, of an insinuating, treacherous, and crafty disposition, observing the remarkable satisfaction with which the emperor listened to the extravagant and impious flatteries that were offered him, availed himself of the opportunity of speaking to the following effect: "Your displeasure, Sir, would be more violent against these people, as well as those by whom they are deputed, were you but sensible of the implacable aversion they have towards your sacred person. The Jews were the only people who with-held their concurrence when vows and supplications were offered up for preserving the life, and rendering auspicious the reign of the imperial Caligula." Hereupon, we unanimously exclaimed, "We are most grossly traduced to your majesty: we have offered up whole hecatombs for the long life, happiness, and prosperity, of Cæsar; and, after sprinkling the blood of the victims upon the altar, we did not, according to the practice of many people, convey the flesh away, in order to feast ourselves, but we committed the whole sacrifice to be consumed in the sacred fire. Three several times have we thus shewn honour to Caligula. First, on occasion of your advancement to the imperial dignity; secondly, on your restoration to health from an alarming sickness, which had proved the source of infinite affliction to the several nations; and, thirdly, when we offered up vows and supplications for rendering your troops in Germany victorious."

Isidore's impious flattery, and false accusation of the Jews.

"I acknowledge (replied the furious Caligula) that you have offered up sacrifices; but they were not intended as an honour to me: they were offerings to an unknown imaginary divinity." Upon hearing this horrible blasphemy, a trembling pervaded all our bodies, and the course of the blood was stopped within our veins.

Caligula's blasphemous reply.

The emperor now proceeded to view the several apartments, from the common

The Jewish deputies are

offices

mocked and  
derided by  
their Pagan  
enemies.

offices to the rooms of entertainment, pointing out what he deemed to be defective, and ordering the improvements that he was desirous of having introduced. We followed the emperor from place to place, our adversaries making us the objects of railery and contempt. Like buffoons on a stage, they insulted our misfortunes with illiberal and acrimonious jests. The conduct of our adversaries, in short, was like a theatrical representation, where the man who should have maintained the character of a judge became an accuser, permitting his partiality to be increased to a more shameful degree by the irritations of the favoured party. Having so iniquitous a judge, and so implacable an enemy in the person of the emperor, we deemed it prudent to remain in silence, considering that as our only defence; for the most powerful arguments could not assist our cause, and we were unwilling to provoke the tyrant to offer additional affronts to our religion.

Caligula asks  
them why  
they still re-  
fuse to eat  
swine's flesh.

Having given some directions respecting the buildings, Caligula said to us, with an affected gravity, "I beg to be informed of the reason you have for so obstinately persisting in a refusal to feed upon swine's flesh." Hereupon, our opponents burst into a violent fit of laughter, which was partly excited by the ridicule of the question, and partly affected with a view of ingratiating themselves with the emperor, by pretending to admire his vivacious and satirical humour. Some persons of distinction, who possessed a greater share of good manners than the rest, censured the behaviour of these people, as being exceedingly indiscrete in presence of the emperor; adding, that such liberties were not to be excused but among persons of equal rank living on terms of friendship and familiarity.

Their reply,  
and his rail-  
lery.

In reply to the emperor's question concerning swine's flesh, we said, that various customs and manners respectively prevailed in different places and among different people; that we admitted the use of some things were denied to us, but begged, at the same time, to observe that our opponents were prohibited the use of others. It was said by one of the company, that some people refused to eat mutton. "The people who refuse to eat mutton (said Caligula) certainly are intitled to commendation; for it is by no means grateful to the palate:" and these words he accompanied with a smile. It must be confessed that these sarcastic and insulting reflections proved an aggravation to our distress. At length, the emperor addressed us in an impetuous manner, demanding on what foundation it was that we rested our claim to the privilege of citizens. We immediately proceeded to urge arguments in defence of our rights; but the emperor, observing that they were founded in such strict justice, as to be wholly incontrovertible, and apprehending that it was in our power to adduce others of still greater force, he abruptly interrupted the speech, and suddenly starting from his

seat, hastened into the great hall. Having walked for some time in this place, he gave orders for the windows to be shut. The glass of these windows was as transparent and brilliant as the clearest crystal, and so contrived as to exclude the sun, as well as the wind, and yet afford a free admission to the light. Soon after this, he approached us with a gentle pace, a composed countenance, and an air of complacency, and, in a softened tone of voice, demanded what request we had to urge to him. We now determined to communicate our requisitions in as few words as the nature of the case would admit: but, instead of listening to us, Caligula suddenly departed, and went into an apartment in which was deposited a valuable collection of paintings, the productions of the most celebrated masters of antiquity.

The repeated interruptions to the decision of our cause, and the vexatious measures that were pursued to insult and distress us, and a servile attendance upon an imperious, inconstant, and cruel prince, became, at length, insupportably afflicting; and we judged that, under the terrible disappointments which we had experienced, the most laudable conduct we could pursue would be to make the necessary preparations for death.

Caligula's  
mortifying  
behaviour.

In this extremity, we humbled ourselves before the throne of the most high God, the Creator of heaven and earth, offering up adorations to his divine Majesty, and earnestly supplicating that, in his unbounded mercy, he would be graciously pleased to avert the rage and menaces with the effects of which his faithful and humble servants were threatened by a blasphemous impostor. The Almighty was pleased to compassionate the miserable situation of his humble supplicants, and to moderate the fury of our persecutor. In fine, Caligula proceeded to no farther outrages against us, but ordered us to retire, saying only the following words: "These people who refuse to honour me as a divinity, I consider as being rather unhappy than iniquitous."

The deputies  
apprehensive  
of instant  
death, suppli-  
cate the Al-  
mighty, who  
softens the ty-  
rant's rage.

In the above manner were we delivered from our calamitous situation. I might, indeed, say that we were rescued from a prison or a theatre. I speak of a theatre, because we were made the objects of ridicule, contempt, laughter, and other indignities; and the utmost rigours of a prison would have been infinitely more supportable than the torments our very souls experienced, upon hearing the abominable blasphemies uttered by Caligula, or the consideration that we were wholly subject to the power of an inhuman, capricious, tyrannical, and powerful prince. The Jews were the only people of the world who refused to pay divine honours and veneration to Caligula; and in this determination they uniformly persevered, in despite of the tyrant's utmost power. The unremitting constancy which they testified for preserving their holy laws from violation, was the  
origi-

Recapitula-  
tion of their  
scornful treat-  
ment.



original and only source of the tyrant's implacable enmity and rage.

The Jews assert their fortitude, under the most barbarous usage.

We now enjoyed some respite from our calamities. But it is not to be understood that we were alarmed by the dread of death: on the contrary, to have yielded up our lives for promoting the common cause of our country, and for preserving the rites of our religion, we should have accounted the greatest blessing to which human nature could possibly arrive. In the situation to which we were reduced, our deaths could not possibly have been productive of happy effects; but would have incurred disgrace upon our employers, if not have tended to the ruin of our cause. When deputies prove unsuccessful in their negotiations, the failure is generally attributed to the improper conduct of their principals. On this consideration, we deemed ourselves fortunate in having escaped so material a part of the threatened danger; but we were still under a terrible anxiety on account of the sentence which the emperor was yet to pronounce; for it was not possible that he could judge as to the equity of our claim, since he had not condescended to be inform-

ed of the particulars of the cause submitted to his decision. It would have been a most deplorable circumstance, had the vast multitudes of people composing the Jewish nation been subjected to the severity of treatment experienced by their five ambassadors. Had the emperor determined the cause in favour of the Alexandrians, we must have expected persecutions in every other place. Our habitations, oratories, and other places dedicated to religious purposes, would have been destroyed, and the sacred laws and religious rites of our ancestors intirely abolished; and thus, abridged of every hope of relief from our grievous oppression, the burden of life would have become intolerable. When reduced to the most deplorable state of misery that it was possible for human nature to sustain, we were treacherously deserted by our temporising friends, on whom we had placed our most sanguine hopes of receiving support, and who were conscious of the justice of our cause, and of the extravagant vanity and presumption of Caligula, in exacting public veneration as a divinity.

Critical situation of the Jews, and their happy deliverance.

V I N D I C A T I O N  
OF THE  
TESTIMONIES OF JOSEPHUS,  
CONCERNING  
Our Blessed Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, *JOHN* the *BAPTIST*,  
and *JAMES* the *JUST*.

Prefatory remark.

**S**INCE we meet with many important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the harbinger or forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, as also James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth: and as the principal testimony has been questioned

by many, and rejected by some as spurious, I hold it my duty, having ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies are genuine, to produce original evidences, in order to confirm them, and then make proper observations, for the more complete satisfaction of the reader. Before I enter upon my main design, it may not be impertinent, by way of

prepa-

preparatory, to quote the opinion of perhaps the most learned person and competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus; I mean Joseph Scaliger, from whose works in Latin the following is a translation.

Scaliger. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers. We can confidently affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are most conspicuous throughout his works."

Tacitus. This writer, in his annals, affirms, that "Nero, in order to stifle the rumour (though he himself set Rome on fire), ascribed it to those people who were hated for their strange practices, and called, by the vulgar, Christians. These he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa."

As Josephus gives us his testimony, and since almost all the rest that is true of the Jews in Tacitus, was directly taken by him out of Josephus, there can remain no reason to doubt but this passage was taken from him also. He could not have this account from that other Jewish historian, Justus of Tiberias; for Photius, who perused his history, assures us, that Justus made no mention at all of Jesus Christ. The true writing of these names, Christ and Christians, as in Josephus, is another argument that Tacitus had this account from him; which names he would otherwise most probably, with Suetonius, and other old Romans, have written Chrest and Chrestians. The words of Tacitus are also so very like those of Josephus, that it is most reasonable to conclude they were taken from him, and from no other author whatever.

Justin Martyr. He thus expresses himself: "You (Jews) knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies foretold was to happen."

Origen, concerning James

"James was so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when in his twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities, he describes the cause why the people suffered such miseries till the sacred temple was demolished, says, that these things befel them through the divine anger, for what they had dared to do with James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ. He says farther, that the people thought they suffered these things for the sake of James."

John the Baptist, and Jesus.

"In the 18th book of the Jewish Antiquities, Josephus testifies, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptised. The same Josephus, also, when inquiring into the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the demolition of the temple, ought to have said, that their persecutions against Jesus were the cause of these miseries com-

ing on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets; he, though as it were unwillingly, yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ; because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord's brother (Gal. i. 19.) which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or sameness of education, as it does agreement of manners and preaching. If, therefore, he says, the desolation of Jerusalem befel the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus?" To this, Origen adds, "Titus destroyed Jerusalem, according to Josephus, on account of James the Just, the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ; but, in truth, on account of Jesus, the Christ of God."

"Although the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient, it may not, however, be amiss if, over and above, we make use of Josephus, the Jew, as an additional witness. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, where he relates an account of what happened under Pilate, he mentions our Saviour in these words: "Now there was, about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these and many other wonderful things concerning him. Whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." If, therefore, we have the testimony of this historian, that he not only brought over to himself the Twelve Apostles, with the Seventy Disciples, but many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles, he must manifestly have somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind; for how, otherwise, could he draw over so many of the Jews and Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness that there were many thousands of Jews (Acts xxi. 20.) who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets."

In that part of holy scripture called the Gospels, mention is made of John the Baptist having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea,

Eusebius, concerning Jesus Christ.

From ecclesiastical history, about the year 330.

Petrea, and which Herodias had parted from her husband while he was alive. On this account, also, Aretas made war with him because his daughter had been used dishonourably. In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover, this same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, concurs in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom, for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul. See further respecting John, in his Antiquities, Book XVIII. Chap. VII. p. 334.

When Josephus had written as above quoted, he makes mention of our Saviour in the same history (in the manner already quoted); therefore, as this writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves, he hath delivered these things in his own work concerning John the Baptist, and our Saviour. What room, then, can there be for further evasion?

Now James was so wonderful a person, and so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of the siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason, than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing. See Origen, above. The same Josephus declares, also, the manner of his death, in his Antiquities, Book XX. Ch. VII. p. 380. of this edition.

Ambrose, or Hegelippus. "It was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms (who is an author not to be rejected when he writes against himself), that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of punishment for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears from Josephus, the writer of their history, who says, That there was at that time a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples, after the third day from his death, alive again, according to the writings of our prophets, who foretold these, and innumerable other miraculous events, concerning him. From him arose the congregation of Christians, which have penetrated amongst all sorts of men. Nor does there remain a nation in the Roman world that continue strangers to his religion." If the Jews do not believe us, let them, at least, believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this; he hath spoken truth after such a manner, that is, historical truth, because he held it unlawful to deceive, though he was no believer, which rather confirms than invalidates his testimony concerning this wonderful person."

No. 32.

"There was at that time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of wise things to those who were willing to hear the truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, according to what the divinely-inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who are denominated from him, continue still in being."

Rufinus, concerning Christ

"In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Josephus most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees, on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet, and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. He wrote concerning our Lord after this manner. "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers, both of the Jews and Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ. And when, through the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, notwithstanding this, those who had loved him at first, persevered: for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not yet extinct." See the preceding article.

Hieronymus, or Jerom.

"One Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, was very zealous for the law: he also paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and hath shewn that their settlement is nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth (for he would not support the opinions of impious men), I think it necessary to set down his words. What, then, does he say? "Now there was," &c. See the two foregoing articles. I cannot but admire this man's love of truth, in many instances, but chiefly, where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who with pleasure received the truth."

Isidore of Pe-  
lusium, a scholar of Chrysostom.

"Josephus the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be deemed a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the word of truth. He names him Christ openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that many other wonderful things were foretold of him by the

Sozomen.

divine



divine prophets. He testifies, also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles as well as Jews, continued to love him, and that the tribe named from him Christians was not then extinct. He appears, likewise, to have been so affected by the wonders he performed, as to run in a kind of middle path, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to their truth and reality."

Cassiodorus.

"Josephus the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of great dignity among the Romans, shall be a witness to the truth of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, but a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines. He names him Christ openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he testifies, also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him, and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time, but rather in a flourishing state."

Testimony of Epiphanius Scholasticus, concerning John the Baptist.

"Some of the Jews believed, that Herod's army did therefore perish, because the divine indignation was kindled against him, and that very justly, by way of vengeance for John, who was called the Baptist. For Herod had slain him who was a very good man, and exhorted the Jews to follow virtue, to exercise righteousness, to observe piety towards God, and to unite together by baptism, as a thing acceptable, if used not only for the washing away of sins, but for the purification of the soul, and as a kind of seal of all the virtues together. When such precepts were taught by him, and a very great concourse of people flocked to hear him, Herod, fearful lest, by the persuasion of his doctrine, the people should depart from his government (for he saw that the common people were ready to obey the precepts and admonitions he gave them in all points), thought it more expedient, to prevent any sedition that might arise, by taking him off, than, after disturbances had happened, to repent when it was too late. It was upon this suspicion alone of Herod that John was sent a prisoner to the castle of Machæras, and there beheaded. But, as we before observed, the Jews were of opinion that God had brought destruction upon his army, and thereby inflicted a just punishment on Herod, for his cruelty to John."

Epiphanius.

"There was," &c. See before, the testimony of Rufinus, in the preceding page, 629.

The same, of James, the brother of our Lord.

"The high-priest, Ananus, believing that he had found out a proper time to exercise his authority, Festus the procurator being dead, and Albinus only upon the road, appointed a council of judges, and bringing several before him, among whom was the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ, whose name was

James, he accused them of acting against the law, and delivered them up to be stoned. But those of the citizens that seemed the most moderate, and were concerned to have the law exactly observed, were greatly offended, and sent to the king (Agrippa) intreating him that he would write to Ananus, that he should desist from such actions as could not be defended.

"Josephus, a Jewish author, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, shewn and declared so to be by divine grace, who, by signs and miracles, gave aid to many."

Anastatias Abbas.

"In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Josephus most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles; that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. Nay, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner:" See the testimony of Rufinus, in the preceding page.

Freculphus.

"Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written, that the destruction of the Jews began from that time: he also said, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and righteous man (that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not a God), the land of Judæa was never free from trouble. These things are related in the writings of the said Josephus the Jew."

Johannes Maleia, concerning Christ.

This author says, "I have read the treatise of Josephus about the universe; the title of which I have elsewhere read to be, of the substance of the universe. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. He speaks, however, of the divinity of Christ in a way much resembling ours, declaring, that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes concerning him in general, in a manner that cannot be justly censured. The phraseology of this treatise does not at all differ from his other works."

Photius, of Christ, and John the Baptist.

"Josephus writes, that Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee, and of Peræa, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love with the wife of his brother Herod, whose name was Herodias, the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner of Christ, being afraid (as Josephus says) lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of that excellent virtue for which he was famed."

"A priest of Jerusalem, named Josephus, who wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ was incarnate and crucified, and the third day rose again, whose writings are deposited in the public library. Since, therefore, the writer of the Hebrews hath

Macarius, concerning Christ.

hath given this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour, in his own books, what defence can there remain for unbelievers, who discredit them?"

**Suidas, of Jesus.** "Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius makes frequent mention in his Ecclesiastical History), says, openly, in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. This we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after those of the apostles."

**Sophronius, concerning Christ and John.** "That lover of truth, Josephus the Jew, speaks of the forerunner of Christ, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, he openly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Jews, on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet, and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle of Jesus Christ."

**Cedrenus, of John the Baptist, and Christ.** "Josephus does, indeed, write concerning John the Baptist, as follows: "Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly, for the punishment he had inflicted on John that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him that was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism." But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, "That about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles, of whom, when Pilate had crucified, those who at first loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoken these and other wonderful things concerning him." We will produce Josephus himself for a witness, who was one of the sect of the Jews. Consider the love of truth that was in this man, who, although he were a Jew, yet he did not permit himself to follow the Jewish falsehoods and evasions."

**Theophylact, concerning James.** Theophylact says, "The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them: as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of James the Apostle."

**The Alexandrian chronicle, of John and Christ.** In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Josephus relates, that John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded at the instigation of Herodias, the wife of Philip. For Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa. When, therefore, Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive (on whose account he slew John), Aretas made war against him, because his daughter had been dishonourably

treated. In this war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had committed against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished, &c. Now that our Saviour taught and preached three years is demonstrated both by other authors, as also out of the Holy Gospels, and out of the writings of Josephus, who was a wise man among the Hebrews.

"In the same book of the Jewish Antiquities, Josephus writes, that, after Annas, there were three high-priests, Ishmael the son of Baphi, and Eleazar the son of Ananas, and Simon the son of Camathus, &c. He also relates, in the 7th book of the Jewish War, that Jerusalem was taken in the second year of Vespasian, and many years after they had dared to put Jesus to death: in which time, he says, that James, the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down from the temple, and stoned to death."

**Zonaras.** In this author you have also an abridgment of all that Josephus wrote concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ and John the Baptist. "He wrote thus concerning this John, that Herod slew him who was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for by that means the washing with water would be acceptable to him. Now Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it in his power to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not to bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man, who might make him repent of it, when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, by reason of Herod's suspicion, to Machæras, and there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of the army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of the displeasure of God to him."

"It was about this time, also, that our Lord Jesus Christ appeared in Judæa, concerning whom Josephus, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, says thus: "Now there was about this time a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. These things Josephus wrote in his Antiquities concerning Christ. Johannes Sarisburiensis, Petrus Comestor, Gotfridus Viterbiensis, and Vincentius Bellôvacensis, all add their

their testimonies concerning Josephus in words nearly similar to the above."

Glycas.

"Philo and Josephus flourished at that time. The last was styled the lover of truth, because he commended John, who baptised our Lord, and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles, and that he appeared the third day after he was crucified."

Testimony of  
Nicephorus  
Callistus con-  
cerning John  
the Baptist.

"Now this (concerning Herod the Tetrarch) is attested to, not only by the book of the Holy Gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth, who also makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken from him, while he was alive, and married, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea. On whose account, also, when he had slain John the Baptist, Aretas made war upon him, because his daughter had been dishonourably used. In which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating to the gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienne, which was their place of exile, a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

"However, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, he says this farther concerning John: "Some of the Jews thought the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist. For Herod slew him who was a good man, and one that exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, as by that means the washing with water would appear acceptable to him, when they used it not for the putting away of some sins only, but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul be thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when many others came in crowds about him (for they were greatly moved by hearing his words), Herod was afraid that his great power of persuasion might tend to sedition, for they seemed disposed to do every thing he should advise them to. He supposed it better to prevent any attempt at innovation from him by calling him off, than that such change should be brought about, and the public suffered to repent of that negligence. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, owing to Herod's suspicious temper, to the castle of Machæras, and there slain. This is also the account of Josephus." This writer concurs with the foregoing in his testimony of Josephus, concerning Jesus Christ our Saviour.

He thus writes: "Josephus the Jew, who was called Flavius, a priest, and the son of Matthias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things. He was certainly a good man, of excellent character, and one who had the highest opinion of Christ."

Herdmannus  
Schedelius.

He informs the reader, that he "shall avoid mentioning what Christ did, until the thirtieth year of his age, when he was baptised by John the son of Zacharias; because not only the Gospels and Epistles are full of those acts which he performed in the most excellent manner; but such books as are quite remote from his way of living and acting. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of Jewish Antiquities in the Greek language, when he had proceeded as far as the emperor Tiberius, says, "There was," &c. See the testimony of Rufinus, p. 629. The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist was a true prophet, and on that account esteemed by men in general; that he was slain by Herod the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Machæras; and that this cruel order was given by Herod at the instigation of Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of his brother Philip, whom he had married in an incestuous manner."

Testimony of  
Platina, con-  
cerning Christ  
and John the  
Baptist.

"Although Josephus continued to be a Jew, he frequently commended the Christians, and in the 18th book of his Antiquities wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ." Whether Trithemius found more passages concerning the Christians in his copies of the genuine works of Josephus, now or formerly extant, or ascribed the book concerning the universe to him, and therein met with other commendations of the Christians that were in his genuine works, cannot now be determined. So far, however, is plain, that this very learned abbot, who affirms, that Josephus frequently commended the Christians, had more testimonies in the works he believed to be Josephus's, to this purpose, than we are at present acquainted with. Which seems to have been the case of Origen, Eusebius, the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, Suidas, and Theophylactus, as appears in our quotations out of them.

Trithemius  
the Abbot.

We might adduce more quotations from the most respectable writers, such as the Latin Version from Haimo, Anonymus Bambergensis, Conradus Urspergensis, Albertus Stadenfis, &c. &c. mentioned by Fabricius, all which authors cite the same testimony concerning Christ: but, that we may not be blamed for a tedious prolixity, we pass them over; as we presume those already quoted are sufficient, on an attentive perusal, to satisfy the candid and impartial reader.



## REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS

FROM THE FOREGOING

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

JESUS CHRIST.

Authenticity  
of the style of  
the testimo-  
ny.

I. **W**ITH respect to the style of all the foregoing original testimonies belonging to Josephus, it is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially his style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. His testimonies concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, have been rendered equally undeniable as that concerning Christ, of whom he makes such honourable mention.

The clauses  
concerning  
John and  
James genu-  
ine.

II. Those clauses found in Josephus concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, especially such as are in all our present copies, as well as those cited from their copies by the ancients, are plainly and undeniably genuine. One writer seems desirous of setting aside that concerning John the Baptist, though expressly quoted by Origen himself, out of Josephus; but, since he hardly produces any thing like an argument to support his pretence, I shall pass it by without farther notice.

Josephus not  
supposed to  
omit a testi-  
mony of  
Christ.

III. Hence it follows, that these testimonies, being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is almost impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ: nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, are so honourable, and he gives them such respectable characters, his testimony of Christ can be no other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character. Could the very same author, who gave so full and advantageous a character of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth (all whose disciples were by him directed to that Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards his disciples), omit to speak honourably of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? And this in our history of those very times in which he was born, lived, and died? This can scarce be credited.

No. 32.

Besides, could the very same author, who gave so advantageous a character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, which James was one of the principal disciples, or apostles, of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the unbelieving Jews of Judæa and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer; could he, I say, wholly omit, nay, could he with-hold a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This also is not worthy of belief.

IV. That remarkable clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, "This was Christ, or the Christ," clearly points out that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of Christ; or, that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his followers by the name of Christians, so denominated first at Antioch.

He distin-  
guishes Jesus  
from others  
of that name.

V. It appears that Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly a Christian, yet he could not possibly believe all that he asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing that he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses, in order to salvation for all mankind; which were the two main of those Jewish Christians' faith, though in opposition to all the apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole catholic church of Christ in the following centuries. It is, then, highly probable that Josephus was, in his own mind and con-

Josephus, a  
Nazarene, or  
Ebionite Jew-  
ish Christian.

7 X

science,

science, only a Nazarene, or Ebionite Jewish Christian; and it is observable that his intire testimony, and all that he says of John the Baptist and of James, as well as his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles, exactly agrees with him under that character, and no other. We are well assured, that the thousands of Jews who believed in Christ (Acts xxi. 20.) in the first century, were all zealous of the ceremonial law; and by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be, in any sense, a believer or a Christian, as from these testimonies there are very great ones; all these, and all other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene, or Ebionite Christian, as they were at that time denominated.

VI. We conclude, therefore, as Josephus appears to have been, in his own mind and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and by consequence with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites; that we ought also to have that Nazarene, or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ, or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the emolument or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod; it is no matter of wonder that Josephus has not taken care to preserve those histories in a clear and particular manner.

In like manner, when we find that Josephus calls James, the brother of Christ, by the name of James the Just, and describes him particularly as a most just or righteous man, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but no where else. Nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that righteousness which was by the Jewish law, wherein St. Paul (Philip. iii. 6.), before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been blameless.

Thus Josephus, with other Jews, who ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, must remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah, as foretelling this very murder and these consequent miseries: "Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways." Josephus also says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of James, and some of his friends, or fellow Christians, by the high-priest and Sanhedrim,

and declares, that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the shocking calamities of that nation, effects of the divine vengeance, for the murder of this James; we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high-priest and Sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, could not surely be of that opinion. Thus lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas, as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. The very same thing is affirmed of James the Just, by Hegesippus the Ebionite.

The next author I have alledged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities. Justin elsewhere appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name, and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, that his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretel was to happen. Nor, indeed, does he seem to me to have any thing else particularly in his view, but those clauses of this very testimony, where Josephus says, that "Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these and other wonderful things concerning him."

Origen is the next author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just. He is, indeed, allowed, on all hands, to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; but his supposed silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alledged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, "This was the Christ," and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that in his opinion Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for Christ. As to this latter clause, I have to observe, that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Romans, mean any such thing by these words as Jews and Christians naturally understand by them. I have also to observe, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine. So that, unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude, from this assertion, that he had not those words in his copy.

However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications, that the main parts, at least, of this testimony itself, were in his copy. First, When

Opinion of  
Justin Martyr  
examined.

Origen's opi-  
nion.

His distin-  
guishing cha-  
racter of  
James the  
Just.

The moderate  
fews uneasy at  
the condem-  
nation of  
James.

Miseries of the Jews ascribed to the murder of James, but more properly to that of Jesus.

When Origen introduces the testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death, instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, I mean, that they had slain "that Christ which was foretold in the prophecies." Whence could that expression come into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony from Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that "the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and had related concerning him many other wonderful things?"

Secondly, it is asked, Why was Origen so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before; and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn in no way so authentic as from this testimony? Nor do the words he uses, that Josephus was "remote from the truth," perhaps allude to any thing else, but this very testimony which we are now considering.

Jesus supposed by many of the Jews to have been a divine person.

Thirdly, What could induce Origen, upon a slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to say, that "It may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This appears so very like those clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that "Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man," that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them. And this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who says any thing like his being more than human, or, according to the import of his words, "a divine person." I take this argument to be a very forcible one.

Fourthly, it may be asked, Why Origen affirms twice so expressly, that "Josephus did not himself own, in the Jewish and Christian sense, that Jesus was Christ?" Notwithstanding his quotations out of him are of eminent testimonies for John the Baptist his forerunner, and for James the Just, his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as in the famous testimony before us; wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was called Christ, the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived; and where he all along speaks of those Christians, as a sect then in being,

whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of truth, yet as such a sect as he had not joined himself to. Nor can I devise any other reason but this, and parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James, or the brother, not of Jesus who *was* Christ, but of Jesus who was *called* Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to adopt that sentiment.

VII. With respect to Photius, that great critic, who flourished in the ninth century, and is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because, in his extracts from the Antiquities of Josephus, it is not expressly mentioned; I cannot but be surprised that a section, which had been cited out of the copies of Josephus all along, before the days of Photius, as well as it had been all along cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. They who lay a stress on this silence of Photius, seem to have attended little to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa the younger, and Cumanus, governor of Judaea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour; without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems, therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise of the universe ascribed by some to Josephus, because it speaks highly of the divinity of Christ, this bears a great resemblance of his knowledge and belief of somewhat real in the same Josephus, that spoke of him in an inferior manner, which could hardly be any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, the acts and the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never once speaks thus of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there; but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us. So that it is most probable Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but also believed it to be genuine and authentic.

Photius the critic.

VIII. The silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, cannot be deemed a matter of wonder, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine

Clement of Alexandria.



mine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus: so that his silence may almost as well be alledged against an hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus as against these now under consideration.

Tertullian.

XI. The like silence observed by Tertullian does not imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus, but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology. Nor does it any where appear that Tertullian ever saw any of the writings of Josephus besides, and it is far from certain that he ever saw these. He had particular occasion, in his dispute with the Jews, to quote Josephus above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses; yet he never once quotes him upon that solemn occasion. So that it rather seems, that Tertullian never read the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish Wars. Nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, who lived in Africa, as none of the African writers that I know of cited any one clause out of any of the writings of Josephus. Nor is it worth while, or of any great consequence, in such numbers of positive citations, to mention the silence of other later writers.

Justin Martyr, Origen, &c.

The most doubtful of all these testimonies, as has been of late supposed, I mean that concerning our Saviour Christ, is attested to for genuine, as we have seen by the plain reference of Tacitus, by the probable reference of Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century; by the more probable reference of Origen, about the middle of the third; by a double express citation of it by Eusebius in the former part of the fourth; by a loose version of it out of Josephus, by Ambrose, or Hegeippus, soon after it in the same century; by the express Latin transcript made by Rufinus in his version of the Ecclesiastical History; by another express Latin version of it out of Josephus, by Hieronymus or Jerom, and a Greek version of that Latin version, and by his learned friend Sophronius, all three about the end of the fourth century, or beginning of the fifth.

Isidorus and Sozomenus, &c.

Isidorus of Pelusium, the scholar of Chrysostom, and Sozomenus the ecclesiastical historian, both early in the fifth century. Calliodorus also, and his friend, supposed to be Epiphanius Scholasticus, give us two Latin versions of it early in the sixth century. We have the same testimony plainly, though briefly, cited by Anastasius, the abbot, in the eighth century. We have Jerom's version of it repeated by Freculphus Lexeviensis; the whole set down in Greek by Hamartolus, and by one Macarius, both in or about the ninth century; besides the imperfect copy of part of it, by Malela, the chronologer, and the probable allusion to it by Photius, both in the same ninth century. We have Sophronius's Greek ver-

sion of Jerom's Latin version, repeated by Suidas, about the tenth century. We have an almost complete copy of it given us by Cedrenus, in the eleventh century. We have a still more complete copy of it given us by Zonaras, the substance of it, three copies of Rufinus's Latin version, out of the Greek of Eusebius, by Joannes Saraberienfis, Gotfridy Viterbienfis and Petrus Comestor, all in the twelfth century. We have another copy of Rufinus's Latin version, by Vicentius Bellovacensis, in the thirteenth century. We have a complete copy of it in Nicephorus Callistus, in the fourteenth century. We have also a clear reference to it in Hardmanorus Schedelius, and a new Latin version of it in Platina, and a full reference to it in Trithemius, the learned abbot, in the fifteenth century; all which evidence has been produced at large. To say nothing of the old Latin version, as repeated by Haimo in the ninth, and Conradus Urspergensis, and Albertus Stadenfis, in the thirteenth century, which, though not transcribed, are to be esteemed real confirmations of all the former allegations. This, as we have abundantly proved, has been the case of this testimony, in all the past ages of Christianity, and, during the first fifteen centuries of the church, in all the several countries of Europe.

Another argument in favour of the authenticity of this testimony, belonging to all the past ages, is usually overlooked by learned Christians, though I think it no inconsiderable one; and that is, the contempt all the unbelieving Jews have ever shewn for Josephus, the best historian, beyond dispute, which their nation ever produced after the sacred ones. What can be the reason of this contempt of the genuine Greek Josephus? What the foundation of the fallacious pretence that the Hebrew Josephus was not the genuine Josephus, unless it were the testimonies now under consideration, and especially that concerning Jesus Christ, which bears so hard upon the unbelieving Jewish nation, as could not be endured by them? This must appear to the impartial world the principal cause of their rejecting this excellent author; nor can I devise any other probable cause for this rejection; which, if admitted as the true reason, the authenticity of these testimonies, and especially of that concerning Jesus Christ, will also be admitted to be wholly undeniable by all unprejudiced persons. Nor are we intirely destitute of evidence, that when this testimony had been inserted in a manuscript of Josephus in Hebrew, whether it were in an Hebrew version of his Antiquities, or in a later Hebrew epitome, some Jews caused it to be erased out of it. For see Itigius's Prolegomena, and Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, Vol. II. under the particular article of Josephus. Thus far concerning the first fifteen centuries.

After the invention of printing, in the 16th century, we find this testimony, I think, in every edition, and in every version of Josephus, in all languages.

Contempt of most of the Jews for Josephus, an argument in favour of his testimonies.

Opinions of writers since printing began.

Nay,