

Nay, since Gifanius and Ofiander started that question in the 16th century, and Tanquil Faber first wrote against it in the 17th century, all the remaining manuscripts of Josephus, Eusebius, &c. &c. have been carefully looked into and examined, and every one of them have been found to contain this testimony, and almost every one to contain it in its proper place under the government of Pilate, and that without any considerable variations. Nor do we discover that any ancient author from the days of Josephus to those of Gifanius, pretended that he knew of any copies in any language without it, nor give us the least reason to suppose they suspected it, or esteemed it as any otherwise than an authority truly certain and undeniable. To this must be added the high probability there is, from the undisputed testimonies about John the Baptist and James the Just, that Josephus must have given us some such testimony concerning Christ, and the very great probability there is that Josephus's own private opinion was that of the Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian, with which character it very well agrees in every circumstance. Since, therefore, this is no other than the true state of the case, I think every upright judge that considers it must declare, that this testimony is not only evidently and undeniably genuine, but, upon the whole, as fully so as any other clauses or sections in the works of Josephus now extant. It will also here be but reasonable to vindicate Josephus in a point wherein some late writers have dealt very hardly with him; I mean when they accuse him as flattering Vespasian with being the true Messiah of the Jews.

Vindication
of Josephus
from the ac-
cusation of
his adver-
saries.

We shall take the two passages upon which the accusation is built in Josephus's own words. The former is in the 6th book of his history of the Jewish Wars, and runs thus: "If these things are duly considered, it will be found that God exercises a providence over mankind, and by many means discovers to them beforehand what is for their preservation, but that they perish by their own folly, and their misfortunes are voluntary. For the Jews made the temple four square, by the demolition of the tower of Antonia, while they had it written in their own oracles, that their city, and the sacred house should then be taken when the temple should become four square. But what chiefly excited them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, that a certain person would arise about that time out of their country, who should have dominion over the world. This they took to refer to themselves, and many of the wise men were deceived by that determination: while the oracle designed the dominion of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa." The other passage is in Josephus's own speech to Vespasian, in the third book of the same history: "You have now in hand Josephus, a prisoner, and your present view, perhaps, extends no farther, but I come to you as a messenger of greater things. Had it not been for this commission, I could not have been here at present,

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contrary to the duty of a Jewish general, alive in the hands of an enemy. Wherefore am I to be sent to Nero, when Vespasian himself is so near the empire, that I can hardly distinguish betwixt Vespasian and the emperor, or Cæsar? Besides, his son Titus is to come after him. Keep me close as you please, provided I may be Vespasian's prisoner, who is not only my master, but in effect lord of the universe. This is what I have in charge to deliver, and whenever I shall be found to use the divine authority, to countenance a fraud, make an example of me." Now in all this we have not one word of those predictions relating to the Messiah, which Josephus, in his famous testimony concerning Christ, declares to be very numerous; but of one only concerning the taking of Jerusalem, and the holy house, when the temple should become four square; and one only which foretold, that about that time a very great potentate should arise out of Judæa.

This last prediction the other wise men then interpreted as one of Jewish extraction; but Josephus of Vespasian, who was first proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa, without the least intimation that he thought him to be the Messiah of the Jews. All the Jews, with one consent, ever expected that their Messiah was not only to arise in Judæa, and that of Jewish parents in general, but to be of the seed of David, and of the town of Bethlehem, where David was to be a great prophet, like Moses, and to come peculiarly for the salvation, and not the destruction, of Israel, with many other characters intirely inconsistent with Vespasian. To what particular oracles, or predictions, Josephus referred, is hard to determine, since he does not name them. I suppose, with Reland, that the first of them might be Dan. ix. 26, 27, as then read and interpreted by the Jews; as also, that the second was no other than the famous prophecy of Balaam, that "a star should arise out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel," &c. Numb. xxiv. 17, 18, Balaam being ever considered as a true prophet by Josephus.

Josephus ap-
plies the lat-
ter predic-
tion to Vespasian.

We shall here endeavour to vindicate the same Josephus from another imputation, which hath been laid upon him, viz. that when in his second book against Apion, he makes a comparison between Moses the Jewish legislator and Minos, with other old heathen legislators, he insinuates, that though Moses artfully pretended to a divine revelation, for the laws he gave the Israelites, as did the others as to their own laws; yet that this was only in the way of a pious fraud, and that he did not himself believe that any such divine revelation was made to him." This is, I suppose, a new hypothesis, that our Josephus, after all his zeal for Moses, and for the Mosaic laws, should still believe him to be no better than a direct cheat and impostor. And, as I suppose this hypothesis to be intirely new, so do I venture to affirm, and that upon no small acquaintance with the writings of Josephus, that the hypothesis

Vindication
of Josephus
from an imputa-
tion of Apion
concerning
Moses.

thesis is intirely false, and contrary to the whole drift and tenor of Josephus throughout his writings.

This author begins his Antiquities with this most true and useful observation, that Moses did not act as did the heathen sages; he did not found a government on human contrivance, to be guided by political maxims; but laid his foundation on the belief of the being, attributes, and providence of the one true God, the Creator and Governor of the whole world, and in the fear of that God being deeply impressed on the minds of the Israelites, through a persuasion that he gave them the laws by which they were to be governed, and that, in consequence, those who broke them would incur his displeasure, and consequently be miserable.

His belief and
defence of
the Scripture.

Josephus always appears to give firm credit to the most difficult parts of the sacred books, and assures you every Jew was brought up in that profound veneration for them, that they were always ready to yield up their lives, rather than contradict them. He still gives his assent to the fall of Adam, the translations of Enoch and Elijah; to the deluge of Noah; to the long lives of the patriarchs; to the burning of Sodom, &c. as those accounts stand in the sacred writings; as also to the scripture prophecies, when they frequently occur, with the observation of their constant completions, all along afterwards, even down to his own time. He pleads the accuracy of the prophet Daniel's predictions, as compared with their completions, and wonders how the Epicureans can bear up against such evidence for a Divine Providence. He thinks Moses so fully inspired, that he takes the account in Deuteronomy of his death, and unknown place of his burial, not to have been added by others afterwards, as expositors since have done, but written by himself prophetically beforehand. He frequently declares his belief in good and bad angels, or demons, and their concern with mankind, as also in divine and prophetic dreams sometimes afforded eminent persons, and professes to have had such dreams or divine communications himself; of which we have produced a remarkable example about Vespasian's succession to the Roman empire, before any in Judæa knew the death of Nero himself, much less of the successions and deaths of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who came between them, the truth of which is also fully attested by Suetonius and Dio the heathen historians.

Confirms
their truth
and divinity
from heathen
testimonies.

He has given us a large and valuable collection of the most ancient and authentic heathen testimonies, strongly confirming the truth and divinity of the sacred books of the Old Testament, which he was enabled to do by the vast number of ancient Pagan writers which he perused and quoted. He had, indeed, contrary to the body of his own nation, most liberal notions as to freedom of inquiry among all sects whatsoever, was utterly averse to all tyranny, persecution, and oppression, of man-

kind, and was for giving all sober men of every party liberty to think freely, and speak freely for themselves, as they thought proper, without taking offence at one another: yet do his sentiments always go along with the sacred books and the sacred history. Nay, what is most of all remarkable, this was all said and done by Josephus, under the most unpromising circumstances of himself and his nation possible; or, when Jerusalem with its temple and temple worship were utterly destroyed, and when he himself was become a captive at Rome under idolators. At this very time he firmly retained his faith in God, in Moses, and in the prophets, and even then said plainly, that Daniel the Jewish prophet had long ago foretold that destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans which he saw, as did Jesus of Nazareth interpret that prophet also, Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Nay, he farther intimated to observing readers, that the Messiah of the Jews (or Jesus of Nazareth) the stone cut out of the mountain in the same prophet, would in time break that Roman monarchy in pieces, and set up a better kingdom, which should endure for ever. See Dan. ii. 45.

Should any be still offended with Josephus's frequent permission of his heathen readers to determine as they should think proper concerning many of those miracles which he relates from the Jewish Scriptures, as if he himself therefore doubted of their truth and reality, which has been, and may be a common objection against him; I must beg liberty to adduce in his vindication the very opposite words of the faithful, accurate, and judicious Reland, who has the following note upon one of Josephus's remarkable expressions of this nature, I mean that concerning the miraculous passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. The expression is, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases," and this is the note.

"Josephus (says Reland) does not, by this way of speaking, signify that he doubted whether what was said of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea were true or not; but he only uses these words in writing to the Gentiles, that if this appeared incredible to them, they might enjoy their own liberty of belief, and not be thereby deterred from reading farther what he was to deliver; for that he himself did not doubt of this is sufficiently apparent from the manner of his narration, and from his own testimony, that he took it out of the sacred volumes. He uses the same expression after he had said, that it was falsely believed that Moses and the Israelites were expelled Egypt for leprosy. Is it therefore to be inferred, that he intended to suggest this also was uncertain? This is no other than the very calumny which Josephus himself confutes and exposes in his first book against Apion. He thus speaks, when he relates the ascent of Moses to Mount Sinai, and with the same conclusion ends his third book of Antiquities, where he treats of the divinity of the laws of Moses. He also uses the same words where he relates the age of Noah, which he did in the first book, and produces examples from profane history, that the thing may appear more probable

Reland's vindication of
Josephus.

ble to the Gentiles. In fine, he uses this expression on divers other occasions: "But while he is so frequently wont to introduce this phrase or mode of speaking in his books of Antiquities, I do not remember, that I have once met with them in his books of the Jewish wars. I apprehend the cause of his so frequently introducing the expressions alluded to, in the books of Antiquities, to be, that he wrote those books for the use of the Gentiles; while the others were for certain written for the use of those of his own nation that dwelt beyond the Euphrates. I might confirm this interpretation from other writers, but I think I have already rendered the matter plain beyond a doubt."

There is no doubt that the observations of this professor, where he intimates that Josephus never used

the expression, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases," concerning the miracles of the Old Testament, in his seven books of the wars of the Jews, are certainly true; for having read those books over several times with care and attention, the same observation has occurred to me. As to any pretence of forgery, which it has been supposed some catholic christian might here have been guilty of with regard to the testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, and that as early as the days of Eusebius, if not of Eusebius himself; I must aver it is the effect of the grossest ignorance and partiality, and by no means chargeable upon this respectable author, who is almost universally allowed to pay the strictest regard to truth in all his writings.

R E F L E C T I O N S

ON THE ACCOUNTS OF

TACITUS AND SÜETONIUS,

Concerning divers EVENTS relative to the JEWISH NATION.

Tacitus favourable to Josephus's History.

THEY who have read, or may be disposed to read, the annals of Tacitus, the best writer of his age, must observe the great regard he had to the history of Josephus, while though he never names him, as he very rarely does any of those Roman authors, whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to the different books of the Jewish Wars, very frequently in the course of a few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during the space of upwards of 200 years, to which those books extend. Speaking of the origin of the Jews (liber v. cap. ii.), he writes, "There are those who report, that they were Assyrians, who wanting land, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon after settled themselves in cities of their own in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearer to them." This account comes nearest the truth of all his others, and is most probably derived from Josephus, though disguised by himself.

His account of the origin of the Jews.

Further quotations from Tacitus.

Cap. III. "Many authors agree, that when an infectious distemper broke out in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bacchoris their king went to the oracle of Jupiter (Ammon) and begged he would grant him some re-

lief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods." This story also Tacitus might have got of Josephus, who at large confutes the like story, as published by Lyfimachus and Manethon in his 1st book against Apion, very particularly observing, that the gods are angry, not at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices. Again,

Cap. V. "Accordingly, they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples; they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors." These concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom therefore I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews. Again,

Cap. VI. "The limits of Judæa easterly are bounded by Arabia. Egypt lies on the south: on the west are Phœnicia and the great sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, or at some distance from them." See the chorography of Josephus in the 3d Book of the Wars, whence most probably Tacitus framed this abridgment. It comes in both authors naturally, before Vespasian's first campaign. Again,

Cap. VII. "Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old, fertile,

tile, and to have had many cities full of people." This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say, they were only in its neighbourhood.

Cap. VIII. "In that city (Jerusalem) there was a temple of immense wealth: in the first parts that were fortified is the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is inclosed in its most inward accesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priesthood are excluded from the threshold." All this is in Josephus. See his three descriptions of the temple of Jerusalem; *Antiq. Books 8th and 15th.*

Cap. X. On the death of Cestius Gallus, whether it comes by fate, or that he was weary of life, is uncertain, &c. Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius: so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it. "When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame. But what first of all seemed to confirm the omen, was his triumphs and consulships, and the glory of his victory over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire." Josephus takes notice in general of these omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. *Book III. and IV. of the Wars.*

*Citation from
Josephus.*

Book V. Chap. I. "At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cæsar was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judæa; and while he and his father were private persons, Titus was celebrated for his martial conduct, and acted now with greater vigour and hopes of reputation: the kind inclinations both of the provinces and the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him." The character of Titus in this section agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions, as a variety of passages in the Roman do with the Jewish historian also.

*Whether Suetonius ever
read the works
of Josephus or
Tacitus.*

As there are in Suetonius several passages in common with Josephus and Tacitus, since he lived at the same city of Rome with them; was about twelve or thirteen years younger than Tacitus, and by consequence little more than thirty years younger than Josephus; it may be worth our while to examine whether he gives us any indications that he had read the works of Josephus or Tacitus? Now we may take notice, that Suetonius never names Tacitus at all, but that he names Josephus once, as having foretold Vespasian's coming to the empire, and touches both upon the Jews and Christians. He informs us, that "The Jews raised a tumult at Rome, under Chrestus in the days of Claudius, and were thence banished by him." He says farther, that "Nero inflicted punishments on the Christians, as a superstitious and pernicious sect of men then lately arisen." He says

moreover, that "Josephus, one of the captive nobility amongst the Jews, did affirm most constantly, when he was put into bonds, that he should be loosed by Vespasian, but not till he was emperor." He also fully attests to the antiquity and uninterrupted duration of that opinion, that "some who should arise out of Judæa at this time, should obtain the empire over the world," and supposes with both Josephus and Tacitus, that "such prediction was fulfilled in a Roman emperor" (Vespasian). From all these passages it is natural to suppose that Suetonius had seen Tacitus at least, if not Josephus himself, when he wrote his twelve Cæsars. Yet because he supposes Chrestus to be alive, and at the head of a Jewish tumult at Rome in the days of Claudius, which was impossible, one would think, in any one that had read either Josephus or Tacitus, who both attest that he was put to death in Judæa under Tiberius; and because he says not one word of that remarkable history, concerning the statue of Caius, which Petronius was commanded to set up in the temple at Jerusalem, which is so express in Tacitus, and so largely set forth in Josephus, and of which we have another account in the treatise called Philo's Legation to Caius; I rather think he never read these authors, or at least did not think fit to follow either of them. Nor does the reason appear to me why Suetonius should in one place write the name of our Saviour *Christ* with the other ancients in the west, and yet with Josephus and Tacitus, write the name of his followers, with the other Jews, and the heathens in the east, *Christians*.

With respect to that judicious historian *Dion Cassius*, Dion Cassius, though he lived at Rome, and had many testimonies of Josephus, yet did he not write till the reign of Alexander Severus, and gives us so few indications that he had ever read Josephus, that I have no occasion to treat here particularly about him.

Strabo, that excellent geographer and *Strabo*, historian, lived about half a century earlier than Josephus, and is several times cited by him, and therefore could not himself see the writings of Josephus. It may be worth our notice here, that Strabo's geography, which has errors concerning Judæa, and is still extant, is but once cited by Josephus, but that his histories, which are ten times cited, are lost, and so cannot be compared with the quotations. When Trogus Pompeius, who was epitomized by Justin, lived, is not exactly known, but most probably a considerable time before Josephus, so that he could not cite him either. However, it appears manifestly, that when Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, his own *Life*, and his books against Apion, he understood the geography and history of his own country much better than either Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, or any other foreign writers.

Several later and lesser critics, who have *Scaliger*, preferred the Greek and Roman profane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus, should have learned more candour and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when

when, after all his inquiries, he solemnly pronounced that "Josephus was the most diligent and greatest lover of truth of all writers," and is not afraid to affirm, 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 that because his fidelity and compass of learning are every where conspicuous." To this assertion of Scaliger we are obliged to assent, as the proper result of our remarks on this subject.

The Jews and After all that has been advanced, let the

guilty Jews, since the days of Josephus, and the guilty heretics that followed Simon Magus, bear their own burden of forgery, corruption, and interpolation of antient histories and antient records; for they too plainly and undeniably deserve it. But let not Josephus, or the innocent Christians, before antichristianism and popery, bear any such burthen; for so far as we can judge, and we speak it upon full examination, they have the least reason to bear it of any part of mankind whatever, from the beginning of the world to the present time.

Papists chargeable with forgery, &c.

THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS:

CONTINUED

From the Time of JOSEPHUS to the Present, including a Space of many Centuries.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Remarks on the dispersion of the Jews.

THERE is no circumstance more remarkable amongst all the events of this transitory state, than the dispersion of the Jews over the face of the whole earth; and their continuing a distinct and separate body amidst the various nations, people, and languages, whither they have been driven. The history of nations does not furnish us with any thing similar; and we are obliged to look to the fulfilment of the prophecy relative to this peculiar people, and there to find the cause of their wonderful situation, which is exhibited as a constant and living miracle before our eyes. Christians of the present day have this additional proof of the divinity and excellence of their religion: not only Moses, and the prophets; not only Christ, and his apostles; but every son and daughter of Abraham whom they meet in the streets, corroborates the testimony, that the *Bible is true*. Notwithstanding their poverty and distress, and the various calamities to which the modern Jews are subject, they remain separate and detached, waiting the fulfilment of the residue of prophecy in their behalf; waiting for the accomplishment of those purposes of mercy reserved for them as the descendents of the chosen and elect of God.

Their wonderful preservation.

Whilst other religions depend upon the policy and temporal prosperity of princes and states; whilst they triumph under the

protection of conquerors, and decay with monarchies that were their defence; the Jews, though persecuted for such an astonishing length of time, still subsist, and their numbers do not apparently decrease. They subsist, though persecuted by the severity of royal edicts, and though numberless corporeal punishments have been invented for their destruction. In addition to this, multitudes of people of different nations have been excited to oppose them, whose cruelties have exceeded even those of princes and of states. Kings and their armies, princes and their subjects, have united in their design of extirpating this people from the face of the earth: but they have failed in their attempts; and the more they have been persecuted, the firmer has their establishment been, till in the present day, in which they seem to enjoy a perfect tranquillity, and are protected by those princes, and under those governments, which were formerly their bitterest foes; and these poor, despised, persecuted outcasts, survive the very monarchies which once opposed and oppressed them, but now exist only in name.

The dispersion of the Jews is general, and hardly any part of the globe is destitute of some of the descendents of Abraham. They abound in the east; and particularly in the empire of China, where they are thought to be the descendents of the ten tribes who

Some of them to be met with in all countries.

were led into captivity. They are at this time dispersed over most of the nations in the east, over Europe, over Africa, and many of them now inhabit the various parts of America: some opulent families reside in the West Indies; and the laws lately made in their favour on the Continent, may perhaps in time intitle them to a voice in the National Assembly of France. The Jews are so disseminated through all the commercial parts of the world, that they are become a channel of communication between them, and form a considerable part of that great mass of mankind which are knit together in one general correspondence. It is even imagined that they are now as numerous as when they prospered in the land of Canaan; and if this hypothesis be true, it is a striking confirmation of the magnitude of the miracle above alluded to, especially when we consider the dreadful slaughter made of them under some of the Roman emperors; the many hundreds of thousands which have perished in war, and the innumerable massacres made of them by the Turks and the Christians: I mean those of the latter only in name; since it is contrary to the genius of the pacific religion of Jesus ever to oppress, and much more so to put to death, any one on account of his faith, for which he is solely accountable to his Maker.

Their existence as a separate people an argument in favour of Christianity.

Their numbers, their dispersion, their adherence to the law of Moses, are certainly among the strongest arguments in support of the Christian faith; because they themselves are the repositories of those writings which tend to their own confusion, and they altogether supply a cloud of witnesses in attestation of the truth of holy writ: their dispersion spreads these witnesses into every part of the globe, and their adherence to their religion renders their testimony unquestionable. Had the whole people of Israel been converted to Christianity, we should have concluded that the prophecies which relate to Christ were cunningly devised fables, and have esteemed them as fallacious as the writings of the Sybils, or the pretended mysteries of the Druids. But as these are general observations, we therefore proceed to give a concise and complete review of their history, from the taking of Jerusalem to the present æra.

Further Account of the JEWS, from the taking of JERUSALEM by TITUS.

Their history from the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans.

AFTER the capture of their principal city, there remained no shadow of authority to this wretched people. Domitian, who was covetous to excess, did all in his power to oppress them with the most grievous and weighty taxes; Judæa was made tributary to the Romans by Pompey, though some exceptions were made in favour of the Jews by Julius Cæsar.

The modern Jews, in order to raise the departed glory of their nation, pretend that many learned men survived the ruin of the temple; and certainly some ornaments to their country are to be found amidst the general devastation that ensued.

Under the emperor Trajan, the Jews made several unwarrantable, as well as ill-timed attempts, to rebel against his government. Exasperated at their preceding misfortunes, they carried in their turn cruelty and barbarity to a dreadful pitch: they began at Cyrene, a city of Lybia, where they had been settled a considerable time. They gained some advantages over the Egyptians; but the fugitives, escaping to Alexandria, carried with them a thirst of revenge, and put to death all the Jews that were there. Those of Cyrene, enraged with a reprisal they had so justly deserved, fell into the greatest fury, and, being headed by Andrea, ravaged the plain country, and made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants of Lybia. This city was so depopulated by the massacre which the Jews made in the beginning of the war, that the emperor was under the necessity of sending a colony to replace the slaughtered inhabitants.

Their violent and fruitless attempts to emancipate themselves.

These disorders did not intirely stop here, news having arrived of fresh disturbances in Mesopotamia. The fate of Egypt threw the inhabitants of this government into a consternation, as they dreaded the same calamity; but, in order to dispel their fears, Trajan sent Lucius Quietus with an army, which quelled the sedition, by putting to death a vast number of the Jews, which intimidated the rest.

In Mesopotamia.

In the island of Cyprus, a new storm arose. The Jews in this island began with the massacre of two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants. Their own historians do not dissimble this action, but swell the number of the dead instead of abating it; for they tell you, that the noise of the insurrections elsewhere arriving at Gophri, that is to say Cyprus, the Jews, who were very numerous in this country, fell upon all the heathens, and made such a general massacre, that not one of them remained. "Which obliged Trajan to send Adrian, the general of his forces, against them, who subdued them; and afterwards the Romans published an edict, absolutely prohibiting the Jews access to this island."

An horrid massacre by the Jews in Cyprus.

The above-mentioned calamities might be said to be only the beginning of the sorrows of the Jews, which were at length completed by Adrian, who reduced them to such an abject state of wretchedness, that to obtain the ordinary means of subsistence, they were under a necessity of having recourse to the fraud of magic and interpretation of dreams.

The wretched state of the Jews under Adrian.

No other evidence need be adduced than that of the emperor Adrian himself, who says, he saw not one Jew in Egypt, but what was a mathematician; which name, though at present so honourable for useful discoveries by those who apply to this study, was at that time odious, because the mathematicians were generally deemed wizards.

Authors differ in their accounts of the cause of the rebellion against Adrian. They say, it was the custom in Judæa to plant a

Various causes of the rebellion.

cedar

cedar at the door of the houses where a son was born, and to set a pine-tree upon the birth of a daughter. These trees grew till the time of marriage, and then they cut them down to make a bed for the married couple. The princess, Adrian's daughter, travelling in Judæa, her chariot broke, and her officers had the insolence to cut down one of these trees planted before a house, wherewith they mended the chariot. But the relations and neighbours, provoked by this action, mutinied, and massacred the princess's retinue, who, being enraged, obliged the emperor to take arms, and subdue so fierce a nation.

Chrysoftom's relation.

Chrysoftom asserts, that the Jews, who always, from their prejudices, preserved their own maxims, have three times attempted to rebuild the temple, and that their first effort to restore their republic was under Adrian; that they rebelled against him, without reflecting on the consequences, whom, with all their efforts, it was impossible to conquer: that this prince having subdued them, placed his statue where Jerusalem was, and knowing that this monument of victory would not last for ever, ordered that the city should bear his name, which was still observed, since in his time it was called *Ælia*. Chrysoftom has treated this event with no other degree of precision; for if he believed that the Jews designed to restore their temple under Adrian, he is deceived, since they made no motion towards it; and the first attempt ascribed to them is evidently false. The same must be said of the second, if he thought the Jews went to re-establish their republic. It is not even true, that they attempted to rebuild Jerusalem. Moreover, *Ælia* had been built before the rebellion. Nor did Jerusalem still go by the name of Adrian; for it was so called at the council of Nice; but Constantine having built temples in this city, and christianity being grown triumphant there, it resumed its antient name of Jerusalem. Eusebius, who had called it *Ælia* in his history, always styles it Jerusalem in the life of Constantine, when he speaks of the edifices that this prince had raised there.

Two real causes of the insurrection.

Two causes are assigned for the great rebellion under Adrian. 1. This prince had forbidden them, like Domitian and Nerva, to be circumcised. Spartan says it, and I know not how the express testimony of an author can be contested, who lived under Dioclesian. Modestinus observes also, that the Jews, addressing themselves to Antoninus, he permitted them to circumcise only their own children, and forbade doing it to any person of another religion under heavy penalties. Secondly, There is a law forbidding all the Roman citizens to be circumcised like the Jews, or to cause their slaves to be circumcised, upon pain of banishment, and awarding death to the physicians that should do it. It also banishes and condemns sometimes to death the Jews that cut the children of another religion. Did the Jews attempt to circumcise strangers, in order to increase their numbers, whereby to go on afterwards more effectually in the restoration of their commonwealth, as St. Chrysoftom has said? Some great men have said it after him. But it is not probable

they believed, that the converted Roman citizens, or their slaves, could make up a considerable army to restore their state. The Roman proselytes were never so numerous as to possess them with this conceit. These edicts were given only to prevent any changes of religion, which now-and-then happened at Rome, and scandalized the heathens. Besides, Antoninus licensed them to circumcise themselves, after his war with them. This prince being weary of their rebellion, and seeing, that denying them this custom exasperated them, yielded something to pacify them: but they were not then in a condition to proselyte sufficient numbers to form armies, and restore their commonwealth. Adrian, who had forbidden them circumcision, offended the Jews in one of the principal acts of their religion. It was robbing them of the seal of the covenant, the mark that distinguished them from the heathens, and the grace of God, which they thought annexed to this custom. And therefore, it is no surprising thing that they should mutiny, when they found themselves deprived of this ceremony, to which they were so strongly attached.

Adrian also had sent a colony to Jerusalem, and built a city upon its ruins, to which he gave his own name, and consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. The second cause of the war is as much disputed as the first, since Eusebius says, that the colony was not sent to Jerusalem till after the taking of Bithur. But Dion says, this colony was the cause of their rebellion, because they could not bear to have strangers come and live in their city, and worship strange gods there, so that we cannot doubt of the truth of the fact. To reconcile Eusebius and Dion, it appears that the emperor's first design was crossed by the Jews' rebellion before it was fully executed, because the Jews had expelled the new inhabitants; though the emperor accomplished it when he had subdued them. So that he had sent the colony before the war, as Dion affirms; and he completed his project, when the rebellion was quelled, as Eusebius relates. The ambition of Barchochebas, who knew how to make his advantage of the disturbance, which these two circumstances created in the minds of the people, fully determined the nation to prosecute the war.-- But to speak of the false Messiahs that have deceived their nation. The time was come, in which impostors appeared with full assurance. Gamaliel had seen two of them perish, and was so moved with the ill success of their enterprize, that he would not have the progress of Christianity opposed, being persuaded that Providence would bring the design to nought if it was not from heaven: "Theudas, said he, before these days rose up, who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and he also perished: and now I say unto you, if this counsel be of men it will come to nought." The Christians, from an high sense of his great moderation and piety, afterwards canonized him. St. Luke, in the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, particularly speaks

A colony sent to Jerusalem before the war.

Impostors that preceded Barchochebas.

Some mentioned by St. of

Luke in Acts
6.

of the impostors Theudas and Judas of Galilee, whom Gamaliel mentions to the people, as having practised their arts heretofore to deceive; from which (though his design was to invalidate the apostle's doctrine) it is evident such delusions had been practised. But the Romans sent some forces against Judas, and he miserably perished. Alexander, Judas's successor, persecuted his children, and caused them to be murdered. His followers maintained their master's doctrine with an unshaken confidence, in the midst of the most cruel tortures. They subsisted, notwithstanding the violence that was offered them after the taking of Jerusalem, in a very ancient castle, where they were shut up; and the fugitives carried this doctrine into Egypt, where it occasioned new massacres.

Barchochebas
the arch im-
postor.

Afterwards, other impostors started up, and, with the same fallacious pretensions, endeavoured to delude the credulous multitude; but the most impious, daring, and injurious, was Coziba, or Barchochebas. He was a robber, like the rest, who hoped to enrich himself with plunder, and acquire some authority in his nation by his outrages against the Romans. It is pretended that there were two impostors of this name, the grandfather and grandson; and their history is thus related by the Jews. "Coziba I. was elected king by the Jews two years after the ruin of the first temple, and died at Bither, a city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which was the capital of his empire. His son the Red succeeded him; and afterwards reigned his grandson Romulus, who was called Coziba. The Jews assembled about him, and acknowledged him for the Messiah. The emperor Adrian, having notice of it, came with a numerous army, took Bither, and destroyed a multitude of Jews in the seventy-third year after the ruin of the temple." Hence it is concluded, that the reign of the two Coziba's lasted one and twenty years. Some extend it much farther, and make the first Coziba's reign under Domitian. The ancient chronicle of the Jews, on the contrary, assigns but two years and a half to Coziba's reign.

There has
been only one
Coziba or
Barchochebas.

Some have absurdly supposed that there have been two impostors of the name of Coziba or Barchochebas. Most of the Jews acknowledge but one, and they are right. For he that induced the Jews to rebellion towards the end of Trajan's reign, was not called Barchochebas, but Andrea. Neither did he call himself the Messiah, and this rebellion was in Egypt; whereas that of Barchochebas happened in Judæa. They were unacquainted with Trajan's genealogy, since they say, that he sent Adrian, his sister's son, against the Jews in Egypt; for Ulpia, Adrian's grandmother, was Trajan's aunt, and these two princes were only cousins. They err in making the war with Coziba last so long, and give him and his heirs and successors, a reign of one and twenty years; for his race ended with him, and the

war terminated in a little time, as we shall see in the sequel. They make him perish in the seventy-third year of the ruin of the temple. Adrian was already dead, in the year 141, and the city Bither, by which the war was concluded, had been taken in the eighteenth of Adrian. This chronological error suffices to shew the misrepresentations of the rest. The author of the chronicle of the Jews is more exact than his commentators; for he makes Coziba to reign but two years and a half, and speaks but of one impostor. We must, therefore, acknowledge but one Coziba, who took the title of Barchochebas, lived in Adrian's reign, and was the source of infinite mischiefs to this nation. This impostor, to facilitate the success of his enterprise, changed his name, and took that of the Son of the Star, or Barchochebas, in order to have it believed that he was the Star that "Balaam had seen afar off." He maintained, that he was one of the stars of heaven, sent to succour the people, and retrieve them from the oppression under which they groaned.

His imposi-
tions on the
people.

Barchochebas also made choice of a fore-runner, of the same character with himself, who was very assistant to him in these designs. This was Akiba, whom they say descended from Sifera, general of the army of Jabin, king of Tyre, and from a Jewish mother. He had spent forty years upon the plains, in looking to the flocks of a rich citizen at Jerusalem, called Calba Chuva. His master's daughter being in love with him, and unwilling to marry a shepherd, advised him to apply himself to study. They made a clandestine marriage, after which Akiba went and spent twelve years in the academy, and brought back with him twelve thousand scholars. His wife advised him to return again. He continued still twelve years more, and brought with him twenty thousand disciples. His wife came to meet him with her clothes rent, because her father, provoked with her marriage, had disinherited her; but no sooner had he seen Akiba, than he fell at his feet, revoked his oath, and gave him a great part of his estate. He continued teaching and writing books, one whereof is cabalistical, and is called Jetzirah; but it must be distinguished from that which is ascribed to the Patriarch Abraham, and bears the same name. He was so learned, as to give an account of the least letter of the law. We find in the Mishnah and the Talmud, a thousand sentences ascribed to him, and which are looked upon as so many judicious decisions. These are the commendations they gave this doctor, who caused the desolation of his country, and supported the fraud of an impostor. No great weight, therefore, can be laid upon what the Jews relate concerning the birth and death of Akiba, since they are so perfectly ignorant of the time.

Akiba, the
fore-runner
of Barcho-
chebas, is

When Akiba's fame was at the height, and he was head of the Sanhedrim, Barchochebas exclaimed, "Behold the Star

that

prefident of
the Sauthe-
drim.

that was to come out of Jacob," and make himself his fore-runner. These two impostors, availing themselves of the prejudice of the people, who were for a conquering Messiah, that should deliver them from the Roman yoke, which the last war and Adrian's persecution daily made more insupportable; Barchochebas, who found people disposed to follow him, mustered up an army of 200,000 men, and Bither was chosen for his residence and capital of his kingdom. The Jews called it Bethtar, or the House of Spies, because, after the ruin of Jerusalem, centinels were placed there to spy those that went to Jerusalem, who were accused of courting the Romans' favour, and desiring offices, or of selling their estates, of which they stripped them, by virtue of these calumnies. They even sometimes impeached them to the Romans, under other pretences. Eusebius places this city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but there were two cities of this name, one twelve, and the other fifty-two miles distant from the holy city. Jerom called these two cities Bethoron, and maintains they were built by Solomon, and ruined by the war. Bethoron was given by Pharaoh for a portion to his daughter, when she married Solomon, who restored it to the Levites, in whose partition it lay. But, if we believe the Jews, this is not the true Bither, since one signifies a House of Spies, and the other a House of Liberty. Barchochebas chose this place to receive the royal unction, and afterwards caused money to be coined, declaring himself at the same time the Messiah, and Jewish prince of the nation. He waited to declare war, when the emperor Adrian had left Egypt; but it burst out in the year 131, in the seventeenth of Adrian's reign.

Opinion of
Dion.

Dion asserts, that Adrian, having sent a colony to Jerusalem, and placed a statue of Jupiter where the temple of God stood, this foreign worship extremely affected the Jews. "However, Adrian's presence, who was then in Egypt, and who went from thence to Syria, stopped them for some time. They contented themselves, during this time, with making imperfect arms, and selling them to the Romans; that they might not employ them against themselves; but they revolted when the emperor was gone."

More genuine
proofs of the
rise of this
war.

Adrian's secretary, Phlegon, has preserved a letter of his master, addressed to Servian the consul. He gives him an account of what he had seen in Egypt, and of the turbulent inclination of its inhabitants, and makes him a present of some vessels, which he had designed for him and his sister. It is easier to know the time of the Jewish war from this letter, than from the medals of the cities of Syria; for it must have been written when the emperor left Egypt or Syria. Servian, to whom this letter was written, was his brother-in-law, since he made him a present in common with his sister and himself. This Servian is called consul, which dignity he had not under Adrian till 134. We must conclude, then, that the emperor left not Egypt and Syria till the beginning

of that year, and that his absence the same year instigated the Jews to rebellion. Another heathen historian, quoted by Eusebius, asserts, that the war was in its whole vigour: that Bither, which the rebels had fortified, was taken the tenth of August, in the eighteenth year of Adrian. The war, therefore, began the preceding year, since it was in its vigour, and near its conclusion. The emperor gave his name to the city he had built about the ruins of Jerusalem in the year 136, in which he celebrated his Vicennialia. So that the war began in the year 131, and ended two years after. Buonarroti produces a medal struck by this prince in the eighteenth year of his reign, for having obtained a great victory over the rebels, and driven the Jews from Jerusalem. To this nothing can be objected, but the authority of the Jews quoted by Jerom, who say the war lasted three years and an half.

At first the Romans seem to have neglected this revolt; as they imagined the Jews had been so effectually humbled by Trajan's wars, that they could hardly be so soon in a condition to oppose them. But when they saw the numbers of the sedition increase, and that they fought with a valour that seemed raised upon despair, that all the robbers of the neighbouring provinces joined them, in hopes of plunder, and that not only Judæa, but all the world was in motion, they were obliged to change their measures. Some think that the emperor marched in person against the rebels, because they observe, that this prince, writing to the senate, had not ventured to preface his letters with the ordinary form, because of the great losses he had sustained in this war; but, on due inquiry, it appears that he carried it on by his generals. Barchochebas, who was superior in troops, at first committed great ravages. Justin Martyr complained, that he only attacked and massacred the Christians, because they would not abjure their religion. His hatred against these professors of religion, and despair of making the Christians embark in his violent measures, who had the same interest as himself to declare against the Romans, might redouble his cruelty. But can it be imagined that the heathens against whom he declared war, and the colony which Adrian had begun to send to Jerusalem, were more humanely treated by this usurper than the Christians? This impostor only favoured his own nation, and treated with the utmost barbarity all others that fell into his hands.

Eusebius and Syncellus write, that the general, who commanded the army in Judæa against Barchochebas, was called Tinnius Rufus. Adrian, who was not acquainted with the importance of the war, sent him at first a great reinforcement; but this commander being often defeated, he sent for Julius Severus, one of the greatest generals of his age, from Britain. This able commander, deeming it imprudent to engage so powerful an army, he attacked them in parties, straitened them in their camp,

The impostor
gains ground
at first.

Great ravages
committed by
Barchochebas.

Tinnius Rufus is sent against the rebellious Jews.

cut off their provisions, and, by that means, growing superior, laid siege to Bither, which they made their retreat.

Description of Bither, the impostor's retreat.

The rabbins say, that there were in that city four hundred colleges, in each college four hundred professors, and that each professor of these colleges had four hundred scholars, who, being mustered up, made a great army. They sustained the first efforts of the siege, though they were very badly armed, and unacquainted with discipline. Barchochebas encouraged all his subjects, and executed Tryphon, a famous rabbin, who talked of surrendering. Nevertheless, the city was taken, and Barchochebas was killed. Adrian, to whom they brought his head, was desirous to see his body; but when they attempted to carry it, they found a serpent about his neck, which frightened the bearers, and the prince acknowledged that God alone could kill that man. However, they have since owned the imposture of this man, whom they afterwards called Bachozab, or the son of a lye. The scholars, who had so well defended the place, were bound, with their books, and thrown into the fire. They add, that the slaughter was so great, that more people died in this war than came out of Egypt. Upon one single stone were found the skulls of three hundred children. The inhabitants of these places did not dung their ground for seven years together, being sufficiently fattened by the carcases; therefore they have inserted in their liturgy a hymn appointed for the fast celebrated the eighteenth of the month of Ab, which answers to the months of July and August, in which they call Adrian a second Nebuchadnezzar, and pray God to remember this cruel prince, who destroyed 480 synagogues. As for Akiba, after a very severe imprisonment, he was condemned to a cruel death, and with him, the Jews tell us, died the glory of the Jewish laws.

It is taken, and Barchochebas slain.

It is true, Dion represents this war as one of the cruellest that ever was. The Romans were frequently beaten, and lost abundance of good troops. The Jews, who had at that time a profound veneration for Solomon's tomb, saw it fall, and at once the wild beasts entered Jerusalem, which was an omen of the following slaughter. The presage was not insignificant; for five hundred and eighty thousand persons were killed in the battles, and the numbers that perished by famine, misery, or fire, cannot be reckoned. After the taking of Bither, the Jews had still fifty fortified castles, and troops to defend them. It seems also, from a medal that the emperor struck the year following, that he had obtained a victory over them that year; but in reality the resistance was not long, and the leaders being taken off, the rest more easily submitted to the victors.

This war is attended with horrid massacre and bloodshed.

The building of Ælia (Jerusalem) was finished by Adrian, and the Jews of St. Jerom's time ridiculously ascribe this

Some account of the new city of Jeru-

work to Ælius Titus, their destroyer. Epiphanius says, that he gave Aquila his brother-in-law the care of these buildings. But this proselyte, who turned Jew, after he had embraced Christianity, had no consanguinity with this prince; nor do we find that he was intrusted with the inspection of these buildings. The circumference of the new city was somewhat different from the old; several places being included in it, that were formerly without the gates: but in the main, they made use of the foundations of the first city. Valesius denies it, and for a reason alledges, that Adrian would be far from rebuilding a city so inimical to the Romans; and favouring the Jews, who had brought upon him such a wretched war. But this prince did not do it in favour to the Jews, he gave it to other inhabitants. And therefore historians observe, that they began to settle a bishop there, who came of heathen race: the design was, to mortify the old inhabitants, by excluding them for ever from their primitive habitation.

Adrian had, it seems, prohibited their return for ever; and, to make the city odious, if it were possible, he changed the use of the remaining monuments of old Jerusalem; for he employed the stones that had been used in the building of the temple to make a theatre, and he erected statues of false gods, in the places where the temple formerly stood. And lastly, St. Jerom says, that he caused the image of a hog to be placed over the gate that led to Bethlehem, to shew that the Jews were subject to the power of the Romans: but he is mistaken; the swine was not placed there to indicate the Jews' slavery, but to make them abhor entering into Jerusalem, because they hated this animal, the use of which was forbidden by the law, and they thought the gate was defiled and profaned by this figure.

Jerusalem built by Adrian.

Adrian renders Jerusalem odious to the Jews, whom he reduces to great straits.

The more effectually to evacuate the city of its old inhabitants, Adrian caused a great part of them to be sold at the fair of Terebinth. Hegeippus says, that the Terebinth was a tree, that had continued from the creation of the world, under which they met to traffic: but it was the place where Abraham had pitched his tent, and received the angels, which made it venerable. The Jews were exposed to sale there at the price of horses; and those that could not be sold were carried to another fair, which was kept at Gaza. In Jerom's time, they applied to this misery these words: "A cry was heard in Ramah, Rachel weeping for her children;" because their misery and affliction were excessive. This father also applied to the miseries that happened under Adrian this prophecy of Zechariah: "I will feed the flock of slaughter;" because that he had learnt from the tradition and ancient history of the Jews, that this prince had put a great number to death, punished others with the most rigorous severity, and sold them at Terebinth, or carried them

He causes numbers of Jews to be sold at the public mart.

them into Egypt. This father acquaints us with three things: 1. That he had read the traditions and history of the Jews concerning their calamities, and therefore there must have been such at that time. 2. That Terebinth fair still continued; but that the Jews were ashamed to be present at it, because they remembered the usage of their fathers. He adds, in another place, that the Jews assembled, and came in his time to buy of the foldiers the liberty of seeing Jerusalem. They could not weep without paying for it. The old men and women were seen with tears in their eyes, to repair to the Mount of Olives, and bewail the destruction of the temple. The foldiers made great advantage of the Jews' veneration for the remains of the holy city, and of Adrian's severity of forbidding their entrance for ever; for they sold to them, at a dear rate, the sight of this place, and the liberty of strewing perfumes upon a stone there. Jerom assures us, that Adrian conveyed part of these prisoners to Egypt, where their number was considerably augmented.

Adrian stamps medals, on concluding the war.

Having thus successfully concluded the war in Judæa, Adrian stamped medals, on which was seen a woman holding two naked children, and sacrificing upon an altar, with these words:

ADVENTUS AUG. JUDÆÆ.

The Arrival of the Emperor in JUDÆA.

Tristan thought, that the woman who sacrifices represents this subdued province, which consents to become heathen, and to sacrifice to the false gods; and that she brings to the altar two naked children, to shew that she renounced circumcision. The emperor meant rather to signify, by the altar and the sacrifice, that the old religion was abolished in this province, which he had colonied with new inhabitants. We see another medal of this same prince, where JUDÆA is represented as a woman on her knees, giving her hand to the emperor, and three children imploring mercy. One of these children is naked. Will it be said, that the design of it was to shew his not being circumcised? The medalist's intention was to impress a monument, representing the submission and desperate misery of Judæa, after Barchocheba's defeat.

More lenity shewn to the Jews of the east.

The Jews in the east were much more fortunate. Trajan had carried the war against them as far as Mesopotamia. But Adrian, upon his accession to the throne, having preferred an inglorious peace to a doubtful war, consented that the Euphrates should be made the boundary of the Roman empire. So that the Jews of this country had no share in this prince's war against their nation.

A confederacy of the Jews.

A confederacy had, indeed, been formed of three sorts of Jews. Some inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, ani-

mated with the hopes of plunder, and the first advantageous successes, joined their ancient enemies, to fight the Romans. Many Jews of other provinces of the empire, who still breathed after their liberty, and sought an opportunity of recovering it, laid hold on this. Perhaps, too, some came from the remotest parts, and from beyond Euphrates, to the succour of their brethren, and, therefore, the number of the dead amounted to above six hundred thousand, which number could not have been found in Judæa alone, after what it had suffered under Trajan. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Adrian himself carried the war into the east, and passed the Euphrates; for he went into his retreat of Tivoly, where he rendered himself completely odious, by the exercise of the various cruelties he committed.

This prince also added a new degree of misery to the Jews, by imposing on them a tribute for the liberty of reading the Bible in Hebrew, and that this tribute was still paid in Tertullian's time; for he says, in his apology, that the Jews every sabbath purchased the liberty of reading publicly by a tax they paid. They say, that the Jews, that had highly esteemed the Septuagint version, began to abhor it, when they perceived it was more favourable to the Christians than the Hebrews. But Adrian commanded them only to use this version; so that they were forced to pay money to read the Hebrew in the synagogues on the sabbath day.

Hard imposition laid on the Jews.

The Jews were equally unfortunate in their pretended friends, as in their avowed enemies. Antoninus Pius, who was adopted by Adrian, and raised to the highest dignities, is represented as a valuable friend and patron of the Israelites, having himself submitted to the rite of circumcision. However, he always dissimulated his real principles, and was, in reality, devoted to the worship of idols. Notwithstanding this, he openly favoured the Jews, strenuously applied himself to the study of their law, and was one of the composers of the Mishnah, which is so called from its being a repetition of the Jewish laws, rites, and ceremonies. Antoninus was, however, soon under the necessity of making war upon the Jews, as they rebelled against his government. The prohibition of circumcision, by the emperor Adrian, remained in force; and the Jews were obliged to submit, on account of the immense power which he had in his hands. As it may be supposed, they took every opportunity of breaking through the obligation which militated so powerfully against their initiatory rites, in process of time they gained strength enough to oppose by open arms, and were resolved to oblige Antoninus to give them this liberty. The Jews were defeated by Antoninus; but he afterwards restored to them the privilege of circumcision, though under certain restrictions.

Antoninus Pius first favours the Jews, and afterwards makes war upon them.

At that time, Justin Martyr had a conference with Tryphon. The Jews speak

Conference of Justin with

the Pabbia
Tryphon.

of a famous Rabbin, who was preceptor or colleague with Akiba, called Tryphon; and Dr. Lightfoot thinks it was he that Justin Martyr disputed with. He was not only rich, but charitable; for we are told that Akiba, being employed to take care of the poor, he gave him 4000 gold crowns, which he distributed in one day. Though he was a disciple of Schammy's school, yet he has been esteemed, and many sentences of his are preserved and inserted in the maxims of the fathers. He solicits men to hasten their sanctification, because of the brevity of human life. God demands it, and the recompence will be considerable. Nevertheless, he teaches, "That man is not obliged to the performance of the whole law; and provided he does his endeavour to know but one part of it, yet he shall receive a great reward."

The same person teaches, that the name of twelve letters ceased to be pronounced at that time. The name of Jehovah is ineffable, because it expresses the essence of God without ambiguity, whereas the others only make him known by his attributes. There was, moreover, a dispute among the doctors about the manner of pronouncing it. The prophane, who increased their numbers after the death of Simeon the Just, abused it; and, therefore, they left off pronouncing it. Instead of this ineffable name, was substituted one of twelve letters, which the priest uttered in giving the blessing to the people. But Tarphon affirms, that one day coming near the priest to hear him pronounce his benediction, he perceived that he did not articulate the twelve letters; but that he only muttered, whilst the brethren sang; and the reason of this change proceeded from the number of the prophane, which was increased. They highly commend the wisdom of this Tarphon, and his knowledge in the law.

Marcus Aurelius's war with the Jews

Marcus Aurelius was naturally of a mild temper, yet this exempted not the Jews from great miseries during his reign. This prince had such an opinion of them, that as he once passed through Judæa in his way to Egypt, he cried out, that he had found people as wicked as the Marcomans and Sarmatians, those barbarous nations, that made continual war, and ravaged a great part of his empire in his reign. Besides, there were two circumstances very prejudicial to them. Vologesus king of Parthia was making warlike preparations at the time that Antoninus died; and he commenced the war a little after his death, by violent incursions. Severian, the governor of Cappadocia, attempting to oppose him, perished, with his whole army. Marching afterwards into Syria, the Parthians made terrible destruction. The eastern Jews, who were subject to the Parthians, and enemies to the Romans, joined them, and increased the number of their troops. Marcus Aurelius sent Lucius Verus, his colleague, with the best officers of the empire;

but he stopped at Antioch to relax, and left the war to the management of his generals.

Cassius, who commanded, beat Vologesus, and pursued him to his capital Ctesiphon, which he took, and demolished the palace of the kings. Babylon, which still made some figure, Mesopotamia, and the lands of the Medes, where there were a great number of Jews, were laid waste. Seleucia, upon the banks of the Tigris, voluntarily surrendered: but the Romans, violating the capitulation, killed four or five hundred thousand persons. By a treaty of peace, concluded four years after the beginning of the war, Mesopotamia and Osrene, however, remained subject to the Romans. Thus the Jews of this country were reduced once more under their obedience. Cassius, who left the east to vanquish the Sarmatians, flushed with so many exploits and victories, which raised him to the rank of heroes, encouraged, as is said, by Faustina, Marcus Aurelius's wife, who was for making him an emperor, that she might marry him after her husband's death, assumed the title of emperor in Syria, where he was governor, having first spread a report, that the throne was vacant by Marcus Aurelius's death. His reign was but a dream, for it lasted but three months and six days. However, the Jews, who only waited for an opportunity to rise, seeing the fire kindled in the neighbourhood, added fuel to the flames, by joining with the rebels. Marcus Aurelius pardoned the children of Cassius, whose head had been brought to him, and spared the blood of the senators, who had engaged in the conspiracy. He even caused his letters to be burnt, that they might not be known. But he could not bear the insult which the Jews had offered him, and, to punish them, he renewed Adrian's laws against them. Whether these laws were ill executed, particularly in Asia, where the Jews were numerous, and very remote from the capital; or that they purchased the liberty of annoying the Christians, they signalised themselves in this country by their hatred. Justin Martyr had before charged them with the consequences of this passion, which frequently broke out. But they manifested it at Smyrna in Polycarp's martyrdom; for they not only joined their voices with the heathens, in crying, in the theatre, "He is an Atheist," but were also the most vehement round his pile. They persecuted this great man after his death, by soliciting the judge to deny his body to the Christians; but at last, the captain of the guards seeing the bitter rage of the Jews against the dead body, caused it to be reduced to ashes.

Their confederacy with Cassius punished.

Though these commotions might be made by a mutinous rabble, and tolerated by reason of the hatred to the Christians; yet it is certain, that the Jews enjoyed great liberty of conscience at Smyrna; since they were present at the theatre, and distinguished themselves from the heathens. Moreover, we find some

The Jews enjoy liberty at Smyrna.

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footsteps of their authority in Phrygia, by the answers that an orthodox person made to the Montanists, who accused them of being murderers of the prophets: "Is there one of them that from the origin of their sect has been persecuted by the Jews, or killed by the impious? Is there any woman who has been whipped in the synagogues or stoned?" This author attributes to the Jews the persecution of the Christians, and the breaches that divided Christianity. He adds the power of scourging. The uncontroled and numerous rabble in Asia, in Marcus Aurelius's time, pursued the Christians in the streets with staves, and sometimes crucified them. It is even very probable, that Thraseas, bishop of Eumenia, or of Emalhifar in Phrygia Pacatiana, was martyred in this manner. The circumcised must have been numerous in this part of the world, since Montanus endeavoured to allure them, by giving the name of Jerusalem to two little cities of Phrygia, which he looked upon as the principal seats of his sect.

A Jew professing baptism with sand.

About this time, there happened the conversion and unusual baptism of a Jew. A man of this nation travelling in the reign of Marcus Aurelius with Christians in a desert, was taken with such a violent thirst, that it was thought he was going to expire. He demanded baptism with impatience, which made the Christians uneasy, as being utterly destitute of water. One of them supplied the defect, by taking sand, which he threw upon the Catechumen's body, pronouncing the baptismal form. The Jew recovered by this new baptism, and marched on to the city of Alexandria. Dionysius, who was then bishop there, being informed of the fact, ordered the Jew to be re-baptized with water. Nicephorus adds, that such another instance happened under Athanasius, and he has annexed a third example, that fell out in his time at Constantinople.

Hegesippus converted.

But the conversion of Hegesippus, who lived at that time, seems dubious to many. It is agreed that he was a Jew, and that he embraced Christianity; but some sectarists represent him as a kind of half Christian, in not being brought to give up certain tenets he had imbibed from his infancy. Though the truth would not be weakened by the loss of its defenders, and by the judgment we form at this day of his doctrine, yet we cannot forbear saying, that the arguments produced against him are very weak: for Eusebius only says, that he had published several things drawn from the Hebrew and Syriac gospel, and the unwritten traditions of the Jews. It should, therefore, be concluded, that he continued a Jew, because he used the unwritten traditions of the synagogue; as it is concluded he was an Ebionite, because he has sometimes quoted the Hebrew gospel. Nevertheless, nobody denies that he embraced Christianity. Hegesippus says, that he went to Corinth, where the church continued constant in the purity of the faith, and that Primus, who was then bishop

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of it, gave him great comfort by the discourses they had concerning the truth. From thence he went to Rome, and maintained constant communion with the bishops who held that see. The church of Corinth was neither Arian nor Ebionite. Hegesippus attributes to it the profession of a true faith. He united with this bishop, and conversed with him about this pure faith: it is, therefore, indisputable that Hegesippus was of the same religion with the bishop and the church, whose purity of faith he commends, and that he held the doctrine received at Corinth and Rome.

We are told by Hegesippus, that there were traditions among the Jews, and that they were not written in his time. We have reason, therefore, to think, that Judah the Saint did not compose the Mishnah till Commodus's reign, towards the end of the second century, since they were not yet published in Hegesippus's time, who lived under Marcus Antoninus. Eusebius had first placed him under Adrian; but it seems that he discovered his error, and corrected it.

Hegesippus, likewise, speaks of four famous sects among the Jews; the Samaritans, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; to which he adds the Galileans. These were the followers of that famous Judas, who rose in the days of the taxing made by Augustus, and who would not have the emperors acknowledged for their lords, nor tribute paid to them. This spirit of sedition was still in being, and these sectaries were those who had caused the terrible rebellions which completed the ruin of the nation. The Hemero-baptists are charged by Epiphanius with having incorporated all the errors of the Pharisees and Sadducees; but I do not see what reason there is for this accusation; for their name only denotes their care to wash themselves every day, or many times in a day. It was a branch of the Pharisees, that Christ taxed with fondness for washings, and who afterwards separated from the body of the sect to make a particular one, and, perhaps, a more rigid one, in point of washings.

Different sects among the Jews.

The Masbothæans are ranked by Hegesippus amongst the Jewish sects. This sect arose after our Saviour; for they are not known from the gospel, nor by any more ancient author. We discover their true opinion in the apostolical constitutions: they denied a Providence, and believed that every thing happened by chance: they also rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. So that the Masbothæans were a branch of the Sadducees; as the Hemero-baptists proceeded from the Pharisees. I know not wherefore it has been thought that their name was borrowed from the sabbath, which they observed more religiously than others; for there is no analogy betwixt the terms Masbothæans and Sabbatarians. It was the character of the heretics of that time to confound languages, and to coin unknown words from them. There were other Masbothæans, disciples to Simon Magus, which Theodoret has distinguished from the

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Jewish

Jewish sectaries, and with reason; for they derived that pedigree from one Masbothæus, their founder, and may be ranked among Christian heretics.

Other sects of the Jews noted by Justin Martyr. A very different account was given by Justin Martyr, to Tryphon, of the sects that divided the Jews of his age, though he was cotemporary with Hegesippus. He passes over the Essenes in silence, as if they were vanished; and I could easily believe that Hegesippus only mentioned them, because they had formerly made a considerable schism in the nation. Justin Martyr maintains three sects, the Genists, the Merists, and the Hellenists. It is said, the Genists derived their glory, from being the descendants of Abraham the Father of the faithful. The Merists divided the scripture, and did not receive all the prophets, because they were animated by different spirits. These Merists might be those mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. He found a schism at Cairo, because the Jews of Babylon and of the Irack divided the scripture differently from those of Syria. The former so partitioned it, as to read it all in one year, the others multiplying the sections read it but in three years. Scaliger imagined that the schism was between the Greeks and Babylonians, because he had read in Benjamin the word *Igrikim*, which he translated "the Greeks." But Constantine the emperor, who published and translated his travels, read it *irraukin*. The Jews of the Irack were, perhaps, Hegesippus's Merists, who began to separate about the manner of reading and dividing the scripture.

Sect of the Hellenists. The Hellenists began also to set up a new sect, of which it will not be amiss to trace the original. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, a distinction was made of the Hellenist Jews, which is expressed in great characters in the gospel. This name was given them, because they were mingled with the Greeks, spoke their language, and read the holy scriptures in it, after they were translated. We observe this only difference between them and the other Jews, with whom otherwise they partook in the same religion, sacrifices, and ceremonies.

According to Scaliger, the jealousy and hatred were of very long standing betwixt these two parts of the nation, and that they had always made a kind of schism. They reproached the Hellenists with reading the scripture in the Egyptian way, from the left to the right, and this was a kind of an affront. From reproaches they came to blows; and whilst the second temple stood, Eleazar the son of Tsadoc, entering the synagogue of the Alexandrians at Jerusalem, said the most provoking things his rage could suggest. Scaliger found traces of this schism as low as the twelfth century. If Scaliger was right, the sect of the Hellenists would be much more ancient than we make it. But though there was some jealousy betwixt the Hellenists and the Jews of Palestine; yet it proceeded not to separation or schism. The Hellenists were even permitted to build many synagogues at Jerusalem for

their use, where they performed their devotions, whilst Josephus has related no dispute upon this matter, nor Philo complained, that his countrymen were ill used. The learned are divided, and run into extremes, as to the rise, cause, and time, of the division. Some, as Salmasius, think they have proved, that the Bible was never read in Greek, because it is not read in Arabic, which is more common, and better known by the Jews than the Greek could be. Another joins together both Hellenists and Jews into one synagogue at Jerusalem; and fancies that he finds a proof of it in the history of the Acts, where the Jews and Greeks were divided about the creation of the deaconesses; which could not have happened, had they not been both in the same synagogue, as if the question there was not about the converted Greeks and Jews, who made but one body in the church, where they could not continue long without dividing. Others, prepossessed in favour of the Septuagint version, find it every where, and exalt it far above the original.

The safest way is to embrace a due medium. Necessity required that the Hellenists, who understood not Hebrew, should read the law in Greek in their synagogues. Though it were true, that Philo, and some other of the learned, understood the Syriac, there would be still the same necessity of the Greek version for that great number of Hellenists that were in Egypt, and in all the great cities of Asia under the Roman jurisdiction. The Jews of Jerusalem could not condemn this practice, since they had such another in using the Chaldee paraphrases; and when there were no written paraphrases, they filled up this defect by an application of each verse, which custom being as ancient as Ezra, authorised that of the Greek versions in all the places where the Chaldee was not the language of the country. Simeon the son of Gamaliel, who lived at the time of Titus's war, determined that the law might be read and written in Greek. We shall see hereafter why the Gemara has limited this decision to the five books of Moses. We may add, that R. Levi, coming to Cesaræa, where there were many Greeks, was surprised to hear the Hebrew words, "*Hear, O Israel*," pronounced in Greek. But R. Joses asked him, whether those that understood not Hebrew never read the law; and added, without waiting for an answer, "That whoever reads in a language he knows or understands, does his duty."

Lightfoot, who could not deny but that there were Greek copies in the synagogues, imagined that they were placed there by way of precaution, that when the heathens came in to explode their religion, they might be convinced by their own eyes, that it was not bad. To own that there were Greek copies in the synagogues, is to confess that the law was read in this language, and the Hebrews hindered not a custom that was universally received in the regions of the Roman empire. Nevertheless, they both of them considered the original as sacred, and preferable as well to the versions as to Chal-

The law read in Greek by the Hellenistic Jews.

Opinion of Lightfoot.

Chaldee paraphrases, because it was God that had made choice of this tongue.

Septuagint,
why cried
down.

The progress of Christianity disturbed this harmony of the Jews. The Christians disputing with them always used the version of the LXX. which not only was better known, but more advantageous to them. Justin Martyr produces proofs out of it; for he taxes the Hebrews with having lately struck out these words of Jeremy, "I am like a lamb that is led to the slaughter," which were found in the Septuagint version. He carried his proofs farther, in quoting a passage of Esdras, which is no where to be found, and which he is accused of having put into Greek, though it be more than probable, that this fraud was more ancient than he that made use of it. These reproaches, well or ill grounded, began to disgust the Jews with the Greek version, and to give them less esteem for those who were obliged to use it. The originals were cried up above the version, which was rejected, and found pernicious; they flew into an extreme, and this dispute produced the following effects:

1. The name of Hellenist became odious, and those that bore it, finding themselves abused with bitter reproaches, set up the sect mentioned by Justin Martyr. Here, then, you have the origin of the sect.
2. They attempted new versions, of which we shall give an account.
3. The Gemarists not being able to prohibit the reading of the Greek books, confined it to the Pentateuch; because these five books contained less disputed prophecies than those of the other prophets.
4. As the hatred to the Hellenists continually increased, those fabulous prodigies were invented, said to be wrought at the time that the Septuagint version was composed, and they talked of a fast that was celebrated on the account of this version, of which no mention is made in the Talmud.

Thus it is we disentangle the history of the Hellenists, and not only extricate it with probability, but our opinions are founded upon many irrefragable testimonies. These new sectaries appeared, therefore, a little before Justin Martyr, or, rather, the name of Hellenists, which was hardly odious before, grew so then, and became the title of a sect.

Several translations of the scripture were made by the different parties, and this sort of business became much in fashion among the Jews. Whether the Hellenists we have been speaking of desired it, or that they became more necessary to dispute against the Christians dispersed over all the Roman empire? Aquila was the first that engaged in it; whose version was received with a general applause of the Hellenists. Origen affirms, That all the Jews

Various trans-
lations.

who did not understand the Hebrew were accustomed to this version, which they looked upon to be the best of all. Philostrius not only says the same thing, but adds, that some hereticks followed it. In the mean time, the Talmudists, full of that jealousy that had for some time prevailed against the Hellenists, made their

efforts to disgust the people with it, and reduce them to the Hebrew Bible. We find in their writings several strokes of censure against the Greek one. The Christians complained of it, because it came from a suspected hand, and which had robbed them of many places of scripture; but, however, they sometimes made use of it; and St. Jerom, who had condemned it, praised afterwards the exactness of the author. Theodotion made another of them. The Jews carried off this conquest from the church; for Theodotion, who was born an heathen, had embraced Christianity; but, being brought over to Judaism, was circumcised. He was a native of Pontus, where he had known Marcion, his countryman, and had entered into his sect. From thence he went to Ephesus, where the Jews were numerous and considerable; and he listed into the synagogue. It seems that this was an invasion upon Antoninus's law, who forbade the Jews the making of proselytes, and circumcising them. But we have already observed, that these laws were ill executed in Asia, and perhaps Marcus Aurelius had revoked them; for Theodotion made no mystery of his circumcision, and the Christians knew it well enough. He learnt of his new masters Hebrew enough to translate the scripture, or, rather, to copy the Septuagint; for he followed them so close, that Origen made use of his version to fill up the chasms and vacuities that were found in the Septuagint. It is said, that he published it the first year of Commodus's reign, according to the custom of that time; for the learned took a pride to publish their works in the Decennalia, or Vicennalia, and at the birth of princes, or when they came to the throne.

Not to dispute about this custom, did a Jew make a sufficient figure in the empire to honour Commodus's coronation by a version of the holy scriptures? As odious as his person must have been, the Christians reaped some advantage by his work, and to read publicly his translation of the prophet Daniel, because that of the Septuagint was full of faults; or, rather, because this version was by an hand that was much inferior to those that had worked upon the Pentateuch. Also the Ebionites and Nazarenes preferred it before all others. Symmachus composed a third translation in Severus's reign. It appeared much clearer, and more useful, than the preceding ones; because this author had more respect to the sense than to the signification of words. The Christians made use of all these translations, though they were only made to their prejudice, and by doctors that infinitely hated them. However, the version of the Septuagint still raised its head above all these new-fangled pieces. In the mean time, it must be owned, that they were only undertaken to weaken its authority, to hinder its being used in the synagogues, as it hitherto had been, and to prevent the Christians, who disputed with the Jews, from drawing objections out of it; for, indeed, these last interpreters had robbed us of Isaiah's oracle: "A virgin shall bring forth," Isa. vii. 14.

Pef

They suffer
on account of
the war be-
tween Nige-
r and Severus.

Pescennius Niger, being proclaimed emperor in Syria, endeavoured to bring the Jews into his interest, but found them unshaken in their attachment to Severus.

The Jews who resided between the Tygris and the Euphrates, suffered very much from the war which was carried on between these mighty disputants for the imperial crown; especially as Severus was obliged to carry his arms into the east, against the king of Parthia.

A jubilee ce-
lebrated.

St. Jerom says, that in the twelfth year of Severus a jubilee was celebrated. This

term is peculiar to the Jews; but Scaliger has remarked, that whatsoever way we reckon the years, the Jewish jubilee could not happen in this. The Christians had borrowed this word from the synagogue. But yet it was not a jubilee of the church; and those that should refer the origin of that celebrated at Rome to this, would be grossly mistaken; but Severus causing the secular games to be celebrated in the empire, the Christians who partook in the feast called it a jubilee.

The Jews are
favoured un-
der Caracalla.

Caracalla followed his father's steps; nor can it be doubted but that he loved the Jews from his childhood, since one of them at court, who was his play-fellow, being whipped by the emperor's order, he was so afflicted, that he would not see his father for several days. So that, as we do not find he acted against the Jews, we have reason to believe that they took the advantage of a quiet interval, to make their collection of traditions.

Traditions
peculiar to the
Hellenists, and
others to the
Jews.

There were two sorts of traditions, some that were peculiar to the Hellenists, and others received by the Hebrews of the Holy Land, descended from the Pharisees. The former traditions, vented by the fore-cited authors, were actually unknown and rejected by the Tiberian doctors, whose contempt and hatred of the Greeks increased daily.

Many apocry-
phal books
written at
this time.

Both the Jewish and Hellenist traditions were, by this time, grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. In this century flourished

Jochanan
compiles the
Talmud.

the famed Jochanan, chief of the Amaraïjen, or commentators on the Misnah, and compiler of the Jerusalem Talmud. The most probable supposition is, that he was born about the latter end of the second century, or Anno Dom. 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was chosen chief of the academy of Tiberias, in the fifteenth year of his age, which is improbable and contrary to the practice of the Jews, because his master was still alive, and Caniner, whom he appointed his successor, is affirmed, by the Jewish chronologists, to have enjoyed the dignity about ten years more, so that the soonest he can be supposed to have ascended the chair is about anno 225, and about the fortieth year of his age, by which time he had opportunity sufficient to finish his studies under those two masters, in order to

qualify himself for his great work, in which he was assisted by two other learned rabbies, R. Samuel, and Rab or Raw, who had likewise been disciples of his two masters, Judah the Saint, and R. Chanina.

The following is a brief account of this famous production, commonly known by the name of the Hierosolymitan or Jerusalem Talmud.

The word Talmud signifies Doctrine, ^{Account of} and is emphatically given to this work, ^{the Jerusalem} as being a complete system or body of ^{Talmud.} it, or of the religion and morals of the Jews. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of Jerusalem, which is the shorter and more obscure of the two; as, likewise, the more ancient by near one century; and that of Babylon, of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the Misnah of Judah Hakkadash.

Judah had scarcely finished his own work before he had the mortification to see a collection of different traditions published, and afterwards inserted in the Misnah: to remedy, therefore, this evil, these three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being completed in Judæa, and in the Hebrew then in use, was styled the Gemarrah, or *Perfection*; and this and the Misnah together, made that which is called the Talmud of Jerusalem.

This Talmud, distinguished by the title of Hierosolymitan, being still found not only too succinct, as well as too obscure, by reason of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the Babylonish Talmud, compiled by Rabbi Ase, a learned disciple of the great Jochanan, who left the academy of Tiberias, and went to reside at that of Sara, near Babylon, where he continued in that dignity about forty years, during which he compiled his Gemarrah, or comment upon the Misnah of Judah the Saint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be styled the Babylonian Talmud. Ase did not live to finish it; but this was effected by his sons and some of his disciples, so that it became a vast body or collection of traditions concerning the canon laws of the Jews, and of all the questions relating to the Jewish law, wherein the Misnah is the text, and the Gemarrah the comment upon it.

The Jews in general prefer this Babylonish Talmud, on account of its clearness and fulness, much above that of Jerusalem; and though it abounds with ridiculous fables and stories, they will not suffer any one to call it in question, without the censure of heresy. We shall dispense with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only observe, that the learned Maimonides hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he has thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himself to a collection of the most material cases and decisions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he styles, *Yad Khazchah*, or *Strong Hand*, is, therefore, much preferable to the Talmud itself, as being one of the most complete bodies of the Jewish laws that ever was written.

Hitherto

The Jews are
in danger un-
der Helioga-
balus.

Hitherto the Jews had lived in peace and happiness, but had nearly suffered a most dreadful persecution in the reign of Heliogabalus. That whimsical prince caused himself to be circumcised, and abstained from swine's flesh, out of devotion to his gods. He might have borrowed this from the Jews, in whose neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family had intimate correspondence. But all this predilection would not have secured them from his violence, had not death prevented it.

We are told by Lampridius, that this prince, having built a fine temple to the honour of Heliogabalus, ordered the Palladium, the vestal fire, the mother of the gods, and whatsoever was held most sacred by the Romans, to be conveyed thither, being resolved that Heliogabalus should be the only person to be worshipped. To render this union of worship more complete, he formed the design of introducing the Samaritans' and Jews' religion, who were well known to him. The lives and fortunes of the Jews depended upon the execution of this design, for they would never have consented to have worshipped the sun in the emperor's temple, with that heap of ceremonies his religion consisted of; and they could expect nothing but death, and the most cruel tortures, from a prince whom all historians compare to the Nero's and other monsters, that have governed the empire. The unexpected death of this prince, who was assassinated by his soldiers, secured them from this impending danger. Indeed, he only says, it was a design of the emperor's, and that he talked of doing it. Beside, though Heliogabalus had sent the image of his god, and had ordered it to be placed in the senate, above victory, even before his entrance into Rome; and though the historians relate the extravagances he committed to honour this deity, yet it required time to build the temple, in which all religions were to be combined. Eusebius says, it was not raised till the year of his death, and so God thereby preserved them, as well as the Christians, from a scourge that was like to destroy them.

Clemency of
Alexander
Severus.

Alexander Severus's clemency contributed, doubtless, to the flourishing state of the Jews; for, indeed, this prince openly favoured the nation. The wits of that time called him an Archi-synagogue of Syria; because he favoured the Jews, corresponded with them, and was intrusted in their religion, of which he had received some tincture from his mother Mammæa. Indeed this prince had a variety of religions in his head. He never abandoned the gods of his fathers, nor the heathen idolatry, which still prevailed; but he listed among those gods, Abraham the father of the faithful, and the great patriarch of the Jews. It seems as if he only did it to rectify the design Heliogabalus had formed of ranking the Samaritan, Jew, and Christian, with the heathens in the same temple; but he did it with candour and charity.

No. 33.

Alexander Severus was for having the names of the officers he sent into the provinces proclaimed, and the people licensed to accuse them; because, as the Jews and Christians proclaimed their priests that they might be known, it was fit the same thing should be done in point of governors, who were intrusted with the lives and fortunes of the people. In fine, he often repeated this maxim, which he had learnt from the Jew and Christian: "Do not to others what ye would not have them do unto you."

The tranquillity enjoyed by this nation was continued by the following emperors: Philip, who was born in Arabia, where the Jews had so great a commerce, gave them countenance. Decius, who persecuted the Christian church, in hatred to the protection Philip had granted it, might have confounded them with it. But, besides that the difference of these two religions was well known, it does not appear that they had any share in the short and violent persecutions this prince brought upon the church. Nor must they be admitted into Valerian's persecution, nor considered as the authors of it: though Dionysius of Alexandria says, this prince was compelled to it by an Archi-synagogue of Egypt. We may, moreover, observe, that they place the doctor Sceciath at the end of the third century. He was blind, but, nevertheless, became very learned. He had also a dispute with the Christians. Two works are ascribed to him; one upon the Cabbala, which was an explication of the Splendors, the manuscript of which was in the Heidelberg library; the other was a Targum, or a Chaldee paraphrase upon the scripture.

State of the JEWS in the East.

THE eastern Jews were very much favoured by Artaxerxes, the famed restorer of the Persian monarchy; his son and successor, Sapor, was, likewise, a great friend to these persecuted people. Several learned men amongst the Jews were settled in the east, and particularly Samuel the astronomer, who left Judæa, and resided under this government so favourable to his own people. His glory was eclipsed by Ada, who was born in Babylon, and had made a more exact calculation of the course of the sun than his predecessors. There were at this time so many persons famous for their natural abilities, and their learned acquirements, that an academy was established by their means, and it was supported with considerable reputation to its professors.

The eastern
Jews are fa-
voured by Ar-
taxerxes, &c.

These magi did not so long enjoy uninterrupted prosperity and protection under Sapor, as under Artaxerxes. Sapor corresponded with the rabbins, and disputed with them; and, from a disputant, he became a persecutor. Instigated by the Arabians, he imprisoned three of the principal Jews, and, by severe scourging, endeavoured to make them renounce their religion;

Persecuted by
Sapor.

ligion; but they endured all with constancy and resolution. Thus mortified by want of success, he imprisoned all their great men, and tortured them in the extreme: but their cause was avenged by an unseen hand. The Persians were not so happy as before; the Arabians made war upon them, and bound their princes in fetters; the king of the Arabs, also, sent messages to the Jews, saying, that if they would retire to those territories, they should meet with friendship, protection, and full liberty of conscience. The Persians, hereupon, perceiving the loss they were likely to sustain, mitigated the severity of the persecution, and became friendly, from motives of self-interest; which is a prevailing principle amongst all people, tongues, and languages.

Through means of Zenobia, who might be styled the queen of the east, the splendor of the Jews revived. This princess, who became so famous, had married Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and commander of the Saracens of that country, which was but a day's march from the Euphrates. Odenatus, seeing every thing sloop before Sapor, sent him presents, and wrote to him in testimony of his submission. The conqueror, who had penetrated already into Cappadocia, and taken Casarea, tore Odenatus's letter, and ordered his presents to be thrown into the river. Being exasperated of himself, and by Zenobia, a most haughty princess, he made an alliance with the Romans, declared war with Sapor, gave him many battles which he always won; and obliged this victor of so many provinces to give up all the treasures he had amassed in Syria, in the garrison of Edessa, to purchase his retreat. Odenatus pursued him, ravaged Mesopotamia, routed the nobility of the kingdom several times, who were assembled upon business of state; and twice besieged his enemy in Ctesiphon. But, after divers conquests, and being declared Augustus, Zenobia his wife, who would reign alone, caused him to be slain, with a son he had by a former wife.

This princess had been brought up in the Jewish religion, and was a zealous professor of it. She is recorded to have built a great number of stately synagogues, and to have raised the Jews to the highest dignities. It cannot be doubted that the Jews made great use of her protection, and became very potent in the east, under Odenatus, her husband, who carried every thing before him. When she came to the throne, she added Egypt to her conquests; extended her arms into Asia Minor, as far as Tyana and Ancyra, and passed into Bythinia, where she took Chalcedon.

Aurelian, at this juncture, however, began to restore the affairs of the empire, which Zenobia had ruined. He entered into Bythinia, which acknowledged its former master without resistance. From thence he went on to Cappadocia, and the gates of Tyana being shut against him, he vowed vengeance

on all the inhabitants. Zenobia was at Antioch, from whence she advanced with her troops as far as Immes, which was not far from it. The battle was fought near the river Orontes. Aurelian's troops retreated, that they might put the queen's horsemen, who were heavily armed, out of breath: falling afterwards upon them, they put them to flight. Zabdas, who commanded for the princess, foreseeing that Antioch would shut her gates against him, if they had notice there of his defeat, dressed up a man, and, calling him Aurelian, gave out that he carried the emperor prisoner. The stratagem was quickly discovered. He staid no longer at Antioch than to take Zenobia along with him, and make a precipitate retreat.

A second battle was fought, in which Aurelian's cavalry were broken: but whilst the Palmyrenians pursued it, they fell upon the infantry, which was cut in pieces. Zenobia had no other resource than to shut herself up in Palmyra, whose situation was advantageous. The Persians, Saracens, and eastern nations, still devoted to this princess, notwithstanding her misfortunes, in vain attempted to succour her. The Persians were beaten, and the Saracens obliged to list in Aurelian's army. Zenobia secretly departed out of the city, to seek for succour among the Persians. But as she was going to pass the Euphrates, Aurelian's couriers, who pursued her, took her prisoner. Palmyra surrendered. Zenobia was led in triumph with her son. She was adorned with jewels, and mounted upon a stately chariot, on which she had hoped to make a triumphant entry into Rome, whereas she entered like a slave. The chariot of her husband Odenatus was also one of the ornaments of Aurelian's triumph, who exposed to view whatever was most rich and precious in the east, which, by his present victories, he had reunited to the empire. Zenobia went to Rome, or rather to Tivoli, where she had a small villa, and lived in retirement; and thus vanished this glimpse of prosperity and authority of the Jewish nation, unless it may be said, that Vaballat her son, to whom Aurelian gave some sovereignty in Armenia, had embraced his mother's religion, and favoured the Jews as she had done; which is very uncertain. Most of the Jews retired into the cities of Persia, where their doctors continued in some repute. They boasted highly, at that time, of one Chizia, the son of Asce, who, not being able to conquer the force of concupiscence, threw himself into a smoking bakehouse.

At that time, there was a famous disputant, who not only puzzled the Babylonian doctors, but, to shame them the more, made his wife dispute with them. He was called Jeremy, and was master of casuistry. Other doctors there flocked to So-ra, because the academy of Nahardea was fallen with the city, which was taken and plundered. Zira, surnamed Kattina, was still there. He at first

Zenobia is vanquished by Aurelian.

Zenobia is favourable to the Jews.

Sapor is vanquished by Odenatus.

Her reverse of fortune.

Zenobia a Jewess.

Doctors that flourished in the east.

Famous disputant, among the Jews.

He was Jeremy.

left his country, to go and study at Tiberias, where he had also received the imposition of hands; but the authority and friendship of Huna had recalled him to his academy, where he lived till the year 300, when, desiring to lay his bones in Judæa, he chose rather to carry his living body thither himself, than have it conveyed after his death. So that, though the Jews of Babylon had a great esteem for their own country, yet that hindered not their going to study in Judæa, whence they commonly returned before they died. But the most famed among

Manes. them was Manes. He could by no means be reconciled to the religion of the Jews, nor to what was recorded of their nation destroying and exterminating such numbers of people and kingdoms. He preferred the doctrine of the Christians, which recommended nothing so much as love and benignity. Nevertheless, he held great conference with the Jews of Persia, where he had much correspondence; whether he designed to be fully instructed in the law, or rather desired to recover them from what he called their infatuation. The modern Jews are not agreed about their ancestors' conference with Manes, and in their kalendar they fix the origin of his sect towards the end of Constantine's reign.

Dioclesian's persecution against the Christians did not much affect the Jewish nation, either in the east or west; though those of the former pretend that he designed to have made them feel the severest marks of his resentment, for some scandalous reflections which the disciples of Judah the Saint had cast upon him, but that they found means to appease his wrath.

State of the JEWS under the Christian Emperors, &c.

THE nation of the Jews did not enjoy much greater tranquillity when the emperor became Christian, than under the government of professed idolators; though their fate varied with the disposition of the reigning prince. The Christians were so accustomed to persecution themselves, that when they came into power, they made an improper use of it; and, instead of motives of pity, those of hatred and revenge occupied their breasts; which mode of acting cannot at all be reconciled with the genius of their religion, nor with the laws of its divine Author.

Zonaras the historian says, they had a conference at Rome with Helena this emperor's mother, who was yet unconverted. They represented to this princess, that though her son had reason to abolish heathenism and its idols, yet he had made no great progress towards his own salvation, since, instead of the heroes of ancient heathenism, he worshipped a man who had been crucified but a few ages before. Helena, who was devout, and anxious for her son's salvation, called the doctors to a conference with Pope Sylvester, who quickly triumphed over the enemies of the Christian religion. It is

likewise said, that Constantine persecuted the circumcised; for St. Chrysostom affirms, that upon their assembling once to rebuild Jerusalem, this prince, disgusted with the rash attempt, surprising them, caused their ears to be cut off, and afterwards dispersed them into all the territories of his empire, as so many fugitive slaves. Eutychius adds, that Constantine obliged them all to be baptised, and to eat swine's flesh on a passover day. Persecution cannot be carried farther; but I question the truth of these particulars.

Though Chrysostom has great authority in the church, he is liable to error; for the Jews say themselves, that it was the emperor Adrian who caused their ears to be cut off, like the slaves which he sold at the fairs of the empire. Besides, Jerusalem had been rebuilt under Constantine's empire; its bishop had assisted at the council of Nice, and the emperor had raised such stately edifices in it, that Eusebius told him it was the New Jerusalem. We may add, that though the Theodosian code contains many laws against the Jews, under Constantine's name, yet there is not one condemning them "to the loss of their ears, to be baptised, or to eat swine's flesh."

However, this emperor published several edicts, which acquaint us with the condition and restless humour of the Jews under his reign. The first is one of the most important: it was issued upon occasion of Joseph, who had abandoned the synagogue to embrace Christianity. The Jews, incensed by his conversion, went to insult him in his house, and finding that he read the gospel, forced his book from him, loaded him with abuses and blows, and dragged him to the synagogue, where they unmercifully scourged him. But, not content with this first outrage, they pushed him into the river Cydnus, whose current carried him far enough to give them the joyful hopes that he was drowned. But God preserved him. He received baptism, made himself known at court, and obtained the emperor's leave to build temples in several places where none had been erected before. The Jews were settled at Diocæsarea, Tiberias, Nazareth, and Capernaum, and had so appropriated these cities to themselves, as not to admit any strangers, not excepting the Samaritans, who professed the same religion. Joseph undertook to introduce the Christian religion into all these cities, and to that effect built churches in them. The Jews were nevertheless powerful in Judæa, under Constantine's empire, since they alone possessed four cities, one of which was Nazareth. Their numbers rendered them insolent, and they abused those that were turned Christians, and publicly opposed the execution of the prince's orders for the building of temples.

On account of this disorderly conduct, Constantine was, doubtless, obliged to publish the edict before-mentioned. "He taxed them with stoning or burning whoever had

Constantine uses great severity towards the Jews.

Vindication of Constantine.

Edicts issued against the Jews, in consequence of the conversion of Joseph, &c.

Outrages of the Jews recalled.

had a mind to renounce their religion ;” and he condemned them to the same punishment, with all their accomplices. Herein we still see the footsteps of that furious zeal, which they thought authorised them to kill those who were taken in a notorious crime. They imagined these were the precepts of the oral law; and said, that Phineas had executed the verbal order of Moses. They produced another example under the Maccabees, when Mattathias killed a Jew, who was practising heathen ceremonies. The doctors authorised this practice; for Philo doubted not but God had established it. The Essenes, those austere votaries, ordered, that if any man had blasphemed against Moses, he should be killed. Josephus says, that they “punished him with death.” The interpreter has improperly translated it, they “condemned him to death.” For as this sect had no power of life and death, it punished blasphemers by a motion of zeal.

Notwithstanding the terrible disorders, and the torrents of blood that the Zealots had caused to flow at Jerusalem, yet this dangerous maxim was still preserved; and the Mishnah teaches, that if any one “renounces the foundation,” that is, the articles of faith, he ought to be killed, and, pursuant to this principle, they stoned, burnt, and drowned those that deserted them in Constantine’s reign. This obliged him to repress that violence, and, as they did not obey the first law, he was forced to make a second. He also forbade the Christians to turn Jews, upon pain of an arbitrary punishment. There was more danger in point of slaves, who might be brought over by their masters: and, therefore, this prince published a law six months before his death, prohibiting the Jews to circumcise those in their service; and giving liberty to all who accused their masters of having circumcised them, or that embraced Christianity.

Several laws
are enacted
by the same
emperor.

The emperor farther ordered that the Jews might be made decurions, because it was fit that they should have their share in the public burthens; but he exempted the patriarchs and priests, and those that had considerable employments in the synagogues, because, being taken up by their functions, they could not attend to the duties of those offices. For, indeed, the post of decurion was not an honour, but a servitude. Every one endeavoured to be discharged from it, by taking other employments in the army and government. They endeavoured to exempt themselves by some privilege which they begged of the emperor. Constantine granted so many of them, that there was nobody left to fill these posts in Julian’s time, which obliged him to revoke them all, without exception; and this raised murmurs against him, even after his death, whilst others commended him for it. No wonder, then, that Constantine, who did not love the Jews, made decurions of them.

During his reign is placed the council of Elvira, which made two decrees against the Jews of Spain, in which country they had great correspondence with the Christians. They ate and lived sociably together; but the council forbade this table society, upon pain of excommunication to those that ate with a Jew. The punishment was grievous and absurdly inflicted, since eating together is an action purely civil, and excommunication ought not to be issued, except for ecclesiastical crimes. The learned commentator of the council of Elvira, pretends, that the council of Nice ordered the same thing in one of its decrees, which had been dictated by Osius, who was president of it, and who was for having the discipline received in the Spanish churches, and admitted into all others. Mendoza is mistaken; for the canon he quotes was never made by the council of Nice. He took it from the Arabians, who have falsely imputed to this council many canons it never made. Nor do we know what the Arabians mean by quoting the apostles in their decree; for St. Paul was so far from condemning the commerce of civil society, that he made himself “all things to all men, a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks.” If we have recourse to the canons that bear the names of these holy men, we shall only find, that they condemned usury, without forbidding eating and society with the Jews. Recardoe, who renewed the decree of the Elviran council, and supported it with his authority grounded also upon the authority of St. Paul, who says, that “All things are impure to the defiled and unbelieving.” From whence he concluded, that the Jews being impure, their meats must be so too: but this is a weak and inconclusive argument. The same council, by another decree, forbade “the possessors of lands to suffer their fruits to be blessed by the Jews, because their benediction frustrated that of the Christians, and it threatened absolutely to cast out of the church such as should not obey it.” This custom of blessing the fruits of the earth at certain seasons was common to Pagans and Jews, as well as Christians. But who would have imagined that the latter should have made use of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it? However, this, and the other decree, plainly shew that the Jews had lived very peaceably in Spain, and in good harmony with the Christians, till that time, whatever they may have done since.

Edicts and
decrees of the
the council of
Elvira.

In the east, the Jews enjoyed a no less benign sun-shine, and their academies went on in a flourishing manner; if we except the persecution raised against one of their greatest doctors. This was the famous Ravana, or Rabba Nachmanides, head of the academy of Sora. They mention two famous men of that name, one ancient and the other modern. The latter lived in the year 474; but the other died before the council of Nice, in 322. He was so esteemed, that they reckon twelve thousand disciples in his academy. He was commonly called

Their quiet
state in the
east, and fa-
mous rabbies
there.

the

the Remover of Mountains. Not that he had the power to work miracles, and convey mountains into the midst of the sea, but so profound was his knowledge, as to solve the greatest difficulties. He wrote a book, that was in great esteem whilst he lived, and after his death. It was a commentary upon the first book of Moses, containing the history of the Holy Land, with the literal and mystical sense. The title of it was Bereſchit Rabba. It must not be confounded with another work of the same name, which is a commentary upon the Mishnah of Judah the Saint, composed by one of his disciples.

Ravena accused of crimes by the king of Persia, but escapes.

Being long educated in the academies of Babylon, Ravena was accused of divers crimes by the king of Persia. The fear of being taken and condemned to death obliged him to fly, and conceal himself, and he died in his retreat. It is said he was committed prisoner, and that Sapor was about to condemn him, but that the empress, his mother, sent to tell him, that "he should have nothing to do with that Jew, because she had suffered much on his account." However, this persecution was not general; for the academies flourished at Babylon, and in the neighbouring parts. Ravena left a nephew, whom he styled Avii, for two reasons; one was, that he meant to signify, that he had been an orphan, and that he had entertained him out of charity; the other was, that he would not have him go by the name of his grandfather Nachman, lest afterwards the nephew should be confounded with the uncle, and the disciple with the master. He made such proficiency by Ravena's lectures, as to become head of the academy of Pundebita, in the year 325, which he governed till 339. At the latter end of his life he married a widow, by whom he had a son, who is known by the name of Rau bibi, in the writings of this period.

Joseph the Blind, his works.

In the academy of Sora there was also a professor, called Joseph of Great Light, or Saghi Nahor. He was blind; nevertheless he was a man of great knowledge. He was also surnamed Sinai, because he knew to perfection all the traditions that had been given Moses upon Sinai. He is supposed to be the author of the Chaldee paraphrases upon some of the holy penmen, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth and Esther. This paraphrase is highly esteemed, if we judge of it by the number of its particular editions.

State of the JEWS in the East.

They raise a persecution against the Christians in the East.

WHILE the Jews were put under various cruel restrictions by Constantine, they flourished in the East, and their learned seminaries increased in reputation. At the close of Constantine's reign they made interest with the Persian court to revenge themselves for what they had suffered in the Roman empire, by raising a cruel persecution against the Christians of the East.

The religion of Jesus had some time before made progress in Armenia. We are told that one of its kings, No. 33.

called Tiridates, had embraced christianity. From thence it passed on to the Persians, who had great correspondence with the Armenians. They began to build churches, and to consecrate priests. There was also a bishop for the two cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which were the most considerable of the country. The Jews were numerous there, because, as Jerom observes, they lived quiet and undisturbed, and were persecuted by none of the Persian kings. Being jealous of the progress of christianity, they murmured: but when they saw Ustazades, one of Sapor's principal eunuchs turned Christian, they no longer observed any bounds, and made a league with the Magi.

The Jews raise a persecution against the Christians in Persia.

Simeon, bishop of Ctesiphon, was accused of criminal correspondence with Constantine, which was enough to destroy him. This bishop refused to worship the sun and the king, when he was brought to the foot of his throne. "I bent my knee formerly (said he) before your majesty, because I did it voluntarily, and it was a civil homage; but I cannot do it when you make it an act of religion, and would make me renounce my God." The king, being enraged, caused him to be chained in a dungeon. The Jews and the Magi taking advantage of this opportunity, pulled down all the Christian churches. The persecution was long and bloody: Ustazades, an old eunuch of Sapor, and eminent for his services, was also one of the first martyrs who suffered under it.

Constantine being incensed against the Jews, and being withal zealous for the Christian religion, made some laws against them. There is, says St. Hilary, who lived at that time, an edict of the emperor, which hinders them at present from entering into Jerusalem. He makes them perambulate the walls of that great city, without entering it. They complained to Julian, when he came to the throne, of this hard usage, in being excluded the gates of a city, which had been the residence of their ancestors for many ages. All this is an argument, that Constantine had renewed Adrian's edicts, or had made new ones upon the same subject. This prince also made it death for a Jew to marry a Christian, or to circumcise a slave. He also prohibited their having Christians in their service; and especially forbade, under great punishments, the embracing their religion: so that if they had liberty of conscience for themselves and posterity, they were not permitted to receive proselytes, when they offered themselves. He loaded them likewise with taxes, and had projected new pecuniary edicts against them when he died. Under this reign Epiphanius was converted from Judaism to Christianity, not (as related) without the interposition of some extraordinary circumstances, with which we shall not trouble our readers, since they were not powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notion of the sect of Gnostics, whom he met with in Egypt.

Edicts of Constantine against the Jews.

Conversion of Epiphanius.

The Jews were afterwards relieved by Julian, called the apostate, who protected

Julian grants the

Jews his
protection.

them, not out of any regard he had for their religion, since they worshipped but one God, and abominated the heathen idolatry; but he was glad to augment the numbers of the enemies of christianity, which he thought most formidable, and to set all religions at war, that paganism might triumph in the midst of these conflicts. He discharged the circumcised from the taxes wherewith Constantians had loaded them. He wrote to them, and in his letter honoured their patriarch with the style of brother; which is a proof they were then considerable in the empire. He gave them liberty to sacrifice, and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, because they represented to him that they could not offer sacrifice out of the Holy Land. They availed themselves of the emperor's protection to insult the Christians, for they assembled in many cities of Judaea and Syria, pulled down their temples at Gaza, Afcalon and Berytus, and demolished two at Damascus. Those of Egypt did the same thing, and the most magnificent of all the temples of Alexandria was destroyed. They fell to rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, but this event which historians relate, with many attendant circumstances, deserves to be particularly noticed.

In consequence of a
traditionary
prophecy, they
set about re-
building the
temple; but
the work is
frustrated by
earthquakes,
&c.

This prince not only authorized the building of the temple of Jerusalem, but also furnished them with materials and money. Jerom, speaking of the Jews of his time, says, they imagined that four hundred and thirty years after their dispersion, they were to become masters of the Romans, sell them to the Sabeans, rebuild Jerusalem, and restore it to its primitive glory; that the boroughs and neighbouring cities, not excepting Sodom itself, should be rebuilt. This they grounded upon several oracles, promising that God would revenge his people of their enemies, and rebuild Sion. When they saw Julian solicitous for their labouring upon this structure, they fancied the promises accomplished. They insultingly asked the Christians, whether they would cause gold and silver tools to be made, to work upon this new edifice. The women and children lent a helping hand, and the heathens themselves assisted them in the restoration of the temple. But at length, an effectual stop was put to it by such a series of prodigies, as quite deterred them from pursuing it, and made them sensible of the infallibility of Christ's predictions against that place. Dreadful earthquakes and eruptions of fire from the ground interrupted the workmen when digging for the foundation of the new temple, together with a variety of other contingencies, as are set forth at large in Bishop Warburton's celebrated performances.

Account of a
city inhabited
by the ten
tribes in the
east.

The emperor Julian, who had permitted the rebuilding of the temple, before he departed for Persia, carried his conquests very far. He found there a part of the ten tribes, which possessed an entire city. Historians observe, that this prince, being arrived at Melene, which is an island made by the Tigris, where Apamea bore a considerable rank, marched towards a palace, where the Euphrates di-

vides itself into many channels, and found a city called Bithra, which was inhabited by the Jews, who had abandoned it, because the walls were not strong nor high enough to sustain a siege.

This city had been considerable in the Persian empire, since the emperor's palace, and houses to lodge a garrison, were still seen in it. Julian's army seeing it deserted, set fire to it and reduced it to ashes. It cannot be doubted, but there were Jews of the ten tribes dispersed in the east, since they were situated between the channels of the Euphrates. They were numerous and potent there, as they possessed an intire city. They were also faithful to their prince, for they rather chose to forsake all, than to wait and receive the Romans, who would have profited by their continuance in that place.

In this war, Julian being killed, Jovian his successor was obliged to check the influence this prince's countenance had infused both into the heathens and Jews of the Roman empire. This he did, but his reign was so short, that they looked upon it only as a fleeting cloud; and the rather because Valens restored intire liberty of conscience to all the enemies of the Christian religion, heathens, Jews, and heretics. He did something more; for Valentinian and he maintained the Jews and their patriarchs, in the possession of all their privileges. The law of those two princes is lost; but since Arcadius supports himself with their example in confirming all these privileges, it cannot be doubted but they made it. However, Valens abolished one of their greatest advantages, since he subjected them to public offices, and revoked the preceding decrees that had exempted them. This prince's words are remarkable, because they shew that the clergy was not so far privileged as is at present imagined. "The edict upon which the Jews flatter themselves that they are exempted from the offices of court is voided by these presents; for even the clergy are not allowed to consecrate themselves to the service of God without having first paid what is due to their country; and he that will truly give himself to God ought to furnish a man to fill up his place in public offices." Though Theodosius had not revoked this law of Valens, which was executed in the reign of Arcadius, yet the Jews continued happy enough at that time.

Jovian's con-
duct respect-
ing Julian

Maximus, rebelling in the east, and obliging Valentinian to implore the protection of Theodosius, who was then in Illyricum, thought it most expedient to gain the Jews, and bring them over to his interests. He not only favoured them, but understanding that the people had burnt one of their synagogues at Rome, he ordered it to be rebuilt. Indeed Maximus's reign was short. Theodosius having often beaten his troops, caused his head to be cut off at Aquileia, and came afterwards to Milan, where Valentinian and he revoked all they had decreed. But as the rebuilding of the synagogue at Rome was a particular ordinance, and Theodosius was persuaded the Jews ought not to be deprived of their religious places, it is doubted whether he annulled that relating to the Jews.

Maximus fa-
vours the
Jews.

Though St. Ambrose was indeed very Conduct of
inveterate

St. Ambrose
vindicated.

inveterate against the Jews, and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue in lieu of that which the Christians had set on fire at Callinicum, and which Theodosius had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge; yet what Zonaras a Greek monk, and some other writers of later date say of his preaching before him, taking him to task, and reproaching him for suffering the Jews to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, is all intirely false and absurd. He did not preach but write to him, and his letter is still preserved, importing that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the Roman laws, that they thought it a crime to submit to them. The contrary however appears by all that we have hitherto said of the edicts made for and against them, and much more by the new law which that prince published in the last year of his life against the untimely zeal of some Christians, who under pretence of religion, plundered and demolished their synagogues, contrary to the laws which allowed them liberty of conscience, and for punishing such offenders for the future. He even granted them a particular jurisdiction on account of the frequent lawsuits which they had either among themselves, or with the Christians, by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of seeking for justice from strange tribunals, but were likely more easily to obtain it from judges that were maintained by themselves; all which privileges would hardly have been granted them, if, as is pretended to have been alleged by St. Ambrose, they had looked upon the submitting to the laws of the empire as criminal.

It appears that St. Jerom had not the same prejudice against the doctors of this nation, as St. Ambrose; for, on the contrary, he paid them a pension, and made use of their instruction for understanding the Hebrew

St. Jerom's
edecan for the
Jews.

tongue, and the Holy Scriptures. This father, who thought that he had taken too much pleasure in reading Cicero and Virgil (you are not a Christian, but a Ciceronian, said a judge to him) changed his opinion for the Hebrews, learned their language with difficulty, consulted their doctors, studied under them, and made use of them to compose a Latin version of the Scripture. He ac-

Takes great
pains to learn
Hebrew.

quaints us, that to restrain the sallies of his youth, he put himself under the discipline of a young Hebrew, that was turned Christian, and underwent very uncommon labour to learn a strange language. He was not content with the instruction of this converted Jew; but took another, who so passionately loved him, that he fetched the books from the synagogue, under pretence of reading them, and brought them to his disciple. This master was an ingenious man, and St. Jerom has quoted some of his explications. He sent for a third from Tiberias, whom he employed to revise, by the Hebrew, his version of the Chronicles, which he had made from the Septuagint. He says, that this new master was admired by the synagogue. He sent for a fourth from Lydda, whom he paid very dear, because he was a learned man, and interpreted the traditions in the synagogue. It was this rabbin that

helped him to translate the book of Job. He had occasion for new assistance to understand Daniel and Tobias, because of the Chaldee expressions that are scattered in these books. But as he laboured with great assiduity, he employed but one day in the translation of Tobias; which was dictated to him by a rabbin, who was equally skilled in the Chaldee and Hebrew languages.

The piety and moderation of Theodosius was very manifest: he made several decrees of the most equitable nature; and regulated the conduct of the Christians, as well as that of the Jews: he particularly condemned the oppression of them by the Christians, and would not suffer the edifices belonging to them to be burnt, on condition that on their part they would not violate the respect that was due to the prevailing church. But yet the inhabitants of Inmestar, three years after, fell into an excess. Debauchery prevailed over the respect that was due to the prince's laws; for they fastened a young Christian to a gibbet, and scourged him so cruelly, that he died. The Christians of that country, enraged at such a barbarous outrage, ran to arms. The battle was violent, because the Jews were numerous. The governor of the province giving Theodosius information of it, he sent orders to chastise the guilty, and the tumult was appeased by their punishment.

Moderate and
equitable con-
duct of Theo-
dorus, who
grants them
his protection.

This emperor, who spent the winter at Constanti-
nople (in the year 425), made many edicts there, one of which forbade the celebrating games and spectacles on Easter Sunday, and during the principal feasts of the year. The Jews and heathens might have alleged that this decree did not relate to them, but the emperor declared, that they were subject to the law, and told them, there was a time for devotion, and another for pleasure. They thought to excite the prince's jealousy, by complaining that this mistaken devotion hindered the people from crowning and saluting the emperor's statues: but Theodosius put himself above that, and declared, it was honouring of him to do service to God. However, we see that this relic of heathenism was still retained in this prince's reign, of saluting the emperor's statues, and inserting the style of Numen in the laws of the state.

His pious and
liberal dispo-
sition.

The Christians residing in Theodosius's empire, pulled down the synagogues, without any other reason than their hatred to this religion. If a private person thought himself affronted by a Jew, immediately he engaged the populace in his interest: the next thing was, to run in shoals to the synagogue, and set it on fire. This was often done in Macedonia; and the emperor was obliged to represent to his subjects, that it was not lawful for private persons to do themselves justice; that there were tribunals appointed to hear their grievances, and to judge of their complaints; and that he had commanded the judges of that country to take cognizance of them. The ecclesiastics, accustomed to religious broils, joined with
the

Synagogues
destroyed.

he people: those of Antioch, where the Jews were numerous and rich, plundered the synagogue, and thought to sanctify the theft by consecrating the booty to the church. Complaints were made of so scandalous a conduct, which were so reasonable, that they were backed by the prefect of the Prætorium, who gave informations of the disorder, and the occasions that had produced it: Theodosius condemned the clergy to restore what they had taken, or the value; and ordered a place to be assigned the Jews to build a temple.

The decree was equitable, since the Jews lived in the empire upon the public faith of the edicts. But it did not seem so to Simcon Stilites, who was then alive, and violently espoused the interests of the clergy, and the mutineers of Antioch: he wrote so pressingly in their favour to Theodosius, that he not only revoked the orders he had given, but cashiered the prefect, who had advised him to punish the robbers. The favour which Theodosius granted upon his request, not only encouraged the Christians of Antioch, but those of the cities and neighbouring provinces, to make new assaults upon the synagogues. They were obliged to have recourse to Theodosius, to obtain some security against these frequent insults. This prince, who was an enemy to violence, forbade them doing any. The Christians were disgusted at it: they resumed the charge against the Jews, and complained, that the emperor's protection had rendered them insolent. In explication of the preceding decrees, it was said, that in answering the sad and doleful complaints of the Jews, it was designed to screen them from the persecution that some turbulent spirits exercised on them, under pretence of religion, and to prohibit the burning of their churches; but at the same time it was declared, that if they had nothing to fear for the temples they were in possession of, it was not lawful for them to build new ones; and that death should be inflicted on all those that undertook the circumcising of a Christian. There were still Christians at that time who embraced Judaism; for laws are only made against reigning abuses, and it was difficult for the Jews to enforce circumcision on a Christian, if he was not disposed to submit to it.

The losses sustained by the church were repaired, by an incident that happened in the year 434, in the island of Candia, where there were a great many rich Jews, most whereof were converted, after they had been grossly deceived by an impostor. His

An impostor
in the island
of Candia.

name was Moses, and he pretended to be the ancient law-giver of the people, who descended from heaven, to procure them a glorious deliverance, by leading them through the sea, to return to the Land of Promise, as they had done when they left Egypt. We cannot conceive how a man could be so frantic as to attempt such a deception, or to persuade himself that he was able to effect it. But yet Socrates affirms, that he not only had this imagination, but also, that he had in one year ran over all the cities and villages of the

island, and persuaded the inhabitants into a belief of it. The infatuation was so great, that, in expectation of the day appointed to throw themselves into the sea, the ploughman neglected the tillage of his fields, and the proprietors abandoned the possession of their lands and houses to the first comer; every one contenting himself with what he could carry away.

This pseudo Moses, having mustered up his flock upon the top of a rock, the first at hand threw themselves into the water, without any wavering of faith: the women and children plunged themselves in with equal ardour. But it was quickly perceived that their abettor was an impostor: some were drowned, others were saved by the Christian fishermen, who happened to be there with their barks, and went to acquaint their brethren how near their credulity had been to cost them their lives. They attempted to seize the impostor, but he had disappeared. In consequence of this, many Jews embraced Christianity, most of them grew wise, and all were ashamed of putting so much confidence in an impostor of so infamous a character.

The number of Jews in the city of Alexandria, amounting to upwards of 100,000, they grew very mutinous and seditious; and the hatred they cherished against the Christian religion tended to sharpen and exasperate their turbulent disposition. So that commotions frequently happened in this great city, and seldom ended without bloodshed. Sabbaths were noted as so many days of battle, because the Jews, who devoted this day to idleness and debauchery, instead of going to the synagogue, sought occasion to signalise themselves; and the Christians and heathens commonly insulted them, when they went to the synagogue. There were also public shews upon that day; and the Jews chose rather to be there than at their devotions, whereupon the people that flocked thither often engaged in quarrels with them. They used to come to blows, and the governors had seldom sufficient authority to restrain these riots.

The Jews
commit great
outrages at
Alexandria.

One day, Orestes, the governor of Alexandria, was in the theatre, intending to make some political regulations in the entertainments. He designed, perhaps, by good laws, to prevent the disorders which had been attended with such fatal consequences to the public peace and good of the city. But he was mistaken; for, as he was attempting it, it was perceived that he was surrounded by the party of Cyril, bishop of the place. It was suspected, that they came there only to incense the governor, and dictate to him some ordinance against the Jews. The presence of Hierax, who was only an usher of the lower classes, but one of Cyril's hired flatterers, who used to applaud this bishop as he preached, served to provoke them; inasmuch, that they cried aloud, that the man whom they looked upon as their enemy was come only to insult them, and to raise sedition. He

must have given occasion for these complaints, since the governor caused him to be seized by his officers and scourged upon the stage, without any form of trial. Cyril was not a man that would bear such an insult from the prefect, whom he mortally hated. Instead of complaining to him of his injustice, if it was true that he had been guilty of any, he sent for some Jews to his palace, and threatened them. They despised the threatenings of an ecclesiastic, whom the governor openly opposed; and even resolved to massacre the Christians.

In order to accomplish this design, a body of the conspirators ran along the streets in the night, crying that the principal church of the Christians at Alexandria was on fire. The croud burst forth, without arms, to extinguish it. The Jews, who had a mark to distinguish themselves, killed them as fast as they came. Cyril, having notice of it, came out with a multitude of people, entered into all the synagogues, appropriated them to the church, gave up the houses to be plundered, and drove the Jews quite naked out of the city. The governor was highly enraged, because the bishop incroached upon the jurisdiction of the officers of the empire, and because he saw this great city almost unpeopled by such a general expulsion of the Jews. He informed the court of it, whilst Cyril also sent his complaints against the Jews. The people sided with the governor against their patriarch, and obliged him to go and sue for peace with Orestes, who refused to be reconciled to him.

As Cyril had brought religion into the affair, he went to the governor with the gospel in his hand, to oblige him, upon sight of that book, to a reconciliation; but Orestes being inflexible in his resentment, Cyril, who had a troop of soldiers in the habit of monks, ordered them all down from the mountains of Nitris. These anchorets were never seen to descend, but they put the people into consternation. They marched down that day to the number of fifteen hundred; and, observing the governor, as he went into his chariot, began to load him with abuse, and accused him of being an heathen, that they might have a pretence to get rid of him, under a shew of justice. It was in vain for him to cry out, that he had been baptised at Constantinople. Instead of hearing him, they fell upon him with showers of stones, wounded him on the head, and covered him with blood. His guards deserted him, being oppressed by numbers; and the governor would have been left to perish, if the people had not run in to his assistance. Ammonius, one of the rioters, was arrested and condemned to punishment. Orestes wrote to the court. Cyril, on his part, justified the proceedings of the monks, by declaring Ammonius a martyr, and making his panegyric in the pulpit on the man who died for so glorious an action. The tumult began again some time after, and Cyril was loaded with all the odium of the event, in which the celebrated Hypatia, an heathen

No. 34.

virgin, of great sense, learning, and virtue, lost her life, having been assassinated by means of this bishop, who was jealous of his reputation.

In this century, the Jewish nation received a more severe blow by the total suppression of their patriarchs; for their way of living raised murmurs and complaints against them, and the taxes they levied upon the nation occasioned their fall. We have already spoken of their privileges, and have only to add, that Theodosius and Valentinian deprived them of that income, and appropriated an impost made upon their subjects to the imperial treasury. By this means, the patriarchal dignity was more effectually suppressed than if it had been annulled by any edict; so that, for want of competent support, it dwindled away. Photius pretends that the primates who succeeded the patriarchs were charged with this collection, answerable for it, and obliged to see it conveyed into the treasury. Thus, in the year 429, the patriarchal dignity was abolished.

The patriarchs abolished.

Between Africa and Spain is the island of Minorca, in which were two considerable cities; one, where the bishop resided, was inaccessible to the Jews; there were neither wolves nor wild beasts there; and the serpents, which were very numerous, lost their venom. On the contrary, in the other city, called at present Port Mahon, the Jews were so considerable that, though it was subject to the emperor Honorius, yet they arrived to titles, and exercised all civil dignities; for Theodosius, who was doctor of the law, and head of the synagogue, bore the first rank among the Christians, because he had passed through all the offices.

Situation of the Jews in Minorca.

Severus, being appointed bishop of this island, was easily persuaded by Orosius, who had lately returned from Jerusalem, loaded with singular relics, to undertake the conversion of the Jews. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public disputes, the last of which was held in their synagogue, where, finding some Jewish women had armed themselves with stones, to throw at them, they provided for their own defence. The consequence was, that the synagogue was pulled down, and nothing saved out of it but the books and plate: but the bishop, through the power of oratory, brought their greatest men to relent, and, in about eight days, the greater part of them were converted, and the synagogue turned into a church. Many, however, that remained obdurate, went and hid themselves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others, leaving all they had behind them, went and sought an asylum in foreign countries; all which circumstances shew that there was some violence used against them by the bishop and his clergy. Baronius seems to own as much; and adds, that this example would have been followed in many other places, had not this method of conversion been put a stop to by the reigning prince.

Determination of Severus to convert the Jews.

8 E

After,

Method of
compiling the
Babylonish
Talmud.

Asce, the compiler of the Babylonish Talmud, having taught in this manner sixty years, published a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four different parts. The first contained the maxims and rules of the Misnah, with the doubts that might be proposed, and their solutions. In the second, he handled divers questions, and related the opinion of the Tanneans and Gamarists about them. The third part consisted of the sentences and maxims that had been published since Judah the Saint: and in the last were all the explications the scripture affords for the determination of differences, with the commentaries of the principal doctors. This was the first division of the Babylonish Talmud. But, as R. Asce could not finish his undertaking, those that came into it after him changed the method, and made additions, which have rendered it much more confused. This great doctor died in the year 427.

Some make Marimar his successor; but others say, that the sect of R. Hovan hastened; that is, that this master was made president of the academy of Sora, in Asce's place. His son Thobiomi (according to the pompous Jewish style) ascended the throne of his father in the year 455, and reigned thirteen years, during which the nation enjoyed such profound tranquillity, that they called this doctor their Daily Prosperity. He must needs have contributed to their felicity, since they gave him the name of it. We must not be surpris'd to hear them use the phrases of succession to the throne, and thirteen years reign, though the questions are only about the office of a doctor, or the pedagogue of a school.

It is the rabbinical style to give great ideas of their masters, and to caress them with flattering titles. Those that are unaccustomed to this style are easily dazzled by it; not imagining that a pedant is placed upon the throne, and that they should expressly say, he reigned thirteen years, when his empire extended no farther than over some scholars, to whom he taught traditions. They also called plain students princes of crowns, because they were the uppermost of a class. Seeing such a glorious title is given to the scholars, we need not wonder that the prince of the captivity wore it likewise. They entertain lofty notions of these princes; whereas their power was not so considerable as is commonly supposed. The whole nation did not depend on them, as is said, since, as far as the year 429, the patriarchs of Judæa extended their jurisdiction over many provinces; and since that time, the Jews dispersed in the Roman empire could not acknowledge a prince residing in the territories of the Persian or Arabian kings, with whom there were continual wars. Would the Grecian emperors, so extremely jealous of their authority, have suffered a foreign Jew to raise taxes upon his subjects, and correspond with them in time of war? This prince's revenues were but small. The doctors say, he obtained of the Persians the privilege of setting up but one judge for the

View of re-
venues and
power of the

determination of differences betwixt man and man, without being obliged to repair the damage, when the sentence was given wrong; whereas, by the common laws, they were to be judged by three persons. This observation is futile: for it was the Talmudists that fixed the number of these judges to three; and it was impertinent to desire of the king of Persia dispensation from a law which they had voluntarily imposed on themselves. However, the prince established three judges at Nerea, a town half a day's journey from Babylon; and here they paid the Didrachm, when they came to be twenty years old. He also punished the violations of the law by fines, which were reserved for the prince.

prince of the
captivity.

There was such another tribunal at Chaloan, five days journey from Babylon. There was a third at Kesar; and the last at Babylon, where the prince resided: and in all these courts they collected but seven hundred gold crowns, which composed the prince's revenue: and supposing his dignity proportioned to his income, it could not be considerable. By this we discover, the reason of the silence of all the historians concerning these heads of the captivity. They say, that all these princes were of the house of David. They assign them a great empire, by which they say the sceptre was preserved in the tribe of Judah. However, these historians who preserve the succession, the names and some actions of the doctors who taught in the schools of Sora, Pundebita, and elsewhere, hardly ever mention the heads of the captivity; and if we discover some names of them, it is not without great uncertainty. R. Asce is highly celebrated: they enumerate his successors in the academy: but in all the fifth century we are examining, we find but one name of a prince of the captivity. It is impossible they should have been so entirely forgotten, if they had performed any important actions in the fifth century, or had been princes, as they are styled.

But to return to the Babylonian Talmud, which the head of the academy composed. This work was interrupted by the death of Asce, though he left able disciples that might have finished it. But this interruption was caused by a persecution that lasted seventy-three years: it was violent; for the observation of the sabbath was suppressed; the synagogues were shut up; and the holy houses given to the Magi. The principal doctors of the nation were made prisoners. Animar, Mor, Asce's disciples, and Huna his son, who was prince of the captivity, were condemned to death, and suffered it courageously; but the Jewish youth, more addicted to the pleasures of life, deserted their religion; so that the Jews were severely afflicted towards the end of the fifth century. However, they resumed courage some time after, and in the year 500 the Talmud was accomplished.

About the end of the same century, there arose a new sect, called Sebureans or Sceptics, at the head of which was R. Josi. These doctors pretended to doubt

Account of
the sect of
the Sebureans
or Sceptics.

of every thing, and seem to have started up to oppose the infallibility which the Talmudists attributed to the Talmud; but whether by openly questioning its authority, or the sense of its decisions, we cannot affirm. However, this kind of usurped pre-eminence became so odious to the rest of the Jews, that it did not last long. It began to appear only about the close of the fifth century, and was driven out of the world before the middle of the next, by the Gaonim, or Gaons, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which signifies sublime or excellent, and who became the idols of the academies, and of the people, in the next century.

*Persecution of the JEWS in PERSIA under CA-
VADES and CHOSROES.*

Jews per-
secuted in Per-
sia. THE sixth century commenced with the persecutions which the ten tribes suffered in the east. Cavades, a haughty and impious monarch, caused many Christians to be severely tortured, and endeavoured to oblige them to embrace the religion of the Ionians; he likewise tormented the Jews by a variety of inhuman methods.

Insurrection
of the Jews
against the
king of Per-
sia. In the time of Zeutra, a prince of the captivity, arose the famous Meir, a learned rabbi, and great doctor of law, who, having declared war against the Persian king, with only four hundred men, was very successful against him during seven years, after which his men having polluted themselves with strange food and female intercourse, he was defeated, taken, and put to death by the Persians. They went thence into the city where Zeutra resided, and plundered it: they then took that prince and the president of the council, and hanged them upon a bridge. His family were forced to betake themselves to flight, and his son and heir Zeutra II. retired into Judæa, where he became president of the senate or Sanhedrim. This the Jewish historians tell us was the source of that series of misfortunes which attended them in Persia, inasmuch that their great master Hahonai never dared shew his face during the space of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of the reign of Cavades.

The Jews
persecuted
under
Chosroes. However, Chosroes the Great was not more favourable to them than his father. They had endeavoured to purchase his favour by betraying the emperor Justinian. This prince had sent ambassadors to the east to negotiate a peace, and had loaded them with presents; which were received with such acknowledgments, that there was reason to hope for a speedy issue of the treaty, when the Jews, who had their spies and deputies at this court, insinuated to Chosroes, that if he was willing to continue the war, they would furnish him with fifty thousand men in Judæa; by which means he might take Jerusalem, one of the richest cities in the world. Chosroes accepted the proposal, broke off the negotiation with the emperor, and

was preparing to second the endeavours of the traitors; when news was brought that the deputies, who were departed to execute the design, had been seized upon their return, and sentenced to death, having first confessed their crime. This desire to oblige the Persian prince did not engage him in their interests; and they not only had their share in the general miseries of the empire, when Chosroes, who often took arms against the Romans, pillaged Syria, and advanced to Judæa, to make himself master of Jerusalem; but this prince also shut up all the academies of the east; which obstructed the progress of the sciences. We do not so much as find that there was then a prince of the captivity, since Zeutra II. had been obliged to retire to Judæa, where he long exercised an office infinitely beneath that he would have possessed at Babylon, if he had been suffered to remain in that country.

Restored by
Hormisdas,
and persecuted
by Chosroes
II. and
slaughtered at
Antioch. Hormisdas III. restored to the Jews their liberty; for the academy of Pundebita was opened. R. Chanon Mehischa began to teach; but this unhappy prince reigned not long: his rebellious subjects took him prisoner; and his own son Chosroes II. deprived him of his life. But this young prince did not peaceably enjoy the fruits of his parricide; for Varanes, who had been his father's enemy, declaring himself also his, and pretending to ascend the throne, expelled him from Persia, having first beat his army. He was obliged to engage in many battles, before he could get the mastery of Varanes, who had made a considerable party in the state, and defended himself with great bravery. The Jews were in his interest. This faithless, restless, imperious, jealous, envious, implacable nation (says the Greek historian) was then so powerful in Persia, as to raise the people against their prince, and to fortify the rebels; because it was extremely multiplied, and had amassed prodigious wealth, Chosroes getting the mastery, expiated this treachery with their blood. Those of Antioch fell first into the hands of Mebodus the Roman general. This was not the Syrian city; but another, which Chosroes I. had built in Persia, and had given it that name, because he had formed it by the other's model, and had transplanted its inhabitants. It is said, they were amazed, when they entered it, to find their country again; a second Antioch; the same streets and houses they had left. Mebodus having taken this place, put numbers of Jews to the sword, destroyed others by different punishments, and reduced the rest to a miserable slavery.

Chosroes, being at length resettled, was reconciled to them, and usefully employed them in his designs. Indeed, this prince, who delighted in war, gave out, that he armed, to revenge the death of Mauritius, his benefactor, upon Phocas, who had killed him, and made himself master of the empire. Chosroes broke into Syria and Judæa, where he did terrible execution. He returned again in Heraclius's time, took Jerusalem, and carried with him a cross which a Jew had found. It is most probable this nation had correspondence with

Ninety thou-
sand Chris-
tians;
Chosroes;

Christians butchered by the Jews.

Chosroes; since, upon his being master of Jerusalem, he returned them all the Christian prisoners, which they only bought to satiate their implacable malice, for ninety thousand persons were unmercifully butchered.

Abdalla the Mohammedan persecutes both Christians and Jews.

The Jews were likewise involved in the desolations of Syria, as well as Jerusalem. Abdalla the son of Aly traversing Judæa, commanded the Christians to shave their beards and wear long caps. And at Jerusalem he ordered the Jews as well as the Christians to be marked in the hand, to distinguish them from Mussulmans. Many of the Christians, unwilling to bear this disgrace, retired into the Roman territories; but the Jews continued under the government of Abdalla, and they fared much better under his immediate successors.

Isdigerdes persecutes the Jews.

The Persian historians assert, that their king Isdigerdes persecuted them some time before the war of the Arabians against him. Their synagogues were given to the Magi; their academies shut up, and the persecution caused the fall of many persons. No wonder then that they rejoiced upon the change of their master. It is an inclination rooted in the heart of the oppressed to desire and rejoice at the humbling of their persecutor. They imagine that God, a just protector of the innocent, punishes the oppressor, and makes him sensible of his iniquity. The Jews passed this judgment upon Isdigerdes, and the Persians, who had given them such hard treatment. They are accused not only of rejoicing at the conquests of the Mussulmans, who destroyed abundance of churches, and did great mischief to the Christians; but of associating with them, of taking their mark, and encouraging them to carry their arms into the empire. But their joy must have often been interrupted by their own misfortunes: for the havock which the conquerors made in Persia and Syria must have given them disturbance. Besides, it was not necessary that they should provoke the Saracens to war, who were sufficiently inclined to it: and from the moment they had tasted the pleasure of wealth, by plundering some provinces, they forgot their antient poverty, and thought of nothing but enriching themselves with the spoils of their neighbours. We ought therefore to found the motives of the war, and of the invasion of so many kingdoms, on the avarice of the Arabians, and the ambition of their leaders, which was never satisfied.

Liberality and candour of the Arabians.

However, the Jews highly extol the humanity of the Arabians, who condemn the violence offered to conscience, and restored them to the free profession of their religion. They lived peaceably under the first caliphs, and their academies were open. Chana taught at Pundebita, under Omar. Mar. Rabba succeeded him; whilst Chenina Sursæus, the son of Calipta, reigned at Sora.

Omar's equity.

For some time Omar favoured the Jews; and we are told, that a Mussulman having gained his cause by Mahomet's decision, and the process being brought before him to be

revised, he took his sabre and cut off the obstinate Mussulman's head, to avenge the Jew of his adversary's cavils. After he was caliph, a Jew complaining to him of a governor of a province, to whom he had delivered some goods which he did not pay for; Omar called for ink, and there being none in the place, he took a brick from the wall of Medina, which he was building, and drew upon it these words: "Put an end to the complaints that are brought against you, or leave your government." The Jew carrying the brick, was presently paid the money. This shews what access this nation had to the caliph, and this prince's love of justice. But yet, if he had equity for private persons, he was very injurious to the nation: for that part which continued in Arabia after Mahomet's conquests, he totally expelled.

Instead of suffering under Jesid and his first successors, the Jews residing in these parts enjoyed a full and absolute peace. Its prince of the captivity reigned with almost as great an authority as if he had been king. The academies had been almost abandoned during the revolution. So great was the desertion of scholars and masters, that they were forced at Sora to make a weaver professor, because he had studied the law. But then they began to relish the sciences again. The profession of physic, which is always profitable, resumed its former lustre. A priest of Alexandria, named Aaron, was at once physician and teacher: he had published a book, intitled "The Pandects; or, the Treasure of Remedies." The Jew, Massergieus, who was at the caliph's court, then translated it into the Arabic language.

Affairs of the JEWS in the West, under several Princes: at CONSTANTINOPLE, AFRICA, ITALY, SPAIN, and FRANCE.

THE first cause of complaint which the emperor Justinian gave them, was his edict, which forbad them to celebrate their passover, according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians. This was no more than what we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them, but the Jews, ever tenacious of their old customs, resented it at a higher rate. They were soon after exposed to a more severe edict, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges; particularly of making wills, and bequeathing legacies. He likewise deprived those of Africa of the public exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of Carthage, and sent orders to the prefect of the prætorium, to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns. This law was executed chiefly at Borium a city of Africa, situate at the foot of the mountains which bounded Pentapolis on the western side.

Justinian's edicts against the Jews.

The synagogues of Africa changed into churches.

The

Engraved for D. BRADSHAW'S, New Edition of JOSEPHUS.



The Reduction of Constantinople.

Bo-ium in
Africa peo-
pled by the
Jews.

The situation of this city was strong, because a chain of mountains shut up its entrance, and left but a very narrow passage to come at it. The Jews had made it a retreat in Justinian's time: here they lived the more peaceably, because the emperor demanded no taxes of them, and no imperial collector was ever seen there. They had a stately temple, the foundation whereof they referred to Solomon's time. We are to conclude from this, that they had been a long time settled in this place, and that they were rich, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the Moors. Justinian undertook the conversion of the inhabitants of this city, as well as of that of Aigula, where heathenism still remained, and where they sacrificed to idols, in temples consecrated to Alexander the Great, and Jupiter Ammon. He succeeded in his design; for the Jews as well as heathens embraced christianity. The synagogue, or temple of Solomon, became a church; and Justinian caused the city to be walled in, to render it more tenable.

The Jews, considering these edicts as a kind of persecution, failed not as usual to produce a more than ordinary discontent, which by degrees ripened into a revolt, as soon as a proper opportunity offered.

Insurrec-
tions of the
Jews against
Justinian.

The first was caused by an impostor named Julian. He appeared in Palestine, and deluded the people of that country. As he took the title of Conqueror, the better to surprise his nation, he caused all his credulous followers to arm themselves. The seditious falling unexpectedly upon the Christians, who fancied they had nothing to fear from a nation so often humbled, made great slaughter of them; but Justinian's troops ran to the relief of the oppressed, who soon found they were led by a misguided zeal. Their leader was taken, and punished with death, which terminated the revolt.

Revolt at
Cesarea.

There was a second disturbance, 25 years after, at Cesarea. The Samaritans and Jews, though mortal enemies to each other, united against the Christians of this city. They demolished the churches, murdered many people, and assassinated the governor in his palace. His wife escaping the danger, carried her complaints to Justinian, who sent speedy orders to Adamantius to bring the cause before him. Informations being laid, and the Jews charged with all the odium and cruelty of this violence, Adamantius confiscated the estates of the rich, put to flight great numbers of the mutineers who had a share in the action, and took off the heads of others. The execution was performed with such severity, that it made all the Jews of that country tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms against the Christians in those parts.

Exploits of
Belisarius
the Roman
general.

The Jews in Italy declared loudest against Justinian and Belisarius, who besieged Naples. This famous general had recovered Africa to the emperor's obedience, vanquished the Vandals; and in the triumph decreed him for it at Constantinople, brought out the sacred vessels of the temple of Jerusalem, which Titus had brought to Rome, and Gizeric had carried away, when he plun-

dered that great city. This spectacle, which revived the remembrance of the taking of Jerusalem, and the ruin of its temple, must have disturbed the Jews of Constantinople. Upon this sight, one of them exclaimed, that these precious vessels ought not to be brought to Constantinople, nor placed in the emperor's palace. They cannot (said he) be preserved in any other place, than that where Solomon consecrated them; and this is the reason that Gizeric has taken Rome, and the Romans have conquered him.

Two factions now prevailed in the city of Naples, one for the emperor, and the other for the Goths, whom the Jews, who were numerous and considerable there, favoured. The Imperialists, to free themselves from the inconveniencies of a siege, had represented to Belisarius, that it was more advantageous to lay siege to Rome; because if he took that capital, Naples, which continued in subjection to the barbarians but by force, would naturally return to its obedience: but he rejected the proposition, and only made them great promises, if they would capitulate. Articles of capitulation were already drawn up, and accepted by Belisarius, who granted all their demands, when the friends of the Goths pathetically addressed the inhabitants, and supported their arguments by the presence of the Jewish merchants, who were there, to assure the people, that they should neither want provisions nor ammunition during the siege: the citizens, encouraged by this assurance, took heart, and defended the place for twenty days with the greatest vigour. Belisarius lost many good officers and soldiers in the different assaults, in which he was repulsed. The Jews defended that

The Jews as-
sist the Goths.

Naples be-
sieged and
taken.

part towards the sea; and as they were persuaded they should have no quarter, since they were the principal cause of the resistance that was made, they fought like desperate men. The city was already taken on another side, whilst they still sustained the enemy's assault in their entrenchments: but at day-light they were forced in them. Belisarius exhorted his army to clemency; but whether he spoke but faintly, or that the soldiers, bent on murder and plunder, were deaf to the general's advice, they respected neither age, sex, or religion, and, without distinction of persons, made a great slaughter. This dreadful severity quelled them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt or persecution during the two subsequent reigns.

Notwithstanding the reign of Mauritius was disturbed with the wars of the Avari, who came from the Danube, and made frequent incursions into Thracia, yet the Jews remained quiet there. This prince's avarice, perhaps, contributed to it; for it was easy to purchase their liberty and peace of him. Besides, the Avari were so remote from Judæa and Syria, that they could not flatter themselves with drawing any hopes of assistance from thence; and perhaps their motions were but little known. But Phocas ascending the throne, by assassinating his master and his children, it was apprehended this revolution might cause many alterations in the state of affairs.

The Jews
quiet under
Mauritius.

Horrid cruelties of the Jews at Antioch.

The Jews of Syria, finding themselves powerful at Antioch, laid hold of the opportunity, and armed against the Christians. The sedition was general, and they fought resolutely on both sides; but the Jews being the strongest killed many, and burnt others in their houses, which they had set on fire. The bishop Anastas was treated in a barbarous manner, for they dragged him along the streets, and after exposing him in the most ignominious manner, threw him into the fire, and burnt him. They were at length with great difficulty suppressed by Count Bonofus, whom Phocas sent with a sufficient force against them. Those that came off easiest were banished, and sent away mangled and maimed. They were, however, very numerous and formidable in the isle of Cyprus, where they had found means to establish themselves, notwithstanding the resolution that had been taken in Adrian's reign, of not suffering so much as travellers of that religion there. It was about four years after the massacre of Antioch, that the good Cyprian bishop Leontius, fearing perhaps the same fate from them, resolved, if possible, to convert them to Christianity, and succeeded so well it is, if we may depend upon his apology as genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized.

Gregory the Great favours the Jews.

At that time lived Gregory the Great, who was persuaded that the Jews ought to be protected, instead of hated, because they were, one day, to be recalled. Their general conversion was the vehement object of his desires; he prosecuted the means, and wrote to his receiver in Sicily, to abate his farmers, who turned Christians, the third of the revenues they were indebted to him. "They must (said he) be called to the unity of the faith, by mild persuasion, and charitable advice. Violence is likely to disgust those, whom gentleness and charity may allure. Menaces and terror stop those, whom the idea of God's justice, often repeated, had shaken. The true method to convert them is not to make them fear us, by carrying severity to excess; but to oblige people to come and hear the word of God." He likewise imagined it lawful to employ money, without believing these presents could induce faith; "for," said he, "if we convert not the fathers, we may win the children."

The Jews have praised this pontiff, in their annals, for his lenity and indulgence to them; and they had reason; for the abbess of St. Stephen de Gergenti in Sicily, desiring to signalize her zeal to the pope, gave him notice, that a great number of Sicilian Jews desired to be converted. But he would not be dazzled with a notion of increasing the church. He ordered the abbess not to be too hasty, but to wait till those catechumens were well instructed, before she suffered them to receive baptism.

Imprudent zeal of a Jewish convert.

This pontiff had the equity to condemn the extravagant zeal of a new convert of Cagliari. A Jew, who had received baptism the day before, thinking to distinguish himself in his new religion, put himself at the head of a company

of young people, and went to the synagogue on Easter-day, and set up a cross there. The chief officers, military and civil, instead of approving this violence, remonstrated against the Jew. The bishop himself, whom he had consulted, denied his consent, and condemned the action. Gregory the Great, desiring to coincide with this prelate in his equitable notions, praised him for not confounding the evil with the good, and advised him to pass censure upon the new convert, without hearkening to the excuses he might make, by laying the fault upon his zeal, and love for religion. He required that the cross should be removed, and the synagogue left to the Jews; since, though the law forbids them to build new ones, it appoints, that they should be left the enjoyment of those they had already. With the same spirit he condemned the bishop of Terracina, who had taken away a synagogue in his diocese, which the laws had established, and had driven the Jews from another place, where they were retired for their devotion. Gregory not only revived the old edicts issued against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained that all the Jewish domestics, who should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should become free.

The Jews found their condition altered much for the worse as soon as the emperor Heraclius had concluded a peace with Persia, by which some relics formerly taken by them had been restored to him, and sent to Jerusalem. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the Jewish nation because they were enemies to the Christian religion; but what gave him the first handle against them was, his meeting with one at Tiberias named Benjamin, a man so wealthy as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions, and so elated on that account that he harassed the Christians with troublesome law-suits and malicious prosecutions. Benjamin, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it than turning Christian; but this circumstance did not lessen the emperor's aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of Jerusalem, with a severe prohibition against those who should, from that time, approach within three miles of the place. The prediction of some soothsayers he had consulted gave him still greater provocation against the Jews. This restless prince questioned them about the fate of the empire, which was in violent convulsions; and they answered him, "It should be ruined by a circumcised nation." As he saw the Jews numerous, he gave credit to the soothsayers, and persecuted the Jews, by obliging them to abjure their religion. Not content with this, the emperor carried his zeal against them into the neighbouring kingdoms, and particularly to Sifibut king of Spain, who made great numbers prisoners, and many abandoned their religion, in order to avoid the cruel torments wherewith they were threatened.

The Jewish affairs under Heraclius suffer a change for the worse.

They are banished from Jerusalem.

The council of Toledo, which assembled by order of

of Sifimund, who had dethroned Squintilla, the son of Sifibut, and, perceiving the people's minds divided, because his competitor was still alive, made use of religious means to unite them. He convened the prelates of the kingdom to Toledo, prostrated himself before them, and in profound humiliation desired a reformation of discipline. The council furthered the designs of the new king, by giving instructions to the Goths to unite under the same prince, for the defence of the nation, and pronouncing anathemas on those who should violate the oath of fidelity they had taken to the usurper. The council declared that neither Squintilla, who had abdicated the crown, nor his wife, nor children, nor Gelanus his brother, who had pretended to take Sifimund's part, and had deceived him, should ever be admitted to the benefit of the church. They went also upon the correction of several abuses, and made regulations about the

Decrees of the council of Toledo.

state of the Jews. It condemned the violence that had been done them by Sifibut's order, declaring, that nobody ought to be forced to believe; that we can only save those that desire it; that as the first man ruined himself wilfully, by crediting fallacious promises, man cannot be saved but by a free conversion of his mind, and that he ought to be persuaded, and not driven to the faith.

A new council.

Chintila, the successor of Sifimund, and who was, perhaps, his brother, thought also he ought to bring the churchmen into his interest. To this effect, he called the fifth council of Toledo, which made many decrees in his favour. But, to render his laws more authentic, he caused them to be confirmed by another council assembled the same year, in the same place. This council did three things against the Jews. 1. It recommended its king, who was inflamed with a perfecting zeal. 2. It solemnly ratified the law that this prince had made, to banish all the Jews out of his kingdom. Lastly, it decreed, that no king, for the future, should ascend the throne till he had taken an oath never to violate this law; and anathematized him if he broke it. It is probable, this variation of the two councils was caused by the death of Isidore of Seville. This prudent and moderate man, whose sentiments were known, presided in the fourth council of Toledo: he died before the sixth. Hence arose the inconstancy of the prelates; who, having lost their truly Christian president, swerved from moderation to violence.

Several councils were also called by Receswinthus at Toledo, where he offered them a plan of what ought to be the subject of their deliberations. He proposed, that they should debate about the election of kings, in which the clergy had great share given them. The Jews were not forgotten; who, after the conversion in former reigns, continued to judaize. The king was weary of this dissimulation, and would have it remedied. However, it seems that this motion of the king, and the decrees of the council,

Their awful conduct.

produced a salutary effect: for the principals of the nation met, and wrote to the king, in the name of those of Toledo, and of all Spain, who were in the same circumstances; protesting to him, that though they had hitherto dissembled, being neither perfect Christians, nor perfect Jews, they were resolved to change their conduct, and sincerely embrace the Christian religion.

They assured this prince, that they would no longer have any commerce with those of their nation who were unbaptized; that they would not intermarry with them, nor observe the sabbath or circumcision. They promised to stone or burn him that should violate this engagement; and if the king would graciously grant them their lives, they would consent to be his slaves, and that their goods should be confiscated. But their practices soon appeared totally opposite to their professions; for they not only espoused the cause of Judaism, but publicly attacked Christianity, insomuch that Ervigius was obliged to order Julian, then archbishop of Toledo, to write against them; which he accordingly did, with great force and success, in a learned treatise which he published a little before the close of the seventh century.

Julian's book against them.

Agica complained of a conspiracy the Jews and their dispersed brethren in Africa had made against his government. This prince represented to the council assembled at Toledo, that the mischief was spread into all the provinces of the kingdom; that it had not passed the Alps, nor come into France; but that it was, nevertheless, worthy of consideration; and that it could not be dissembled or tolerated; and, therefore, demanded not only the council's advice, but assistance. Upon deliberation, it was resolved, that all the Jews should be degraded of their privileges, declared slaves for ever, that their estates should be confiscated, and their children educated by Christians.

Resolutions of the council of Toledo against them.

They were still more favoured under Lewis, surnamed the Debonnair, whose chief physician was a Jew, whom some historians have represented as one of the greatest magicians in the world. He was in such high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendship with the most sumptuous presents. The emperor gave them liberty to build new synagogues, and granted them very advantageous edicts. So powerful a protection bred jealousy and great disorders in the diocese of Lyons. Agobard, who was bishop of it, had forbidden his flock to sell Christian slaves to the Jews to be carried into Spain, and to keep the sabbath. It cannot be doubted, but this prelate had a power to make such laws as these for the government of the people committed to his care, and then did what is usual with able men, when invested with authority. He forbade the Christians to buy wine of the Jews, and to eat with them during Lent. The Jews complained

Jews flourish under Lewis the Debonnair.

Disturbed by the bishop of Lyons.

plained of these laws to Lewis, who, being provoked against Agobard, and the citizens of Lyons, sent three commissaries to take information.

The bishop was much surprised to see them arrive at his house. Some inhabitants, who probably were guilty of more capital oppressions, betook themselves to flight. The bishop, having more authority, waited the consequences of the inquest, which was not to his advantage, since the Jews were restored to the possession of their privileges, and the market on Saturday was changed to another day of the week, that the necessity of trading on that day might not oblige them to violate the sabbath. The emperor had in his turn the power of making regulations relating to the police.

In the mean time, Agobard was much disgusted; he questioned whether these were the true orders of the emperor; though he could not doubt it, since his seal was put to them. He accused his ministers of corruption: he charged the Jews with stealing frequently Christian children, in order to sell them, and of doing the basest actions; and related this upon the declaration of a fugitive of Corduba, who said, that they had sold him in his youth. These accusations were not believed at court, and his remonstrances had no effect.

Evvard, the emperor's commissary, continued to protect the Jews, and to mortify the archbishop of Lyons, who omitted nothing in support of what he had done. He wrote a second time to the emperor, and sent him a treatise of the Jewish superstitions, signed by two bishops he had joined with him, to give greater weight and authority to his book. He endeavoured to prove in this piece, that we ought to have no commerce with hereticks; and particularly with the Jews, because there is no sectary but what has some article of faith in common with the church.

Agobard's untimely zeal suppressed. On failure of these efforts, Agobard made a journey to court, to solicit more effectually against the Jews, whom he looked upon as personal enemies. He had audience of the emperor, but it was only an audience of leave; being permitted to return to his diocese without giving him any satisfaction. The disappointment of this journey redoubled his grief. He was afraid of provoking the court, by baptising of heathens, who were in the service of the Jews, and sometimes took refuge in the churches, to turn Christians. Therefore, as he durst not venture upon this last stage without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his permission. What answer he had we cannot learn, but we have reason to conclude, from a most uncharitable and splenetic epistle he wrote to the great and learned Nebutius, bishop of Narbonne, that it was not acceptable.

The Jews having met with such protection, especially at Lewis's court, against one of the most learned bishops of his age, made them flourish in France. It was said openly at court, that the posterity of Abraham and the patriarchs ought to be respected.

Even some Christians began to conform to the Jewish rites in many instances that were a reproach to their profession.

But the treatment of the Jews was not altogether so agreeable under Charles Their state under Charles the Bald. surnamed the Bald, when Remisius, a prelate of eminence, caused some of his clergy to preach in their synagogues, by which means so great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to Vienne in Dauphine, Macon, and Arles in Provence, and other places, where they were more numerous. The bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of Arles, &c. to follow his method, representing that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity than saving them out of the lion's mouth. In all probability, Charles consented to this request, for numbers of Jewish children were baptised, all by their own free choice, and the emperor was soon after poisoned by Sedecias his Jewish physician, who is supposed to have been suborned to that vile deed by those of his own nation.

The Jews in France were likewise accused of having a great hand in the troubles that happened under this reign, by the incursion of the Normans into several provinces, particularly that of Aquitaine, where they were very numerous. They were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by Charlemagne, of being buffeted three times a year at the church door, which was not, indeed, executed on all the Tholoufan Jews, but was in time confined to their Syndic, or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest.

We may add, that though their credit was very high at court, during the life of the treacherous Sedecias, yet they were liable to many insults from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of Beziers, in Languedoc, were yearly driven about with volleys of stones from the eve of Palm Sunday to the Tuesday in Easter week, from which indignation they at length redeemed themselves by a tribute they paid to the bishop of the place. Indeed it is no wonder that the Jews, though powerful at court, should be obnoxious to the inhabitants of particular cities. Obnoxious to particular cities.

The Jews boast that they never had such celebrated doctors as in the tenth century. A new academy was erected in the east. The Arabians applied themselves to study, and the Jews imitated their conduct. At this time, David was chose a prince of the captivity; and the weakness of the reigning calif gave him an opportunity of establishing his authority on a surer footing than it had formerly gained. At this time the Jews were so numerous, that the city of Pheruts Schibber alone contained near a million of them.

Over-and-above those learned doctors, Account of who

Their state under Charles the Bald.

The Jews accused of assisting the Normans.

Obnoxious to particular cities.

Many learned Jewish writers flourished in the tenth century.

Account of who

Moses, sur-
named Clad
with a Sack.

who were natives of Spain, Providence furnished the Jews with a famous one, viz. Moses, surnamed *Clad with a Sack*. This man having left the east, and being taken by corsairs, and carried with his son upon the coast of Spain, was ransomed by the Jews of Corduba. This was done out of charity, without any knowledge of his merit. But putting himself in the corner of a school, as a layman and a beggar, who had no other than a sack, wherewith he wrapped himself up to cover his nakedness, he argued so profoundly upon all the questions that were proposed, that the president of the school yielded his place to him. He was created chief of the nation, with a good salary. But having great inclination to die in his country, he resolved to return thither; though the calif would not suffer him, for reasons of state. The Talmud was then very little known in Spain, and when any controversy arose, the synagogues sent their deputies to Bagdad, to have them decided. Hakem, who was calif in Spain, and did not like his subjects passing frequently into the east, where the Abbassides, the enemies of his house, reigned, and who had destroyed it, was highly gratified at Moses teaching the Talmud to the Spaniards. He retained him, in order to stop the course of these deputations, which gave him, perhaps, some suspicion. Moses reigned a long time, and Enoch his son succeeded him.

The Talmud
translated into
Arabic.

By the following circumstance, it will appear that Hafschem II. king of Corduba, whom the Jews call Afchafez, did more than his father; for he ordered the Talmud to be translated into Arabic, either from curiosity to learn what was in a book so cried up by the Jews, or else to make it more common in the nation, in order to prevent the pilgrimages to Bagdad and Jerusalem. R. Joseph undertook this great work, and very successfully accomplished it; but he grew so haughty upon it, that he could no longer bear Enoch should be preferred to him to be chief of the nation. He broke with him; their division made a noise: the synagogues engaged in it; but Enoch had the more numerous party. Joseph was excommunicated: he appealed to the king; but Hafschem would not meddle with this affair, either out of policy, or because living in dependence upon his Hageb, or grand chamberlain, he was not at liberty to protect his favourites. Joseph being deprived of the protection he expected from court, left Spain, and took the road to Bagdad, where he thought to find a retreat near the famous Hay; but he gave him to understand, that he could not receive him, because he was excommunicated by the Spanish synagogues. He remained, therefore, at Damascus, where he died, without being able to procure a revocation of the sentence which had been pronounced against him.

Revolutions
in the calif-
ship.

Divisions among the Saracens increased more and more in Spain, during the eleventh century. There had been a long time a design to dethrone that branch of the Om-

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miades which reigned there. Their weakness had so disgusted the people, that, after they had changed their master, they swore never to admit any man more of that family. The usurpers were not much more successful, for the people were quickly involved in a new search of a sovereign. One of the Ommiades, who survived the ruin of his house, offered himself to them. They represented to him that, by attempting to ascend the throne, he incurred a certain death. But ambition overcame love of life: "Kill me to-morrow (said he), provided you make me this day a king."

The Jews obtained some advantages from the revolutions in Spain; for R. Samuel Levi became secretary and minister of state to the king of Grenada, who afterwards made him prince of his nation, and he employed his credit at court in protecting it. He even scattered his bounties among foreigners: for the African, Egyptian, and Babylonian doctors, were his pensioners. The Jews had the satisfaction to see his son succeed him in his posts; and the only thing which moderated their joy was, the haughtiness of this young man, whose riches had rendered him proud; whereas his father had preserved his humility in his greatest exaltation. But an unexpected turn of affairs disturbed the repose and tranquillity they enjoyed.

R. Samuel
Levi, chief of
the Jews.

Joseph Hallevy, one of the learned men of that age, set up for a converter of the mussulmans. The translation of the Talmud into Arabic, which was made some years before, facilitated this design, though it miscarried. The king of Grenada could not bear this insult offered the established religion; so that the Jewish rabbi was put into prison, and afterwards to death. The persecution began by the king's order; in which fifteen hundred families in this one kingdom greatly suffered. This calamity was the more sensibly felt, because prosperity had made them rich and powerful. They were apprehensive lest the neighbouring kings should imitate so dreadful an example: but the violence was soon stopped, and went no farther than the kingdom of Grenada.

Persecuted in
Grenada.

A more severe and destructive oppression would have been experienced by them, under king Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of his bigotted wife, was going to sanctify his war against the Saracens by the extirpation of the Jews, had not the bishops, and even the pope (Alexander II.) put a stop to his furious zeal, by publicly opposing and condemning it. But what most probably extricated them out of all danger from that monarch and his successor, was the revolution which the Moors occasioned in Africa; in consequence of which Alphonso, distressed on every side, found himself obliged to befriend and caress, instead of oppressing them, in order to procure their money and assistance. Accordingly, they were promoted by him to considerable posts, and obtained such other privileges, that Pope Gregory quite disap-

King Ferdi-
nand medi-
tates their de-
struction,
which is pre-
vented by the
bishops.

proved of them, though his censures could not prevail upon Alphonso to retract them. Nor had his grandson, Peter I. more regard to the exhortations of Nicolas of Valencia. The crusade being published in Spain, at in other Christian kingdoms, Peter resolved to engage in this war against the infidels. Nicolas represented to his king, that it was in vain to go in quest of foreign enemies so far, when he had so many at home; and added, that the Jews had such an inveterate hatred to the Christians, that they never met them without denouncing curses on their heads, with many other articles as absurd and ridiculous, to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, the moderation of this prince did not save the Jews from being massacred by the crusaders in several other parts of Spain. But, notwithstanding these persecutions, this country had abundance of Jewish doctors in the eleventh century.

Men of learning in the eleventh century Samuel Cophni, born at Corduba, published a commentary upon the Pentateuch, the manuscript whereof is in the Vatican library: those that have read it, esteem it as a fine piece, but confess it has a great many allegories. He had a dispute with a divine of his nation, and died in the year 1034. At that time appeared also the five Isaacs. One of them was called Isaac Alphesi, as coming out of Africa, from the kingdom of Fez, into Spain. He passed for one of the most learned men of his time, and became prince of the Exile in Spain. His epitaph, written in spondaic verse, which shews, that at that time they observed quantity, after the manner of the Greeks and Latins, was a most noble one. The second of the Isaacs was the son of Baruch. He derived his genealogy from the ancient Baruch, Jeremy's secretary; and pretended that his family, which came into Spain in Titus's time, had subsisted there till then. He understood Latin, Greek, and Arabick. He had studied the mathematics, and was so eminent in this science, that the king of Grenada called him the Mathematician, for his passionate love of it, and sent for him to court to be instructed by him. He was received there with such applause, and lived with such satisfaction with the African Saracens, that he became unmindful of his country, and continued there to his death, which happened in the year 1004. He had a violent quarrel with the first of the Isaacs, surnamed Alphesi. They could not be reconciled whilst they lived; but, at the hour of death, one of them gave an example of repentance, and the other of charity. Isaac the son of Baruch died first; and finding himself ill, sent his son to beg his enemy's pardon, and to throw himself into his arms, as into those of a patron and a faithful friend. The son obeyed; Alphesi received him into his house, treated him as a child, and continued teaching him the mysteries of the law till his death.

R. Gerson and his disciples.

The most famous rabbin in France at this time was R. Gerson, whom some affirm to have been born in Germany at Mentz. However, he was a Frenchman, or at

least, published his book of Constitutions there. It is probable, he had less respect paid him in his life-time than after his death; for they hesitated a long time about the reception of his collection of laws, which began not to be in vogue till the middle of the thirteenth century. He was afterwards called the Light of the French Captivity. One of his chief disciples was Jacob, the son of Jekar, a great musician, and who deeply studied cases of conscience. Jacob the son of Jekar. The succeeding doctors constantly quote his decisions with approbation; and they are received as laws that cannot be transgressed without criminality. It is said, he died the same year as his master. Solomon, who had studied under these two great masters, made some figure. Chronologers are not agreed, however, upon this article; for some make him study in the year 1140, in the middle of the twelfth century; and others make him die thirty-five years before. He had another famous disciple, whom the lawyers call Albarcellonita. This was Albarcellonita Judas, a Barcelona doctor, who wrote a treatise upon the privileges of women. He published another upon the times; wherein he historically recounted the different ways the Jews had reckoned the times. Their first epocha was that of their departure from Egypt. They began another at the creation of a king, because the form of the government was then changed. There was a third upon Alexander the Great's entering into Jerusalem; which was followed to the tenth century of the Christian church. For Scherira, who lived at that time, obliged his nation to calculate the years from the creation of the world. Some sermons were also published by him.

Very soon afterwards a most violent persecution arose in the East: their principal houses were nearly extirpated, their academies shut up, and never were re-opened. The Prince of the Captivity and his family were destroyed by the house of the Abbassides, which had formerly favoured the Jews; and the persecution was so bloody, that the Jews were reduced to a very inconsiderable number; many being dispersed into the deserts of Arabia, and the west afforded a shelter for those who were thus driven out of the east. In Egypt, likewise, the Jews underwent a fresh persecution, under Hakem the third calif: however, they were, in some measure, compensated for their troubles in this country by the favourable situation they experienced in Spain, where the divisions and wars which troubled that country afforded the Jews great tranquillity.

They are severely persecuted by the Mohammedans in the East, but find some shelter in Spain.

Towards the latter end of the eleventh century, when we begin to find them flourishing in Hungary, Ladislaus, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, importing, that if a Jew should marry, or, as the act words, "*sibi associaverit*," a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them

Jews in Hungary.

them be confiscated to the bishop. His son Coloman being come to the throne, forbade them, by a new law, to use the Christian slaves, but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop. These two laws shew the Jews to have been numerous and powerful in Hungary.

Their state in Germany and Bohemia. In Germany, the Jewish nation was extremely multiplied; it had even built synagogues in most of the considerable cities, particularly in Triers, Cologne, and Mentz. It had penetrated even to Franconia. This people passed from thence into Bohemia; where, in the eleventh century, they performed such considerable services to the Christians, against the irruptions of the barbarians, that they were allowed the privilege of a synagogue. They entered into Hungary. It is said, they were terrified by a variety of prodigies, which happened at the beginning of the eleventh century; and fearing the end of the world was at hand, they turned Christians. These prodigies, however, had not converted such numbers of them, but that many were disposed to acts of violence and outrage.

Many destroyed by the crusades. A fresh zeal was rekindled against the Jews by the crusades. They complain, that these votaries, passing through Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spire, committed a massacre, from the month of April till July, in which were stabbed and drowned five thousand persons; and that the number of those who were forced to abjure the religion of their fathers cannot be ascertained. They do not exaggerate the matter: on the contrary, historians amplify the number, with the addition of hideous circumstances. They assert, that fourteen hundred of them were burnt at Mentz; and that, from the resistance and disorder which happened on that occasion, half the city was reduced to ashes. Those of Worms at first retired to the bishop, but he would not receive them, unless they turned Christians; the people suffered them not to deliberate long: some embraced Christianity, which they abjured as soon as the storm was over; others destroyed themselves. Something like this happened at Triers. The women, seeing the crusaders coming, murdered their own children, saying, It were better to send them thus into Abraham's bosom, than to abandon them to the Christians. Others, laden with stones, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned; some fled to the bishop's castle: Egilbert, who resided in it, preached them a sermon, by which they were apparently converted; but the year following, all of them, except one, relapsed into Judaism. The bishop of Spire had more humanity; for he not only protected the fugitives, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The mischief went so far, that the Bavarian annalists reckon twelve thousand that died in that country; and others affirm, that the number of those who perished in Germany was almost incredible.

A second crusade. About fifty years afterwards, another crusade was published. Rodolphus, who was commissioned to preach it up on the banks of the Rhine, did it with great success. As it was one of the articles of his religion and his doctrine, that the enemies of Christianity were first to be taken off, and those stabbed who were near at hand, before they went to seek them in foreign lands; the people were inflamed by his exhortations: but the massacre was not so great as designed, because part of them took their flight betimes, and retired to Nuremberg, and other cities depending upon the emperor, under whose protection they found more security. We must do justice to St. Bernard, and acknowledge that Rodolph's doctrine did not please him. He wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, whom this hermit had inflamed by his preaching, to prove to him, that he ought to look upon the persecution of the Jews as inhuman; and, therefore, he advised that he might be sent back to his desert. Nevertheless, the flame was spread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in Germany, but in most other parts of Europe, and great numbers of Jews were massacred, if we may credit their chronologers, while others, being driven into despair, by the cruelties they were likely to undergo, put an end to their own existence. The eleventh century ended with these persecutions.

Egypt is one of the places where the Jews have resided longest; they were numerous in the twelfth century, when Benjamin paid them a visit. He computes thirty thousand of them in one single city upon the frontiers of Ethiopia, which he calls Chouts. He saw two thousand Jews, and two synagogues at Misralim, at present Grand Cairo. There was some division among those who inhabited it. The occasion was frivolous, for some who came from Judæa, dividing each section of the law, finished the reading of it but once in three years, whilst the other ancient inhabitants of Egypt read it all in one; as was done in Spain and other places. Here resided the head of all the synagogues of the country, who created the doctors, and supported the interest of the nation with the calif. Nor did our traveller forget the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt so long. He thought he could observe some traces of their ancient buildings; many Jews were retired thither; two hundred were in one place, five hundred in another, and near three thousand in the city of Goshen; as many at Alexandria, and very few at Domiata. The rest he represents as dispersed in all the other provinces and towns of Egypt, in great numbers, though vastly short of what they once were, when the single city of Alexandria was reckoned to contain an hundred thousand of those people.

St. Bernard, who was a great enemy to the Albigenes, was as remarkable for favouring the Jews: he not only suppressed, in a great measure, the persecution of them, but granted them many privileges, in order, as he said, to pave

By means of St. Bernard, the Jews are indulged and tolerated by Pope Innocent II.

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the way for their conversion. This faint biased Pope Innocent the Second in their favour; for, as he was very serviceable to this pontiff, during his flight into France, he inspired him with sentiments of moderation and gentleness. The argument of St. Bernard was strengthened, by pointing out to him the necessity which he himself was in of toleration and assistance. The pope was so intirely their friend, that the Jews joined in the procession when his holiness made his public entry into Paris; and ordered a roll of the law to be carried before them, which they afterwards presented him with. It is said, that this gave rise to the ceremony used at this day, when popes are installed. The Jews wait for him in the way to St. John de Lateran, and present him with a copy of the law; when he returns this answer: "I reverence the law, which you have received of God by the hands of Moses; but I condemn your exposition of it, because you still expect the Messiah, which the apostolic church believes to be Jesus Christ our Lord."

Persecuted in Spain. In Spain, the beginning of the reign of Alphonso VIII. was not favourable to them. He was yet a child when his father Sanchez the Desired was killed by the Saracens: he ascended the throne young. Moreover, as he was well disposed, he was easily over-reached. Joseph the Jew was his first minister of state, and grew so potent as to have his coach of state and guards to attend him. Gonzales, an officer under him, having committed some fault that deserved disgrace, resolved to destroy his benefactor and his master. He declared to the king, he had devised the means of procuring him vast sums; in order to which he demanded of this prince eight heads of the Jews at his own choice, which were granted him. Thus he found an expedient at once to gratify two passions, his avarice, and hatred of the nation. He chose eight considerable persons, whom he caused to be beheaded, and confiscated their estates, part of which he gave to the king, and converted the rest to his own use. He afterwards offered a much larger sum for the grant of twenty more. But this offer was not accepted, because the king chose rather to reap the profit without the effusion of blood, by obliging the richest of the synagogue to ransom their lives.

They did not stop here, for it was debated in council, whether they should all be expelled the kingdom, and their effects seized on, in order to defray the charges of the war, without burdening the people with new impositions. The opinions were divided in council, which gave the Jews time to deliberate among themselves, and to offer considerable sums of money. They were, however, highly rejoiced, when they saw Gonzales fall into disgrace with the king, who caused him to be arrested, notwithstanding his great services, so that his fall established their tranquillity. But what farther ingratiated them with him, was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young Jewess, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest, and, for her sake,

to her nation; for the Jews, taking that advantage, grew so powerful and insolent, that the court and clergy became quite scandalized at it, and, at length, dissolved the charm by the death of the beloved object. The Jews took advantage of this happy juncture, and grew so potent, that R. Eliakim, who then lived, and wrote at that time a ritual of the ceremonies observed in all the synagogues, and which is called the Custom of the Universe, reckoned twelve thousand persons of his religion in the city of Toledo.

In France, their fortune was much diversified. They were accused at Paris of murdering St. William; and, for their punishment, sentenced to the flames. Indeed, they deserved death, if they were guilty of that crime; and if no innocent person was involved in the fate of the guilty, they had nothing to complain of but themselves and their own cruelty.

At Beziers they were very hardly dealt with. On Palm Sunday, every year, commenced a certain pastime which amused the people, who were therefore careful to renew it. The rabble flocked out at night, scoured the streets, broke the Jews' windows, and stoned all those that fell in their way. The bishop having often noticed this inhuman proceeding, which was their preparation for the Easter ceremonies, treated with the Jews, and prevailed with them to buy off this insult, by paying him a tribute. The treaty is very singular; for the bishop engaged himself and his successors to preserve the Jews from insults, from war, and dilapidation, by day and by night, all the time betwixt Palm Sunday and Easter; declaring, that he would shut the doors of the church against all that should break open those of the Jews; and on their part, he obliged them to pay annually to the bishop two hundred sols de melgeuil, which might amount, at that time, to four silver marks, to the church of St. Nazarus, to purchase ornaments. This treaty was concluded at Beziers, and rendered them pretty easy, till they were expelled under Philip, surnamed Augustus.

The Jews in England, who had been banished out of it ever since the year 1020, had since found means to settle again in that kingdom, and were become so numerous in the reign of Henry II. that, having then but one burying ground in London, they petitioned that monarch to permit them to have some new ones; which were accordingly granted. But they suffered much under Richard I. because the court and people were prepossessed with a notion, that the Jews were all magicians, and might practise some witchcraft upon the king, if they were present at his coronation. Severe injunctions were given to all the Jews, not to appear at it. Some, who came from far and near, at great expence, to see the ceremony, were resolved not to lose their labour or money. They flattered themselves they should not be known, because they were strangers in the city; but they were mistaken. The officers, having

In France, by Philip.

Jews in England obtain from Hen. II. new burying grounds.

They suffer under Richard I.

having discovered some of them at Westminster, fell upon them with staves. They dragged them out of the church, half dead; but the noise of this execution being spread in the city, set the people in an uproar; who broke open the houses of the Jews, and killed those they met with. Happy were they that found faithful friends to shelter them. The tumult spread from the capital to the counties, where great numbers were slain. The day after the coronation, orders were given to stop these violent proceedings; but whether they were ill executed, or that it was impossible to put such a sudden check to the fury of the people, the persecution lasted almost all the year, which was that of the jubilee.

When Richard crusaded, a still greater calamity befel them. The Jews thought they had purchased this prince's favour, by the great sums they had brought into his treasury, to support his expences; but the people resolved to make a general massacre of them. This was performed at Norwich, where they began. Many of them suffered at Stamford and St. Edmund's. The massacre was more terrible at York; where 1500 had seized on the city, to defend themselves; but, being besieged, they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried out, that it was better to fall by their own hands, than the hands of barbarous assassins. This animating the rest, they became the executioners of their own wives and children, and retiring afterwards to the king's palace, set it on fire, and expired themselves amidst surrounding flames.

It will be proper, before we close this century, to give some account of the most celebrated rabbies who flourished in that period. We begin with the learned rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel, chief of the Jewish academy at Rome, and author of the book called HARUCK, wherein he explains all the terms of the Talmud, in so copious a manner, that he has, in some measure, exhausted that subject, in so much that those who have come after him have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great Buxtorf, who made frequent use of his remarks, without quoting him.

The great Aben-Ezra was the next in time, though superior in learning and merit; he was surnamed, by way of excellence, the Wise, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last science he hath excelled all that went before him, and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explications of the sacred books.

Three famous rabbies, of the name of Levi, flourished in this century. One born at Cologne, who, after many inference with the Christians, was baptised and taught Latin under the name of Herman. 2. Judah Levi,

a good poet, and author of the dialogue, intituled Chozar. 3. Abraham Levi, a learned rabbi, said to be related to Aben-Ezra, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the Caraites, though far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment, so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king Alphonso VII. to whom he had rendered signal services, and obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, they were strangely diminished in the east; and they were sorely persecuted by the calif at Bagdad. Nassir Ledinillah, one of the Abbassides, was then calif at Bagdad: his reign lasted forty-seven years, all which time he persecuted the Jews; he was induced by two reasons. One was, That he was very zealous for his religion; for he caused a great number of mosques and places, dedicated to the Mahometan service, to be built in his dominions. The other was an excessive avarice. It is said of him, that, seeing a cistern, which he wished to be filled with gold and silver, but which still wanted two fathoms of it, he cried out, "Shall I not live long enough to fill it?" On the contrary, his grandson Mossanger, finding it full, exclaimed, "How happy should I be could I live long enough to empty it!" Both of them lived to see their desires accomplished. Nassir, who designed to fill it, made use of the law of Escheat, before unknown, and appropriated the succession of all foreign merchants, who died in his dominions. The riches of the Jews drew upon them great extortions from a very covetous prince, and, at last, an open persecution; for Nassar, commanding them to depart all his provinces, or turn Mussulmans, part of them went into exile, and the rest chose to stay upon the terms offered them.

By the wars which the Saracens and Christians waged there, as well as in Syria, Judæa was much depopulated. Most of the cities frequently changed masters. Nevertheless, there were still doctors and synagogues in it. For here it was that the famous Moses Nachmanides retired, and built a synagogue. He was born at Gironne, applied himself to physic, but afterwards made great progress in the study of the law, which has given him the name of the Father of Wisdom, the Luminary and the Flower of the Crown. A sermon he preached before the king of Castile, obtained him the character of the Father of Eloquence. Ramban (which is the name he commonly goes by) at first despised the cabalistical law; but when he had once relished it, he attained to the greatest perfection in it. We cannot conjecture why Ramban, who enjoyed so great a reputation in his own country, left it to go to Jerusalem; but it is certain he retired thither, built a synagogue, and died there. Authors do not agree about the precise time of his death. He composed a prayer upon the Ruin of the House, or Temple; Letters to induce men to piety; and

The Jewish nation in the east declines, being persecuted by the calif at Bagdad.

Moses Nachmanides his knowledge.

particularly to recommend the holy state of Mariage. He entered deeply into the reigning disputes of that time, concerning Maimonides's sentiments; and made an apology for R. Alphes, which he intituled the Book of Wars. It would be useless to affix a catalogue of his works, which may be seen elsewhere. Baruch Germersheim also quitted his country, to effect the reformation of the Spanish synagogues. From thence he went to Candia; and, at length, sought a retreat in Judæa, where he died.

The barbarous nations of Mamelukes and Tartars having depopulated all the places they pass'd through, the settlements which the ten tribes had in this country were destroyed, and the nation again dispersed. However, they devoted themselves to these new masters of Asia, and sometimes found favour at their court. Akmed Khan, surnamed Nicoudar Oglan, after he had usurped his nephew's monarchy, turned mussulman, and thereby drew upon him his subjects' hatred, who had great inclination for Christianity, and aversion for the Mahometans. Argoun Khan, who impatiently bore his uncle's usurpation, issued out of Chorasán, whither he had retired, and where he was defeated and taken prisoner. This disgrace raised him to the throne; for Lemir Buga, who was ordered to kill him, joined with him, and surprising his uncle's general, and the sultan, who was diverting him at Bagdad, he caused him to be taken off, and ascended his father's throne.

Argoun at first gave the government to Buga, who had done him so important a service; but this minister, elated with his grandeur, and unable to bear his exaltation, rebelled, was slain soon after, and a Jewish physician, ingenious and agreeable in conversation, named Saadeddoulai, became first minister of the sultan. They do him this justice, that he deprived the Christians of nothing they possessed in Argoun's empire. But he employed all his address to raise his nation, and to procure it new establishments; thus the Jews of the East began to revive, and to enjoy the advantages they had been so long deprived of. The mussulmans with indignation beheld the progress of the dispersed tribes, and the rather, because they were kept out of all employments, and shut out of their prince's camp; but they were quickly solaced by Argoun's sickness, while the Jews prayed in all the provinces for the sultan's health. Saadeddoulai,

A revolution and massacre on the death of the prince and his minister.

who foresaw the consequences of this sickness to himself and brethren, sent express orders every where to redress the grievances which were complained of during his ministry, and to appease the people by a speedy satisfaction; but all to no purpose.

Argoun died, and even before his death the minister of state was accused of having poisoned his master. This accusation, invented by the Arabian historians, seems improbable. Nevertheless Saadeddoulai was taken off; and after the prince's death, which the Mussulmans considered as a very fortunate event, they fell upon the Jews, and made great

slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended injustice they had done them.

In the West, and particularly in Spain, their number and authority sometimes excited the jealousy of ecclesiastics, who persecuted them. This happened at the beginning of the thirteenth century at Toledo. The bishop of that great city, piqued to see his diocese filled with multitudes of opulent Jews, and desiring to enrich himself with their spoils, exasperated the people against them. This bishop, who was of a warm and restless temper, interfered in all affairs of peace and war, and nothing considerable was transacted in Spain, but what he had a hand in. His merit had raised him to the see of Toledo, notwithstanding his birth; for he was an obscure native of Castile. His diocese became sensible that he was fitter to be a minister of state, or the general of an army, than a bishop. But the Jews suffered more from him than any others; for, putting himself at the head of a rabble which he had raised, he tumultuously entered their synagogue, dispersed the assembly, and thence proceeded to plunder their houses. He endeavoured to justify his rapacity by accusing the Jews of having betrayed the city when the Moors besieged it: but it is not probable the besieged would quit the city to go in procession a league from it, or that they would have given up the custody of it. Besides, the capitulation of the inhabitants is their apology; for they were permitted to quit the country, and carry off their effects. They were allowed seven churches, upon condition of paying the imposts that had been paid to the Goths; and the Jews who were included in the treaty had liberty of conscience granted them.

State of the Jews in the West.

Persecuted at Toledo.

Another disaster soon succeeded this; for the crusaders, who were preparing for their expedition to the Holy Land, having their rendezvous near this great city, completed what that prelate had begun, from a notion that the destruction of these enemies to Christianity would undoubtedly obtain a blessing on their enterprise; so that these votaries prescribed no bounds to their cruelty. Abravanel looked upon this persecution as one of the four severest that his nation suffered; for, according to his account, a greater number of Jews went out of Spain, than Moses brought out of Egypt. The nobility of Spain withstood the torrent of these cruelties, and repressed them by their authority and resistance. But King Ferdinand, who endeavoured to win the love of his people by persecuting the Albigenses, and other reputed heretics, and who himself set fire to the pile on which they were burned, to shew the ardour of his zeal, could not be favourable to the Jews, the most odious of all others.

Massacred by the crusaders.

According to their principles, the Jews certainly ought to blame themselves for their calamities, and to consider themselves as the principal causes of them, for, by their own confession, they were fallen into two crying sins. There was some variation in their Tephilim. Their superstitious partiality for their phylacteries of the head and hand, was notorious

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ous in very early times, but it increased in the following ages. Even the points and ornaments of their letters were a subject of scruple and controversy betwixt the German and Portuguese synagogues, and the Spaniards differing upon this matter, raised commotions in the beginning of the thirteenth century, for R. Baruch made a journey from Germany to Spain, to reproach them with the novelties which they introduced into their synagogues. Besides this,

Marriages with foreign women condemned.

in Spain they were guilty of a more palpable misdemeanour, for they no longer scrupled to marry strange women: as marriages with Christians had been severely forbidden, it is probable they contracted oftener with the Saracens' daughters. Moses de Cozzi reprobated these marriages. He was of an Italian family, and therefore retained the name of the town of Cozzi in the Milanese, whence he came; but he was born in Spain, and deemed the most learned rabbi in his time. He was averse to these heterogeneous marriages. He preached often upon this subject, and at last had the good fortune to be heard; for many sent away the strange wives they had married. There were near 12000 Jews in the city of Toledo.

The prior of the Dominicans attempts their conversion by gentle means.

At this time, Raymond de Pennafort, prior of the Dominicans, had already condemned the violence that had been too often employed to destroy rather than to convert the Jews, and recommended gentle instruction. As he had great credit with James I. king of Arragon, whose confessor he was, and often minister to the pope, he persuaded this prince that he ought to repress the insolence of the people, to oblige many to the study of Arabic and Hebrew, to qualify them to dispute with Jews and Saracens, and to lead them to Christianity by convincing them of their errors. They boast much of the success he had with the Saracens, and affirm, that he converted above ten thousand of them; and that the Moors of Africa had a sincere desire to do the same thing; but they do not so confidently speak of the conversion of the Jews. It is only observed, that they entertained great respect for his person, as an acknowledgment of his gentle and equitable way of dealing with them. King James of Arragon, at his request, published divers edicts; and though they were not so rigid as others had been, yet they infringed upon the liberty they had anciently enjoyed.

Raymond Martin, a Dominican, composes a prediction, called, "The Poniard of Faith."

This Dominican's exertions produced the *Pugio Fidei*, or Poniard of Faith. This book is sometimes ascribed to him, as if he was the author; but he was only the promoter of it, nor did it appear till three years after his death, composed by Raymond Martin, a man of the same order. It has been supposed, that he was born a Jew, and that he turned monk after his conversion; but Nachmanides does not upbraid him with being an apostate from Judaism, though this violent and passionate rabbi spared not the grossest abuses. He had been selected to study the languages, to be employed in the conversion of the Jews, bore some part at the

conference held at Barcelona, in the palace of King James, and in his presence against Moses Nachmanides, the famous casuist before-mentioned. We are told, that Raymond so confounded his adversary, that he was obliged to quit Spain, and retire to Jerusalem, to avoid the shame and reproach that he would have incurred. About the same time, Alphonso X. king of Castile, employed another Rabbi, Isaac the son of Sid, who made the astronomical tables, which have since been called the Alphonfine, and held in great esteem by all the learned, who have applied themselves to the study. Moses, the son of Tibbon, who then lived in the kingdom of Grenada, translated all Euclid's elements, whose manuscript is still at Rome. It is said, he taught at Montpelier when he composed this work.

Alphonso encourages the Jews.

In other cases Alphonso likewise made use of them; and his proving so generous a patron, excited the jealousy of the zealous, and put them upon devising new plots and accusations against them, and it was probably about this time that three villains of the city of Oriena in Andalusia threw a dead body into the house of a Jew, and accused him of murder. This calumny being spread through the city, the people massacred all the Jews that fell into their hands. Some of them escaped into their friends' houses, but it being the feast of unleavened bread, and there being none of it to be met with, they were very near dying with hunger, as chusing rather to fast than break the law. The inhabitants of Palma imitated the Orfonians in slaughtering the Jews, who solicited their brethren to send a deputation to the court, to put a stop to a massacre that was like to become universal. The persecutors followed the three Jews that were deputed very closely, and arrived even before them, because these envoys had been obliged to leave the road and abscond in a forest, for fear of falling into their persecutors' hands.

Malicious sra agem against the Jews.

Joseph, the head of the embassy, pleaded with so much eloquence, that he was admired by all the court. The king acquitted the nation of the pretended murder; but nevertheless rebuked them for their excessive usuries, the sumptuousness of their dress, and the pomp wherewith these fugitives walked the streets, so as to provoke the jealousy of his subjects. He asked them, why they taught to sing, since they ought to be in mourning? Why they instructed their children to fence, since they never went to war? The Jews excused themselves by saying, that their nation had a mixture of bad and good men, like the Christians, and that the king had only condemned the magnificence of habits in the Jews, without mentioning their women, which occasioned them to think the edict did not relate to them.

Alphonso's countenance and protection produced many learned men, besides these already mentioned, and among the rest, the famous Meir Mithridos, as he is called by Gantz, though he was the son of Theodorus, prince of the Levites at Burgos. He ought not

The learned men in the time of Alphonso.

to be confounded, as is commonly done, with another Meir of Narbonne, his cotemporary, and who had, like him, a great many disciples. This rabbi, a native of Toledo, was a great casuist. He gave his principal piece the title "Before and Behind, or Before the Faces," to shew that he penetrated to the bottom of the most subtle arguments, and had studied all sides of a question. He wrote also a volume of letters against Nachmanides, and trained up disciples, that maintained their nation's and their master's honour.

Book of devotion composed by the rabbins.

James I. king of Arragon respected their learned rabbies so highly as to receive moral lectures from them. He desired of them the books of devotion and piety they had composed. R. Jona, who lived at that time, wrote to another Jona of Gironne for advice, how he ought to act with the king of Arragon's injunctions, who had commanded him to write a book, to instruct man in the duties of religion and piety. It is believed likewise, that it is to this Jona we ought to ascribe the honour of a famous book concerning fear, which is attributed to the other Jona, and has been translated into several languages. The rabbies, upon the whole, must have been in great favour with this prince, since he had recourse to them to be instructed in the rules of true piety and devotion.

Massacre of the Jews in Languedoc.

In Languedoc, the grossest outrages were committed on the Jews. Nothing could resist the torrent which overflowed on all sides, and made horrible havock wherever it came. They particularly attacked the Jews, to enrich themselves with their spoils; yet the Christians were not secure, because the smallest pretence was a sufficient motive for pillaging their houses. Application was made to the pope who resided at Avignon, but the people despised his excommunications and anathemas. The count de Toulouse executed the laws and justice upon them. He seized some of them, and made them prisoners; but the people opened the prisons, and the Monks broke their chains. The count was willing to save some Jews, but the man to whom he had intrusted their custody, delivered them to their enemies, and he had the mortification to see them come into his city to force the remainder of the nation to turn Christians. They submitted to it to avoid death.

The massacre continued at Bourdeaux, Agen, Castel-Sarasin, and other cities. Those who were retired to Narbonne, imagining the storm was over, came out of their retreat; but they found in the way a troop of ruffians, who, supported by the peasants, put them to the sword. The king of France, tired with so many cruelties, ordered them to be prosecuted without quarter. The nobility armed by the king's order, and obliged them to retire into Navarre and Arragon. They carried the same disposition thither, and caused the same disorders. The king of Arragon armed against them, put the prince Alphonso at the head of his army, who caused the leader of the ruffians to be killed by his master of the horse, and

disperfed the rest. Part of them perished by the sword, and the rest by pestilence, which then raged.

A fresh spring of misery to the Jews arose from the plague, which they were supposed to be the cause of. Being accused of conspiring with the peasants of Mesura, to poison the waters of the river, and of furnishing them with the ingredients, they were cast into prisons, and informations were lodged against them. Their innocence was proved; but the king, who was unwilling to acknowledge the injustice he had committed, in retaining such vast numbers of prisoners so long, upon a false pretence, declared that he had shut them up only to convert them; and upon their refusal to embrace christianity, fifteen thousand of them were sentenced to the fire and burnt.

Fifteen thousand Jews burnt upon false accusation.

Though Alphonso XI. their friend and protector, was wholly guided by one Joseph of Astigi, then intendant of his finances, nevertheless his mutinous subjects prevailed upon him to issue out an edict against them on account of an indignity pretended to have been offered by a Jewish boy to the apparatus of a sacred ordinance, as it was carried through the streets. A council was called that very night to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished, when the advice for banishment prevailed. Happily for them the prince-royal obtained a revision of the process, by which it was found that it was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and had by chance overset a vessel of water upon the chalice. The king upon this revoked his edict to the mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the Christian had been suborned to make a deposition in favour of their enemies. This however did not hinder the populace from falling upon the Jews in another city, where they massacred them upon the same pretence, and might have gone a much greater length, had not the king caused to be hanged ten of the mutinous ringleaders.

The Jews exposed to new dangers.

This danger had no sooner subsided, than they fell into another much more dreadful. There was a mutiny against them at Toledo. R. Ascher having fled some time before from his native place Northembourg, retired to Toledo with his eight sons. One of his children seeing the assassin breaking open his house in order to murder him, fell into such an excess of rage, as to kill all his relations that were shut up with him. He stabbed his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob, a man remarkable not only for his disinterestedness, while he lived, as teaching always gratis though he was poor, but for leaving behind a famous book intituled Turim, which is a body of civil and ecclesiastical law. This Jew having killed all his relations, dispatched himself for fear of falling into the hands of the Nazarenes. Some place this persecution in the year 1340, but others date it nine years later, and with reason, not only because in the year 1340 R. Jacob composed the book before mentioned, but Alphonso XI. who had countenanced the nation from the beginning of his reign, was living in

Massacre of the Jews at Toledo.

1349. At his death he tolerated a sedition which he could not suppress.

Peter the Cruel his son, who came to the throne in the year 1350, saw several factions formed in his kingdom, either by the insolence of the people, or the great, who usurped part of the authority, and caused most violent commotions. Henry de Trite-mare, his natural brother, supported by Bertrand de Guesclin, took Toledo, killed him, and came before Burgos, which still resisted. The Jews fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to the conqueror. Peter they alledged was their lawful king, and that they would rather lose their lives, than receive another master, who was not the heir of his house. Henry could not forbear esteeming their fidelity for a deceased king, and therefore, when they engaged on his side, he granted them honourable conditions.

At the end of this century, the Jews were not treated more favourably than they had been at the beginning. They complained that the Monks, who were willing to make themselves favourites at court, or with the people, from a principle of zeal, affected to appear their irreconcilable enemies. One of them obtained an order by the queen's means, to banish them all from Spain. But this prince's being advised not to cut down, or pluck up, a vine that bore good fruit, was appeased by a sum of fifty thousand gold crowns: they suffered much more under the reign of Henry III. king of Castile, who was but fourteen years old when he came to the throne. Martin, archdeacon of Astig, preaching in the streets of Seville and Corduba, so inflamed the minds of the people against the Jews, as to

cause them to massacre them. The flame
Jews per-
secuted by
Henry III. slew to Toledo, Valencia, and Barcelona,
where some were plundered, others killed, whilst
the more politic changed their religion, to escape the
fury of the rabble. The synagogues of Seville and
Corduba, which were so numerous, were dispersed
by the multitude of deserters. Henry pursued them.
Those that retired to Andalusia, and other places,
were murdered by the inhabitants. His son John was
as inhuman as himself. Those who concealed them-
selves in the father's reign, perished miserably in the
son's, because they were denied all the necessaries of
life, and were easily distinguished by a red badge,
which they were forced to wear.

In Arragon, the states having assembled
Oppressed in
Arragon. to prevent the consequences of a war,
that seemed inevitable, resolved to raise
new taxes upon the Moors and Jews, to supply the
exigencies of state, whilst the nobility took up arms;
and these imposts subjected them to continual vexa-
tions and prosecutions, which reduced them to the
lowest degree of misery.

Out of the various sovereigns that gov-
ern the nations of the earth, hardly any
can be found, in general, so favourable to
the Jews, as the Roman pontiffs. Whilst
these persecuted the Christians, who were
not subject to their laws, with great ri-

gour and inhumanity, the Jews were cho-
sen as intendants of their finances, and
had full liberty of conscience granted
them. This urbanity chiefly arose from the incapability of the Jewish nation to render any essential
diservice to the holy see; whilst the Protestants were
so numerous and powerful, as to threaten its very
existence: but indeed one branch of the supreme au-
thority exercised by his holiness, and delegated to the
Jesuits in that diabolical jurisdiction called the In-
quisition, was particularly inimical to the Jews, and
they were on many occasions distinguished by almost
unexampled cruelties.

cruelly ini-
mical to
them.

In the province of Brittany the Jews
were very numerous; and, being for the
most part usurers, impoverished the peo-
ple. The merchants and nobility com-
plained of it. John Rufus was then duke of Brit-
tany, his father Maclerc having laid down the go-
vernment. This prince assembled the states, by
which it was enacted, at the request of the bishops,
abbots, barons, and vassals of Brittany, that all the
Jews should be banished out of this province for-
ever. The debtors of the Jews were discharged
from the debts they had contracted with them; and
those that had received pledges from them were
allowed to keep them. All that killed a Jew were
declared innocent, and the judges were forbidden to
take an information against them, or to bring them to
trial. It was resolved to address the king of France
to cause this statute to be executed in his dominions,
that is, to expel the Jews, to strip them of their for-
tunes, and give licence to kill them. The duke of
Brittany engaged for himself and his posterity, for the
present and future, "to maintain the said ordinance;
and in case of its violation, the bishops had not only
power to excommunicate him, but to confiscate his
lands in their dioceses, without any respect to the pri-
vileges he had obtained, or might obtain in time to
come. Lastly, He declared, that not one of his vas-
sals in Brittany should be admitted to do homage, till
he had taken oath before two bishops, or two barons,
to observe this law, and not to suffer any Jew upon his
territories. Add to this, the great council of Lyon,
in which the emperor was excommunicated, made
two new decrees. By one, princes who had Jewish
subjects were commanded to oblige them to return to
the crusaders all the money they had extorted from
them, upon pain of excommunication to some, and
others were deprived of the privileges of civil society.
By the second, the Jews were prohibited from de-
manding their debts of the crusaders till their return,
or till they had received an authentic certificate of
their death. The council of Vienna also,
called in the same century, was obliged
to maintain the Christians against the op-
pressions they suffered by the usury of the Jews. But
the Jews still found means to maintain their influ-
ence, notwithstanding all these decrees and precau-
tions, insomuch that in some provinces of France,
particularly in Languedoc, they had the privilege of
being raised to the magistracy, and, in most places

The Jews
expelled
from Brit-
tany.

Council of
Vienna.

of the kingdom, to have Christian slaves; a circumstance which was attended with very great inconveniences, and often with enormous abuses.

*Persecuted
afresh in
Languedoc.*

The Jews underwent a second persecution in the year 1320; and this misfortune was no sooner over, than they fell into another. Historians write, that the Saracen king of Grenada, mortified to find himself so often overcome by the Christians, sought an expedient to be rid of them otherwise than by arms. He called the Jews of his kingdom, and asked them, whether there was no way to poison all the Christians? They undertook this commission; but, thinking they could not execute it themselves, as they were too much suspected, they corrupted some lepers, and communicated their design to them, which was to poison the wells and fountains. These lepers being bribed, and farther hoping to enrich themselves with the spoils of the dead, assembled in four general councils, and formed their project all together. The waters were found poisoned in France and Germany.

A leading man of Pernay sent to the king the deputation of a leper, whom he had seen in his territories, and who confessed he had been corrupted by a rich Jew, that gave him a receipt, which being dried, put in a bag, and thrown into a well, immediately rendered all the water baneful. The lepers were tried, some were shut up in prisons, and others in their pest-houses, and prohibited to go out. The people of Languedoc, without waiting for the necessary formalities of law, massacred them in such a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror, while the pretended criminals marched to the flames and other cruel executions, with such joy, as if they had been going to the celebration of a festival.

At Paris they had shewn more equity, for none but those who appeared guilty were put to death. Some were banished, and others kept prisoners till they had discovered their treasures, which king Philip the Long seized, and thereby raised a considerable sum. Some historians, however, affirm, that they were all expelled out of the kingdom.

Recalled.

At length, however, the exigencies of the state obliged Charles, dauphin of Vienne, and duke of Normandy, to recall them during the disorders caused by the imprisonment of his father in England, by the oppression of the great men, and the mutinies of the people, who were weary of their tedious tyranny. When he came to be king, he confirmed what he had done as dauphin, obliging only the Jews of his kingdom to wear a badge of distinction.

*The Jews severely treated
in the reign of
Charles VI.
of France.*

The last and the most formidable calamity which the Jews endured in France was under the government of Charles VI. This prince being disordered in his intellects, or, as the superstitious alledge, bewitched, the Jews were accused of committing several murders, and other outrages, for which some

of them were hanged, others scourged, and several other severities used, which obliged many of them openly to profess the Christian faith. At length, the famous edict appeared, which banished their whole nation from the French dominions.

In England, even so early as the reign of king Stephen, anno 1145, the Jews were accused of crucifying a young Christian, in contempt of that religion, and were accordingly punished for it: they were again prosecuted for the same atrocious act in Gloucester, in the reign of Henry II. anno 1181; but some have supposed, and not without probability, that these accusations were feigned in order to oppress and fleece the individuals of that nation. King John reigned with severity; he loaded the Jews with heavy taxes, and when they began to refuse him money, made them prisoners, and extorted, by violent punishments, what he could not obtain by his edicts. Not satisfied with these extortions, he confiscated the estates of all the Jews of his kingdom, and banished them by a proclamation issued for that purpose.

*Oppression of
King John.*

A plan was formed by Henry III. to convert the Jews of his kingdom, which he thought he could not more effectually accomplish than by founding a seminary for the maintenance of converts. He committed the conduct of it to an ingenious man, who carried on the design with great assiduity. All that were willing to be converted had here a safe retreat, where they lived in peace, without being subject to servile labour or usury. There were many induced by idleness, and the temptation of being maintained without pain and labour, to come into it, so that the number of the converts multiplied, and the house continued many years.

*Jews under
Henry III.*

Some time afterwards, the Jews of Norwich were accused of taking away a Christian child, of having kept it for a year, and, after they had circumcised him, designing to crucify him at the feast of the passover. But the design being discovered, the crime passed not unpunished. The same accusation was brought against those of London, four years after, with some remarkable circumstances. The child having been sold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the facts discovered by some marvellous circumstances, not worth mentioning, he was canonized for a martyr, and his relicks carefully preserved. However, the murderers could not be found out, only some Jews, having left London about that time, were shrewdly suspected to have been guilty.

*The Jews of
Norwich pun-
ished.*

At London.

The year following, all the nation was alarmed, from the persecutions of the crusaders in Spain, France, and Germany: fearing, therefore, that this storm would fly over the sea, and fall upon them, they prevented it, and purchased an edict of the king, prohibiting any harm to be done them throughout his dominions.

*Crusades dan-
gerous, Jews
purchase an
indemnity.*

The

The king having, through misfortune, frequent occasions for money, Galfrid, his prime minister, thought it could not be easier found than among the Jews. Upon their refusal, therefore, to pay the great sums he demanded, they were accused of committing a murder at London; many were imprisoned; and, after many vexatious sufferings, obliged to pay a third of all their estates. Nor did this suffice for their intire security; for, four years after, this insatiable prince demanded new presents from his subjects. He rejected those which the abbots and priors brought, when they were not deemed considerable enough, and demanded greater. The Jews were not spared in his demands. He received himself the gold that was presented, and made his officers receive the silver. One particular

Heavy taxes
imposed on
them.

Jew, called Aaron, was obliged to pay him four thousand gold marks, and his officers four thousand marks of silver. This same Aaron was taxed, seven years after, ten thousand marks of gold, and fourteen thousand marks of silver, to gratify the queen, and obtain his release out of prison. The rest of the Jews were not more happy; they were accused of coining, and counterfeiting the prince's seal; and, under these pretences, they loaded them with imposts. They had their exchequer and particular judge: it is probable they gained over this judge by presents; at least, the extortioners were accused of favouring them, to have the power of fleecing them in their turn.

John Lunel, though an ecclesiastic, could not secure himself from this accusation. He was charged with receiving great sums from many Jews, for protecting them at the bar, and diminishing their taxes. The king suffered him to be cruelly treated, and his punishment would have been still greater, if one of his first ministers had not procured his pardon. A knight afterwards underwent the same fate: he was impeached of being corrupted by the Jews, whose commissary or overseer he was, and of having forged a false indenture, to which he put the king's seal, intrusted to him for the Jewish affairs. Complaint was brought to the king, and he recriminated upon the Jews who had assisted him. However, he could not rescue himself from the hands of justice, without the loss of his post, and a considerable fine levied upon him.

Jews disposed
to quit Eng-
land.

Fresh sums being demanded of them, which they could not pay, Elias of London spoke for them all, and represented to the council, that since they had resolved to sink them, they had better expel them the kingdom, or grant them the liberty of departing; as, perhaps, they might somewhere else find a prince who had some sentiments of justice or humanity; that the king knew well, that though he should denounce the heaviest penalties, they could not furnish the sum demanded of them. However, the council denied them the liberty of departing, but the tax was moderated, and, by this means, they drew from them the little they had remaining. However, Henry

renewed these extortions the year following. He represented, that notwithstanding all the taxes he had raised, he still continued involved in debt. He solemnly declared his debts amounted to two or three hundred thousand marks: he observed, that he must defray the expences of his household; and, therefore, he demanded eight thousand marks of the Jews. They represented once more to the king, that they were ready to quit the kingdom, and that the pope's usurers had completed their ruin. The king, enraged with this refusal, sold them to his brother Richard. It was not doubted but that Richard would treat them more harshly than his brother, and demand double the payment of his debt; but he took pity on them, because he was convinced of their poverty and distress.

They're sold
to Henry's
brother.

In addition to these misfortunes, the Jews of Lincoln were accused of murdering a child. There were three particular circumstances in this accusation. One was, that the inhabitants of Lincoln had invited four Jews from every city in England to assist at this sacrifice. A second, that the murderer confessed, when his life was promised him, that this sacrifice was renewed every year, though it was not always discovered. The third was, that the king, refusing to ratify the promise of saving the Jews, not only put him to death, but arrested ninety-one prisoners at London, and capitally punished many others.

An accusation
preferred
against them
at Lincoln.

Henry III. according to some, banished them out of England by an irrevocable edict. The motives of this exile are variously reported. A Jewish historian says, they were accused to the king of adulterating the coin. The king easily perceived the innocence of the accused, and that the deponents were guilty of the crime they had charged on others. But, notwithstanding, they went on with their accusation, and produced witnesses. The king, seeing them so cruelly bent, was afraid that the people would exterminate that nation, and, therefore, ordered them to depart his territories. Most Christian authors agree concerning an edict of banishment, made against the Jews at the end of the thirteenth century, in king Edward's reign; and manifest proofs are found of it in some chanceries of England. Trivet affirms, that Edward III. banished the Jews out of his kingdom, gave them money for their passage into France, and afterwards confiscated their estates. Polydore Virgil attributes this edict to a council held at London in the year 1291, which designing to separate the sheep from the goats, commanded, by a public edict, all the Jews to depart England in a few days, giving them liberty to carry away their effects. They obeyed the decree; "and thus this nation, which was prodigiously numerous in England, departed out of it for ever, still wandering from one place to another, till it was intirely lost; and its loss will not be very affecting, provided they leave us their sacred books, without which it would be difficult to preserve our religion."

Their expul-
sion by king
Edward.

ligion

ligion in future.* Edward, the preceding year, had passed such another decree for all the provinces he possessed in France. The motive alledged for this severity, was, that the Jews, entering into too strict an intimacy with the Christians, corrupted them. However that be, it is plain they never appeared in a body in this kingdom from that time, till they were recalled to it in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

They are cruelly slaughtered and massacred in Germany, particularly at Frankfurt, Nuremberg, and Prague, in Bohemia.

Many accusations were made against the Jews in Germany, and a terrible slaughter of them took place in Frankfurt, under the reign of the emperor Frederic. The city of Nuremberg was likewise rendered infamous by a most dreadful massacre of this people, harassed and persecuted in the extreme on every trifling accusation. They who fled

to Bohemia did not long remain undisturbed; for there the inhabitants of Prague, disgusted with their celebration of the passover, chose that season to burn their synagogues, together with all the worshippers it contained.

Jews retreat to Portugal, where John II. favours them from selfish motives, and on hard terms.

During some persecutions which this people endured in Spain, John II. king of Portugal, resolved to afford them an asylum in his dominions, principally that he might enrich himself with their spoils. The interest of his kingdom too demanded, that he should afford a retreat to the Jews,

from whom he had received considerable services. He had sent some of them to the coast of Ormus, and the Red sea, who brought him a faithful account, and served him in the discovery of the East-Indies; but yet he did not love them. Nevertheless, from motives of policy, he received them, but imposed on them most rigorous conditions. Each was obliged to pay him eight gold crowns for the privilege of refuge. He moreover fixed a time, beyond which it was not lawful for them to continue in his territories without entering into slavery. The two conditions were discharged by many fugitives that retired into this kingdom, and afterwards chose rather to live in slavery, than expose themselves to fresh misfortunes. They complained, that he sent a vast number into the Isles of Thieves, newly discovered, where they miserably perished. But at the same time they comforted themselves with a notion, that Heaven took vengeance on him; for he died young, and his son, who, by marrying Isabella became heir to many kingdoms, fell from his horse into the Tagus, from whence he was carried to a peasant's cottage, where he died; so that the crown devolved to another branch.

John's successor, Emanuel, seemed at first to compassionate these oppressed wretches, and restored them to their liberty. But the alliance he made with Isabella and Ferdinand occasioned him to alter his first purpose. Isabella, that haughty and bigotted queen, plainly declared, that she would not have a man to her son-in-law that suffered the enemies of their religion in his kingdom. Emanuel, therefore, sacrificed the Jews and Moors

Treachery of Emanuel

to an alliance he thought more advantageous. He allowed both of them to depart out of his dominions. He kept his word with the latter, as fearing reprisals would be made in Africa upon the Christians. But he doubly violated his faith with the Jews, by depriving them of the liberty to carry away their children above fourteen years of age, which reduced them to that despair, that some of them killed themselves, and others, sacrificing nature to religion, became their own executioners. Besides, after they had assigned them three ports, whither they were to embark, they reduced them to one, so that they were obliged to alter their measures, make a double journey, and exhaust their treasures. In fine, the delays that were given to the embarkation made great numbers miserable. Amongst those who turned Christians, to avoid such a train of disasters as they saw before them, many were harshly used from a too just mistrust of their sincerity, and a great number were massacred upon the first slight occasion. All which outrages seem but too much encouraged by the cruelty and treachery with which King Emanuel had used that unfortunate people.

This disaster is charged upon the Jews by some historians, who affirm, that they drew it upon themselves, because some of them, after publicly professing Christianity, and being baptized, were found celebrating the feast of the Passover in secret; but Mariana ought to be preferred before all foreign and German authors. It is, nevertheless, true, that most of those that remained in Spain and Portugal dissimulated instead of being converted, which is the natural effect of persecution in matter of religion. The most surprising thing is, that this religion spreads from generation to generation, and still subsists in the persons of dissemblers to a remote posterity. In vain the great men of Spain make alliances, change their names, and take ancient escutcheons; they are still known to be of a Jewish race, and Jews themselves. The convents of Monks and Nuns are full of them. Most of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops proceed from this nation. Moreover, he brings proof of his assertion, in maintaining, that there are in the synagogue of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters and near relations to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even Franciscan Monks, Dominicans and Jesuits.

king of Portugal to the Jews.

Dissimulation of many Jews, and those amongst the eminent for birth and learning.

Joseph the son of Joshua, who continued his chronology till the year 1554, was a Spaniard, and the best historian this nation has had since Josephus. Ben Virgæ was another Spaniard, who has collected several necessary rules for the understanding the Gemara, which are the more useful, because they were forgotten by other interpreters. Isaac Cardoso, a descendant also from the Portuguese dissemblers, became one of the principal physicians of Castile; where he wrote his Spanish tract concerning the usefulness of water and snow, and cold or hot drink. But at length, being tired with his disguise, he quitted Spain and the Catholic religion with his name Ferdinand, which he had received at his

Learned rabbies in Spain.

his

his baptism, and retired to Verona about the middle of the last century. He printed his treatise, in which he expatiates on the particular prerogatives of the Jewish people, which ought to make them honoured, notwithstanding their miseries and dispersions, which God only sends for the punishment of their sins. He observes, that this nation was chosen by God; that it alone is separated from all other nations; that it received the sabbath and circumcision from heaven, and that the Divinity instructed it by inspired men. For these reasons the inquisition is watchful over these new Christians; and they are still suspected by the cruel ministers of this tribunal, who enrich themselves with their spoils. The least suspicion suffices to make them guilty. For indeed, whenever any accident happens in the kingdom, the people accuse them of judaizing in secret, and bringing down the divine vengeance. An instance of it was seen at the beginning of the last century; when a Dominican put himself at the head of these mutineers; and they plundered, ravaged, and killed four or five thousand of these profelytes.

The affairs of the Jews were greatly affected by the rapid conquests of Tamerlane; for this conqueror, having fixed his capital at Samarcand, passed on to Chorasán, where they were numerous. He seized upon Bagdad, and all the Irak; passed into Syria, where he plundered Damascus: he defeated Bajazet, who reigned in Anatolia, where this nation had considerable settlements; and, as he laid waste all places where his armies marched, it is no wonder that the Jews were ruined and dispersed by his invasions.

Though the body of the nation remained in Persia and Media, yet, as their academies had been destroyed, and the sciences could not flourish amidst the confusions of war, their learned men, and heads of the captivity, have for a long time disappeared; and even the private persons, dispersed in the provinces and cities, made a sad figure, because they had been ruined. It is said they raised their heads under Ishmael Sophi, founder of the family that reigned in Persia.

This prince, who reckoned himself a descendent from Ali, gathered all those who were devoted to this sect, and all the unfortunate that would follow him. He found but seven or eight thousand men in Caramania, which is the ancient Cilicia; but, with this small number, he threw himself into one of the provinces of Media, and slew Ferokhead, the king of it. This first victory, obtained at fourteen years of age, put him in a capacity to take Tauris, which some geographers confound with Ecbatana, and make himself master not only of the rest of Media, but of Persia also.

The famous Shah Abbas undertook to persecute the Jews; which gave occasion to a general massacre a long time after his death. The matter is thus related: This prince's council, representing to him, that Persia was very thinly peopled, he resolved to grant great privileges to all that would come and

settle there. Multitudes of people arrived from all the neighbouring parts, and particularly a great number of Jews, who, by monopolizing the trade, amassed great riches. They soon excited the jealousy of the other inhabitants, who brought their complaints against them to the Sophi. There was no expedient to punish them, without giving umbrage to other strangers, whom the violation of privileges, granted for some years, would oblige to retire. But it was found in the Alcoran, that this nation was to embrace the Mussulman religion six hundred years after its publication, or be entirely destroyed. Abbas, who was naturally cruel, would have executed Mahomet's orders, and have cut off all the Jews, if the musli had not stopped him. It was resolved, however, to cite the kaccams, or sages of the nation, before the sophi's tribunal, to answer his demands.

On this occasion, the Shah questioned them particularly about the abolition of the sacrifices, and the other ceremonies, the use of which had ceased for some time. After a variety of arguments and interrogatories, Abbas insisted that they should fix a time for the appearance of their expected Messiah, promising that till then they should be tolerated; and that if he came accordingly, he and his successors would embrace their religion: but if, on the contrary, he did not appear, the Jews should either turn Mussulmans, or suffer the loss of their lives, children, and effects. After mature deliberation, they fixed the period at seventy years. Abbas made them pay dear for their toleration, caused the agreement to be registered, and signed on both sides, and taxed the Jews at two millions of gold.

An hundred and fifteen years elapsed since Abbas's reign, and yet none thought of the contract Abbas had made with the Jews. But we are told, that Abbas II. who began his reign in 1642, and was a little more at peace, turning over one day the registers of the palace, found in his father's journal the contract between the Jews and Shah Abbas I. This surprised him the more, as Zabathai Tzevi made a great noise at that time, and most of the Jews looked upon him as the person who was come to disengage them from their obligation. He assembled a great council, to deliberate about so important an affair; and it was therein unanimously resolved to destroy, without delay, this nation abounding with cheats and impostors, that laboured only to oppress the rest of mankind.

Orders were accordingly given to all the inhabitants, both strangers and natives, of the sophi's dominions, to fall upon the Jews, and to spare neither age or sex, except such as should turn Mussulmans. This massacre began at Ispahan, the capital of his kingdom. It was exercised with the same barbarity in the provinces of Seyra, Ghetan, Humadan, Ardan, and Tauris, where the Jews were settled. The execution lasted three years, without any glimpse of humanity or

Contracts between the Jews and Mussulmans.

Execution of the treaty.

Horrid massacre of the Jews.

Conquests of Ishmael Sophi.

compassion from the Persians; insomuch that there remained not one single Jew in all that vast extent of provinces, where they had heaped up immense riches. Some escaped the barbarity by fleeing into the Turkish territories and the Indies, and abjuring their religion.

Abbas having observed that most of these conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, in which it was the custom of the Persians to indulge all strangers. We read accordingly, that they enjoyed it a long time, till a minister of state, who hated them, or designed to enrich himself by the persecution, engaged his master to oblige them to turn Mahometans. He employed his utmost efforts, sparing neither violence nor lenity, to succeed in his design. There was also an order of the prince, forbidding the exercise of the Jewish religion in his dominions: but, notwithstanding all this, he could not effect it; for, upon diligent observation, it was found that, whatever pretences they made to Mahometanism, they practised Judaism still; so that there was a necessity of permitting them to turn bad Jews again, since they could not be made good Mussulmans. In the mean time, all those that are at Ispahan, are poor and miserable, and in small numbers. They pay

Jews distinguished by dress in Persia.

annually a sequin per head to the king, and are obliged to wear a little square piece of stuff of two or three fingers breadth, sewed to their caps or robe, in the middle of their breast, about two inches above their girdle: it signifies nothing of what stuff this patch is made, provided the colour be different from that of the habit it is sewed to. It is plain, moreover, from Thevenot, who travelled in this country from the year 1663 to 1665, that is, some years before the time of the Jewish massacre, that, upon his going thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience, since he adds, that the Persians thought it strange that Eatemad Doulet should have undertaken some time before to constrain the Jews to turn Mahometans.

Jews at Lar, &c.

The Jews are very numerous at Lar, the capital of a province, where they have a quarter assigned them to eat at the foot of the mountain between the city and the castle. They are also diffused into the country, on the coast of Ormus and Bander Abassi, in order to glean up some little part of the trade that is carried on from thence to the Indies, where they had formerly many brethren. Indeed they were distinguished there in two kinds, one that were born Indians, who turned Jews, and the others were descended from the race of Abraham. The king of Portugal, though he had expelled them out of his kingdom, tolerated them still at Goa, and other places, where they had their public worship.

At Bagdad.

The Jews maintain themselves at Bagdad, where they have a synagogue, and

at present make a part of its inhabitants; but their number increases considerably every year, by the pilgrimages made to Ezekiel's tomb. This continues among the Jews, as well as the Persians, and a multitude of pilgrims arrive annually at Bagdad, and remain there. However, they are mortally hated; and the Rasedi's, which make a particular sect among the Mussulmans, and are very powerful at Bagdad, will hold no correspondence with them.

In Armenia they are said to live more peaceably; though their own writers tell us, that those of Masea having accused them of killing a Christian, because he was seen to go into a Jewish house, and not come out of it again; an information was immediately lodged against them, and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing Abiob, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after these executions, the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been wrested by torture. Complaint being made of it to Solyman II. the Armenian magistrates were forbidden from thenceforth to take cognizance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the sultans. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer, who lived in Egypt, and is intitled, *The Sufferings of the Jews*, shews plainly that if they live quietly among the Armenians, it is rather owing to the protection of the Porte, than to any conformity between them and the people.

Some of them are also found in Media, where they were carried at the time of the captivity, and where they have still continued, though declining very much.

The Jews are not tolerated at Scamachia, seated upon the Caspian sea, a place of great trade; but the Tartars, who bring thither girls and boys, and horses to be sold, tolerate them out of necessity, and mingle with them for the sake of commerce. We find some of them as far as at the foot of Mount Caucasus, which the Arabians thought encompassed the whole earth, so that the sun rose upon one of its points, and set behind the other. It is related, that the prince of Mingrelia pretends to be descended from David. The king of Imeretta asserts the same thing. The ancient kings of Georgia believed it likewise; and the cham of Georgia puts it among his titles, that he issued from this great king by Solomon his son. But these pretensions, indeed, are supported by no solid proofs. It is true that there is a synagogue at Ascalzike, a little city situated at the foot of Mount Caucasus, which the Georgians had built, to defend themselves against the invasions of the enemy, and which the Turks have taken from them.

This is the state of the Jews in all this part of the east; by which it appears, that the tribes which were dispersed there remain still in Persia, Armenia, and Media, where they have their synagogues, and are still numerous, since they are in all

all the trading cities from Bassora and the Indies to Mingrelia. But the tribes are too much confounded to be any longer distinguished: they are ignorant, poor, miserable, and reduced to the vilest offices to get their bread. In fine, they have so little correspondence with their western brethren, as hardly to know any thing of them. About this time shone the famous impostor, named Zabathai Tzevi, who, after practising a variety of the most distinguished artifices, in order to delude the public, was, at length, detected in his iniquitous designs, and received the punishment justly due to his crimes.

Sapheta res-
pled with
Jew.

The city of Sapheta, or, as the Jews commonly call it, Saphet, or, rather, Tzephtheth, in Galilee, is the most populous and the most noted that the Jews have in this province. They enjoy many privileges there. It is situate nine miles from Bethsaida, upon a mountain with three tops, is of most difficult access, and, therefore, it is sheltered from the incursions of the Arabians, who plunder and lay waste the cities where they can enter. It is also certain, they are more numerous and more kindly treated at Sapheta than in all the rest of the Ottoman empire.

An academy
there.

It has an academy in it, which is grown very famous; and though for many years the oriental Jews have much neglected study and sciences, yet they still keep up professors and doctors here, that are men of repute. Hither they send their children to study, as believing the Hebrew tongue is here taught in its purity; as if that language was annexed to the Holy Land, and that the doctors who teach it, and are often strangers, spoke it better than other rabbies. But it is the common prejudice, and the academy of Sapheta has been, for some ages, what that of Tiberias, to which it has succeeded, was before. The most famous Casuist that has appeared since Simon Jochaides

Learned men.

Moses Cordo-
verus.

taught in this academy. He was born at Corduba, which gave him the name of Moses Cordoverus; but quitting Spain, towards the end of the thirteenth century, he was one of the pillars of this academy, and, perhaps, one of the first founders of it.

Dominic of
Jerusalem.

In the same academy Dominic of Jerusalem taught for some time. He became doctor after he had finished his course of studies, and read lectures upon the Talmud. His profession of physic he practised at the same time made him better known, than the titles of Rau and judge that were given him. The sultan invited him to Constantinople, to be his physician. He lived to the beginning of the last century, and turned Christian; translated the New Testament into Hebrew; and, at the same time, answered some objections of the rabbies, against the martyrdom of St. Stephen.

Moses of
Trany, and
Joseph de
Karo.

Moses of Trany and Joseph de Karo had the conduct of this academy, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The one was born in a city of Apulia,

and taught with so much success at Sapheta, that the Jews called him the Light of Israel, the Sinaite of Sinai, the doctor that plucks up mountains, because he resolves the difficulties that are raised upon the law. The title of his book manifests, that it is an abstract of the Jewish civil law, in which he goes to the fountain head of the laws, and distinguishes betwixt those that proceeded from Moses, and others that had been handed down by oral tradition; and a third sort, which are founded only upon the decisions of the rabbies.

Moses Alsheb was born in this city, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth century, not only by the eloquence of his sermons, but the commentaries he composed upon a part of the law. All the titles of his works are metaphorical; one is called the Eye of Moses, another the Rose of Sharon, the third, the Lily of the Vallies. He is much praised for attempting, in his explication of scripture, to produce something new; and, being more devoted to the old interpreters than the modern, has exactly related their sentiments, even when they favoured the Christians, with whom they lived.

To the above, we may add, 1. Moses de Nagiara, who was also a Galilean, though some make him a Portuguese, because of the family of Noghera, which was, or is still in this country. He taught at Sapheta, and has left a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which the Jews greatly esteem. The Jews had a press there, in which they printed the Ritual, which Moses Galant, head of this academy, composed in 1560: and, 2. Judas Jona, who, after his conversion, became the learned Bartolucci's master, and put him upon the design of his rabbinical library, was born at Sapheta, and took the degree of doctor, or rabbi, in this academy. He was descended of a Spanish family, which, after Ferdinand's expulsion, retired into Tuscany. Pius V. having expelled it from thence, it passed into the east, where Judas Jona was born. Having gone through his course of studies, he came into the west, and determined at Amsterdam the validity of a will, on which depended some points of importance. The sentence he gave was approved by eighty-seven rabbies of Germany and Thessalonica. The Jews of Hamburgh made him afterwards their judge, and assigned him a salary; but he went from thence to Poland, where he turned Christian. He afterwards settled at Rome, and taught Bartolucci Hebrew; who, like a grateful disciple, vindicated him from the errors imputed to him. He had so strong a memory, that if the Talmud had been lost, he could have restored it.

At Jerusalem there are fewer Jews than at Sapheta. They reckon but about an hundred families, who have their chief habitations upon mount Sion. Some of them have employs in the custom-house, others are secretaries to the governor; but the greatest part is made up of mendicants, who live upon alms. They send in quest

Moses Alsheb.

A printing
press set up
at Sapheta.

Few Jews at
Jerusalem.

quest of them, even to the west, where wealth and learning are retired. Upon this errand Jacob Tomerita took a journey to Frankfort and Holland, in the year 1684. His father had retired from Portugal, to a little town in the Holy Land, bordering on Sapheta, called Tomer: his brethren deputed him to seek something for their subsistence, and at his return, he undertook to carry Mr. Ludolf's letters to the Samaritans of Gerizim, by whom he was known. Four years after appeared another deputy from the Jews of Jerusalem, who came begging for them, which sufficiently proves that they were extremely poor.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Selim took Jerusalem, there was a famous rabbi, who composed a book intitled, "the Eye of Israel." This work is a collection of the explications of the law contained in the Talmud. Many doctors had compiled before what related to the questions concerning right and rites; but Rabbi Jacob collected the explications of the law that were dispersed in this great book. He could not finish his design, but Levi his son, who was at least as learned as the father, put the last hand to it. This work occasioned the commotion of the Sapheta professors. As they were contemplative doctors, they mightily despised the doctrines. They found, in the work of Jacob and Levi, doctors at Jerusalem, things that displeased them. The dispute was violent, and the division great, as long as Levi lived; but the jealousy of the Sapheta professors died with him. His memory was honoured, and his work, which saved the reading of many large volumes, was received with wonderful applause. Leo de Modena endeavoured in the last century to perfect it, by adding the opinions of many doctors that were wanting. He gave an index of the passages, that they might be more easily found. He gave to his additions the title of the House of Judah, and that of the House of the Bread of Judah to the table or index.

Jews in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia the Jews have met with very little disturbance. They agree more easily with the Christians of this country than with those of any other, because these latter conform to many of their rites. They eat no swine's flesh, and rigorously observe the sabbath. Even their kings fancy themselves descendents from the antient Jews, and have a lion in their escutcheons, holding a cross, with these words, "The lion of Judah hath prevailed." On the other hand, the Jews in this country have not received the Talmud, nor all that heap of traditions which cloud their religion in other places. When the Saracens made themselves masters of Ethiopia, the Jews, fearing their persecution, retired and took sanctuary in Abyssinia. They were treated with more humanity than the natives of the country, since an Arabian author asserts, that a general massacre of the inhabitants being resolved upon, they begged, as a bounty of the king, that they might be treated like the People of the Scripture. These scripture people, in the Arabian style, are Jews. This name is given them in the Alcoran; for

Mahomet, speaking of them, calls them the People of the Book, because of the book of the law and the prophets. The Ethiopians therefore desired the same fate as the Jews; and the king of the Arabians granted their request, on condition that they would give themselves a mark on the face by which they might be known and distinguished.

ple of the Book, a title given to the Jews.

How long the Jews have been settled in Ethiopia it is not easy to determine; but if we may credit a modern traveller who has been in those parts, there were not any to be found, except upon an high and spacious mountain, inaccessible on all sides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous. Here it was that our author tells us they were seated, the top of it having a most delicious plain of vast extent, full of small brooks, fine fruits, and excellent pasturage, where they live in plenty of all things without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of Abyssinia. Here it was that Claude the son of David, being driven by his brother Goranha, king of Adel, took refuge, and was received by the Jews with open arms, and defended by them with such bravery and faithfulness against the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendship, during his whole reign, after he had ascended the throne.

At the beginning of the last century they still preserved that independency, which sometimes rendered them formidable to the kings of the Abyssinians. They possessed at that time near three provinces: but Sufneus, who then reigned, and was a bold prince, having defeated some idolatrous nations, called Gallants, among whom he had been educated, carried the war even into the rocks of the Jews with so much vigour, as to drive them out. They were obliged to abandon the provinces they had possessed, and to disperse themselves over the kingdom. Some retired towards the springs of the Nile, near the Cafres, where they still subsist. Others remain in the province of Denobe, where they apply themselves to the woollen and iron manufactures, which being odious to the Abyssinians, they leave it to the Jews, who undertake to furnish them with all warlike instruments. They have there their synagogues, and public worship, in which they use the Talmudic Hebrew, though they have not received that collection of traditions. Lastly, great numbers follow the court of the king of the Abyssinians. An Arabian, who had travelled in that country at the end of the last century, assured Mr. Ludolf, that sixty thousand of them were at court. In that country they correspond with the Christians, with whom they live very familiarly.

live independent of him.

That part of Egypt which borders upon Ethiopia has served the Jews for a sanctuary. They were notwithstanding very near the brink of destruction in the year 1524, but Providence delivered them by an unexpected revolution. Achmed, to whom Solymán II. had intrusted the government of Egypt, revolted against him, and resolved at the same time to make himself

himself master of his new subjects' estates. The soldiers had already begun to plunder the Jews houses, as being persuaded they might do all things safely at the beginning of the rebellion. Achmed resolving to enrich himself, taxed this nation two hundred talents. They represented their inability, and only brought fifteen talents to the treasury. Achmed, enraged at this refusal, ordered all to be committed prisoners that had not paid the tax. The very moment that Sadus, one of his officers, was executing his orders, news came of a conspiracy against Achmed, who having been surpris'd in the bath by a plot, was obliged to fly, and nine men with him; that he was pursued by an army of Circassians; and that it was impossible for him to escape his enemies. He was actually taken, and peace and tranquillity were restored to the city of Cairo. The Jews, being delivered, made a great entertainment, and called the feast they celebrated in memory of this event, Nefsim; which signifies a *Miracle*.

Jews rule
powerful in
Egypt.

The Jews were rendered very considerable by the liberty which they enjoyed in Egypt. Their mechanics were dispersed over the country, and in all the cities: but the richest and most creditable of them dwelt at Cairo. In fine, they pretended to be more numerous in this country, than when Moses led them out of it: but this number is of late lessened; for travellers affirm, that they have no settlement except at Cairo, and the maritime cities of Egypt; and that they are so far from being in other places, that if their business obliges them sometimes to go thither, they are forced to disguise and conceal themselves, because the country people abuse them as soon as ever they are discovered.

Some of them are also met with in divers parts of Africa: a Jew of this country enabled Muley Archey, king of Taflet, to make war against the prince Quiveane, to whom he fled for sanctuary. For going to the castle of Dar Michal, upon pretence of visiting the governor, he seized the citadel, and began to manifest his revolt: but he must have miscarried, had he not found a Jew immensely rich, whom he stripped of all his treasures, by means whereof he assembled the inhabitants of the province, was elected king, and dispossessed his brother then king of Fez and Morocco. He acknowledged the service the Jew had done him, by granting the nation the same liberty it had enjoyed, and making Joshua Ben Amoslech prince of it. Muley Ishmael, brother to the king of Taflet, and his successor, had still greater obligations to them: for in recompence for Don John de Toledo's services during his disgrace at Mequinez, he not only made him one of the first officers of his household, but sent him to the courts of several princes, to negotiate with them; and it was he who concluded the peace with the United Provinces, in the year 1684. This prince continued the offices to the son, who enjoyed the same honours as his father was invested with.

Many of this nation had likewise been a long time settled at Oran, and were intrusted with some of the most important offices in that city; yet such was their

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fidelity to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the treatment they had received, that they were the very people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which Cardinal Ximenes bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since: when the town was in great danger from their neighbours of being retaken, the Jews resolved to lose their lives in its defence, and when the garrison threatened to revolt at another time for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All these services, however, did not prevent their being banished from the place in the year 1669, but on what account it is not easy to determine.

Betray Oran
to the Spaniards.

Banished
from it.

In the province of Suz, they had likewise been very numerous and flourishing: this country formerly depended on the kingdom of Morocco, but has since been dismembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich and sumptuous synagogue served by several priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge of the people, who live by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of Morocco, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other laborious employments to which the inhabitants are averse; but this employment does not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. One of that nation named Pacheco was sent ambassador to the United Provinces at the beginning of the last century. Some time after their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mahomet not only caused them to be rebuilt after he came to the throne, but conferred the office of high treasurer and prime minister on one of that nation.

Synagogues
rebuilt.

In the territories of the Grand Signor the Jews have for many ages preserved their liberties, not excepting Constantinople itself. Their principal trade is in wine; and they have the preference in this market, because the law of Moses condemns mixtures; it is therefore imagined that the Jews dare not adulterate it, and consequently sell it in its purity.

They have
long preserved
their liberties
in Turkey.

Here, as every where else, they are much addicted to trading and usury. Nevertheless, it often happens that poverty makes them turn Mussulmans. They are not circumcised, because they already wear that mark of the covenant; nor are they baptised to make them Christians: having inquired into the motives of their change, they are made to pronounce these sacred words, which it is not lawful, upon pain of being burnt, to utter without becoming Mussulmans: "La Illah Illalah Mehmet Refoul Allah; There is but one God, and Mahomet the prophet."

In process of time, the Jews obtained the liberty of having a press at Constantinople. It was a new sight for the Mahometans to see books printed, and they were alarmed at it. The Musti was afraid lest the alcoran should be printed, and lest the love of the

A press at
Constanti-
nople for He-
brew books.

sciences, which would hereby grow easier, should be propagated from the Jews to the Arabians. This was a great advantage to the whole nation; for the copies of the law, which were grown very scarce in the east, were universally dispersed; and people applied more earnestly to the study of the law, because the reading was more easy, and they had greater assistances to understand it. Many learned men, and illustrious heads of synagogues, were produced by this means. Solomon Japhet, who had left his native Germany, came thither soon after. He explained the Talmud of Jerusalem; and rendered it more complete, by adding some necessary illustrations. He published two other works, which he called Fair in the Eyes; and, Fair in the Look; alluding to his name, which signifies Fair. The one contained sermons, and the other the explication of Middrush Rabba upon the Pentateuch. To these we may add Gedaliah and Mardochai.

Numerous in the cities of Greece. In some cities of Greece they have still considerable establishments. They have four synagogues at Patras, and their own judges here, which they chuse from among themselves. They have also their particular burying-place upon a neighbouring mountain, which looks like a great city, because it consists of several little stone houses, in which each family is buried, and a marble stone, on which the name of the family the tomb belongs to is engraved, serves as a door. But as there are but few inhabitants in this city, the Jews, which are not above a fourth part, amount only to about a thousand persons. They are settled at Lepanta, Livadia, Corinth, and other cities, where they live by commerce. But Greece is so depopulated by the revolutions it has undergone, by the tribute it pays, and still more, by the oppressions of the grand signor's officers, that their condition is become very miserable on these accounts.

Flourish in Thessalonica. At Thessalonica we find them settled ever since the time of St. Paul, and where they have had a considerable academy for some centuries, as well as a printing-house, which last was at length taken from them. Hither the Jews send their children from Constantinople to be taught the Hebrew tongue, and here have flourished several eminent rabbies.

Subsist at Gallipoli. At Gallipoli, a city seated in the Thracian Chersonesus, at the mouth of the Propontis, they still subsist, and at this day make one fourth of its inhabitants, which consist of six thousand Jews, as many Greeks, and twelve thousand Turks. They are more considerable at Proufia, built upon a hill of Mysia, near mount Olympus. This city was the capital of the Ottoman empire, before the taking of Constantinople; and as they had to master it by destroying an hundred thousand Christians, who vigorously resisted the Mahometans, they are not permitted to live in it, but confined to the suburbs, whilst they number twelve thousand Jews within its walls. There has been found here an ancient medal, struck in ho-

nour of Marcus Aurelius, having on the reverse a man forcing himself upon his sword; supposed to be the figure of Ajax, who in this city is said to have killed himself.

At Rhodes. At Rhodes, they had formerly a district assigned them near the wall called "The Wall and Quarter of the Jews:" and when Mahomet II. besieged the place, the basha, who could not carry either St. Stephen's Mount, or St. Nicholas's Tower, erected a battery of his heaviest cannon against this wall. It was a violent assault, and the quarter was taken. Some nations were already calling to oblige the grand master to surrender; but he sustained the assault, and repulsed the enemy, though he had received five wounds. The Turks raised the siege; and to preserve the memory of this event, the grand master, d'Aubusson, erected a church near the wall where he had beaten the Turks. Some time after he resolved to expel all the Jews, not only from their quarter, but the whole island, and from all the estates of the order. The better to authorize his violence, he represented to the council, that the commerce between Jews and Christians was dangerous; that, according to the opinions of divines and canonists, the Jews were all slaves of Christian princes; from whence he inferred, they had lost the natural power of fathers over their children, and that they might be baptized whether they would or not. The Jews were allowed to sell their effects in forty days time; but when that term was expired they were obliged to depart. They were prohibited going and settling in the Levant, for fear they should become spies to the grand signor; as if they still preserved any authority over those they had banished. In fine, they detained all the children, whom they caused to be baptized, and kept at the expence of the church, lest they should resume their old religion when they left the island.

When the Turks took Rhodes, the Jews settled there again, and they are even treated more favourably than the Christians; for the latter, who have their warehouses and shops in the city, are not allowed to lodge in it; whereas the Jews are not obliged to quit their houses to seek beds in the neighbouring villages. But they reckon but two hundred of them to thirteen hundred Turks.

At Smyrna they are more numerous; where they reckon six thousand of their nation, and they have many synagogues. In fine, there are few cities or great towns in the Ottoman empire, but have some Jews. They suffer much by the avarice of the sultan's officers; but this misfortune is common to them with most of the grand signor's subjects.

The Jewish historians complain, that they had a bitter enemy in Pope John XXIII. whom they represent as fitter to head an army as a general, than to be the head of the church. He issued many edicts to force them to turn Christians; and this with such severity, that sixteen thousand were forced to abandon their religion: part of those which persevered perished by fire, and others by the different punishments to which they

Pope John XXIII. a cruel enemy to the Jews.

they were sentenced. But this is not to be attributed to the pope alone: he was assisted in this diabolical purpose by the queen of Spain, who was regent in the minority of John II.

Pope Nicholas II. interette himself in behalf of the Jews.

Pope Nicholas II. in some measure made the Jews amends for the former cruelties they had endured, by granting them his protection. He suppressed the inquisitors, who continued to torment them unreasonably. He wrote likewise in his turn to Spain, to prevent, by his remonstrances, the forcing of their consciences, and maintained the voluntary converts in the privilege of entering into offices, which the inhabitants of Toledo had taken from them by a solemn edict. But they had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years before a new storm arose from another quarter.

A new storm against them.

Sextus IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little Simon, supposed to have been murdered by the Jews in the city of Trent, in a most cruel manner. They still shew in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood, and two silver tumblers out of which they had drank it. The whole tragical story is painted at full length in a corner of one of the churches, dedicated to the little saint. This canonization drew great calamities upon the Jews, not only in the bishoprick of Trent, where they pretended the crime was committed, but also in all the territories of the republic of Venice. The preachers inflamed the people, who, wrought on by the notion of a false miracle, plundered and murdered all the Jews they met with. So great was the disorder, that the doge and senate were obliged to suppress it, and order the magistrates of Padua to treat the Jews like their other subjects, and prevent their being abused; because the report spread at Trent to them appeared a falsehood, contrived by art, for a certain end the senate would not examine into.

Decree of the senate of Venice in their favour.

They are banished from Trent.

They were all banished out of the city of Trent, where the magistrates were less equitable. But some time after they obtained the liberty of tarrying three days, because they carried on a considerable commerce. We are told, that some time after, the three days liberty were reduced to three hours, as a punishment for their obstinate defence of Buda against the Christians, in the last war with the Turks. However, Alexander VI. instead of persecuting, received them with abundant cordiality.

Being expelled Spain by Ferdinand the Catholic, and becoming fugitives, all those that came to Rome were ill-treated by their cruel brethren, who would have suffered them to die with hunger, if he had not succoured them. In effect, that pontiff, though a Spaniard by birth, and head of the church, understanding that the Jews, who had long been settled at Rome, lest the exiles in misery, without attempting to succour them, threatened to expel them, unless they altered their conduct, and gave their miserable brethren opportunities of settling in the ecclesiastical state. He

The Jews protected by Alexander VI.

thought it expedient to profit by Ferdinand's error, and to enlarge his revenues at the cost of others. There have been many who would not persecute the Jews, nor yet suffer their numbers to multiply in their states, by the conjunction of strangers. But the pope attended not to the reasons dictated by his religion, but would have the new comers have the same privileges at Rome with the old inhabitants.

The learned R. Jochanan was amongst these whom that pontiff's kindness had invited to Rome; he was a German, came from Constantinople, and was taken into the service of Picus count of Mirandola, as his preceptor. This prince, for many years, had been fond of the writings of the rabbies, and even of the casuists. He is reported to have said, that those who read the Hebrew books drew at the Fountain-Head; that the rivulets had flowed from thence to the Greeks, and that nothing but marshes and stagnate water were found among the Latins. He maintained, that Esdras had caused certain casuistical books to be written, which he had purchased at a great price, and that Sextus IV. had ordered them to be translated into the Latin language.

Naples was pitched upon as another place of retreat for the Spanish and Portugal refugees; but the inquisitors pursued them either with such rancour, or exercised such terrible oppressions under this pretence, that the people rebelled. The viceroy resolved to expel the Jews, that he might at once get rid of the inquisitors. He alledged, that the contagion having ceased, and the faith of the old inhabitants being pure and well known, there was no need of these cruel physicians, who made wounds, and kept them open, instead of closing them. His conduct was authorised afterwards by Charles V. who would not tolerate the Jews in his kingdom, nor in Sicily. The truth is, this prince hated them, and the impostures he had discovered seemed to justify him in it. This aversion, however, did not discourage one Ricci, a converted Jew, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatise on what he styled Celestial Agriculture. He was a physician in Germany, and produced fifty theorems and expositions of some points in theology, but it will be apparent to those who read them, that they deserve not the encomiums which some learned men have made on them; on the contrary, that they are far beneath the dignity of a sound and reasoning divine.

Some Jews come to Naples, and are persecuted.

Under the pontificate of Paul III. the Jews were become so powerful as to provoke the rage of cardinal Sadolet. He was bishop of Carpentras, in the diocese of Avignon, where the Jews had ever been tolerated, since Joan queen of Sicily made a present of this city to the pope. They had their synagogues there, as they have at this day, though the city is in the midst of France, from whence they were banished. The prelate, not able to bear it, wrote to cardinal Farnese, representing, That the pope had never been such a benefactor to the Christians as he was to the Jews: that he had granted them titles, new privileges and honours, which rendered them haughty and insolent; inasmuch

The Jews are powerful under Paul III.

infomuch that the Christians were but like sheep in the midst of wolves: that they were driven from their houses, and even commonly from the cities where they ought to live at rest: that it was unaccountable, how a pope could so rigorously persecute the Lutherans, and grant at the same time so partial a protection, and such singular favours to the Jews, who seemed more worthy of his indignation. He observed, that the true method for a man to make his court, and to rise to ecclesiastical dignities, was to countenance this nation. He laid open the real source of this protection, and pointed out that this favour proceeded from the pope's treasurers, and the intendants of his finances, to whom the Jews were necessary men. However, some regard was paid to the cardinal's remonstrances, and in this case they did what is commonly done at Rome; when any abuse is discovered that tends to pecuniary purposes, they palliate it, and retrench its too manifest and glaring enormity. Some time after, Julius III. being persuaded the allegorical interpretations of the Gemara were dangerous, caused the Talmud to be burnt; so that all the books of the Gemara, which were in Italy, were destroyed, according to the Jewish writers.

The pope orders the Talmud to be burnt.

Learned men and learned works at Rome.

In this pontificate, Joseph Tzarphati, a famous rabbi, who had taught a long time at Rome, embraced christianity. He was born in France, but retired into Italy, where he explained the Talmud in the synagogues and the academy of Rome; and, to do more honour to Pope Julius, took the name of Monte. There were, moreover, at this time other famous Jews at Rome. Elias the Levite was born at Padua; but having lost all, when this city was taken, he was received by some cardinals, whom he taught Hebrew. Being an unfortunate man, he once more suffered, when the constable de Bourbon plundered Rome. He retired to Venice, and from thence to Germany; but being unaccustomed to the cold air of this country, he returned to Italy, where he died at eighty years of age. He was suspected to have great inclination for christianity, and this suspicion was a ground sufficient for his nation to hate him; but he did not abjure the faith of his ancestors, though some have believed and affirmed it. There was a woman at Rome, called Deborah, who then began to distinguish herself by her poems and other works.

Paul IV. issues two edicts against the Jews.

The people of the Jews met with a bitter and implacable enemy and persecutor in Paul IV. who, in the first year of his pontificate, issued two bulls, of which the Jewish writers vehemently complain. By the first he ordered each synagogue in his territories to pay ten ducats annually for the instruction of the catechumens who should abjure Judaism; and by the second, which was more rigorous, obliged the men to wear a yellow hat, and the women a veil of the same colour. He compelled them all to live in the same quarter of the city, the gates whereof were to be shut by night. They were deprived of all societies, offices, or professions among the Christians, without excepting phy-

sic and merchandise; for their commerce was confined to small wares, and they were forbid having more than one synagogue in each city. They were commanded to sell all their lands within six months, a circumstance which so lowered their price, that they could not get the fifth part of the value of them.

Cardinal Charles de Boromes, bishop of Milan, not only enacted several canons against them, in the first council he held in that metropolis, much of the same kind with those of Paul IV. before-mentioned; but desired all the Christian princes to do the same, and all this to promote, as much as possible, their conversion. But that edict shews, at the same time, they were become so numerous and powerful, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at Milan, but in other places of Italy, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted from all kind of converse with the Christians, as much as possible.

Council of Milan acts against them.

Pope Pius V. was still more severe towards the Jews, and the Constitution he published against them was sufficient to render them odious to all the world; for he accused them of hating the Christians; of ruining the ecclesiastical state by the exorbitant usuries they drew from it; of sheltering robbers, and thereby promoting theft; together with a train of various other vices. They were also charged with dealing in magic, and foretelling things to come; and, for these reasons, were expelled all the cities of the ecclesiastical state, except Rome and Ancona. But Sextus V. acted more frankly towards them, and candidly owned the advantage he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them.

They are banished, by Pope Pius V. out of the ecclesiastical states.

A rabbi, called Meir, or Magin, of French origin, who resided at Venice, came to Rome, and, being a man of address, was very agreeable to the pope. He dedicated a book to him, and wrote verses in his commendation, which were translated into Italian. He at length presented a petition to have the sole privilege of a silk manufacture, pretending to have an admirable secret for multiplying the worms. The pope granted him several privileges, and revoked all the contrary declarations and bulls of his predecessors, though they had been made with an oath and menace of excommunication. The hope of enriching himself, by laying a great duty upon every pound of silk, was the motive that induced Sextus V. to distinguish this Jew from all others, and to grant him a patent.

Grants of Sextus V. to R. Meir.

The Jews received but little favour from Clement VIII. for he renewed the bull of Pius V. who banished them out of the ecclesiastical state. Two things are observable in this bull: one, that he added the city Avignon to those of Ancona and Rome, where they still preserved their liberty of conscience; the other, that this pope founded the privilege of tolerating them at Rome upon this reason; that the Jews

Bull of Clement VIII. against the Jews.

Jews ought not to be removed far from Rome, that they might be always at hand to be converted, *as if conversions were more frequent at Rome than other places.* According to this principle, he should have given liberty of conscience to all heretics at Rome, and have filled the city with them.

Great numbers of Jews at Venice.

Besides other considerable settlements in the cities of Italy, the most noted one belonging to this nation was that of Venice. The republic received them all into its territories, and gave them very hospitable entertainment. They boast also to have in part deserved this kindness by their fidelity, and the great services they had rendered in the war with the Turks, and particularly at the siege of Candia. Here it was that Daniel Bombergue printed their Hebrew Bible the first time. This printer came from Antwerp to Venice, and chiefly dealt in Hebrew books. To print them the more correct, he employed the most learned Jews, whom he kept in pay, to the number of above an hundred. Felix Pratensis had the care of an edition of the Bible, with the Chaldeo paraphrases, and the commentaries of many rabbies, which he dedicated to pope Leo X. But this edition is not the best, because he could not regularly dispose the different readings of the Massoreths. Bombergue was, likewise, desirous of printing a good Hebrew grammar, and R. Abraham de Balmis was ordered to compile one accordingly: but he dying before it was finished, it was afterwards completed by R. Calonymas, a learned Jew then at Venice. Besides these books, he printed a great number of other works of the Jewish rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to those of his own nation.

Hebrew Bible printed.

Account of R. David de Pomis.

David the son of Isaac de Pomis retired to Venice; and, by way of acknowledgment, wrote a treatise to prove that the laws of that republic are of divine original. This learned rabbi asserted, that his family descended from one of the heads of the captives whom Titus carried from Jerusalem to Rome. He was a prodigy of learning in his tenderest years. His father lived at Spoleto; but the Germans having pillaged Rome, he was afraid of being ruined by the like fate, and, therefore, carried off all his effects, and went to seek a retreat somewhere else. He fell into the misfortune he sought to avoid; for Colonna's troops meeting the mules that carried his treasure, seized it, and reduced him to extreme poverty. He settled at Bevagna, where his son, who was born in the year 1525, intently applied himself to study. The manuscript of one of his ancestors, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, and who had then composed an Hebrew dictionary, accidentally fell into his hands. He not only studied it, but resolved to make another larger, in which he inserted the terms which the rabbies often make use of, though they are not Hebrew. He inserted into his work all that was valuable from those of Rabbin Nathan, Elias the Levite, and Kimki's

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roots. We find the Hebrew words, and the foreign terms, with the Latin and Italian, in this performance.

Venice maintained its rights in the war with the Uscoques. These robbers often pillaged the merchants of this nation, and the house of Austria pretended to dispute with the Venetians their privilege to protect them, because they were not Christians. But no regard was had to a pretension that deprived sovereigns of the right of defending their subjects; and the Jew, Henriques, was chosen by the senate to go into Dalmatia, to endeavour to accommodate this affair, which caused an unhappy war. R. Sichma, since named Simeon Luzati, at this time published here his Socrates; in which he shews that the greatest geniuses are weak and wandering, when they are guided by prejudice. He composed another treatise concerning the state of the nation.

He is protected by the republic of Venice.

At Venice also lived Samuel Nachmias, though he was of a Thessalonian family. Here he abjured Judaism, with David his son, and part of his family, which took the name Morosini. To shew that his conversion was sincere, he published an Italian treatise, intituled, *Via della Fede, or, the Way to the Faith*, in which he explains the ceremonies of his nation, and shews the usefulness of them; proves that the six hundred and thirteen precepts, which they distinguish in the law, are observed by nobody, and confutes all the Jewish superstitions and sects: he died in the year 1687, at Rome, whither he retired. Mardochai Korkos, who taught in the year 1672, performed a task that was no less bold than odious to the doctors of the nation; for he composed a treatise against the cabbala, and their prejudices for that science are so great, that all seem to shake the foundations of their religion who attack it; and, therefore, the doctors have had the precaution not to print it. At the same time that Bombergue had his press at Venice, some Jews from Spire, in Germany, were employed in the same manner at Soncino, a small town in the Duchy of Milan, near the river Oglio, where they began to print Hebrew books about the end of the fifteenth century. There were also famous rabbies and synagogues at Imola, Modena, Padua, &c. some of whom were much distinguished for learning.

Celebrated rabbies at Venice.

Gregory the Thirteenth did all in his power, by persuasion and argument, to promote their conversion. An ingenious preacher was chosen for this purpose, who was to prove, that the introduction of the gospel was designed to abolish the Jewish law; and to enlarge upon the continued series of calamities which had distinguished this nation, merely on account of their rejection of the Messiah. All the Jews, in rotation, were obliged to hear his discourses, and children above twelve years of age were ranked amongst his auditors. Seminaries, for the reception of the new converts, were erected, and hospitals for the sick: but, after

Strenuous efforts used by Pope Gregory XIII. to bring about the conversion of the Jews, but in vain.

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all;

all, the number of conversions was very circumscribed; and that judicial blindness which pervades the whole nation was not to be taken away by the well-meant effects of his Holiness; the time was not arrived, when the lost sheep of the house of Israel shall be gathered into the fold under one shepherd Jesus Christ. This brings the history of the Jews in Italy to the end of the seventeenth century.

They are oppressed in Germany, by the land-graves, in the 15th and 16th centuries.

They enjoy much peace among the reformed.

The Jews are greatly oppressed, and cruelly used, in Hungary and Moravia.

Many vicissitudes attended this unhappy people in Germany, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The liberty they sometimes enjoyed was obtained at a very great expence; the avarice of the landgraves prompting them to demand considerable subsidies.

Under the reformation, particularly at its beginning, the Jews experienced much quiet; as the Monks had enough to do with the reformed, without disturbing the peace of the Israelites. The Jewish books were spared, and the study of the languages cultivated. Luther himself, notwithstanding, censured them with an impetuosity which sometimes carried him beyond all bounds. In return for these outrages, the Jewish doctors inveighed publicly against the Reformation.

The Jews in Hungary were greatly diminished towards the end of the sixteenth century. The emperor Rodolphus laid a double tax upon them, which, as they were unable to pay it, obliged them to quit the country the sooner. They had synagogues in Moravia; but they suffered a cruel persecution in 1574, all the professors of their religion being sentenced to the flames, and many were burnt before their complaints reached the ears of Maximilian, who compassionated their wretched situation. They, likewise, suffered very much in Franconia, from various ill-founded and vague reports, which operated to their prejudice. They were afterwards, in some measure, recompensed for their misfortunes by the duke of Brunswick's kindness, who permitted them to settle in his dominions.

In Poland, the Jews have always received greater favour than in any other country. They have their stately synagogues and academies, and their court of judicature is endowed with singular authority, since it is allowed to determine in civil as well as religious cases. We are told, they have had the singular privilege of coining money, because shekels have been found there with an Hebrew inscription; but as the tomb in which they are said to have been found is rather suspicious, we cannot ground upon it a prerogative usually vested in sovereigns alone.

This country is looked upon as a nursery of learned rabbies, and the country to which the Jews send their youth to study the Talmud and the rites of their religion. In speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rabbies who were an honour to their nation. This kingdom hath produced one man, who not only renounced Judaism, but wrote

and published thirty-seven demonstrations against it. His name was Solomon. He had been bound for one of his brethren, and committed to prison, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his conversion to Christianity; so that this circumstance, together with the affected swoln style in which he wrote, has afforded reason to many for suspecting his sincerity. However that be, he was an excellent casuist, well versed in theological matters, and an able defender of the Jewish religion.

The city of Hamburgh is called a Little Jerusalem. The Jews are observed to have been more tractable in that city than elsewhere, for a great number of them were converted in this century by one Edzas, or Efdras, who made it his business to instruct and confirm them in the Christian faith. A divine of that city once asserted, that if those instructions were armed with some violence, they would become more effectual: but the senate now suppressed his immoderate zeal, which tended only to lessen the number of their citizens, and had already caused some popular commotions among them.

Ferdinand III. granted them great privileges, because, when the city of Prague was besieged by Carolus Gustavus, who was lately declared generalissimo of the armies of Sweden and Germany, they defended themselves with a surprising fidelity and vigour. The city was already taken, and the garrison called upon to capitulate; but the conqueror having refused honourable conditions, they sustained many assaults with unshaken fortitude. The Jews distinguished themselves in these assaults, and defended their post with a resolution that merited praises and extraordinary privileges.

From various circumstances, it appears that no considerations have been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the Christians of Prague and the Jews. On the contrary, they hate one another; and as it must be confessed, the Jews have occasionally been guilty of such enormous deeds as must render them not only suspected, but odious to the Christians; so likewise it must be granted that the Christians have subjected them to conformity to some practices that were incompatible with their profession, and of course productive of dangerous commotions. Nevertheless, they are so numerous in this country, as to fill, of themselves, the third city of Prague, but they are poor and miserable, flock about strangers, and submit to the meanest services to obtain a living. They had enjoyed in Hungary the privilege of farming the revenue, till Ferdinand II. took it from them by an edict, notwithstanding which, they found means to preserve the advantages of it, since Ferdinand III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it by a new edict, which condemned those to the loss of their places who admitted the Jews into any of them, alledging, as the cause, "that they have neither conscience or honesty, and are, therefore, unworthy

Jews at Hamburgh.

They are favoured by the emperor Ferdinand III. of Bohemia.

Inveterate enmity between the Christians and Jews of Prague.

worthy to enjoy the privileges of Hungary." However, they continue there still, not only under the protection of the grand signor, in those parts under his dominions, but in those of the empire likewise.

The Jews were in such credit in Vienna, about ten years afterwards, that rabbi Zachary obtained them liberty to build a stately synagogue there, and to add an academy, to revive the study of the sciences, which seemed extinct in this country. He had settled a pension for twenty-four persons, who were to read the Talmud every hour, day and night. One relieved the other; so that the school was always open, and never found without a doctor. But this building, however, was scarcely finished, when the emperor drove all the Jews from his capital, seized the synagogue, and turned it into a church. They complain, that the superstitious empress, imagining the toleration the court gave the Jews occasioned her barrenness, pressed the emperor to banish them; but, after the death of this princess, they were restored to Vienna.

The emperor had a new subject of discontent against them in the Turkish war, because they assisted the infidels to maintain the siege of Buda, and distinguished themselves by their valour. But this was in reality an act of fidelity they owed their sovereign; and though this resistance rendered them odious, not only to the people of Germany but Italy, where they rose against them; yet we cannot condemn them, since they were then subject to the Ottoman empire. Upon the whole, the emperor favours them at Vienna; admits them into affairs of state, and gives honourable titles to those who are employed, or purchase them. The people, indeed, jealous of the riches they heap together, endeavour sometimes, by violent tumults and commotions, to strip and plunder them.

In Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, Valachia, and in the rich cities of Germany, the Jews are numerous and flourishing. If they have been expelled Nuremberg, they are spread abroad in the country towns, and have their synagogue at Erfurt, which is in the neighbourhood. In the city of Augsburg, they had formerly a synagogue and academy, and their doctors and disciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place. But they have since been banished from it, and must buy the liberty of coming into it, at the price of a florin for every hour they stay in the place.

State of the
Jews in Hol-
land.

There is no state in Europe where the Jews live more quietly than in Holland. They enrich themselves by trade, and, through the lenity of the government, possess their acquisitions without fear. There are two sorts of Jews in Holland; some are Germans, and others come from Portugal and Spain. They are divided about some ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the essentials of religion were concerned. But the real cause of this extreme hatred between those two sorts of Jews, if we may credit the Germans, is the dissimulation and remissness of those of Portugal and Spain, who live in those countries, and

conform in all things with the Popish religion, for the sake of enriching themselves, and then retire to Holland, to enjoy, with more safety, the fruits of their hypocrisy. Into this republic the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who make another part of this nation, retired, to avoid the cruelties of the inquisition. Strada accuses one of their leaders of having intrigued in the war of the Low Countries, and kindled the fire of enmity, by promising a potent supply. His name was Michez. He was a Spaniard born; but the fear of punishment had obliged him to seek sanctuary at Antwerp, where he grew into the knowledge and affection not only of the magistrates of this city, but of Mary queen of Hungary, who reigned at that time. Going from Antwerp to Venice, and from thence to Constantiuople, he wrote to the malecontents he knew, and to the Protestants of Antwerp, intimating, "that it was their best way to adhere constantly to the league they had made against the Catholics, because the grand signor was meditating designs against the Christians; and in a short time would so embarrass king Philip, as not to give him leisure to think of the affairs of the Netherlands." His letters were read in the senate of Antwerp, and gave great encouragement to the allies, but Michez did not make good his promise. He followed his master's views, who turned his arms against the kingdom of Cyprus. It only appears, that the Jews were more secure in the Netherlands than in Spain, since Michez sought a retreat there; but it was but forty years after that the refugees of Spain and Portugal began to settle in Holland. Their first assembly at Amsterdam occasioned some jealousy in the city, where all things were suspected during the war, which continued with great vigour. They were taken for Roman Catholics, who shut themselves up, and concealed their images. They say, they were pursued into the place of their religious worship; but, as they found nothing but Hebrew books, and the law of Moses, they laid no other condition on them, than to pray for the prosperity of the city, which they promised to do; and at the same time they erected their first synagogue, which they called the House of Ben Jacob, because that was the name of a rich Jew by whom it was founded. They also raised another synagogue, which they called Neve Schalom, that is, the House of Peace.

Settlement of
the Portu-
guese Jews.

First syna-
gogue at Am-
sterdam.

A second syna-
gogue.

Account of
Spinosa.

Spinosa, who made himself famous by the singularity of his tenets, was born at Amsterdam in 1632. His parents were Portuguese Jews, in good circumstances, but he received nothing but a bed from his father's possessions, and always lived in poverty. He did not aspire to follow the law, and imitate the rabbies, but learnt the trade of polishing glasses, and making spectacles. He compared himself to a serpent that bites his tail, because he had nothing left at the year's end; though he lived upon milk and gruel. He had learnt Latin of Vanden Ende, who taught then

then at Amsterdam; and who, retiring to Rikpus, embarked in the chevalier of Rohan's conspiracy, and was executed. It is pretended, it was this pedant that sowed the first seeds of Atheism in Spinoza's mind. But it was Descartes's philosophy which gave him a dislike to the principles of the rabbies. He did not find in their writings those evident truths built upon demonstrations, which Descartes recommends to his disciples.

When he was perceived to neglect the sabbath and synagogue, they attempted, in vain, to retain him by a pension of a thousand livres: by this refusal, he incurred so violent an hatred, that it was resolved to stab him. As he came from the old Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam, he saw a man with a dagger in his hand, who endeavoured to stab him; and, indeed, the blow only reached his coat, which he kept in memory of this event. Not thinking himself safe in his native country, where the Jews were numerous and potent, he sought a retreat near Leyden, and afterwards at the Hague. He had the great excommunication thundered against him; but he protested against this sentence given in his absence, and signified his protestation by a writing in Spanish, addressed to the rabbies in the synagogue. He published first a geometrical demonstration of Descartes's principles, afterwards his *Meditations*; and at last produced the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which he formed a new system, that makes him much esteemed by those who are called Free-thinkers, in Holland, Germany, and France, from whom he received several invitations and large encouragements, but he refused them all, and died at the Hague in 1677, aged forty-four years.

This famous writer left behind him a sect that has espoused his principles. We cannot tell whether it be numerous, since it is constituted of persons dispersed in different places, who form no body or society. As he had many followers and disciples, so also had he many opposers of his own nation, particularly the learned Balthazar Orobio, a Spaniard by birth, and physician by profession. His parents, who professed the Romish religion, taught him betimes to dissemble like themselves. He studied philosophy, and became metaphysical reader in the university of Salamanca, being a lover of this science, which was then much cultivated. He afterwards became a physician at Seville, where he was seized by the inquisition, because he did not sufficiently conceal his religion, to remove all suspicion. At length, tired with dissembling, he came to Amsterdam, was circumcised, and made open profession of Judaism. He practised physic there with great reputation, and assures us, that his pressing occupations did not permit him to apply himself to study as he could wish. When Spinoza's book appeared, he at first despised it on account of its author; but when he received Bredenburg's answer to it, in which that author agreed with Spinoza in two dangerous positions, he seemed to hesitate about them. Orobio undertook to confute them both, and in the

execution of this task proved himself an able metaphysician.

It has been affirmed by several authors, Whether the ten tribes are in China. that the ten tribes were still preserved in China. One of the former tell us, that there was a synagogue at Pekin, which had cost them ten thousand crowns to repair. He asserted, that they had been settled in this province above five hundred years, and that they religiously preserved one of the five books of Moses, which he called *Sepher Thora*. He could not read Hebrew, having neglected the study of it in his youth; so that he was excluded from the offices of the synagogue, which his brother exercised, because he understood the language; but he repeated the historical parts of the Old Testament, particularly those of Abraham, Judith, and Esther. He added, that there were in the capital of the province of Chequiam many synagogues, and Israelitish families; for they gave themselves that name, because, being the posterity of the ten tribes, they knew not that of the Jews. Alvarez, who had lived in China a considerable time, affirms, that they had been settled there above 600 years, and had obtained several privileges on account of their services and fidelity to king Hun; that they were very numerous in some provinces, and had synagogues in most of their great cities, but more especially in that of Honan, and in Kai-tong-fu, where they have a repository for the sacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preserve an ancient Bible in Hebrew characters. These Jews, however, we are told, know nothing of Hebrew, and only mention the names of Abraham, Isaac, and David; are very ignorant and remiss in their law, even to the neglecting of circumcision, because the Chinese upbraid them with the cruelty of performing the ceremony on innocent babes.

In England, the Jews attained many In England. privileges under the protectorate of Cromwell: that sagacious usurper, and his parliament, foresaw many advantages which might accrue from granting them protection; they were accordingly patronised more by him than by any of the former kings; and the privileges then granted them are continued to the present day.

Nothing more particularly occurs in the Conclusion. history of the Jews, worth notice. Their present history is pretty well known: that general toleration of all religion, which prevails almost universally, includes the miserable descendents of Abraham; and though they retain their separate communities, and are regulated by the ordinances of Moses, they are not at all persecuted, but are permitted the free exercise of their religion, without any molestation. This people are dispersed over the whole earth; and every government affords, by them, some living testimonies of the truth of divine revelation.

From the intire history of the Jews, taken in all its parts, it is beyond a doubt that UNBELIEF has been the source of all

Unbelief the real source of all their past

their

and present
calamities.

their calamities. A view of the remarkable events which occurred in the earliest ages, exhibits a striking display of the divine mercy and justice, as well as the certain effects of incredulity and impenitence. Disobedience succeeded calamity, and calamity deliverance: obedience met its reward, and disobedience its punishment. Hence it follows, that as the supreme and ultimate felicity of man consists in a conformity to the divine will, and as that will is only communicated by divine revelation, which holds forth competent instructions throughout the whole, it is his highest wisdom and happiness to receive the same with all the deference due to its origin, and to confirm himself and others in the belief and practice

of it, by every means which his benevolent Creator hath put in his power. But notwithstanding the exertion of God's irresistible power, and the repeated displays of his goodness on their behalf, the Jews were no sooner freed from the woes they deprecated, than they fell into doubts, and set the power of the Most High at defiance. In succeeding times, their conduct seems invariable; and to this day they appear bent on their own destruction, by continuing in obstinacy and unbelief. God grant that the scales of ignorance may speedily fall from their eyes; and that they may, as individuals and as a nation, be brought to behold the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as it shines in the person and face of Jesus Christ!

A P P E N D I X.

ARTICLES OF THE JEWISH FAITH.

THE modern Jews comprise their faith briefly in thirteen Articles; which, according to the learned Buxtorf's Account of the Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, is delivered in their prayer-book in the following manner:

I. I BELIEVE, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whose name be blessed, is the creator and governor of all creatures; and that he alone hath performed, doth perform, and will perform all things.

II. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whose name be blessed, is One in unity which hath nothing like it; and that he hath been, is, and will be, our GOD.

III. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whose name be blessed, is not corporeal, nor to be comprehended by any corporeal measure or capacity; and that there exists not any thing which is like him.

IV. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whose name be blessed, is the First and the Last.

V. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator alone, whose name be blessed, and no other, is to be worshipped.

VI. I believe, with a perfect faith, that all the words of the prophets are true.

VII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the prophecies (rules and lessons) of Moses, our master, on whom be peace, are true; and that he is the father of all wise men, as well of those who went before him, as of those who have come after him.

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VIII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the whole law, which at this day is in our hands, was delivered by Moses our master, on whom be peace.

IX. I believe, with a perfect faith, that this law is never to be changed, nor any other law to be delivered from the Creator, whose name be blessed.

X. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whose name be blessed, knoweth all the deeds and thoughts of men; as it is written, "He fashioneth their hearts alike: he considereth all their works."

XI. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator will reward those who keep his commandments, and punish those who transgress them.

XII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Messiah will come, and though he delays his coming, I will nevertheless always look for him until he comes.

XIII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the dead will be raised to life, when it shall be so decreed by the Creator, whose name be blessed, and whose memory be exalted through time and eternity.

Upon these articles, say the Jews in their writings, the religion of Moses, and the faith of the Jews, have always stood; though these articles were not, according to the same authors, reduced to writing and method till near the five thousandth year of the world, this having been the work of Rabbi Moshebar Maimon, who died, say the Jews, in the year of the world 4964: that is, in the year of Christ 1104. And this confession of faith the Jews are solemnly

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enjoined

enjoined to receive and use as their creed, and to live and die in it. The rabbin above-mentioned enjoined this use of it on pain of loss of the Jewish name, and of eternal salvation. But it is visible enough, that his grand design, in the composing and enjoining of this creed was, to guard against the propagation of the gospel on the side of his own nation, and fortify the aversion of the Jews to Christ and his religion.

Opinions of the Modern JEWS concerning the MESSIAH.

ALL the Jews agree, that a Messiah is promised to the Jewish nation, and accordingly they pray, in their daily offices, "that he may come quickly, and in their days:" but what sort of a man he is to be, or the quality or condition he is to appear in, together with the time of his coming, is matter of great doubt and debate among them. It is, however, generally believed, that the Messiah is to appear as a plebeian, or vulgar person; but that he will far excel the rest of men in manifold virtue: that he will marry, and beget children, who will succeed him in his kingdom.

"When, say they, the Messiah shall have gathered together all the Jews from all the nations and parts of the world, and shall have conducted them into the land flowing with milk and honey, he shall celebrate a royal banquet with great plenty, pomp, and rejoicing; and shall invite all the Jews to it, and receive them with a most courteous welcome. At this banquet every one of the Jews shall be seated at a golden table. On this occasion there shall be prepared and served up an abounding store of the noblest and most delicious animals for the food of man, as fish, fowl, &c. that ever God created. The tables shall be piled with the noblest, the richest, and most inspiring and enlivening wines that ever man tasted, or the earth produced, since the beginning; for they are produced in paradise, and are to this day preserved in Adam's wine-cellar for this grand regale."

Let us now see a little, after what manner the Jews are to live in their ancient country under the administration of the Messiah. We are told, that the strange nations, which they shall suffer to live, shall build them houses and cities, till them ground, and plant them vineyards, and all this without looking for any reward of their labour. Those surviving nations will likewise voluntarily offer them all their wealth and furniture: and princes and nobles shall attend them, and be ready at their nod to pay them all manner of obedience; while they themselves shall be surround-

ed with grandeur and pleasure, appearing abroad in apparel glittering with jewels, like priests of the unction consecrated to God.

The Jews will then likewise, we are told, breathe a pure and wholesome air; and for this matter they rest particularly on the following passage, "Behold I create a new heaven and a new earth," Isa. lxv. 17. They will therefore be perpetually in a flourishing state of health, and as long-lived as antediluvians; enjoying in old age all the vivacity of youth; as it is written, say they, "They shall bring forth fruit in old age," &c.

For the fertility of the country in those happy times, they tell us, that wheat being once sown, the ground will every year after yield that grain spontaneously without any more sowing or culture; as in Hof. xiv. 7. A Jew shall no sooner wish for rain in his field, his garden, or upon a single herb, than God will grant it him; as in Zech. x. 1. In those times they shall gather their harvests and vintages in the highest safety and tranquillity, and shall be in no danger from any enemy whatsoever; as in Isa. lxii. 8. The trees shall daily yield new fruit, the earth, without any culture or assistance from the hand of man, daily produce plum-cakes and filken garments, as it now does toad stools and mushrooms. The women shall daily bring forth children, according to Jer. xxxi. 8.

There shall no more be wars, or rumours of wars, upon earth; but a solid and eternal peace shall be settled among men, and between men and beasts, as in Hof. ii. 1. Isa. xi. 6. The Messiah shall be arbiter of the world: and when menaces of war shall appear among the heathen nations, differences shall be accommodated, and peace preserved and established by his mediation; so that not a sword shall be drawn; as in Isa. ii. 4.

In those days the Jews shall swim in perpetual joys and pleasures; and, next to the daily celebration of the high praises of God, they shall be engaged in nothing but nuptial feasts and mirthful assemblies, and other the like scenes of festivity and plenty; and all of them shall be replenished with wisdom and the knowledge of God; as it is written in Jer. xxxiii. 10.

In a word, the felicity of this holy nation, in the times of the Messiah, will be such, that the exalted condition cannot enter into the conception of man; much less can it be couched in human expression. At least, this is what the rabbins say of it; but the intelligent reader will, doubtless, pronounce it THE PARADISE OF FOOLS.



T H E
L I F E
O F
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F.

W I T H A D D I T I O N S A N D I M P R O V E M E N T S.

Account of
Josephus's ex-
traction.

TO have been honourably descended is the pride and boast of various nations: in the line of the priesthood it is supremely illustrious: on which account, I may assume the credit of an extractions superior to the generality of my brethren; since, for a succession of ages, my paternal ancestors have been priests of the highest of the twenty-four ranks. On the mother's side, I am descended of the regal race; as she was of the *Asmonæan* line, in which, for a considerable time, the royal government was united with the priesthood.

His family.

My great grandfather was named Simon, otherwise Psellus, who flourished during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, the son of the high-priest, called Simon. Psellus was father of nine sons, of whom Matthias, who took the surname of Aphlias, espoused a daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, who bore him a son, called Matthias, whose surname was Curtus. This Curtus was father of a son, who was born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander, and called Joseph, who was the father of Matthias, born in the tenth year of Archelaus; and this Matthias was my father; my birth taking place in the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. My sons are three: Hyrcanus, Justus, and Agrippa, respectively born in the fourth,

seventh, and ninth years of the emperor Vespasian. This is a genuine and concise account of my family, as it stands upon indubitable and incontrovertible record.

All ranks of people in Jerusalem held my father Matthias in the highest veneration, and that far more on account of his virtues than of his honourable descent. I had a brother, also named Matthias, with whom I was educated from my infancy. With a tolerable judgment, and a most retentive memory, I made such a rapid progress in my studies, that, when I had attained my fourteenth year, I sometimes received the distinguished honour of being consulted, even on difficult points of law, by the high-priest and elders. Being desirous of acquainting myself with the fundamental principles of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, in my sixteenth year I entered upon this task, with an intent to unite myself with that society whose doctrines I should most approve upon examination.

With great assiduity, though not without frequent disgusts, I passed through a kind of noviciate in each of these sects successively: nor did I stop here; but, having learnt that a certain person, named Banus, had withdrawn himself from all commerce with the world, to reside in deserts and solitude, I deter-

He applies himself to the study of the then prevailing sects.

determined to become his pupil also. This man wore no other cloathing than the bark of trees; he lived solely on the spontaneous productions of the fields and woods, and, in order to abate the violence of his inordinate appetites, constantly bathed himself in cold water. Having subjected myself to these and such-like austerities, for near three years, and my curiosity being satisfied, I quitted our hermit, and returned to the city; and being now in my nineteenth year, began to apply myself to the study of the civil law; for which purpose, I entered into the society of the Pharisees, whose doctrines bear some resemblance to those of the ancient Stoics.

Adopts that
of the Phari-
sees.

In going to
Rome, in be-
half of his
friend, he
is respect-
ed, and won-
derfully ef-
fected.

In my six-and-twentieth year, I made a journey to Rome, on the following interesting occasion. Several priests, many of them men of exemplary characters, and my intimate friends, had been sent by Felix, who was at that time governor of Judæa, upon a very frivolous pretext, to justify themselves before Cæsar. Such was the noble conduct of these men, upon this occasion, that I resolved to afford them every assistance in my power. Accordingly I embarked for Rome, and our vessel, in which were nearly six hundred persons, was lost in a violent storm in the Adriatic Gulph. Out of the whole ship's company, eighty persons only were saved, who, after swimming the whole night, were taken up early the next morning by a vessel from Cyrene. I now contracted an intimacy at Dicaarchia (the Puteoli of the Italians) with one Alityrus, a comedian, and a Jew by birth: this man stood high in the favour of Nero. The empress Poppæa, to whom I was introduced by Alityrus, instantly, at my request, obtained the releasement of the priests: after which I departed for my own country, loaded with presents.

Finding the populace, upon my return, in a violent ferment, and much inclined to revolt, I used every endeavour to bring them to a due sense of their folly. I represented to them the great superiority of their opponents, both in respect to their military and every other qualification, and strongly urged to them the phrenzy of risking the fate of all they held dear, on such unequal terms. In this manner, I endeavoured to divert them from an enterprise, which appeared to me big with the most fatal consequences. My arguments, however, instead of producing the desired effect, served only to render me suspected by them of secretly favouring the views of the enemy, and thereby my safety became very precarious.

He joins the
chief men
among the
Pharisees.

As the insurgents had already possessed themselves of Fort Antonia, I was necessitated to fly for refuge to the inner temple. Manahem, and some other of the chiefs of the party, being now taken off, I united myself with the high-priest, and the leading men among the Pharisees, all of whom were totally undetermined what measures to pursue in the pre-

sent distracted state of affairs, the whole city being in arms. Perceiving that all opposition would be vain, we pretended partly to adopt the sentiments of faction, and contented ourselves with recommending it to them to act with caution, and to delay the execution of their designs till the enemy should have drawn off a little; urging that Gessius, whose force was considerable, would certainly arrive in time to quell the insurrection. He returned, at length, but with a remnant only of his army; having been defeated in an engagement, in which the major part of his troops were cut to pieces: and this accident, in fact, laid the foundation of the ruin of our nation; the revolted being so much elated with this success, they conceived the ridiculous notion, that they should, with equal ease, be able to repel the whole force of the Romans. Just at this juncture, numbers of the Jews were massacred in the most horrible manner.

In many of the great towns on the confines of Judæa, the Syrians and the Jews had, for some time past, resided together, in the most friendly manner: but at this time, the former, watching their opportunity, rose upon the latter, and put them all to death, without distinction either of sex or age; and this without the shadow of a pretence; as neither an intention to revolt, nor so much as any disaffection to the Roman government, had been imputed to the unhappy victims. Amongst all the actors in this bloody scene, the Scythopolitans distinguished themselves the most, by their contempt of every ordinance both human and divine.

These people were not satisfied with compelling the Jews, resident among them, to take up arms against those of their own tribe, who had laid siege to the city (a thing expressly prohibited by our law), but having, by their assistance, repulsed the assailants, in direct violation of every tie of gratitude, justice, and common faith, they indiscriminately put them to the sword, to the number of several thousands.

The leading men among the Jews, finding themselves, after the defeat of Gessius, in a very feeble and insecure state, and exposed to the attacks of a powerful and restless faction, now judged it highly requisite to adopt some plan for their preservation from the dangers which surrounded them. With this view, they thought proper to depute me, together with two other priests, Joazar and Judas (both men of respectable character) to Galilee; the inhabitants of which place were, at that juncture, divided in their sentiments, part of them siding with the Romans, and the rest opposing them. The object of our commission was, to prevail on the malecontents to lay down their arms, at least for the present, and to deposit them in the hands of their governors; abstaining from all acts of violence, till they should have acquired further intelligence of the real designs of the Romans.

Josephus, with
others, deputed
as commissioners
to quiet the
common people.

Upon

Disagreement
between the
Galileans and
Sepphorites.

Upon my arrival in Galilee, I found the Galileans and the Sepphorites engaged in a strong contest, and at the eve of an open rupture. The Galileans were about to invade the country of the Sepphorites, on account of the attachment of the latter to the Romans, and of their adherence to Senius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria. Both parties, however, were at length appeased, by the permission which I obtained for them, to visit, as often as they pleased, the hostages which they had put into the hands of Gessius, and which were detained at Dora, a city of Phœnicia.

Account of an
insurrection
at Tiberias.

An insurrection had taken place in Tiberias also, on the following occasion. The citizens were divided into three parties; the first of which, headed by Julius Capella, in conjunction with Herod, the son of Marius, Herod, the son of Gamalus, and Compfus, the son of Compfus, was composed of men of acknowledged worth and distinction: Crispus, the brother of Compfus, who had, several years before, been appointed governor of the town by Agrippa the Great, did not, however, enter into the party, residing at that time upon his own estate, on the other side of Jordan; this party was, to a man, closely attached to the interests of the emperor and the Roman people; and the only person of rank who sided with the opposite faction was Pistus, who was thereto induced by a paternal attachment to his son Justus. The very dregs of the people formed the second faction; and the third was headed by Justus, the son of Pistus, aforementioned.

This man, though he did not openly declare for a war, yet certainly favoured that measure in his heart, in the design of advancing his own fortune, by the troubles which he expected it would give birth to. With this view, he endeavoured to sound the inclinations of the people, by an oration, in which he obliquely hinted only at the matter in question; representing to them, "that their city, in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, the founder of it, had always been considered as belonging to Galilee, and as being the capital of the province. From the time of Agrippa the father, to that of Felix, when Nero conferred the government of the city on the younger Agrippa, this claim of precedency was never once disputed. In short, the Sepphorites never arrogated to themselves any superiority over the people of the neighbouring cities, till subsequently to the period in which they readily yielded up their necks to the Roman yoke, and in which, in consequence of the above revolution, the records and treasury were removed."

In this manner did Justus tamper with and incense the minds of the people against the emperor, till finding them at length disposed to coincide in his views, he boldly told them, that as the Sepphorites appeared to be so inseparably connected with the Romans that their union seemed indissoluble, it was absolutely necessary, for the preservation of their privileges, they should immediately

take up arms against the Sepphorites, who had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the rest of their neighbours, that they need not doubt of being powerfully supported in their attack upon them.

In this insinuating manner did he confound the judgment of men of sense far superior to his own, and thereby effect the design he had in view. He was, also, so well versed in the Greek language, as, by palliating some matters, and misrepresenting others, to give such a picture of the state of affairs at that period, as was best calculated to promote his purposes. Of the wicked arts and malice of this man and his brother, by which they reduced their country to the very brink of ruin, I shall here give a more particular detail. Some of the citizens having been won by persuasion, and others compelled by Justus to take arms, he put himself at their head, and marched against the Hippenians and Gadarenes, dwelling about Tiberias and Scythopolis, whose habitations he utterly destroyed.

Having said thus much of the state of affairs at Tiberias, I shall now recount what passed during the same period at Gischala. The propensity which many of the citizens manifested, to throw off the Roman yoke, was strongly combated by John, the son of Levi, who exerted himself to the utmost to restrain them within the bounds of allegiance and duty: but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; as the people of the country round, the Gadarenes, the Gabaragæans, and the Tyrians, having united their forces, made themselves masters of the place, and, after burning and utterly destroying it, again retreated towards their respective cities. But John, who was highly incensed at this outrage, collecting his troops together, pursued and overtook them, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated them; after which he rebuilt Gischala, encompassing it, for the greater security, with a wall of considerable strength.

During this whole period, the inhabitants of Gamala continued firm in their attachment to the Romans, of which they gave a striking proof, on the following occasion. King Agrippa's lieutenant, named Philip, the son of Jacimus, having miraculously effected his escape from Jerusalem, at the very time that the royal palace was closely invested by the enemy, was a second time in imminent peril of his life, from Manahem and the assassins his companions, but was again providentially preserved by some of his Babylonian relations, who chanced to be then at Jerusalem.

On the fifth day after this his second escape, he disguised himself in a cap composed of hair, and in a short time arrived at one of the villages, in the neighbourhood of the castle of Gamala, to which place many of his subjects instantly repaired to him. He was here seized with a sudden fever; which incident, by a wonderful interposition of Providence, proved the means of preserving his life. When he was first attacked by this disorder, he dispatched a person, in whom he could confide,

State of affairs in Gischala.

Gamala adheres to the Romans.

with letters to Agrippa and Berenice, who were then on a journey, to meet Cestius at Berytus. These letters the messenger was ordered to deliver into the hands of Varus, to whom the king and the queen had committed the care of the palace during their absence. The news of Philip's escape from Jerusalem gave Varus great uneasiness, lest the incident should be productive of his dismissal from the service of the king and queen. Varus, therefore, represented the messenger to the people as an impostor, and put him to death on that pretext, asserting, with the utmost effrontery, that, to his certain knowledge, Philip was still at Jerusalem, and engaged in the defence of that city against the Romans. A considerable time being elapsed from the period of the messenger's departure, and no kind of intelligence having arrived from him, Philip deputed another person, with fresh letters; and this man too Varus put to death, on the same pretext as he had before used. This conduct of Varus was occasioned by an idle notion, which had been suggested to him by the Syrians of Cæsarea, that the Romans would, doubtless, sacrifice Agrippa to their resentment of the Jewish revolt, and that, in such case, himself, being of the race of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of Libanus, must inevitably succeed to the regal dignity. Thus prepossessed, Varus put in practice every artifice, to conceal from the king the knowledge of what passed; for which purpose, he intercepted all letters addressed to his majesty, and shut up every pass, by which any intelligence could possibly have been communicated to him. With the view of ingratiating himself with the Syrians of Cæsarea, he put to death great numbers of the Jews, and also offered to engage with the Trachonites of Batanea, in a war against the Jewish inhabitants of Ecbatane, who are styled Babylonians. He accordingly dispatched twelve of the principal Jews in Cæsarea to Ecbatane, to acquaint the inhabitants, in his name, that he had heard they meditated a revolt; that he was much disinclined to credit the report, but that he required them, as a testimony of their innocence, immediately to lay down their arms, and also to depute to him seventy of the chiefs of their party, to justify the conduct of the rest. Upon the receipt of this message, the inhabitants of Ecbatane made the strictest scrutiny into the cause of this rumour, which they found to be utterly destitute of foundation: in obedience, however, to the requisition of Varus, they sent to him seventy of the principal men of the place, who were all massacred by him, save one single person, on the road to Cæsarea; after which he marched his troops against Ecbatane. But, by a second wonderful interposition of Providence, the person who had been thus miraculously preserved from destruction, reached the city before him, and made the inhabitants acquainted with the horrible treachery which had been perpetrated upon his associates. The people instantly ran to arms, and, quitting the city, retired, with their wives and children, into the castle of Gamala, leaving behind them their

effects and cattle, to a very considerable value. No sooner was this event communicated to Philip, than he instantly repaired to the castle of Gamala, where he was received with open arms by the insurgents, who unanimously made him a tender of their lives and fortunes, urgently soliciting him to put himself at their head, and to lead them against Varus and his Cæsarean abettors; for a report was now spread, that the king had been assassinated. Philip, however, endeavoured to allay the ferment of their minds, by urging to them the favours they had received from the king, the formidable power of the Romans, and the imminent dangers they would expose themselves to by a revolt; and his endeavours at length proved successful. The king, being, at length, made acquainted with the misconduct of Varus, and with a design which he had formed, to put to death all the Jews in Cæsarea, together with their wives and children, to the number of several thousands, removed him from his government, which he conferred on Æquus Modius; as I have before mentioned: Gamala and the neighbouring country being retained in their allegiance to the Romans, by the prudent measures taken by Philip.

Having acquired the most authentic intelligence of the above transactions, upon my arrival in Galilee, I dispatched a letter to the council at Jerusalem, requesting to be honoured with their commands: in answer to which, they sent me orders to remain where I was, and make the best provision possible for the defence of the place, retaining my colleagues with me, if they should be inclined to stay. A large sum of money having been collected on account of tithes, my associates had taken the resolution of returning home, but, at my request, readily consented to continue with me a short time longer, till I could arrange matters more happily. We, accordingly, went together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs distant from Tiberias, from whence I sent a message to the senate and some of the principal persons of that city, requiring their attendance. They came in obedience to my summons, accompanied by Justus; and I acquainted them, that the council at Jerusalem had commissioned myself and my associates to confer with them on the subject of demolishing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected in their city, and had ornamented with many curious images and figures of animals, which was expressly prohibited by our laws; and I earnestly desired that the business might be carried into execution without delay. In this request I was strongly opposed by Capella and his party; but I, with much difficulty, at length, carried my point.

While this contest was depending, Jesus, the son of Sapphia, putting himself at the head of a body of men, composed of the very dregs of the people, and being joined by a party of the seditious Galileans, set the royal palace on fire, in hopes, from the rich and brilliant appearance of every thing they saw, that they should obtain a princely

At the command of the Jewish sanhedrim, Josephus continues in Galilee.

Herod's palace rifled and burnt by the rebels who put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the sword.

princely booty by the plunder of it: and, in fact, they carried off many valuable effects, notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent them. Having settled all matters with Capella and the Tiberians, we departed from Bethmaus for the Upper-Galilee, just at the time that the faction of Jesus had put all the Greeks, residing in Tiberias, to the sword, and all those, indiscriminately, who had taken part against them previous to the war. When I received intelligence of this outrage, I was highly incensed, and repaired immediately to Tiberias, at which place were many valuable effects belonging to the king, (amongst others, several rich candlesticks of Corinthian workmanship, costly tables, and a large quantity of silver in the mass) some of which I hoped to be able to preserve from pillage. I had determinated to deposit whatever goods I might be able to secure, in the hands of proper persons, for the king's use. Sending, therefore, for ten of the principal senators, and Capella, the son of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich vessels, and other valuables which I had saved, into their care, with a strict injunction to give them up to no one but myself.

Intrigues of John of Gischala, and his stratagem to procure money.

From Tiberias I went, with my colleagues, to Gischala, for the purpose of informing myself of the proceedings of John, whom I found evidently endeavouring to establish himself at the head of a party. In different parts of the Upper-Galilee were divers magazines of corn, belonging to the emperor, and John was mightily desirous of obtaining the sale of them, pretending that he meant to expend the profits which might accrue in erecting fortifications. I easily penetrated into his design, and therefore told him, that I would never yield my consent; and I was obligated, by my commission from the council at Jerusalem, to see that those stores should be applied, either to the emperor's use, or to the benefit of the province. He then applied himself to my colleagues, perceiving that there was no probability of his succeeding with me, and they, partly through inadvertency, and partly through avarice, suffered themselves to be won over to a compliance with his solicitations; and thus, they being two to one, my opposition was rendered fruitless. The success which John met with on this occasion, emboldened him to set another scheme on foot, for the promotion of his interest. Pure virgin oil was, at that time, particularly scarce at Cæsarea Philippi; the inhabitants of which place, being restricted from the use of the Greek oil, and from purchasing the other out of their own city, had, he said, made great complaints to him on the subject, praying relief. His interference in this business did not proceed so much from religious, as from interested motives; being sensible that this oil was forty times dearer at Gischala than it was at Cæsarea: accordingly, under the pretence of a permission from me, he transported all the oil from one of those places to the other. I did, indeed, from an apprehension that the people would otherwise stone me, acquiesce in the above measure; but I no otherwise consented to it. The profit that John derived from this device was very considerable.

From Gischala I sent my colleagues back to Jerusalem, and now employed my whole time in providing for the defence of the province. Perceiving that every attempt to reduce the free-booters by force must prove vain, I advised the people to try the effect of negotiating with them: and we, thereupon, entered into a treaty with some of their chiefs, offering to take the whole body into our service; as we were well convinced, that the expence attending this measure would be far inferior to the loss we should be liable to sustain from their continual depredations. Articles being, as length, agreed upon between us, after receiving their oaths for the due observance of the engagement, I dismissed them. The conditions to which they bound themselves, were, that they would never enter our territories, but upon a requisition from us, or in the case that we should at any time be in arrears to them. My chief object, however, was to retain the Galileans in due subjection, and, with this view, I selected seventy of the principal persons of the province, to accompany me. Of these I formed a council, and, in most cases, regulated my conduct by their advice, still retaining a supreme deference for the dictates of honour and justice: thus, under the guise of friends, these men were, in reality, my hostages.

Josephus having dismissed his colleagues from Gischala, finds measures for defending his province.

I had now attained my thirtieth year; a period of life in which a man in a public station cannot, even with the utmost precaution possible, shelter himself from the attacks of envy and detraction. Thus much, however, I must be permitted to say for myself, that I had never been charged with any breach of duty, or corrupt practices, towards either of the several parties. So far was I from wishing to acquire wealth, that I even declined my proffered tithes, to which, from my function of a priest, I was indubitably entitled. I acknowledge that, after defeating the Syrians, I sent part of the booty obtained on that occasion, to my relations at Jerusalem; and, having twice vanquished the Sepphorites, the Tiberians four times, and reduced the Gadarenes to throw themselves on my mercy; having, moreover, seized the person of John, who had been guilty of many treacherous practices against my safety; I never entertained a thought of resenting the injuries I had suffered from any of the above parties, but readily consigned the remembrance of them to utter oblivion; and the Almighty, who perceived the retribution of my heart, was pleased, as will be seen in its proper place, graciously to deliver me from the machinations of my perfidious foes, not only upon the occasion in question, but also at various subsequent times.

He vindicates his conduct.

Although the Galileans were daily suffering all the miseries of war, yet such was the affection they bore to me, they appeared to be much more moved with the dangers and hardships which I underwent, than with their own. The popularity that I had thus acquired, excited the rankest envy in the breast of John, who, under the pretext of a sudden indisposition, wrote

Crafty machinations of John against him frustrated.

to me for permission to go to the hot baths of Tiberias, which I granted him with the utmost readiness, not suspecting his motives in making the request; and even furnished him with letters of recommendation to some of my friends there, to accommodate him and his train with whatever they might stand in need of. I had at this time taken up my residence in a village of Galilee, called Jana. Upon John's arrival at Tiberias, he immediately set about inveigling the inhabitants into a revolt. Many of them were well disposed to enter into his views, being heartily desirous of a change in the government; and among these, Justus and his father Pistus, eagerly united themselves with John against me. But providentially, Silas, whom I had appointed my deputy in the government of Tiberias, having discovered the designs of the conspirators, sent me a minute account thereof; urging me to repair thither with all speed, as the least delay might occasion the loss of the place.

Instantly upon the receipt of this intelligence, I assembled a body of two hundred men, and thus attended, posted away to Tiberias, travelling, for the greater expedition, the whole night, and dispatched a messenger to acquaint my friends with my being upon the road. At an early hour in the morning, I was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted me into the city. John, also, came with the rest, when the great confusion visible in his face, plainly manifested a consciousness of his guilt: but after a slight and hasty reverence to me, he suddenly withdrew. Upon my entrance into the city, I directly repaired to the public place of exercises, where I dismissed all my attendants, save one servant and ten soldiers. Having chosen a spot for my purpose, I began to harangue the people on the subject of the duties of good faith and allegiance; the reputation which must accrue to them from a generous perseverance in their fidelity, and the dangerous consequences as well as the absolute baseness of perjury; urging to them, that those who were guilty of treachery must always expect a retaliation upon themselves; and that one such act would eternally ruin their

He narrowly
escapes assassi-
nation.

credit with the world. I had scarcely got thus far in my oration, when I heard a voice in the croud, loudly and with great earnestness advising me to desist, and provide for my safety by a speedy retreat. The case was, that John, perceiving me to be thus almost without attendants, had selected a certain number of soldiers out of the thousand of which he had the command, and had given them orders to attack me by surprise. They had approached within a very small distance of the place where I stood, when I instantly leaped down, and, with the assistance of one of my guards, named Jacob, and one Herod a Tiberian, made good my retreat to the lake, and embarked on board a vessel which providentially chanced to be there, and which landed me at Taricheæ; and thus I escaped the villanous designs of my foes.

Instance of
the kindness of
the Galileans

This perfidy of the Tiberians incensed the people of Taricheæ to that degree, that they assembled in a body, and ear-

nestly pressed me to lead them against the perpetrators of so horrid a villany. They also invited the Galileans to join them in their intended attack upon Tiberias, and to submit themselves implicitly to my conduct and direction. This invitation was readily accepted by the Galileans, who recommended it to me, to march immediately against Tiberias; and having made myself master of it, utterly to destroy the city, and to sell the inhabitants, of whatever sex or age, publicly for slaves: nor was this the opinion of the Galileans alone, but even of such of the Tiberians, also, as had quitted the city to join me. But I positively refused to comply with their solicitations, dreading to be the author of a civil war, and being desirous of settling all differences in an amicable manner. I, therefore, represented to the people the imprudence of cutting each others throats, for the entertainment of the Romans, who would be pleased spectators of such a scene. By the arguments I urged on the occasion, I at length, though not without much difficulty, induced the Galileans to adopt more moderate sentiments.

to Josephus,
and his mode-
ration and
justice.

John now finding all his evil designs against me defeated, thought it high time to alter his conduct, lest his safety should be otherwise endangered. He accordingly retired from Tiberias to Gischala, accompanied by such of his men as remained with him; from whence he wrote me a letter of excuse, calling God to witness with many oaths and protestations, that the late vile attempt to destroy me, had been intirely concerted without his knowledge. But the perfidy of this wretch was so notorious, that the Galileans could not be prevailed on to give the least credit to his declaration; but having assembled a considerable force, pressed me to lead them against Gischala, the place of John's birth, and to sacrifice him and utterly destroy the city. I made them my acknowledgments for their good-will, and tendered them my best services in return; but begged of them to suffer me to try whether I could not terminate the quarrel to their satisfaction without bloodshed. The Galileans acquiesced in the justice of my arguments, and permitted me, soon afterwards, to lead them to Sepphoris. Upon my approach, the Sepphorites, who still persisted in their allegiance to the Romans, began to entertain some fears that my intentions were hostile; and they contrived how they might, for their own security, draw off my attention from them to some other object. With this view, they engaged Jesus, who commanded the outlaws, by the promise of a large sum of money, to attack us, with a body of eight hundred men: Jesus and his troops were at that time stationed on the borders of Ptolemais. The method by which he proposed to effect his purpose, was to come upon us unexpectedly, and thus bring matters to an issue at once. He accordingly sent a message to me, requesting my permission to wait on me.

John attempts
in vain to ex-
culpate him-
self by perju-
ry, while the
Galileans
faithfully ad-
here to him.

A conspiracy
of the Seppho-
rites against
Josephus is
detected, and
he generously
pardoneth the
men, and
Jesus, their
leader.

me. This request I readily granted, not suspecting his motives: and he began his journey, accompanied by a select band of his associates. He had arrived within a very short distance of the town, when one of his followers left him, and communicated to me every particular of the plot formed against me. Dissembling all knowledge of the matter, I repaired to the market-place, attended by a strong guard of Galileans, with some few of the Tiberians. My next care was to secure the passes, and to give orders to the porters at the gates, to admit none but Jesus and a few of his followers, keeping the rest out; and, in case they should attempt to obtain an entrance by violence, to repress force by force. All my orders were punctually obeyed, and Jesus and a small number of his associates only were permitted to enter the city, the gates being shut upon the rest. The instant he came into my presence, I commanded him to throw down his arms; and perceiving himself surrounded by soldiers, he readily yielded obedience. Those of his followers who had remained without the gates, having learnt what had befallen their leader, fled in all haste. Taking Jesus aside, I told him that, notwithstanding I now had him in my power, and was well informed of all his mal-practices and connections, I was still inclined to pardon him for what had passed, on condition that he should engage to abstain from all such like conduct in future. This he faithfully promised, and was in consequence dismissed, together with his attendants. With respect to the Sepphorites, I contented myself with enjoining them to a more peaceable demeanor, at the hazard of my severest displeasure.

His kindness to the Trachonite noblemen, who fled to him for refuge.

Just at this period, two noblemen, belonging to the court of the king of Trachonitis, fled to me for refuge; bringing with them horses, money, and arms. The Jews were very averse to my receiving them, unless they would submit to be circumcised: but I firmly rejected the proposition; representing to the people that every man was entitled to the privilege of worshipping God according to the rules of his own conscience: and that it would betray an inhospitable disposition thus to conduct themselves towards men, whom misfortunes had compelled to resort to them for protection.

Gallantly defends himself against Æbutius the Roman general; and seizes great quantities of grain.

In the mean time Æquus Modius had been dispatched by King Agrippa, with a large body of troops, to invest the castle of Magdala. Finding himself in no condition to lay siege to it, he judged it sufficient to secure the passes, and thus to form the blockade of Gamala. Intelligence having been communicated to Æbutius, the Decadarch, of my arrival at Simonias, a village situated on the borders of Galilee, and at the distance of about sixty furlongs from the place where he then was, he assembled a body of an hundred horse, about two hundred foot, and some auxiliary troops from Gaba, with which, making a forced march during the night, he reached the village early in the morning; whereupon I gathered together some of the

best troops I had with me, and prepared for my defence. Æbutius, depending on his superior force in horse, would fain have induced me to have engaged him in the open field; but, as my strength lay chiefly in infantry, I dared not quit my station; and my antagonist, after many fruitless efforts to drive me from it, retired towards Gaba, with the loss of three men only in the skirmish. I closely pursued him, with a body of two thousand men; and, having reached Betsara, on the frontiers of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs distant from Gaba, where Æbutius then was, I first secured all the neighbouring passes, and then I carried off prodigious quantities of wheat and other grain, which had belonged to queen Berenice, and had been plundered by the enemy from the adjacent villages. The grain I sent to Galilee, on a number of camels and asses, which I had brought with me for that intent. When I had finished this business, I offered battle to Æbutius; but he declining it, I directed my march against Scythopolis, which was then garrisoned by a body of horse, under the command of Neapolitanus, who had committed great depredations in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Having delivered the Tiberians from this troublesome foe, I now confined all my views to the re-establishment of peace and good order in Galilee.

John the son of Levi was, as I have before observed, still at Gischala, where, jealous of my success against my enemies, and of the affection which the people under my government manifested for me, he endeavoured to seduce the Tiberians and the Sepphorites from my interests; flattering himself also, that he might be able to prevail on the Gabarenes to quit my party, they being the most considerable people in Galilee. For this purpose, he took every opportunity to decry my administration, and to extol the advantages which they would enjoy under his government, imagining that, in proportion as he blemished my reputation, he should brighten his own. The Sepphorites, in fact, favoured neither him nor me, being closely attached to the Romans. He could not prevail on the Tiberians to take arms, but they, nevertheless, engaged to maintain a correspondence with him. The Gabarenes were the only people who consented to join him: and this union was effected by the intervention of one of their leading men, named Simon, who was a particular friend and associate of John's; and even these people made a secret of their connection with him, through an apprehension of the resentment of the Galileans, of whose affection for me they were well convinced; but they readily engaged in every perfidious attempt against my person; and, in the following instance, I narrowly escaped falling a victim to their evil designs.

The wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, travelling, with a numerous body of attendants, over the great plain, from a place under his sovereign's jurisdiction, into one of the Roman provinces, her

John revives his treacherous designs against Josephus, whose credit he attempts to ruin.

His equity in restoring the goods seized by robbers from Ptolemy's wife.

train

train was attacked by a party of desperate young Dabarittenians, who defeated the escort which attended her, and made prize of all the valuable effects she had taken with her. The plunder taken on this occasion was brought to Taricheæ, whilst I continued there, and consisted of a large quantity of rich cloaths and costly furniture, a great number of silver vessels, and five hundred pieces of gold. As these articles were the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe (and it being prohibited by our law to rob even an enemy), I told the parties that it was absolutely requisite they should be laid by, till an opportunity might offer for disposing of them, and that the produce should be applied to the reparation of the walls of Jerusalem. The robbers were so much incensed to be thus disappointed of their booty, that they, in revenge, circulated a report throughout Tiberias, that it was my intention to betray the province into the hands of the Romans. My promise, they said, of applying the profits of the sale to the reparation of the walls of Jerusalem, was a mere pretext, as also that I meant to restore the above effects to their former master; nor, indeed, were they wrong in their conjecture; for, immediately after the departure of the robbers, I gave secret orders to two of the principal citizens, Daffion and Jannæus, the son of Levi, both highly favoured by the king, to make restitution of the prize, and, at the peril of their lives, to mention the matter to any man living. The charge

He is accused of a conspiracy to deliver up Taricheæ to the Romans.

against me, of having conspired to deliver up the province to the Romans, was now spread throughout Galilee, and the people were strongly incited to revenge. The Taricheans, amongst others, gave such credit to the slander, that they se-

duced several of my guards, and other soldiers, to quit me while I was asleep, and to repair with them to the Circus, to confer with the citizens on the intended change to be made in the government. A large concourse of people had assembled in this place, unanimously calling for justice on the traitor; but the chief fomenter of the sedition was Jesus, the son of Sapphia, one of the most turbulent and unprincipled wretches breathing, who chanced at that time to be the chief magistrate of Tiberias. He presented himself before the people, with the two tables of Moses in his hand, and addressed them in these words: "If (says he) you have no consideration for your own welfare and safety, at least shew a proper reverence for these sacred laws which your governor Josephus has not scrupled to violate, and has thereby rendered himself deserving of the severest and most exemplary punishment." This speech was received by the people with repeated shouts of applause; and, taking with them a number of soldiers, they hastened towards the house in which I resided, with a fixed resolution to put me to instant death. Unconscious of all that was passing, I lay on my bed, wearied out with fatigue, and in

Is in imminent danger of

a sound sleep. Simon, however, one of my guards, and the only person who

had not deserted me, seeing the people rushing into the house, suddenly awakened me, and representing, in a few words, the imminent danger to which I was exposed, advised me rather to perish by my own hand, than submit to the insults and cruelties of an enraged and insolent enemy. Upon receiving this intelligence, I disguised myself in a suit of black cloaths, and armed with my sword, commending myself to the protection of Providence, I passed, undiscovered, thro' the midst of the throng, and repaired, by a private way, to the Circus, where I threw myself prostrate on the ground, and, by my tears and lamentations, excited the pity of the majority even of the insurgents themselves. Perceiving that I had, in some measure, wrought upon the temper of the people, I exerted all my endeavours to divide them in their sentiments respecting me and my conduct, before the return of the soldiers, who had been dispatched to destroy me. I begged their permission to lay before them the true state of the case, admitting, at the same time, that there was, indeed, some slight foundation for the charge brought against me. I requested that they would, however, give me a patient hearing, after which I should readily submit to their decision, whatever it might chance to be. The people were well inclined to listen to me, and ordered me to proceed; but the soldiers, who had just now returned to the Circus, were for putting me to instant death; but, on more mature deliberation, they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to suspend the execution of their design; and to this they were induced partly by the clamours of the common people, and partly by the hope that, by a confession of my treachery, and that I had actually resolved to reserve that money for the king's use, I should afford them a better pretext for accomplishing their sanguinary purpose. Silence being, therefore, proclaimed, I addressed them, in a short speech, to the following purport:

being killed, but providentially escaped.

That provided I might be permitted to give them a true detail of my conduct in the matter objected against me, I should acquiesce in whatever sentence they might think proper to pronounce; that I had ever considered their city as an asylum for strangers; that, induced by the conveniences of the place, and the amiable manners of the inhabitants, numbers of foreigners had quitted their own country, and repaired thither, with the view of continuing there to the end of their lives; that the crime now alledged was, an intention, through zeal for the public benefit, to apply a considerable sum of money towards the repair of the city walls; and that this was the sole foundation of the inveterate persecution which had been raised against me. The Taricheans, and the foreign inhabitants of the city, highly applauded my speech, and bade me proceed without fear; but the Galilæans and Tiberians, on the other hand, manifested much turbulence of disposition; inasmuch that the dissension between the two parties

Josephus makes his defence before the Taricheans, and the affair has a favourable issue.

arose,

arose, at length, to a very great height; the one side continually menacing me, and the other giving me the strongest assurances of their favour and protection. But the contest was finally dropt, upon my promising the Tiberians to repair the walls of their city, and to do the like for all the other towns of the province, whose situation would admit of it; and every one trusting to my word for the performance of this covenant, retired peaceably to his own home.

His surprising deliverance, by means of a stratagem, from being destroyed by ruffians setting fire to his house.

After this providential and unexpected deliverance, I returned to my lodging, attended by a party of my friends, and about twenty soldiers. Soon after I had retired, the robbers and other ringleaders of the late sedition, fearful lest they should be called to account for their conduct on the occasion, assembled in a body, to the number of about six hundred, and beset the house in which I resided, with an intention of setting fire to it. When the news of their approach, and of their design, was communicated to me, deeming flight disgraceful, I determined to barricade the doors of my residence, and to abide the event. Upon their arrival, I acquainted them, from a window, that, if money was their object, they had only to depute a small number of their companions to me, and their commands should be instantly complied with. A party was accordingly sent; and, when they entered the house, observing that one of them distinguished himself from the rest by his insolence and audacity, I ordered him to be seized, whipped, and to have one of his hands struck off; after which, with the hand hanging round his neck, to be turned into the street, that his associates might be informed of what had happened to him. All this was accordingly executed, and the insurgents, imagining, from the boldness of my conduct in this instance, that I had a strong guard in the house, fled with the utmost precipitation, through fear of exposing themselves to a similar punishment; and by this stratagem I escaped an imminent danger. Thus defeated in one scheme, they quickly put another in agitation; eagerly seeking all opportunities of exciting a spirit of disaffection among the people. They now pretended to disapprove of the protection which I had afforded to the two foreign noblemen aforementioned, whom they affected to consider as spies and prisoners, and as being unworthy of an asylum in a country, to the customs of which they had pertinaciously refused to conform. By these insinuations, they had in part revived that seditious spirit in the multitude, which I had so lately appeased: but I observed to the people, that it would be both ungenerous and imprudent to tyrannize over persons who had put themselves under our protection, as we knew not how soon we might be reduced to a like situation ourselves; and that, with respect to the idea of their being prisoners, nothing could be more absurd, as the Romans would certainly never be at the expence of keeping such numbers of troops in pay, when their purpose might be equally answered by a spell, or a bolus. By this mode of rea-

soning, I partly pacified them for a time; but their resentment quickly broke out afresh, and to that height did it arrive that, accompanied by a band of desperate ruffians, they directed their course to Taricheæ, with the full intent of putting these unfortunate strangers to death.

The instant I became acquainted with the step they had taken, I hastily assembled as many troops as the shortness of the time would permit, and took the same route, with a view of preventing the execution of their design, being sensible that a connivance at an action of such savage barbarity would render me universally odious. In short, I reached the residence of the strangers just in time to barricade the doors, and to take necessary steps for the security of the house, before the arrival of the assailants; and, conveying my two noble guests, through a back-door, to the lake which was behind the house, I crossed over with them to the frontiers of the Hippenians, where I left them; having first paid them the value of their horses, which their haste would not permit them to carry off; and, at parting, I recommended to them to submit to their hard fate with becoming fortitude. It was with the utmost regret that I saw myself thus compelled to abandon these men, who had thrown themselves upon my protection, to the mercy of their enemies; yet I judged it preferable thus to commit them to the care of providence, than to suffer them to remain exposed to a certain destruction, from the perfidy of my own people. They at length, however, surmounted all their difficulties, and were again received into favour by king Agrippa.

He is attacked in revenge for his lenity to the foreign noblemen, whom he protects, and sends home.

Intelligence having been communicated to me that the people of Tiberias had secretly dispatched a letter to king Agrippa, with a tender of their services, provided he would engage to furnish them with a sufficient number of troops to protect them, I instantly repaired to that city. The inhabitants, upon my arrival, reminded me of my promise to rebuild their walls, having learnt, as it afterwards appeared, that I had already fulfilled my engagement in that point with the Taricheans. To satisfy them, I gave orders for materials and workmen to be provided, and that the business should be entered upon immediately. Having continued there three days, I departed for Taricheæ, which is distant about thirty furlongs. Immediately after my departure, a body of Roman troops, being on their march, passed within sight of Tiberias; and the inhabitants, mistaking them for the forces of King Agrippa, gave a sudden loose to the most extravagant encomiums on the king, and to the severest censures on me. A messenger was soon afterwards dispatched to me, in great haste, with information that the people were ripe for a revolt. This intelligence threw me into the utmost consternation: for the sabbath now approaching, I had sent away the soldiers from Taricheæ, in order to the more quiet celebration of that festival. Moreover, such was my confidence in the

The Tiberians being ready to revolt, Josephus orders their walls to be rebuilt.

the zeal and affection of the inhabitants, that I seldom retained any guard about me during my residence in that place, and had only seven soldiers, and a small number of my friends with me at the time in question.

*He quells the
sedition by a
stratagem.*

Thus circumstanced, I was perplexed in the highest degree what course to take. It being now evening, to have re-assembled my troops would have answered no purpose, as they could not have acted on the next day; and with respect to the inhabitants of Taricheæ, their number including foreigners and natives, could I have purchased their assistance, which I probably might have done by the promise of granting them leave to pillage the city, would have been too inconsiderable to have answered my purpose. However it was necessary I should be speedy in my determination, lest the malcontents should possess themselves of the city, and shut me out; I therefore adopted the following stratagem: I committed the care of the gates to some of my most intimate and trusty friends, with a strict injunction to suffer no person whatever to pass through. They had it further in charge from me, to cause each of the principal citizens to go on board his respective boat, taking with him only one person to row it, and to follow me, while I, in another boat, attended by a small party of my friends, and seven soldiers, steered my course towards Tiberias; the inhabitants of which city had, in the interim, discovered their mistake relative to the troops they had seen. The Tiberians, however, perceiving the lake thus covered with so numerous a fleet of boats, which, they concluded, were filled with an army destined to the attack of their city, actuated by their apprehensions, instantly laid down their arms, and, accompanied by their wives and children, in the most submissive manner welcomed me on my arrival, wished me success in my undertaking, never suspecting that their designs were discovered, and invited me into the city.

*He judges
Clitus, principal
promoter,
of the sedition,
to lose
one of his
hands.*

Previous to my landing, I had given orders that all the boats should be anchored at such a distance from the shore, as to prevent the Tiberians from discovering the weakness of my apparently formidable fleet. I had now reached the quay, and, after severely reproaching them with their late treacherous conduct, I declared myself willing to pardon what had passed, on condition that they should send on board of my boat ten of their chief citizens, as hostages; with which command they instantly complied, and by this stratagem, I, by degrees, got the whole senate and most of the principal inhabitants into my hands. The rest, now taking into consideration the critical state of their affairs, with one voice imputed the whole blame of the late disturbances to a bold and turbulent fellow, named Clitus, and requested that I would order him to be punished according to his deserts. This fellow being of my own tribe, I could not conscientiously put him to death; yet, as I perceived the necessity of insisting on him some exemplary punishment, I com-

manded one of my guards, named Levi, to cut off one of his hands. This man, dreading the resentment of the people, dared not execute my orders; and I, on the other side, was equally apprehensive lest they should notice his hesitation. Without further deliberation, therefore, I addressed myself to Clitus, and, severely reproaching him with his ingratitude and treachery, condemned him to the loss of both his hands, and, as far as in him lay, to be his own executioner; further enjoining him to make all dispatch, lest I should change his sentence to one still more severe. The fellow was very urgent with me to remit him one half of the punishment; to which request, with much seeming difficulty, I, at length, yielded; and he instantly struck off his left hand with his right, and thus the tumult was at once appeased.

I now returned to Taricheæ, leaving the Tiberians impressed with the highest opinion of my wisdom, in thus subduing, without bloodshed, so formidable an insurrection. At an entertainment, which I gave to my Tiberian hostages, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I chanced to observe, in the freedom of table discourse, that I considered the Romans as the greatest people on the face of the earth: nevertheless, that, circumstanced as I was, with respect to the present faction, I thought it most prudent to conceal my sentiments: recommending it to them to follow the example, till affairs should take a turn for the better; and in the interim, to demean themselves peaceably under my government, which I promised should be as mild as they could desire. I also reminded Justus of the conduct of the Galileans towards his brother, whose hands they cut off, on a false accusation of forgery, previous to the time of my entrance upon the government; and also that the people of Gamala, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen between them and the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, had put Chares, his kinsman, to death: contrasting these barbarities with my behaviour to his brother-in-law, Jesus. These are the chief particulars of our conversation at supper; and early the next morning, I gave Justus and his companions permission to depart.

*He recom-
mends mode-
ration to the
Taricheans.*

A short time previous to this period, Philip, the son of Jacimus, quitted Gamala, upon the following occasion. Having received intelligence of the revolt of Varus, and of the appointment of Equus Modius to his vacant government, he wrote letters to Modius, who was his intimate friend, acquainting him with the state of his affairs, accompanying them with a packet for the king and queen, who were at that time at Berytus; which Modius instantly dispatched, according to the instructions sent him. No sooner did the king perceive, by the contents of this packet, that the report of Philip's deserting to the Romans was groundless, than his majesty immediately dispatched a party of horse to conduct him to court; and he received him upon his arrival with the most honourable testimonies of affection and approbation. He was soon afterwards sent, at the head of several troops

Engraved for D. BRADSHAW'S New Edition of JOSEPHUS.



Jotham cuts off his left hand to appease the Multitude.

Engraved for BRADSHAW'S *New Edition of* JOSEPHUS



*Announces the high Chief, "Quintus into Galilee,"
to deliver Josephus of his command in that glorious Britain, gets two of them cruelly put to death.*

troops of horse, to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away his family; to re-establish the Babylonians in Batanea, and to use his utmost efforts to restrain the people within due subjection.

Nearly at this period, a mountebank, named Joseph, put himself at the head of a party of turbulent young people, who were countenanced in their seditious conduct by some few of the most considerable inhabitants of the place. This man endeavoured to seduce the people from their allegiance, and to prevail on them to take arms, in defence, as he pretended, of their violated rights and privileges. This party soon became so powerful, that no one dared to oppose them; they having already, in a sudden tumult, put to death Chares and his kinsman Jesus, together with the sister of Justus of Tiberias, of whom mention has been made before. They next applied to me for troops to garrison the town, and workmen to surround it with walls, to which request I immediately acceded.

At this juncture, also, the Gaulanites inhabiting the whole extent of country as far as the village Solyma, deserted the party of king Agrippa, and united themselves with the Romans. I inclosed with walls Sogannes and Seleucia, two places of great natural strength, and fortified several towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, situated in the mountainous part of the country. I likewise fortified the towns of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Berlobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharath, Comologana, Næpapha, and the Mount Itabyr; all situated in Galilee. It was in these places that I formed my magazines of arms and corn.

John vilifies Josephus, and endeavours to supplant him.

The success with which all my undertakings were attended, created so much envy in the breast of John, the son of Levi, that he determined, at all events, to effect my ruin; and accordingly, after the walling in of Gischala, he dispatched his brother Simon, with an escort of an hundred men, to Jerusalem, with a letter to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, requesting him to use his influence with the council, to procure my dismissal from the post I held, and the appointment of John as my successor. This Simon was one of the principal men of the city, a Pharisee, and consequently a rigid observer of the Mosaic law; a person of exemplary prudence, and particularly qualified to execute a difficult negotiation: he, moreover, had long been the intimate friend of John, and my avowed enemy. Yielding to the importunities of John, he tampered with the high-priest Ananus, Jesus, the son of Gamala, and others of the party; representing to them, that their interest was concerned to reduce my power, and, without delay, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, lest, upon discovery of their designs, I should fall suddenly upon them with a numerous army, and thereby render all their schemes abortive. Ananus objected, on the other hand, that the number of the high-priests and heads of the people, who were prepossessed in favour of my admini-

stration, was such, that it would be difficult to procure a majority against me; besides, that it would be considered as an act of injustice to condemn a man unheard.

Simon, therefore, desisted from all farther solicitations, and gave them to understand that he would adopt some other methods for removing me from the government. He accordingly proposed to the brother of John, to distribute money and presents among the friends of Ananus, as the most likely method of effecting the design they had in view. This scheme succeeded, and Ananus and his party, without farther hesitation, entered upon the execution of the plan for depriving me of my post. For this purpose, they, in the most secret manner, commissioned four persons, two of them of noble descent, and the others of private rank, but all equally eminent for their abilities, to repair to Galilee on this business. The persons thus deputed, were Joazar and Simon, both of sacerdotal families, and the former a Pharisee; and Jonathan and Ananias, both of the Pharisaical sect: of these, Simon was the youngest. These men were instructed to attend at the next assembly of the Galileans, and to expostulate with the members on the prepossession they manifested in my favour; and to urge, if they should attempt to vindicate such predilection, on the plea either of my knowledge of the law, of my being a native of Jerusalem, or of their respect for the priesthood, of which I was a member; that each of them had equal pretensions to the government of the province. Thus tutored, and furnished, moreover, with forty thousand pieces of silver from the public treasury, the deputies began their journey.

Proceedings of his enemies, for procuring his removal.

Just at this period, a person, named Jesus, a Galilean, arrived at Jerusalem, at the head of a band of six hundred soldiers. This man entered into an engagement with the deputies, on the promise of three months pay, in advance, to accompany them with his troops, and to submit to all their orders. They also retained in their service three hundred mercenaries, whom they had collected in the city, and a party of an hundred men, commanded by the brother of John. They were enjoined, in case I should voluntarily surrender myself, to send me in chains to Jerusalem; but to give me no quarter, if I should make the least resistance; and were fully indemnified from all consequences, by the powers granted to them in their commission. Letters were dispatched to John, also, requiring his assistance in the designs carrying on against me; and the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewise engaged to lend their aid on the occasion.

Jesus, a Galilean, with 400 men, engages with the deputies to send Josephus in chains to Jerusalem.

Jesus, the son of Gamala, however, who wished me well, and was privy to all the aforementioned transactions, sent intelligence, it seems, from time to time, of what passed, to my father, who constantly communicated the same, to me.

Jesus's father, at Jerusalem, sends intelligence to his son of the mischievous designs of the

faction against him; whereupon he resolves to visit him, which gives much concern to the Galileans.

I was greatly affected by the ingratitude, treachery, and malice of the faction at Jerusalem; nor was I undisturbed at the uneasiness expressed by my father, who eagerly pressed me to repair to him, expressing an earnest desire to see me once again, before his death. I assembled my friends, and acquainted them with my determination to resign my command and return home, in the course of three days. They all expressed great sorrow on the occasion, and earnestly solicited me to drop my design, urging that my departure would be attended with certain destruction to them: but, as my life was now at stake, I still persevered in the resolution I had formed. The news of my intention was quickly spread throughout the whole province, by the diligence of the Galileans, who entertained the strongest apprehensions that they must be inevitably overrun by the outlaws, and other banditti, as soon as I should have abandoned them. A large number of people, accompanied by their wives and children, assembled, in consequence, in the great plain of Asoch, in which city I at that time resided, with the view of prevailing upon me to continue with them; less, perhaps, from any motives of affection for me, than from a dread of the danger which threatened themselves; for they imagined that they had nothing to fear while I remained amongst them.

His extraordinary dream.

That night I had a very remarkable dream. Being in great perturbation of mind, arising from the intelligence I had received from my father, I fancied that I saw the figure of a man approach my bed-side, and address me in these words: "Take courage, thou worthy man; for all these troubles will quickly have an end, and will, moreover, be productive not only of your present but future advantage and satisfaction. Be resolute, therefore, and remember that I forewarned you that you would be engaged in a war against the Romans." Awaking from this dream, I rose, with an intention of walking for the benefit of the air, and I no sooner appeared at the door, which leads towards the plain, than a multitude of the Galileans, of all ages, and either sex, prostrated themselves before me, and, with tears, besought me not to abandon them, in this extremity, to the mercy of their enemies. Perceiving that, notwithstanding their importunities, I continued inflexible, they, in the most solemn manner, adjured me to yield to their request, vowing, at the same time, the bitterest execrations on the turbulent temper of the people of Jerusalem.

The Galileans prevail on Josephus to continue to govern them.

This scene affected me to a very high degree; and, reflecting upon the wretched and forlorn situation of these inoffensive people, I determined to expose myself to every danger for their service; and, therefore, consented to retain the command of the province. I accordingly desired that they would select five thousand men, furnishing them with arms and ammunition for a march, and that the rest would return, without delay, to their

own habitations. To these five thousand I joined a body of my own troops, consisting of three thousand infantry and eighty horse, and marched at their head to Chabolo, a village on the borders of Ptolemais, with the apparent view of attacking Placidus, who had been sent into those parts by Cestius Gallus, with a troop of horse and two companies of foot, to destroy all the neighbouring villages belonging to the Galileans. Placidus lay intrenched at a small distance from the walls of Ptolemais; and about sixty furlongs from that place, nearer to Chabolo, I drew up my forces. Both armies ranged in order, of battle, and several times took the field: but, notwithstanding my utmost efforts, I could not induce my antagonist to rest the issue of our cause on a general engagement.

Such was the state of affairs when John and his associates, the deputies from Jerusalem, who, as I have before observed, had been sent by Simon, Ananus, the high priest, and their party, arrived in these parts; and, as they found it would be impossible to effect their designs against me by open force, they had recourse to treachery, and accordingly, after due deliberation, sent me the following letter.

JONATHAN and his Deputy Colleagues from the Council at JERUSALEM, to JOSEPH, Greeting.

"IT having been represented to our principals, that John of Gischala has, at sundry times, been guilty of certain evil practices against the safety of your person, they have commissioned us, in their names, to censure him in the most severe manner, for his conduct on the occasion, and to enjoin him to a due deference to your commands in future. And, in order that matters may be better regulated for the time to come, we request that you will repair hither with all convenient speed. As the village is but small, we desire that you will bring but few persons in your train, lest there should not be sufficient room to accommodate them."

Jonathan's enjoining letter to Josephus.

By this requisition, I was involved in great perplexity: as if, on the one hand, I should go thither but slightly attended, my personal safety would be much endangered; and, on the other, I considered that, by marching at the head of my troops, I might subject myself to a charge of treason and rebellion. The messenger who brought the above letter was a trooper, a bold young fellow, who had formerly been employed in the service of the king. I chanced to be at supper, with some friends, and several Galileans of quality, when the messenger arrived. I ordered him to be introduced; and, upon his entrance, without the least shew of respect to the company, he put the packet into my hand, telling me, with an air of insolence, that it came from the deputies from Jerusalem, and required an immediate answer, as his orders were to return without delay. All present expressed, by their looks, great surprise at the abrupt

Insolent behaviour of the messenger.

rupt behaviour of the man. I invited him, however, to partake of our collation, but he declined the offer. During this whole time, I kept the letter in my hand unopened, pretending to be engaged in private conversation with some of the company, or in attending others, who were retiring. It was in one of these intervals that I took the opportunity of breaking open the letter, and, having just glanced my eye upon the contents, folded it up again, and returned to my companions, without mentioning the circumstance. There now remained with me only four of my particular friends, and a boy to serve us with wine. I presented the messenger with twenty drachmas, for which

Josephus, by an artful invention, learns from him the real designs of his enemies.

he was so profuse in his acknowledgments, that I plainly perceived avarice to be a predominant foible in him, and determined to convert the discovery to my advantage. I, therefore, again pressed

him to sit down to table with us, promising to give him a drachma for every cup of wine he should drink. With this proposal he readily complied, and became, in a short time, so violently intoxicated, that, without even the trouble of founding him on the subject, I obtained all the particulars of the design in agitation against me: whereby I found that the deputies intended to put me to death, in case they should succeed in their scheme of getting me into their hands. Having made this important discovery, I returned the following answer to the letter I had received.

JOSEPHUS to JONATHAN and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

His letter to Jonathan and the deputies at Jerusalem.

"IT gives me great pleasure to hear of your health, and that you are arrived in Galilee, the more particularly as I am preparing to return to Jerusalem; a design which I have long meditated; and I shall now have a fitting opportunity to resign into your hands the government of the province. I should be happy to wait on you at Xallos, or at any more distant place, were it only for the satisfaction which the interview would afford me. But, unfortunately, the exigency of public affairs requires me to continue in the post which I have for some time past occupied in the neighbourhood of Chabolo, in order to watch the motions of Placidus, who menaces the province of Galilee with an attack; and, for these reasons, I think it more advisable that you should instantly, upon the receipt of this letter, repair to me hither: and so I bid you farewell."

I re-dispatched the messenger with this answer, and ordered thirty Galileans of the first rank to accompany him; strictly enjoining them to make their compliments only to the deputies, without entering into any farther intercourse with them; and I sent, likewise, one of my own guards, in whom I reposed great confidence, to watch narrowly that they strictly complied with the injunction. The deputies perceiving, on the arrival of the above persons, that

their plot had failed, addressed a second letter to me, conceived in the following terms:

JONATHAN and his Colleagues to JOSEPHUS, Greeting.

"YOU are hereby required to appear before us, at Gabara, within three days from the date hereof, to justify the accusation which you have exhibited against John of Gischala; and you are farther enjoined to repair to the place above specified, (without any military attendants.)"

Answer of Jonathan, &c. peremptorily citing Josephus to appear before them.

Having sent away this letter, they directly repaired to Japha, one of the most considerable villages, in point of magnitude, populousness, and strength, in Galilee. Immediately upon their arrival, the inhabitants rose in the most tumultuous manner, and, with one voice, told the deputies to be gone; declaring, that they were perfectly satisfied with my administration, and would yield obedience to no other governor. This behaviour of the inhabitants induced the deputies to retire in haste to Sepphoris; the best-built city in the whole province, and strongly attached to the interest of the Romans. They were received here, it is true, with rather more respect than at the latter place, being conducted into the city by a party of the inhabitants; but not a word passed, on either side, relative to me. From thence they went to Asoch, where they experienced a similar treatment to what they had met with at Japha. This contemptuous conduct of the people enraged them so much, that they commanded the soldiers to repress their insolence with blows. Continuing their journey to Gabara, they were there joined by John, at the head of a corps of three thousand men. As I had now received full information of the designs of my enemies, I selected a party of three thousand men from the army under my command, and marched with them to Jotapata, distant about forty stadia from our camp; in order to preserve a communication with the main body, which I left under the care of a friend in whom I could confide. From this place, I once more addressed the deputies in the following letter.

The people unanimously side with Josephus.

JOSEPHUS to JONATHAN and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

"IF it appears to you to be so absolutely requisite that I should attend you, I am ready to give you a meeting at any one you shall name of the four hundred cities and villages of Galilee, excepting only Gabara and Gischala; the first being the birth-place of John, and the latter the residence of his family and friends."

Josephus again writes to the deputies.

Upon the receipt of this letter, they desisted from all farther importunities, and, calling a council of their friends, at which John himself was present, entered

He is informed of their subtle and

tered

treacherous
contrivances.

tered into debate what other measures should be adopted for the accomplishment of their purpose. John recommended the sending circular letters throughout the whole district of Galilee, not doubting but that, in each city and village of the province, one or more persons might be found sufficiently inclined to do me any ill office, and who might, without much difficulty, be prevailed on to join in an accusation against me of having betrayed the interests of the public. Could this design have been effected, the people of Jerusalem would, doubtless, have considered me as an enemy to the Galileans, and I should, in consequence, have been utterly deprived of their future confidence. This proposition being adopted, intelligence thereof was communicated to me late the same night, by a deserter, named Sacchæus.

His precaution, by securing the passes, and summoning the people of Galilee to attend him in arms at Gabara.

Being now well aware of the imminent danger which threatened me, I, without farther delay, dispatched Jacob and Jeremy, both men of approved courage, and my particular friends, the first with two, and the other with six hundred men, to secure the passes, and to waylay all the roads between Galilee and Gabara, and Jerusalem and Galilee; ordering them to seize all suspected persons, particularly all couriers, and to send me whatever letters might be found upon them. I likewise sent summonses throughout the whole province of Galilee, enjoining all persons to repair to me the next morning at Gabara, properly armed, and bringing with them provisions for three days. I divided the troops I had with me into four separate bodies, giving the command of them to my most experienced officers, with orders not to admit a single stranger into their respective corps.

Testimonies of their zeal to serve him, his acknowledgments, and advice to them.

Upon my arrival at Gabara, in the forenoon of the next day, I found the whole plain covered with the Galilean troops, together with a numerous body of peasants. I had scarcely began to address myself to them, when they interrupted me with the loudest shouts and acclamations, unanimously styling me their benefactor and deliverer. I made my most grateful acknowledgments for this flattering testimony of their favour, but conjured them to act with moderation, and to do no man the least injury whatever, either in his person or property: urging that, as they had a sufficiency of provision, they could have no inducement to oppose my earnest desire of effecting a reconciliation without bloodshed.

By an intercepted letter, Josephus is informed of the design of the faction against him, which he prevents.

It fortunately happened that the persons to whom I had committed the care of securing the passes, intercepted, on the very first day, some dispatches from Jonathan, to the faction at Jerusalem. They detained the messengers, as I had ordered them, and sent their packets to me; which, on perusal, I found replete

with the grossest calumnies and scurrilities against myself. This incident I kept profoundly secret, and continued my journey, as if nothing had happened of any consequence. The instant that the deputies heard of my being on my march towards them, they took shelter, together with John, in the house of Jesus; a spacious and strong building, constructed much upon the plan of a citadel. A band of soldiers were concealed in the house; one of the gates only was suffered to be kept open, and orders were given, that, upon my arrival (for they supposed I meant to pay them a visit), I should be admitted alone, and thus they imagined that, by excluding my attendants, they should inevitably make themselves masters of my person. Providentially, however, I escaped their machinations; for, having received a slight intimation of their design, and entertaining, moreover, some suspicion of the matter myself, on my arrival, I repaired immediately, under pretence of a fatigue, to the apartment provided for me, at a house in the city, directly opposite to that of Jesus.

The deputies, not doubting that I had laid myself down to rest, embraced the opportunity, and went to the plain, for the purpose of prejudicing the people against me and my administration. But the reception they met with was totally different from what they expected; for the Galileans, instantly upon their approach, began to upbraid them in the most bitter terms. They made great complaint of the conduct of the council at Jerusalem towards them, and peremptorily refused to receive any governor but myself. Finding the people thus disposed, I went to the spot where Jonathan and his colleagues had stationed themselves, with the view of compelling them to produce their proofs of my misconduct before the public assembly. Immediately upon my appearance, the people surrounded me with looks strongly expressive of joy, which so closely corresponded with their words and actions, that the deputies became violently apprehensive for their safety, and would fain have withdrawn. At my request, however, they staid; nor, indeed, were they allowed the liberty of choice, but remained like so many statues, riveted in amazement to the spot on which they stood. Having obtained silence, and posted some of my best troops at the avenues, to prevent a surprise, and being surrounded by the rest of my guards, I addressed myself to the deputies in a speech to the following purpose:

I began with reminding them of the letter they had sent me, producing it at the same time; in which they pretended to be impowered by the council at Jerusalem, to hear and determine upon certain matters in dispute between John and myself. I then proposed it to themselves, whether, admitting that they were duly authorized to enquire into my conduct, they would not acquit me upon the testimony of two or three persons of established reputation.

The people avow their attachment and affection for Josephus, to the confusion of his enemies.

His address to the deputies, and Jonathan in particular.

putation. "But," said I, confining my address to Jonathan, "what if I should refer myself to the evidence of every person here assembled, for the justification both of my private and public conduct?" Then, turning to the people, I conjured them to deliver their sentiments of my administration without

On his appeal to the people, he receives the greatest commendations from them.

the least reserve. They instantly, with one voice, made an open declaration of the blessings which they had enjoyed under my government; affirming, with repeated asseveration, that I had been as

cautious to prevent any injury or insult being offered to their wives and daughters, as to preserve them in the undisturbed possession of their rights and property; concluding, that they had no other wish, than that those blessings might be confirmed to them by my continuance in the command of the province. I next read, in the hearing of numbers of the Galileans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, mentioned above. They were replete with falsehoods and scurrility, and represented me in the light rather of a tyrant than of a governor.

Being desirous of concealing from my foes the manner in which those letters came into my hands, lest they should send their future dispatches by some other route, I feigned that they had been voluntarily brought to me by their own couriers. The multi-

They are beyond measure exasperated at the deputies, whom he admonishes, and lures to depart.

tude were so highly incensed against Jonathan and his associates, on account of these letters, that they would, doubtless, have sacrificed them, but for my intercession. After enjoining the deputies to repentance and amendment, I gave them their liberty, and, at parting, desired them,

upon their arrival at Jerusalem, to make the people acquainted with the exact state of all that had passed; with which request, however, I was fully persuaded, beforehand, they would not comply, notwithstanding their promises, of which they were very liberal. In spite of the great influence which I had obtained over the people, their resentment against Jonathan and his colleagues had arisen to so high a pitch, that they formed the resolution of sacrificing them in their quarters. They were very urgent with me to grant my sanction to this design; but, reflecting on the dangerous consequences of an insurrection, I exerted myself to the utmost, to divert them from their intention.

Josephus sends a deputation to Jerusalem with a complaint against the authors of the tumult.

Perceiving, at length, that all my efforts to restrain them would be vain, I put myself at their head, and ordered them to follow me to Sagone, a village of Arabia, which is about forty stadia distant from Gabara; and thus I avoided the imputation of being the author of a civil war. At a small distance from the place, I commanded my troops to halt, and, after a short speech, in which I recommended it to them to act with moderation, I selected one hundred persons, the most eminent in point of rank and abilities, for the purpose of sending them to Jerusalem, to prefer a complaint to the council, against the ringleaders in the late tumults. They

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were further instructed, in case they should find the inhabitants of Jerusalem well disposed towards me, to endeavour to procure a renewal of my commission, together with the recall of John. Thus instructed, they began their journey on the third day, attended by an escort of five hundred soldiers. At the same time, I dispatched letters to my friends at Samaria, requesting a free passage through that district for my deputies, the city being, at this period, under the Roman government, and as by this route, they might arrive at Jerusalem in three days, I accompanied them as far as the frontiers of Galilee, and took such precautions to conceal their departure, that it remained a secret for a considerable time: after this I continued a few days at Japha.

When Jonathan and his colleagues found all their schemes thus disappointed, they sent John back to Gischala, and repaired to Tiberias, of which city they hoped to possess themselves, through the influence of Jesus, who was the chief magistrate there, and who had pledged himself to engage the citizens in their interest. But Silas, who commanded there, in my absence, sent me intelligence, from time to time, of all that passed, and pressed me to return thither with all possible dispatch. In consequence of my adopting this advice, I fell into a snare, which had nearly proved my destruction.

Jonathan, and others of the faction go to Tiberias.

The deputies from Jerusalem, who had raised a powerful party against me in Tiberias, were greatly confounded upon my arrival at the city. They however, paid me the compliment of a visit; repeatedly felicitating me on the high reputation I had acquired in the execution of my office, and claiming to themselves some small share therein, both as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been, in a manner, their pupil. They professed much friendship for me, and engaged, if I would return, and leave the management of the business to them, to deliver John into my hands in the course of a very short time; confirming their promises with such solemn oaths and imprecations, as induced my fullest confidence. This being the eve of the sabbath, they from thence took occasion to recommend me to retire with my troops to some neighbouring place, lest any tumult should arise among the people on that day. In order to quiet their feigned apprehensions, I, suspecting nothing of their designs, repaired to Taricheæ; taking the precaution, however, to place my spies about the city and upon the road, to give me the earliest notice of any material incident that might happen during my absence. The people assembled on the next day in the Oratory, the chief place of worship in that city, and which was capable of containing a vast number of persons; with the rest came Jonathan, accompanied by his colleagues. In a short time after his entrance, he rose, and, addressing himself to the people, expressed his concern, that the city was not provided with better governors; and there he stopped; being, at first, cautious of

Josephus arrives in that city, where his enemies lay a snare for him, under professions of friendship.

At a meeting in the Oratory, Jonathan and his colleagues propose to reshowing

move Josephus, and appoint four of their own party in his room.

shewing too plainly, that he meant to excite the citizens to a sedition. But Jesus, the chief magistrate, spoke with less reserve, and told the assembly, in plain terms, that it would be far more to their advantage to be governed by four persons than by one; especially if such governors were of noble birth, and approved abilities, as those men were, pointing to Jonathan and his associates, who stood close by him. Justus likewise declared himself of the same opinion, and he induced many to adopt the like sentiments. But the populace were so strongly possessed with the contrary persuasion, that a dangerous tumult must inevitably have ensued, had not the deputies, it being now the hour of twelve, which is the dinner hour among the Jews on the sabbath-day, adjourned the meeting to the next morning.

A stratagem invented by the deputies, in order to compel Josephus to quit the city.

The most early intelligence of these proceedings having been conveyed to me, I departed at sun-rise, the next day, for Tiberias, where I found the people assembled in the Oratory, though they were totally ignorant of the cause of their meeting. My unexpected appearance so greatly confounded the deputies, that they were utterly at a loss, for some time, how to proceed; at length, however, they determined to raise a report, that a body of Roman cavalry had been seen at the distance of about thirty stadia from the city, near Homonæa. This rumour was spread with such industry and confidence, even by the authors of it themselves, that it quickly caused a ferment among the people, who loudly exclaimed against the scandal of permitting their country to be thus ravaged and destroyed, while they remained inactive spectators of the devastation. I plainly perceived that the deputies intended, by this stratagem, to compel me to quit the city, and to go in pursuit of this ideal enemy, that they might secure the possession of it to themselves, by alienating the affections of the citizens from me. Nevertheless, that I might not appear deficient in my attention to the welfare of the Tiberians, I determined immediately to begin my march in search of those troops, though convinced that I should thereby further the designs which my foes were concerting against me. But finding, upon my arrival at the place where this body of cavalry was supposed to have been seen, that none such had appeared, or been heard of, I posted back, in all haste, to Tiberias, where the senate and people were engaged in secret council, and the deputies, in the midst of a tedious harangue, pronounced the most bitter invectives against me, whom they represented as a man totally addicted to his pleasures, and utterly regardless of the public welfare.

Counterfeit letters produced in order to prejudice the Tiberians against Josephus.

At the same time they produced four letters, which they feigned to have received from four of the most distant parts of Galilee, containing a representation of the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and requesting immediate assistance. This story was readily believed by the cre-

dulous Tiberians, and they unanimously insisted that succour should be sent to their allies with the utmost expedition. I, therefore, having by this time penetrated into the design, expressed my willingness to bear an adequate part in the execution of whatever measures might be deemed requisite for the public service; observing that, as the advices which had been received mentioned four several incursions, the army ought to be divided into as many different bodies, in order to repel them; and that, it being the duty of every good citizen to serve his country in person as well as with advice, the deputies were under an obligation each to take upon himself the command of one of the divisions. This proposition was universally approved, and the deputies, highly enraged to find all their treachery thus countermined and defeated, were compelled to take their respective parts in this adventure. Ananias, one of the four pretended deputies, and a man of a malignant disposition, advised the appointment of a solemn fast, to be observed on the next day, with an injunction to the people to meet at a particular hour, and without arms; proclaiming his confidence in the assistance of the Almighty, independent of human aid. His intention in this proposal was, evidently, to disarm me and my troops: yet was I necessitated to concur therein, that I might not be suspected of a contempt of the religious motives by which he appeared to be actuated.

The hypocrisy and villainy of Ananias.

Jonathan and his colleagues, upon the rising of the assembly, dispatched a messenger to John, desiring him to come to them without fail at an early hour the next morning, with whatever force he might be able to raise; being convinced that, if they could secure my person, they might afterwards act as they pleased. On the next day, I privately armed myself with a corset and sword, concealed under my cloaths, and chusing two of the bravest and most trusty of my guards, I ordered them to take a short sword each, and to follow me to the Oratory. This precaution I took, that I might be enabled to repel any insult which might be offered me. When we came to the Oratory, I was directly admitted, with my friends; but Jesus who kept the door, would not permit any of my attendants to follow. Just at that instant that the assembly were about to proceed to their devotions, Jesus started up, and questioned me, Where, and in whose hands, the valuable furniture, and the silver in the mass, which were saved from the flames when the royal palace was consumed, had been deposited? This he did merely with the view of delaying the time, till the arrival of John with his troops. I answered him, however, that all those articles had been committed to the care of Capella, and ten of the chief citizens of Tiberias; to whom I referred him for a confirmation of the truth of what I advanced. Capella and the rest, thereupon, acknowledged the receipt of the effects in question. I was then required to give an account in what manner

The deputies engage in a plot to destroy Josephus, which being aware of, he provides against.

Captious questions put to him by Jesus and others.

I had

I had disposed of the twenty pieces of gold, which I received for a like value in silver? I replied, that I had distributed that money to defray the expences of the envoys whom I had sent to Jerusalem. Jonathan and his associates observed, that I had acted very wrong, in paying my own agents from the public treasure. This evident captiousness of my foes enraged the populace to that degree, that all things seemed to tend towards an insurrection: perceiving which, I judged it would be for my advantage to remove the disturbance. I therefore told Jonathan, that he need give himself no further concern about the money in question, as I would take due care it should be refunded.

Interposition
of the people
in his behalf.

In proportion as my conduct appeared clear from imputation, the resentment of the multitude grew more violent. This happened so contrary to the expectation of the faction, that Jesus ordered the place to be cleared of all those who were not senators, under the pretext that the business on which they had met, could not be transacted in the midst of such clamour and confusion; the people, on the other hand, loudly declaring their resolution not to leave me alone with them. In the midst of the contest, a messenger entered, and whispered Jonathan, that John was close at hand with his troops. This intelligence so far emboldened Jonathan, that, giving loose to his virulence against me, he addressed himself to the people assembled, in these words: "Do not imagine, ye men of Tiberias, that I wish to have Josephus punished for his misconduct in the affair of the money, but for his impositions on the ignorant multitude, and an undue exertion of arbitrary power." He had no sooner finished his speech,

He is set upon
by ruffians,
from whose
fury he is
rescued by his
friends, and
escapes to
Taricheæ.

than several ruffians, who had been hired for the purpose, attacked me, and would have put me to death, had not my friends drawn their swords and interposed in my defence; the populace, threatening to stone Jonathan, whom they considered as the projector of the design against me; and thus, by the efforts of both parties, I was preserved from the attempts of my foes. I had scarcely quitted the assembly, when I met John at the head of his troops. This unexpected rencounter confounded me greatly, but, with some difficulty, I avoided them, and, taking a bye-road, reached the lake, where I took boat, and arrived safely at Taricheæ.

Josephus
convenes an
assembly of
the chief men
of his pro-
vince, and
with difficulty
restrains the
fury of their
enemies.

Upon my arrival, I summoned a meeting of the principal men of the province, and particularized to them the palpable breaches of humanity and faith of Jonathan, recapitulating the circumstances of his treachery and inhumanity towards the Tiberians. The Galileans were so highly exasperated by my harangue, that it became necessary to take measures for appeasing their fury, and preventing an immediate declaration of war against Jonathan, John, and their adherents, whom they declared themselves resolutely determined to pursue with unremitting fury, on condition only of my giving a vote of con-

sent. I represented to them the probable ill consequence of an impetuosity of conduct on the present occasion, and declared myself of opinion, that it would be most eligible to wait for intelligence of what had been transacted by the deputies at Jerusalem, as their concurrence was necessary previous to our adopting any measures of consequence. These, with some other arguments I made use of, happily occasioned the rage of the Galileans to subside; and John, being once more disconcerted in his treachery, returned to Gischala.

Some days subsequent to the above events, dispatches were received from Jerusalem, intimating that Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, had fallen under the displeasure of the government there, in consequence of having made attempts, by means of their agents, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and for presuming to act without the sanction of public authority, in a business of so much importance; and that their conduct had proved so highly disgusting to the people, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be prevented from destroying their habitations. Other letters were also brought, from which it appeared, that the chief inhabitants of Jerusalem, acting with the consent and authority of the public, had commanded the immediate departure of John and his associates, and by unanimous consent confirmed me in the honourable station I possessed.

The conduct
of Ananus and
Simon cen-
sured; John
and his associ-
ates recalled;
and Josephus
confirmed in
his govern-
ment.

I now hastened to Arbela, where I had summoned an assembly of the Galileans; and when they had convened, my deputies represented what had passed at Jerusalem, setting forth the resentment which prevailed among the people against Jonathan; that a commission had been transmitted to me, whereby a formal ratification was given for the continuance of my government of the province, and that an order had been issued, enjoining Jonathan and his followers to decline all further pretences. This order to John and his associates, was dispatched to them by a messenger, who was directed to make the most particular observation of their features when they received it. They were thrown into the greatest consternation, on the perusal of the order, and immediately summoned a council, John himself, and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara, being nominated to compose the same, in order to determine upon measures.

An assembly
at Arbela,
and what
passed there.

The Tiberians were unwilling to trust the power out of their own hands, and to abandon a people who had claimed their protection, at a time when they wickedly asserted I had threatened them with an invasion. John coincided in the opinion of the Tiberians, and proposed, that two deputies should be sent to Jerusalem, to exhibit an accusation of mal-practices in the execution of my office, pretending that the reputation of my accusers, and the unsteady disposition of the people they had to negotiate with, would inevitably operate to my disadvantage in the minds of the populace.

John and the
Tiberians
advise an ac-
cusation of
mal-practices
to be exhibited
at Jerusalem
against Jose-
phus.

populace. This matter was assented to, and a guard of an hundred soldiers was appointed to conduct Jonathan and Ananus to Jerusalem, the rest of the troops remaining at Tiberias, where the people made preparation for taking up arms, and began a general repair of their walls.

A party of Josephus's guards intercepted Jonathan in his way back.

Jonathan and his followers having proceeded as far as Dabaritta, (an extensive plain on the borders of Galilee), about midnight were met by a detachment of my out-guards, who, in compliance with my command, attacked and made prisoners of them. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of this circumstance, which for some days I omitted to take notice of: I sent messengers, however, to persuade the people of Tiberias to lay down their arms: but from an idea that Jonathan had

Josephus is contemptuously treated by the Tiberians.

by this time arrived at Jerusalem, instead of proper and manly answers, they sent me messages in the most contemptible terms. But this indecent treatment did not in the least abate my desire of prevailing with the Tiberians; for I would, on no consideration, have been the promoter of civil discord. It occurred, that some advantage might arise, if I could entice them out of the town; and, in consequence of this suggestion, I drew off ten thousand choice men, dividing them into three corps, and stationing one thousand of them about four stadia from Tiberias, in a village upon the mountains, ordered the rest to Dora. I now came out of the village, and being within sight of the Tiberians, they approached me, expressing the utmost contempt, and casting reflections on me, equally undeserved and severe. Their vanity and insolence was so extreme, that, in order to expose me as an object of derision, they even represented my funeral: in which ridiculous and fantastical parade, the effigy of my body was exposed in the open field, amidst a group of people meant to personate my mourners. But it was not my business to attend to this trifling affair.

He gets Simon into his power, by a stratagem.

I judged it expedient to get Simon and Joazer into my power, and, to effect this, I pretended a design of compromising the prevailing differences, by dividing the administration among us. I imagined that this stratagem would have brought them out of the town, with some friends, and such a number of guards as they might judge necessary for the safety of their persons. Joazer being the more crafty man, suspected my design, and rejected the proposal: but Simon having meaner abilities, and being avaricious withal, came over to me without hesitation, attended by his friends and guards. I treated him with proper respect and acknowledgements, and after some time spent in conversation, under pretence of desiring to be more private, I led him to some distance from the persons by whom he was attended, then seized him round the waist, and ordered him to be conducted to an adjacent village. At this instant I gave a signal for my people to join me, and that being duly complied with, proceeded towards Tiberias.

On our way we had an encounter with the enemy, who behaved with so much bravery, that it was with great difficulty I kept my men to their ground; but after an obstinate contest, it was my fortune to prove victorious, and the Tiberians retreated into the town. I had dispatched a party, by the way of the lake, to set fire to the first house they should meet with; and this being done at a lucky moment, the enemy imagining that the city was taken by force, laid down their arms, and, as a vanquished people, came, with their women and children, and sued for clemency. Satisfied with this submission, I founded a retreat, and the evening drawing on, retired for refreshment, and invited Simon to sup with me, accompanying my message with the encouraging assurance, that he should be safely conducted to Jerusalem; and provided with every convenience on his journey.

The town of Tiberias taken by surprise and mistake.

I marched into Tiberias on the following day with ten thousand men; and having assembled the most considerable people of the town, made all necessary inquiries concerning the faction, the most active promoters of which I sent under a proper guard to Jotapata; excepting Jonathan and his particular followers, whom I dismissed, and moreover appointed a guard of five hundred men to convoy them safe to Jerusalem, giving them a sum sufficient to defray all the expences of the journey.

The authors of the revolt sent prisoners to Jotapata.

I had now a second visit from the people of Tiberias, who supplicated my forgiveness, and made the most solemn protestations that an unremitting fidelity should make ample recompence for former errors, finally petitioning that the plunder might be restored to the proper owners. Upon the intercession of these people, I commanded every article which had been pillaged to be brought into my presence; but I observed, that the soldiers obeyed with reluctance, and that one of them had on a more costly habit than I thought it became a man in his station to wear; I therefore questioned him as to the manner of obtaining it, and his answers proving it to be a part of the plunder, I ordered a severe discipline to be inflicted upon him; and gave notice, that if any other should be found guilty of a similar offence, he should be doomed to a still more exemplary punishment; and I afterwards, as far as circumstances would admit, caused the articles which had been seized to be returned to their respective proprietors.

The Tiberians, supplicating pardon, are treated with great humanity, and the plunder restored to them.

I cannot dismiss this subject, without endeavouring to controvert the assertions of Justus, who, in treating upon this matter at present in question, has transmitted to posterity the most profligate falsehoods, under the respectable name of history; and the same charge may, with equal justice, be adduced against other writers: but I shall confine myself to Justus, who, in giving an account of the war, has advanced a number of palpable fictions, which are calculated to reflect on his country, and to brand me with dishonour. It is therefore

Falshoods and fictions of Justus confuted.

therefore necessary, that I should now divulge certain matters, which I have hitherto concealed from the world.

An historian is peculiarly bound to keep within the limits of truth; but a modest author is embarrassed when an abandoned character stands in his way, and he will sometimes hesitate to record disgraceful facts; but he will not suppress his sentiments from a motive of delicacy towards the infamous subject, but from a regard to the dignity of his own profession. "Thou, Justus, who hast put in a claim to the character of an impartial writer, say, Did not you, and your Tiberians make war against the Decapolitans in Syria, and burn their villages previous to the revolt of the Galileans from their prince, and the Roman empire, and the honour that was conferred on me by the commission constituting me governor of Galilee: and was not one of your attendants slain in the action? How, then, canst thou attribute to me the cause of that revolt? The records of the emperor Vespasian will confirm my assertions on this head: from which it will appear, that, during the residence of that prince at Ptolemais, the Decapolitans were continually importuning him for justice on you, as the chief author of all their troubles; with which request he would, undoubtedly, have complied, had not king Agrippa, who was charged with the execution of the sentence, granted you your life, at the intercession of your sister, Berenice; but notwithstanding this remission, you did not obtain your liberty for a considerable time afterwards. Moreover, your conduct has been perfectly consistent through life, as will hereafter be seen: for I shall demonstrate, beyond a doubt, that you was the chief instigator of the Tiberian rebellion. I shall now prove, that both yourself and the Tiberians equally betrayed the interests of your sovereign, and of the emperor.

"Sepphoris and Tiberias, the latter your native place, are the two principal cities of Galilee. The former of these is situated in the centre of the province, and has several villages under its jurisdiction; and such was the fidelity of the inhabitants to the superiors of the town, that they, not satisfied with shutting their gates against me, strictly prohibited, by a public edict, all persons whatever from bearing arms in the service of our nation.

"With the view of making all possible provision for their defence, they artfully obtained from me a promise to inclose their city with walls; which I had no sooner performed, than they ejected me in the most contemptuous manner; and, without the least hesitation, admitted a Roman garrison, under the command of Cestius Gallus, who was at that time governor of Syria; and these transactions happened at the very time that I held all the country in absolute subjection. Nay, so cautious were they of giving the least umbrage to the Romans, that they, when the temple was besieged, and the very existence of our nation consequently depended upon the event, declined contributing, in the smallest degree, to our

"With respect to the situation of the district in which you commanded; it lies on the banks of the lake Gennesareth, at the distance of about thirty stadia from Hippos, sixty from Gabara, and an hundred and twenty from Scythopolis; all which places were in the possession of the king's troops, and, moreover, strongly garrisoned. What, let me ask you, with all these advantages on your side, could have prevented you from discharging your duty to the Romans, had you in your heart been inclined thereto? But, admitting that I was, as you contend, at that time, in some measure, the cause of the war; to whom, I wish to know, is the blame of the subsequent transactions to be imputed? For you cannot be ignorant that I had been taken prisoner by the Romans some time before the siege of Jerusalem; that the castle of Jotapata, with many others, had been carried by storm, and that multitudes of the Galileans had fallen in the various encounters. If it be true, therefore, as you would insinuate, that you disapproved of the war, and was forced into it against your will, why did you not, when that pretended necessity no longer subsisted, lay down your arms, and throw yourself on the mercy of your sovereign, and of the Romans, as I was then no longer in a condition to hurt you.

"But you perversely persisted in your rebellion, till Vespasian had advanced with his troops to the very walls of your city; when you found it absolutely requisite to submit, in order to avoid that ruin which must otherwise have been inevitable. Nor would this submission have availed you any thing, but for the intercession of the king in your behalf; for your madness and folly would certainly have been punished with the total destruction of the city, had he not obtained your pardon from the emperor: your enmity, therefore, to the Romans proceeded, not from any fault of mine, but merely from the impulse of your own rancorous disposition. Did I not repeatedly grant you both life and liberty, when the chance of war had put you in my power? Yet it is notorious that, in the rage of your intestine broils, actuated neither by a zeal for the king's service, nor for that of the Romans, but solely by a spirit of animosity and vengeance against each other, you, on one occasion only, put to death no less than one hundred and eighty-five of the citizens; which incident happened during the time I was blocked up in Jotapata. Moreover, were not two thousand of the Tiberians killed and taken prisoners during the siege of Jerusalem? Do you imagine that, because you appeared at this time, in the court of your sovereign, not from any motives of duty or affection for his person, but from an apprehension of falling into my hands, you were not, therefore, to be considered as an enemy?

"If, then, as you pretend, my conduct has been reprehensible, what opinion must the world entertain of your actions? Notwithstanding you had been twice banished, as often imprisoned, and once

even rescued from an ignominious death, through the intercession of the emperor's sister, Berenice; yet, when your royal master had received you again into favour, and invested you with the honourable office of secretary, you acted so inconsistently with your duty, that he was compelled to forbid you his court and presence for ever.

"Without searching farther into your mal-practices, I cannot sufficiently applaud your modesty, in assuming to yourself the merit of having given a more faithful and exact account of this war, than any other writer on the subject; when, in fact, you are totally unacquainted with the particulars of those transactions which you pretend to relate, and even of what passed in Galilee; for, during that period, you were engaged in attending the king at Berytus. In like manner, how could you be enabled to give an authentic relation of my conduct during the siege of Jotapata, when myself was the only person who survived the capture of that city? You will, perhaps, assert that, however incorrect you may have been in other parts of your history, you have made amends by your accuracy in your recital of what happened at Jerusalem. But it will appear scarcely probable, however, that you should be sufficiently informed of the transactions of that siege, if we consider that you were neither upon the spot at the time, nor have even perused the commentaries written by Vespasian on that part of the war. It is apparent to me that you never have read those commentaries, because several passages therein are positively contradicted in your history.

"I wish to know why, if you really consider yourself as the first historian of the present age, you did not favour the world with your admirable work during the life-time of Vespasian and Titus, the two generals who commanded in that expedition, or in the time of Agrippa and his family, all of whom were deeply versed in the language of the Greeks? Why was this history detained so long, nearly twenty years, from the public eye, when you might have produced so many living evidences of the authenticity of your relation? Why, finally, having suppressed it thus long, did you fix upon this particular æra for its publication? The reason is obvious: you dared not submit it to the inspection and censure of the world, while there were yet so many persons living who could have detected the falsity of your allegations. My conduct, in this respect, was widely different.

Previous to the publication of my history, I put it into the hands of the two emperors who had directed the war; each particular therein contained being yet fresh in every one's memory. To this I was induced by a consciousness that I had been guided solely by a regard to truth in what I had written; and the work has, accordingly, met with as favourable a reception from the world as I could possibly desire. I communicated these materials to many other persons, who had taken an active part in the war, particularly to king Agrippa and several of his relations. As an indubitable proof of

the esteem in which this work was held even by Titus, he, under his own hand, strongly recommended it to the world, as a most authentic record of the transactions of the times, and likewise honoured it with a place in his library. The fidelity and candour which is visible throughout the work gave such satisfaction to king Agrippa, that he honoured me with no less than sixty-two letters, in testimony of his conviction of its authenticity; two of which I have here thought proper to subjoin.

King AGRIPPA to his dearest Friend JOSEPHUS, Greeting.

"THE perusal of your book has afforded me great satisfaction, and I consider it as the most faithful and exact production of the kind. Pray let me have the remaining part: and so I bid farewell to my dear friend."

King AGRIPPA to JOSEPHUS, his dearest Friend, Health.

"I PERCEIVE, by your writings, that you have but little occasion for farther information from me; but at our next meeting I may communicate certain matters for your consideration, which have escaped your observation."

From a desire to recommend my works to posterity, king Agrippa gave the above testimonies of their authority and candour. The authenticity of the above certificates are not to be doubted; the author of them was superior to flattery; and, being a man of strict integrity, his conduct towards me could not arise from the levity of making me the subject of merriment. Thus much I conceived it a justice due to my own character, to say in answer to Justus; and I shall now proceed with my history.

Having restored good order and discipline in Tiberias, I called a council of my friends, to determine on the most proper manner of proceeding against John. They advised, that as he was the cause of the general irruption, to assemble the whole strength of Galilee, and, by a sudden attack, to strike a decisive blow. I objected to this, as being too barbarous a revenge; and declared myself inclined to terminate the quarrel by some means whereby the lives of the adherents to both parties might be preserved; and I afterwards had recourse to the following stratagem in favour of my design. I procured a correct list of the persons composing the faction, and published an act of amnesty, purporting that all such as should lay down their arms and return to their duty within the space of twenty days, might claim a general pardon; but towards those who should favour the measures of the enemy after that period, prohibiting the like indulgence, and denouncing slaughter, pillage, and other extremities of war against them. As this am-

Josephus calls a council, to advise what measures should be taken respecting John.

Success of his
edict concern-
ing his affec-
tates. 4000 of
whom came
over to him.

neſty included a menace as well as conciliatory terms, it operated the more extenſively upon the followers of John, four thousand of whom immediately ſurrendered, the citizens of Giſchala and fifteen hundred mercenaries, from Tyre, only continuing in his ſervice; and he was ſo depreſſed by this circumſtance, that he preſumed not afterwards to leave his own country.

Josephus in-
vites Gallus
to take poſ-
ſeſſion of
Sepphoris.

The town of Sepphoris being encom- paſſed by a ſtrong wall, and the inhabi- tants being a robuſt, ſturdy people, it was determined to put the place in a ſtate of defence, and to apply to Ceſtius Gallus, governor of Syria, either to come in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city, or to detach a ſufficient force to protect it; in caſe of aſſault. Gallus replied, that they might expect him, but mentioned not at what time.

It was ſuppoſed that the concerns in which I was engaged would delay the execution of any attempt I had meditated againſt Sepphoris: but gaining intelligence of the negociation which had been ſet on foot, I marched immediately to the place, which I attacked and conquered. The Galileans, judging this a favourable opportunity to wreak ample vengeance on the Sepphorites, againſt whom they entertained an implacable deteſtation, formed the barbarous determination of involving the men and city in one common ruin. The inhabi- tants quitted their houſes, and took refuge in the caſtle, leaving their effects to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who ſet fire to the town, and, without diſtinction of perſons, made prize of all the property they could diſcover.

He favours
the Seppho-
rites, by
means of a
ſtratagem.

These violences gave me extreme concern; and I endeavoured by perſuaſions, and by exerting my authority, to reſtrain their barbarity towards men profeſſing to be of their own religion, and, moreover, belonging to the very tribe of which they were themſelves alſo members: but, finding their fury to be ungovernable, I adopted the following ſtratagem. I cauſed a report to be propagated that a numerous army of the Romans had entered the town; and, as I expected, the rumour of this pretended aſſault cauſed the Galileans to ſtop their outrage, and employ their whole thoughts upon means for their own preſervation; and the apprehenſion which prevailed among them was greatly increaſed, when they perceived me to join the flight from the ideal foe. Thus Sepphoris was preſerved, in a manner ſurpaſſing expectation; and Tiberias eſcaped no leſs miraculoſly, ſome time afterwards.

The Tiberi-
ans invite
Agrippa to
take them un-
der his pro-
tection, which
he is reſented
by the people.

A letter had been ſent to the king, ſigned by ſeveral of the ſenators and principal citizens, requeſting that he would honour them with his preſence, and that he would take their city under his protection. The king immediately diſpatched one of his chief attendants, named Crif-

pus, a Jew by extraction, with a written answer to the above letter, importing, that he would be at Tiberias in the ſhorteſt time poſſible. It chanced that Crifpus was met upon the road by ſome Galileans, who knew him perſonally, and brought him in cuſtody to me. Having learnt the object of his com- miſſion, the populace inſtantly took up their arms. A prodigious concourſe of people aſſembled the next morning, at Aſoch, where I then reſided, loudly accusing the Tiberians of treachery, and of a deſign to revolt to the king. Their fury roſe, at length, to ſuch a pitch, that they poſitively inſiſted on my permiſſion to deſtroy the city, declaring that the Tiberians were more deſerving of puniſhment than even the Sepphorites themſelves.

I perceived that every attempt to bring the people to reaſon, by argument, would be vain, and their numbers precluded all hopes of reducing them by force. The contents of the king's answer ſet the whole matter in ſo clear a light, that no vindication or palliative could be offered in defence of the Tiberians. After revolving in my mind various projects to reſtore the people to their ſenſes, and preſerve the city, I determined at length to obſerve a medium in my conduct towards them, neither abſolutely oppoſing, nor implicitly complying with their will; and accordingly addreſſed them in theſe terms: "The Tiberians," ſaid I, "have, undoubtedly, acted very wrong; and I ſhall readily yield to your deſire of puniſhing them, on condition that you do nothing raſhly; for, truſt me, you will find, on examination, a number of perſons of the firſt quality among yourſelves, who are equally concerned with the Tiberians in this plot againſt your liberties. I therefore ſtrongly recommend it to you, to delay the execution of your vengeance for a time, till you can diſcover thoſe concealed foes to their country, and then you may puniſh them all together, in a manner ſuitable to their demerits." This propoſal was ſo well approved by the multitude, that they immediately diſperſed, and every man retired quietly to his own home.

As Crifpus was ſtill under confinement, I made a pretext of ſome trifling buſineſs to get out of the town, and, ſending for him privately, adviſed him to attempt an eſcape, by intoxicating the keeper of the priſon. This was the ſecond time that the Tiberians were indebted to me for the preſervation of their city.

Just at this juncture, Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, ſecretly withdrew to the court of king Agrippa. He was quite ignorant of his retreat, which aroſe from the following cauſe. At the commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians determined to adhere to the intereſts of the latter. But Juſtus, flattering himſelf that, in the conſuſion of a popular tumult, he might find means to advance himſelf to the government, endeavoured to ſeducer them into a revolt. But he did not ſucceed.

Josephus, by
his wife coun-
ſel, pacifies
the people,
and preſerves
the city from
deſtruction.

He contrives a
way for the
eſcape of Crif-
pus.

Juſtus, inclin-
ing to favour
the Romans,
goes to the
court of
Agrippa.

in his views; for so inveterate was the hatred of the Galileans to the people of Tiberias, on occasion of the repeated insults which they had experienced from them, previous to the war, that they constantly opposed and defeated all his attempts; and, during the course of my administration, I myself was often so incensed by the perfidious practices of this wicked man, that it was with great difficulty I refrained from proceeding to extremities against him. From a consciousness of his danger, and not knowing, moreover, how far passion, and a series of injuries and affronts might provoke a man in my station, Justus thought it most prudent to withdraw himself out of my reach.

The people of Sepphoris resolving to give themselves up to Cestius Gallus, send him another message to that purpose.

Although the Sepphorites had so lately experienced a deliverance little less than miraculous, yet, no sooner had they recovered from their apprehensions, than they sent a second message to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come and take immediate possession of their city, or send such a force, as might enable them

to repel an attack. Gallus, accordingly, detached a numerous body of horse and foot to their assistance, which were admitted into the city, under favour of the night. The devastation which these troops spread throughout the country, obliged me to encamp at the distance of about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, near the town of Garizim. In the dead of the night, I possessed myself of the walls by storm; but, for want of a due knowledge of the situation of the streets, I was compelled, after remaining master of a considerable part of the city for some time, to relinquish the advantage I had obtained, and to retire. Twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horse, a few of the Sepphorites, and on our side, only one man comprised the number slain in this action.

An encounter between the men of Josephus and a body of Roman horse.

In a short time after this event, a sharp rencounter happened between us and the Roman horse, in which my men, being surrounded, overpowered by numbers, after defending themselves for some time with great bravery, were compelled to re-

tire. On this occasion I lost one of my guards, named Justus, who had formerly been in the service of the king.

Much about this time, Silas, the captain of the king's guards, at the head of a numerous party of horse and foot, took post at the distance of about five furlongs from Julias, having previously secured all the passes leading to Cana, and the castle of Gamala.

He engages the troops of Silas, and, drawing them into an ambuscade, puts them to flight.

I, therefore, dispatched Jeremiah, with two thousand men, to the banks of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where I joined him with a body of three thousand troops; some few slight skirmishes only having taken place previous

to my arrival. Having placed a strong ambush in a valley, at a convenient distance from the camp, on the next day, I offered battle to the king's forces,

and ordered my men to turn their backs at the first onset, and to fly before the enemy till they had drawn them into the ambuscade. My orders were punctually obeyed; and Silas, taking this feigned flight for an actual route, pursued us so far, that the ambush fell upon his rear, and threw his troops into such disorder that, upon my facing about and attacking them in front, they were so entirely broken, that a decisive victory must inevitably have ensued, had not my horse, in that critical moment, unfortunately thrown me, and my wrist been dislocated, I was carried off the field to an adjacent village, named Cepharnome.

My people, fearing that the hurt I had received might be of a worse kind than it was in reality, immediately gave over the pursuit, and directed their whole attention towards providing me with their assistance. From Cepharnome, where I was seized with a fever, I went after one day's stay, to Taricheæ. When the news of this accident came to the knowledge of Silas, he took fresh courage; and, having learnt that our out-posts were very deficient in the necessary vigilance, secretly dispatched a troop of horse to the other side of Jordan, with orders to conceal themselves, for the purpose of surprising us early in the morning, when he intended offering us battle. An engagement, accordingly, ensued; and my troops falling into the snare, were defeated, with the loss of six men only; the enemy not daring to pursue their advantage, in consequence of a report that a body of our troops were on their march, by the way of the lake, from Taricheæ to Julias.

The army of Josephus fall into an ambuscade, but escape with inconsiderable loss.

Soon after these transactions, Vespasian came to Tyre, accompanied by king Agrippa. The people were very clamorous in their complaints against that monarch, who, they alledged, was equally the foe of the Tyrians and the Romans; accusing him, moreover, of having treacherously sent secret orders to his general, Philip, to surrender both the temple of Jerusalem, and the Roman garrison, into the hands of the Jews. This conduct of the Tyrians highly incensed Vespasian, and he gave them a severe check for their audacity, in thus calumniating a sovereign prince, and a friend to the Roman state; recommending it, however, to Agrippa, for the purpose of restoring the peace of the city, to send Philip to Rome, to justify his conduct, on the above occasion, before the emperor. Philip, accordingly, went thither; but found Nero so much embarrassed with the civil wars then prevailing, that he was obliged to return, without obtaining an audience.

Upon the arrival of Vespasian at Ptolemais, the magistrates of Decapolis urgently preferred their complaints to him against Justus, who had burnt their habitations, and laid waste their country; and Vespasian, in consequence, delivered him into the hands of Agrippa, to be punished in the most exemplary manner, for the depredations committed on his subjects. Upon this occasion, the king condemned him, as I have already observed, to imprisonment

ment

ment, without communicating the matter to the emperor.

The Sepphorites admit Vespasian into their city, and receive a Roman garrison.

When Vespasian had approached near to Sepphoris; he was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted him into the city. They, also, readily admitted a Roman garrison, and received Placidus as their governor; and with him I had frequent contests, before the emperor came in person to Galilee. With respect to such particulars as relate to the cause of his coming thither; my retreat to Jotapata, after being worsted at Taricheæ: my conduct, during the long siege which that place sustained, and subsequent imprisonment; the manner in which I was afterwards released; and, in short, the whole of my behaviour throughout the Jewish war; with respect, I say, to these matters, having spoken so fully in that part of my work which relates to the said war, there remains little more to add; and I shall therefore, content myself with subjoining some few anecdotes only of my private life.

Honours shewn by Vespasian to Josephus, who is afterwards in danger both from Jews and Romans.

After the capture of Jotapata, on which occasion I was taken prisoner, though strictly guarded, I received every mark of respect and esteem from Vespasian, at whose instigation I took to wife a virgin of Cæsarea, who was, at that time, in the same predicament with myself, respecting the loss of her liberty. We abode together but a short time, for I had no sooner obtained my release, and entered into the service of Vespasian, who was about to depart from Alexandria, than she quitted me. At Alexandria, I, a second time, entered into the marriage state. I was sent from thence, in company with Titus, to Jerusalem, where my life was repeatedly in danger, from the secret practices both of the Jews and Romans: for the blame of every miscarriage was constantly imputed to me; nor could the emperor rest for the importunities of the people to put the traitor, as they styled me, to death. But the virulence of the populace against me weighed nothing with Titus, who was then advanced to the imperial dignity, and whose extensive knowledge of mankind, taught him to disregard the ill-founded clamours of an impetuous multitude: and, such was the esteem in which he held me, that even after the destruction of the city, he generously pressed me to make choice of whatever part I pleased of the general wreck. But I availed myself no further of this permission, than to request the releasement

Titus grants to Josephus the freedom of many of his captivated friends.

of my countrymen and friends, and the privilege of retaining in my possession the Holy Bible, which I had fortunately been enabled to preserve; and my desire was instantly gratified; my brother, and near fifty other persons of my acquaintance, being, in consequence, set at liberty. I obtained the same favour for about one hundred and ninety others of my acquaintance, and friends, whom I found, together with a large number of women and children, shut up in the temple: and these were all discharged without any condition or ransom.

No. 36.

Titus, having determined to form a camp near a village called Thecoa, dispatched me thither, with Cerealis and one hundred horse, to take a view of the ground. At my return, I saw a number of prisoners crucified by the road side, and discovered, among the rest, three persons with whom I had been intimate some years. This sight affected me to a high degree; and I instantly, with tears in my eyes, communicated the matter to Titus. He directly gave orders that the bodies should be taken down, and that every possible method should be used to recover them. One of the three survived, but the others died under the hands of the operator.

and the release of three persons who had been crucified.

As soon as Titus had re-established order and tranquillity in Judæa, he assigned me certain lands lying at a distance from Jerusalem, in lieu of others which I had formerly possessed in the neighbourhood of that city. To this he was influenced by the consideration, that it would be neither convenient, nor agreeable to me to be situated in the midst of the Roman troops, which must necessarily be stationed about Jerusalem, for the purpose of securing the safety of the province. I also received the distinguished honour from the emperor Vespasian, of being admitted into his own vessel, when he was on his return to Rome; and, upon our arrival there, he was pleased to treat me in the most gracious manner. He not only conferred upon me the privileges of a denizen, and gave me for my residence the palace which he had himself inhabited, previous to his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but he also settled upon me a yearly pension, and continued his favours to me during his life; which exposed me to the most virulent hatred and envy of my own countrymen.

Titus and Vespasian shew much kindness to Josephus, which excites the envy and hatred of his countrymen.

A tumult happened at Cyrene, in which two thousand of the rabble were destroyed, and their leader, a Jew, named Jonathan, was sent in chains to the emperor, by the governor of the province. This man charged me with abetting the said tumult, by furnishing him privately with money and arms; but Vespasian, detesting the calumny, ordered him to be put to death. Several other attempts, of a similar nature, were made to ruin me in the emperor's esteem; but, by the interposition of Providence, they were all defeated; and that prince conferred upon me a considerable grant of lands in Judæa.

He is falsely accused of abetting a tumult at Cyrene, and the author of the calumny put to death.

Nearly about this time, a disagreement which had long subsisted between my wife and me, rose to such a height, as to occasion our separating. This woman had borne me three children, of whom Hyrcanus was the only one then alive. Some time after this divorce, I married a third wife, a Candian by birth, of the Jewish religion, honourably descended, and famed for her excellent qualities. By her I had two sons: Justus the elder, and Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. Such

Account of the wives and children of Josephus, and the favours conferred on him by three successive emperors.

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was the state and situation of myself and family: moreover, I still preserved the favour of the Cæsars: after the death of Vespasian, I experienced the same kindness from Titus, which had been shewn me by his father; and the honours conferred upon me by Domitian, were of a still more distinguished nature.

Particular instances of kindness to him, and his exemption from all taxes.

A number of Jews, who had alledged false accusations against me, were put to death by him, at different times; and he inflicted a very severe punishment, for a similar offence, on an eunuch slave,

whom I had employed as a tutor to my son. But the most honourable testimony of his singular kindness to me is the total exemption which I now enjoy, from all taxes and duties upon my estate in Judæa; and my obligations to Domitia, the wife of Cæsar, have not been less in proportion, than those which I owe to the emperor himself. Thus have I particularised the principal incidents of my life, and I submit the abstract with confidence to the censure of the world.

P R E D I C T I O N S

OF THE

PRINCIPAL PROPHETS

WHOSE NAMES OCCUR IN

THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

WE now offer to the Public, prophecies which not only coincide with, but corroborate the evidences for, the truth of what is called, by way of eminence, Sacred History in particular, as well as revealed religion in general; and we presume that an illustration of the passages peculiarly alluded to, may be introduced with equal utility and propriety. Many eminent divines, and other learned men, unite in opinion, that nothing tends more effectually to confirm Christians in their most holy faith, or obviate the gain-sayings of infidels, than a display of the time and manner in which events foretold by holy men in ancient days have been fulfilled no less remarkably than completely.

Such persons as admit that the all-pervading mind not only comprehends whatever is present and past, but with one intuitive view discerns whatever is to happen in future, must readily acknowledge the power of an omnipotent Jehovah, to communicate his will and pleasure to such of his creatures, and in such way and manner as seemeth meet to his infinite wisdom. Yet, though it is the sole prerogative of the Almighty, and it has been his pleasure to appoint and

commission certain chosen agents to prophesy things to come, there have not been wanting in all ages men disposed to carp, cavil, and impiously aver their incredibility. But all their efforts combined cannot invalidate demonstrative evidence, or subvert facts founded on the basis of truth. Such as review with an impartial eye events recorded in history, both sacred and profane, which in this instance throw great light on each other, must discover every proof of authenticity, that can be had in points of this kind. They will also find things foretold in plain and explicit terms, though the period of accomplishment was not at those times ascertained; they will also find their completion in ages following, and that in a manner corresponding with their predictions. What clearer evidence, what more demonstrative proof can be required? Nothing but the most perverse contumacy and hardened infidelity can withstand them.

During a series of years, the divine prophecies have been fulfilling; some are past, and others are actually fulfilling at this day; so that we have confirmation stronger than our progenitors, and are consequently more unpardonable, if we reject matters