

THE  
**WHOLE WORKS**  
OF THE  
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MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL,  
**Cambridge.**

---

EDITED BY THE  
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**VOLUME VIII.**

CONTAINING  
A COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES:  
FRAGMENTA QUÆDAM HISTORIÆ ROMANÆ ET CHRISTIANÆ:  
HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL  
EXERCITATIONS UPON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

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R. BAYNES, IVY LANE; J. PARKER, OXFORD: DEIGHTON AND SONS; AND  
J. HATT, CAMBRIDGE.

MDCCCXIII.



COMMENTARY

ON THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES:

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HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL

**Exercitationes**

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MDCCCXXIII.



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†† This volume comprises *fifty-five* pages of original matter, not contained in the English folio-edition. See pp. iii. xi. 305. 349.



A  
COMMENTARY  
UPON THE  
ACTS OF THE APOSTLES;

**Chronical and Critical:**

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TEXT EXPLAINED,

AND THE

TIMES OF THE STORY CAST INTO ANNALS.

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FROM

THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK, TO THE END OF THE  
TWELFTH CHAPTER.

---

WITH A

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE CONTEMPORARY STORY

OF THE

JEWS AND ROMANS.



\* TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,  
THE  
TRULY NOBLE AND RENOWNED  
ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX, &c.

---

ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

THE inducements that have swayed me to the compiling of this tripartite history, have been, partly, for mine own satisfaction in the survey and prospect of the times and occurrences of the world, coincident and contemporary with those of the church: partly, for the satisfaction of the reader, in the same contemplation; and for the mixture of some delight with that satisfaction, in such a mixture of variety: but chiefly, for both our observation of the hand of God, good and gracious in the preservation and propagation of his church, and just and avengeful in his indignation and judgments upon those two nations, that persecuted the church, if they could have done it, to the death;—and that executed to the death, the Lord of the church, the Lord of life. For as there were two thieves, that were crucified with our Saviour, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left,—so were there two, worse by far, that crucified him, the Jew and the Roman: the former, of ignorance,—and so shall once obtain mercy; the latter, even against the confession of his innocency, and so

\* This 'Epistle Dedicatory,' is not comprised in the English folio-edition.

shall perish for ever:—both persecutors of the church, as well as crucifiers of the Lord of it; the Jews, while they continued to be a nation,—the Romans, while the church shall be a church. The consideration of this very thing, doth not only warrant, but even challenge, a mixture of study of the story of these three together, that the footsteps of Providence might be traced the more clearly in those two impressions of mercy and judgment dispensed in the world, in their contrariety,—the former, to the church,—and the latter, to these two nations, the enemies and persecutors of her, and of her Lord. I have, therefore, taken them up in one discourse, from that very time, that those two people did undo themselves, by doing violence to the Lord of glory. And for how long a process of time the discourse doth carry them on, this volume will speak for the present; mine intentions aim at a longer extent, if the Lord permit.

The story of the church I have traced in ‘The Acts of the Apostles;’ and there have rather set myself to explain and clear what difficulties are in the text, than to write out the full history and occurrences, that are there related: for since the evangelist hath done it with a divine pen, it was utterly needless, that I may say no more, to re-do it with mine.

The times of the stories there, I have been the more curious to search after, and to settle as near as I can, and to bring into annals,—not only for the profit, that ariseth to the reader from the knowledge of them, which is not little;—but also, for the bringing and reducing of the story of the other nation, into a

parallel and collateral current and coincidency with them. What difficulty I have met withal, in this particular, any one will readily judge, that doth but observe, how sparing the Holy Ghost hath been through all that book, to express the circumstance of the time, with the relation of the things. And what I have done towards the fixing of the times in this difficulty, I have tendered under the notion of conjecture: for I could go no farther: yet have I grounded those conjectures upon such reasons, as are much to mine own satisfaction in that matter, and so, it may be, they will be something to others.

I have led-on the story in this present piece, but to the end of the twelfth chapter; for thitherto hath the evangelist, that wrote the book, more especially discoursed the planting of the church, and the propagation of the gospel among the Jews. And as for the rest of the book, from thence to the end, that bringeth the church and gospel among the Gentiles, I have reserved it for another part, if the Lord vouchsafe life, leisure, and assistance.

The customs and carriage of those apostolic times in worship and discipline, I have been sparing in discussing; for the text,—for as far as this present discourse goeth,—is sparing in offering occasion to fall upon such a thing. In that part that is behind, where the Epistles of Paul are to be taken into hand, as they fall-in in time, such consideration will be useful, and they will be inevitable.

The story of the Jews, out of their own Josephus, and Philo, Hegesippus, and others,—the reader will generally find to be but a commentary upon their

own words, "His blood be upon us, and upon our children,"—written even in letters of their own blood, from time to time. For when that perverse and ungodly generation, had so far refused the gospel and their own good, that it had crucified the Lord, that tendered it to them,—“ex illo fluere,” from that time forward, their ruin and decaying is written, in all their stories, in such capital letters, that he that runs, may read it; and he that reads them, reads them not, if he do not observe it. This short tract of time, that this volume containeth, will tell you of three, or four, or more such anatomy-lectures, in less than twelve years’ space,—of many and many thousands of that nation that perished, and were miserably destroyed in Judea, Alexandria, and Babylonia:—and this, but as a preface and beginning of sorrows and miseries, that were to follow in the destruction of the whole nation, for despising and destroying of Him, that held out life unto them; but they chose his, and their own, death. Some of the same authors, that have given us these prologues of their miseries, will continue the scene with former tragedies, till their utter extirpation: and we shall borrow an abridgment thereof from them, in the parts succeeding, if the Lord carry us on, and prosper us in the work.

And how grateful and excellent a work, and pains might it be, if, when Josephus and Hegesippus end their story, and where Jerusalem ended her days, thence some learned and industrious pen, would, out of the Jews’ own Talmud, and Rabbins, and other writers, continue the story of this dispersed

and condemned nation till these later times, for the illustration of the truth of those predictions of Scripture, that foretell their doom,—and for the evidencing of that justice, that hath ever since haunted them, for the murder of the righteous One whom they crucified.

These are the two main things that I look upon, in relating those stories, that this volume doth exhibit: if the reader, who hath more leisure, shall dilate his meditations upon so sad spectacles to farther extent, he hath saved my labour, and, it may be, not lose his own.

The Roman history, which is the third that we have to deal withal, I must refer to the reader, to find expressions, by which to character and censure it; for, I confess, I want them: it is so full of truths, so horrid and monstrous (if I may epithet so glorious a name as ‘truth,’ with so vile and base adjectives), that it even gluts the eyes, and amazeth the heart, of the reader; and, though he cannot gainsay the truth of the things, yet cannot he tell what to say to them,—they are so hideous;—such monsters of bloodshed and cruelty, prodigies of lust and bestiality, gorgons of excess and luxury,—and, in brief, the very perfections of all viciousness and impurity, that it were most unfit to name them with a Christian story, were they not most fit to prove God’s high displeasure against that antichristian city. I have taken them up, as I have found them in their own historians, some here, some there,—abridged them as much as possible, to save what labours I might, and laid them in their proper times, according to the di-

rection of their own annalists. Politic, or ethical, or other observations upon them, I refer to others to make; it is a thing that suited not either with my leisure or purpose: I only show the monster; every eye desireth to look upon such a beast: let them read upon them as their judgment leads them: only this let me mind them to observe, that ‘no small judgments are to be read in so great sins,’—and that ‘that city is very unlikely to be the head of the church, that is, so visibly, the very tail of the devil.’ Rome hath murdered the Lord of holiness at Jerusalem; and Rome wallows in such murders and unholiness at home; and whether she be the likelier to be owned by Christ for Zion, or Babylon, may any one censure.

Now, the reason of mine address unto your Honour, Most Noble Hero, with this my undertaking as an oblation,—you may read it in your own worth and nobleness, and you may read it in your relation to mine own native country: for the one engageth, the other emboldeneth, and both overcome me to owe all the service I can to so much worth, to evidence this service by all means I can, to so great nobleness,—and to hope for acceptance of this what I can from that relation. Sir, this work is a fruit, that grew in your own Staffordshire (this is the only comfort that is now left to that poor country, that we may call her yours); it grew with your name and memory upon it, at its very first appearing: it hath been in devoting to you all the while it hath been in growing; and now it is come to this maturity, it is doubly yours, as a fruit of your own country, as a

vow of mine own heart. To beg acceptance were to seem to doubt it, which suspicion your nobleness cannot suffer to nest in me: this only let me beg of your expectance; that whereas mine engagement was, and your challenge might be, of a work<sup>a</sup> of another nature, you will be pleased to interpret, that this hath not prevented that, that it should not come forth, but only outrun it,—that this might come to do you homage first; that that is not lost, though this be found; that is in the womb, though this first-born.

And, truly, I could not but excuse,—nay, I could not but approve,—the forwardness of this to outrun his fellow, and to get the birthright, when the only aim of it was, that it might be your first homager. And, I cannot but hope, that your nobleness will gently interpret of this error of observance, as an offence of a most venial nature, when the utmost damage that accrues upon it, is but delay and not detriment,—and when the ‘summa totalis’ of the payment,—namely, my service,—is the same, though there be some difference in the coin. It hath been the course of my studies, in elaborating ‘The Harmony of the Four Evangelists,’ and this history, to let them grow up and thrive together; for, methought there was some equality in the division, to part my studies betwixt the story of Christ in the evangelists, and the story of the church in ‘The Acts of the Apostles,’ and to make the history of the other two nations my recreation. And I cannot but accordingly be affected with the same method of their production,

<sup>a</sup> A second part of ‘The Harmony of the Evangelists.’

that was of their generation, and allow them their vicissitudes now, as they had them then. Your nobleness will gently dispense with these strivings and contendings, where the prize and mastery aimed at is, which shall first serve you. In your hands, I leave this oblation to do you fealty, till his fellow come up to him: and in the hands of the Lord I leave your Honour, as in the hands of a faithful Creator and Redeemer, to be kept in well-doing: he bless you with the blessings of his right hand and of his left hand here, and crown you with the blessedness of his presence, and the joys of his right hand, hereafter:—so ever prayeth

Your Honour's

Most devoted servant,

JOHN LIGHTFOOT.

From my study, *Dec. 1, 1645.*

TO MY DEAR,  
AND DEARLY HONOURED AND BELOVED,  
NATIVE COUNTRY,  
**THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD.**

---

MY DEAR MOTHER,

THESE following collections came out from you, and they return unto you. They were made, when I lay in your lap with your other children,—you then prosperous, and we happy in your prosperity. Woe is me, my Mother, that your condition is so far altered from those times, and that our happiness is so far perished in your condition. How hath the Lord clouded the mother of my people, in the day of his fierce anger! and how doth she now sit in midnight, that once was clothed with the very sunshine of the noonday! Ah my dear country, I have much bitterness for thy sake, that the hand of the Lord is so gone out against thee! how is thy plenty turned to pining, and thy flower to witheredness! how is thy gold become dim,—thy candle, darkness,—and thy viol, the voice of those that weep! Dear Mother, how are you become not yourself! And Staffordshire to be sought in Staffordshire itself, and not to be found! Her children either fled or destroyed, or become her destroyers; her towns desolate, though full of inhabitants and people; her

<sup>a</sup> This 'Address to Staffordshire' is not comprised in the English folio-edition.

people perished, though alive and healthy; her peace gone; her joy vanished; her comforts none, her hopes as little; she a mother forsaken, a woman forgotten, left of friends, tortured by enemies, helpless in herself, hopeless in her helpers! Woe is me, my Mother, that thou hast borne me a man of these sorrows,—that I have seen thee a woman of these miseries! It is the Lord: we have sinned against him; we have sinned, and he hath not spared. I need say no more; I can say no more: tears take up, and prayers and patience must make up, the rest. I have spoke thus much, that my dearest native country may have a testimony, that no distance, no condition, can make me forget her. Forget my country?—let my tongue forget her art, and my pen her profession, if Staffordshire be not ever in my chiefest thoughts. Put up these tears into that bottle, where are the heartiest drops that are wept for you in those your sorrows; and lay up this volume amongst those records, that shall speak of the duty, remembrance, and observance, of your faithful children to you, to future ages:—and own, dear Mother, amongst that number, that most sincerely and entirely love you, honour you, and moan after you,—the heart and affections, prayer and groanings, ah poor Staffordshire, poor Staffordshire, of

Thy most mournful,

But most faithful, son and servant,

JOHN LIGHTFOOT.

London, 1 Dec. 1645.

THE  
CHRISTIAN HISTORY,  
THE JEWISH, AND THE ROMAN,  
OF THE YEAR OF CHRIST, 33:

AND OF TIBERIUS, 18:

BEING THE YEAR OF THE WORLD, 3960; AND OF THE CITY OF ROME, 785.

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CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS,  
FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, } CONSULS.

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CHAP. I.

Ver. 1: "*The former treatise have I made,*" &c.

THE<sup>a</sup> Syrian and Arabic render it, "the former book<sup>b</sup> have I written:" and so is the Greek word Λόγος used in heathen authors, not only for an oration by word of mouth, but also for a treatise or discourse that is done in writing; as might be proved by many examples. I shall only give one, as parallel to the phrase that we have in hand; as the author himself is unparallel to our evangelists in matter of truth; and that is Lucian, in his title of, "The first Book of true History," Ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας λόγος πρῶτος.

Now, the evangelist, at his entry into this history, mentioneth "the former treatise" of his Gospel, because this treatise of "The Acts of the Apostles" taketh at that: and, as that contained the life and doctrine of our Saviour himself, so doth this the like of his apostles. And, therefore, the words immediately following, "Of all that Jesus began to do," may, not unfitly, be interpreted to such a meaning, that 'Jesus began, and his apostles finished:' though it is true, indeed, that, in Scripture-phrase, 'to begin to do,' and 'to do,' do sound to one and the same sense; as Matt. xii. 1, compared with Luke vi. 1; Mark vi. 2, compared with Matt. xiii. 54, &c.

Now, the method, that the evangelist prescribes unto himself, and followeth in this book, is plainly this:—from the

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 747.—English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 733.

<sup>b</sup> אָרָבָה by which word they render Βιβλος: Matt. i. 1.

A. D. 33: TIBERIUS, 18: A. M. 3960: A. U. C. 785.

beginning of the book to the end of the twelfth chapter, he discourseth the state of the church and gospel among the Jews; and from thenceforward, to the end of the book, he doth the like, of the same among the Gentiles: and, therefore, accordingly, although the title of the book be 'The Acts of the Apostles,' as of the apostles in general; yet doth he more singularly set himself to follow the story of the two apostles, Peter and Paul: Peter's to the thirteenth chapter, —and Paul's, after; because that these two were more peculiarly the fixed ministers of the circumcision, and of the uncircumcision<sup>b</sup>. And so doth Moses entitle a reckoning of the heads of the fathers' houses, of all the tribes of Israel in general<sup>c</sup>; and yet he fixeth at the tribe of Levi, and goeth no farther; because the subject of his story lay especially in that tribe, in Moses and Aaron.

§ “*Of<sup>a</sup> all that Jesus began to do and to teach.*”

Not that Luke wrote all things that Jesus did, nor, indeed, could they be written<sup>e</sup>; but that, 1. He wrote all those things, that were necessary, and not to be omitted:—Theophylact and Calvin. 2. Πάντα may be taken for πολλά, *all for many*; as it is frequently done in Scripture. 3. And chiefly, That he wrote something of all the heads of Christ's actions and doctrine; for he saith not πάντα, but περί πάντων:—Camera-rius. Or, 4. As the woman of Samaria saith, that Christ had told her “all things that ever she did<sup>f</sup>,” whereas he told her but some few particulars; but they were such, as whereby she was convinced he could tell her all: so, though Luke did not specify all and every action and doctrine of Christ, that ever he did and taught; yet did he write of such, as whereby it was most clear, that Christ was the Messias.

Ver. 2: “*After<sup>g</sup> that he, through the Holy Ghost, had given commandments to the apostles, whom he had chosen.*”

There is some diversity in pointing and reading this verse: some take it in the order and posture that our English hath it; applying the words “through the Holy Ghost,” to Christ's giving commandments; and read it thus, “After he had given

<sup>b</sup> Gal. ii. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Exod. vi. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 748.

<sup>e</sup> John, xxi. 25.

<sup>f</sup> John, iv. 29.

<sup>g</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 734.

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commandments through the Holy Ghost:" and so doth the Vulgar Latin, Theophylact, Marlorat, and, indeed, the pointing in the best copies. Others, as the Syrian, Arabic, and Beza with them, conjoin it thus, "Giving commandments to the apostles, whom he had chosen by the Holy Ghost." Now, in the main thing itself, there is not so much difference, as to make any great scruple or matter how the words are pointed: for Christ may as well be said to command his disciples by the Holy Ghost, as to choose them by the Holy Ghost; and so 'e contra.' But it is material to consider,

First, That it is more proper, by far, to conceive Christ acting the Holy Ghost upon the disciples, and that when they were called,—than his acting him in himself in calling them.

Secondly, That there is no mention at all of such an acting of the Holy Ghost, in the disciples' choosing; but there is expressly at their receiving their charge: and, therefore, not only the pointing of the text, and the consent of divers copies, expositors, and interpreters, that read as our English doth,—but even the very thing itself, and truth and evidence of story, require that it should be so read. Now, why Christ should be said to give commandment 'through the Holy Ghost;' and what commandment this was, that was so given to them, is much in controversy.

There is mention, indeed, of Christ's breathing of the Holy Ghost upon them<sup>f</sup>, and of a commandment or two given them afterward, as "to go teach all nations<sup>g</sup>," and "to abide at Jerusalem, till the promise of the Father<sup>h</sup>." And the exposition and interpretation that is commonly given of these words, doth sense them thus, "That Christ, by the virtue of the Holy Ghost in himself, did give them these commands:"—whereas it is far more agreeable to the style and phrase of Scripture, to expound them in another sense; namely, that "Christ, by the Holy Ghost, infused into his disciples, did command them,—not by the words of his own mouth, but by the direction of his Spirit within them:" and so the prophets were commanded, Zech. i. 6; where the LXX use the same Greek word.

For, first, else to what purpose did he breathe the Holy Ghost upon them, and bid them receive it? Sure they had

<sup>f</sup> John, xx. 22.

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.

<sup>h</sup> Acts, i. 4.

A. D. 33: TIBERIUS, 18: A. M. 3960: A. U. C. 785.

something beside the ceremony of breathing bestowed upon them: and what can that be conceived to be, if not the Holy Ghost, to inform them of what they yet knew not, and to direct them what he would have them to do?

Secondly, It is, therefore, observable, that, on Pentecost day, they received *δύναμιν*<sup>l</sup>, “power” and abilities to execute their charge: for, indeed, their charge was given them by Christ before. Now, Christ was not with them continually, to talk with them and to instruct them, but came by times among them, and away again: and, therefore, on the very first night that he appeared unto them, he distributed the Holy Ghost among them, to be their constant instructor, and enjoiner, what they were to do, in that calling and employment to which they were engaged: and the fruit of one of these instructions and injunctions, by the Holy Ghost, within them, was the choosing of Matthias.

Ver. 3: “*To whom also he showed himself alive, after his passion, by many infallible proofs.*”

§ *The history of the resurrection, and Christ’s several apparitions after it.*

On the first day of the week<sup>k</sup>, very early in the morning<sup>l</sup>, when it began to dawn<sup>m</sup>, while it was yet dark, Mary Magdalen, and the other Mary<sup>n</sup>, the wife of Cleopas, and mother<sup>o</sup> of James and Joses; and Salome<sup>p</sup>, the mother<sup>q</sup> of Zebedee’s children; and Joanna<sup>r</sup>, the wife of Chuza, Herod’s steward<sup>s</sup>; and other women that were with them, set out to see the sepulchre<sup>t</sup>, and brought the spices with them that they had prepared. And as they went, they said<sup>u</sup>, “Who shall roll the stone away for us?” But when they came to the sepulchre<sup>x</sup>, the sun being by this time risen, they found the stone rolled away: for there had been a great earthquake<sup>y</sup>, and the angel of the Lord had descended from heaven, and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. As the women came unto the sepulchre, they saw this angel<sup>z</sup> like a young

<sup>l</sup> Acts, i. 8; Luke, xxiv. 49.

<sup>k</sup> Luke, xxiv. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Matt. xxviii. 1.

<sup>m</sup> John, xx. 1.

<sup>n</sup> John, xix. 25.

<sup>o</sup> Luke, xxiv. 10; Mark, xv. 48.

<sup>p</sup> Mark, xvi. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Compare Matt. xxvii. 56, and Mark, xv. 40.

<sup>r</sup> Luke, xxiv. 10.

<sup>s</sup> Luke, viii. 3.

<sup>t</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 749.

<sup>u</sup> Mark, xvi. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Mark, xvi. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Matt. xxviii. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Mark, xvi. 5.

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man, sitting on the right hand of the entry in, in a long white robe; and they were sore troubled. But he said unto them<sup>x</sup>, “Fear ye not; I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified; he is not here, for he is risen: come, see the place where they laid him.” And<sup>y</sup> they entered into the cave<sup>z</sup>, and found not the body in the sepulchre; but there they see two angels more<sup>a</sup>, in shining garments; the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body had lain,—who spake to them<sup>b</sup>,—“Why seek ye the dead among the living?”

The women, having seen this, go in haste, and tell the disciples<sup>c</sup>. Whereupon, Peter and John run to the sepulchre, and see the linen clothes, but see not the angels<sup>d</sup>. When they were gone home again, Mary Magdalen, who had again followed them to the sepulchre, standing at the door, seeth the angels again within; and, turning herself, she seeth Jesus without, whom, at first, she took for the gardener<sup>e</sup>.

1. So that the first apparition of our Saviour being risen, was to her alone<sup>f</sup>.

2. The same day, he appeareth to the two men that went to Emmaus<sup>g</sup>; the one of them was Cleopas<sup>h</sup>, the father of James and Joses, and the husband of the other Mary<sup>i</sup>; and the other was Simon Peter<sup>j</sup>.

3. That night he appeareth to the twelve, as the apostle calls them<sup>k</sup>, or to the eleven, and them that were with them<sup>l</sup>; and showeth<sup>m</sup> them his hands and feet, and eateth a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb with them<sup>n</sup>.

4. Eight days after, he appeareth to the disciples, and convinceth Thomas<sup>o</sup>.

5. At the sea of Tiberias, he appeareth again to seven of his disciples, and foretelleth Peter of his suffering for the gospel<sup>p</sup>. This John calleth his “third appearing<sup>q</sup>,” namely, which he had made to any number of his disciples together, and which John himself had mentioned.

6. On a mountain in Galilee, he showeth himself to the

<sup>x</sup> Matt. xxviii. 5. Mark, xvi. 6. <sup>y</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 735.

<sup>z</sup> Luke, xxiv. 3.

<sup>a</sup> John, xx. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Luke, xxiv. 5.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 9. Mark, xvi. 8.

<sup>d</sup> John, xx. 2—4, &c.

<sup>e</sup> John, xxi. 10, &c.

<sup>f</sup> John, xx. 11—19.

<sup>g</sup> Luke, xxiv. 13.

<sup>h</sup> Ver. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Compare John, xix. 25, and Matt. xv. 40.

<sup>j</sup> Luke, xxiv. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 5.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Luke, xxiv. 36. 39.

<sup>m</sup> John, xx. 19, 20.

<sup>n</sup> Luke, xxv. 42.

<sup>o</sup> John, xx. 27.

<sup>p</sup> John, xxi.

<sup>q</sup> Chap. xxi. 24.

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eleven<sup>r</sup>, and to five hundred brethren at once<sup>s</sup>; for so it may be supposed, seeing Galilee and this mountain was the place of rendezvous that he had appointed, not only from the time of his resurrection<sup>t</sup>, but even before his passion<sup>u</sup>; and to this convention seemeth the word *συναλιζόμενος*, in the next verse, to have reference:—of which, in its proper place.

7. The apostle mentioneth another appearance of his to James<sup>v</sup>. But neither do any of the evangelists tell when or where it was, nor make they mention of any such thing; nor doth Paul determine, which James it was.

8. Lastly, He appeareth to all the apostles<sup>w</sup>, being gathered to Jerusalem by his appointment<sup>x</sup>; and thence he led them forth to Bethany, and was taken up<sup>y</sup>.

§ “*By many infallible proofs.*”

Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, “By many signs,” say the Syrian and Arabic: “arguments,” saith the Vulgar Latin. But the word includeth signs of undoubted truth, and arguments of undoubted demonstration; and, accordingly, hath our English well expressed it, by “infallible proofs.” These were very many, exhibited and showed by Christ, which evidenced his resurrection: and they may be reduced to these three purposes:—

First, To show that he was truly alive again; as, his eating, walking, conferring, and conversing, with his disciples.

Secondly, To show that he had a true and real body; as, offering himself to be handled<sup>z</sup>.

Thirdly, To show that it was the same body that suffered; when he showeth the scars in his hands, feet, and sides<sup>a</sup>.

Every apparition that is reckoned before, and is mentioned by the evangelists, had one or more of these demonstrations; and yet were there certain appearances, and divers such proofs, which are not recorded<sup>b</sup>.

§ “*Being seen of them, forty days.*”

Δι’ ἡμερῶν, saith Theophylact, not ἐν ἡμέραις: “For that Christ was not continually conversing with his disciples,

<sup>r</sup> Matt. xxviii. 16.

<sup>s</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 6.

<sup>t</sup> Matt. xxviii. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Matt. xxvi. 32.

<sup>v</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 7.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Acts, i. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Luke, xxiv. 50.

<sup>z</sup> Luke, xxiv. 39.

<sup>a</sup> John, xx. 20, 27.

<sup>b</sup> John, xx. 30.

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but he came among them at certain times:" yet do the Syriac and Arabic translate it "in forty days."

Forty years after this, a year for a day<sup>a</sup>, was Jerusalem destroyed, and the nation of the Jews rooted out; because they would not believe in Christ<sup>b</sup>, who had so mightily declared himself to be the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead, and who had so plainly declared his resurrection from the dead, by so many appearings and infallible proofs for forty days.

And<sup>c</sup> that the sin might be fully legible in the judgment, they were besieged and closed up in Jerusalem, at a Passover; as, at a Passover, they had slain and crucified the Lord of life. Now, that this remarkable work of the Lord's justice upon this nation, in suiting their judgment thus parallel to their sin and unbelief, in regard of these years, and this time of the year may be the more conspicuous to the mind of the reader,—for the present, it will not be much amiss, to lay down the times of the Roman emperors from this time thitherto; for even, by their times and stories, this time and truth may be measured and proved: and in the progress of the discourse to come, the particulars, both for year and time, may be cleared more fully.

Now, the times of the Roman emperors, that came between the death of Christ, and the destruction of Jerusalem, are thus reckoned by the Roman historians themselves:—

Tiberius began to reign about Aug. 18.

He reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days<sup>d</sup>; and died in the twenty-third of his reign<sup>e</sup>.

He died March 26<sup>f</sup>; or, the seventeenth of the calends of April<sup>g</sup>.

Caius Caligula began March 27.

Reigned three years, nine months, twenty-eight days<sup>h</sup>; or, three years, ten months, eight days<sup>i</sup>.

Died Jan. 23, or the ninth of the calends of February<sup>j</sup>.

Claudius began Jan. 24.

Reigned thirteen years, eight months, twenty days<sup>k</sup>. He died in the fourteenth year of his reign<sup>l</sup>.

Died Oct. 13<sup>m</sup>; or, the third of the ides of October<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Num. xiv. 33, 34.

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 750.

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 736.

<sup>d</sup> Dion.

<sup>e</sup> Suet.

<sup>f</sup> Dion.

<sup>g</sup> Suet. <sup>h</sup> Dion. <sup>i</sup> Suet. <sup>j</sup> Suet.

<sup>k</sup> Dion.

<sup>l</sup> Suet.

<sup>m</sup> Dion.

<sup>n</sup> Suet.

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Nero began Oct. 14<sup>\*</sup>.

Reigned thirteen years, eight months<sup>o</sup>.

Galba reigned nine months, thirteen days<sup>p</sup>: died in his seventh month<sup>q</sup>.

Otho reigned ninety days<sup>r</sup>; ninety-five days<sup>s</sup>.

Vitellius reigned one year, wanting ten days<sup>t</sup>.

Vespasian reigned ten years, wanting six days<sup>u</sup>.

In his second year, Jerusalem is destroyed by his son Titus<sup>v</sup>.

And now, if we cast up the times, from the eighteenth of Tiberius, to the second of Vespasian; and compare and parallel them with the years of our Saviour, we shall find them running together in this manner:—

<i>Christ.</i>	<i>Tiberius.</i>	<i>Christ.</i>	<i>Claudius.</i>
33	18	54	13
34	19	55	14
35	20	56	1 Nero.
36	21	57	2
37	22	58	3
38	1 Caius begins in	59	4
39	2 March 27.	60	5
40	3	61	6
41	4	62	7
42	1 Claudius begins	63	8
43	2 Jan. 24.	64	9
44	3	65	10
45	4	66	11
46	5	67	12
47	6	68	13
48	7	69	14
49	8	70	1 Galba and Otho.
50	9	71	1 Vitellius.
51	10	72	1 Vespasian.
52	11	73	2 Jerusalem destroyed.
53	12		

Ver. 4: “*And<sup>w</sup> being assembled together with them.*”

There is no small difference among interpreters, about rendering this clause out of the original. Some read *Συνα-*

<sup>o</sup> Dion. <sup>p</sup> Dion. <sup>q</sup> Suet. <sup>r</sup> Dion. <sup>s</sup> Suet. <sup>t</sup> Dion.

<sup>u</sup> Dion. <sup>v</sup> Joseph. de Bello Judaic. lib. 7. cap. 18.

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 737.

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λιζόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν : others leave the words μετ' αὐτῶν out; as thinking the word συναλιζόμενος sufficient : some render it 'eating with them;' as the Syrian, Arabic, Œcumenius, Chrysostom, Vulgar Latin<sup>v</sup>, Diodati, and our English in the margin; the Rhemists, and those that follow the Vulgar, which Valla thinketh was mistaken,—and read 'convescens' instead of 'conversans.' Others, 'assembling them,' or 'being assembled with them;' as Beza, Camerarius, Diodati, and our English in the text; the Tigurine, Spanish, French, Erasmus, and others. Epiphanius, as he is cited by Camerarius, readeth it, συναλίζομενος : and Valla, as he is cited by Erasmus, saith, it is so written in some Greek copies. For the settling, therefore, of the right construction of this place,—

First, It is the concurrent agreement of all men, this last excepted,—to read the word συναλιζόμενος, and not συναλίζομενος; which word, indeed, the thing itself will not bear:—for though Christ conversed, and was much among his disciples, after his resurrection, yet do we not read that he ever *lodged* with them; which the word συναλίζειν doth properly import.

Secondly, In the difference about the translation, whether to render it 'eating,' or 'being assembled' with them; the current of Greek authors, in the use of the word, do vote for the latter sense, and not at all for the former, as Beza and Camerarius do prove at large; and more proofs might be given, were it needful.

Now, this phrase seemeth to refer to Christ's meeting his disciples on the mountain of Galilee, which he himself had appointed for a meeting-place<sup>w</sup>; and the words μετ' αὐτῶν may not be wanting. For in other of his appearings, it was accidental and unexpected, when he came among them; but upon this mount he was "assembled together with them," upon appointment. And here, it is like, were the five hundred brethren, mentioned by Paul, and spoken of before: for where was it so likely so many should have the sight of Christ at once, as in that place, where he had promised that he would meet them, and had appointed to assemble with them?

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 751.

<sup>w</sup> Matt. xxviii. 16.

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§ “ *Commanded them, that they should not depart from Jerusalem.*”

Not that they were at Jerusalem, when they received this command; but that he commandeth them now to Jerusalem, and there to continue. Till they were come into Galilee, they had no warrant to stay at Jerusalem at all, but command to the contrary; for he commanded them away from thence into Galilee<sup>x</sup>, because he would appear to all those at once, that had been most constant auditors of him; for there had been his greatest converse; and being there “assembled together with them,” according to his promise and his appointment, he then chargeth them to return to Jerusalem, and not to depart from thence, till the promise of the Father be come.

Christ confineth them to Jerusalem, for the receiving of the Holy Ghost. 1. Because of the prophecy<sup>y</sup>: ‘Out of Zion shall go forth the law,’ &c. 2. Because there would be the greatest company to be spectators of that great work, and to be wrought upon by it; as is proved by the sequel. 3. Because that this great work of Christ’s power, was fittest to be showed there, where had been his great humiliation: and that those, that would not be convinced by the resurrection, might be convinced by this miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost.

Ver. 6: “*They asked of him, saying, ‘Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?’*”

This was, and is, the great delusion of that nation unto this day, and not a few Christians do side with them in it; supposing, that, at the Jews’ conversion, they shall be brought home to Canaan, there inhabit with Christ visibly among them, Jerusalem built again; and their peace and prosperity so great, as never the like; and so constant, as never interrupted. To this tune, spake the petition of Salome, the wife of Zebedee, and James and John her two sons<sup>z</sup>, and the speech of Cleopas<sup>a</sup>. And how common this doctrine is among the Jewish authors, it is needless (for it might be endless) to recite; it is evidence enough, in that we see it the common

<sup>x</sup> Matt. xxviii. 16.    <sup>y</sup> Isa. ii. 3.    <sup>z</sup> Matt. xx. 20.    <sup>a</sup> Luke, xxiv. 21.

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and general query of all the disciples met together. Christ, since his resurrection, had spoken to them of the things, that concerned the kingdom of God; and they find, belike, that he had passed a great article of their belief unspoken of, about restoring the kingdom of Israel. Our Saviour answers their curiosity with a check, as he had done Peter<sup>b</sup>, and diverts their thoughts to the more needful consideration of the calling, that he would set them<sup>c</sup> about, as in the next verse; and showeth that the kingdom of Christ, which they mistook, should be a spiritual power, which even just now was to begin; and of this power, he tells, they should receive and dilate, and carry on his kingdom.

§ *Certain articles or positions tending to the confutation of the Jews in this point, and the millenaries, that concur in many things with them.*

1. That the Book of Daniel speaketh nothing of the state of the Jews, beyond the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

2. That<sup>d</sup> the Revelation intendeth not the stories and times, that are written in Daniel; but taketh at him and beginneth where Daniel left, to discourse the state of the new Jerusalem, when the old one was ruined.

3. That the fourth monarchy in Daniel, is not Rome, nor possibly can be, Dan. vii. 11, 12, well weighed together.

4. That the blasphemous horn, in Dan. vii. 8. 25, &c, is not antichrist, but Antiochus.

5. That antichrist shall not be destroyed before the calling of the Jews, but shall persecute them, when they are converted, as well as he hath done the church of the Christians: and that the slaying of the two prophets, Rev. xi, aimeth at this very thing; to show, that antichrist shall persecute the church of Jews and Gentiles, when, towards the end of the world, they shall be knit together in profession of the gospel.

6. That the calling of the Jews shall be in the places of their residence among the Christians, and their calling shall not cause them to change place, but condition.

7. That Ezekiel's 'new Jerusalem,' is bigger in compass,

<sup>b</sup> John, xxi. 22.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 738.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 752.

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by many hundreds of miles, than all the land of Canaan ever was in its utmost extent.

8. That the earth was cursed from the beginning<sup>c</sup>; and, therefore, Christ's kingdom not to be of the cursed earth<sup>d</sup>.

9. That the kingdom everlasting, that began after the destruction of the fourth beast<sup>e</sup>, was the kingdom of Christ in the gospel; and began with the gospel, preached among the Gentiles.

10. That the binding of Satan, for a thousand years, beginneth from the same date.

11. That his binding-up, is not from persecuting the church, but from deceiving the nations<sup>f</sup>.

12. That multitudes of those places of the Old Testament, that are applied by the Jews and millenaries, to the people of the Jews and their earthly prosperity, do purposely intend the church of the Gentiles, and their spiritual happiness.

Ver. 8: "*But ye shall receive power, after the Holy Ghost is come upon you.*"

§ 1. *How many of the disciples were spectators of Christ's ascension.*

It is apparent by this evangelist, both in this place, and in his Gospel, that there were divers others, that were spectators of this glorious sight beside the twelve. For, in the fourteenth verse, he hath named both the women and the brethren of Christ; which number of men, in ver. 15, he hath summed to one hundred and twenty, as we shall see there.— And so, likewise, in his Gospel, chap. xxiv, he hath so carried the story, as that it appeareth by him, that the beholders of his first appearing, after his resurrection, were also the beholders of his ascension: for, at ver. 33, he speaketh of the eleven, and them that were with them; and from thenceforward he hath applied the story until the ascension indifferently to them all. And this thing will be one argument for us hereafter to prove, that the whole hundred and twenty, mentioned ver. 15 of this chapter, received the gift of tongues, and not the twelve only.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. iii. 17.

<sup>d</sup> John, xviii. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Dan. ii. 44; and vii. 14. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Rev. xx. 3. 8.

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Ver. 9: “*While they beheld, he was taken up.*”

§ *The year of Christ at his ascension.*

The time of Christ's conversing upon earth cometh into dispute (viz. whether it were thirty-two years and a half, or thirty-three and a half) mainly, upon the construction of this clause, “Jesus began to be about thirty years of age, when he was baptized<sup>g</sup>.” For, though it be agreed on, that the time of his ministry, or from his baptism to his suffering, was three years and a half; yet is it controverted, upon that text, whether to begin those from his entering upon his thirtieth year current, or from finishing that year complete. The text speaketh out for the former; and in that it saith, “He began to be thirty,” it denieth his being thirty complete; and in that it saith, “He began to be *ὡσεὶ*<sup>h</sup> thirty, after a certain reckoning,” or, “as it were, thirty,”—it denieth his drawing upon thirty complete likewise. For<sup>i</sup>, if he were full thirty, it were improper to say, ‘he began to be thirty;’ and if he were drawing on to full thirty, then were it proper to have said, ‘he began to be thirty indeed;’ and not ‘began to be, as it were, thirty.’ Therefore, the manner of speech doth clearly teach us to reckon, that Jesus was now nine-and-twenty years old complete, and was just entering upon his thirtieth year, when he was baptized: and so doth it follow, without any great scruple, that he was crucified, rose again, and ascended, when he was now thirty-two years and a half old complete, which we must write his thirty-third year current.

§ 2. *The age of the world at our Saviour's death, resurrection, and ascension.*

We have showed, elsewhere, that these great things of our Saviour's suffering and exaltation, came to pass in the year of the world 3960, then half passed; or being about the middle. It will be needless to spend time to prove and confirm it here. The summing-up these several sums, which were as so many links of that chain, will make it apparent:—

<sup>g</sup> Luke, iii. 23.

<sup>h</sup> So *ὡς ἔπειτα τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, Acts, xiii. 20.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 739.

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From <sup>h</sup> the creation to the flood <sup>i</sup> . . . . .	1656
From the flood to the promise to Abraham <sup>j</sup> . . . . .	427
From the promise to the delivery from Egypt <sup>k</sup> . . . . .	430
From the coming out of Egypt to the founding of Solomon's temple <sup>l</sup> . . . . .	480
From the founding to the finishing of the temple <sup>m</sup> . . . . .	7
From the finishing the temple to the revolt of the ten tribes <sup>n</sup> . . . . .	30
From the revolt of the ten tribes to the burning of the temple <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	390
From the burning of the temple, to the return from Babel <sup>p</sup> . . . . .	50
From the return from Babel to the death of Christ <sup>q</sup> . . . . .	490
Total,	3960

And hereupon it doth appear, that as the temple was finished by Solomon, just anno mundi 3000,—so, that it was fired by Titus, just anno mundi 4000: Jerusalem being destroyed exactly forty years after Christ's death, as was showed even now.

Ver. 12: "*Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey.*"

§ 1. *Why the evangelist doth measure this distance at this time.*

This is the first matter of scruple in these words: and it is material to take notice of it, the rather, because that this same evangelist hath made mention of the mount of Olives in his other book, and yet never taketh notice of the distance of it from Jerusalem before<sup>r</sup>.

§ 2. *Why the evangelist doth measure this distance by a sabbath-day's journey, rather than any other measure.*

This, also, is not impertinent to take notice of, because, neither the present time, nor the present action, had any reference to the sabbath-day at all. For, had it been either the Jews' sabbath, or the Christian sabbath, when this thing was

<sup>h</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 753.

<sup>i</sup> Gen. v. 6, 7, &c.

<sup>j</sup> Gen. xi. and xii.

<sup>k</sup> Exod. xii. 40. Gal. iii. 17.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Kings, vi. 1.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Kings, vi. 38.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Kings, vi. 38, and xi. 42, compared.

<sup>o</sup> Ezek. iv. 5, 6.

<sup>p</sup> Jer. xxv. 11, 12, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. 9, 10. 2 Kings, xxv. 2, 3, pressly compared.

<sup>q</sup> Dan. ix. 24, &c.

<sup>r</sup> As Luke, xix. 29, 37, and xxii. 59.

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done, it were easy to see, why the measure of the distance betwixt these two places is by such a standard: but since it was in the middle of the week, when our Saviour ascended, and near neither the one sabbath nor the other,—it cannot but breed some just scruple, why the evangelist should mention a sabbath-day's journey here.

But before we can give satisfaction to these two scruples, it is, in a kind, necessary to resolve one or two more, which are of no less, if not of a greater, difficulty: and those are,—

§ 3. *Whether<sup>a</sup> the evangelist intend to measure the distance from the mount Olivet to Jerusalem,—or from the place, where our Saviour ascended on mount Olivet, to Jerusalem.*

§ 4. *What space a sabbath-day's journey was.*

This last must first fall under determination; and it is not of small obscurity, in regard of the different measures, that are made of it,—and in regard of the different glosses, that are made upon this text.

The Syriac readeth it thus, “Which was from Jerusalem seven furlongs.” And this hath bred some difficulty more than was in the text before; for that Josephus<sup>r</sup> saith, mount Olivet was but five furlongs from Jerusalem. And John<sup>s</sup> the evangelist saith, Bethany was fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem. And certain it is, that Luke, in this place, speaketh of the distance from Olivet, or from Bethany, or from both; and yet the Syriac gloss upon him hath found out a measure, that agrees neither with Josephus nor with John.

There is a like difference between their opinions, that come to measure this space, not by furlongs, but by another measure; some holding it to be two thousand paces, or two miles; others, two thousand cubits, or but one mile. That this latter was the measure of a sabbath-day's journey,—namely, two thousand cubits,—is apparent in the Talmud, and it may be confirmed out of other writers of the same nation; for this position is in the Tractate of Erubhin<sup>t</sup>, מדהלך אלפים “A journey of two thousand middle-paces is the bound of the sabbath.” And the scholiast there saith, “פסיעה בינונית דרך הליכתו של אדם אמה “ A

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 740.

<sup>r</sup> Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.

<sup>s</sup> John, xi. 18.

<sup>t</sup> Chap. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 754.

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middle-pace in the way of a man's walk,—namely, a cubit.” And so the Chaldee paraphrast on the first of Ruth, אתפקדנא : למטר שביא ויומי טבא בדיל דלא להלכא בר מתרין אלפין אמין : “ We are commanded to keep the sabbaths and the holy-days; so as to go not above two thousand cubits.” And this tradition or custom seemeth to be fetched from that place in Josh. iii. 4; where, because the people in their march after, and on either side, the ark, were to keep two thousand cubits' distance off it,—it is thereupon concluded, that they pitched at that distance, when the ark and they were encamped; and so that that was the space, that they went from their tents to the tabernacle, on the sabbath-day. It is not worth the labour, to examine the truth of this opinion, in this place; because, we have not here so much to deal with it, as with a custom built upon it: and it is not so material, whether that was the distance betwixt their tents and the tabernacle, in their encampings in the wilderness (for some of them were double, treble, that distance), as it is certain, that a custom was grown from this opinion, of travelling no farther than two thousand cubits on the sabbath-day; and to this custom the evangelist speaketh; and that is it, that we must look after. Now, if we count these two thousand cubits for whole yards, then was the space a mile, and above half a quarter, or somewhat above nine furlongs in all: but if for half-yards, which was the common cubit, then was it but half so much; and neither of these sums agrees with the Syriac's seven furlongs, nor with John's fifteen. But the latter agreeth very well with Josephus's five; and so do I understand the measure to be.

For, first, it were easy to prove, that the cubit,—by which the tabernacle was measured at the building of it, both for its own body, and for the ground it stood upon, and its court, and all things about it,—was but the common cubit of half-a-yard: and it is most likely, that those two thousand cubits, that did distance the people from it in the wilderness, and that measured out a sabbath-day's journey now, were cubits of the same size.

Secondly, The text of Luke exactly measures the distance from the mount of Olives to Jerusalem; and it is very questionable, whether he intend the space from that place upon

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the mount, where our Saviour ascended, or no. He saith, in the last chapter<sup>t</sup> of his Gospel, that Jesus led the disciples out, *ὡς εἰς Βηθανίαν*, not 'towards' Bethany, but 'as far as unto it;' as our English, and the Syriac, the Vulgar, Beza, and others, do truly render it. Now, Bethany was about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem<sup>u</sup>; and let us take the two thousand cubits how we will, either common or holy cubit, either half-yard or yard; or Ezekiel's cubit, of a cubit and hand-breadth;—yet will none of these measures reach to so many furlongs.

Now, howsoever Beza hath sought to heal this difference by a supposal, that Bethany was not only the name of a town, but also a tract or a space of ground, that lay about the town, as a lordship or parish lieth about the village; and that though the town itself lay fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, yet that the grounds and demesnes that carried the same name, reached within half that space to Jerusalem,—the grounds of such a supposal are yet to seek; nay, there is good ground to the contrary.

For<sup>v</sup>, first, it is rare in Scripture to find open fields, called by the name of a town, when there is no expression that the fields are meant: particularly, if we should reckon up all the towns named in the Bible that bear a Beth, in the beginning of them, as Beth-lehem, Beth-shemesh, Beth-saida, Beth-el, and all the rest that are of the like beginning,—we could never find, that they signify any thing but the very town itself: and why Bethany should be singular, I see no reason.

Secondly, In all the mentioning of Bethany in other places in the gospel, it is past peradventure that the town is meant<sup>w</sup>; and why it should not be so also in Luke xxiv. 50, had need of cogent reasons to demonstrate.

Thirdly, It is very questionable, whether Bethphage lay not betwixt Jerusalem and Bethany; or if it did not, it lay very little aside the way, as might be showed out of the story of Christ's riding into Jerusalem<sup>x</sup>: and, therefore, that was like to cut off the name of Bethany, that it should not reach

<sup>t</sup> Ver. 50.      <sup>u</sup> John, xi. 18.      <sup>v</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 741.

<sup>w</sup> As, John, xii. 1; Matt. xxi. 17; Mark, xi. 11; Matt. xxvi. 1, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Matt. xxi. 1. Luke, xix. 29, compared with John, xii. 1.

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far in the fields towards the city. For Christ lay in Bethany all night<sup>x</sup>; and on the morning, was gone some way towards Jerusalem, before he met with the ass, on which he rode, which he had commanded his disciples to fetch from Bethphage, which was *κατέναντι*, ‘before them,’ as the Syrian well renders it; that is, either directly in their way to Jerusalem, or very little off it, as they were now setting out of Bethany thither. And<sup>y</sup> this is confirmed by the gloss upon the Gemaras in Sanhedrim<sup>z</sup>; where mention being made of Bethphage in the text, the scholiast saith, “Bethphage was a place before the wall of the city, and governed as Jerusalem, in all things.”

It is, therefore, of the most probability, that Christ, when he ascended, led out his disciples to Bethany-town, fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, or thereabout; and that very way, that he had ridden triumphantly into the city seven-and-forty days ago, he goeth now again to ride more triumphantly into heaven. The text, then, that we have in hand, doth not measure the space from the city to Bethany, where Christ ascended,—but from the city to the foot of mount Olivet, on which mount Bethany stood; and the measure he maketh of it, is two thousand common cubits, or about five furlongs. And so we have done with two of the queries, that were proposed. But now, why he should measure this space at this time rather than any other,—and why by the title of ‘a sabbath-day’s journey,’ rather than any other measure,—remaineth yet to be inquired after.

This evangelist hath, divers times in his Gospel, mentioned this mount, as was showed before; but never showed the situation or distance of it from the city till now; and that may be a reason why he doth it here, being the last time that ever he is to mention it in all his writings; and that one place might explain another:—namely, that from this text the several passages, done on mount Olivet, which are mentioned in his Gospel, might receive some illustration,—and it might be known, how far they were acted from Jerusalem; or, at the least, guessed how far, it being from hence determined, how far the foot of Olivet was distant from it. It had been, indeed, as ready to have said they returned from Bethany, which was from Jerusalem about fifteen furlongs;

<sup>x</sup> John, xii. 1.

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 755.

<sup>z</sup> Perek 1.

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but the Holy Ghost is not so careful to measure the distance from the place of Christ's ascension (it may be, for the same reason, that he concealed the grave of Moses, for fear of superstition) as to measure from Olivet; where so many and remarkable occurrences, besides Christ's ascension, had passed, and been done by him.

Why he measureth it by the title of 'a sabbath-day's journey,' rather than by any another measure,—as, of paces, furlongs, or the like, since this day, that was spoken of, is not a sabbath,—we dare not be too curious to determine. Only to conjecture, it is very probable, that this was the common walk of the people of Jerusalem on the sabbath-day, in pleasant weather, for their meditations, when they had done the public duties of the day: for so it is said of Christ, that he often resorted to a garden of Gethsemane with his disciples<sup>a</sup>: and though it be not certain, whether he did on the sabbath, yet it is certain that he did on the Passover-night, after he and his disciples had done the work of the day and ordinance. And that time of the day fell under the same obligation, that the sabbath did in this particular. For, as was observed even now out of the Chaldee paraphrast, not only on the sabbaths, but also on other holy-days, it was not lawful to walk above two thousand cubits; and this time that our Saviour set thither, was the beginning of such a day: namely, of the first day in the Passover-week, which was to be observed as a sabbath<sup>b</sup>; and that day was begun at that even, when our Saviour went out to Gethsemane to pray. And though Judas slipped from behind his Master, after they were risen from the table and come out of the house, and when he should have gone out of the city with him, he stepped aside into the city, and got his cursed train up to go to apprehend Jesus; yet the text assures us<sup>c</sup>, that Judas knew where to have him, though he went not to observe, whither he would go; because that that was our Saviour's common retiring place upon such occasions. And so may we conceive<sup>d</sup> it was the common haunt of others of the city, upon such times, and such occasions of prayer and meditation, to resort thither, for the delightsomeness of the place, and the helpful-

<sup>a</sup> John, xviii. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxiii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> John, xviii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 742.

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ness of it, by the delight and solitariness, to contemplation. And, therefore, the evangelist may be conceived to use this expression for the measure betwixt it and the city, ‘a sabbath-day’s journey;’ because it was most remarkably so; not only upon obligation, but for delight, and the people’s common sabbath-day’s walk.

Ver. 13: “*They went up into an upper-room.*”

This was not that room, in which Christ ordained his last supper; for that was ἀνώγειον, Mark xiv. 15; Luke xxii. 12; this was ὑπερφῶνον. And, certainly, the difference of words, argues difference of the thing itself: for ἀνώγειον seemeth to signify any room above stairs, be it but the first story; but ὑπερφῶνον the highest room in all the house; as Acts xx. 8, 9, which was the third story. Nor is it probable, that this was the house of John Mark, mentioned Acts xii. 12. For though some disciples were then assembled there, yet were the apostles in another place. What place this was, is not worth the labour of searching; because it is past the possibility of finding out: be it in what house it would, this was the place, where this society of apostles and elders kept, as it were, their college and consistory, while they stayed at Jerusalem, and till persecution scattered them. And, therefore, it is said, ἦσαν καταμένοντες, ‘they were there abiding.’ This was not the meeting-place, in public worship, for all the believers<sup>e</sup> in the city, which, ere long, if not at this very time, were several congregations; but this was the meeting and sitting-place for the presbytery of these elders, that took care of all those congregations.

§ “*Both Peter, and James, and John,*” &c.

The Syrian readeth, “Peter, and John, and James;” and for ‘Bartholomew and Matthew,’ he and the Arabic read ‘Matthew and Bartholomew:’ the reason best known to themselves.

§ “*James, the son of Alpheus.*”

The word ‘son’ is not in the Greek, neither here, nor Matt. x. 3, nor Mark iii. 18, nor Luke vi. 15: but it is only thus, ‘James of Alpheus;’ and so reads the Vulgar. But the

<sup>e</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 756.

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Syrian, Arabic, Beza, our English, and divers others, have very warrantably put-in the word 'son.'

Now this Alpheus and Cleopas, mentioned Luke xxiv. 18, were but one and the same man: the Syrian אלפי serving indifferently to frame his name into Hebrew, or into a Greek pronunciation; Calphi and Cleophi, as Paul's double name sounded after these two languages. This Cleopas, or Alpheus, was the husband of Mary<sup>d</sup>, and she the mother of James the Less, and of Joses<sup>e</sup>, and of Judah and Simon<sup>f</sup>; and from hence is warrant sufficient, to call James 'the son of Alpheus,' though the text hath not spoken out the word 'son.'

This James is he, that was commonly called 'James the Less,' mentioned Acts xii. 2, and xv. 13, and xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, &c: and so often called by the ancients, the 'bishop of Jerusalem;' but upon what misprision shall be conjectured afterward.

§ "And Simon Zelotes."

He is called Simon the Canaanite, Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18; which in Hebrew signifieth 'zealous,' as is more apparent by the Syriac and Arabic writing of it, than the Greek. It is like he was so called from Cana in Galilee, the place of his abode; and the evangelist translateth this proper Hebrew name, into a Greek appellative, as John doth Siloam<sup>g</sup>. This Simon was the son of Alpheus also; and so likewise was Judas, mentioned instantly after<sup>h</sup>. And so hath Alpheus three sons that were apostles; and Joses, the fourth, is in fair choice to be one too, ver. 23.

Ver. 14: "With the women."

Some render it, "with their wives;" which may, indeed, be very true; for the apostles and disciples, which had wives, took them with them<sup>i</sup>: but it is too strait: for doubtless, there were some with them, that had either no husbands at all, or none there<sup>j</sup>.

§ "And<sup>k</sup> Mary, the mother of Jesus."

We have no more mention of her in Scripture: it is like,

<sup>d</sup> John, xix. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Matt. xv. 40.

<sup>f</sup> Mark, vi. 3.

<sup>g</sup> John, ix. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Mark, vi. 3.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 5.

<sup>j</sup> See Luke, viii. 2, 3; xxiii. 49; xxiv. 22.

<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 743.

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she continued under the care of John the evangelist, to whom our Saviour had committed her<sup>k</sup>; and at the last, in some persecution, was taken away by martyrdom, as Simeon had prophesied of her<sup>l</sup>.

§ “ *And his brethren.*”

That is, ‘his kinsmen;’ for by this term doth the Scripture use to express such relations. It is needless to show examples: and to show who these kinsmen were, will be more proper for another place.

Ver. 15: “ *And in those days, Peter stood up in the midst.*”

Peter, both in this place and divers others, and, indeed, generally, through so much of this book as concerns the church of Judea and Jerusalem, is ever brought-in as the chief speaker and chief actor; nay, commonly, the sole speaker and actor upon all occasions. Not that the rest of the apostles were either any whit inferior to him, either in authority or in forwardness to promote the gospel; but upon these two most singular and peculiar grounds:—

First, Peter was designed, by a more special deputation and appointment, to be the minister of the circumcision<sup>m</sup>; and, therefore, while the story stayeth among the circumcised, it still mentioneth Peter above all the other: as when it cometh to speak of the uncircumcised, then it fixeth solely on the story of Paul.

Secondly, Peter was considerable under a notion, that none of the rest of the twelve had fallen under,—namely, one, that had denied and forsworn his Master: and, therefore, it was in some kind necessary, that some special evidences of his perfect recovery again should be given. And whensoever he is thus honoured by mention of him, when the rest are not mentioned, it is not for that he outstripped them either in dignity or zeal; but to show, that he had recovered that ground, which he had lost of them in his grievous fall. And these two considerations do mainly resolve, why you read hardly of any man’s speeches, or any man’s actions, but only Peter’s. He is the speaker in Acts ii, at the first conversion of the three thousand souls; and he is

<sup>k</sup> John, xix. 26, 27.

<sup>l</sup> Luke, ii, 35.

<sup>m</sup> Gal. ii, 8.

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the speaker in Acts iii, at the second conversion of five thousand more : not that the rest of the company did not preach and speak as well as he ; as we shall prove<sup>a</sup> for that first sermon on Acts ii, and as the Holy Ghost itself approves for that second, Acts iv. 1 ; but because, at these first-fruits of the gospel among the circumcised, the Lord more especially holdeth-out the mention of the minister of the circumcision.

And so, in this motion for the choice of a new apostle, and in that doom again on Ananias and Sapphira, Peter, of all other, is the man : for how fully and how fitly doth it show his perfect recovery, when he, that, of all the rest, had fallen next to Judas, doth censure Judas ; and he, that had denied his Master with an oath, doth strike those dead for a lie.

§ “ *The number of names together.* ”

‘ Names,’ is held by divers in this place, and in Rev. iii. 4, and xi. 13, to signify only ‘ persons,’ without any distinction of sex : whereas, it rather signifieth men distinct from women : and so it seemeth, that the Syriac and Arabic understand it here ; and the latter addeth, that they were men of name or repute.

For, first, in Scripture-account, most constantly the reckoning is of men, and women very rarely brought-in in the number : nay, sometimes the reckoning plainly showed to be contra-distinguished to women.

Secondly, The name of a family continueth in the males, but is lost in the females. And, therefore, in the Hebrew, a male is called ‘ Zacar,’ from ‘ remembrance ;’ and women ‘ Nashim,’ from ‘ forgetting :’ and, in the New-Testament Greek, men are called ‘ names’ upon the like reason.

§ “ *Were about a hundred and twenty.* ”

This summeth the men, that are spoken-of in the verse preceding ; the twelve apostles, the seventy disciples, and about thirty-eight more, all of Christ’s own kindred, country, or converse.

These<sup>o</sup> one hundred and twenty, here spoken-of, are not to be reputed or accounted as the whole number of believers at Jerusalem at this time ; but only those that had followed

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 757.*

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 744.*

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Christ continually<sup>n</sup>, were of his own country, stood in more near relation to him, as being of his own family and society, and appointed by him for the ministry.

The believers at Jerusalem, no doubt, were many hundreds, if not thousands, at this time; though we read of no converts in this book, till the next chapter. For what fruit or account can else be given of all Christ's preaching and pains bestowed in that city? Let but John ii. 23, and iii. 2, and iv. 1, and Mark iii. 8, and John vii. 31, and viii. 30, and xi. 45, and xii. 19. 42, and divers other places, be well weighed; and it will be utterly unimaginable, that there should be less believers in Jerusalem now than many hundreds; much more unimaginable, that these one hundred and twenty were all, who were all Galileans, and no inhabitants of Jerusalem at all.

This number, therefore, mentioned by the evangelist, of one hundred and twenty, is not to be thought all the church in that city; but only the society and company, that were of Christ's own train and retinue, whilst he was upon earth,—that companied with him all the time, that he went in and out among his disciples<sup>o</sup>. And this company, though it be mingled and dispersed among the congregations in the city for preaching the word, and administering the sacraments, and joining in acts of worship; yet did they keep together, as a more entire and peculiar society, and standing presbytery<sup>p</sup>; and of the rest, durst none join himself unto them<sup>q</sup>: and thus they continued, till the persecution, at Stephen's death, dispersed them all but the apostles<sup>r</sup>.

Ver. 16: “ *This Scripture must needs have been fulfilled.*”

I apprehend not, what the word *have* doth in this clause: for it had been both more proper for the sense, and more facile for the reader, to have it read, “ *This Scripture must needs be fulfilled.*” Now, the application of these places so pertinently and home to Judas, showeth the illumination and knowledge, that the breathing and giving of the Holy Ghost<sup>s</sup> had wrought in the disciples.

<sup>n</sup> Acts, i. 21.

<sup>q</sup> Acts, v. 13.

<sup>o</sup> Acts, i. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Acts, viii. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Acts, iv. 21.

<sup>s</sup> John, xx. 22.

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Ver. 18: “ *This man purchased a field, with the reward of iniquity.*”

Not that he himself bought this field; for Matthew<sup>t</sup> resolves the contrary, and tells, that it was bought by the chief priest for his damned bribe. Nor was any such thing in his intention, when he bargained for his money; but Peter, by a bitter irrision, showeth the fruit and profit of his wretched covetise; and how he, that thought to enlarge his revenues, and to settle his habitation, by such horrid means, came home by it with the contrary; his revenues, to purchase land for others,—his habitation, to be desolate,—and himself to come to so sad an end.

§ “ *And falling headlong,*” &c.

Universality, antiquity, and consent, have so determinately concluded, that Judas hanged himself, that there is no gainsaying: yet hath the Greek word Ἀπήγξατο left it so indifferent, whether he hanged himself, or were strangled by the devil, that if I were<sup>u</sup> not tied-up by the consent of all to the contrary, I should the rather take it the latter way. And if I durst so interpret it, I should render Πρήνης γενόμενος to this purpose: That Satan took him away bodily, strangled him in the air, and then flung him headlong and burst out his bowels. For Πρήνης γίνεσθαι, ‘ Qui vel a seipso vel ab alio præcipitatur,’ saith Stephanus. And to this purpose may that verse of Matt. xxvii. 5, be very well interpreted; “ And he cast down the silver pieces in the temple, and departed; and, going away, he was strangled:” the devil catching him away and stifling him, and then casting him headlong, and bursting out of him with the eruption of his entrails: and this terrible occurrence would soon be noted of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem<sup>v</sup>.

Ver. 19: “ *Aceldama.*”

חַקְל דְּמַא, ‘ A field of blood:’ by a double relation; first, Because it was bought with a price of blood<sup>w</sup>.

And, secondly, Because it was sprinkled with his blood, that took that price: for so this verse intimateth.

<sup>t</sup> Chap. xxvii. 7.

<sup>v</sup> Acts, i. 19<sub>2</sub>

<sup>u</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 758.

<sup>w</sup> Matt. xxvii. 7.

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Ver. 21: "*Wherefore*", of these men, that have accompanied with us."

§ *Observations upon the election of Matthias.*

First, That there was a necessity the apostles be twelve: Δεῖ οὖν ἕνα τούτων, &c: and this, that the founders of the Christian church might be parallel to the twelve tribes, the founders of the Jewish; for, now, Jews and Christians were to join together: and this is hinted in the twenty-four elders, the representative body of the church, so often mentioned in the Revelation; and spoken out, Rev. xxi. 12. 14.

Secondly, That Matthias and Joses being chosen to be presented to the apostles, the election was not the choice of the whole church, as if every member of the church, and believer, in Jerusalem, either did or might give his vote to the choosing of them; but it was only the choice of the whole presbytery, or the hundred and eight among themselves: for so is it most plain, ver. 15 and 21 being compared together. Observe the phrase, "Of these men, that have accompanied with us."

Thirdly, That the apostles could not ordain an apostle, by imposition of hands, as they could ordain elders; but they are forced to use a divine lot, which was, as the immediate hand of Christ, imposed on him that was to be ordained: that opinion took little notice of this circumstance,—that hath placed bishops in the place of the apostles, by a common and successive ordination.

Ver. 23: "*Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus.*"

This seemeth to be he that is called Joses, Mark vi. 3, and xv. 40, the brother of James the Less: and the rather to be so supposed, because he is surnamed Justus, as James was. And so saith Beza, 'one old copy readeth Joses here;' and the Syriac, for Joses, readeth Joseph, in chap. iv. 36; so indifferently are the names used one for another. And from this indifferency have some concluded, that Joseph here, and Joses in that chapter, are but one and the same person, the nearness of the sound of Barsabas and Barnabas helping forward that supposal.

\* *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 745.

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But, first, that Joses, or Joseph, in chap. iv. 36, was born in Cyprus; this Joseph, or Joses, here, was born in Galilee.

Secondly, Although the apostles, belike, had named these two Josephs, to distinguish them; the one Barsabas, and the other Barnabas,—two names that are not far asunder in sound and utterance; yet are they in sense, and in the apostles' intention, if they named the one as they did the other. 'Barnabas' is interpreted by the evangelist himself *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, rendered generally 'the son of consolation:' but the Greek may as well bear, 'the son of exhortation;' for so it is known well enough the word familiarly signifieth. The Syriac useth, indeed, ܐܘܒܝܢ for 'consolation,' Luke vi. 24, Phil. ii. 1, Rom. xii. 8, 2 Cor. i. 4, 5, and in the place in hand; and ܐܘܒܝܢ in the place last cited before it: but whether Barnabas may not equally be deduced from ܐܘܒܝܢ 'to prophesy,' or 'instruct,' I refer to the reader. Be it whether it will, certain it is, the etymology and notation doth very far recede from that of Barsabas. Some conceive, that this signifieth the 'son of an oath;' others, the 'son of fulness:' but the notation to me seemeth to be, the 'son of wisdom,' ܐܘܒܝܢ. And if we would be critical, we might observe the various qualifications of a pastor and teacher, from these two surnames,—the one, a 'son of wisdom,' and the other, 'of exhortation;' but our intention only is to show, that the two Josephs in mention differed in person, for they differed in name.

§ "And Matthias."

Who, or whence, this man was, we cannot determine: certain it is<sup>y</sup>, the sense of his name is the same with Nathanael, though not the sound: and I should as soon fix upon him for the man, as any other; and some probabilities might be tendered for such a surmisal; but we will not spend time upon such conjectures.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 759.

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## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1: “*And<sup>v</sup> when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all together, with one accord, in one place.*”

### § 1. *The time and nature of the Feast of Pentecost.*

THE expression of the evangelist hath bred some scruple, how it can be said, Συμπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν, the day to be ‘completed,’ or fulfilled, when it was now but newly begun: and the sight of this scruple, it is like, hath moved the Syrian translator, and the Vulgar Latin, to read it in the plural number, “When the *days* of Pentecost were fulfilled.”—Calvin saith ‘compleri’ is taken for ‘advenire,’—‘to be fulfilled,’ for ‘to be now come.’ Beza accounts the fulness of it to be, for that the night, which is to be reckoned for some part of it, was now past; and some part of the day also. In which exposition, he saith something towards the explanation of the scruple, but not enough.

Luke, therefore, in relating a story of the feast of Pentecost, useth an expression agreeable to that of Moses, in relating the institution of it; “And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: even unto the morrow after the seven sabbaths, shall ye number fifty days<sup>w</sup>.”

It will not be amiss to open these words a little, for the better understanding and fixing the time of Pentecost.

First, The sabbath that is first mentioned in the text, in these words, “Ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath,” is to be understood of the first day of the Passover-week, or the fifteenth day of the month Nisan; the Passover having been slain on the day before. And so it is well interpreted by the Chaldee paraphrast, that goeth under the name of Jonathan, and by Rabbi Solomon upon this chapter, at the eleventh verse; “And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, after the holy-day, the first day of the Passover.”

And it was called ‘a sabbath,’ be it on what day of the

<sup>v</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 746.

<sup>w</sup> Lev. xxiii. 15.

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week it would (as it was on the Friday, at our Saviour's death), because no servile work was to be done in it; but a holy convocation to be held unto the Lord, Lev. xxiii. 7, and the Passover bullock<sup>x</sup> to be eaten on it<sup>y</sup>, as the lamb had been eaten the night before: and this bullock was also called, 'a passover,' and the day, 'the preparation of the passover<sup>z</sup>,' as well as the lamb and the day before had been.

This helpeth to understand that difficult phrase, Matt. xxviii. 1, about which there is such difference and difficulty of expounding; Ὁψὲ τῶν σαββάτων, "In the evening of the sabbath," saith the Syriac and the Vulgar: and 'o utinam!' for then would the Lord's day be clearly called the sabbath,—the sabbath of the Jews being ended, before the evening or night, of which he speaketh, did begin. "In the end of the sabbath," saith Beza, and our English; but the sabbath was ended at sunsetting before. It is, therefore, to be rendered, "after the sabbaths," for so signifieth ὀψὲ<sup>a</sup>, 'after,' in Greek writers, as well as 'the evening:' and the plural number of σαββάτων, is to have its due interpretation, 'sabbaths.' Now, there were two sabbaths, that fell together in that Passover-week, in which our Saviour suffered; this convocational or festival sabbath, the first day of the Passover-week,—and the ordinary weekly sabbath, which was the very next day after. The former was a Friday, and on that our Saviour suffered; the latter a Saturday, or the Jewish sabbath, and on that he rested in the grave; and, ὀψὲ σαββάτων, 'after these sabbaths,' early in the morning, on the first day of the week, he rose again.

Secondly, The morrow after this sabbath, of which we have spoken, or the sixteenth day of the month Nisan, was the solemn day of waving the sheaf of the first-fruits before the Lord,—and the day from which they began to count their seven weeks to Pentecost<sup>b</sup>.

This day, then, being the Δευτέρα, or 'second day,' in the Passover-week, and being the date from whence they counted to Pentecost,—all the sabbaths from hence thither, were named in relation to this day: as, the first sabbath after it is

<sup>x</sup> Deut. xvi. 2. 7; 2 Chron. xxx. 24, and xxxv. 8.

<sup>y</sup> John, xviii. 28.

<sup>z</sup> John, xix. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Ὁψὲ τῶν βασιλέως χρόνων, Plutarch. post regis tempora. Ὁψὲ τῶν τρωϊκῶν, post tempora Trojana. Ὁψὲ νυκτός, post noctem, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xxiii. 11; Deut. xvi. 9.

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called *Δευτερόπρωτον*, Luke vi. 1: not as it is rendered, 'the second sabbath after the first,' but 'the first sabbath after this second day:' the next sabbath after was called *Δευτεροδέυτερον*; the third, *Δευτερότριτον*; and so the rest accordingly.

Thirdly, Now, in their counting from this morrow after the sabbath, or this day of their first-fruit sheaf, to Pentecost, seven sabbaths or weeks were to be complete: whereupon R. Solomon doth very well observe, that the count must then begin at an evening; and so this day after the sabbath was none of the fifty; but they were begun to be counted at even, when that day was done: so that from the time of waving the first-fruit<sup>c</sup> sheaf, Pentecost was, indeed, the one-and-fiftieth day<sup>d</sup>; but counting seven weeks complete, when an evening must begin the account, it is but the fiftieth.

Fourthly, To this, therefore, it is that the phrase of the evangelist speaketh, *συνπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν πεντηκοστῆς*, which our English hath very well uttered, 'the day of Pentecost was fully come;' thereby giving an exact notice how to fix the day, that is now spoken of, from our Saviour's death,—and to observe, that he speaketh of the time of the day indeed, and not of the night, which was now over, and the day fully come.

The dependance of Pentecost upon this day of waving the first-fruit sheaf, was upon this reason: because on this second day of the Passover, barley-harvest began; and from thenceforward they might eat parched corn, or corn in the ear; but by Pentecost, their corn was inned and seasoned, and ready to make bread; and now they offered the first of their bread. This relation had this festival in the common practice, but something more did it bear in it as a memorial; for it recorded the delivering of the law at Mount Sinai, which was given at the very same time. And thus the giving of the law at Sinai, for the bringing of the Jews into a church,—and the gift of the Holy Ghost at Sion for the like of the Gentiles,—did so nearly agree in the manner of their giving, both in fire,—and in the time, both at Pentecost. Only, as the Christian sabbath was one day in the week, beyond the Jewish sabbath,—so this Pentecost, when the

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 747.      <sup>d</sup> Lousden's edition, vol. 2. p. 760.

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Holy Ghost was given, was one in the month beyond the Pentecost at the giving of the law; that being on the sixth day of the month Sivan,—and this, on the seventh.

§ 2. *The Pentecost on which the Holy Ghost was given, was the first day of the week; namely, Sunday, or the Lord's day.*

As our Saviour, by rising on the first day of the week, had honoured and sealed that day for the Christian sabbath, instead of the Jewish, which was the day before; and as is said by the Psalmist, that was “the day which the Lord had made,” when the stone, refused, was become the head of the corner;—so did he again augment the honour, and set home the authority and dignity of that day, in pouring out the Holy Ghost upon the disciples, and performing the great promise of the Father on it. Which that it may be the more clearly seen, it will not be amiss, to lay down the time from our Saviour's passion, to this time, in manner of a calendar, that the reader's eye may be his judge in this matter.

And let it not be tedious to take in the account of five or six days before his passion: which though it may be a little parergon, or besides this purpose, yet may it not be useless or unprofitable: nay, in some respect it is almost necessary, since we cannot, in reason, but begin our calendar from the beginning of the month Nisan, though our Saviour suffered not till the fifteenth day of it.

NISAN, or ABIB, *the first Month of the Year, stylo novo<sup>c</sup>.*

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX. *Saturday, or Jews' sabbath.*—This night, our Saviour supped at Bethany, where Mary anointed his feet, and Judas repined at the expense of the ointment<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Exod. xii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> John, xii. 1.

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X. *Sunday*.—The next day he rideth into Jerusalem, &c<sup>e</sup>.  
At night he goeth again into Bethany<sup>f</sup>.

XI. *Monday*.—The next day he goeth to Jerusalem again, and curseth the fig-tree<sup>g</sup>: and coming to the temple casteth out buyers and sellers<sup>h</sup>; and at even he goeth to Bethany again<sup>i</sup>.

XII. *Tuesday*.—He goeth to Jerusalem again<sup>j</sup>. Peter, and the rest of the disciples, note the withered fig-tree<sup>k</sup>. They come to the temple, and the scribes and Pharisees question his authority<sup>l</sup>; which he answereth with a question about the Baptist<sup>m</sup>: propounded the parable of the vineyard<sup>n</sup>: and he speaketh all contained in Matthew xxii and xxiii; and Mark xii, from ver. 13 to the end; and Luke xx, from ver. 20, to ver. 5 of chap. xxi.

At night he goeth towards Bethany again; and on mount Olivet<sup>o</sup> looketh on the temple, and uttereth all contained in Matt. xxiv and xxv, and Mark xiii, and Luke xxi, from ver. 5 to the end.

This night he suppeth in Bethany with Simon the leper<sup>p</sup>, and hath ointment poured on his head: after supper he riseth from the table, and washeth his disciples' feet, and giveth Judas<sup>q</sup> the sop<sup>r</sup>. With the sop, the devil entereth into him; and he goeth in the dark from Bethany to Jerusalem, and bargaineth for the betraying of Jesus.

XIII. *Wednesday*.—Christ is still at Bethany; Judas, having done his hellish work with the chief priests, is returned to Bethany again.

XIV. *Thursday*.—The Passover: Christ eateth it this day

<sup>e</sup> John, xii. 12. Matt. xxi. 1—17. Mark, xi. 1—11. Luke, xix. 29—45.

<sup>f</sup> Matt. xxi. 17. Mark, xi. 11. <sup>g</sup> Matt. xxi. 18, 19. Mark, xi. 12—14.

<sup>h</sup> Mark, xi. 15—18. Luke, xix. 45—47, &c. <sup>i</sup> Mark, xi. 19.

<sup>j</sup> Mark, xi. 20. <sup>k</sup> Mark, xi. 20, 21, &c. Matt. xxi. 20, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Mark, xi. 27, &c. Matt. xxi. 23. Luke, xx. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Matt. xxi. 24, &c. Mark, xi. 29, &c. Luke, xx. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Matt. xxi. 28, to the end; Mark, xii. 1, &c. Luke, xx. 9, &c.

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 748.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 761.

<sup>p</sup> Matt. xxvi. 1, 2. 6. Mark, xiv. 1—3.

<sup>q</sup> The sop given to Judas, not at the Passover, nor at Jerusalem, but two days before the one, and two miles from the other. <sup>r</sup> John, xiii. 2. 26, &c.

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as well as the Jews<sup>r</sup>. After the Passover he ordaineth the sacrament<sup>s</sup>. Judas received the sacrament<sup>t</sup>. Upon our Saviour's hinting of his treacherousness, a question ariseth among the disciples about it; and that breedeth another question among them, which of them should be the greatest<sup>u</sup>.

That debate Christ appeaseth: telleth Peter again of his denial: maketh that divine speech contained in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of John; singeth the hundred and thirteenth, or the hundred and fourteenth Psalm; goeth into the mount of Olives; is apprehended: brought to Annas, the head or chief judge in the Sanhedrim; by him bound and sent to Caiaphas<sup>v</sup>; and there is in examination and derision all the night.

XV. *Friday*.—The forenoon of this day was the preparation of the passover-bullock<sup>w</sup>; the afternoon is the preparation of the sabbath<sup>x</sup>. Early in the morning, Christ is brought to Pilate, the Roman deputy<sup>y</sup>.

At nine o'clock, he is delivered to the soldiers and common rabble<sup>z</sup>, and brought out to the Jews<sup>a</sup>.

At twelve o'clock, or high-noon, he is condemned, and presently nailed to his cross<sup>b</sup>;—the time of the day that our first parents ate and fell.

Now began the darkness<sup>c</sup>, and lasted three hours;—the very space that Adam was under the darkness of sin, without the promise.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Christ yieldeth up the ghost<sup>d</sup>:—the very time when Adam had received the promise of this his passion for his redemption.

At even, he is buried<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Mark, xiv. 12. Luke, xxii. 7.

<sup>s</sup> Mark, xiv. 22.

<sup>t</sup> Luke, xxii. 14. 21.

<sup>u</sup> Luke, xxii. 23, 24.

<sup>v</sup> John, xviii. 13, 14, &c.

<sup>w</sup> John, xix. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Luke, xxiii. 54. Mark, xv. 42.

<sup>y</sup> Mark, xv. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Mark, xiv. 25.

<sup>a</sup> John, xix. 1—13.

<sup>b</sup> John, xix. 13, 14.

<sup>c</sup> Luke, xxiii. 44.

<sup>d</sup> Mark, xv. 34.

<sup>e</sup> Matt. xxvii. 57.

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This day, being the first in the Passover-week, was called a sabbath, and a very solemn day it should have been, and no work done in it: but observe how far, and how vilely, the Jews did violate it, and that law, at this time.

- XVI. *Saturday, the Jews' sabbath.*—Christ resteth in the grave this day, being the sabbath: but the Jews rest not from their villany. For on this day, they compact with Pilate to make sure the sepulchre, Matt. xxvii. 62. And observe, that Matthew doth not there call it the sabbath, but ‘the day that followeth the day of the preparation:’ by the very periphrasis deriding their hypocrisy, who would be so observant of the sabbath, as to have a day of preparation for it, before it came,—and yet to be thus villanous on it, when it was come.

This was the δευτέρα, the famous second day in the Passover-week, in which the first-fruit sheaf was waved before the Lord<sup>s</sup>: and from this day they began to count their seven weeks to Pentecost<sup>h</sup>.

- XVII. 1 *Sunday, the Lord's day.*—Christ riseth from the dead, and he becometh the first-fruit of those that slept<sup>l</sup>. He appeareth first to Mary Magdalen<sup>j</sup>, then to Peter and Cleopas, or Alpheus, as they go to Emmaus<sup>k</sup>, and at night to all the disciples<sup>l</sup>. This is the first of the fifty to Pentecost.

XVIII. 2 *Monday*<sup>m</sup>.

XIX. 3 *Tuesday.*

XX. 4 *Wednesday.*

XXI. 5 *Thursday.*

XXII. 6 *Friday.*

XXIII. 7 *Saturday.*—The Jews' sabbath: this was Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον. Christ appeareth again: Thomas is present<sup>n</sup>.

XXIV. 8 *Lord's day.*

XXV. 9 *Monday.*

<sup>s</sup> Lev. xxiii. 11.    <sup>h</sup> Deut. xvi. 9.    <sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 20.    <sup>j</sup> John, xx. 15.

<sup>k</sup> Luke, xxiv. 13. 18. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 5.    <sup>l</sup> Luke, xxiv. 33. 36.

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 749.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 762.

<sup>n</sup> John, xx. 26.

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XXVI.	10	Tuesday.
XXVII.	11	Wednesday.
XXVIII.	12	Thursday.
XXIX.	13	Friday.
XXX.	14	Saturday.—The Jews' sabbath: δευτεροδέυτερον.

## JYAR.

I.	15	Lord's day.
II.	16	Monday.
III.	17	Tuesday.
IV.	18	Wednesday.
V.	19	Thursday.
VI.	20	Friday.
VII.	21	Saturday.—The Jews' sabbath: δευτερότριτον.
VIII.	22	Lord's day.
IX.	23	Monday.
X.	24	Tuesday.
XI.	25	Wednesday.
XII.	26	Thursday.
XIII.	27	Friday.
XIV.	28	Saturday.—Jews' sabbath: δευτεροτέταρον.
XV.	29	Lord's day.
XVI.	30	Monday.
XVII.	31	Tuesday.
XVIII.	32	Wednesday.
XIX.	33	Thursday.
XX.	34	Friday.
XXI.	35	Saturday.—Jews' sabbath: δευτερόπεντηνον.
XXII.	36	Lord's day.
XXIII.	37	Monday.
XXIV.	38	Tuesday.
XXV.	39	Wednesday.
XXVI.	40	Thursday.—Ascension day.
XXVII.	41	Friday.
XXVIII.	42	Saturday.—Jews' sabbath: δευτερόεκτον.
XXIX.	43	Lord's day.

## SIVAN.

I.	44	Monday.
II.	45	Tuesday.

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## SIVAN.

- III. 46 *Wednesday.*  
 IV. 47 *Thursday.*  
 V. 48 *Friday.*  
 VI. 49 *Saturday.*—Jews' sabbath: *δευτεροέβδομον.*  
 VII. 50 *Lord's day.*—Pentecost-day. The Holy Ghost given.

§ 3. *That many<sup>m</sup>, if not all, of the hundred and twenty received the Holy Ghost, and the gift of tongues, on Pentecost-day; and not the twelve only.*

For, first, divers, if not all, of them, were appointed by Christ to be ministers of the gospel, as well as the apostles<sup>n</sup>; and for this purpose had received the power of miracles, as well as they<sup>o</sup>; they had received the Holy Ghost on the resurrection-day, as well as they<sup>p</sup>; had conversed with Christ both before and after his resurrection, as well as they; had received the promise of the Father, as well as they: nay, they were to preach to people of strange languages, as well as they: and then, what possible reason can be given, that they should be denied this qualification of the gift of tongues, fitting them for that purpose, any more than the twelve?

That divers of them were ministers, if not all, there can be no scruple: what else was become of the seventy disciples? And that, if they must preach, they must preach to some of strange tongues, there can be as little; since experience showeth Jerusalem itself so full of this variety; and since a few years will let all the preachers loose to preach to the Gentiles, as they met with occasion. Nay, we shall find this justified by the practice of certain of them, as we go along.

Secondly, It is true, indeed, which is objected by some, that these words, "They were all together," do come so near to the last verse of the former chapter, which mentioneth only the twelve, that it may seem to speak of them only together at this time: yet doth both that verse and this as fully refer to the hundred and twenty, in the fifteenth verse.

For, 1. The evangelist doth lay that number from the very first, as the subject of his history, though his aim be

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 750.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 763.  
<sup>n</sup> Luke, x.      <sup>o</sup> Ver. 17.      <sup>p</sup> John, xx. 22, compared with Luke, xxiv. 35. 36.

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more especially at the twelve apostles: as, in his history of the twelve apostles, his history fixeth chiefly on Peter and John.

2. What should keep and separate the hundred and eight from the company of the apostles, at this time above all others? The text tells us they were *καταμένοντες*, and *προσκαρτεροῦντες*, ‘abiding and continuing together,’ in one place, and in one society<sup>q</sup>; and so the progress of the story giveth us assurance they were, till persecution parted them<sup>r</sup>. And it is very strange, that, on this day, above all days, the high day of Pentecost, the holy day of the Christian sabbath, the likeliest day of expecting the promise of the Father,—that, on this day, they should be parted from their society.

Thirdly, Look but upon the qualifications of the seven deacons, how they were full of the Holy Ghost<sup>s</sup>; how Stephen was full of power, and miracles, and wisdom, and an irresistible spirit<sup>t</sup>; and how Philip was of the like qualifications<sup>u</sup>:—and when, and where, and how, can it be supposed, that these men came by these gifts, if not upon Pentecost-day, and jointly with the twelve apostles? If it shall be answered, That, it may be, they received them from Christ, when he sent them to preach before his passion<sup>v</sup>,—then let it be showed, how Barnabas came by his variety of languages, to be able to preach, intelligibly, wheresoever he came, if not on this day?

It being, therefore, not to be denied, that there were divers others besides the twelve, if not the whole hundred and twenty (which I rather think), that received the Holy Ghost, in the gift of tongues, at this time, and that they were ministers as well as the apostles;—it argueth, first, that there were divers congregations in Jerusalem from henceforward; or, else, how should so many ministers there have employment in their calling? And, secondly, that those that went up and down preaching, upon the dispersion by persecution<sup>w</sup>, were not ordinary members of the church, or, as we have used to call them, mere laymen; but these men of the ministerial function, and of Christ’s own designation for that calling.

<sup>q</sup> Acts, i. 13, 14.

<sup>r</sup> Acts, viii.

<sup>s</sup> Acts, vi. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Acts, vi. 8. 10.

<sup>u</sup> Acts, viii. 6.

<sup>v</sup> As Luke, x. 17.

<sup>w</sup> Acts, viii. 4, and xi. 19.

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§ 4. *The reason of the use of the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν so often in this story.*

The intent of this word is the rather to be looked after, by how much the less it is used in all the New Testament beside, and by how the more frequently in this story. It is used in reference to the twelve apostles alone, chap. i. 15; it is used here in reference to the whole hundred and twenty; and to the whole number of believers, chap. ii. 46.

Now, the reason why the evangelist doth so often harp upon this string and circumstance of ὁμοθυμαδὸν, or of their conversing together “with one accord,” may be either in respect of the twelve, and hundred and twenty,—or in respect of all the believers.

First, The apostles had been exceedingly subject, in the lifetime of Christ, to quarrelsomeness and contention about priority<sup>u</sup>, and who should be the chiefest<sup>x</sup>; yea, even at the very table of the Lord’s last Passover and supper<sup>y</sup>. And, therefore, it hath its singular weight and significancy, and showeth a peculiar fruit of Christ’s breathing the Holy Ghost upon them<sup>z</sup>, when it is related<sup>a</sup>, that they now so sweetly and unanimously converse together, without emulation, discord, or comparisons.

Secondly, The hundred and eight disciples were in a subordinate or lower form, in regard of some particulars, to the twelve apostles; and yet was there no heart-burning, scorning, or envying,—no disdain, defying, or controlling of any one towards another; but all their demeanour carried in the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace.

Thirdly, If those two places, in chap. ii. 46, and v. 12, be to be applied to the whole multitude of believers (of the latter there may be some scruple), the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν there doth singularly set out the sweet union, that the gospel had made among them, though they were of several countries, several conditions, and several sects; yet, in ἀφελότητι καρδίας, ‘in singleness of heart,’ as they did ‘convenire’ in ‘uno tertio’ of the gospel, so did they ‘convenire’ affectionately ‘inter se.’ And this began to be the accomplishment of

<sup>u</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 764.

<sup>x</sup> Mark, ix. 34, and xx. 24.   <sup>y</sup> Luke, xxii. 24.

<sup>z</sup> John, xx. 22.

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 751.

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those prophecies, that had foretold the peacemaking of the gospel<sup>b</sup>; and it was an eminent fruit of Christ's doctrine<sup>c</sup>; of his prayer<sup>d</sup>; and of his legacy<sup>e</sup>.

Ver. 3: "*Cloven tongues like as of fire.*"

Ver. 4: "*They began to speak with other tongues.*"

§ *Of the gift of tongues.*

The confusion of tongues was the casting-off of the heathen<sup>f</sup>: for when they had lost that language, in which alone God was spoken of and preached, they lost the knowledge of God and religion utterly, and fell to worship the creature, instead of the Creator<sup>g</sup>.

Two thousand two hundred and three years had now passed, since that sad and fatal curse upon the world, the confusion of languages; and millions of souls had it plunged in error, idolatry, and confusion. And now the Lord, in the fulness of time, is providing, by the gifts of tongues at Sion, to repair the knowledge of himself among those nations, that had lost that jewel by the confusion of tongues at Babel.

The manner of exhibiting this gift, was in tongues of fire; that the giving of the Holy Ghost, at the initiating of the Christian church, might answer and parallel the giving of the law, at the initiating of the Jewish: and so it did both in time and manner; that, being given at Pentecost, and in appearing of fire; and so likewise this, as was said before.

Ver. 5: "*And there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews,*" &c.

It was, indeed, the feast of Pentecost at this time at Jerusalem; but it was not the feast of Pentecost, that drew those Jews from all nations thither.

First, It was not required by the law, that these Jews that dwelt dispersed in other nations, should appear at Jerusalem at these feasts.

Secondly, It was not possible they should so do; for then must they have done nothing else but go up thither, and get home again.

<sup>b</sup> As Isa. xi. 6, lx. 18, lxxv. 25, and lxxvi. 42. Zeph. iii. 9, &c.

<sup>c</sup> John, xv. 12.

<sup>d</sup> John, xvii. 21.

<sup>e</sup> John, xiv. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xi.

<sup>g</sup> Rom. i.

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Thirdly, These Jews are said “to dwell at Jerusalem,” and they had taken up their residence and habitation there: but those that came up to the festivals, stayed there but a few days, and so departed to their own homes.

The occasion, therefore, of these men’s flocking so unanimously from all the nations of the world, was not the feast of Pentecost, but the general knowledge and expectation of the whole nation of the Jews, that this was the time of Messias’s appearing and coming among them.

This they had learned so fully from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, especially from Dan. ix, that both the gospel and their own writers witness, that this was the expectation of the whole nation, that the Messias was now ready to appear.

In the Scripture, these passages assert this matter, Luke ii. 26. 38, iii. 15, xix. 11, and John i. 20, 21.

In the Hebrews’ own writings, we may find divers that speak to the same matter; as that “The son of David shall come about the time, when the Romans have reigned over Israel nine months; from Mic. v. 3, that his appearing shall be under the second temple; that it shall be not very long before Jerusalem should be destroyed;” and many such passages, fixing the time of the Messias’s coming, to the very time, that Jesus of Nazareth did appear and approve himself to be the Christ, as may be seen in Sanhedrim, cap. Helek: Galat. lib. 15: Hieronym. a Sancta Fide: Mornæus de Veritat. Christ. Rel. And this so clearly and undeniably, that when the wretched and blasphemous Jews cannot tell what to say to their own doctors<sup>f</sup>, that assert the time so punctually agreeable to the time of Christ’s appearing, they have found out<sup>g</sup> this damnable and cursed way to suppress that truth, as to curse all those, that shall be industrious to compute these times: for they have this common execration, תמח רוחן של מחשבי עתים “Let their spirit burst, or expire, that compute the times.”

And to these assertions of the Jews’ own authors concerning this opinion of their nation, we may add also the testimony of Suetonius<sup>h</sup>, affirming the very same thing;

<sup>f</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 765.

<sup>g</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 752.

<sup>h</sup> In Vespas.

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“ Percrebuerat Oriente toto (saith he), vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut, eo tempore, Judea profecti rerum potirentur :” and so likewise Tacitus<sup>1</sup>; “ Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur;” that is, “An old and constant opinion had grown through the whole east, that it was foretold, that, at that time, some, coming out of Judea, should obtain the rule of things : and many were persuaded, that it was contained in the old records of the priests, that at that very time the east should prevail, and some, coming out of Judea, should obtain the rule:” which though the blind authors apply to Vespasian and Titus’s obtaining of the empire, yet there can be no Christian eye but will observe, that this opinion, that was so prevalent, regarded matters of a higher nature,—namely, the coming of Christ, and the conquest of the world by the gospel, which came forth from Judea, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

And to these might be added that eclogue of Virgil, which is titled ‘ Pollio,’ in which he doth clearly speak of a new world then beginning,—of a child to come from heaven,—of a wondrous repair of the world in point of happiness,—and the like: that it cannot be doubted, but this same opinion was got into the west also, as well as in the east; very many of the Jews being there also, and raising this expectation, as well as in the other place.

So that this expectation and thought being so general among all the nations of the Jews, yea, among other nations also,—that this was the time that the kingdom of God, in the coming of Christ, should appear; this was it, that brought such multitudes to Jerusalem, about this time, out of all nations under heaven, to see the accomplishing of those things, that they so earnestly and eagerly longed and looked after : and this made them to take up their dwellings and residence in Jerusalem, and to resolve to settle there. For though they were acquainted with the time of Christ’s coming, yet were they not acquainted with the manner of his kingdom, but expected that it should be earthly and pompous, and his royal seat in Jerusalem,—as the disciples themselves opinionated, yea, even after long converse

<sup>1</sup> Histor. lib. 5. ed. Valpy, vol. 3. p. 369.

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with Christ himself<sup>g</sup>. And, therefore, these men make sure to get into Canaan out of other countries, and to get houses in Jerusalem,—that they might share in this pomp and prosperity, which they expected.

It was not, therefore, Pentecost that brought them thither, nor were they fitting guests there, to be gone home as soon as Pentecost was over; but they were κατοικοῦντες, ‘dwellers’ and resident there: and when they were converted to the Christian faith by thousands, they had their congregations.

Ver. 9: “*Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites,*” &c.

The text speaketh of Jews of ‘all nations under heaven’ now dwelling at Jerusalem; and yet it reckoneth but fifteen here, which were not all the nations in the world; no, nor all that were in the Roman empire, by very many. But to omit the hyperboles that the Scripture useth very commonly, as “cities walled up to heaven,” “shooting at a hair, and not miss,” &c; the languages, here spoken of, took up all the nations, where, it is imaginable, any Jews were scattered at this time through the world [if so be they were not also all the languages, that were spoken at Babel]: as, to take example of one or two; the Parthian, Median, Persian, and Mesopotamian, were the tongues that served all the eastern dispersion; and all the Jews that had been captivated by the two first monarchies, Babylonian and Persian, wheresoever they were, in east or north, spake some of these languages, throughout the vast space of that their scattering. For to instance in the Mesopotamian only: how many large and mighty countries spake that one tongue? Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Cœlosyria, to inquire no farther; all these spake that Chaldee language, so certainly, that there needeth not the least pains to prove it. And Judea was fallen into the same tongue now also; but with so much difference from the Mesopotamian, Syriac, or Chaldee, that here it is nominated as a language distinct. And this showeth the reason of the phrase, κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν Ἰουδαίαντε: that he might distinguish the Syriac of Judea and of Chaldea asunder; that those that dwelt in Mesopotamia, heard their Syriac,—and those that

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xx. 20. Acts, i. 6.

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dwelt in Judea, heard theirs.—Or, if we should instance in the Cretan tongue, that is here intended,—the island of Crete was but of a small compass; but the language of Crete reached all over Greece, not to search how far it reached farther. And the like might be observed of other of the tongues, that are here mentioned.

So<sup>h</sup> that it is hard to find, if not impossible, any Jews at this time under heaven, where one or other of these languages, here mentioned, were not spoken vulgarly in that country, where they were: and so may we very properly understand that phrase<sup>i</sup>, “there were Jews of all nations under heaven,” now gathered to Jerusalem.

Now, as it was impossible for these to understand one another in the languages of the countries where they were born; for it was impossible an Arabian should understand a Cretan, or a Cretan an Arabian,—a Parthian, a Roman, or a Roman, a Parthian; and so in the most of the rest; so was it impossible they should all of them understand any one tongue, either Hebrew or Syriac, which are the likeliest to suppose, or whatsoever else may be supposed.

For, first, how easy is it to show, how the Hebrew tongue was utterly lost among them from common use; and how the Syriac, which was in common use in Judea, yet was unknown to them in other countries; as appeareth by the necessity of the Chaldee Targum,—by the most familiar use of the Septuagint,—by the writings of Philo and Josephus,—and others of the Jews themselves.

Secondly, If they could have understood any one language, which was as the common language of the nation; then was the gift of tongues most utterly needless: for why should the apostles speak divers languages to them, that could have, all of them, understood one tongue? Tongues, indeed, were given for a sign<sup>k</sup>; but this was not the proper end, for which they were given, but for instruction and edification; and, as was said before, for acquainting those nations with the knowledge of God, which had lost it and him, by the loss of the Hebrew tongue. And if the Jews had understood, all of them, one tongue,—this gift had been need-

<sup>h</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 753.

<sup>i</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 766.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

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less to have been given, till the apostles were to go to preach to the heathens.

This, then, being past all denial, that these Jews, of several nations, could neither understand one another in the tongue of the country where they were born, nor understand any one language as common to them all;—it is past all denial also, that when they were converted to Christianity, they were severed into divers congregations; for else it was impossible for them to join together in public worship.

Ver. 13: “*Others, mocking, said, These men are full of new wine.*”

Malice is often senseless and reasonless in her accusations; especially, when it is bent against religion. Yet can I not hold these men so stupid and senseless, or so shameless and impudent, as either to think that drunkenness could make men speak languages, which they never understood before; or if they thought not so, yet to go about to persuade the people so. But their words proceed from this occasion, as I should suppose,—these folks that mocked, were natives of Jerusalem or Judea; and not understanding the languages of the nations there present, they could not tell, that the disciples spake those strange languages, when they did speak them; but conceived they had babbled some foolish gibberish and canting, they themselves could make nothing of, as drunken men are used to do. And this caused their so wretched a construction of so divine a gift. For the Jews of the strange nations and languages, that perceived and understood that the disciples did speak in their languages, were amazed, and said one to another, ‘What meaneth this<sup>k</sup>?’ But these other Jews, natives of Jerusalem and Judea, that understood only their own Syriac, and did not understand that they spake strange languages indeed,—these mocked, and said, “These men are full of new (or sweet) wine:” grounding their accusation the rather, because that Pentecost was a feasting and rejoicing time<sup>l</sup>.

And according to this conception it is observable, that Peter begins his speech, “Ye men of Judea.”

<sup>k</sup> Ver. 12.

<sup>l</sup> Deut. xvi. 11.

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Ver. 14: “*But Peter, standing up with the eleven, said,*” &c.

Reason itself, if the text did not, would readily resolve, that it was not Peter alone that converted the three thousand, that are mentioned after; but that the rest of the apostles were sharers with him in that work. For if Peter must be held the only orator at this time, then must it needs be granted, that either the three thousand, which were converted, were all of one language; or that the one language that he spake, seemed to the hearers to be divers tongues; or that he rehearsed the same speech over and over again, in divers languages: any of which to grant, is senseless and ridiculous; and yet, unless we will run upon some of these absurdities, we may not deny, that the rest of the twelve preached now as well as Peter.

But the text, besides this, gives us these arguments to conclude the matter to be undoubted:—

First<sup>m</sup>, It saith, Peter stood forth “with the eleven.” Now, why should the eleven be mentioned standing forth, as well as Peter, if they spake not as well as he? They might as well have sitten still; and Peter’s excuse of them would as well have served the turn. It was not Peter alone, that stood forth to excuse the eleven; but Peter and the eleven, that stood forth to excuse the rest of the hundred and twenty.

Secondly, It is said, “They were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter, and to the rest of the apostles<sup>o</sup>, What shall we do?” Why should they question and ask counsel of the rest of the apostles as well as of Peter, if they had not preached as well as he?

Thirdly, And it is a confirmation that so they did, in that it is said<sup>p</sup>, “They continued in the doctrine of *the apostles* ;” of the rest, as well as of Peter.

Fourthly, If that were the occasion, that we mentioned, why they suspected the apostles and the rest drunk; then will it follow, that Peter preached and spake in the Syriac tongue, chiefly to those Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, that would not believe,—because they could not understand, that the disciples spake strange languages, but thought they

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 754.

<sup>o</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 767.

<sup>n</sup> Acts, ii. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Ver. 42.

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canted some drunken gibberish. And to give some probability of this, not only his preface, "Ye men of Judea," but also his laying flatly the murder of Christ to their charge<sup>p</sup>, do help to confirm it: and the conclusion of his sermon and of the story in the evangelist doth set it home, that if Peter preached not only to these natives of Judea, yet that he only preached not at this time, but that the others did the like with him, in that it is said, "They, that gladly received his words, were baptized;" and then, as speaking of another story, he saith, "there were added, about the same day, three thousand souls."

Now, the reason why Peter's sermon is only recorded, and the story more singularly fixed on him, we observed before.

§ *Brief observations upon some passages in Peter's sermon.*

Ver. 15: "It is but the third hour of the day." And on these solemn festival-days, they used not to eat or drink any thing till high-noon; as Baronius would observe out of Josephus and Acts x.

Ver. 17: "In the last days." The days of the gospel: because there is no way of salvation to be expected beyond the gospel: whereas there was the gospel beyond the law; and the law beyond the light of the ages before it. Yet is this most properly to be understood of those days of the gospel, that were before Jerusalem was destroyed: and the phrase 'the last days,' used here, and in divers other places, is not to be taken for the last days of the world, but for the last days of Jerusalem: the destruction of which, and the rejection of the Jews, is reputed the end of that old world,—and the coming-in of the Gentiles under the gospel, is as a 'new world;' and is accordingly called "a new heaven and a new earth."

"Upon all flesh." Upon the heathens and Gentiles as well as upon the Jews<sup>q</sup>, contrary to the axiom of the Jewish schools: שכינה לא שורה בחוזה לארץ "The divine Majesty dwelleth not on any out of the land of Israel."

Ver. 20: "Before the great and notable day of the Lord come." The day of Jerusalem's destruction; which was forty years after this, as was observed before: so that all

<sup>p</sup> Ver. 22, 23.

<sup>q</sup> Acts, x. 45.

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these gifts, and all the effusion of the Spirit, that were to be henceforward, were to be within the time, betwixt this Pentecost and Jerusalem destroyed. And they that from hence would presage prophetic and miraculous gifts, and visions, and revelations, to be towards the end of the world,—might do better to weigh, what the expression, “The great and terrible day of the Lord,” meaneth here and elsewhere in the prophets.

The blood of the Son of God,—the fire of the Holy Ghost’s appearance,—the vapour of the smoke in which Christ ascended,—the sun darkened,—and the moon made blood at his passion,—were all accomplished upon this point of time: and it were very improper to look for the accomplishment of the rest of the prophecy, I know not how many hundreds or thousands of years after.

Ver. 24: “Having loosed the pains of death;”] or rather, “Having dissolved the pains of death;” meaning in reference to the people of God;—namely, that God raised up Christ,—and, by his resurrection, dissolved and destroyed the pangs and power of death upon his own people.

Ver. 27: “Thou wilt not leave my soul.”] Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις i. e. “Thou wilt not give my soul up.” And why should not the very same words, “My God, my God,” ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες, be translated to the same purpose,—“Why hast thou left me, and given me up to such hands, and shame, and tortures?” rather than to intricate the sense, with a surmise of Christ’s spiritual desertion.

“In hell.”] Gr. ‘Hades:’ the state of souls departed: but their condition differenced, according to the difference of their qualities; Καὶ γὰρ κατ’ ἄδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν Μίαν, δικαίων ἐτέραν δ’ ἀσεβῶν εἶναι Ὅρον. Diphilus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5. [Bp. Potter’s edition, p. 721.]

Ver. 38: “Be<sup>r</sup> baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.”] Not that their baptism was not administered in the name of the Father and the Holy Ghost also; but that he would specially work them up to the acknowledgment of Christ. For the Father and the Holy Ghost they acknowledged without any scrupling; but to own Christ for God, whom they had crucified, and to be initiated into Jesus of

<sup>r</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 755.

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Nazareth,—was the great work that the apostles went about to work upon them: and, therefore, especially endeavour to enter them into Jesus, and to have them baptized in his name.

“Be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.”] Not that every one that was baptized, was presently endued with these extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophecy, for they were bestowed henceforward by imposition of the apostles’ hands; save only when they first fell from heaven, upon the company of Cornelius, to complete that prophecy, which now had its beginning, “I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh:”—but Peter<sup>a</sup> inviteth them into baptism, and then should they be capable of those gifts; and, no doubt, they were bestowed upon some of them by the apostles’ hands.

Ver. 42: “*And in breaking of bread.*”

The Syriac expressly understandeth this, of partaking of the Lord’s supper; for he useth the very Greek word ‘eucharistia,’ here. And so divers take that to be the meaning of this phrase, both here, and in some places else in the New Testament. Yea, even they that suppose that it meaneth ‘partaking of their common meals and food,’ yet do they think, that they had the sacrament added to it, as our Saviour added it to the Passover. And, indeed, the manner of speech doth signify both the one and the other, both ordinary meals and the receiving of the sacrament; as in Luke xxiv. 35, “He was known of them in breaking of bread<sup>r</sup>,” here it meaneth a common supper in the inn at Emmaus:—1 Cor. x. 16, “The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?” here it betokeneth the receiving of the sacrament. But it may be conceived to intend the sacrament the rather, and chiefly, if not only:—

First, Because the phrase of ‘breaking of bread’ for common eating, is very rare both in the Old Testament and Jewish authors; but ‘eating of bread’ is the expression, that speaketh that.

And, secondly, because ‘breaking of the bread’ in the sa-

<sup>a</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 768.

<sup>r</sup> *Ev* importeth the time here; and so the Syriac reads it, כר קרא ‘as he was breaking bread.’

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crament, is a concomitant that cannot be parted from it; for εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, “he blessed and brake, and said, This is my body, which is broken<sup>s</sup>.”

Ver. 44: “*And all that believed, were together.*”

This Greek word ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ is of frequent and of various use in the Septuagint. It sometimes betokeneth the meeting of persons in the same company<sup>t</sup>; so of beasts<sup>u</sup>; sometimes their concurring in the same action, though not in the same company or place<sup>v</sup>; sometimes their concurring in the same condition<sup>w</sup>; and sometimes their knitting together, though in several companies;—as Joab’s and Abner’s men, though they sat at distance, and the pool of Gibeon between them, yet are they said συναντῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό<sup>x</sup>. And in this sense is the word to be understood in this story: for it is past all imagination or conceiving, that all those thousands of believers, that were now in Jerusalem, should keep all of one company and knot, and not part asunder; for what house would hold them? But they kept in several companies or congregations, according as their languages, nations, or other references, did knit them together. And this joining together, because it was apart from those that believed not, and because it was in the same profession and practice of the duties of religion; therefore, it is said to be ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, though it were in several companies and congregations. And to such a sense doth Rabbi Solomon understand the ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ in Deut. xxv. 5; as, indeed, it must of necessity be understood, not of brethren dwelling in the very same place, but of brethren בְּנֵי חֵלֶם מִיְהוּדִים that are united in inheritance; as these believers were now in the gospel. And so is the building of the Jews to be understood, Ezra iv. 3; ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἰκοδομήσομεν, in separation from the Samaritans, and in joining in the action, though they were of several companies in the building, and those companies far distant one from another<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 24.

<sup>t</sup> As, Josh. xi. 5. Judg. vi. 33. xix. 6, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Deut. xxii. 10.

<sup>v</sup> As, Psal. ii. 2. xxxiv. 3. xlix. 2. lxxiv. 6. and lxxxiii. 5, &c.

<sup>w</sup> As, Psal. xlvi. 10. lxii. 9. Isa. lxvi. 17. Jer. vi. 12.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Sam. ii. 13.

<sup>y</sup> Neh. iii. per totum. and iv. 19.

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Ver. 46: “ *Continuing daily, with one accord, in the temple.*”

This is not to express, that the temple was their meeting-place, either for hearing of their sermons, or administering the sacraments; for neither of these would have been endured there, as appeareth, Acts iv. 1: but this is to show, that they had not yet shaken off all<sup>y</sup> the worship of the temple, nor the observance of Moses; but resorted thither to the duties of religion, at the hours of prayer, as they had done before. For many years after this, the believing Jews were still tenacious of the law, and reverential of the temple<sup>z</sup>; which they might lawfully be, while the temple stood, if their observance of Moses did not destroy in them the doctrine and application of their justification by faith in Christ. And hence was it, that the apostles did so far comply with them both in that place in Acts xxi, and also in Acts xv; because Moses was to stand, till the temple fell; those rites not nullifying the death of Christ, if rightly used.

### CHAP. III.

Ver. 1: “ *Peter and John went up together into the temple.*”

It may be, this was likewise on Pentecost-day; and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ doth signify identity of time: as it doth, 2 Sam. xxi. 9,—and in the Chaldee of Jonathan, on Deut. xxv. 5. And the ‘ninth hour’ may be mentioned here in reference to the ‘third hour’ in preceding story<sup>a</sup>,—viz. at nine o’clock in the morning was that conversion of three thousand,—and, at three o’clock in the afternoon, this of five thousand<sup>b</sup>. Howsoever, whether it were on that day, or no; certainly it was on some solemn day, either a sabbath or festival, as appeareth by the number, that were then present in the temple, when so many of them were converted. For ordinarily, on the common days of the week, the company, that was in the temple, was very few, besides the priests and the stationary men (אנשי מעמד as they are called by the Rabbins), which were a number of men chosen to be constantly there, to represent the whole congregation, in laying their hands on the

<sup>y</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 756.

<sup>z</sup> Acts, xxi. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. ii. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 769.

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heads of the sacrifices in their behalf. This concourse of people on such a solemn day, was a fit subject and opportunity for these apostles to work upon; and that in all probability was the main induction, that brought them into the temple at this time. That they should go thither to institute the canonical hours by their own example, as Baronius dreameth,—is a fancy, that far better deserveth laughter, than any answer.

Ver. 2: “*The gate of the temple, which was called Beautiful.*”

This was the gate, that entered into the second court, or out of the court of the Gentiles, into the court of the Jews. And there this cripple lay, begging of the Jews that came into the temple,—but disdainng, as it seemeth, to beg of the Gentiles. This seemeth to be that gate, that Josephus calleth the ‘Corinthiack gate,’ and which he describeth to be of so much gorgeousness and bravery<sup>c</sup>; and which we shall have occasion to describe in another work, fully and on set purpose.

Ver. 11: “*The porch called Solomon’s.*”

Not that the very porch, built by Solomon, was now standing,—for that was burnt and destroyed by the Babylonians, as well as the rest of the temple; but because this was built on the very same pile, that his was built upon. For the temple standing upon a high and steep hill, with a deep and sharp precipice about it,—Solomon, to make room for the floor of the mount, which was too strait, filled up the ditch on the east side with huge stones strongly jointed together, and he built his porch upon that pile: and because this of Herod’s was erected also upon that very same foundation, it, therefore, is called ‘Solomon’s porch.’ It was the first gate or entrance into the Mountain of the House; and not only the very building of the porch, but the court within bare the same name<sup>d</sup>.

Ver. 12: “*And when Peter saw it, he answered,*” &c.

Here Peter’s sermon is registered again; but, chap. iv. 1, it is said, “*As they spake;*” which resolveth, that John preached as well as he.

<sup>c</sup> De Bello Jud. lib. v. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus, ubi supra.

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Ver. 16: “*Through faith in his name,*” &c.

Faith is twice named in this verse, because of the apostle’s faith in doing, and the cripple’s faith in receiving, the miracle; the former was, *πίστις διὰ Χριστοῦ*: the latter, *πίστις τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, or *τοῦ ὀνόματος*.

Ver. 17: “*Through<sup>c</sup> ignorance ye did it.*”

So Christ said himself<sup>d</sup>, “Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.” This, their ignorance, proceeded mainly from mistaking the place of Christ’s birth; for they supposed it had been Nazareth;—and from mistaking the kingdom of the Messiah; for they expected it would have been pompous, and full of worldly glory. The title on the cross, “Jesus, of Nazareth, King of the Jews,” spake out both the ignorances, that carried them on to so wretched an act.

Ver. 19: “*When the times of refreshing shall come.*”

Ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι: The Syriac readeth it, “That your sins may be blotted out, and the times of refreshing may come:” and so the Arabic, and Irenæus, or at least his interpreter, cited by Beza; the Vulgar, “*ut cum venerint,*” but concludeth not the clause to make it sense. Beza, “*postquam venerint;*” but what sense he would make of it, I do not well understand. He pleadeth much, to prove that *ὅπως ἂν* doth signify ‘*postquam;*’ and it is not denied him: but he cannot deny withal, that it signifieth ‘*ut,*’ likewise: and so may it best, and most properly, be understood, “That your sins may be blotted out, *so that* the times of refreshing may come.” The apostle Peter taketh his speech from Isa. xxviii. 12; where the prophet at once prophesieth of the gift of tongues, ver. 11; of the preaching of the gospel, ver. 12; and the infidelity and obduration of the Jews, ver. 13; and speaketh of these very times and occasions, that are now in hand. And, accordingly is the apostle to be understood, that speaketh, from him, concerning the present refreshing by the gospel, and God’s present sending Christ among them in the power and ministry of that,—and not of a refreshing at the

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 757.

<sup>d</sup> Luke, xxiii. 34.

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calling of the Jews, which is yet to come; and God's sending Christ personally, to come and reign among them, as some have dreamed; and it is but a dream. For let but this text be seriously weighed in that sense, that opinion<sup>d</sup> would make of it; "Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come:" as meaning this, 'Repent ye now, that your sins may be blotted out, two thousand, or I know not how many hundred, years hence, when the calling of the Jews shall come.' If this be not the sense, that they make of this text, that produce it to assert Christ's personal reign on earth for a thousand years,—I know not why they should then produce it: and if this be the sense, I must confess I see no sense in it. The words are facile and clear, and have no intricacy at all in them, if the Scripture may be suffered to go upon its own wheels: and they may be taken-up in this plain and undeniable paraphrase; "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out; so that the times of refreshing by the gospel may come upon you from the presence of the Lord; and he may send Jesus Christ in the preaching of the gospel to you, to bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities."

Ver. 20: "*And he shall send Jesus Christ.*"

As ver. 26: "God, having raised his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you." Now, this cannot possibly be understood of Christ's personally and visibly coming among them: for who, of this audience, ever saw him after his resurrection? but of his coming among them now in this means and offer of salvation. And in the same sense is this clause in hand to be understood: and so the twenty-second verse interpreteth it of the sending of Christ as the great Prophet, to whom who-soever will not hearken, must be cut off:—not at the end of the world, when he shall come as a judge; but in the gospel, which is his voice; and which to refuse to hearken to, is condemnation. Peter's exhortation, therefore, is to repentance, that their sins might be blotted out; so that refreshing times might come upon them, and Christ in the gospel might be

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 770.

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sent among them, according as Moses had foretold, that he should be the great Instructor of the people.

§ “ *Which before was preached unto you.*”

The very sense of the place confirmeth this reading: for though Beza saith, that all the old Greek copies that ever he saw,—as, also, the Syrian, Arabic, and Tertullian,—read it, *προκεχειρισμένον*, ‘fore-ordained;’ yet, the very scope and intention of Peter’s speech, in this place, doth clearly show, that it is to be read, *προκεκηρυγμένον*, “which before was preached to you,”—namely, by Moses, or the law<sup>e</sup>; and by all the prophets<sup>f</sup>.

Ver. 21: “ *Until<sup>s</sup> the restitution of all things;*”

Or, “the accomplishment of all things;” and to that sense the Syriac translates it, “until the fulness of the time of all things,” &c. And the Arabic did not much differ, “until the time, in which all things shall be perfected,” or finished, &c. The Greek word *ἀποκατάστασις*, indeed, signifieth a ‘restitution to a former estate,’ ‘a repairing,’ or ‘an amending,’ as might be frequently showed in Greek writers; but, in Scripture, doth not so properly signify this, as what the Rabbins would express by *תּוּמַת*, or *תּוּמַתָּה*, a ‘fulfilling,’ or ‘accomplishing:’ and the preposition *ἀπὸ* doth not so much stand in the force of *re*, or *again*, but it stands in opposition to *ἀ* privative in *ἀκαταστασία*, which signifieth ‘unsettled,’ or ‘unconfirmed;’ and so *ἀποκατάστασις πόλειως* is opposed to *κίνημα*, Polyb. Hist. lib. 4, “Settlement of a city, to tumult.” And to take up these two places, where this word is used in the New Testament, Matt. xvii. 11, and here: “Elias, indeed, shall first come, *καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα*: and shall restore all things:” What! to their former estate?—Nay, that the Baptist did not; for he brought them into a clean different estate to their former:—or, “he shall amend all things?” That is true, indeed,—so the Baptist did; but how will this place in hand bear that sense, which speaketh not of the mending of all things, but of their ending? And how improper would either of these senses run in this verse, “Till the restoring of all things to their former estate, which God hath spoken by

<sup>e</sup> Ver. 22.

<sup>f</sup> Ver. 24.

<sup>g</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 758.

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the mouth of his prophets,"—or, "till the amending of all things, which God hath spoken by his prophets." But clear and facile is that sense that is given,—“Till the accomplishment of all things, that God hath spoken by the mouth of his prophets.” The things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of his prophets, from the beginning of the world, were, Christ’s victory over Satan in the salvation of all his people; his conquest of the last enemy, death; the calling of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, &c; and how can these things be said to be restored, or amended? They may most fitly be said to be accomplished, perfected, or performed: and so must the same words be rendered of the Baptist, “Elias truly cometh, and accomplisheth all things,” that are written of him; and so must the Son of man do all things, that are written of him: as Mark<sup>h</sup> follows the sense.

Ver. 24: “*All<sup>i</sup> the prophets from Samuel.*”

He is reckoned the first of the prophets after Moses:—

First, Because prophecy, from the death of Moses to the rising of Samuel, was very rare<sup>j</sup>.

Secondly, Because he was the first prophet after Moses, that wrote his prophecy. From the beginning of Samuel’s rule, to the beginning of the captivity in Babel, was four hundred and ninety years; and from the end of that captivity to the death of Christ, four hundred and ninety years more; and the seventy years’ captivity, ‘the midst of years,’ between, as I have showed elsewhere. But I must advertise the reader here, that the beginning of Samuel’s propheticness in this reckoning, is not from the death of Eli, but from one-and-twenty years after. And here let me take up a verse of as much difficulty, and of as little observing of it, as almost any in the Old Testament: as that is, 1 Sam. vii. 2: “And it came to pass, while the ark abode at Kiriath-jearim, that the time was long; for it was twenty years: and all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord.” Now, the ark was undeniably above forty years in Kiriath-jearim; namely, all the time from Eli’s death, till David fetched it to Jerusalem, which was seven-and-forty years, and somewhat above; only that first excepted, in which it was seven months in the land

<sup>h</sup> Chap. ix. 12.

<sup>i</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 771.

<sup>j</sup> 1 Sam. iii. 1, 2.

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of the Philistines<sup>i</sup>, and a little time in Beth-shemesh: what, then, should be the reason, that it is said to be in Kiriath-jearim only twenty years? Why, the meaning is not, that that was all the time that it was there; but that it was there so long a time, before the people ever hearkened after it. Their idolatry and corruption of religion had so transported them, that they thought not of, nor took regard to, the ark of God, for twenty years together: “*Then* all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord:” for so must it be rendered; and not, “*And* all the house of Israel,” &c.

And so have we one-and-twenty years taken up, from the death of Eli till this time of Israel’s repentance, which yet are counted to Samuel’s forty, but are not reckoned in the account of Habakkuk, of the extent of the race of the prophets.

Upon this place, therefore, we may take up these pertinent observations:—

First, That God did, now on a sudden, pour a spirit of reformation, generally, upon all the people of Israel, after a long time of profaneness and idolatry. They had been exceedingly profane in the time of Eli’s sons. And, therefore, the Lord in justice forsook his tabernacle in Shiloh, the tent which he had pitched besides Adam, when Israel passed through Jordan<sup>j</sup>, and he gave the ark into the enemy’s hand; yet was not Israel humbled for it. The ark was restored to them, and was among them<sup>k</sup> twenty years together; and they continued in their idolatry still, and never sought after it, nor took it to heart. At last, upon a sudden, and with a general conversion, Israel begins to turn to the Lord, and lament after him, and forsake their idols.

Secondly, Here was a strange and wondrous spirit of conversion poured upon the people, at the beginning of the race of the prophets, as there was at the end of it, in these chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

Thirdly, As the practice here in the Acts, was to repent and to be baptized,—so was it then with Israel; as that expression may most properly be interpreted, ver. 6; “They drew water, and poured it out before the Lord,” as washing or baptizing themselves from their idolatry.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Sam. vi. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Josh. iii. 16. Psal. lxxviii. 60.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 759.

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Ver. 25 : “ *Ye are the children of the prophets.*”

That is, the scholars or disciples of them; as the phrase, ‘The children of the prophets,’ is ordinarily used in the Old Testament, 2 Kings ii, &c : and Amos vii. 14, “I was no prophet, neither prophet’s son;” that is, nor prophet’s scholar. And Matt. xi. 19, “Wisdom is justified of her children;” that is, of her disciples.

#### CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1: “ *The captain of the temple.*”

THIS was the captain of that guard, or garrison, which was placed in the tower of Antonia, for the guard of the temple. This tower stood in the north-east corner of the wall, that parted the Mountain of the House from the city. It was built by Hyrcanus the Asmonean, the high-priest; and there he himself dwelt; and there he used to lay-up the holy garments of the priesthood, whensoever he put them off, having done the service of the temple<sup>k</sup>. Herod repaired this tower, and bestowed much cost upon it, and in honour of Antony, named it Antonia; and fortified it, that it might be a guard for the temple:—and, as in former times, so still were the holy robes laid-up there all his time, and all the time of Archelaus<sup>l</sup> his son. After the removal of Archelaus from his kingdom, and the confiscation of his estate, this tower came into the Romans’ hands, and was kept as a guard or garrison by them; and the high-priest’s garments laid-up there under their power, till Vitellius, as we shall see hereafter, did restore them to the Jews’ own keeping<sup>m</sup>. So that the captain here meant, is the captain that was over the company, that kept this castle, a Roman commander: and he joining with the priests and Sadducees to hinder the gospel, and imprison the disciples,—the Jews and Romans do again conspire, as they had done against Christ, so now against his apostles<sup>n</sup>.

There was a chief captain, that was governor of the whole garrison at Jerusalem<sup>o</sup>, and his several companies lay placed in several courts of guard about the city; among the rest

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 772.

<sup>m</sup> Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 15.

<sup>n</sup> Psal. ii. 1, 2.

<sup>o</sup> Acts, xxi. 33; xxiv. 7.

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this was one, within the verge of the temple, the greatest badge and sign of all other of the Jews' present servitude and subjection, when their very temple and service had a heathen bridle put upon it. And thus did "the abomination of desolation" begin to creep in, and to stand in the place, where it ought not.

Ver. 2: "*Being grieved, that they taught the people.*"

This grievance of the priests, Sadducees, and captain of the temple, proceeded from several principles and causes. The captain's distaste was for fear the business should tend to innovation or tumult: the Sadducees', because they preached the resurrection of the dead, which they denied<sup>o</sup>: the priests', because they, being private men, went about to teach the people; and chiefly, because they preached the resurrection through Jesus.

"*Through Jesus the resurrection from the dead.*"

Though the whole nation did so generally assert and hold the resurrection of the dead (the Sadducees only excepted), that they made the deniers of this point, one of the three parties, that should never have part in the world to come:—as they speak in the Talmud, in the Tractate of Sanhedrim<sup>p</sup>: "These are they, that have no portion in the world to come: he that saith, The resurrection of the dead is not taught from the law; and he that saith, That the law is not from heaven; and epicures:"—yet was this no less than heresy in their esteem,—to teach that the resurrection of the dead was either ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, "proved and experienced in Jesus;" or, ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, "by the power and efficacy of Jesus:" that either Jesus was risen, or that he should be the author of the resurrection.

Ver. 4: "*And<sup>q</sup> the number of the men was about five thousand.*"

The five thousand mentioned here, were the number of converts, and not of auditors; and they were a single number by themselves, and not an addition to the three thousand mentioned before, to make them five thousand.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. xxiii. 8.

<sup>p</sup> Perek Helek.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 760.

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For, first, the Holy Ghost intendeth, in this book, to show the power of the gospel, rather than the bare preaching of it;—and how many it converted, rather than how many heard it.

Secondly, The juncture of the verse is so close and facile, that none can understand it any otherwise than of the number of believers, unless it be for very captiousness: for the text saith, that “many of them, that heard the word, believed.” And how many was that ‘many?’—namely, five thousand men.

For, thirdly, how ridiculous were it to interpret, that the Holy Ghost should tell us, that there was an audience in the temple of five thousand men? Why, Josephus saith, that, generally, every course of the priests contained so many. And it would be utterly strange, if the Holy Ghost, which in all the Bible never numbered an audience at the temple,—no, not when he was intentionally writing of the service and assembly there,—should do it now, when he is purposely upon a story of men converted to the gospel.

Again, That this is an entire sum different from the three thousand in the second chapter, is plain by the very story in hand.

For, first, it is a discourse concerning a miracle done by Peter and John; and all the chapter, to the three-and-twentieth verse, keeps close to that relation: and what reason possibly can be given, that this clause only should start from it?

Secondly, It were an uncouth way of reckoning, and such as the Scripture is utterly unacquainted with, to number five thousand, and to mean but two thousand; and never to give any notice, that it so meaneth.

Thirdly, “The number of the men were five thousand.” Of what men? “Of those, which heard the word.” What word? The word preached by Peter and John<sup>a</sup>, and not the word preached on Pentecost-day by all the apostles. Thus is the church become eight thousand numerous by two sermons; besides the multitudes that<sup>r</sup> were believers before, and those whose conversion is not summed.

<sup>a</sup> Acts, iv. 1.

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 773.

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Ver. 5: "*Their elders, rulers, and scribes,*" &c.

In this council and consistory, that was now gathered, the evangelist exhibiteth variety of members:—

First, Their rulers: or the chief priests, the heads of the twenty-four courses.

Secondly, Scribes: or other doctors of the tribe of Levi.

Thirdly, Elders: or the seniors and senators of the other tribes.

Fourthly, Annas, the Nasi; or president of the Sanhedrim.

Fifthly, Caiaphas, the high-priest, the 'Ab beth din,' the father of the court.

Sixthly, John, as it seemeth, the son of Annas: the governor of Gophin and Acrabatena in the time of Nero<sup>r</sup>.

Seventhly, Alexander, called also Lysimachus and Alabarcha; of whom we shall have occasion to discourse afterward.

Eighthly, As many as were of the high-priest's kindred, brethren or cousins of that family. So that, by this concourse of all these at this time (divers of whose employment and residence was at distance), it may be the rather supposed, that this was at some solemn festival, that had brought them all to Jerusalem.

Ver. 7: "*And when they had set them in the midst.*"

"The Sanhedrim sat in half the floor in a circle<sup>s</sup>." Those who had any thing to do in the court, stood or sat in the midst of them<sup>t</sup>.

§ "*By what name have you done this?*"

So did they very foolishly conceit, that the very naming some names might do wonders, as Acts xix. 13; and the Talmud<sup>u</sup> forgeth, that Ben Satda (they have a blasphemous meaning in this expression) "wrought miracles, by putting the unutterable name within the skin of his foot, and there sewing it up."

<sup>r</sup> Joseph. de Bello, lib. 2. cap. 25.

<sup>t</sup> Luke, ii. 46.

<sup>s</sup> Rambam, Sanhedrim, per. 1.

<sup>u</sup> In Shab.

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Ver. 11: “*This<sup>v</sup> is the stone which was set at nought.*”

In Psal. cxviii. 22, which is the place from which this speech is taken, is λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν, “the stone refused:” and so is it, Matt. xxi. 42; and that according to the Hebrew text. But here the apostle heightens the expression, that he may set home their abuse of Christ nearer to their hearts, and may show the humiliation of Christ the more. The Syriac mindeth not this, but translates this place, and Matt. xxi. 42, by the same word, “refused.”

The Chaldee interpretation of the Psalm, from whence the phrase is taken, is exceedingly conceited; it runneth thus: “The youth, which the builders refused among the sons of Jesse, obtained to be set for king and governor. This was from the Lord, said the builders; and, It is wondrous before us, said the sons of Jesse. This is the day, which the Lord hath made, said the builders: Let us be glad and rejoice in it, said the sons of Jesse. Save us now, said the builders: Prosper us now, said Jesse and his wife. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, said the builders: Let them bless you from the house of the Lord, saith David. The Lord give us light, said the tribes of the house of Judah. Tie the youth for a festival sacrifice with cords, until ye offer him up, and pour his blood at the horns of the altar, said Samuel the prophet,” &c.

At which Psalm and place, how far the Chaldee in Bibliis Regiis, and the Chaldee in Bibliis Buxtorfianis, and Venetis, do differ, it is worth the learned’s observation.

Ver. 13: “*And ignorant men.*”

Gr. ἰδιῶται, a word exceedingly much taken into use by Jewish writers, and both in them and in Greeks it signifieth, “private men,” or “men in no public employment,” and “men of inferior rank,” and “men ignorant or unskilful.” Examples of all these significations might be alleged. Lucian, ὁ μὲν πολλὸς ὄμιλος, οὗς ἰδιώτας οἱ σοφοὶ καλοῦσι, “The common multitude, whom wise men call idiotæ.”—Galen; ἰατρικῆς ἰδιῶται, “unskilful in physic.”—Aben Ezra, on Lev. xiii. 2; “Aaron, that is<sup>w</sup>, the priest anointed in his stead,

<sup>v</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 761.

<sup>w</sup> פה עקרו

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or one of his sons, that is, הכוהנים הדיוטים *sacerdotes idiotæ*, the inferior priests.”—“To what purpose served the pausings? To give Moses space to understand between division and division, sense and sense להריוט הלומר מן ההריוט, much more to a private man, that learneth from a private man<sup>x</sup>.”

In all these senses may it very well be applied here; and it is more than probable, all these senses were in the thoughts of the council concerning Peter and John at this time; they saw they were unlearned, private, inferior, ignorant men; and, thereupon, they could not but wonder at the miracle and cure, that they had wrought.

Ver. 23: “*They went to their own company.*”

That is, to the society of the hundred and twenty, mentioned Acts i. 15.

Ver. 25: “*Who, by the mouth of thy servant David, hath said,*” &c.

The second Psalm, which owns not its author<sup>y</sup> in the title, the Holy Ghost ascribeth here to David: and seemeth, by this very passage, to give us close intimation, that every Psalm, that telleth not, in its title, who was the author and penman of it, is to be ascribed to David, as the penman. The rule of the Jews,—that every Psalm that bears not the author of it, in the title, is to be reputed of his making who was last named in a title before,—is at a nonplus at these two first Psalms, and helps us nothing at all to understand who made them: and, thereupon, Aben Ezra conceiveth, that this second Psalm was not made by David, but by some of the singers. But this passage of the apostles, in their prayer, doth not only own David for the compiler of this Psalm; but also teacheth us to own him so of every Psalm, whose author is not mentioned in the title of it; as might be farther confirmed, if it were ‘ad hic et nunc,’ from Psalm xcvi. cv. cvii. cxxxii, compared with 1 Chron. xvi. 7. The ancient Rabbins, and doctors of the Jews, interpreted this Psalm concerning Christ, even as the apostles do here; as is confessed by Solomon Jarchi, at his entrance into it, though himself,

<sup>x</sup> Rab. Sol. on Lev. i. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2, p. 774.

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and some other later Jews, apply it to David; and, it may be, in spite to Christ.

Ver. 32, 33: § *Community of goods.*

This 'community of goods,' howsoever it sorted and suited with the present state of the church at Jerusalem, at that time; yet can it not be taken-up for an example or precedent for the time to come.

For, first, the thing was not done by command, but at the free disposal of whosoever was minded so to do<sup>z</sup>.

Secondly, The lands that were sold, were, many of them, out of the land of Canaan; for the converts were Jews from all nations; and one instance is given in the land of Barnabas, in Cyprus. Now, when these men were resolved to cleave to the apostles, and not to return to their own country; what good would their lands, in those foreign countries, do them?

Thirdly, If these lands and houses were in Judea, as it is undoubted many of them were,—it may be supposed, that the faithful owners thereof, took notice of the threatened destruction of Jerusalem, spoken of by our Saviour, and so would part with their estates for the benefit of the church, before they should be surprised by the enemy.

And, fourthly, Thus did God provide against persecution to come; that neither the poor of the church should fall off through penury, nor the rich start back through worldly-mindedness; but, by a competent distribution among them, the one might have enough,—and the other, not too much.

And, lastly, such was the state of the church at this time, as never was the like to be again. It was but newly born,—it was all in one city,—the most of the people far resident from their own houses,—all in a possibility to be scattered by persecution, they could not tell how soon: and, therefore, that present administration of the church, in such a case, cannot be any copy for times to come, either to follow as a command, or to imitate as a perfection.

This very year was a jubilee among the Jews in the very proper sense, it being the eight-and-twentieth that the land had had since their settling in it: and these people now con-

<sup>y</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 762.

<sup>z</sup> Acts, v. 4.

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verted to the gospel, are so far from returning to their possessions, if they had sold or mortgaged them, as the jubilee privileged them, that they part with their possessions, that they had in their hands; having, by this time, learned, that the earthly Canaan and inheritance was not that possession, that was to be looked after; and that the kingdom of the Messiah should not be earthly.

Ver. 36: “*Barnabas, a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus,*” &c.

As Saul, a Benjamite, of the country of Tarsus, yet was educated and lived at Jerusalem; so did Barnabas in Canaan, though a Cypriot born. He had land to sell, though he were a Levite; for the Levites might purchase lands of their own, even in the land of Canaan: much more might they in foreign countries. Samuel, a Levite, was born upon his father's own land, which had been purchased by his great grandfather, Zuph<sup>a</sup>. Now, Barnabas had one motive more to sell his land, than other of the common believers had; namely, those words of our Saviour to those disciples, that were to be preachers, “Provide neither silver nor gold<sup>b</sup>,” &c; and this was the ground of Peter's answer, “Silver and gold have I none<sup>c</sup>.”

## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1: “*But a certain man, named Ananias.*”

AMONG the offerings of others that sold their lands, there creepeth-in the hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, a couple that at once would have served God<sup>d</sup> and mammon: vain-glory, or policy, or both, did here strive with covetousness and distrust,—or, rather, to speak truly indeed, did conspire. They had the formality to sell their lands, as others did; but they had not the sincerity to part with the money, as others had. Their double-dealing, both in word and deed, is fearfully punished with sudden death, at this beginning of the Christian church (as Nadab, Abihu, and the sabbath-breaker, were, at the beginning of the Jewish); that future times

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. i. 1, and ix. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. x. 9, 10.

<sup>c</sup> Acts, iii. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 775.

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might learn from this, to beware dissembling with God, and not to dishonour and shame the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Ver. 3: “ *To lie to the Holy Ghost;*” or rather, “ *to belie the Holy Ghost.*”

It was not the sin only, barely and simply considered, that provoked and procured so fearful a judgment upon him; but the sin, as it was circumstantiated and aggravated by some respects. For it seemeth, that Ananias was not a common or ordinary believer, but one of the ministerial rank, and one that had received the gift of the Holy Ghost, as well as the rest of the hundred and twenty. And considerable to this purpose, are these two things:—

First, That as soon as the evangelist hath mentioned the pious and upright dealing of Barnabas (which was a preacher), in the sale of his lands, he cometh to the story of Ananias, as a man of the same function, and relateth his wretchedness in the sale of his.

Secondly, That though it be said, in ver. 4, ἐψεύσω θεῷ, that he “ *lied to God,*” yet is he said, in the third verse, ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “ *to belie the Holy Ghost.*” By which phrase it seemeth, that he had received the Holy Ghost among the rest, that did receive it; and yet, for all that excellent gift in himself, and the excellent gift that he knew in the apostles,—he durst, by this base dissembling, “ *belie and shame*” the gifts, that were in himself,—and tempt the power of the Holy Ghost, that was in Peter.

And thus was Ananias much like Judas, exceedingly qualified and eminently gifted with the gifts of the Spirit; but, like him, undone with covetousness, and for it perished by an exemplary end. There was none among all the twelve so fit to give sentence upon this fact as Peter: as who might hereby show his own repentance for his lying and perjury in denying his Master; and that he was entirely repaired and recovered from it, when he durst pass so heavy a doom and judgment upon a lie.

Ver. 13: “ *And of the rest none durst join himself unto them.*”

It is some difficulty to resolve, who “ *these rest*” were, that durst not knit themselves to the apostles: the matter

<sup>e</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 763.*

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may be construed so many ways, that it is hard to fix which is the right.

First, It is understood, by Beza, of such, as were as yet out of the church, and yet not strangers to the kingdom of God,—but such as for fear durst not show themselves, either because of the Jews, or because of the judgment inflicted on Ananias.

Secondly, It may be understood of those, that were within the church, yet durst not join themselves in consistory or presbyterial society with the hundred and twenty disciples; but kept their distance in regard of judging, though they knit with them in communion.

Or, thirdly, It may be understood of the hundred and eight disciples, that were appointed by Christ to be ministers, and kept in continual society and consistorial association with the apostles, yet durst not join themselves to them in the form or dignity of apostleship, nor durst offer to parallel themselves to that rank; “yet the people magnified them also.” And this I take to be the very meaning of the place, and that upon these grounds:—

First, Because the word *λοιπῶν* seemeth to import a ‘residue,’ or the rest of their own company, and not the people that were out of the church; for of them it had been more proper to have said *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων* than *τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν*, as the skilful in the Greek language will readily judge.

Secondly, The ‘joining’ here spoken of, in regard of the object to whom, is to the apostles, and not to the church; as is apparent by the very grammatical construction.

Especially, thirdly, The word *ἅπαντες*, in ver. 12, being understood, not of the congregation or whole company of believers, but of the apostles, as the words immediately before might argue, or rather of the whole number of the hundred and twenty, as it is taken chap. ii. 1:—and so the sense of all redounds to this;—that besides that terrible and dreadful work that was done by Peter upon Ananias and Sapphira, all the other eleven apostles did great and wondrous miracles among the people, and the whole college and presbytery of the hundred and twenty were unanimously in Solomon’s porch, joining together in association, and advancing the gospel; but the rest of the hundred and twenty

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durst not, one of them, join themselves to the twelve, in the peculiar office and dignity of apostleship, properly so called, having seen so lately the dreadful judgment, that one of the twelve had brought upon Ananias, one of their own number, and seeing the continual wonders that they did in an extraordinary manner among the people<sup>s</sup>: howbeit, the people magnified them also, they also having the admirable and wondrous gifts of the Spirit upon them.

Ver. 15: § “*Peter's<sup>b</sup> shadow.*”

Many miracles were wrought by the apostles' hands, and many, as it seemeth, by Peter's shadow: but the text hath left it so indifferent, that it is hard to determine, whether it is to be taken in a good sense or a bad; and, indeed, some, that have taken it the better way, have made it the worst of all. Luke saith only thus, “They brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, at the least, the shadow of Peter, passing by, might overshadow some of them.” But it neither telleth who they were, that laid them; nor a word at all that those were healed, that were laid. And it may be thought, they were unbelieving Jews that laid them, as well as otherwise: for believers might have brought them to the apostles, or brought the apostles to them. And it may possibly be thought, that they laid them there either out of a superstitious blindness, thinking his shadow to be miraculous as well as his person,—or out of a cheating perverseness, thinking to gain by his power, though they would none of his doctrine: and that none of their sick were healed, because there is no mention of any such healing at all. If we should thus understand the story, surely we should do less wrong to the text, and to our own understandings, than some have done, that have taken it in a better sense. For be it, that God, intending to magnify Peter, the minister of the circumcision, in the eyes of the circumcised, did give him a more extraordinary power of miracles, for their sakes that stood upon miracles so much, so that not only himself, but his shadow also, could heal diseases,—yet how ridiculous and senseless is that, which Baronius would infer hereupon,—

<sup>s</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 776.

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 764.

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namely, that Peter, therefore, was prince of all the apostles: and that, therefore, the shadows or images of holy men are of holy use and religious worship; and that the pope, who is Peter's shadow and representation, hath Peter's power and qualification!

Ver. 20: "*All the words of this life.*"

It hath scrupled divers expositors, why the word *ταύτης* should be added here to *ζωῆς*, as seeming to bend the meaning and sense to 'this present and temporal life:' and, thereupon, they have concluded, that there is a hypallage, or change of construction; and that *τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης*, "the words of this life," is instead of *τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτα*, "these words of life;" and to this sense is it translated by the Syriac. But the construction is easy, and the composure of the words will appear most proper, if the seventeenth verse be a little seriously considered. It is said there, that it was the sect of the Sadducees that imprisoned the apostles, a generation that denied the resurrection, and the life to come: and to this it is, that this divine revelation referreth, when it chargeth the apostles, that they should go again into the temple, where they had been apprehended the day before, and imprisoned for preaching the resurrection; and that they should not spare to speak and utter the doctrine of this life, which the Sadducees so much denied.

Ver. 21: "*And they called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel.*"

The Syriac reads, "They called their companions and the elders of Israel:" taking *Συνέδριον* here to mean either their fellows and companions in the same Sadducean opinion and heresy,—or their fellow-priests and scribes, which were not of the Sanhedrim. But since *Συνέδριον* will very harshly bear either of these senses, and constantly is used in another for the Sanhedrim or bench of judges of the seventy elders; I should take it so also in this place; and, by *πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν*, "all the senate," understand the judges or elders of the two other judicatories, which were erected, one in the outer court gate, or in Solomon's porch,—and the other, in the inner or the Beautiful gate of the temple,

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consisting of three-and-twenty men a-piece<sup>f</sup>. And so did this busy high-priest call together all the three courts or benches of judges in Jerusalem, a hundred and seventeen elders in all, if there were a full appearance:—the Lord so disposing it, that all his apostles and all his chief enemies might deal it together. And now, as that was fulfilled, which Christ had spoken of them, “They shall bring you before councils for my name’s sake,”—so was also that, which he had promised unto them, “that it should be given them, what they should speak, that their enemies should not be able to gainsay.” But the judges of the earth would not be wise nor instructed to serve the Lord, and to kiss the Son; therefore, his anger shortly kindled, and Jerusalem perished in her unbelief.

Ver. 24: “*Now<sup>g</sup> when the high-priest.*”

So it is to be understood, though, in the Greek, it be only ἱερεὺς, ‘the priest:’ and the reason is, because, first, Annas, in this meeting, was not the president of the council, for which he is called the ‘high-priest’ elsewhere; for this was not a Sanhedrim, or the usual court, but an extraordinary and unusual convocation. Secondly, Mention is made of ἀρχιερεῖς immediately after: and ἀρχιερεὺς and ἀρχιερεῖς would scarcely have sounded well so near together.

Ver. 34: “*A<sup>h</sup> Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people.*”

This was Paul’s tutor<sup>i</sup>, the son of Simeon, that took Christ into his arms<sup>j</sup>, and the grandchild of famous Hillel. He is called ‘Gamaliel the elder;’ for there were two others of the same name, one his grandchild, the other his great-grandchild in the fifth descent. And he is always called ‘Rabban’ Gamaliel: and so, likewise, were those two his grandchildren entitled; these being three of the seven, that only carried this title, Rabban: a title which was of the highest eminency and note, of any title among their doctors; and that very title showeth the great reputation he had among the people. In the Talmudic writers there is very frequent men-

<sup>f</sup> Maimonid. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

<sup>g</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 765.

<sup>h</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 777.

<sup>i</sup> Acts, xxii. 3.

<sup>j</sup> Luke, ii.

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tion of Rabban Gamaliel, but scarcely distinguishing which of the three they mean; yet so much to be collected out of them, as to confute that forgery of Lucian's epistle (which yet Baronius hath graced with this testimonial; "Narrat Lucianus in ea, quam totus Christianus orbis recepit, epistola"), that Gamaliel became a most zealous Christian, and professor of the gospel; that he received Nicodemus, when the Jews had cast him out; and that he buried the body of Stephen, and held a solemn mourning for him seventy days.

In Pirke Abhoth<sup>k</sup> this saying is ascribed to this Gamaliel, among the several adages of those doctors, עשה לך רב, עשה לך רב, וחסתלק מן חספך ואל תרבה לעשר אומדורת "Procure thyself a tutor, and get thee out of doubting, and do not multiply to pay thy tithes by conjecture."

He is held to have died eighteen years before the destruction of the city, or about twenty-two years after this. And Onkelos, the Targumist of the law, is reported to have burnt threescore and ten pounds of frankincense for him, being dead:—and by this it is more than a conjecture, that he died not a Christian, but lived and died in his Pharisaical opinions and profession.

Ver. 36: "*For, before these days rose up Theudas.*"

There is mention of one Theudas in the Talmud<sup>l</sup>, and he is called a physician; "Theudas the physician saith, That neither cow nor sow cometh from Alexandria." And there is mention of one Theudas, a sorcerer, in Josephus<sup>m</sup>; "When Fadus was governor of Judea, a wizard named Theudas persuaded a great company to take their goods and to follow him to the river Jordan: for he said he was a prophet, and that, dividing the river by a command, he would procure them an easy passage: and thus saying, he deceived many. But Fadus suffered them not thus to enjoy their folly; but sent against them a troop of horse, which falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many, took others alive, and catching Theudas himself, cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem."

This were a very ready and easy interpretation of these words of Gamaliel, if this great scruple did not lie in the way:

<sup>k</sup> Perek 1. Surenhus. iv. p. 419.

<sup>l</sup> In Sanhedr. Perek Helek.

<sup>m</sup> Ant. lib. 20. cap. 2.

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—namely, that this Theudas, mentioned by Josephus, was about the fourth or fifth year of Claudius: but this Theudas, mentioned by Gamaliel, was before Judas the Galilean, which was in the days of Augustus. There is a great deal of ado among expositors what to make of these two stories, so like in substance, but so different in time. Some conceive, that Josephus hath missed his chronology, and hath set Theudas's story many years later than it fell out. Others refuse Josephus's story, as not applicable to this Theudas of Gamaliel [though they hold that he hath spoken true in it], because the time is so different; but they think Gamaliel's Theudas was some of those villains, that so much infested Judea in the times of Sabinus and Varus,—Joseph. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 12; though Josephus hath not there mentioned him by name.

A third sort conceive that Gamaliel's Theudas was not before Judas the Galilean, who rose about the birth of Christ, but a long while after,—namely, a little before Gamaliel speaketh these words: and they render *πρὸ ἡμερῶν* in the strict propriety,—namely, that it was but 'a few days before:' and *μετὰ τοῦτου*, not 'post eum,' 'after him,'—but 'præter eum,' 'besides him.'

In<sup>m</sup> these varieties of opinions and difficulties, it is hard to resolve which way to take; and it is well that it is a matter of that nature, that men may freely use their conjectures in it, and be excusable.

I cannot but observe and conceive these things upon the stories of Gamaliel and Josephus laid and compared together:—

First, That Gamaliel meeteth with the double misprision, that the present council had concerning the apostles, with a double story. First, They suspected and censured them for false and erroneous teachers; to this he applies the story of Theudas. Secondly, They suspected them of innovation, and of what might tend to mutiny and insurrection; and to this he applieth the story of Judas.

Secondly, That the miscarriages of these two men, that he instanceth in, proceeded from two different and dangerous principles; pretence of new lights and revelations; and

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 766.

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pretence of liberty of conscience and of persons. Theudas was for the former; Judas, for the latter.

Thirdly, That Gamaliel's counsel was not of any Christianity that was in him, but of policy; not that he favoured the apostles, but that he feared, if any thing were done to them by violence or injustice<sup>a</sup>, it might incur a 'premunire,' or prejudice; and that is apparent, in that all the council consent and entertain his counsel.

Fourthly, That Gamaliel's Theudas and Josephus's is not all one: their descriptions, indeed, are very agreeable; for, as Gamaliel saith, that Theudas took on him *εἶναι τινα*, 'to be somebody,' of note and eminency, so doth the relation about the Theudas in Josephus. Simon Magus boasted himself *εἶναι τινα μέγαν*, to be some special person<sup>o</sup>: and how did he carry on this arrogation? Why, by magic, and doing some strange things among the people. And just in the same kind hath Josephus described his Theudas; but yet these two Theudas seem not to be the same.

Fifthly, For Josephus's setting the story of his Theudas so late as in the time of Claudius, a dozen years, or thereabouts, after this speech of Gamaliel, although it might be said it is no strange thing with Josephus to misplace stories, and to falter in point of exact chronology, as Baronius supposeth he hath done in this,—yet seemeth it rather to be upon the very native propriety of the time of the story; and the matter to be conceived thus,—that as sects and heresies, though buried, yet do oft revive, and, though dispersed, yet do re-collect; and, being once begun, are not suddenly extinguished, but, like quenched fire, are ever breaking out in one place or other,—that so it was with this business of Theudas. And so, also, it may be instanced in the very sect and opinion of him, that Gamaliel speaketh of immediately after,—namely, Judas of Galilee: he rose up in the days of the tax in the time of Augustus<sup>p</sup>. He pleaded against the Jews being subject to the Romans, and dissuaded them from paying taxes and tribute to them; and maintained they ought to have no ruler over them but God: and so became the original of a fourth sect among the Jews, besides the Phari-

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 778.

<sup>o</sup> Acts, viii. 9.

<sup>p</sup> As Luke, ii.

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sees, Sadducees, and Essenes, as Josephus reports of him<sup>q</sup>. Now, though Judas himself perished in his error, and as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad, as Gamaliel relateth, —yet was not his error extinguished with him, but revived and grew again: so that, at the least, forty years after his first appearing, his two sons, James and Simon, are crucified for it, by Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus<sup>r</sup>. And many years after that, Eleazar, a branch of the same Judas, appeareth in the same opinion, with a desperate company with him<sup>s</sup>.

Even so may it be conceived of the sect of Theudas: that it began before that of Judas, and that the first author of it took upon him great things,—as, to be a prophet, and to work miracles, and the like; but he was soon slain; and all that obeyed him, were scattered abroad, and came to nought. But his folly and fancy perished not with him; but [however at other times], in the time of Fadus, one of the same foolery and name, and probably his son, would be a prophet again, and divide Jordan, and do I know not what: whom Fadus destroyed, and brought his company to ruin. So that Gamaliel's and Josephus's Theudases, are, very probably, two men, but very likely father and son, or tutor and scholar, agreeing so jump in the same folly and madness, that they agreed in the same name: and that name, either given to the latter at such an accident as parents name their children, or assumed by him in imitation of the former Theudas, whom, as he delighted to imitate in his enthusiastic folly, so delighted he to follow him in denomination. And I am the rather confirmed in this opinion about these two men, because that as soon as ever Josephus hath told the story of the destruction of Theudas by Fadus, he telleth of the destruction of the sons of Judas, by Tiberius Alexander; and I cannot but interpret both the stories in one sense, that, as, in the latter, he speaketh of the offspring of Judas, whose sect had begun many years before,—so, in the former, he speaketh of the offspring of Theudas, whose sect had begun before that of Judas.

<sup>q</sup> Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1, and de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 12.

<sup>r</sup> Jos. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 3.

<sup>s</sup> De Bell. lib. 7. cap. 30.

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Ver. 41 : “*That they were counted worthy.*”

Or, “That they had obtained :” *καταξιωσθαι* seeming to interpret the word זכה so common among the Rabbins, which soundeth to that sense: and so is it not only most easily, but so it must be most commonly, rendered in them. And of the very same sense is the Latin word ‘mereri’ [when it is applied to man with reference to good] generally in the fathers. As when it is said, that the Virgin Mary, “meruit esse mater Redemptoris,” “she *obtained* to be the mother of the Redeemer,”—not she *deserved*. Mary Magdalen, “Audire meruit, Fides tua te salvam fecit :” “she *obtained* to hear it said, Thy faith hath saved thee :”—and a thousand such examples might be given, which too many thousands, interpreting by the word *merit*, wrest a harmless word to their own destruction.

R. Solomon speaketh of זכות העופות ‘Meritum volucrum,’ ‘the privilege of birds :’ and some fathers, speaking of our obtaining God’s favour and salvation, and the like, express it, “sine merito nostro meruimus,” “we have obtained it without our merit.”

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## PART II<sup>a</sup>.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *The state of the city hitherto.*

THE city Rome was built by Romulus, in the year of the world 3175,—in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, king of Judah, —and in the first year of Jeroboam the second, the king of Israel. It had stood, from the time of its first foundation, to this year in which it put the Lord of life to death, seven hundred fourscore and five years; and had undergone and passed through two different and divers kinds of government, and was now but lately entered upon a third.

The first was under kings, for two hundred and forty-three years; and the foundation of this government, as of

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 767.

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 779.

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the city itself, was laid in the blood of Remus, shed by his brother Romulus, who was the founder of the city.

The second was under consuls, four hundred and sixty-seven years, from the expulsion of Tarquin the last king, to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, which was the year, that Augustus began to rule with Antony and Lepidus. This change of the government, was likewise founded in blood as the former had been,—namely, of Lucrece, Aruns, and Brutus, and in the extirpation of Tarquin's house.

A third manner of government had the city and empire now begun upon, and had been under it threescore and two years;—namely, a monarchy again, but the name only changed from a king to an emperor. And the foundation of this change was also laid in blood as the other had been,—namely, in the death of Julius Cæsar, Antony, and Cleopatra.

The carriage of Tarquin, the last of the kings, had brought the city into an opinion, that 'Monarchy was an enemy to liberty.' And the growth and flourishing of that state under another manner of government had so confirmed this opinion, that they were sooner put out of their liberty, than out of belief of that position. Brutus and Collatinus, who were the expellers of Tarquin, and of monarchy with him, had found out a government, likely enough, in all human judgment, to heal all these mischiefs and miscarriages, that monarchical tyranny did bring upon them, when they appointed two supreme governors instead of one, and their power and rule to be but annual instead of for life. The success was agreeable to the policy; and so happily and prosperously did the state grow under these rulers [and some others mixed as occasion urged], that to offer to reduce it to monarchy again, was infallibly held to be, to reduce it to slavery. And Julius Cæsar found how deeply grounded this opinion was in the heart of a Roman, by the loss of his life; they supposing his affecting the empire single, aimed at the loss of their liberties.

Augustus<sup>b</sup>, his nephew and adopted son, though he had before his eyes, in Julius's death, a clear and convincing lecture, how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, to affect the monarchy,—yet did he dare it; but managing his

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 768.

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desires and designs with so much discretion and noiselessness, that the government was gotten into his hands alone, and the empire slipped into a monarchical subjection even before it was aware.

Tacitus hath described this strange transition to this purpose :—

“ After that, Brutus and Cassius being slain, there was now no public hostility ; Pompey was crushed at Sicily, and Lepidus being stripped of his power, and Antony slain, there remained now no commander on Julius’s party, but only Cæsar,—he laying down the name of triumvir, and bearing himself as consul, and as content with the tribunate, for the defence of the commons. When he had won the soldiers with gifts, the people with provision, and all men with the sweetness of peace,—he began to get up by degrees, and to draw to himself the power of the senate, magistrates, and law, no man gainsaying him. For the fiercest persons were either despatched in the armies or by banishment: the rest of the nobles, by how much the more they were the readier for vassalage, by so much the more they were preferred with wealth and honours: and being thus enriched by these innovations, they desired rather the safe and present condition, than the ancient and dangerous. Nor did the provinces refuse this state of things, they having the rule of the senate and people in suspicion, because of the quarrellings of the great ones, and the avarice of the magistrates,—the laws affording no relief, but themselves destroyed, by power, prowling, or money.”

Thus did the very posture of things, as it were, conspire with the desires of Augustus, to bring the Roman state into a monarchy, and himself to be the monarch<sup>b</sup> :—the decrees and determination of heaven having so ordered, that here should begin a fifth monarchy, after the destruction of the four<sup>c</sup>, which should equal all the four in power, pomp, and cruelty, and should be the continual persecutor of the church of the Christians, as they had been of the church of the Jews. And thus doth the gospel, and the state that should persecute it, in a manner arise at once,—and Christ and antichrist, after a sort, are born together.

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 780.

<sup>c</sup> Dan. ii, and vii.

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§ 2. *The qualities of Tiberius the present emperor: his damnable dissimulation.*

Augustus, as he had got the sole government into his hands, by a great deal of wisdom and daring, so did he keep it with the same wisdom, and as much moderation. He sat emperor for the space of four-and-forty years, honoured and beloved, and died desired and lamented; though he had thus impropriated, as it was conceived, the whole liberty of the empire into his own hand. Now, whether it were the native gentleness and goodness of the emperor, that kept him in such a sweetness and moderation; or whether it were some policy mingled with it, as knowing it not to be safe to be too busy and rigid so near the change,—he so demeaned himself for the benefit of the city, and love of the people, that, as he was the first of all the emperors, so, in a manner, was he the last, that showed such mildness, goodness, and nobleness, either to people or city.

Tiberius succeeded him, his wife's son by nature, and his by adoption; a man as incomparably evil, unworthy, and cruel, as Augustus had been glorious, noble, and humane. And if that were true, which some supposed and believed, that Augustus had nominated Tiberius for his successor that his own worth might be the better set-off by the other's wickedness; and that he might be the better spoken of, because the other was so odious;—this his last action was more to his dishonour than all his former: and howsoever Tiberius might do him honour by his miscarriage, yet did he do himself dishonour in Tiberius.

This wretch, whose story we are now to follow, was, as his own tutor used to define him, Πηλός αἵματι πεφυραμένος, “A lump of clay mingled with blood;” and that clay and blood mingled with as much mischievousness, as it was almost possible for human nature to contain.

“A dissembler he was, beyond all parallels and comparisons, Φύσει ἰδιωτάτη ἐκέχρητο, saith Dion: he had a disposition most single to himself: for he never made show to what he desired; and he never spake as he thought. What he desired, he denied; what he hated, he pretended to: he showed anger, where he loved best; he pretended love,

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where he hated most: he looked sullenly on his friends, cheerfully on his enemies: was fair spoken to those he meant to punish, was most severe towards those he thought to pardon: and it was his maxim, that a prince's mind must be known to no man; for that by its being known, many evils and inconveniences do follow; but many conveniences by its being dissembled. Hence did every man that meddled with him, come into danger; and to understand, or not understand, his mind, was alike perilous. And some<sup>d</sup> have been undone for agreeing to his words; because they agreed not to his mind; and some have been undone for agreeing to his mind, because he perceived they had found his mind out. And it was a thing of extreme difficulty, either to consent to his words, or to gainsay them: when it was his custom to command one thing and to will another."

This dissimulation he began withal at his very first entrance to the empire, pretending great unwillingness to take it upon him; and when it was urged on him past denial, then pretending to take two partners with him, as to share in the burden and honour: but when Asinius Gallus took him at his word, and bade him choose his part, he took it so ill, that he dogged him for it to the death. The same dissimulation he took along with him, when he had taken the empire on him, carrying it with all mildness and moderation, as if he had been a second Augustus; whereas, indeed, the reason was, because Germanicus was alive, and most dear in the people's affection; and he feared him, lest he should have been preferred before him.

Yet did his best demeanour bewray what he was within, for all his skill in dissembling; and, at the very best, he gave just suspicion, that he would prove but evil.

He began his reign with the murder of Agrippa, a man once in as high favour with Augustus as himself. He went on with the murder of a poor man for a piece of wit: for as a corpse was carried to its interring, this man came to it and whispered in the dead man's ear; and being asked by the standers-by what he meant, he answered, That he desired that dead man, when he came into the other world, to tell Augustus, that his legacies to the people were not yet paid.

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 769.

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This cost the poor man his life; for Tiberius said he should go on that message himself, and so he slew him: but this got the people their legacies.

It would be infinite to reckon up the murders, oppressions, and miscreancy, committed by him in the first seventeen years of his reign, or before this year that we have in hand. The most remarkable were, that he raised Sejanus purposely, that he might help to ruin Germanicus and Drusus, though<sup>e</sup> they were his own adopted sons; and when that was done by Sejanus, he ruined Sejanus, and all his friends with him. We shall have mischief enough from him in those years, that we are to follow him in,—namely, from his eighteenth, and forward; and, therefore, let the story hasten thither.

§ 3. *The year of Tiberius's reign at our Saviour's death.*

This year is determined by common consent of historians to be his eighteenth: and the matter is past all doubt, if it were as certain that Christ was baptized in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, as it is certain that John began to baptize. For whereas John began to baptize about the vernal equinox, and Christ was not baptized till the autumnal, beginning just then to enter upon his thirtieth year; and whereas Tiberius began to reign about the eighteenth day of August, as appeareth by the Roman historians,—the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in exact accounting, was expired some weeks before Christ was baptized. And, therefore, though Luke<sup>f</sup> say, that, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, John came baptizing, yet was it in the sixteenth year of Tiberius (as it seemeth) before Christ came to his baptism: and so should the death of our Saviour fall into Tiberius's nineteenth year. But it is not safe to hang the chronology of all succeeding times upon so small a pin as this: therefore, according to the universal consent and determination of all Christian writers, we will take the eighteenth year of Tiberius to have been the year of Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension; and, accordingly compute and reckon the times of the succeeding emperors, that we have to go through, proportionate or agreeable to this beginning.

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 781.

<sup>f</sup> Luke, iii. 1.

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The Roman consuls for this year that we have in hand, were Cn. Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus; as is obvious to any eye, that counteth the years and consuls in the time of Tiberius.

§ 4. *His<sup>e</sup> lusts and bestiality.*

He had, certain years before this, departed out of Rome, resolving never to return to it again; which, indeed, he never did, though often taking on him to come, and drawing very near unto the city. The pretence of his departure<sup>b</sup>, was the grief that he took on him to take for the death of his two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, and the dedication of a capitol at Capua, and a temple at Nola: but the reasons, indeed, were, partly, in disdain of the authority of his mother Livia,—partly, to avoid the dangers of the city<sup>i</sup>,—partly, to outrun the shame of his evil actions,—and partly, that in the retiredness of the country he might be the more freely wicked, as not restrained by the public shame. This last he made good by his badness, if such a thing may be said to be made good. For having gotten the liberty of retiredness, saith Suetonius<sup>j</sup>, and being removed from the eyes of the city, he now let go loose all the vices, that he had so long dissembled. Uncleaness both with boys and girls, ravishing both of wives and maids, new-invented arts of lechery, and trades of lust, obscene bathings, and filthy feasts, and such horribleness of bestiality, that the mention thereof is not fit for a Christian's hearing; nay, Rome herself had not heard of any such till this very time.

§ *His cruelty, and how forwarded.*

Nor, which is wonderful, did he, in all this delicacy and effemateness, remit or ungive any thing of his bloodiness and cruelty; but, as, in his person, he played the swine in Capreæ,—so, by his letters, did he the lion at Rome. The cowardice and fawning of the senate, from which he was run, and which he sought to destroy, did forward his inhuman disposition exceeding much: for, as this inhumanity provoked him to do what mischief he could, so did their compliance show

<sup>e</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 770.

<sup>i</sup> Tacit. *Annual*. lib. vi.

<sup>b</sup> Sueton. in *Tiber.* cap. 39, 40.

<sup>j</sup> Cap. 42—44.

him that he might do what he list. "When things were come to that pass (saith Dion<sup>k</sup>), that there was no man that could deny, but that he could heartily eat the emperor's flesh; yet, when Cn. Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus were consuls (which was the year we have in hand), a thing most ridiculous came to pass. For, whereas it had been decreed long before, that the senate should not swear to the acts of the emperor on the first day of January, man by man, but that one should take the oath, and the rest should give their consent; this year they did not so, but, of their own offer, and no one constraining, they were sworn every man in particular.

"And there befel also a thing much more ridiculous than this. For they decreed, that Tiberius should choose out of their order as many as he would: and twenty of those, chosen by lot and weaponed, he should have for his guard, whensoever he should come into the senate. Now, seeing that without the senate-house all was well guarded with a band of soldiers, and that no private man came within,—for whom else would they, or could they, have this guard added, but for themselves? Tiberius commended their forwardness, and gave them thanks for their good-will; but the thing itself he declined, as a thing unusual: for he was not so simple, as to put swords into their hands whom he so much hated, and of whom he was hated so much."

Thus Dion: and thus the senate were taken in their own net, which they had laid too plain; arming Tiberius with suspicion, hatred, and power, while they thought to have weaponed themselves. A far milder nature than his, would hardly have missed to have made a domineering use of such an opportunity<sup>l</sup>, when their visible hatred had showed him his own danger, and their cowardly flattery had showed him his power: and how he made advantage of these his notions, did appear by the sequel.

#### § 5. *Divers cruelties.*

Sejanus, his high-exalted favourite, had been found, or at least suspected by him, to go about to undermine him, as he had done Drusus by his setting-on, and he had the last

<sup>k</sup> Lib. lviii.

<sup>l</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 782.

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year been put to death upon that certainty, or suspicion: and now must all his friends, creatures, kindred, and adherents, which had been exceeding many to so great a favourite, come to the same reckoning and ruin with him. And this advantage had the old politician by his kennelling in the solitariness of the country, that both he might be as impudent as he would in putting forward his designs,—for his letters could not blush; and resolute enough in following them to their accomplishing,—for he was far enough from the danger of the discontented city.

He<sup>m</sup> began<sup>n</sup> with the confiscation of Sejanus's goods, and went on with the banishment of Junius Gallio, one of his friends. This Gallio, or Gallenus (as Dion calleth him), in a base flattery to Tiberius, made the motion, that the soldiers of his guard should, at the shows, sit in the knights' form: a proposal more full of simplicity and fawning than of any danger or suspicion: and yet is he sharply taken up for it by the emperor's letters, as for an overture of sedition made by a friend of Sejanus, as thinking to corrupt the minds of the soldiers by hope of honours: and for no other fault but this is Gallio banished to Lesbos, but recalled again ere long; because it was thought by the emperor, that he took delight in the pleasantness of the island; and then he was committed to custody in the magistrates' houses. The same letters thunderbolt Sestius Paconius; and either they or the next, do as much for Latiaris the betrayer of Sabinus, and shortly are the like come for Cæcilianus a senator, Quintus Servæus once prætor, and Minucius Thermus a knight: and if they came not into the same black bill, yet did Julius Africanus and Seius Quadratus come into the same danger.

§ 6. *Strange accusing.*

Thus came his packets very frequent to the senate, and seldom or never but written in some man's blood or other; he being cankered and crafty enough to accuse and pretend,—and the senate so officious and serviceable to him, as to condemn and execute. And happy had the condition of the city been, had he rested there, to have been accuser only

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 771.

<sup>n</sup> *Tacit. lib. vi. Annal. Dion. ubi supra.*

himself; but his subtle policy had found out a way, and practised it, and he thought himself happy in it, to set such division, and sow such seeds of accusations, among the people, that now they do nothing, nor affect nothing more, than to accuse, impeach, and charge, one another, and to contrive and compass each other's death. Cruel and inhuman that he was, thus to divide and embroil his own people and subjects to destroy each other, that the clearer way might be made to his tyranny through their destruction; and that he cannot think himself an absolute prince, nor truly happy, unless his people die at his pleasure, or live in misery! Yet can I not but think of an invisible hand of justice in this deplorable condition of the city and state, wrought and brought upon her by her own prince,—that she now perisheth daily and sadly by her false accusing, and condemning, and destroying, one another; for at this very time, by false accusation and unjust condemning, she had destroyed and murdered the Lord of life.

“Now (saith Tacitus) did Tiberius, inciting the chiefest men to mischief, admonish C. Cæstius the father, to tell the senate what he had written to him: and Cæstius took upon him to accuse. A bane which those times brought forth, when the chief men of the senate would practise most base accusations, some openly, many secretly; nor could you then discern strangers from kinsmen, friends from men unknown, nor what was new, nor what was obscure with age. So surely were men accused of whatsoever they had spoken in the open streets, or at feasts, as others could make haste to prevent, and accuse them for guilty: some for their own refuge, more as infected with contagion and a sickness.” So Tacitus.

Seneca<sup>o</sup> also utters his complaint of these doleful times, and allegeth one example of these accusations, which at once showeth the baseness of them and the frequency:—

“In the times of Tiberius Cæsar, there was a frequent and almost common madness of accusing, which more tormented the gowned city, than all their civil wars had done before. Now the words of drunkards were caught at, and the harmlessness of jesters. Nothing was safe; every occasion of

<sup>o</sup> De Benef. lib. iii. cap. 26.

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being cruel gave content. Nor was there any expecting of what would be the event of those that were accused; for they had all one and the same. Paulus, the prætorian, was at a certain supper, or feast, having the picture of Tiberius graven in the stone of his ring, which something stood forth. I should do but very foolishly, if I should pump for words to tell, that he took the chamber-pot, which thing Maro, one of the spies of those times, took speedy notice of. But a servant of him, for whom the trap was prepared, took off his ring when he was drunk. And when Maro took witness of the guests, that Cæsar's image was laid to a filthy base thing, and was ready to subscribe the charge,—the servant showed the ring upon his own finger.”

Exceeding<sup>p</sup> many do the Roman histories mention and nominate, that came to fatal ends, or heavy dooms, under the bloodiness of this inquisition; but “many and many omitted (saith Tacitus), and not named by the Roman writers; either because they were cloyed with multitude of examples; or lest, as what they suffered was much and grievous to themselves, so likewise might it be unto the reader.

§ 7. *Desperate<sup>q</sup> boldness, and discretion.*

In these so dangerous times of the city, and raging humours of the emperor, it cannot be omitted, for the strangeness of it, how two men came off; Marcus Terentius, by a resolute bravery before the senate,—and Lucius Sejanus, by a desperate scoff and mocking of the emperor.

In the sports<sup>r</sup> and feasts of Flora, this Sejanus, being prætor, had caused all things to be performed by bald-headed men, and by no other; and this he did, because Tiberius was bald-headed himself. And to make up the scorn to the full, at night, when the company was to depart, he caused five thousand boys, with their heads shaven bare, to carry links and torches to light them away. And yet Tiberius would take no notice of all this, though he knew it well enough,—either because he would not second his own derision, by taking it to heart; or because he intended to revenge this scorn at some other time, under some other title; or because

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 785.

<sup>q</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 772.

<sup>r</sup> Dion, lib. lviii.

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by this toleration he would animate more to be saucy with him to their own confusion.

But far more brave, because far more necessary and discreet, was the courage of Terentius, who had the sober and well-guided valour, not to thrust himself into danger, but to bring him out. He was accused of dependance upon Sejanus, and of complying with him; and he denied not the accusation, but strengthened it, and came off better by extremity of confession, than others could do with the utmost of excusing. "I loved (said he) and honoured Sejanus, because Tiberius loved him, and did him honour. So that if he did well, I did not amiss; and if the emperor, that knoweth all things exactly, were deceived, it is no wonder if I were deceived with him. It is not for us to regard or search, for what cause the emperor promoteth such a man: to him belongeth the property of that judgment; to us, the glory of obsequiousness. His treasons against the commonwealth, and plots against the emperor's life,—let them bear the punishment they have deserved; but as for friendship and observance, the same end will acquit Tiberius and us," &c.

And in this strain and boldness proceeded he on, still driving on his affections to Sejanus, through Sejanus to the emperor, that he led the accusation the same way to light upon him also; insomuch, that, in an instant, his accusers had changed place with him; for they were accused, and he discharged.

§ 8. *Other occurrences of this year.*

But Tiberius's humour was too strong to be stopped with such rhetoric, in behalf of any more, though this prevailed for Terentius himself. For presently come accusatory letters against Sex. Vestilius, as a libeller against C. Cæsar: who, to avoid death by the hand of some other man, would prevent it with his own, and so cut his veins: but tying them up again and repenting his fact, he sent a supplicatory petition to the emperor, that he might live; of which receiving but a comfortless answer, he let them open to bleed again. Afterward followed the accusation of Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scaurus Mammercus, Sabinus Calvisius: Vitia, the mother of Fusius Geminius, late consul, put to death for no-

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thing but for bewailing the death of her own son: Vesularius and Marinus, executed in Capreæ: and Geminius and Celsus came to such fatal ends towards the end of the year. In this year, there was a book of the Sibyl's offered to the senate; but he that offered it, was sharply checked by the emperor for his pains. Some scarcity of provision oppressed the city, and plenty of mocks upon the stage jerked the emperor; but course was taken ere long for the remedy of both,—and for the latter, sooner than the former. Scribonianus's place of consulship was often changed, according to Tiberius's wavering pleasure; the politician craftily shaking and unsettling that ancient government, that his new one of monarchy might sit the faster. Flaccus Avilius was made governor of Egypt, an Iberian by birth, as may be collected from Dion, and a future scourge of the Jews, as will appear hereafter. Rubrius Fabatus, when he saw the city in so desperate an estate, betook himself to fall to the Parthians, but was apprehended by the way; and yet escaped punishment, being forgotten, rather than forgiven.

§ 9. *Tiberius's perplexed.*

Among all the troubles of that city (that hath been ever the troubler of the world) that befel her this year, when she slew the Prince of quietness and peace,—it may not be amiss to look a little upon the disquietness of him himself within himself, that caused this disquiet to her, and embrued her so oft in her own blood. And this we may do by the anatomy, that Tacitus hath read upon his entrails,—spying the thoughts of his heart, through the words of a letter, that he wrote in behalf of Cotta Messalinus, an old favourite of his; the letter bearing the date of this year, as appeareth by the same Tacitus, and the words this tenor, as it is attested both by him and Suetonius<sup>t</sup>. “ Quid scribam vobis, P. C., aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, hoc tempore, Dii me Deæque pejus perdant, quam quotidie perire sentio, si scio:” “ What I shall write to you, O fathers conscript, or how I shall write, or what I shall not write at all at this time, the gods and goddesses confound me worse than I

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 773.

<sup>t</sup> In *Tiber. c. 67.* [ed. B. Crusii, vol. 1. p. 469.]

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feel myself to perish daily, if I can tell."—Whereupon Suetonius saith, "that being weary" of himself, he almost confesseth the sum of his miseries." But my other author<sup>v</sup> thus largely: "Thus did even his villanies and flagitiousness turn to punishment to himself. Nor was it in vain that the wisest of men was wont to affirm, that 'if the minds of tyrants were but opened, tortures and stripes might be spied there:' seeing that the mind is butchered with cruelty, lust, and evil projects, as the body is with blows. For, not solitariness, nor fortune, could protect Tiberius, but that he confesseth the torments of his breast, and his own punishment."

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### PART III.

#### THE AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS.

##### § 1. *A commotion of them.*

IF the method of Josephus were chronical, and the order of his ranking of stories to be presumed for the order of their falling out, at this time or hereabout should be taken-in that "famosum ludibrium<sup>w</sup>," as Egesippus calleth it, or villanous abuse of Paulina, a noble, chaste, and virtuous wife, and lady of Rome, by Mundus, a knight, under pretext of the god Anubis, in the temple of Isis: for this hath he mentioned<sup>x</sup> the very next thing after the mention of our Saviour's death, and with this link of connexion: "About the very same time, another grievance troubled the Jews, and shameful things happened about the temple of Isis at Rome," &c. But since the story concerning the troubles of the Jews, that he relateth after, seemeth to have some near dependance and consequence to this of the lady, and that Tacitus<sup>y</sup> hath laid that occurrence, of the Jews' expulsion out of Rome, thirteen years before this, under the consulship of Junius Silanus and Norbanus Flaccus,—we will omit to meddle with them; and will take-in another story of the Jews, which though Jose-

<sup>u</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 784.

<sup>v</sup> Tacitus, ed. Valpy, vol. 1. p. 318.    <sup>w</sup> Egesip. de excid. Jerus. l. 2. cap. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Annal. lib. 2.

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phus hath placed a little before Christ's death, yet Eusebius hath set it after; and, upon his word, shall it be commended to the reader for its time, and upon the other's and Philo's for its truth.

Pilate (as saith Josephus<sup>2</sup>) having secretly brought into Jerusalem by night certain images of Cæsar, and set them up,—the people, when the matter was known, repaired to him to Cæsarea, begging that they might be taken down: which when he denied as a thing prejudicial to Cæsar, they fell flat upon the ground, and there lay five days and five nights, and stirred not thence. On the sixth day, he, pretending to give them an answer from the judgment-seat, doth suddenly environ them with armed men, threatening their death, if they cease not their importunity. But they, falling upon the ground again, and laying their necks bare, return him this answer; "That they would gladly embrace death rather than transgress the wisdom of their laws." Whose resolution when Pilate saw, he caused the images to be fetched away from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. To this purpose Josephus: but Philo far differently thus; "Pilate (saith he<sup>a</sup>) dedicated golden shields in the palace of Herod in the holy city, not so much for the honour of Tiberius, as to vex the people of the Jews. Upon them there was neither picture, nor any thing that was forbidden; but only the inscription showed, who had dedicated them, and to whom. Yet when the multitude had understanding of the thing, and the matter was divulged, they chose<sup>b</sup> certain of the highest rank among them for their advocates, who besought him, that the innovation might be taken away, and that their laws might not. When he roughly denied,—for he was naturally inflexible, and self-wilfully sturdy,—they make fair before him, as if they would petition to Tiberius. Now, that fretted him worst of all; for he was afraid, lest they should do so, indeed, and accuse him for his other crimes, his bribery, wrongs, rapines, injuries, oppressions, murders, and horrid cruelties; and yet durst he not take down again what he had dedicated; nor had he any mind to pleasure the people. Which when they perceived, they sent a most humble peti-

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 4. et de Bello Jud. 2. cap. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Philo in Legat. ad Cajum.

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 774.

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tion to Tiberius : who, understanding what Pilate had done, and what he had threatened, rebuked and checked him for his innovating boldness, and commanded him speedily to take the shields away; and so they were removed from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.”—Thus Philo; and thus differently these two countrymen,—and that in a matter, which so nearly concerned their own country<sup>c</sup>, and which also befel so near unto their own times : for Philo was now alive, and in his prime; and so was Josephus less than thirty years after. Be it referred to the reader’s choice, which of these relations he will take; and when he hath made his choice, another difference falleth under his arbitration concerning the time, betwixt Eusebius, which placeth this occurrence after our Saviour’s passion,—and Baronius, that hath set it three years before his baptism. The cardinal, certainly too forward in bringing it in the first year of Pilate,—for it appeareth by Philo, that he had done a great multitude of villanies among the Jews, before he did this; and the father, if any whit too backward in ranking it after our Saviour’s death, yet excusable for a thing of so pregnant application, as to show, how soon the Jews, that had chosen Cæsar before Christ, have now their bellyful of their Cæsar in his images.

### § 2. *Of James’s being Bishop of Jerusalem.*

The two last-cited authors, though they differ about the time of the story forenamed, yet have they agreed unanimously, and many others with them, about this in hand,—namely, that James was made this year the bishop of Jerusalem. For, thus Eusebius; “*Ecclesiæ Hierosolymarum primus episcopus ab apostolis ordinatur Jacobus frater Domini.*” But Baronius far larger; “That he was ordained bishop by Peter; that his chair was preserved and revered to posterity; that he wore a plate of gold upon his head like the high-priest in the law,” from whence he would derive the mitre: “that he alone might go into the sanctum sanctorum; that he refrained from wine and flesh; that he was a Nazarite; that his knees were hardened with continual praying, till they were insensible;” and such-like stuff, for which he citeth his several authors; that, if common sense were

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 785.

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not a better informer than common fame, we should be made to believe any thing whatsoever. The question, indeed, whether James were ever bishop of Jerusalem at all or no, is very well worth taking into some consideration; but that will be most proper to handle, when we come to those places in the 'Acts of the Apostles,' where a singular mention of James hath given occasion of this opinion. But as for his prototype of mitres, the people's wooden devotion to his chair, and the rest of that legendary invention,—he is little acquainted with the officiousness of superstition, that knoweth not out of what mint that cometh; and he hath little to do, that should go about to examine the truth of it; but he hath the least of all to do, that should believe it.

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SERGIUS SULPITIUS GALBA, } CONSULS.  
L. CORNELIUS SULLA, }

§ *An<sup>d</sup> account of the chronology.*

ALTHOUGH the proper reckoning of every year of our Saviour, be from September to September (for at that time of the year he was born), and so his three-and-thirtieth year should have been ended by us, within four months, or little more, after the giving of the Holy Ghost; yet, because it will not be possible to date the times of things in any of the three stories that we have in hand, from such a beginning,—and because both the Roman historians do reckon the years of their city, as also the Christian histories, the years of Christ, from January to January,—I have chosen to follow that computation and manner of accounting; or rather (to speak properly indeed), I have been enforced to follow it, there being not only various and pregnant helps both from Romans and Christians to forward us in that manner of reckoning, but there being also an utter impossibility to reckon or compute from any other beginning or calculation. Now,

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 777.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 786.

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S. S. GALBA, L. C. SULLA, COSS.

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as for those stories that we are to follow in the 'Acts of the Apostles,' the Holy Ghost hath not been so punctual and exact, to give us the times of the things, as to give us things themselves. The chronicle-chain of the times, indeed, is drawn up by the Scripture from the creation, to the death of our Saviour (which was the fulness of time), with all care and accurateness: but, from thenceforward, not so strictly or observantly exhibited and held forth; nor, indeed, was it requisite, that it should so be. To annalize, therefore, the story of this 'book of the Acts,' as it cannot but prove a matter of great difficulty, so will it prove but a matter of conjecture, when we have done what we can: and both these proceed from this ground and reason,—because the Holy Ghost hath been very sparing, if not utterly silent, in giving account of the times in the New Testament, from the death of Christ forward; that great business in his death being accomplished and fulfilled, for which alone the succession of times was reckoned and recorded. We shall, therefore, in the casting of passages and occurrences into several years, as we go along, present them under their proper notion of conjecture, yet showing some groundwork and reason of what we do: and though, it may be, we may not always hit aright, in fixing every thing to its proper year,—yet hope we to find, here and there, some such main pins, as whereon to hang a sum of divers years joined together, and to settle them fast; although we cannot so perfectly find a general nail, whereby to fasten the occurrences of every several year by itself.

We<sup>f</sup> may take an instance in the story, at which we now are,—the choosing of the seven deacons. It is not possible, positively to determine at what time this was done; it may be, it was before the three-and-thirtieth year of our Saviour was expired,—namely, before September next after his ascension: it may be, again, it was not before September, but betwixt it and January next following: or it may be, it was not before January, but after it, in this year that we are entering upon. There is alike uncertainty in all these things, if we should come to try the times of this particular thing by itself; but when we shall come to examine and take up the time of

<sup>f</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 787.

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Paul's conversion, then will some steadiness of the time of this appear; and the nail that fasteneth that, will so clench up all the stories betwixt that and the descension of the Holy Ghost, or all the stories from the end of the second chapter to the beginning of the ninth, that they will not hang altogether loose, but have some fixedness to their proper time.

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1: "*There was a murmuring of the Grecians.*"

IN the Greek it is, "of the Hellenists:" which word is also used, chap. ix. 29, and xi. 20. And it is of no small controversy for the sense, whether it mean 'Greeks, that lived among the Jews,' or 'Jews, that lived among the Greeks:' whether 'Greeks, that were converted to the Jewish religion,' or 'Jews, that used the Greek tongue:' but the latter seemeth to be the proper meaning of it upon these grounds:—

1. Because 'proselyted Greeks' (which some think 'Hellenistæ' means) are expressly called Ἕλληνας, John xii. 20: and τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς, Joseph. Ant. lib. 18. cap. 4; and not 'Hellenistæ.'

2. Because the very form of the word 'Hellenista' doth more properly import 'a Jew ingrafted into the Greeks,' than 'a Greek ingrafted into the Jews.'

3. Because, whereas 'Judæus' and 'Hellen' distinguish the two nations, Jew and Greek, all along in the Scripture,— 'Hebræus' and 'Hellenista' must needs signify something else here.

4. Because<sup>g</sup>, if by 'Hellenistæ' had been meant the converted Greeks, it had been most proper in contradiction to them to have said πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, and not πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους.

5. Because the story, from the beginning of this book hither, maketh the church to consist most especially of Jews, as chap. ii. 5. 22, and iii. 12. And, though it mention proselytes among them, yet seemeth it most improbable, that their number shall be so great, as to have seven deacons chosen for them.

<sup>g</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 778.

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6. Because Nicolas, one of the seven, is expressly called "a proselyte of Antioch:"—which had been somewhat improper, if all the business had only concerned proselytes.

By these, and some other reasons that might be produced, it is most proper to apprehend and conceive, that these Hellenists were Jews of the Grecian dispersion and plantations, that lived among the Greeks, and used their language: and which may be called 'the western dispersion,' not only in regard of the situation of their dwellings; but chiefly in difference from the eastern captivities, carried away by the Assyrians and Persians; and also, because they used western tongues. And to this sense it soundeth, when it is said, "the Hellenists murmured against the Hebrews;" namely, that both they that murmured, and they that were murmured against, were Jews; but the one party called 'Hebrews,'—and the other, 'Hellenists,'—in reference to their language and residence. The Hebrews in Judea, or in the countries of the eastern dispersion; and the other, in the countries and colonies of the western. And in this sense is that easily understood, which is spoken of Paul, chap. ix. 29; that "he spake and questioned with the Hellenists,"—namely, because he spake their language, the Greek tongue,—he being born in Tarsus, where they had Greek schools. And that in chap. xi. 19, 20; "They that were scattered, spake the word to none but to the Jews only:" and yet some spake to the Hellenists at Antioch; they that spake, being themselves Hellenists by birth, or Jews born in Cyprus and Cyrene, in Greek colonies; and so dealt with them of Antioch, that were of the same native reference that they were.

§ "*Were neglected in the daily ministration.*"

That is, in the daily distribution of alms, or the stock of the church; as the text and reason itself maketh it plain enough: though some have conceived, that it is to be taken passively; as if these widows had been hindered from ministering to the apostles, as women had ministered to our Saviour.

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Ver. 2: “ *Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them.*”

Not the whole multitude of believers, which, at this time, were grown to very many thousands: but the whole number of the presbytery, or the hundred and eight, of whom mention hath been made before. For, 1. How needless was it, that eight or ten thousand people should meet together about this business, to choose six or seven men! And, 2. How impossible was it there should be a joint choice, where the distance and diversities of countries and languages had made them so great strangers one to another; and when some discontents had driven them into murmurings already. 3. They that chose the seven, are bidden to “look out, among themselves, men full of the Holy Ghost<sup>h</sup>;” which among the number of common believers was very hard, if at all possible, to find: for we cannot ever find, that the Holy Ghost had come down upon any but the hundred and twenty. And whereas they are required to be “of honest report and wisdom,”—it doth not infer, that any of the hundred and eight were otherwise; but because there was difference of eminences and excellences among them.

Ver. 3: “ *Seven men.*”

This number may seem to refer to the seven nations of the western Jews, who had made the complaint;—Cappadocians, Pontics, Asians, Phrygians, Pamphylians, Romans, and Cretans.

§ “ *The office of deacons.*”

1. It was not ministerial, or for the preaching of the word, but for providing for the poor; for, as the occasion of their election was complaint of the poor, so the end of their choice was to provide for their relief. It is true, indeed, that these seven men, at the least two of them, Stephen and Philip,—were preachers of the word, as well as overseers of the poor: but this their ministerial function they had, *before* their deaconry, not *with* it. For it<sup>i</sup> is not only the opinion

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 788.

<sup>i</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 779.

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of Epiphanius, but even sense and reason do give their vote with him, that these men were of the number of the seventy; or, at the least, of the hundred and eight, that had been Christ's constant followers and disciples; and so had received their ministerial function from Christ, and not from the apostles; and it was not an addition to their deaconry, but their deaconry to it. For the text telleth plainly, that "they were full of the Holy Ghost," before they received the imposition of hands; and so had, in all probability,—yea, indeed, past denial,—received the Holy Ghost, when the hundred and twenty did; they being some of that number.

2. Those tables, for which the office of deaconry was ordained, were not holy tables, but common. For, 1. The twelve set an inconsistency between serving these tables, and preaching the word, ver. 2; which they would never have done, if 'serving of tables' had been the attending upon the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 2. The serving of tables that they mean, they put over from themselves to the deacons; but none can think, that they would ever resign or give over the administering the sacrament. 3. There were ministers enough already for the administration and attending upon the sacrament, and there needed no new ordination or office for it.

3. The office of the deacons, was to take care of the poor according to their several wants; to gather and receive collections for them; to distribute to them; to oversee them; and to minister to them in their necessities. And, therefore, it is no wonder, if the apostles were so circumspect in their election, and so observant in their ordination. For these seven were to take this work of the apostles out of their hands, and to dispose of the stock of the church; and upon whose care the support of the poor was to depend, and their welfare upon their incorruption: and then it is no marvel, if they were chosen men of good report. And they were to converse with variety of languages and nations: and, therefore, it was needful they should be "full of the Holy Ghost," enabling them to converse with them in their divers tongues.

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Ver. 5: “*Prochorus.*”

§ *The book of the Life of John the Evangelist under his name forged.*

Of “Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, and Parmenas,” there is no mention in Scripture. The book, that beareth the name of Prochorus, “concerning the life, miracles, and assumption, of John the evangelist,” doth justly bear this brand in its forehead, as it stands in Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. 7: “*Historia hæc apocrypha est, fabulosa, et indigna prorsus quæ legatur.*” The author bewrayeth himself to be a Romanist, by the sign of the cross and the local descent, cap. 3; by Linus and Domitian disputing about the coming of Christ, and by John Port-Latin, cap. 10; and by other visible signs, although he had thought he had put on a visor sufficient to have hidden that, when he bringeth-in Peter calling John ‘the prime apostle,’ even in the beginning of the first chapter. But that none may lose so much time as to read him over, let him take a pattern of the rest of his pedlary-ware out of the twentieth chapter, where he bringeth-in John writing a letter to the devil, that possessed a man, and, by that letter, casting him out.

§ “*Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.*”

He is held to have been the author and occasion of the sect of the Nicolaitans, Rev. ii. 6. 15; Iren. lib. 1. cap. 27; Euseb. hist. lib. 3. cap. 29:—a sect, that misconstrued the doctrine of Christian community and Christian liberty, to all uncleanness and licentiousness: but whether it began to be so misconstrued by Nicolas himself, or by some of his followers,—as the Sadducees abused a good doctrine of Sadoe to a damnable heresy,—it is difficult to determine; and this is not the proper place to examine it.

Ver. 7: “*A great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.*”

I cannot but wonder at the boldness of Beza in this place, and, indeed, in hundreds of other places; for he doth rather suspect the truth and purity of this text, than believe

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the story, that so many priests should believe: and yet it seemeth, among all his Greek copies, there was not one, that read otherwise. Truly, it is a daring, that deserves castigation in him,—that, when he either understandeth not the perfect meaning of a place, or findeth difficulty in it, or hath fancied a sense contrary to it,—that he should throw dirt into the face of the Scripture,—and deny the purity of the Greek text, before he will ungive<sup>k</sup> any thing of his own groundless opinion. Honourable is the memory of that man in the church of God, and his name as a sweet perfume among us: but I would this his boldness, which he took to himself continually, had not given so great occasion to Jews and Papists to bark against the purity of the text and the truth of the gospel, as it hath done.

Ver. 9: “*The synagogue of the Libertines.*”

That is, of Jews that were free-born (as Paul, Acts xxii. 28),—viz. the sons of those Jews, that had obtained the Roman freedom. He, that, from a slave or servant, obtained manumission and liberty, was called ‘libertus;’ and his child, born to him in this freedom, was ‘libertinus.’

Ver. 15: “*His face as the face of an angel.*”

Stephen is accused, by the students of this libertine-college, of blasphemy against Moses and the temple, for preaching of the destruction of his ceremonies and of that place; whereas he spake but what Moses and an angel had foretold before, Deut. xxviii, and xxxii, Dan. ix: and, accordingly, his face hath the splendour of an angel, and shineth like the face of Moses.

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 2: “*Men, brethren.*”

THAT is, ‘brethren:’ for the word ‘men’ is added only by a Hebrew elegancy and custom; as, Gen. xiii. 8, “we are men, brethren;” which our English hath well rendered, “we are brethren.” So ver. 26 of this chapter.

<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 780.

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§ *When he was in Mesopotamia.*”

For Chaldea was also reckoned to Mesopotamia: and so Pliny accounteth it, lib. 6. Nat. Hist. cap. 26: “ Babylon, Chaldaicarum gentium caput, diu summam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe; propter quam reliqua pars Mesopotamiæ Assyriæque Babylonia appellata est.” And afterward; “ Sunt etiamnum in Mesopotamia oppida, Hipparenium, Chaldæorum et hoc, sicut Babylon.” And presently after, “ Orcheni quoque, tertia Chaldæorum doctrina, in eodem situ locantur.”

Ver. 3: “ *And said unto him, ‘ Get thee out of thy country.’*”

Divers expositors have intricated themselves into a perplexity, they cannot well tell how to get out of, by supposing these words, and the words of Moses, Gen. xii. 1, to be the same, and to speak of the same time and thing: whereas, they are visibly and vastly distant and different; and they mean two several calls of God to Abraham, the one in Chaldea, the other in Charran. In Chaldea, God appears to him, and bids him, “ Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred;” but maketh no mention of leaving his father’s house; for that he took along with him, Gen. xi. 31.—The Holy Ghost, indeed, hath ascribed the conduct of this journey to Terah, as if he had received the call, and had been the chief mover in the business; but it is only to show his conversion and forsaking of his native country and idolatry, and his readiness to go with Abram, when God calleth Abram: but that the call was to Abram, it is not only asserted by Stephen here, and Joshua, chap. xxiv. 2,—but also confessed by some of the Jews themselves; as Aben Ezra, on Gen. xii. 1; “ The Lord commanded Abram, whilst he was yet in Ur of the Chaldees, that he should leave his country.” But when God calls him from Haran, or Charran, he then bids him depart “ from his father’s house,” as well as he had done from his country and kindred before; for now he left his brother Nahor and all his father’s house behind him. Had this been observed, there could never so many scruples have risen about Terah’s age at Abraham’s birth, nor about Abraham’s journey, as there

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have done: nor would there be such ambiguity about translating the word *הרמה*, Gen. xii. 1, as there hath been. The story in Genesis runs current, and in a continuation: and may be illustrated in this paraphrase: "God, in Ur of the Chaldees, appeared to Abram, and said unto him, 'Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred; but take thy father's house with thee, and go to a land which I shall show thee:' and when Abram told Terah of this command, Terah condescended and consented; and Terah<sup>l</sup> took Abram, and Lot, and Sarai, and they (Terah and Abram) went with them from Ur to Haran, and dwelt there: and Terah<sup>m</sup> died in Haran; and then God saith to Abram, 'Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house also now, and go into Canaan,' " &c.—And to take away all cavils, that might be made against the matter in this respect, in that both Ur and Haran are called 'Abram's country and kindred,'—Stephen hath laid them both in Mesopotamia, as is noted before.

Ver. 5: "*Not so much as to set his foot on.*"

As, Deut. ii. 5, Abraham was forced to buy a place of burial, though all the land was given him by promise.

Ver. 6: "*And entreat them evil four hundred years.*"

There is a double sum of years mentioned concerning the seed of Abraham,—namely, four hundred, and four hundred and thirty, Gen. xv. 13, Exod. xii. 40. The four hundred and thirty, was from Abram's receiving of the promise, to the delivery out of Egypt: and the four hundred, was from the fifth year of Isaac to that delivery: then did Ishmael mock, and then began affliction to Abraham's seed; and from thence they were in affliction and sojourning, in a strange land, Canaan and Egypt, four hundred years. See the LXX, at Exod. xii. 40.

Ver. 7: "*And serve me in this place.*"

This clause is here alleged by Stephen, as if it had been spoken to Abraham; whereas it was spoken to Moses four hundred years after. But the Holy Ghost useth to speak

<sup>l</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 781.

<sup>m</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 790.

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short in known stories; as Matt. i. 12; 1 Chron. i. 36; Mark i. 2, 3, &c.

Ver. 14: “*Threescore and fifteen souls.*”

Whereas Moses saith, that all the souls of the family of Jacob, that went down into Egypt, were but “threescore and *ten*,” Gen. xlvi. 27, Exod. i. 5, Deut. x. 22; Stephen enlargeth the number, and saith “threescore and *fifteen* :” and herein he followeth the Septuagint, who, in the two first-cited places, have that sum: and they make up the account, in Gen. xlvi, by fetching the names of five children of Joseph, out of the Book of Chronicles, which Moses mentioned not,—and which, indeed, were not born at their going into Egypt, but after: and these are, “Machir, Gilead, Shutelah, Taken, and Eden.” And the reason of this their reckoning I have showed elsewhere,—viz, in ‘The Harmony of Evangelists,’ at Luke iii. 36<sup>a</sup>.

Ver. 16: “*And were carried over into Sychem,*” &c.

The shortness of the language in this verse hath bred some difficulty: and as Stephen’s speaking more than Moses in the verse foregoing, was the cause of some obscurity there, so is it a cause of more in this verse, for that he hath not spoken so much. Moses hath told, that Jacob was buried in Hebron; Stephen here speaks, as if he had been buried in Sychem. Moses maketh Jacob the buyer of the land of Emmor, the father of Sychem; Stephen seemeth to make Abraham the buyer of it: and, in conclusion, to make Jacob, and his twelve sons, to lie in one sepulchre, and Abraham’s and Jacob’s purchase, to be but one and the same. Now, Stephen and Moses speak but the same thing, and intend the same meaning; only Stephen useth shortness of speech in relating a story, which was so well known, that a word was enough for a sentence: and he spake in a language, which had its proprieties and idioms; which those, that heard him, easily understood.

“And were carried over into Sychem.”]—The Syriac and Arabic apply this only to Jacob; for they read it in the singular number, “he was translated;” directly cross and con-

<sup>a</sup> Of this edition, vol. 4. p. 326.

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trary to Moses, who telleth plainly, that Jacob's burial was in Hebron, Gen. 1. 13. And in Hebron, Josephus would have all the sons of Jacob buried likewise, *Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 4.* And by his report they were buried there before Joseph; for that they were brought thither as they died; but Joseph's burial was put over, till all the nation came out of Egypt. Now, it is not to be imagined, that Stephen, a man so full of the Holy Ghost, would ever have spoken a thing, in which every ordinary man, woman, or child, that heard him, could so easily have confuted him,—as they might have done, if the twelve patriarchs had been buried in Hebron; much less, when he spake to the council, and to men of learning and understanding<sup>o</sup>, that would readily have tripped him, if he had faltered in so plain and common a story. Therefore, it is past all doubting, that Sychem was, knownly and generally, reputed the place of the patriarchs' burial. For as, although there be mention only of Moses bringing up the bones of Joseph, *Exod. xiii. 19.*—yet R. Solomon well observeth, that “we may learn from that very place, that the bones of all the patriarchs were brought up with him;”—so, though there be mention of the burial of Joseph only in Sychem, *Josh. xxiv. 32.*—and no record of the burial of the rest of the twelve there; yet might it very well be supposed, had not Stephen asserted, that they were also buried there with him. For we may prove the bringing of their bones out of Egypt, yea, though Stephen had not told it:—

For, 1. The same cause, that moved Joseph to desire<sup>p</sup> burial in the land of Canaan, could not but move the other of the twelve to desire the like: were it in faith in the promise, or because of the interest in the land, or in hope of the resurrection,—all the rest had the very same principles to move them to it, that Joseph had.

2. The rest of the tribes bare the same honour to their patriarchs, that the tribe of Joseph did to him; and, therefore, if they, in honour to Joseph, would preserve his bones (that, at their removal, they might be taken out of Egypt), the children of the rest of the tribes would do so by their patriarchs also.

3. To which might be added, the kind of necessity which

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 782.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 791.

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there was, that the twelve fathers of the church of Israel, and heirs of the land of Canaan, should have their interment in that land,—and not be left in the land of bondage.

So, likewise, may there be arguments sufficient to prove, that they were buried with his bones in Sychem. As, 1. There was no reason, they should be severed in the burial, who had been united in their removal. 2. Joseph's bones were most regardable; and the same sepulchre that served him, would have best befitted them. 3. The convocation of all Israel, by Joshua, was to Sychem; and there, upon their possessing of the land, he makes a covenant betwixt them and God; and, it is incomparably more probable, that they should bury the bones of all the patriarchs there, than in Hebron,—where, we do not read, that Joshua ever came, but to destroy the city.

Now, the reason, why Stephen, speaking of the burials of Jacob and his sons, which were in distant and different places,—doth yet couch their story so close together, as if they were all laid together in the same place, is,—

1. Because, treating of two numbers so unequal, as twelve and one, he first followeth the story of the greater number.

2. He useth the singular number for the plural, 'sepulchre' for 'sepulchres;' which is a thing so common, as that nothing is more common in the Scripture-language.

3. He useth an ellipsis, or cutting-off of the conjunction *vau*, or *and*; which also is exceeding common in the same language, as 1 Sam. vi. 19, Psal. cxxxiii. 3, 2 Kings xxiii. 8, and divers other places.

So that though he spake so very curt and short as he did,—yet to them, that were well enough acquainted both with the story itself and with such Hebraisms, his shortness would breed no obscurity, but they would readily take him in this sense: "And Jacob and our fathers died, and were removed to Sychem, and were laid in sepulchres, in that which Abraham bought for money, and in that that was bought from the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem."

Ver. 20: "*And was exceeding fair.*"

Gr. Ἀστέιος τῷ θεῷ. 'Fair to God.' He was a goodly child, supernaturally born, when his mother was past the natural course of child-bearing.

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Ver. 22: “*And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*”

This Stephen speaketh by necessary consequence from his princely education.

Ver. 23: “*And when he was full forty years old.*”

“There are that say, that Moses was forty years in Pharaoh’s palace, forty years in Midian, and forty years in the wilderness.” Tanchum in Exod. ii.

Ver. 43: “*Ye<sup>a</sup> took up the tabernacle of Moloch,*” &c.

I. In Amos the words lie thus, chap. v. 26: *ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כין צלמיכם*: which the Rabbins Kimchi and Jarchi construe in the future tense, and take it for a threatening of their punishment, as much as an upbraiding of their sin: as if he should have said unto them, “Ye would not take up the commandments of the Lord, to bear them; but you shall bear your idols into captivity with you, and your enemies shall lay them upon your shoulders.” And this might have been a very plausible and fair sense; but that Stephen hath taught us to construe the verb in the time past, and not in the time to come; and to read it thus, “Ye *have* borne or taken up,” &c.

II. Now, the fixing of this time, when Israel took up this idolatry, is somewhat difficult. It is some facilitating of the matter, if we can be sure it was not in the forty years in the wilderness: and that appears to be so, by the very scope of Stephen’s speech: for, 1. He telleth, that they made a golden calf in the verse before: and that God, for this idolatry, gave them up to worship all the host of heaven. Whereupon it is evident, that this idolatry with the calf, was neither of these mentioned in this verse, neither with Moloch nor Remphan: but as it were a cause of these; for, for it, the Lord gave them up to these. 2. He seemeth to handle this justice of God upon them, in giving them up to idolatry, under these two heads: 1. In<sup>r</sup> neglect of God’s own service in the wilderness: “ye offered me no sacrifice for forty years:” And, 2. In their choosing of idols to worship afterward. So that

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 783.

<sup>r</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 792.

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the two verses seem to run in this sense: "O house of Israel, ye were not content to offer me sacrifices for forty years together in the wilderness; but ye were well content to sacrifice to idols, and to worship all the host of heaven afterward."

III. "The tabernacle of Moloch:" in the Hebrew, in Amos, it is "Siccuth Malkekem:" which is rendered by some, 'Siccuth,' 'your king;' by others, 'the tabernacle of your king:' by a third sort, 'the observance of your king:' as if it were derived from the word *הסכת* Deut. xxvii. 9. Vid. Aben Ezr. in loc., et Kimchi in 'Michol.' The Seventy, in the unpricked Bible, read it 'Succoth,' a 'tabernacle;' which Stephen followeth; and they both do not cross, but illustrate, the sense of the Hebrew.

Now Molech, or Moloch, was the idol of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings xi. 7; prohibited to Israel in a singular manner, Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2: yet did they worship him most familiarly, 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, Jer. vii. 31. And Solomon built a high place for him, on mount Olivet, before Jerusalem, 1 Kings xi. 7. The valley between was called 'Tophet,' and 'the valley of the sons of Hinnom,' 2 Kings xxiii. 10, &c. This idol and idolatry is thus described by the Rabbins: "Our Rabbins, of happy memory, say: Although all houses of idolatry were in Jerusalem, Molech was without Jerusalem, and the image was made hollow, set within seven chapels. Now, whosoever offered flour, they opened to him the first of them: whoso offered turtles or pigeons, they opened to him the second: whosoever offered a lamb, they opened to him the third: whosoever offered a ram, they opened to him the fourth: whosoever offered a calf, they opened to him the fifth: whosoever offered an ox, they opened to him the sixth: but, whosoever offered his son, they opened to him the seventh. Now, his face was like a calf; and his hands were stretched out, as a man's that reacheth out to receive something from his neighbour. And they set him over a fire; and the priests took the child, and put him between the arms of the idol, and there the child gave up the ghost;" D. Kimch. on 2 Kings xxiii. 10.—"He was made of brass; and was heated with fire under, till he was glowing hot; and then the priests put the child into his

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arms; and there he was burnt; and the priests made a noise, in the meanwhile, with drums, that the father might not hear the child's cry: and, therefore, it was called 'Tophet,' from 'Toph,' 'a drum,' or tabor:" Vid. R. Solom. on Jer. vii. 31.

These seven chapels (if there be truth in the thing) help us to understand what is meant by 'Molech's tabernacle,' and seem to give some reason, why, in the prophet, he is called 'Siccuth,' or the 'covert-god,'—because he was retired within so many 'cancelli' (for that word Kimchi useth), before one could come at him. And so the translation of the Seventy, is but a gloss or exposition of that phrase in the prophet, "Ye took up 'Siccuth,' or the 'covert-god your king;'" which they render, according as the nation readily understood the thing, "the tabernacle of Moloch," that idol you so highly prize as your chiefest king. Now 'Molech,' or 'Moloch,' or 'Milchom,' or 'Malcham' (for all these names are but one and the same), was also called 'Baal,' in a special and distinctive sense; as is apparent by Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, compared together. And this consideration helpeth to understand divers places, where the word 'Baal' is singly used, as, 1 Kings xvi. 31, 32, xviii. 19, &c. And, according to this sense should I understand the matter of Baal-peor, in which Israel<sup>s</sup> was joined to him, to have been sacrificing their children to Molech. And answerably should I interpret that speech of the Psalmist, "They ate the sacrifices of the dead," Psal. cvi. 28; that is, sacrifices offered up, when they offered up their children to be burnt. And this was the first time they committed this horrid idolatry, in the very close of the forty years in the wilderness, in which forty years they had not cared to offer any sacrifices to God: and this abomination with Molech they committed also, presently after they were come into the land, Psal. cvi. 35—37; Judg. ii. 13.

IV. "And the star of your god Remphan:"] Here is the main difficulty of this verse; and that not only in regard of the difference of these words of Stephen from those of Amos, but also in regard of the obscurity of the matter itself. Amos readeth thus: "Chijun your images, the star of your god." Now, the question in the first place is, what is meant by

<sup>s</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 784.

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‘Chijun;’ and it may be scrupled, whether it be the proper name of an idol, as some think;—or a word appellative, to another sense. I should rather take it the latter way: although I know generally it is construed for an idol’s name; either for Hercules, who, among the Egyptians, was called ‘Chon;’ or for Saturn, who, among the Arabians, was called ‘Chevan:’—as see Aben Ezra on Amos, and Beza on this place.

For there are two things, in this passage of Stephen and Amos, very considerable towards the understanding of this place.

1. That Stephen saith, “God gave them up to worship *all the host* of heaven.” Now, if ‘Chijun’ betoken but one idol, or one planet, this cometh very short of the intent that he aimeth at, their worshipping of all.

2. That Amos saith ‘Chijun Tzalmekem;’ the latter word in the plural number,—and, as it seemeth by the very posture of it, the latter of two substantives, and not in apposition. For if ‘Chijun’ were but one idol, it is somewhat improper to say ‘Chijun your images,’ as speaking of more.

I should, therefore, construe ‘Chijun’ appellatively, for ‘the ordering or disposing of their images,’ as that it meaneth thus,—that they had their *Τύπους*, or ‘representations,’ as Stephen calls them, of the whole heaven and host<sup>t</sup> of it in one series, or in one body (as see Ezek. viii. 10), beset with variety of stars and figures, representing this or that planet, and this or that constellation: and that Amos meaneth thus, “You took up ‘Siccuth your king,’ and the frame or disposal of your images, in one compact piece, the stars of your gods which you have made to yourselves:”—showing, that, when they would worship all the host of heaven in images and representations, they made a fabric and compacture in one bulk, or in one room, representing, in several fashions and forms in it, the several planets and constellations of heaven: and this he calleth ‘Chijun Tzalmekem,’ ‘the ordering or disposing of your images.’ See 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5.

V. Now for the word ‘Remphan,’ in which lieth the most obscurity of all,—many conjectures are given upon it. The Seventy hath rendered Chijun *Παφάν*: mistaking one piece

<sup>t</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 793.

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of a letter, as it is conceived by Buxtorfius, and reading  $\gamma$  for  $\kappa$  and  $\rho\iota\eta\eta$  for  $\rho\iota\eta$ . Beza conceiveth it was purposely done; for that by  $\rho\epsilon\phi\alpha$  'Pεφà, which signifieth a *giant*, is to be understood 'Hercules:' and yet he scrupleth, whether it should not be rather read 'Pεμμὸν than 'Pεμφὰν, as aiming at the god of the Syrians, 2 Kings v. 18. But not to insist upon producing such variety of conjectures upon this matter, which are to be seen in several authors,—it seemeth to me,

1. That Stephen doth something follow the Seventy in this word, as well as he doth in the rest of the text: and for the New Testament to follow them, differently from the Hebrew text, is no wonder, and needeth nothing to be said upon it.
2. That Stephen doth add a letter to the word, or doth a little change it from those very syllables, that the Septuagint use,—that he might give the sense of the prophet the more clearly, and speak out the matter he hath in hand, the more plainly. And the word 'Remphan' seemeth to be compounded either of a Hebrew and a Greek word, or of two Hebrew words together; and to mean either 'the high shiner,' of  $\rho$  and  $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ : or 'the high representation' of  $\rho$  and  $\rho\iota\eta$ ; and the latter the more probable. For as the prophet, in the word 'Chijun,' expressed the fabric of the host of heaven, which the idolatrous people had wrought and represented in one piece,—so would Stephen speak to the very same sense; and, therefore, forsaketh the word 'Pαιφὰν, which he found in the Septuagint, and taketh up, or formeth it into 'Pεμφὰν, which signifieth 'the high face,' or 'high representation,'—or that whole piece that represented the whole heaven, which he calleth their god; because, in that, they adored all the stars and hosts of heaven at once: and so,  $\tauὸ \alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  is but one number put for another, one star for many.

VI. "I will<sup>u</sup> carry you away beyond Babylon:"] Both in the Hebrew of Amos, and in the Greek of the Septuagint, it is, "beyond Damascus:" which Stephen seemeth purposely to have changed into "beyond *Babylon*;" because, that as he had treated, in the beginning of the chapter, of Abraham's coming out of those parts into that land, he

<sup>u</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 785.

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would now show 'e contra,' how they, for their idolatry, should be carried out of that land into those parts again.

### CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1: "*And there was a great persecution,*" &c.

#### § 1. *Persecution.*

THE spite and cruelty of the adversary was not quenched by the blood of Stephen, but rather inflamed. Stephen's confuting and confounding the great scholars of the synagogue of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and Cilicians, had bred in them so hateful a disdain of being put to a nonplus; and his cutting words at his death to all the people, Acts vii. 51—53, had galled them so sore: and especially his denouncing of ruin to Moses's ceremonies, and to the temple, as they charged him with it, had so exasperated their blind zeal,—that it is not sufficient, as they think, to have Stephen only put to death; but it is not fit, that others should live, who were of the same heresy and blasphemy with him,—for so they construed it. Hence ariseth a bitter persecution to destroy the church at Jerusalem; because it held an opinion, that Jerusalem and the rites there should be destroyed.

In this tragedy was Saul a chief actor, sparing neither place from search, sex from apprehension, nor the apprehended from torture or imprisonment. Such a testimony doth Luke give of him, Acts viii. 3: and such a confession doth he make of himself, Acts xxii. 4, and xxvi. 11. By which the Epistle of Lucianus, concerning the finding out of the body of Stephen, may again be challenged for forgery, when it maketh Gamaliel a most zealous convert and professor of the gospel, and that at this time; insomuch, that he took care for the burial of Stephen, and received Nicodemus, when the Jews had cast him out; which will prove incredible, in regard of his scholar Saul.

For who can believe, either that the scholar should be so great a persecutor, when the master was so great a professor? or that, if it were so, Gamaliel, of all other, should escape with his life, when his scholar, of all other, could not but know where to find him out, and how to follow him

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close? or, who can imagine, that Paul, when he was answering for his life for being a Christian, should plead his education under Gamaliel, if he were as notorious a Christian as he? This had been to bring his master into danger<sup>v</sup>, and not himself out; and to mar another man's cause, not mending his own.

*“ And they were all scattered abroad except the apostles.”*

§ 2. *Dispersion upon the persecution.*

Out of the darkness of persecution, the Lord bringeth forth the light and the propagation of the gospel: providing at once for the safety of some by their flight; and for the calling home of many more, by their dispersion. “ At that time (saith Luke) there was a great persecution against the church, that was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles.” Where, as the preservation of the apostles, in the very centre of the tyrant, is admirable,—so the scattering of the other into their several places is considerable. For that they travelled into Judea and Samaria, Damascus, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Syria, the text is plain in this and in other places; but since it mentioneth none of their journeys any farther,—what is said of them more, is but groundless conjectures, or rather ridiculous fables. For though it were granted, that they scattered through other countries of the heathen,—yet to bring them as far as France and England, as some do,—is almost as far from reason, as these places are distant from Jerusalem; unless some other cause can be alleged of this their flight, than to avoid the danger. “ Yes (it may be said), they took so long a journey to preach the gospel:” but, 1. The text saith, that “ the dispersed preached to the Jews only;” of which, I believe, these countries afforded a very small number. And, 2. The legend saith, that “ Mary Magdalen, Martha, and Joseph of Arimathea, and others, were the travellers;” who where they had a calling to the ministry, is yet to seek.

These<sup>w</sup> persons, and others with them, are driven by the

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 794.

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 786.

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blast of a common report, to Marseilles in France, Aix in Provence, Glastonbury in England; and I know not whither. It would be sufficient to give the reader but some particulars of the legend; and then would he easily judge of the whole; but it is not worth the labour. It is more pertinent to consider, who they are, that the evangelist meaneth; and whose story he followeth, when he saith here, "they were all scattered;" and, in chap. xi. 19, that "they travelled as far as Phœnice," &c. Certainly, it cannot be meant of the whole church of Jerusalem; or of all the members of it, which were now many thousands; but of the hundred and eight, that were of the presbytery, or society with the apostles.

For, 1. The evangelist setteth himself to follow the story of the hundred and twenty, from the very beginning of the book; and he keeps to it still.

2. By instancing so suddenly in Philip, he showeth what kind of men he meaneth, when he saith, "they were all scattered."

3. He saith, they went "every where preaching," *εὐαγγελιζόμενοι*, which word is never used but of preachers by function.

4. Persecution would far sooner look after the preachers, than the common members.

5. There were common members at Jerusalem, while Paul stayed there, ver. 3; and, yet, the *all* that the evangelist meaneth, were scattered before.

Ver. 5: "*To the city of Samaria.*"

Samaria, here and in other places in the New Testament, is not the name of a city, but of the country. And so is Luke to be understood here: "Philip came down to the city of Samaria;" that is, to the metropolis of that country, which, indeed, was Sychem. And so saith Josephus, *Antiq.* lib. 11. cap. 8<sup>x</sup>; *Σαμαρείται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμα ἔχοντες*, "The Samaritans had then Sychem for their metropolis." And, in the same chapter, he saith again, *Ἑβραῖοι μὲν εἶναι, χρηματίζουσιν δ' οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι*: which his Latin interpreter hath rendered thus; "Illis [Samaritis] dicentibus He-

[<sup>x</sup> Hudson, p. 504.]

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bræos quidem se esse: sed Sichimitas vocari a Sidoniis;" which translation how true it is, and whether Josephus means not, "that the Samaritans said, that they were indeed Hebrews, but were called Sidonians that dwelt at Sychem,"—and whether, in that story, they call not themselves so for advantage,—let the learned censure. This city, John the evangelist calleth *Sychar*, instead of *Sychem*, John iv. 5: not that the text is there corrupted, as some have held; but that the Jews seem to have pronounced the word so corruptly, in derision of the Samaritans, to whom they were bitter enemies. For by this name, they reviled them for *drunkards*; for so the word signifieth; and this taunt seemeth to have been taken up from Isa. xxviii. 1; "Woe to the drunkards of Ephraim;" of which Sychem was the chief city.

Ver. 6: "And the people gave heed," &c.

### § 3. Samaria converted.

Our Saviour gave it in lesson to his disciples, both by precept and his own example, that they should preach, first, in Jerusalem,—then, in Judea,—and then, in Samaria: for so did he himself, John i, and ii, and iv. So commanded he them to do, Acts i. 8: and so do they now, Acts viii: Philip, one of the seven, travelling in the common affliction, and in preaching the gospel, as the rest of the hundred and eight did, being backed with this warrant of his Master, goeth down to Samaria, and preacheth there<sup>y</sup>, though they were enemies to the Jews. It was but three years, or little more, since Christ had been there among them himself, John iv: and whether it were the good remembrance of what he had taught them then, or the extraordinary hand of God with what was delivered now, or both together,—such effect have Philip's doctrine and miracles, that the city, for the general, doth believe, and is baptized.

Ver. 13: "Simon himself believed."

### § 4. Simon Magus.

He who had long caused the people to wonder at his miraculous delusion, is now himself amazed at Philip's real

<sup>y</sup> *Lausden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 795.

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miracles. But conceiving that he had wrought them by a magical faculty above his own, and desiring to fish and get the trick out of him,—he insinuateth himself the more nearly into his company, by taking on him to believe, so that he is baptized: for any other belief of Simon Magus is not imaginable.

For<sup>2</sup> when he saw that Peter and John exceeded Philip, as he thought Philip did exceed himself (for to apostles only belonged to bestow the Holy Ghost), the whole venom and mischief of his heart brake forth at once; first, by offering money for the same apostolical power,—and then in a scornful entreaty of the apostles to pray for him, when they advised him to repent and pray; for so should I understand his words, ver. 24, “Pray ye to the Lord for me,” for an ironical taunt; and, finally, by open heresy and opposal of the gospel.

He had a whore, which he led about with him, was called Helena, or, as some will have it, Selene, of Tyrus: of whom if we understand Rev. ii. 20, which speaketh of Jezebel, “that called herself a prophetess,” it would not be unconsistant; for as Simon, like Ahab, was of Samaria,—so Helena, like Jezebel, was of Tyre. Nor were their doctrines much different; for the one seduced men “to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols;” and the other taught them to do what they would, and not to fear the threats of the law, for that they should be saved by the grace of Simon. Many such monsters of doctrine, and hydras of opinion, did this Lerna of heresy breed, and this first-born of Satan vomit forth: as these,—“that, in Judea, he was the Son of God; in Samaria, the Father; and, in other nations, the Holy Ghost:—that Helena bred angels, and angels made the world: that he himself came down from heaven for his Helena; and that she was the lost sheep mentioned in the gospel; and that she was that Helena, that occasioned the destruction of Troy:” and a great deal more of such hideous and blasphemous matter, recorded by Irenæus, Epiphanius, Austin, Philastrius, and others.

Histories have traced this magical wretch, from Samaria to Rome, and there have brought Simon Peter and him

<sup>2</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 787.

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contending before Nero in working of miracles, and Peter bringing him to harm and shame: which shall be tried in its proper place.

§ 5. "*The Holy Ghost given,*" ver. 17.

The apostles at Jerusalem, hearing the glad tidings of the conversion of Samaria, send down unto them Peter and John: and why these two rather than any other of the twelve, is not so easy to resolve, as it is ready to observe, that if, in this employment, there was any sign of primacy, John was sharer of it as well as Peter. Being come, they pray, and lay their hands upon them, and they receive the Holy Ghost. Here episcopacy thinketh it hath an undeniable argument for proof of its hierarchy, and of the strange rite of confirmation. For thus pleadeth Baronius for the former: "From hence (saith he) it may be seen, that the hierarchical order was instituted in the church of God, even in this time; for Philip doth so baptize those that believe, that yet he usurpeth not the apostolical privilege,—namely, the imposition of hands granted to the apostles." And thus the Rhemists both for it, and for the latter, in their notes on Acts viii. 17: "If this Philip had been an apostle (saith St. Bede), he might have imposed his hands, that they might have received the Holy Ghost; but this none can do, saving bishops. For though priests may baptize and anoint the baptized also with chrism consecrated by a bishop,—yet can he not sign his forehead with the same holy oil; because that belongeth only to bishops, when they give the Holy Ghost to be baptized." And after this testimony of Bede, they subjoin their inference: "This imposition therefore of hands, together with the prayers here specified (which no doubt was the very same, that the church useth to that purpose) was the ministration of the sacrament of confirmation."

Now, let the reader, with indifferency and seriousness, but ruminare upon these two queries, and then judge of these two inferences:—

First, Whether apostleship were not an order for ever, inimitable in the church<sup>a</sup>: for besides the reason given to prove that it was, upon the choosing of Matthias, others may

<sup>a</sup> The first sentence in this paragraph is obscure: the Latin is clear: "Utrum Apostolatus ordo et dignitas non cum ipsis Apostolis, nunquam amplius imitanda, in perpetuum desiisse censenda est?"—ED.

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be added to make it more clear:—as, 1. The end of their election was peculiar, the like to which was not to be in the church again: for they were chosen to be with Christ<sup>a</sup>, Mark iii. 14; to be eye-witnesses of his resurrection, Acts i. 22, ii. 32, and x. 41; as they had been of his actions and passion, Luke i. 2. And, therefore, Paul pleading for his apostleship<sup>b</sup>, that “he had seen the Lord,” 1 Cor. ix. 1; and in the relation or story of his calling, this particular is singularly added, that “he saw that Just One, and heard the voice of his mouth,” Acts xxii. 14.

Secondly, The name of ‘apostles’ keepeth itself unmixed or confounded, with any other order. It is true, indeed, that the significancy of the word would agree to other ministers that are to preach; but there is a peculiar propriety in the sense, that hath confined the title to the twelve and Paul; as any indifferent eye will judge and censure upon the weighing of it in the New Testament.

Thirdly<sup>c</sup>, When Paul reckoneth the several kinds of ministry, that Christ Jesus left in the church at his ascension, Eph. iv. 11, and 1 Cor. xii. 28,—there is none that can think them all to be perpetuated, or that they should continue successively in the like order from time to time. For within a hundred years after our Saviour’s birth, where were either prophets or evangelists, miracles or healings? And if these extraordinary kinds of ministration were ordained but for a time, and for special occasion; and were not to be imitated in the church unto succeeding times; much more<sup>d</sup>, or at the least as much, were the apostles, and order much more, at least, as much extraordinary, as they.

Fourthly, The constant and undeniable parallel, which is made betwixt the twelve patriarchs, the fathers of the twelve tribes, and the twelve apostles, not only by the number itself, but also by the New Testament, in the four-and-twenty elders, Rev. iv. 4,—and in the gates and foundations of the new Jerusalem, Rev. xxi. 12. 14,—doth argue and prove the latter order, as inimitable as the first. These

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 796.

<sup>b</sup> The sense of this passage seems defective: the Latin is clear: “*Hinc Paulus, Apostolatam suum vendicans, in hoc unico tanquam Apostolis perquam necessario gloriatum est, quod ‘Dominum viderat;’*”—ED.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 738.

<sup>d</sup> “*Quanto magis id de extraordinario Apostolorum ordine et ministerio supponi debet?*” Latin edition.—ED.

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things well considered, if there were no more, it will show, how improbable and unconsonant the first inference is, that is alleged, that, because there was a subordination betwixt the apostles and Philip, therefore, the like is to be reputed betwixt bishops and other ministers, and that bishops in the church, are in the place of the apostles.

A second query, and very material to the matter in agitation, is, whether imposition of hands were ever used by the apostles, but for ordination to some office in the church. For, whereas their giving of the Holy Ghost to Samaritans, in this story, and to others elsewhere, is adduced as an example and argument for that which is now called 'confirmation,' and which hath been indifferently given to all (for it is good cheap), that this act of the apostles aimed not, nor intended to any such thing,—may be reasonably conjectured and guessed-at by these considerations:—

First, That the Holy Ghost, thus given, meaneth not his ordinary work of sanctification, and confirming in grace; but his extraordinary gifts of tongues, prophesying, and the like. And this is evident, by the meaning of that phrase, "the Holy Ghost," in the Scriptures, when it denoteth not exactly the person of the Holy Ghost, or the third person in the Trinity. For, as it is a Rabbinic expression, very common in the writings of the Jews, and in the use of the nation; and evermore in their use and sense meaneth only the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit mentioned,—so doth it constantly signify in the Scripture: and it is very hard, if not utterly impossible, to find it signifying any other sense.

Secondly, It is yet more evident by the very historical relation of Luke concerning the matter in hand: for, in Acts xix. 6, telling how Paul laid his hands upon certain men at Ephesus, and they received the Holy Ghost,—he instantly explaineth what were the gifts of the Holy Ghost that they received; for "they spake with tongues (saith he), and prophesied." And it is not possible to think, but that Simon Magus (when he offered money for this fruit of the imposition of his hands, that he might give the Holy Ghost) saw some visible apparent sign of the gift, by the hands of the apostles: which if it were only sanctifying or confirming grace, how could he have seen it? So did they of the circumcision perceive, when the gifts of the Holy Ghost fell

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upon the Gentiles, Acts x. 45; for they saw it by their speaking with tongues, and magnifying God, ver. 46.

Fourthly, It being, then, thus undeniable, that the gifts, conferred by the imposition of hands, were the extraordinary ones of the Holy Ghost,—it can as little also be denied, that they were imparted only to some singular and particular persons, and not to all whatsoever without distinction. For, otherwise, 1. It must be granted, that Simon Magus received them as well as others,—which I know not who will grant; for by his familiarity with Philip and the apostles (he having, also, been baptized with the rest, and his wickedness and his villany not yet broken forth), he might have gotten a precedence in this gift before others, if it had been general.

2. It would bring women under imposition of hands, which can hardly be dreamed of, or ever was any one. It is true, indeed, that women might, and did, receive some of these extraordinary gifts; but it was by immediate influence from heaven, and not by any imposition of hands.

So that now, if we look upon this story, and upon others of the like nature, through these spectacles,—it will appear, that this imposition of the apostles' hands, was not upon all the Samaritans, but upon some selected number; nor upon those selected ones for their confirmation in grace, but for their ordination to the ministry<sup>c</sup>: and, with the imposition of hands, they received the Holy Ghost, to enable them for that work.

Ver. 26: “*Which<sup>d</sup> is desert.*”

This is to be applied to the way to Gaza, and not to Gaza itself: and so the Syriac and Arabic apply it expressly and warrantably, seeing the way was through the wilderness of Judah, and there was but one Gaza.

Ver. 27: “*A man of Ethiopia.*”

There is mention of a double Cush or Ethiopia in Scripture,—for so is it rendered,—the one in Arabia, and the other in Afric; and Homer, even in his time, speaketh of a twofold Ethiopia, Odyss. i: but it is questionable, whether he mean the same with the Scripture or no; since he calleth them ‘eastern’ and ‘western;’ whereas these were east and south. Now this man is held, and that upon good ground,

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 797.

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 789.

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to be of Ethiopia in Afric; where the name of Candace is renowned, even in heathen authors.

Ver. 33: "*Who shall declare his generation?*"

This prophecy of Isaiah, which the eunuch was reading, is exceedingly much mistaken by the Jews; and this clause of the prophecy is exceedingly controverted among Christians. The Jews understand it, some of them concerning Josiah,—others, concerning the whole people of Israel; but the Holy Ghost hath, in this place, put us out of all doubt of whom it speaketh. But, as for the sense of this clause, some Christians understand it concerning the ineffability of Christ's eternal generation: others, concerning the ineffability of his incarnation, or the generation of his human nature united to the Godhead: others, concerning the wondrous generation of the church and faithful; for it followeth, "For he was cut off from the land of the living," and yet the generation of his faithful ones increased. But it seemeth to me, that the word Γενεά and דור is to be understood of the age and generation, in which Christ lived, rather than of his own generation or descent: and so is it used by the Holy Ghost in other places, as Gen. vi. 9, Acts xiii. 36, &c; and so is it interpreted here by the Chaldee and other Jewish glossaries. Now, the meaning of the verse and of this clause, is to this purpose,—“He was taken away and hurried from prison, and from judgment to execution, and” (as the LXX hath enlarged the sense by change of phrase) “in his poor and dejected estate, his judgment was utterly taken away, and no right done him; and who can sufficiently speak of the looseness and wickedness of that generation” (called in the gospel the viperous, adulterous, wicked, unto-ward generation), “which dealt so unjustly and wretchedly with him, as to take and cut him off from the land of the living?”

Ver. 39: "*And the eunuch went on his way, rejoicing.*"

Dorotheus, in Synopsi (if he might be believed), will tell you what became of this eunuch afterward; as, that he preached the gospel in Arabia, in the isle of Trapobane, and all about the Red Sea; and that he is reported to have suf-

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ferred martyrdom gloriously, and to have been buried there, Biblioth. Patr. tom. 7. But believe it, that list; for this I observe, to be the constant and common officiousness of superstition,—to make any man, that is mentioned in the New Testament with a good report, to become a preacher, and commonly a bishop, and constantly a martyr.

## CHAP. IX.

### § 1. *Paul converted.*

IN this year must be placed the conversion of Paul; and the reasons to prove the time, shall be given anon. A man, “*a wonder*” (for so will some<sup>e</sup> have his name to signify), in whom was shown, as much as can be seen in man, both for want of grace, and for abundance:—inferior to none in wickedness, but only in this, that it was not final; and inferior to none in holiness, no, not to the greatest apostles. A scene on which, at one time, corrupt nature showed her cursed vigour; and, at another time, sanctifying grace her sacred power; and both to such an extent, as not many parallels. He was born in Tarsus, of Cilicia, a free city of the Romans,—and himself a freeman of that city<sup>f</sup>. His parents were both Jews; and, therefore, he calleth<sup>g</sup> himself “*a Hebrew of the Hebrews,*” or, a Hebrew both by father and mother. His descent was of ‘Benjamin,’ which, from the general division under Jeroboam the First, had adhered constant to the tribe of Judah, and so kept registers of their genealogies, as that tribe did. According to his double nation, he also bare a double name; ‘Saul,’ as he was a Hebrew by birth,—and ‘Paul,’ as he was a Roman by freedom. His education was in the schools of Tarsus; where, as Strabo recordeth, were scholars no whit inferior to the students in Athens. Here he attained the Greek language and learning, and grew expert in their philosophy and poems: his skill wherein he showeth, in alleging<sup>h</sup> Epimenides, Aratus, and Menander. From thence, he was sent to the university at Jerusalem, for the study of divinity, and of the Jewish law. His tutor was Gamaliel, a Pharisee; a man of special

<sup>e</sup> Hieron.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 790.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 22. Phil. iii. 5. Rom. xi. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Tit. i. 12. Acts, xvii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 38. Acts, xxii. 3.

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note and reverence among the people. His proficiency was above many of his equals of his own nation<sup>i</sup>, he being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of the fathers. From his youth, he also learned a handy-trade of making tents, and joined the working in that by some vicissitudes with his studies<sup>j</sup>: which thing was common with the scholars of the Jews,—partly, for the earning of their maintenance,—and partly, for the avoiding of idleness and sin. So Rabbi Juda, the great cabalist, bare the name and trade of Hhajat, a shoemaker, or tailor.

Yet was the learning of this great scholar but gorgeous ignorance,—and his forward zeal, but the more excellent impiety. When he thought he followed holiness, he persecuted it; and when his studies should have overtaken the truth, then had he lost both them, and it, and himself, and all.

“As for Saul (saith Luke<sup>k</sup>) he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.” He began now to write his positions in blood; and it must be no less than death or abjuration, not to be of his opinion. Neither was this his fury confined within the walls of Jerusalem, or the compass of Judea; but overflowed also unto foreign cities, where the Jewish synagogues, acknowledging subjection to the metropolitan see, submit to her letters, and are too ready to perform her will. Among the rest, he obtaineth commission for Damascus, whither a poor church having but lately overrun persecution, is ready now to be overrun by it again: but by the way, he is met-with by Christ, and from a lion made a lamb; and he that went to lead captivity, is himself captived.

In the story of this great wonder, the text and the matter itself calleth upon us to consider these things:—

1. That the most notorious persecutor, that the gospel had yet found, is chosen of all others to be the doctor of the Gentiles: that even his own example, or rather the glorious example of God's mercy in his conversion, might be a comfortable doctrine to those notorious sinners of the Gentiles, as well as his preaching.

2. That the like divine violence was never used for the

<sup>i</sup> Gal. i. 14. Acts, xviii. 3.

<sup>j</sup> *Ieusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 798.

<sup>k</sup> Acts, viii. 3; xxii. 4; xxvi. 11.

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converting of a sinner, either before or since: but, 1. It was necessary that he should see Christ, as ver. 17,—because it was a necessary ingredient towards the making of an apostle, “to have seen the Lord,” 1 Cor. ix. 1. And, 2. It was needful, that the Lord should appear to him in such daunting power, not only for his own quelling, but also for the terror of all persecutors for the time to come.

3. This appearance of the Lord unto him, was not so much in his person as in his glory; nor what he saw of him, besides the light that struck him blind, was with the eyes of his body, but of his spirit.

4. The place was near Damascus, from whence had sprung one of the sharpest persecutors, that Israel had groaned under, 2 Kings x. 32, Amos i. 3; compare Gen. xiv. 15.

5. The manner is so plainly set down in the text, that it is needless to insist upon it: only these two or three things may not unfitly be touched upon, and taken to thought. 1. That more was spoken from heaven, than Luke hath here related, as appears by Paul’s own relation of it, Acts xxvi. 16—18: but the Holy Ghost frequently useth to speak out stories to the full, some parts in one place, some in another, challenging the reader’s pains and study, to pick them up. 2. That whereas, in chap. ix. 7, it is said, that “those that travelled with Paul, heard the voice,”—but, in chap. xxii. 9, that “they heard not the voice,”—it is to be understood, that they heard the voice of Paul speaking to Christ, but not Christ’s voice to him: or if they heard the voice from heaven, yet they understood not what it said. 3. Whereas, in chap. ix. 7, it is said, these men “stood speechless,”—but, in chap. xxvi. 14, that they “fell all to the ground:” the word *εἰστήκεισαν*, in chap. ix. 7, standeth in opposition to their going forward, and not to their falling to the earth; and meaneth, that their amazedness fixed them, that they could not flee nor stir.

§ 2. *The<sup>k</sup> year of his conversion.*

Some have conceived, that he was rapt into the third heaven, and learned the gospel by revelation, as 2 Cor. xii,

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 791.*

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—in those three days that he was blind, after the sight of this glorious light; and whilst he fasted and prayed, Acts ix. 9. And from this conceit hath another grown, as a supporter of that that bred it,—namely, that he was not converted, till seven years after our Saviour's ascension. This latter opinion was first invented, that his writing of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians might be brought within the compass of about fourteen years after his conversion; for so long a time, and no more, he setteth betwixt his rapture and that Epistle, 2 Cor. xii. 2: and it was, also, originally grounded upon this supposition,—that his rapture was in the time of that his blindness. Two surmises, probable and plausible enough to behold at distance; but approaching nearer to them, they will lose of their beauty,—and, upon serious weighing, they will prove but a shadow. The question, how he came to the knowledge of the gospel so soon, insomuch that he so soon preached it, very likely gave the first occasion of the first opinion,—namely, of his rapture in his three days' blindness.

A question, to which an answer may be easily given, and yet no such consequence concluded upon it. 1. It is true, indeed, that “he received not the knowledge of the gospel of man, nor was he taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ,” as himself saith, Gal. i. 12: yet might he have such a revelation, without any such rapture. For there were three other special ways, whereby God used to reveal himself and his will to his prophets and servants; and those were, by dreams,—by visions,—and by a sudden and immediate suggestion or revelation<sup>1</sup>, which is called, “telling in the ear;” as, 1 Sam. ix. 15. 17, 2 Kings xx. 4. And, as for raptures, they were the most extraordinary and the least familiar of all other: and how easily might Paul be taught the mystery of the gospel, by some of the other means, especially since the text hath expressly told, that he had his visions, Acts ix. 12?—2. Paul himself telleth of an ecstasy or rapture that he was in, as he was praying in the temple at Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 17. Now, that that was in the second year of Claudius (as shall be showed by and by), when he went to carry the alms of the disciples to Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30,—it may be confidently concluded upon; because that God, in that his

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rapture, telleth him, that he must thenceforward go far away to preach unto the Gentiles, Acts xxii. 21: and when he returneth from Jerusalem to Antioch, he is sent by the church upon that employment, by a special charge of the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 2. And that, from that time to the time of his writing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, were about fourteen years, as himself summeth it, we shall evidence by some particulars, before we part from this subject. Thus, then, in the first place, we see, that neither his rapture was at the time of his conversion; nor, that his conversion is to be cast six or seven years forward, that it may be within fourteen of that Epistle, in regard of his rapture. But not to intricate ourselves any more in the variety of opinions, that have fixed, some one time, some another, to the conversion of this apostle; the next readiest and surest way that I have found, to resolve upon this doubtful question, and to determine this scruple,—is, to go by these collections and degrees:

I. That the famine, prophesied of by Agabus, and which is said to have fallen out in the time of Claudius the emperor, Acts xi. 28,—fell out and came to pass in his second year. And for this, we have the testimony of a Roman historian, even Dion Cassius, who, under the consulship of Claudius II, and Caius Largas, which was in the second year of Claudius's reign, speaketh of *Λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς*, which his translator hath rendered “fames ingens,” Dion. lib. 60. Now, although it might seem, that that famine only referred to the city of Rome, and was caused there through the unnavigableness of the river Tiber, which should have brought in provisions; because he saith, *Λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο, &c;* “That Claudius provided, not only for the present famine, but also for future times, by mending the haven and clearing the river:” yet Suetonius, writing the very same story, ascribeth the cause of the famine, not to the fault of the river or haven, but to a constant sterility or barrenness, and so enlargeth the extent of it farther than Rome: “Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates,” &c. in Claud. cap. 18.—Josephus [Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2.] speaketh of this great famine in Judea; and relateth how Helena, the queen-dowager of the

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Adiabeni, and Izates her son, then reigning,—she being at Jerusalem in her own person, and he in his own kingdom,—did bring in provisions, in an exceeding plenty, to the Jews at Jerusalem, for their sustenance in the famine; for they were both converted to the Jews' religion, and Izates circumcised. Eusebius, hereupon, hath set this famine in Claudius's<sup>m</sup> fourth year, and after the death of Herod Agrippa,—because that he found, that Josephus had placed it after Agrippa's death, which was in Claudius's third. But we find not in Josephus any thing, that may fix it to that year, more than the subsequence of one story to another; which is an argument of no validity: only this he relateth as concerning the time of Izates, that “when he first came to the crown, and found his elder brethren imprisoned, that he might come to the throne the more quietly, he was grieved at the matter; and, on the one hand, accounting it impiety to kill them, or to keep them prisoners,—and, on the other hand, knowing it unsafe to keep them with him and not imprisoned, he chose a mean between both, and sent them for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar.” And after this, he relateth, how he hasted, upon his coming to the crown, to be circumcised; and, after his circumcision, how his mother Helena went to Jerusalem and relieved it, being much affamished. Now, in what year of Claudius any of these things were done, he hath not mentioned, but hath left it at large; and, therefore, we may as well suppose, that Izates was made king in the first year of Claudius, and Helena, his mother, went to Jerusalem in his second,—as Eusebius may, that she went thither in his fourth.

II. That Paul, going at that time of the famine to Jerusalem, to bring the alms and collection to the poor brethren of Judea, had his trance in the temple, Acts xxii. 17; and, in that trance, he was rapt into the third heaven, 2 Cor. xii. 2. It may be thought, indeed, by the juncture of story that Luke hath made, that this his trance was at his first journey, which he took to Jerusalem after his conversion; which journey is mentioned, Acts ix. 28, and Gal. i. 18. For having, from the sixth verse of Acts xxii, and forward, related the story of his conversion, and of Ananias's coming to him,

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 792.

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and baptizing him, he presently subjoineth this,—“when I was come again to Jerusalem, and was praying in the temple, I was in a trance;” as if that had been the very first time, that ever he came there, after he was converted. But, besides that it is very common with Scripture, to make such juncture for times and stories, as if they were close together, —when, oftentimes, there is very much space of time betwixt them<sup>a</sup> [as, Matt. xix. 1. Luke iv. 13, 14. Acts ix. 20, 21, 26, 27],—the proper intent of the apostle, in that oration of his, Acts xxii, is to vindicate himself from the accusation laid against him for polluting the temple; and, chiefly, to plead his authority and commission, and why he had to deal among the Gentiles: and, therefore, he insists upon two particular commissions, one to preach, and the other to preach to the Gentiles; and this is the reason, why he joins his conversion, and his rapture in the temple, so close together, and not because they were so in time. Now, this scruple being thus removed, and that considered which was said before, that, in this trance in the temple, God said he was to send him to the Gentiles; and that, accordingly, he was despatched to that work as soon as he came to Antioch;—it cannot but be concluded, that his trance in the temple was in the second of Claudius, and that this was his rapture into the third heaven; since we read not of any rapture or trance that he had, but this.

III. That this trance, or rapture, was somewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his Second Epistle to Corinth, 2 Cor. xii. 2. Now, in that he saith, it was *πρὸ ἐτῶν*, ‘before,’ or ‘above fourteen years ago,’—he speaketh not of an indefinite time; for then, for aught any reason can be given to the contrary, he might as well have let the mention of the time alone; but that it was but a little above that space, though it were somewhat above exact fourteen years.

IV. When he wrote that Second Epistle to Corinth, he was in Macedonia, as is apparent by very many passages in that Epistle, chap. i. 16, ii. 13, vii. 5, and ix. 2, 4. And thither he went, upon the hubbub at Ephesus raised against him, Acts xx. 1; where he had even the sentence of death in himself, 2 Cor. i. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 800.

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V. Now, to count fourteen years complete from the second of Claudius, in which was Paul's rapture, it will bring us to the second year of Nero. And let us but cast and compute those shreds of time, that we can find hinted in the Acts of the Apostles; and we shall find them agreeing with this account, and giving some light unto it. As, first, it is said by Paul, that after he had been at Jerusalem, "he must also see Rome," Acts xix. 21. Now, this doth argue the death of Claudius: for if he had expelled all the Jews out of Rome, as it is averred, both by the Scripture, Acts xviii. 2, and by Suetonius, in Claud. chap. 25, and never revoked his edict, for aught we can read in any story; it is very unlikely, and unreasonable to think, that Paul should think of going thither, if Claudius were alive; for thither could he neither go, without evident and inevitable danger of his own life; nor could he find so much as one person of his own nation in the city, when he came there. By this, therefore, may be concluded, that Claudius was now dead, and Nero was going on his first year, when Paul publisheth his resolution to go for Rome. And<sup>o</sup> the times, from hence to his apprehension at Jerusalem, may be cast by these counters:—After this his declaring his intention for Rome, he stayeth in Asia for a season, Acts xix. 22. Now, that this season was not long, both the preceding and following verses do help to confirm; for, in the verse before, Paul is, in a manner, upon his motion towards Macedonia, and so to Jerusalem already. And it is very likely, that the feast of tabernacles, which was in September, induced him thither; but the danger, that he was in at Ephesus before his parting, Acts xix. 23, 24, &c, disappointed him of his journey thither; he being now put off from providing accommodation for his voyage, and put to shift for life and liberty. About the middle of October, Nero's first year was out: and Paul, by that time, it is like, is got to Macedonia: and while he continues there, he writes this Epistle; as the subscription of it in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and divers other translations, does reasonably well aim it here; howsoever they do it in other places. Or if we should yield to Baronius, that it was written from Nicopolis, Tit. ii. 12, it maketh no difference, as to the thing in hand,

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 793.

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or at least very little; since we are upon the time, and not upon the place; and the time of difference will not be above a month or two. Paul wintering so little at Nicopolis, as that he was in motion again about the beginning of January, if not before, for his three months' travel of Greece, brings it up to the Passover-time, or near upon, Acts xx. 3. 6. And, after the Passover-week, Paul sets for Jerusalem, as the story plainly leads him thither; and thence is he shipped for Rome, towards the latter end of our September, or about the fast, and solemn day of humiliation, Acts xxvii. 9. And this was in the second year of Nero, now almost expiring, or very near unto its end: and to this sense seemeth that account, in Acts xxiv. 27, to be understood, "After two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix's room." Not after two years of Paul's imprisonment; for that is utterly without any ground or warrant in the world: nor after two years of Felix's government; for he had been governor in Judea many years, Acts xxiv. 10: but after two years of Nero's empire, or when he had now sitten emperor about two years; for that the Scripture sometime reckoneth from such unnamed dates, might be showed, from Ezek. i. 1, 2 Sam. xv. 7, 2 Chron. xxii. 2.—And that it is so to be understood, may be confirmed out of Josephus, *Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7, &c.*

So that this time being fixed of Paul's apprehension at Jerusalem<sup>p</sup>, to be in Nero's second; as Eusebius and others have well held,—and his writing the Second Epistle to Corinth proving to be about the beginning of that year; and so the fourteen years, mentioned 2 Cor. xii. 2, measured out,—

VI. We must now count backward from this time to the council at Jerusalem,—and, as near as we can, cast up what time might be taken up, betwixt those two periods, in the motions and stations of the apostle, that the text hath expressed betwixt the fifteenth chapter of the Acts and the twentieth. Or, rather, let us count forward, for the more facile and methodical proceeding, and take up what may be guessed to be every year's work and passage, as it cometh to hand:—

Paul cometh from Jerusalem to Antioch with Judas, Silas, and Barnabas, Acts xv. 30.

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Judas and Silas stay there a space, ver. 33.

Paul stayeth, after they be gone away, ver. 35.

Some days after he departeth, ver. 36.

He goeth through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches, ver. 41.

To Derbe and Lystra, chap. xvi. 1.

Through the cities, and delivereth the apostles' decrees, ver. 4.

Throughout Phrygia, ver. 6.

Throughout the region of Galatia, ver. 6.—To all these journeys we may allow one year: and certainly, if the movings and stayings of the apostle, and the distance of the places, and the work he did, be considered,—there can no less than a whole year be allowed for all this progress.

After his passage through Galatia, Paul goeth to Mysia, Acts xvi. 7. To Troas, ver. 8.

To Samothrace, Neapolis, and Philippi, ver. 11, 12.

At Philippi he continueth many days, ver. 13. 15. 18.

Thence he passeth through Amphipolis and Apollonia, chap. xvii. 1.

Cometh to Thessalonica; and is there three sabbath-days in quiet, ver. 1.

Afterward is persecuted, ver. 5.

Goeth to Berea and converteth very many, ver. 10. 12.

Goeth from thence to Athens, ver. 15.

There waiteth for Silas and Timothy, ver. 16.

From thence goeth to Corinth, Acts xviii. 1.—For all these journeys and actions we will allow him half a year; and I cannot see, how they could take so little.

At<sup>a</sup> Corinth he continueth a year and a half, Acts xviii. 11.—And this makes up three years since the council at Jerusalem.

After this long stay at Corinth he is persecuted, yet tarryeth a good while after, Acts xviii. 18.

From thence he saileth to Ephesus, but stayeth little; ver. 19.

Goeth thence to Cæsarea:

To Jerusalem:

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 794.

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To Antioch; and spendeth some time there, Acts xviii. 22, 23.

Goeth over all the country of Galatia,

And Phrygia in order, Acts xviii. 23.—To these passages, I suppose, there is hardly any that can allow him less than a whole year,—that shall but seriously consider of the things that are mentioned, and the length of the journeys.

After his passing through Phrygia, he cometh to Ephesus, Acts xix. 1:

And there continueth three years, Acts xix. 8. 10. 21, 22, and xx. 31.

After this, he goeth into Macedonia, Acts xx. 1: from whence he writeth that Second Epistle to Corinth, in the beginning of the second year of Nero. So that yielding these seven years for the travels of this apostle, betwixt that time and the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. (and less than seven it is not possible to allow, seeing that four years and a half of that space were taken up in the two cities of Corinth and Ephesus), and it will result, that the council at Jerusalem was in the ninth year of Claudius. Now, Paul himself reckoneth seventeen years from his conversion to this council, Gal. i. 18, ii. 1: which seventeen counted backward from the ninth of Claudius, it falleth out, almost past all controversy, that Paul's conversion was in the next year after our Saviour's ascension; as may be seen by this ensuing table.

*Christ. Tiberius.*

33	18	Christ ascendeth.
34	19	Paul converted.
35	20	Goeth into Arabia.
36	21	Cometh up to Jerusalem.
37	22	
38	1	<i>Caius Caesar.</i>
39	2	
40	3	
41	4	
42	1	<i>Claudius Caesar.</i>
43	2	The famine, Acts xi. 28. Paul rapt into the third heaven.
44	3	

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*Christ. Claudius Cæsar.*

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|----|----------------|--|
| 45 | 4              |  |
| 46 | 5              |  |
| 47 | 6              |  |
| 48 | 7              |  |
| 49 | 8 <sup>r</sup> |  |
| 50 | 9              | The council at Jerusalem. Paul goeth to Antioch, Syria, Cilicia, &c.                                 |
| 51 | 10             | Paul, the latter half of this year, at Corinth; the former half, in Athens, Berea, Thessalonica, &c. |
| 52 | 11             | Paul all this year at Corinth.   |
| 53 | 12             | Paul in Phrygia, Galatia, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Ephesus, Corinth.                             |
| 54 | 13             | Paul at Ephesus.   |
| 55 | 14             | Paul at Ephesus.   |
| 56 | 1              | <i>Nero.</i> Paul at Ephesus.  |
| 57 | 2              | Paul writeth the Second Epistle to Corinth.  |

And now may we, in some scantling, fix those stories to their times, which hung loosely before;—namely, the choosing of the deacons, the death of Stephen, conversion of Samaria and the eunuch; and conclude, that they were about the beginning of the next year after Christ's ascension.\*

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 PART II<sup>s</sup>.

## THE ROMAN STORY.

§ 1. *Velleius Paterculus.*

TIBERIUS keepeth himself still in the country, but not still at Capreæ<sup>t</sup>: for this year he draweth near unto Rome, and haunteth in some places about four miles off; but cometh not at all unto the city. This seemeth to be his first journey towards it, that Suetonius speaketh of<sup>u</sup>,—when he came by water, to the gardens beside the Naumachia, or the pool in Tiber, where they used their sporting sea-fights; and re-

<sup>t</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 802.  
<sup>t</sup> Dion sub his Coss.

<sup>u</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 795.  
<sup>u</sup> In Tiber. cap. 17.

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turned again; but the cause not known. The first thing mentioned of him under these consuls, both by Tacitus and Dion, is his marrying-forth the daughter of Drusus, which they name not; and Julia and Drusilla, the daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla, to L. Cassius,—Julia, to M. Vinicius. This was a son of that M. Vinicius, to whom Paterculus dedicated his short and sweet Roman history. And the nearness of the time would very nearly persuade, that this was that very Vinicius himself, but that Paterculus showeth, that his Vinicius was consul, when he wrote his book to him; and that (as himself, and Dion agreeing with him, showeth) An. U. C. 783, or the next year after our Saviour's baptism: but this Vinicius, Tiberius's son-in-law (as Tacitus intimateth), was only a knight, but a consul's son. Howsoever, in these times shone forth and flourished the excellent wit and matchless pen of that historian, an author known to all learned men, and admired by all that know him: his original was from the Campanians, as himself witnesseth not very far from the beginning of his second book<sup>v</sup>, when he cometh to speak of the Italian war, in the time of Sylla and Marius. No pen is so fit to draw his pedigree and character as his own, and, therefore, take only his own words; “*Neque ego verecundia, domesticæ sanguinis gloriæ, dum verum refero, subtraham,*” &c. “Nor will I, for modesty, derogate any thing from the honour of mine own blood, so that I speak no more than truth; for much is to be attributed to the memory of Minatius Magius, my great-grandfather's father, a man of Æculanum; who being nephew<sup>w</sup> to Decius Magius, a renowned prince of the Campanians, and a most faithful man, was so trusty to the Romans in this war, that with a legion which he had banded, Pompey took Herculaneum, together with T. Didius; when L. Sulla besieged and took in Compsa. Of whose virtues both others, but especially and most plainly, Q. Hortensius hath made relation in his annals. Whose loyalty the people of Rome did fully requite, by enfranchising both him and his, and making two of his sons prætors.” His grandfather was C. Velleius, master of the engineers to Cn. Pompey, M. Brutus, and Tyro; “a man (saith he) second to none in Campania, whom I will not

<sup>v</sup> Cap. 16. Krause, p. 118.

<sup>w</sup> Or grandchild.

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defraud of that testimony, which I would give to a stranger: he<sup>x</sup>, at the departure of Nero (Tiberius's father) out of Naples, whose part he had taken for his singular friendship with him, being now unwieldy with age and bulk of body, when he could not accompany him any longer, he slew himself." Of his fathers, and of his own rank and profession, thus speaketh he jointly: "At this time" (namely, about the time that Augustus adopted Tiberius) "after I had been field-marshal, I became a soldier of Tiberius; and being sent with him general of the horse into Germany, which office my father had borne before, for nine whole years together, I was either a spectator, or, to my poor ability, a forwarder, of his most celestial designs; being either a commander, or an ambassador." And a little after: "In this war" (against the Hungarians and Dalmatians, and other nations revolted), "my meanness had the place of an eminent officer. For having ended my service with the horse, I was made questor; and being not yet a senator, I was equalled with the senators. And the tribunes of the people being now designed, I led a part of the army, delivered to me by Augustus, from the city to his son. And in my questorship, the lot of my province being remitted, I was sent ambassador from him to him again." Partner in the like employments and honours, he had a brother named Magius Celer Velleianus, that likewise attended Tiberius in the Dalmatian war, and was honoured by him in his triumph; and afterward were his brother and he made prætors. When he wrote that abridgment of the Roman history, which<sup>y</sup> we now have extant, he had a larger work of the same subject in hand, of which he maketh mention in divers places; which he calleth "justum opus," and "justa volumina:" but so far hath time and fortune denied us so promising and so promised a piece, that this his abstract is come short home, and miserably curtailed to our hands. So do epitomes too commonly devour the original; and pretending to ease the toil of reading larger volumes, they bring them into neglect and loss. In the unhappiness of the loss of the other, it was somewhat happy, that so much of this is preserved as is; a fragment of an excellent compacture, as any is in the Roman tongue; wherein sweetness and gravity,

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 803.

<sup>y</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 796.

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eloquence and truth, shortness and variety, are so compacted and compounded together, that it findeth few parallels either Roman or other.

§ 2. *Troubles in Rome about usury.*

This year there was a great disturbance in the city about usury, the too common, and the too necessary, evil of a commonwealth. This breed-bate had several times heretofore disturbed that state, though strict and rigorous courses still were taken about it. At the first, the interest of money lent, was proportioned and limited only at the disposal of the lender,—a measure always inconstant, and often unconscionable. Whereupon it was fixed, at the last, by the twelve tables, to an ounce in the pound; which is proportionable, in our English coin, to a penny in the shilling. Afterward, by a tribune-statute, it was reduced to half an ounce; and, at last, the trade was quite forbidden. But such weeds are ever growing again, though weeded out as clean as possible; and so did this: partly, through the covetousness of the rich, making way for their own profit; and partly, through the necessities of the poor, giving way to it for their own supply.

Gracchus, now prætor, and he to whom the complaint was made at this time, being much perplexed with the matter, referreth it to the senate, as perplexed as himself: he perplexed, because of the multitude that were in danger, by breach of the law; and they, because they were in danger themselves. Here was a prize for the greedy appetite of Tiberius, when so many of the best rank and purses were fallen into his lurch, and their moneys lent fallen into forfeiture, because of their unlawful lending. The guilty senate obtain the emperor's pardon, and eighteen months are allowed for bringing-in of all men's accounts: in which time the scarcity of money did pinch the more, when every one's debts did come to rifling: and in the nick of that there followed a great disturbance about buying lands, which before was invented for a remedy against the former complaints. But the emperor was glad to salve up the matter by lending great sums of money to the people gratis for three years.

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§ 3. *Tiberius still cruel.*

With this one drachm of humanity, he mingled many ounces of cruelty and bloodshed. For Considius Proculus, as he was celebrating his birth-day without fear and with festivity, is haled out of his own house, brought to the bar, and condemned: and his sister Sancia interdicted fire and water: Pompeia Macriña banished; and her father and brother condemned, and slew themselves. But this year there is no reckoning of the slaughtered by name; for now their number grew numberless. All that were imprisoned and accused for conspiracy with Sejanus, he causeth to be slain every mother's son. "Now (saith mine author) there lay an infinite massacre of all sexes, ages, conditions, noble and ignoble, either dispersed, or together on heaps. Nor was it permitted to friends or kindred to comfort, bewail, or behold them any more: but a guard set, which, for the greater grief, abused the putrefied bodies, till they were haled into Tiber, and there left to sink or swim; for none was suffered to touch or bury them." So far was common humanity banished, and pity denied even after death, revenge being unsatisfied when it had revenged, and cruelty extended beyond itself. Nor did the accusers speed better than the accused; for he also caused them to be put to death as well as the other, under that colour of justice and retaliation, satisfying his cruelty both ways to the greater extent. It were to be admired, and with admiration never to be satisfied (were it not, that the avenging hand of God, upon the bloody city, is to be acknowledged in it), that ever a people<sup>2</sup> should be<sup>a</sup> so universally bent one against another, seeking the ruin and destruction one of another, and furthering their own misery, when they were most miserable already, in him that sought the ruin of them all. A fitter instrument could not the tyrant have desired for such a purpose than themselves; nor when he had them so pliable to their own mischief, did he neglect the opportunity, or let them be idle. For as he saw accusations increase, so did he increase his laws to breed more: insomuch that, at the last, it grew to be capital, for a servant to have fallen before, or near, the image of Augustus,

<sup>2</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 804.<sup>a</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. 1. p. 797.

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—or for any man to carry either coin or ring into the stews, or house of office, if it bare upon it the image of Tiberius.

§ 4. *A wicked accusation.*

Who can resolve, whether it were more vexation to suffer upon such foolish accusations, or upon others more solid, but as false as these were foolish? That was the fortune of Sextus Marius, an intimate friend of the emperor's; but, as it proved, not the emperor so of his. This was a man of great riches and honour, and, in this one action, of a strange vain-glory and revenge. Having taken a displeasure at one of his neighbours, he inviteth him to his house, and there detained him feasting two days together. And, on the first day, he pulleth his house down to the ground; and on the next, he buildeth it up far fairer and larger than before. The honest man, when he returned home, found what was done, admired at the speed of the work, rejoiced at the change of his house, but could not learn who had done the deed. At the last Marius confessed, that he was the agent, and that he had done it with this intent,—to show him that he had power to do him a displeasure, or a pleasure, as he should deserve it. Ah! blinded Marius, and too indulgent to thine own humours! seest thou not the same power of Tiberius over thee, and thy fortunes pinned upon his pleasure, as thy neighbour's upon thine? And so it came to pass, that fortune read him the same lecture, that his fancy had done another. For having a young, beautiful daughter, and such a one, as on whom the emperor had cast an eye, and so plainly, that the father spied it,—he removed her to another place, and kept her there close and at distance, lest she should have been violated by him, who must have no denial. Tiberius imagined, as the thing was indeed; and when he seeth that he cannot enjoy his love, and satisfy his lust, he turneth it to hate and revenge; and causeth Marius to be accused of incest with his daughter, whom he kept so close; and both father and daughter are condemned, and suffer for it both together.

§ 5. *A miserable life and death.*

In these so fearful and horrid times, when nothing was

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safe, nothing secure; when silence and innocency were no protection,—nor to accuse, no more safeguard than to be accused; but when all things went at the emperor's will, and that will always cruel;—what course could any man take not to be entangled,—and what way, being entangled, to extricate himself? The emperor's frowns were death, and his favours little better; to be accused was condemnation, and to accuse was often as much; that now very many found no way to escape death but by dying, nor to avoid the cruelty of others, but by being cruel to themselves. For though self-murder was always held for a Roman valour, yet now was it become a mere necessity; men choosing that miserable exigent to avoid a worse, as they supposed, and a present end, to escape future evils. So did Asinius Gallus at this time for the one,—and Nerva, the other. This Gallus, about three years ago, coming to Tiberius upon an embassy, was fairly entertained and royally feasted by him; but in the very interim, he writeth letters to the senate in his accusation. Such was the tyrant's friendship; and so sour sauce had poor Asinius to his dainty fare:—a thing both inhuman and unusual, that a man the same day should eat, drink, and be merry, with the emperor,—and the same day be condemned in the senate upon the emperor's accusation. An officer is sent to fetch him away a prisoner; from whence he had but lately gone ambassador. The poor man being thus betrayed, thought it vain to beg for life; for that, he was sure, would be denied him; but he begged, that he might presently be put to death; and that was denied also. For the bloody emperor delighted not in blood and death only, but in any thing that would cause other men's misery, though it were their life. So having once committed one of his friends to a most miserable and intolerable imprisonment,—and being solicited and earnestly sued unto, that he might be speedily executed and put out of his misery, he flatly denied it, saying, that “he was not grown friends with him yet.” Such was the penance, that he put poor Gallus to: a life far worse than a present death; for<sup>b</sup> he owed him more spite and torture than a sudden execution. The miserable man,—being imprisoned and straitly looked to, not so much for fear of

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 798.

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his escape by flight, as of his escape by death,—was denied the sight and conference of any one whosoever, but him only that brought him his pitiful diet; which served only to prolong his wretched life, and not to comfort it: and he was forced to take it, for he must by no means be suffered to die. Thus lived (if it may be called a life) a man, that had been of the honourablest rank and office in the city; lingering and wishing for death, or rather dying for three years together; and now, at last, he findeth the means to furnish himself, and to finish his miserable bondage with as miserable an end; to the sore displeasure of the emperor, for that he had escaped him, and not come to public execution.

Such an end also chose Nerva, one of his near friends and familiars, but not like the other, because of miseries past or present; but because of fear and foresight of such to come. His way that he took to despatch himself of his life, was by total abstinence and refusal of food; which when Tiberius perceived was his intent, he sits down by him, desires to know his reason, and begs with all earnestness of him, that he would desist from such a design: “For what scandal (saith he) will it be to me, to have one of my nearest friends to end his own life, and no cause given why he should so die?” But Nerva satisfied him not either in answer or in act; but persisted in his pining of himself, and so died.

§ 6. *The miserable ends of Agrippina and Drusus.*

To such-like ends came also Agrippina and Drusus, the wife and son of Germanicus, and mother and brother of Caius, the next emperor that should succeed. These two, the daughter-in-law and grandchild of Tiberius himself, had, about four years ago, been brought into question by his unkind and inhuman accusation, and into hold and custody, until this time. It was the common opinion, that the cursed instigation of Sejanus, whom the emperor had raised purposely for the ruin of Germanicus's house, had set such an accusation on foot, and made the man to be so cruel towards his own family; but when the two accused ones had miserably survived the wicked Sejanus, and yet nothing was

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remitted of their prosecution, then opinion learned to lay the fault where it deserved,—even on the cruelty and spite of Tiberius himself. Drusus is adjudged by him to die by famine; and, miserable and woful wretch that he was, he sustaineth his life for nine days together, by eating the flocks out of his bed, being brought to that lamentable and unheard-of diet, through extremity of hunger. Here, at last, was an end of Drusus's misery, but so was there not of Tiberius's cruelty towards him; for he denied the dead body burial in a fitting place; he reviled and disgraced the memory of him with hideous and feigned scandals and criminations; and shamed not to publish, in the open senate, what words had passed from the pining man against Tiberius himself; when, in agony through hunger, he craved meat, and was denied it. Oh! what a sight and hearing was this to the eyes and ears of the Roman people, to behold him that was a child of their darling and delight, Germanicus, to be thus barbarously and inhumanly brought to his end, and to hear his own grandfather confess the action and not dissemble it!

Agrippina, the woful mother, might dolefully conjecture, what would become of herself, by this fatal and terrible end of the poor prince her son. And it was not long, but she tasted of the very same cup, both of the same kind of death, and of the same kind of disgracing after. For being pined after the same manner, that it might be coloured that she did it of herself (a death very unfitting the greatest princess then alive), she was afterward slandered by Tiberius for adultery with Gallus, that died so lately, and that she caused her own death for grief of his. She and her son were denied burial befitting their degree, but hid in some obscure place where no one knew; which was no little distaste and discontentment to the people. The tyrant thought it a special cause of boasting and extolling his own goodness, that she had not been strangled, nor died the death of common base offenders: and since it was her fortune to die on the very same day that Sejanus had done two years before,—viz. Oct. 17,—it must be recorded as of special observation, and great thanks given for the matter, and an annual sacrifice instituted to Jupiter on that day.

Caius her son, and brother to poor Drusus, took all this

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very well, or at least seemed so to do; partly glad to be shot of any one, that was likely to have any colour or likelihood of corrivality with him in his future reign; and, partly, being brought up in such a school of dissimulation, and grown so perfect a scholar there, that he wanted little<sup>d</sup> of Tiberius. This year he married Claudia, the daughter of M. Silanus, a man that would have advised him to good, if he would have hearkened; but afterward he matched with a mate and stock, more fitting his evil nature, Ennia, the wife of Macro; but, for advantage, resigned by her husband Macro, to the adulterating of Caius, and then to his marriage.

§ 7. *Other massacres.*

The death of Agrippina drew on Plancina's, a woman that never accorded with her in any thing, but in Tiberius's displeasure, and in a fatal and miserable end. This Plancina, in the universal mourning of the state for the loss of Germanicus, rejoiced at it, and made that her sport, which was the common sorrow of all the state. How poor Agrippina relished this, being deprived of so rare a husband, can hardly be thought-of without joining with her in her just and mournful indignation. Tiberius, having a spleen at the woman for some other respect, had now a fair colour to hide his revenge under, to call her to account, and that with some applause. But here his revenge is got into a strait: for if he should put her to death,—it may be, it would be some content to Agrippina: and, therefore, not to pleasure her so much, he will not pleasure the other so much neither as with present death, but keepeth her in lingering custody till Agrippina be gone, and then must she follow: but her resoluteness preventeth the executioner; and, to escape another's, she dieth by her own hand.

Let us make up the heap of the slaughtered this year, in the words of Dion; "Such a number of senators, to omit others, perished under Tiberius, that the governors of provinces were chosen by lot, and ruled, some three years, some six, because there were not enough to come in their room."

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 799.*

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 L. VITELLIUS, P. F. PRISCUS, COSS.
 

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 LUCIUS VITELLIUS,  
 P. FABIVS PRISCUS, OR PERSICUS, } CONSULS.
PART I<sup>a</sup>.

## AFFAIRS OF ROME.

§ 1. *Thankless officiousness.*

OF the state and occurrences of the church this instant year, there is neither any particular given by St. Luke, nor any elsewhere to be found in Scripture, save only what may be collected from the words of Paul concerning himself,—namely, that he is, this year, either in Arabia or Damascus, or both; spending one part of it in the one place,—and the other, in the other. The church (now this great persecutor is turned preacher) enjoyed, no doubt, a great deal of ease in the ceasing of the persecution, and benefit by the earnestness of his ministry. And so let us leave her to her peace and comfortable times now growing on, and turn our story to the Romans.

Tiberius's reign being now come to the twentieth year, the present consuls, L. Vitellius and Fabius Priscus, do prorogate or proclaim his rule for ten years longer: a ceremony used by Augustus, whensoever he came to a tenth year of his reign; but by Tiberius there was not the like cause. One would have thought, the twenty years past of his inhuman and barbarous reign, should have given the city more than enough of such an emperor: and have caused her to have longed rather for his end, than to have prolonged his dominion. But she will make a virtue now, or compliment rather, of necessity; and will get thanks of him for continuing of that, which she cannot shake off; and is willing, that he shall reign still, because she knew he would do so, whether she will or no. It is the forlorn way of currying favour, to please a man in his own humour, when we dare not cross it. The flattering consuls received a reward

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 301.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 306.

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befitting such unnecessary officiousness; for they kept the feast, saith Dion, that was used upon such occasions, and were punished; not with death, for the next year you shall have Vitellius in Judea,—but with some other infliction, which, it may be, was pretended for some other reason, but intended and imposed upon a profound policy<sup>c</sup>. For while they thus took on them to confirm his rule, they did but shake his title, as he conceived,—and told him a riddle, that he reigned by their courtesy, and not by his own interest: but when he punished them that would take on them to confirm this superiority, he proved it independent, and not pinned upon their will.

### § 2. Cruelties.

The vein of the city, that was opened so long ago, doth bleed still and still as fresh as ever. For slaughter (saith Tacitus) was continual; and Dion addeth, that none of them that were accused, were acquitted, but all condemned: some, upon the letters of Tiberius,—others, upon the impeachment of Macro (of whom hereafter),—and the rest only upon suspicion. Some were ended by the executioner, others ended themselves by their own hands; the emperor all this while keeping out of the city, and that, as was thought, lest he should be ashamed of such doings there. Among those that perished by their own hands, was Pomponius Labeo, and his wife Praxæa; who being accused for corruption in his government of Mœsia, cut his own veins and bled to death; and his wife accompanied him in the same fatal end. To the like end, but upon different occasions and accusations, came Mamercus Scaurus and his wife Sextia. He, some years before having escaped narrowly with life upon a charge of treason, is now involved again in other accusations, as of adultery with Livilla, magical practices, and (not at the least) for libelling against Tiberius. For having made a tragedy which he titled ‘Atreus,’ and, in the same, bringing him in, advising one of his subjects in the words of Euripides, “That he should bear with the folly of the prince;” Tiberius, not so guilty

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 802.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 807.

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indeed of such a taxation of being a fool, as ready to take on to be guilty, that he might the better vie against the author, personated the matter to himself, crying out that "Scaurus had made him a bloody Atreus, but that he would make an Ajax of him again:" which accordingly came to pass: for the tragedian, to prevent the executioner, acted his own tragedy, and died by his own hand, his wife being both encourager and companion with him in the same death. But among these lamentable spectacles, so fearful and so frequent, it was some contentment to see the accusers still involved in the like miseries with those, whom they had accused: for that malady of accusing was grown epidemical and infectious, sparing none, and, as it were, catching one of another. The tokens hereof appeared in the banishment of Servilius and Cornelius, the accusers of Scaurus,—and of Abudius Rufo, that had done the like by Lentulus Gætulicus. This Gætulicus was then commander of the legions in Germany; and being charged with so much intimacy with Sejanus, as that he intended to have married his daughter to Sejanus's son, he quitted himself by a confident letter to Tiberius, in which he pleadeth, that his familiarity and alliance to Sejanus had begun by the emperor's own advice and privacy: and he was so far from crouching, that he proffereth terms of partition to Tiberius,—namely, that he should enjoy the empire, and himself would enjoy the province where he was. This it was to have arms and armies at his disposal; for, for all this affront, the emperor is necessarily calm, considering partly his own age, partly the hatred of the people; but chiefly, that he stood in that height and sway and power that he was in, rather by the timorous opinion of others, than by any strength or firmness of his own.

This year, there arose a feigned Drusus in Greece: a man, as it seemed, neither led by common policy, that might have told him, that so great a prince of Rome could not possibly have been so long obscured,—nor by common opinion, which greatly suspected, that Drusus was made away by the emperor's own consent. He found a party as inconsiderate as himself; for he was entertained by the cities of Greece and Ionia, and furnished with aid; and had like to

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have come into Syria, and surprised the forces there, had he not been descried, taken, and sent to Tiberius.

To conclude with some other rarity, besides these of cruelty, there was seen a phoenix in Egypt this year, as Tacitus hath laid it,—but, as Dion, two years after: which then exercised the wits of the philosophical Greeks, interpreting the presage either to the state or to the emperor, as their fancy led them: and, in aftertimes, it exercised the pens of Christians, applying it as an emblem of the resurrection of Christ.

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## PART II<sup>d</sup>.

### THE AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS.

#### § *A commotion of the Jews caused by Pilate.*

BESIDES the tumult mentioned before, caused by Pilate, among the Jews, about some images of Cæsar, Josephus hath also named another, raised by the same spleen and rancour of his, against that people; which, because Eusebius hath placed it at this year, be it recommended to the reader upon his chronology. Pilate, a constant enemy to the nation of which he was governor, sought and dogged all occasions whereby to provoke them to displeasure, that the displeasure might provoke them to do something, that would redound to their own disadvantage. At this time, he took in hand a great work of an aqueduct, or water-course, to Jerusalem, to bring the water thither, from a place two hundred furlongs, or five-and-twenty miles, off; as Josephus reckoneth it in one place,—but, in another, he crosseth himself, and doubleth the measure to four hundred: and for this purpose, he took the money out of their ‘Corban,’ or ‘Holy Treasure,’ to expend upon this his fancy. The people, displeased with what was done, come together by multitudes,—some crying out against the work,—and others, plainly against Pilate. For they of old did know his conditions, that his affection was not so much to the people, or to do them good by his

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 303.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 308.

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aqueduct, as it was to tyrannize over their consciences, which were nailed to their ancient rights and rites. But he, suborning some of his soldiers in the common garb and garments, and they hiding clubs under their coats, disposed themselves so about the multitude, that they had them within them. And then, when the people continued still in their outrage and railing,—upon a signal given, they fall upon them, and beat without distinction all before them, both those that were seditious, and those that were not: so that many died in the place, and the rest departed away sore wounded. This is the tenor of the story, in Josephus, in *Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 4. et Bell. Judaic. lib. 2. cap. 14.* In the allegation of which history, by Baronius, to omit his placing of it in the first year of Pilate, about which he showeth himself indifferent,—I cannot pass these two things without observing:—1. That he saith, that Pilate took the head of his water-course three hundred furlongs off; whereas, in the Greek, there is no such sum in either of the places, where the story is related; but, in the one, two hundred,—and, in the other, four. 2. That whereas the Greek readeth the transition to the next story, *de Bell. Jud. l. 2. cap. 15.* [Hudson, p. 1067.] *κἄν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου, &c;*; “At that time, Agrippa, the accuser of Herod, went to Tiberius,” &c; his Latin readeth it, “Atque ab hoc accusator Herodis Agrippa,” &c; losing both scantling of the time which the author hath given, and Eusebius followed,—and seeming to bring Agrippa to Rome, about this matter of Pilate.

In the twentieth year of Tiberius, hath the same Josephus placed the death of Philip the tetrarch,—although he hath named it after the entrance of Vitellius upon the government of Syria, which was in the next year: but such transpositions are no strange things with him. This Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa; he died in the city Julias, and was interred with a great deal of funeral pomp. His tetrarchy was added to Syria; but the tributes of it were reserved within itself.

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C. CESTIUS GALLUS, }  
M. SERVILIUS RUFUS, } CONSULS.

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PART I<sup>c</sup>.

AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS.

§ *Vitellius their friend.*

VITELLIUS, the last year's consul at Rome, is sent this year proconsul into Syria, to govern that and Judea, which was incorporated into that province:—a man more honourable abroad, than at his own doors; renowned in his youth, but ignominious in his old age; brave in ruling in foreign parts, but base in officiousness and flattery at Rome. At the time of the Passover, he cometh up to Jerusalem, whether induced by curiosity to see the festival; or, by the opportunity of the concourse, to behold the whole body of his dominion collected in so small a compass, and to disperse among them his commands; or for what other cause, let him keep it to himself. But so well did he like his entertainment, and the people that had given it him, that he remitted to all the inhabitants, the toll or impost of all the fruits bought and sold: and he permitted to the priests the keeping of the high-priest's garments, which, of late, had been in the custody of the Romans. For Hyrcanus, the first of that name, having built a tower near unto the temple, and living in it himself, and, after him, some of his successors,—he laid up there those holy garments, which they only might wear, as in a place most convenient, both where to put them on, when they came into the temple,—and to put them off, when they went into the city. But Herod, in after-times, seizing upon that tower, and repairing it, and naming it 'Antonia,' in honour of the great Antony, he seized also upon the custody of those robes, when he found them there; and so, also, did Archelaus his son. But the Romans deposing of Archelaus, and usurping his whole dominion (if reassuming of that which they had bestowed before, may be called usurpa-

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 809.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 809.

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C. C. GALLUS, M. S. RUFUS, COSS.

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tion), they, also, as he had done, kept these sacred garments under their hands; laying them up in a room, under the seals of the priests, and the keepers of the treasury: and the keeper of the tower set up a candle there every day. Seven days before any of the feasts, they were delivered out by the same keeper, and purified, because they came out of heathen hands; and used the first day of the feast, and restored the second, and laid up as before. Vitellius graciously restored the custody of them to the priests, as had been used of old. But Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, who should have first worn them after, was removed by him from the high-priesthood,—and Jonathan, the son of Ananus, placed in his stead. And thus is one of the unjust judges of our Saviour judged himself; and the next year, and by this same Vitellius, we shall have the other judged also.

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## PART II<sup>s</sup>.

### AFFAIRS IN THE EMPIRE.

#### § 1. *A rebellion in Parthia, &c.*

AT this year, hath Eusebius, in his Chronicle, placed the spleen of Sejanus against the Jews, which was some years before: and the spleen of Herod against James and Peter, which was some years after: and Massæus<sup>b</sup>, in his Chronicle, hath placed the assumption of the Virgin Mary, which was nobody knows when:—a story first published to the world by revelation, as the common cry went of it; but invented, indeed, by superstition, backed by ease and love of holidays, and grown into credit and entertainment by credulity and custom. As inconstant to itself for time, as her sex is, of whom it is divulged; for there is so great difference about the time, when this great wonder was done, that it is no wonder, if it be suspected to have been done at no time at all. We will leave to rake into it, till we come to find it in its place and rubric in Eusebius, who is the most likely man to follow: and, for the present, we will divert the reader's eyes to a matter of far more truth and likelihood. Phraates,

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 810.      <sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 810.

<sup>h</sup> *In Chron. Mundi*, l. 8.

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a king of Parthia of old, had given Vonones, his eldest son, for a hostage to Augustus: and Augustus, upon the request of the Parthians, afterward, had given him again unto them for their king. At the first, he was well accepted and well affected by them, and among them, as he had been desired by them; but afterward he was disliked and displaced by Artabanus, whom they had called in for their king in his stead. This Artabanus having been kept in awe by Germanicus, whilst he lived, and having been, a good while ago, quitted and delivered of that awe by Germanicus's death; and having, at this present, a fit opportunity for the seizure of the kingdom of Armenia, by the death of Artaxias their king,—he taketh upon him to place Arsaces, his own eldest son, in that throne; demanding withal some treasures, that Vonones had left in Syria and Cilicia, and challenging the royalty of Persia and Macedon, and the old possessions of Cyrus and Alexander. This was a proud scorn and defiance to the Romans, and such as was not possible for their victoriousness to digest,—nor safe for him to offer, but that he was emboldened to it by considering the emperor's old age. But Sinnaces and Abdus, and other nobles of Parthia, not trusting their lives and liberties to the rashness of Artabanus, come secretly to Rome, and commit the matter to Tiberius. He, upon their request, and glad of opportunity to correct the insolences of Artabanus, giveth them Phraates, another son of Phraates their old king, who also lay for a hostage at Rome, and despatcheth him away for his father's throne, and the nobles with him:—and thus is Artabanus in a fair way of an equal retaliation to lose his own kingdom, as he had usurped another man's. As they were thus travelling homeward, with this design and plot in their minds and hands, Artabanus, having intelligence of the matter, counterplotteth again: and fairly inviting Abdus, under pretence of great amity, to a banquet, preventeth his future designs by poison, and stops the haste of Sinnaces by dissimulation and gifts. Phraates, the new-elected king, the more to ingratiate himself to his countrymen, by complying with them in their manners, forsaketh the Roman garb, customs, and diet, to which he had been so long inured, and betaketh himself to the Parthian; which being too uncout and hard for him,

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especially upon a change so sudden, it cost him his life as he was in Syria.

But this unexpected accident caused not Tiberius to forelet or neglect the opportunity so fairly begun, but to follow it the more earnestly. For choosing Tiridates, a man of the same blood, and an enemy to Artabanus, he investeth him in the same right and challenge to the Parthian crown, and sendeth him away for it; writing letters withal to Mithridates, the king of Iberia, to invade Armenia, that the distress and strait of Arsaces there, might draw Artabanus thither to his relief, and give Tiridates the more easy access to his country. For the better securing of Mithridates to this employment, he maketh him and his brother Pharasmenes friends, between whom there had been some feud before, and inciteth them both to the same service. This they accordingly perform; and breaking into<sup>1</sup> Armenia, they shortly make the king away, by bribing of his servants, and take the city Artaxata with their army. Artabanus, upon these tidings, sendeth away Orodes his other son, to relieve and to revenge: but Pharasmenes having joined the Albans and Sarmatians to his party, and he and the Iberians, by this union, being masters of the passages, they pour-in Sarmatians into Armenia, by multitudes, through the straits of the Caspian mountains, and deny passage to any that would aid the Parthian. So that Orodes cometh up to Pharasmenes, but can go no farther; and they both lie in the field so close together, that Pharasmenes biddeth him battle at his own trenches: which being stoutly and strangely fought between so many nations, and so differently barbarous, it fortuneth that the two princes met in the heat of the fight; and Pharasmenes wounded Orodes through the helmet, but could not second his blow, himself being born away by his horse beyond his reach, and the other was suddenly succoured and sheltered by his guard. The rumour of this wound of the king, by dispersion, grew to a certain report of his death; and that, by as certain an apprehension, grew to the loss of the Parthians' day. Nor was the rumour altogether mistaken; for the wound though it were not so suddenly, yet was it so surely deadly, that it brought him to his end. Now

<sup>1</sup> *English folio edition*, vol. 1. p. 809.

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it is time for Artabanus to look and stir about him, when he hath lost his two sons, and when his two kingdoms are near upon losing. He mustereth and picketh-up all the forces his dominions could afford, and those no more neither (if they were enough) than the present necessity and forlorn estate of himself and kingdoms, did require. What would have been the issue, and where the storm of this cloud, and shower of these preparations, would have lighted, Vitellius gave not leave and time to be determined: for raising all the legions of Syria and thereabout (for Tiberius, upon these troubles, had made him ruler of all the east), he pretended an invasion of Mesopotamia. But Artabanus suspecting whether that war might bend indeed<sup>j</sup>, and his discontented subjects, upon this conceit of the assistance of the Romans, daring to show their revolt against him, which they durst not before,—he was forced to flee with some forlorn company into Scythia, hoping that his absence might remove the hatred of the Parthians; which we shall see, hereafter, came accordingly to pass; and Vitellius, without any blow struck, maketh Tiridates king in his stead.

§ 2. *Tiberius still cruel and shameless.*

He was now got to Antium, so near the city, that in a day or night's space he could have, or give a return to, any letters. For all his age which the Parthian king had despised, and for all the troubles that he had caused,—yet remitted he nothing of his wonted rigour and savageness. The Sejanians were as eagerly hunted after as ever; and it was no escape nor help to the accused, though the crimes objected were either obsolete or feigned. This caused Fulcinus Trio, for that he would not stay for the formal accusations which he perceived were coming against him,—to end himself with his own hand, having left most bitter and invective taunts and taxations in his last will and testament, against Tiberius and his darling Macro. The executors durst not publish nor prove the will, for fear of the executioner; but the emperor, when he heard of the contents of it, caused it to be openly read and divulged, and prided himself in those just reproaches. Nor wanted he

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2, p. 811.

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more of those reproaches from others also; but he repaid the authors in cruel discontent, though he seemed to hear his own disgrace with delight. For Sextius Paconianus was strangled in prison, for making verses against him. It may be, they were those in Suetonius:—

*Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?*

*Dispeream, si te mater amare potest, &c.*

Granius Martianus, Trebellienus Rufus, and Poppæus Sabinus, were accused for some other offences, and died by their own hands: and Tattius Gratianus, that had once been prætor, was condemned by a prætorian law, and escaped his own hands indeed; but he did not escape the executioner's.

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SEXTUS PAPINIUS, or PAPIRIUS, } CONSULS.

CHAP. IX<sup>a</sup>.

Ver. 23: "*And after that many days were fulfilled,*" &c.

§ *Account of the chronology.*

THE conversion of Paul we observed erewhile, and proved to be, in the year next after our Saviour's ascension, or anno Christi 34. Now Paul himself testifieth, that, three years after his conversion, he went up to Jerusalem; Gal. i. 18. That space of time he spent in Damascus, in Arabia, and in Damascus again: for so himself testifieth in the verse before. But how long time he took up in these several abodes in these places, it is not determinable; nor indeed is it material to inquire, since we have the whole time of all his abodes summed up in that account of three years. Now, whereas there is no mention in Luke's relation of his journey into Arabia, but he maketh him (as one would think) to come up to Jerusalem, at his first departure from Damascus,—we have showed elsewhere, that it is no uncouth thing

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 813.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 812.

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with this and the other evangelists, to make such brief transitions, sometimes in stories of a large distance: and Paul himself plainly showeth us in the place alleged, how to make the brief story of Luke full and complete, and to speak it out: namely, that Paul, upon his coming after his conversion into Damascus, began there to preach, and “increased more and more in strength, and confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damascus, proving that Jesus was the very Christ.” And having preached a while in Damascus, he goeth into Arabia, which country was now under the same government with Damascus,—namely, under king Aretas: and, after a while, he returned into Damascus again. And then do the Jews there seek to kill him; and they incense the governor of the city under Aretas against him, so that he setteth a watch to take him; but he escapeth over the wall, by night, in a basket, Acts ix. 25, 2 Cor. xi. 33. We shall see by and by, that there were preparations for war this year, betwixt Aretas the king of Arabia, and Herod the tetrarch; and it is not improbable, that the Jews, in those times of commotion, did accuse Paul to the governor of Damascus under Aretas for a spy, or for a man that was an enemy to the king’s cause; and so they interest the governor in a quarrel against him. And this very thing being considered, may help<sup>b</sup> somewhat to confirm this for the year of Paul’s coming from Damascus for fear of his life to Jerusalem, if his own accounting the years did not make it plain enough.

Ver. 26: “*And when Saul was come to Jerusalem<sup>c</sup>,*” &c.

His errand to Jerusalem, as himself testifieth, was “to see Peter,” Gal. i. 18, *ἰστορήσαι Πέτρον*: not for any homage to his primacy,—as is strongly pleaded by the Popish crew,—for he maketh no distinction betwixt him, and James, and John, in point of dignity, Gal. ii. 9: nay, is so far from homaging him, that he rebuketh and reproveth him, Gal. ii. 11. But his journey to Peter at this time was, that he might have acquaintance with him, and some ‘knowledge’ of him: for so the word *ἰστορήσαι* more properly signifieth; and that he desired the rather, because, then, Peter was the minister of the circumcision, as he himself was to be of the uncir-

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 814.

<sup>c</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 813.

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cumcision, Gal. ii. 8; and because there had been some kind of remarkable parallel betwixt them in their recovery, the one from denying and forswearing Christ himself, and the other from persecuting of Christ in his members.

§ “ *But they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple.*”

This very thing hath caused some to conceive, that Paul had a journey to Jerusalem a little after his conversion, and before ever he went into Arabia: because they cannot conceive, how it should be possible, that he should have been a convert and a preacher of the gospel three years together, and yet his conversion and his present qualities should be unknown to the church at Jerusalem: and the rather, because he himself saith, that the wonder of his conversion “ was not done in a corner,” Acts xxvi. 26.

*Answ.* But these two or three considerations may help to resolve the scruple:—1. The distance betwixt Damascus and Jerusalem, which was exceeding great. 2. The quarrels betwixt Herod and Aretas, which were a means to hinder intercourse betwixt those two places. 3. The persecution that continued still upon the church of Judea, which would keep disciples of Damascus from going thither. And, 4. The just fear that might possess the disciples at Jerusalem, in the very time of persecution: for though it was said before, the church at Jerusalem and of Judea enjoyed a great deal of rest and tranquillity after the conversion of Paul, their great persecutor, in comparison of what they had done before,—yet was not the persecution of the church utterly extinct to the very time of Paul’s coming up to Jerusalem, but continued still; and, therefore, it is the less wonder, if the disciples there, be the more fearful and cautelous.

Ver. 27: “ *But Barnabas took him,*” &c.

How Barnabas came acquainted with the certainty of Paul’s conversion, better than the other disciples, is not easy to resolve. It is like, that he being abroad for fear of the persecution, as the other of the preachers were (all but the apostles), went in his travels towards Damascus or Arabia, and so had heard and learned the certainty of the mat-

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ter. However, it is pregnant to our observation, that he that was afterward to be fellow-traveller and labourer with Paul in the gospel to the Gentiles, is now made the instrument and means of his first admission to the society of the apostles. It is possible, that there had been some acquaintance betwixt these two men in former times, they being both Grecizing Jews, the one of Cyprus, the other of Cilicia, and both in all probability brought up and educated at Jerusalem; but whether it were so or no, the hand of God is to be looked after in this passage,—when Paul's future partner in the ministry to the Gentiles, is now his first entertainer into the society of the church at Jerusalem.

§ “*And brought him to the apostles.*”

That is, to Peter and James the Less: for other of the apostles, he himself relateth that he saw none, Gal. i. 18. What was become of the rest of the twelve, is not determinable: it is more than probable, they were not now at Jerusalem; otherwise, it is hardly possible for Paul, not to have seen them in fifteen days' abode there. It is likely, they were preaching and settling churches up and down the country; and Peter and James, the two most peculiar ministers of the circumcision, abode at Jerusalem, to take care<sup>d</sup> of the church there. For that these were so, and in what particular the dispensation of their ministry differed, we shall take occasion to show afterward: only here, we cannot omit to take notice of that temper (as I may so call it), which the text holdeth out against the primacy and prelacy, that is held by some to have been among the apostles. For whereas some conceive James to have been bishop of Jerusalem, this text sets Peter in the same form and equality with him in that place: and whereas it is conceived again, that Peter was prince of the apostles, this text hath equalled James with him.

1. And thus that persecution, that began about Stephen, had lasted till this very same time of Paul's coming to Jerusalem: for so it is apparent, both by the fear and suspiciousness of the disciples at Jerusalem, as also by the very clausure of the text, ver. 31, “Then had the churches rest.”

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 815.

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2. The length of this persecution by computation of the times, as they have been cast up before, seemeth to have been about three yeárs and a half,—the renowned number and time so oft mentioned and hinted in Scripture.

3. The company of disciples, or believers, continued still at Jerusalem, for all the persecution, as to the generality of them,—as was said before: only the ministers or preachers<sup>e</sup> were scattered abroad, all of them, except the twelve apostles.

4. Some of those preachers were, by this time, returned back again, the heat of the persecution abating, as it is apparent by Barnabas's now being at Jerusalem: and of some such men, is it properest to understand the word "disciples," ver. 26; "Saul assayed to join himself to the *disciples*."

5. Therefore the absence of the ten apostles from Jerusalem, was not for fear of the persecution, but for the dispersion of the gospel, and settling of the churches.

§ "And declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord  
in the way."

This is most properly to be understood of Barnabas, that he declared these things to the apostles: though there be, that think it is meant of Paul's declaring them: and they read it thus; "And Barnabas brought him to the apostles, and he," that is, Paul, "declared unto them."

Ver. 28: "And he was with them, coming in and going out."

That is, 'conversing with them,' as Beza hath well rendered it: a phrase usual among the Hebrews, as 1 Sam. xviii. 13, Acts i. 21, &c. And the time of this his converse, Paul himself hath told us to have been fifteen days, Gal. i. 18; where also he hath interpreted this phrase of "coming in and going out," by the term of "abideth with;"—"I abode with him fifteen days."

Ver. 29: "And he disputed against the Grecians."

Gr. "Against the Hellenists:" which very place helpeth again to confirm the interpretation and gloss we set upon this word before,—namely, that it meaneth not 'Greeks converted to the Jews' religion,' but 'Jews conversing and

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 814.

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cohabiting among the Greek nation.' For, 1. There can be none or small reason given, why converted Greeks should be so furiously Jewish, as to go about to kill Paul for preaching against Judaism; and we hear not the Jews stirring against him for it. 2. What reason can be given, why Paul should bend his disputations against converted Greeks more than against Jews? Certainly, the Jews had more need of confutation in their Judaism than the other had. And, 3. It is very questionable, how converted Greeks, which were strangers and sojourners at Jerusalem and among the Jews, durst go about to kill a Jew in the midst of the Jews, and there being not a Jew that had any thing to say against him. It is therefore more than probable, that these Hellenists were Jews, that had lived among the Greeks, or of the Grecian dispersion, and that they used the Greek tongue: and that Paul chose to dispute with them, partly, for that they, living among the Gentiles, were, by a kind of an antiperistasis, more zealously Jewish; and, partly, because of their language, the Greek tongue, which was the very language Paul had learned from a child.

The times of the stories next succeeding, when the text hath done with the story of Paul, are somewhat unfixed, and uncertain, in what year they came to pass: namely, of Peter's raising of Æneas from sickness, Dorcas from death, and bringing in Cornelius to the gospel. But the best conjecture, that can be given of the times of these stories, is by casting and computing the history backward: and so we find, 1. That the famine, prophesied<sup>s</sup> of by Agabus, was in the second of Claudius, as was showed before. 2. We may then conceive, that this prophecy of Agabus, was in Claudius's first; and that was the year, or some part of the year, that Paul and Barnabas spent at Antioch, Acts xi. 26. 3. The last year of Caius we may hold to be the year of Antioch's first receiving the gospel, of Barnabas's coming thither, and of his journey to Tarsus, to seek Saul, Acts xi. 20—25. And, 4. The third year of Caius, which was his last year but one, we may suppose accordingly to have been the year of Peter's actions with Æneas, Dorcas, and Cornelius; and to that year shall we refer the handling of the

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 816.

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texts, that concern those actions ; and we will carry on the Roman and Jewish stories, as they fall in time, till we come thither.

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## PART II<sup>e</sup>.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *The Parthian war not yet composed.*

TIRIDATES seated in his throne, as was related before,—but, as it proved, neither sure in it, nor in the hearts of all his people (the first of these being caused by the latter),—he taketh-in certain Parthian towns, and that by the Parthians' own consent and aid. For his Roman education, compared with the Scythian carriage of Artabanus, made the people to hope accordingly of his demeanour, and to entertain him with present applause and future expectation. The day of his coronation being appointed, letters from Phraates and Hiero, two of the chiefest commanders in the state, desire that it might be deferred for a certain space ; which accordingly was done, in regard of the greatness of the men. The king, in the mean time, goeth up to Ctesiphon, the imperial city, attending the coming of these two nobles ; who when they put it off from day to day, Surena, in the presence and by the approval of very many, crowneth him in their country manner. These two nobles, and many others that were absent from this solemnity, some for fear of the king's displeasure, some for hatred of Abdageses, his favourite, and some no doubt upon a plot premeditated,—betake themselves to Artabanus, their old king, again. Him they find in Hyrcania, hunting in the woods with his bow for his food, rusty and dirty in habit and attire, and overgrown with filth and neglect of himself. At his first sight of them, it is no wonder if he were stricken with amazement ; but their errand being related, it converted that passion into equal joy. For they complain of Tiridates's youth and effeminacy ; of the diadem's translation out of the blood ; of the potency of Abdageses ; and the loss of their old king, whom they

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now are come to desire again. Artabanus believeth them, and consenteth; and, raising speedily what Scythians he could, marcheth away towards his kingdom again. But his royal apparel he wore not with him, but the poor and rugged garb of his misery and exile, thereby to move the more to pity: and used all his wits and policy to make himself a party strong on his side, all the way as he went. But he needed not all this cautelousness and preparation; for Tiridates but hearing of his approaching towards Seleucia, under colour of going to raise up forces, departed into Syria, and parted with his new kingdom with as much facility as he had obtained it.

§ 2. *Artabanus giveth hostages to Rome.*

When the power and policy of Tiberius, and his agent Vitellius, that had served to get Artabanus out of his kingdom, would not serve the turn to keep him thence; they send to treat of friendship with him, suspecting what trouble such a spirit might procure, should it bend itself against the Roman empire. The king, wearied with the toils of war, and knowing, without a prompter, what it was to defy the Romans, condescendeth readily to the motion; and Vitellius and he, meeting upon a bridge made over Euphrates for that purpose, each with a guard about him,—conclude upon articles of agreement; and Herod the tetrarch entertaineth them both, in a pavilion curiously seated in the midst of the stream. Not long after this, Artabanus sendeth Darius his son for a hostage to<sup>b</sup> Tiberius; and withal he sendeth Eleazar, a Jew, of seven cubits high, for a present; and many other gifts.

§ 3. *A commotion in Cappadocia.*

Whilst matters went thus unquietly in Parthia,—the Calitæ, a nation of Cappadocia, grew discontented about paying tribute to the Romans, and so departed into the mountain Taurus, and there fortify, resolving, as they never had used to pay such taxations, so never to learn, nor to use to do so. Archelaus was now king, but not now king of them; for the strength of the mountains, and the desperateness of their

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 817.

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resolution, do animate them to withstand him, and to rebel against the Romans. When tidings of this was brought to Vitellius, into Syria, he despatcheth away M. Trebellius with four thousand legionary soldiers, and some other forces raised otherways, to bring the rebels to obedience or to ruin. Trebellius environeth, with works and men, two hills, Cadra and Davara, where they were the most strongly trenched; and those that were so hardy as to come forth, he subdueth with the sword, and the rest with famishing.

§ 4. *Bloodshed at Rome.*

These diseases of the Roman body were far from the heart; and yet was the heart, the city itself, but little the better; for though some veins were opened in these wars, which, one would have thought, should have turned the blood another way,—yet did the city, through the cruelty of the emperor, bleed inwardly still: for L. Aurelius, and some others, died by the hand of the executioner; and C. Galba, two of the Blæsii, and the lady Æmilia Lepida, by their own hands. But the example of the greatest terror, was Vibulenus Agrippa<sup>1</sup>, a knight; who being at the bar, when he had heard what his accusers could say against him, and despairing to escape, he took poison out of his bosom, in the face of the court (Dion saith he sucked it out of his ring), and swallowed it, and sank down, and was ready to die; yet was he haled away to prison, and there strangled.

§ 5. *Mishaps.*

Besides this deluge of blood, which overflowed the city continually, there was also, this year, a deluge of water. For Tiber rose so high and violently into the town, that many streets became navigable; and where men had walked lately on their feet, they might have passed now up and down in ships. And a greater misfortune happened this year, likewise, by the contrary element: for a terrible fire consumed the buildings of the mount Aventine, and that part of the Circus that lay betwixt that and the palace. For the repair of all which again, Tiberius, out of his own treasure, gave a great sum of money: Tacitus saith, “millies sestertium,”

<sup>1</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 816.

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which, according to the value and reckoning of our English coin, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, within nineteen thousand. A sum not strange in an emperor's cof-fer at Rome, where the vastness of the empire brought-in vast revenues ; but somewhat strange out of the purse of Tiberius, for so good a purpose, whose covetousness was larger than those whole revenues. And, therefore, as I cannot but observe the difference of Dion about this liberality of the emperor from Tacitus, and the difference of his trans-lator from his text ; so can I not but conceive, his computa-tion and account to be the more probable, in regard of the niggardise of the emperor. For whereas the sum of Tacitus is eight hundred thousand, within nineteen, he hath so far come short of such a reckoning, that he maketh nineteen thousand pounds to be the whole account. For "Tiberius (saith he) gave Δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας, two thou-sand and five hundred thousand," meaning two thousand five hundred sestertia ; and each sestertium containing a thousand sestertii, this accrueth to about the sum last named, of nineteen thousand pounds : and yet hath his trans-lator forsaken his Greek, and followed Tacitus's Latin, to so vast a difference.

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### PART III.

#### THE JEWISH STORY.

##### § 1. *A commotion in Samaria. Pilate out of office.*

A GREAT space of time is past, since we heard any news of Pontius Pilate ; and news it is indeed, that his malicious and stirring spirit hath not entertained us with some bloody tragedy or other, of all this while. His government draweth now near its expiration, for he is going upon the tenth year of it ; and, it is a kind of miracle, if so mischievous an agent should part without acting some mischief before his exit ; and this at last he did, which put him out of office. There was a certain impostor<sup>k</sup> among the Samaritans (Simon Magus as

<sup>j</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 818.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 18. c. 5. See how Hegesippus relateth this story, De excid. Hieros. l. 1. c. 5.

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like as any), that would persuade the people, that, in mount Gerizim, he could show them holy vessels, which Moses had hid and laid-up there with his own hand. The credulous vulgar meet by multitudes at a certain village, called Tirathaba; intending, when their company was full, to go see these sacred relics. But Pilate beforehand takes the passages with his horse and foot; and falling upon those that were thus assembled, some he slew, others he took captive, and the rest fled. Of those that he captived, he caused the noblest and most principal to be put to death. For this fact, the chief men of Samaria accuse him to Vitellius, who commands him to Rome, there to answer before the emperor what should be objected against him; and, in his stead, he made Marcellus, a friend of his own, the governor of Judea: but, before Pilate came to Rome, Tiberius was dead. Yet hath Eusebius put off the testimony, that Pilate is said to have given to Tiberius, concerning the death and resurrection of Christ, and concerning the wonders wrought by him, till the next year following:—a relation doubtful in itself, but more than doubtful in the issue. For, first, though it be granted, that Pilate bare witness to the works and wonders done by Christ, and gave testimony to his resurrection, which yet to believe requireth a better evidence than I can find any:—yet, secondly, the epistle that is pretended for this his certificate, by Hegesippus<sup>1</sup>, cannot be that original one, that Tertullian, and, out of him, Eusebius, do mention; because, it is indorsed to Claudius, and not to Tiberius. Thirdly, though both these were confessed and agreed unto, that Pilate wrote a letter to Tiberius, to such a purpose, and that this was the letter, or some other that Tertullian had seen;—yet can I never find the emperor of so good a nature, and respective a disposition, as to give the desert of goodness its due, be it never so eminent and conspicuous, or be it in what kind soever. Fourthly, and lastly, that which maketh all the rest of the story to be doubted of, and which may justly hinder the entertainment of it, is, what is added in the common relation<sup>m</sup> of the story:—That Tiberius referring this matter to the senate, with his vote, that Christ should be numbered among the gods, and Christianity among their holy

<sup>1</sup> In Anacephal. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. 7.    <sup>m</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 817.

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things; the senate crossed him in it with flat contrariety, because Pilate had written of it to him, and not to them. Now, in the stories that have been related before, concerning the state and affairs of Rome, and by other stories that might be produced in other years,—it is but too miserably evident, that the senate was in too great a fear and slavery to the tyrant, than to dare to affront him so palpably and plainly. Pilate, after this, as Eusebius<sup>n</sup> allegeth out of the Roman historians, falling into many miseries, ended himself with his own hand, the common and desperate Roman remedy against distress. Cassiodorus<sup>o</sup> hath placed his death under the consulship of Publicola and Nerva: and the common report hath given it in, that the place was Vienna.

### § 2. *Agrippa's journey to Rome.*

This Agrippa was the son of Aristobulus (who died by the cruelty of his father Herod): and he was a man, that had sufficiently tried the vicissitudes of fortune heretofore, but never so much as he is about to do now. A good while ago, he had lived in Rome, and in the familiarity of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. That great acquaintance caused great expenses; partly, in his own port and pomp,—and, partly, in gifts and beneficence bestowed upon others<sup>p</sup>. When Drusus died, then Agrippa's estate is not only dead, but his hopes also; so that he is forced to flee from Rome into Judea for debt and poverty, and thence into a certain tower in Idumea, for shame and discontent. His wife Cyprus, by solicitation and suing to Herodias, obtaineth Herod's favour so far, that he was removed to Tiberias, made a chief governor or officer of the city, and allowance given him for his diet. But this lasted not long, ere Herod and he fell out; whereupon, he removed away, and betook himself to Flaccus, the then governor of Syria, who had been his old acquaintance at Rome. Long he had not continued there neither; but Aristobulus, his brother, wrought him out of his favour and abode there. From thence he went to Ptolemais, intending to have set from thence for Italy: but was forced to stay, till he had borrowed some moneys before. Being now furnished and

<sup>n</sup> Chron. ad annum Chr. 41.

<sup>o</sup> In Chron.

<sup>p</sup> English folio-edition; vol. 1, p. 819: in the margin at 1

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shipped, he was again stopped by Herennius Capito, the governor of Jamnia, for some money that he owed to the treasury of Tiberius. And what must he do now? He must not go, till he have paid the sum; and when he hath paid it, then he cannot go for want of more. He taketh on him to obey the arrest, while it was day; but, at night, he cut cables, and set away for Alexandria. There he reneweth his borrowing again of Alexander Alabarcha, and obtaineth of him five talents for his 'viaticum:' and now this year (namely, as Josephus noteth it, the year before Tiberius's death), he setteth away for Italy again. This 'Alarbarcha' is not the proper name of any man, but the title of men, that bare rule over the Jews in Alexandria. For I observe, that as Josephus in one place calleth it 'Alabarcha,' and 'Alabarchus,' so in another he calleth it, 'Ἀλαβάρχων' and 'Ἀλαβαρχήσας,' fixing it thereby, as a title rather to any man, that bare such an office, than as a proper name to any man at all. And, if conjecture may read its denotation and etymology, it seemeth to be compounded of the Arabic article *al*, which they fix before all their nouns,—and the Egyptian word *abrech*, which, in that language, importeth dignity and honour (as we have observed elsewhere); as may be collected from the proclamation before Joseph, Gen. xli. 43.

Agrippa, being arrived at Puteoli, sendeth to the emperor to Capreæ, to certify him of his coming, and of his desire to wait upon him there. Tiberius giveth him admission and entertainment according to his mind; till letters from Herennius Capito spoiled that cheer. For the emperor, understanding by them how he had slipped the collar at Jamnia, from his officer, and from his own debt, doth flatly forbid him any more access unto him, till the money be paid. Now is Agrippa in a worse case than ever: for there is no paltering with Tiberius, though there was with Capito; and no shifting from Capreæ, though he had found such an opportunity at Jamnia. Nor is there any such thought to be entertained. For now his life, and fortunes, and all, lay in the hand of Tiberius; and when he findeth him inclinable to use him kindly, there is no losing that favour, for want of paying such a sum. Of Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and the old friend and favourer of Berenice, the mother of

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Agrippa, he borroweth the money; and, getting out of the emperor's debt, he getteth into his favour again. Insomuch, that he commendeth him to the converse, acquaintance, and attendance, of Caius's grandchild, that was to succeed him.

§ 3. *His imprisonment.*

Happy might now Agrippa think himself, if he can but hold so! for he hath obtained the inward friendship of Caius,—and, with it, retained the outward favour of Tiberius. Antonia, and Claudius, a future emperor, and all, favour him; but he becomes an enemy to himself. Whether it were in love or flattery to Caius, or to himself and his own hopes, he casteth himself into a present danger upon a future expectation. For Caius and he being very intimate and private together, whether more affectionately or indiscreetly, he himself best felt; he brake out into this dangerous wish, that “Tiberius might soon die, and Caius as soon come to rule in his stead.” These words were heard by Eutyclus, his servant, and a while concealed; but when Agrippa prosecuted him for stealing some of his clothes,—which he had stolen, indeed,—he then brake forth and revealed all: for, fleeing for his theft, and caught, and brought before Piso, the sheriff of the city, and demanded the reason of his flight, he answered, that he had a great secret to impart to Cæsar, which concerned his life. Piso, therefore, sent him bound to Tiberius, who also kept him bound and unexamined a certain season. Now began Agrippa to hasten and spur-on his own misery and vexation: whether having forgotten the words that he had spoken, or not remembering the presence of his servant, at the speech; or not suspecting that his tale to Cæsar would be against himself; or, which was likeliest, thinking to make his cause the better by his confidence, he soliciteth his old friend Antonia, to urge the emperor<sup>a</sup> for a trial of his servant. Tiberius declineth it, though he suspected the matter; not so much belike for Agrippa's sake, as for Caius's sake, whom the familiarity, that was betwixt them, made him suspect to be accessory, if any thing should prove otherwise than well<sup>r</sup>. But being still importuned by Antonia, at last, when he had uttered these words, “Let the

<sup>a</sup> *Englsh folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 820.

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 818.

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gods witness, O Antonia, that what I shall do, I do not of my own mind, but by thy solicitation;”—he commanded Eutyclus to be brought forth; who, being examined, confessed readily, that such words were spoken by Agrippa to Caius, himself being present, adding others no less dangerous, that were spoken about young Tiberius. The emperor as readily believed the matter; and presently called out to Macro to bind him. Macro, not understanding that he meant Agrippa, prepared to bind Eutyclus more strictly for examination: but Tiberius having walked about the place, and coming to Agrippa, “It is this man (saith he), that I commanded to be bound.” And when Macro asked him again, “Who?” “Why (saith he), Agrippa.” Then did Agrippa begin to find, how he had forwarded his own mishap; but it was too late. And then did he begin to pray him now, whom he had lately prayed against; but that was too late also. For Tiberius was not half so averse to have tried his servant, as he is now to forgive the master: and he cannot be much blamed, for he had wished his mischief, and procured his own. Well; Agrippa is tied in bands, and led away to prison, as he was, in his purple robes, a garment very incompatible with chains, unless of gold. Being exceeding thirsty with heat and sorrow, as he went towards the prison, he spied one Thaumastus, a servant of Caius, carrying a tankard of water, and he desired some to drink; which when the servant freely and readily gave him,—“If ever (saith he) I escape and get out of these bonds, I will not fail to obtain thy freedom, who hast not refused to minister to me in my misery and chains, as well as thou didst in my prosperity and pomp.” And this his promise he afterward performed.

§ 4. *The death of Thrasyllus, the mathematician.*

This man Thrasyllus had endeared himself to Tiberius, by his skill in astrology long ago,—even while he lived in Rhodes,—before the death of Augustus, but with the imminent hazard and peril of his own life. For Tiberius being very much given to those Chaldean and curious arts, and having got leisure and retiredness in Rhodes for the learning and practice of them, he partly called, and partly had offered

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to him, those, that professed to be skilful in that trade and mystery. His way to try their skill was desperate and terrible; but such a one as best befitted such, as would take upon them to foresee things to come; and it was this:—When he consulted of any business, saith Tacitus, he used the top of his house, and the privacy of one only servant, a man utterly unlearned, and of a strong bulk of body: when he had a mind to try any man's skill, this lubber was to go before him over craggy, steep, and dangerous rocks, that hung over the sea, and over which his house stood: and as they returned again, if there were any suspicion that the prognosticator had given an answer fraudulent or lying, he flung him into the sea, lest he should reveal the secret, that he had been questioned upon. Thrasyllus, at his first coming, being brought to this dangerous trial, and having presaged Tiberius should be emperor, and having foretold other things to come, he was asked by him, whether he could calculate his own nativity;—which when he went about to do, and had set a figure, upon the sight and study upon it, he was first in a muse, and then in a fear,—and the more he viewed it, the more he feared: and at last cried out, that some strange and sudden danger was near and ready to seize upon him. Then Tiberius, embracing him, commended his skill, secured him against the danger, and retained him ever after for his intimate familiar. This year (as Dion doth place it) befel this great wizard's death, and, as it proved, a forerunner of the emperor's: with whom he did more good with one lie, near his latter end, than he had done with all his astrological truths (if he ever told any), all his life long. For assuring him by his skill, that he should yet live ten years longer, though in his heart he thought no such thing,—he caused him to be slack and remiss in putting divers men to death,—whose end he had hastened, had he known the haste of his own; and so they escaped.

§ 5. *War<sup>s</sup> betwixt Aretas and Herod.*

There had been a long grudge betwixt Aretas, the king of Arabia Petraea, and Herod the tetrarch; and a field had been fought between them before this. For Herod having

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 821.*

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put away his wife, which was Aretas's daughter, and having taken Herodias (the wife of his own brother Philip, and he yet living) in her stead, it is no wonder if Aretas dogged him for revenge for this indignity to his daughter and himself. Wherefore, he beginneth to quarrel with him, and to seek occasion of war, by challenge of a territory controvertible; and they come to a pitched battle, in which Herod's army is utterly overthrown, by means of some treachery wrought by some fugitives from his brother Philip's tetrarchy, which had taken up arms to fight under his colours. And here, as Josephus hath observed, "it was the observation of divers, that this his army utterly perished through God's just punishment upon him for the murder of John the Baptist." And it is worth the marking, that this overthrow took beginning from men of that country, whence Herodias, the causer of that murder and of the present disquietness, had come. Herod, upon this defeat, doubtful of better success at another time [for, it may be, his conscience told him this was but deserved], betaketh himself by letters to Tiberius, certifying him of the accident, and, it is likely, not without much aggravation. The emperor, either displeased at the fortune of Aretas in his victory, or at his audaciousness in stirring so within the empire, or at both together,—sendeth angry letters to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, charging him to undertake the war, and either to bring the rebellious king prisoner alive, or to send his head to Rome. But before the design came to maturity, Tiberius, that had thus threatened another man's life, had lost his own, as will appear hereafter. When this first battle was, that was so fatal to Herod, it shall not be insisted on to question; but that this brewing towards a new war, befel in this year, is apparent sufficiently by the sequel.

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CN. PROCULUS ACERRONIUS, } CONSULS.  
C. PONTIUS NIGRINUS, }

PART I.

THE ROMAN STORY.

§ 1. *Macro, all base.*

THIS man had been mischievous, ever since he had power to be so; but now was he so most of all, that he might keep that power of his a-foot, or might raise it more and more. He was used by Tiberius, as an instrument to bring down Sejanus,—the one, bad,—and the other, worse; and after he had done that, none must stand by his good will, that was likely to stand in his way. He was made master of the prætorian soldiers in Sejanus's stead; and, as he possessed his place, so did he his favour with the emperor, and the crookedness of his conditions: as if all the honours, fortune, and wickedness, of Sejanus had been entailed upon Macro: an agent as fit for Tiberius as could be required, and a successor as fit for Sejanus: a man as bloody as the tyrant could desire him, and sometimes more than he set him on work. He was the continual alguazil and inquisitor for the friends and accomplices of the late ruined favourite; and, under colour of that pursuit, he took out of the way, whosoever would not friend and comply with him. Of that number were Cn. Domitius and Vibius Marsus, accused with Albucilla the wife of Satrius Secundus, for adultery,—but all three together for conspiracy against the emperor: yet was there no hand of the emperor's showed for the prosecution of the matter, which showed the only spleen and machination of the bloodhound<sup>a</sup> Macro. Albucilla, whether guilty, indeed, or knowing that his malice and power would make her so,—stabbed herself, thinking to have died by her own hand; but the

<sup>t</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 819.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 824.

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wound not being deadly, she was taken away to prison. Grasidius and Fregellanus, the pretended panders of her adulteries, were punished, the one with banishment, and the other with degradation. And the same penalty was inflicted upon Lælius Balbus; a man, but justly paid in his own coin, to the rejoicing and content of divers; for he had been a strong and violent accuser of many innocents. Domitius and Marsus, (it may be) as guilty as the woman, but more discreet, traversed the indictment, and saved their own lives<sup>w</sup>, partly, by the shortness of the emperor's life, and partly, by the feigned prediction of Thrasyllus, that promised that it should be long. But too sullen was the indignation of L. Arruntius against Macro, and too desperate his ill conceit of Caius, who was to succeed in the empire; for when he was enwrapped in the same accusation with the two last named, and might have escaped the same escape that they did, yet despised he so to outlive the cruelty of Tiberius and Macro, as to come under the greater cruelty of Macro and Caius. "No (saith he), I have lived long enough, and (to my sorrow) too long. Nor doth any thing repent me more, than that thus I have endured an old age under the scorns, dangers, and hate, first of Sejanus, now of Macro, and always of one great one or another, and that for no other fault than for detesting their flagitiousness. It is true, indeed, that I may survive the old age and weakness of Tiberius; but what hopes to do so by the youth of Caius, and wickedness of Macro? Can Caius, a youth, do well, being led by Macro, who so corrupted Tiberius in his age? No; I see more tyranny like to come, than hath been yet: and, therefore, will I deliver myself from the present misery, and that to come." And with these words and resolution, he cut his own veins, and so bled to death: and spent a blood and a spirit,—what pity it was that they should have been so lost! As Macro thus divided his pains in cruelty, betwixt the satisfying of Tiberius's mind and his own malice,—so also did he, his affections,—shall I say?—or flattery rather, and own-end observances betwixt Tiberius and Caius. For as he sought to please the one that now ruled, for his own present security,—so did he, to endear the other that was to succeed, for his future safety.

<sup>w</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 820.

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Hereupon he omitted not any opportunity nor occasion, that he might screw Caius farther and farther into Tiberius's favour, and to keep him there, that he might do as much for himself into the favour of Caius. One rarity and non-parallel of obsequiousness he showed to the young prince, worth recording to his shame; for he caused his own wife Ennia Thrasylla to entangle the youthfulness of Caius into her love and adultery; and then parted he with her, and gave her to him in marriage. The old emperor could not but observe this monster of pretended friendship; nor were his old eyes so blind, but he perceived his flattery plain in other carriages; insomuch that he brake out to him in these plain words: "Well, thou forsakest the setting sun, and only lookest upon the rising."

§ 2. *A wicked woman.*

With the wife of Macro that made her own prostitution to become her husband's promotion, may not unfitly be yoked the mother of Sex. Papinius, that made her own lust her son's overthrow. Whether this were the Papinius, that was the last year's consul,—or his son,—or some other of the same name and family,—it is no great matter worth inquiring; but whosoever he was, unfortunate he was in his mother: for she caused his end, as she had given him his beginning. She, being lately divorced from her husband, betook herself unto her son; whom, with flattery and looseness, she brought to perpetrate such a thing, that he could find no remedy for it, when it was done, but his own death. The consequent argueth, that the fault was incest; for when he had cast himself from a high place, and so ended his life, his mother being accused for the occasion, was banished the city for ten years, till the danger of the slipperiness of her other son's youth was past and over.

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## PART II.

## THE JEWISH STORY.

§ 1. *Preparations of war against Aretas.*

THE terrible and bitter message of the emperor to Vitellius against king Aretas, must be obeyed, though more of necessity, than of any zeal of Vitellius in Herod's quarrel. He, therefore, raising what forces he accounted fitting for his own safety in the emperor's favour, and for his safety with the enemy, marcheth towards the seat of the war, intending to lead his army through Judea. But he was diverted from this intention, by the humble supplication of the Jews to the contrary; who took on, how contrary it was to their ancient laws and customs, to have any images and pictures brought into their country, whereof there was great store in the Romans' arms and banners. The gentleness of the general was easily overtreated; and commanding his army another way, he himself, with Herod and his friends, went up to Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifice, and removed Jonathan from the high-priesthood, and placed Theophilus, his brother, in his stead. This was, saith Josephus, at a feast of the Jews; but he nameth not which; and Vitellius, having stayed there three days, on the fourth receiveth letters concerning Tiberius's death. I leave it to be weighed by the reader, whether this festival was the Passover<sup>x</sup> or Pentecost. For, on the one hand, since Tiberius died about the middle of March, as the Roman historians do generally agree,—it is scarce possible, that the governor of Syria and the nations of the east should be unacquainted with it, till Pentecost, which was eight or nine weeks after. For all the empire must, as soon as possible, be sworn unto the new prince,—as Vitellius, upon the tidings, did swear Judea; and so long a time might have bred some inconvenience. And yet, on the contrary, it is very strange, that the intelligence of his death should be so quick, as to get from Rome to Jerusalem, between the middle of March and the middle of the Passover-week.

Vitellius, upon the tidings, recalleth his army again, and

<sup>w</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 825.

<sup>x</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 821.

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disposeth and billeteth them in the several places, where they had wintered ; for he knew not, whether Caius would be of the same mind with Tiberius about the matter of Aretas and Herod. You may guess how this news was brooked by the Arabian king ; and yet was it no other than what he looked for, if he believed what he himself spake. For hearing of the preparations of Vitellius against him, and consulting with wizards and augury ; “ This army (saith he) shall not come into Arabia, for some of the commanders shall die ; either he that commandeth the war, or he that undertaketh it, or he for whom it is undertaken : ” meaning either Tiberius, Vitellius, or Herod.

§ 2. *An omen to Agrippa in chains.*

Such another wizardly presage of the emperor’s death, had Agrippa at Rome, as Josephus also relateth, who relateth the former. For as he stood bound before the palace, leaning dejectedly upon a tree, among many others that were prisoners with him, an owl came and sat in that tree, to which he leaned : which a German seeing, being one of those that stood there bound, he asked who he was, that was in the purple, and leaned there ? And understanding who he was, he told him of his enlargement, promotion to honour, and prosperity ; and that, when he should see that bird again, he should die within five days after. And thus will the credulity of superstition have the very birds to foretell Tiberius’s end, from the phoenix to the owl.

THE ROMAN STORY AGAIN.

§ 1. *Tiberius near his end.*

TWICE only did Tiberius proffer to return to the city after his departure from it ; but returned never. The latter time, was not very long before his end : for being come within the sight of the city upon the Appian road, this prodigy (as he took it) affrighted him back. He had a tame serpent, which coming to feed, as he used to do, with his own hand, he found him eaten up by pismires : upon which ominous accident, being advised not to trust himself among

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the multitude, he suddenly retired back to Campania, and at Astura he fell sick. From thence he removed to Circeii; and thence to Misenum; carrying out his infirmity so well, that he abated not a whit of his former sports, banquets, and voluptuousness: whether for dissimulation, or for habitual intemperance, or upon Thrasyllus's prediction, let who will determine. He used to mock at physic,—and to scoff at those, that, being thirty years of age, yet would ask other men's counsel, what was good or hurtful for their own bodies.

§ 2. *His choice of a successor.*

But weakness, at the last, gave him warning of his end, and put him in mind to think of his successor: and when he did so, perplexity met with such a thought!—for whom should he chose? The son of Drusus was too young,—the son of Germanicus was too well beloved,—and Claudius was too soft: should he choose the first or the last, it might help to disgrace his judgment; should he choose the middle, he might chance to disgrace his own memory among the people; and for him to look elsewhere, was to disgrace the family of the Cæsars. Thus did he pretend a great deal of care and seriousness for the good of the commonwealth; whereas his main aim and respect was, at his own credit and family's honour. Well: something he must pretend, to give countenance and credit to his care of the common good. In fine, his great deliberation concluded in this easy issue,—namely, in a prayer to the gods to design his successor, and in an auspicious of his own hatching, that he should be his successor, that should come first in to him upon the next morning; which proved to be Caius. It showed no great reality nor earnestness for the common good in him at all, when so small a thing as this must sway his judgment; and such a trifle be the casting voice in a matter of so great a moment. His affection was more to young Tiberius, his nephew; but his policy reflected more upon Caius: he had rather Tiberius might have had the rule alone; and yet he was unwilling that Caius should go without it, seeming to divide his affections betwixt the two,—whereas his chief thoughts and respects were to his ownself. But Caius,

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whom the gods had cast upon it (as his foolish auspiciu<sup>m</sup> persuaded him), must be the man, though he read in his nature the very bane of the empire: and yet, for affection's sake too, must young Tiberius be joint-heir with him, though he foresaw and foretold, that Caius should murder him. A monstrous policy: to lay his own grandchild for a bait, for those jaws, that, he knew, would devour him: and this was, that, by that present cruelty of Caius, his own cruelties, that were past, might be forgotten, and the talk of that might not give room to talk of old Tiberius. This was that pretended care, that he had of the commonwealth,—to be sure to leave one behind him, that should be worse than himself; that, by his<sup>2</sup> greater wickedness, his own might be lessened; and that himself might seem to be less vicious, by the other's viciousness above him. Yet giveth he counsel to Caius, inciting him to goodness, which he himself could never follow,—and exhorting him to tenderness towards young Tiberius; which, in his heart, he was reasonably indifferent, whether he followed or no.

### § 3. *His death.*

Charicles, the doctor, gave notice of his death approaching, to Caius and Macro, though he stole this judgment and conjecture but by a sleight. For sitting with the emperor at a banquet, and taking on him some earnest and speedy occasion to be gone to some other place, he rose from the table, and pretending to take the emperor's hand to kiss, he closely and stealingly tried his pulse, which Tiberius perceiving, but not expressing so much, caused him to take his place again, and the banquet to be renewed, and him<sup>a</sup> to set out the meal. But when the doctor was got loose from the table, and was come to Caius and Macro, and the rest of the adorers of that imperial sun, that was now waiting when he should rise,—he resolved them, that his end drew on apace, and was not many days off: and then was all preparation for the new emperor, when the last gasp should remove the old. But he that had used so much dissimulation all his life, dissembled even in his dying. For fainting and swooning so very sore, that all conceived he was departed, and Caius

<sup>2</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 822.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 827.

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and all his favourites were gone forth to take possession of his new empire;—suddenly the tune is turned; and news comes forth, that Tiberius is revived and calleth for meat. Macro, that had often been his instrument of cruelty upon others, turns the faculty now upon himself; and, instead of meat, stopped his mouth with a pillow, or with heaping clothes upon his face: and so he died. There are, indeed, diversities of opinion about the manner of his death; some saying it was thus, as is mentioned; others, that it was by poison; others, that it was by being denied meat in the intermission of his fits; others, that he rose out of his bed and fell on the floor, nobody being near him: all which are mentioned by Suetonius. It is not much material what his end was: that, that is first named, is most entertained; and certainly it suiteth very well with his deservings; and it is some wonder, that he came to such an end no sooner. He died the seventeenth of the calends of April, or the sixteenth of March; or, if Dion may have his will, the seventh; and so the rest of that year is accounted the first of Caius.

#### § 4. CAIUS.

AN evil emperor is gone, but a worse is to succeed him:—Caius, the son of Germanicus, a bad child of a good father, inheriting the love and favour of the people for his father's sake, till he forfeited it, by his reserving the qualities of Tiberius. He was surnamed Caligula, from a garb that he wore in the camp, in which he was bred and educated: from whence he had the love of the soldiers, till his barbarous nature lost it. It may seem incredible, that a worse disposition should ever be found than that of Tiberius; but the old politician saw, that this was so much beyond it, that it would do him credit. Some impute the fault to his bloody nurse, one Pressilla, a Campanian; the custom of which country it was, that the women when they were to give their children suck, they first anointed the nipple with the blood of a hedgehog, to the end their children might be the more fierce and cruel. This woman was as savage above the rest of the nation, as they were above other women; for her breasts were all hairy over, like the beards of men; and her activity and strength, in martial

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exercises, inferior to few of the infantry of Rome. One day, as she was giving Caligula the papp, being angry at a young child that stood by her, she took it and tore it in pieces; and with the blood thereof anointed her breasts, and so set her nursling Caius to suck both blood and milk. But had not his infancy been educated in such a butchery, the school of his youth had been enough to have habituated him to mischief. For being brought up in the sight, and at the elbow, of Tiberius, it would have served to have corrupted the best nature that could be; but this of his was either never good, or, at least, was spoiled long before. Yet had he reasonably well learned his tutor's art of dissimulation, so that he hid those serpentine conditions, not only before Tiberius's death, but also a while after he had obtained the empire. Only he that had taught him to weave this mantle of dissembling, could spy through it; insomuch, that he would profess, that "Caius lived for the destruction of him and all others; and that he hatched up a snake for the Roman empire, and a Phaeton for all the world." And it proved so both to him and them. For when Tiberius lay a-gasping, stifled with a pillow pressed upon him, he also throttled him with his hand, and crucified one of his servants, that cried out upon the hideousness of the fact. And as for his demeanour towards the state, a little time will give too lamentable witness.

§ 5. *Tiberius in a manner cruel being dead.*

How welcome news, the tidings of Tiberius's death were at Rome, may be easily conjectured by any, that hath observed his cruelties before. Some cried out, "Tiberius into Tiber;" some, "To the hurdle and Tyburn;" some, to one thing; some, to another; using the more liberty<sup>b</sup> of their tongues against the tyrant now, by how much they had been tied up the straiter, whilst he lived. Nor did the remembrance of his former cruelties only cause them to rejoice for his death; but a present cruelty (as if he were bloody being dead) made him the more odious to them, than alive. For certain men, that were but lately condemned, and their execution-day falling upon the very day when tidings of his death came to the city (for the senate did ever allow ten

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 828.

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days for the condemned persons after their sentence, before their end), the poor men implored the aid and comfort of every one they met; because Caius<sup>c</sup>, to whom they should have sued, was not in the city; but they were haled away by the executioners, and strangled.

§ 6. *Agrippa in a perplexity, and enlarged.*

Agrippa was partaker of the common joy; but withal of some mixture of misery, for such variety of fortune had he tasted ever; and now must he have a farewell to such vicissitudes. Marsyas, his freeman, hearing the rumour in the city, runneth with all speed to certify his master; and finding him with some company in the ways towards the bath, he beckoneth to him with this speech in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead." With which tidings Agrippa was so transported with joy, that the centurion his keeper perceived it; and inquiring the reason, and being told it by Agrippa, he rejoiced with him for the news, and looseth him from his bonds. But as they were at supper, there cometh a contrary report, that Tiberius was alive, and would ere long be in the city. What now, think you, is become of the heart and mettle of Agrippa and his centurion? Both had done enough by this their present joy, to procure their endless sorrow, and his keeper the worse of the two; but Agrippa must smart for all for the present. He therefore casts him into irons again, and committeth him to a surer guard than before: and thus, as his too much eagerness of Tiberius's death had imprisoned him before, even so doth it now: but the next morning puts him into life again: for the rumour of the old emperor's death, is confirmed by letters from the new; and a special warrant cometh from him for the enlarging of Agrippa out of prison, to the house where he had used to live before.

§ 7. *Caius cometh to Rome.*

The corpse of the dead tyrant is carried by the soldiers into the city, Caius himself, in mourning-apparel, following the hearse; and there he maketh his funeral oration, and performeth his obsequies with great pomp and solemnity.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 823.

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And, on the very day of his coming to town, he had enlarged Agrippa, but that the advice of Antonia persuaded him to hold a while, lest the people should suspect that he was glad of the death of Tiberius, if he should so suddenly set free one, that he had committed for an enemy. But, within a few days, he is enlarged, and sent for home unto him. And there is he trimmed, his garments changed, and he crowned "king of the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias;" and his chain of iron, and of his bondage, changed for a chain of gold of the same weight. This is that king Agrippa, that slew James, and imprisoned Peter, and is called "Herod," Acts xii.

§ 8. *Caius's dissembling.*

Caius's beginnings were plausible and popular,—dissembling his cursed dispositions under such crafty colours, that the people were transported with so happy a change (as they supposed), and one hundred and sixty thousand sacrifices were slain for gratulation in his three first months. His tears for Tiberius, his piety to his dead mother and brother, his respect to his living sisters, his fair words to the senate, and as fair carriage to the people, his paying of legacies, his enlarging of prisoners, his remitting of offences, his reviving of good laws, &c,—made the people to forget either in what school of dissimulation he had been brought up, or how soon so great advancement corrupteth men of little education: and it made them vainly to hope, that they had a Germanicus, because they had his son: and that a good prince could be bequeathed to them by Tiberius.

Yet could he not hide the illness of his disposition under all these cloaks and coverts of dissembling; for presently, upon his coming to the city, he disannulled the will of Tiberius, that he might nullify the authority of his partner, of the same name, in the rule and empire. And yet did he pay all the legacies of old Tiberius, with bountiful additions of his own, which showed that he disliked the will, only because of partnership of Tiberius the younger<sup>d</sup>. Having thus the whole sway and dominion devolved upon himself, by the outing of his poor cousin (for the senate was made and packed by Macro for such a purpose), he was received with

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 829.

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as much joy and applause, as was possible to express, upon the old memory of his father, and the present expectation of himself. Nor was this jocundness confined in the narrow bounds of Rome and Italy, but dilated itself through all the empire, in every corner where the hoped benefit and happy fruit of so great an expectation would have come, had it proved right. Every country, city, and town, was poured forth into exultation and festivity, with a common joy in this common hope. Now could you have seen nothing but altars, offerings, sacrifices, feasts, revels, banquets, plays, dancings, merry faces, crowned heads, singing tongues, and joyful hearts,—that the world seemed to be ravished besides itself, and all misery to be banished out of it, and all the thoughts of a changing fortune utterly forgot. Had Tiberius but spied this work out of his coffin, how would he have laughed for company, to behold this deludedness of the people, and dissimulation of the prince! And thus lasted this music and masking for his first seven months, in which the new emperor behaved himself with that moderation and bravery, as if virtue itself had been come among them.

In the eighth month, a grievous sickness seized upon him; and then was all this mirth and melody turned to mourning and lamentation: each man sorrowful, and women bemoaning, as if all the world had been sick as well as he. Now were their songs turned into tears; their revelling, into prayers; and their festivals to vows for his recovery. Nay, so far did some strain the expression of their affections, that they vowed their heads and lives for his restoring. Nor could the people be so much blamed for this their sorrow, as pitied for being thus deceived: nor could it so much be wondered-at, that they were deceived, as it was wonderful that he could so deceive. For who could have chosen but have erred their error, that had seen what they beheld? and who could have brought them into such an error, but such a one as he, who was both a Caius, and a scholar of Tiberius? When he paid the legacies of Tiberius, he also discharged those of Julia, which Tiberius had stopped, and added a considerable sum of his own bounty. He gathered the ashes of his mother and brother, and committed them to their urn

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with his own hands, choosing a tempestuous<sup>e</sup> season purposely, when he travelled about that business, that his piety might be blown about the more; and he instituted annual festivals for them. Nor must his father Germanicus be forgotten, nor, indeed, could he; nor did he deserve it: for his memory, therefore, would he have the month 'September' to be called by his name, placing him in the calendar next Augustus. His grandmother Antonia he also dignified and deified equally with Livia; and that by the consent and decree of the senate. His uncle Claudius he honoured with partnership with him in the consulship; and his brother and partner Tiberius, with adoption, to put him in future hopes, now he had lost his present ones; and he titled him, "The prince of the youth," to stop his mouth belike, when he had put him beside his being the prince of men. But as for his sisters, the sequel showed that it was more doting and lust than pure brotherly affection, that caused him to show these expressions; that, in all oaths, that were administered to any, this must be one clause to which they must swear, that "they neither accounted themselves nor their children dearer than Caius and his sisters:" and this in all the records of the consuls, "which he for the happiness of Caius and his sisters," &c. The like popularity used he likewise to the people, releasing the condemned, and recalling the banished; condemning, on the contrary, all enormities in judicature, and banishing all incentives to evil manners; forgiving his own private grievances, and satisfying for injuries done by his predecessors; that it was no marvel, if the whole state were sick in the sickness of such a prince.

§ 9. *Caius beginning to show himself in his own colours.*

Not to insist longer upon the visor of this dissembler, but to take him as he was, and not as he seemed,—his nature began more evidently to show itself after his recovery of his sickness mentioned; and then the state began by degrees to be sick, indeed. His beginnings were in lightness, sports, and lavishing of money; but his proceedings were in bestiality, cruelty, and effusion of blood. His banquets, plays,

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 824.

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sword-fights, fighting of beasts (as four hundred bears, and as many other African wild beasts at one time), his music, shows, strictness that none should be absent from them, and expensiveness in all (insomuch that he spent above twenty millions in such vanities in less than three years), may be thought as virtues in him, in comparison of that that followed, and of the mischiefs that he mingled between.

§ 10. *Caius<sup>a</sup> cruel.*

The recovery of the emperor Caius, from that disease under which we left him ere while, proved the sickness of the whole state, and the death of divers. For now he began to show himself in his own colours, and to lay open the inside of his barbarous nature, which hitherto he had hid under strange dissimulation. P. Afranius Petitus, a plebeian, and Atanius Secundus, a knight, had bound themselves by oath, in the emperor's sickness, partly, in flattery,—partly, in hope of reward; the one, that he would die on condition the prince might recover; and the other, that he would venture his life in combat on the same condition. Caius, understanding of this obligation, and pretending that he would have neither of them perjured, seeing he was now well again,—constrained them both to perform their vows, and brought them to repent their flattery with repentance too late and vain, and to a reward clean contrary to their expectation. Nor was his cruelty any whit less, though for very shame it must be better dissembled, to his father-in-law the noble Silanus, a man hated of him for the two main things, that, in human society, are the ties of love,—virtue and alliance; and so indignly used him, that he found no way to regain his love, nor any better to avoid his hate, than to murder himself with his own hands. Claudia, the daughter of Silanus, was his wife; but he divorced her from him, and took Cornelia Orestilla from her husband Calpurnius Piso, on their very wedding-day, where he was present at the solemnization: and he kept her not two months, but sent her to her Piso again.

§ 11. *Young Tiberius brought to a miserable end.*

These entries being made for the fleshing, as it were, the

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 830.

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tyrant in bloodiness and cruelty, he is now made ready and fit to execute a more horrible design upon his poor brother, partner, and son by adoption, the young and innocent Tiberius. He, poor prince, having been thrust by him out of his right and patrimony, by the nullifying of old Tiberius's will, must now also be deprived of life. This was it that the old testator did presage, and yet would leave him for a prey to his inhumanity. The pretences against this young prince were, that either he had been a means to cause his sickness; or, at least, had rejoiced in it, and desired his death. A slight accusation to bring such a person to death; yet, might he only have died, it might have seemed more tolerable, but the manner of it made the cruelty double. He is commanded to die by his own hand, though tribunes, centurions, and men of war, fitter far to have done such an execution, stood by, and would have done it. He desired but this mercy, that he might have been slain by some of them; but that was denied him, upon a point of honour and justice forsooth, because it was not fit, that such a prince should die by inferior hands. The poor prince offered his neck to every one that stood near; but they durst not strike for fear of their own: the only favour that he could obtain was this, that they might teach him where to wound himself for his soonest despatch; and so he did. And thus is the tyrant delivered, as he thinketh, from all fear and danger of compartnership and corrivality in the empire: next will he take a course with those, that any way may cross him in, or advise him against, his headlong humours; and of them we shall hear in their course. The last six months of this year he had taken the consulship upon himself, and had chosen his uncle Claudius for his colleague; but we have reserved the names of the old till now, to avoid confusion.

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M. AQUILA JULIANUS, } CONSULS.  
P. NONIUS ASPRENAS, }

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## PART I.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *Cruelties<sup>a</sup> at Rome.*

THIS year began at Rome with a fatal omen. For, on the first of January, Machaon, a servant, went up to the shrine of Jupiter Capitolinus; and there having presaged<sup>3</sup> and prophesied many fearful and terrible things, first, he slew a whelp that he had with him,—and then he slew himself.

These beginnings had answerable sequels: for Caius addicted himself wholly to bloodiness, sometimes for his sports, sometimes in cruel earnest. He commanded sword-plays to be made, in which he set not man to man, but multitudes to multitudes, to slaughter each other. He slew in the same manner six-and-twenty Roman knights, with great contentment taken by him in the effusion of their blood. He set, also, another knight to the same terrible sports; and when he came off victorious, he caused him and his father to be slain, and divers others with them, enclosing them in a strong chest, or press. When once there were not enough of poor condemned wretches to cast to the wild beasts, he caused divers that stood upon the scaffolds for spectators, to be cast unto them, causing their tongues first to be cut out, that they might not cry or complain. Yet did he with these cruelties mingle some plausible actions tending to popularity,—as, creating of knights, privileging the commons, and lavishing in gifts; that, strengthening himself with these courtesies in the hearts of some men, he might, with the more confidence, be cruel to other.

#### § 2. *An<sup>b</sup> end of Macro.*

It cannot be expected, that he should come to a good end himself, that had brought so many to a bad. His course

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 831.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 825.

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 832.

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is now come to taste of the same sauce, that he had provided for so many others; and it would half move the spectator to some kind of pity to see him slaughtered for such a cause, as he was slaughtered for.—How<sup>c</sup> he had been a means to curry Caius favour with Tiberius, and to screw him into the empire, and himself into his good opinion, even by the prostitution of his own wife, we have heard before; and this his extraordinary officiousness he did not forelet or slacken, when he had brought him where he desired to have him,—to the empire. But now he turned his observance a better way; and what he had done before, by baseness, flattery, and senseless obsequiousness, to bring him to the rule,—he changeth into good counsel to keep him well in it. For when he saw him fall asleep at banquets, amongst his cups, he would freely check him for it, as being neither for his credit, nor for his safety. The like would he do, when he saw him misbehave himself, by lightness, profuse laughter, and ridiculous gestures in the theatre, and in beholding plays. In brief, so round and plain was he with him, when he saw just cause, that, in fine, the uncounselable humorist became his enemy, and at last his death. His end is reported to have been the same with young Tiberius, forced to slay himself; and Ennia his wife, or the wife of Caius, whether you will,—to have been constrained to the same extremity and end with him:—an end well befitting and well deserved of them both, but from all men living least deserved from Caius.—Philo, after the death of Macro, placeth the death of M. Silanus; which, upon the warrant of Dion, we have set before: and in things so indifferent will not spend labour to examine.

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## PART II.

### THE JEWISH STORY.

#### § 1. *Troubles of the Jews in Alexandria.*

FLACCUS AVILIUS was now governor of Egypt, and had been so for some years before: a man that ruled well while

<sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 826.

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Tiberius lived; but, after his death, could not govern himself. For when he heard of the death of the old emperor, and the succession of the new,—sorrow for the one, and fear of the other, did so transport him besides himself, that, forgetting the bravery and glory wherewith he had governed hitherto, he let loose the reins of himself to these two passions, and the reins of the government to desperate carelessness and neglect. He did nothing but weep for the loss of old Tiberius, to whom he had been very intimate and dear; and he might well weep the more, because he could meet hardly with any, that would bear any part and share in that sorrow with him. This his grief was augmented by the fear, that he had of Caius, and of his displeasure,—and that by the intelligence that his conscience gave him, that he had deserved it: partly, for his propensity to young Tiberius, and siding with him; but chiefly, because he had had some hand, or, at least, some consent and inclination, to the death of Agrippina, Caius's mother. Both these his miserable passions were brought to their height, when he heard of the death of young Tiberius, and of his old friend Macro. The thought of these two was the only comfort he had against his dejectedness and discontent: for all his hope was, that these two might make his peace with Caius, whose displeasure he so much doubted. But what must he do now, when they cannot make their own peace? He yieldeth himself, therefore, wholly to his discontented mood, and neglecteth utterly both himself and the state. His old friends he groweth jealous of, and rejecteth; his professed enemies he receiveth to his favour and to his counsels: these rule him, that should have ruled Egypt; and he had done it worthily, but now is drawn any whither, that ill-advice, sullenness, and melancholy, direct him.—These his wicked counselors invent a course to procure his peace and the emperor's favour,—a course, indeed, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman, but such as suited with their own malice, and (as it proved) took place with the governor's desperateness and cowardice, if<sup>e</sup> so be he may be called a governor still. “Caius the emperor (say they) is an enemy to the Jews, and a friend to the Alexandrians: let this be the opportunity whereby to work

<sup>e</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 853.

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thy reconciliation, to suffer the city to rise against the Jews, and to commit outrage upon them ; and thou canst not perform an act more acceptable to the prince, nor more profitable for thyself." The wretched Flaccus, that took to heart no man's misery but his own, and cared not who suffered, so he might escape,—gave ear to this damnable and devilish counsel, and put it in practice ; first, plotting mischief against the Jews in secret ; then, oppressing them in judgment and in their suits openly ; and, at the last, professing and publishing himself their resolved enemy.

§ 2. *Agrippa at Alexandria, an unexpected and unwilling occasion of farther troubles.*

Those incendiaries, that had kindled this fire, will be sure to lose no blast, that may make it flame and keep it burning. Agrippa, that had not long ago departed from Alexandria a poor private man, returneth now thither in prosperity and a king. Caius<sup>f</sup>, that had promoted him to his kingdom, did lovingly direct him by Alexandria, as the safest way to it. Thither he came with as great privacy as such a personage could do ; and yet was he espied by the jealous eyes of these rare counsellors, and his coming misconstrued, through their malice to the Jews. They persuade Flaccus, that his coming thither was an affront to him in his own province ; that his pomp and train were more sumptuous than his ; that the eyes of all men were upon the new king Agrippa ; and, in short, that his presence there, was his present disgrace, and would prove his future disadvantage. The ill-governed governor was ready enough to hearken to such buzzings as these, and to yield them impression in his mind ; yet durst he not put any thing in execution against the king, for fear of him that sent him. He, therefore, thought it best to carry a fair outside to Agrippa ; and to his face he speaketh fair, and pretendeth friendship,—but behind his back, he did not only descry his hate and revile him in secret, but also connived at those, that did so openly ; so that, within a little while, the king, that neither thought nor came for any hurt, is made the public scoff and scorn throughout the city ; and on their stages, in their plays, ballads, speeches, houses,

<sup>f</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 827.

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streets, there is no language so common nor so current, as the abusive of Agrippa.

§ 3. *A pageant of one and more madmen.*

This connivance of the governor,—shall I call it?—or his toleration,—or his setting-on,—or his folly,—or what you will,—you may well presume that it added boldness and impudency enough to the outrageous multitude, which commonly, in such mischievousness, need small encouragement. Their madness, among other things, showed itself in this pageant; whether more senseless or splenetic, if not both alike, let the reader judge:—There was a poor madman or distracted wretch in the city, whose name was Charabas, that used to walk up and down stark naked, night and day, heat and cold, the common fool (as it were) of boys and young men, with whom they used to make sport. The riotous rout (now set on mischief) bring this silly wretch to one of their public meeting-places; and there setting him on high, in a seat above all the people, that he might be seen of all, they put a diadem of paper about his head, and mat of sedge about his body, instead of his robes, and a piece of reed for a sceptre in his hand: and thus have they solemnly and suddenly made him a king,—and one, indeed, that had been fit enough for themselves; and one that was indeed but a fit emblem of their governor Flaccus, that suffered such a thing. Their mimical king being thus accoutred with his robes and royalty, they bring him forth in a solemn state: before and about him, went youths with poles upon their shoulders for his guard; by the way, as he went, some come to do him homage,—others to petition for justice,—others, to advise him concerning affairs of state; and at last they all of them “All hail” him with the title of ‘Mare<sup>s</sup>,’ which, in the Syrian tongue, the language of the country of Agrippa (whom, by this very word they showed, that they mocked), betokeneth “lord” and “master.” And now let the reader but look upon this rout of Alexandrians, and let him judge who was the madder; the poor lunatic that was so used,—or they that so used him. For was it not mere madness in them thus to taunt and revile so great a king, so greatly

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respected by the Roman senate, and so great a favourite of their lord and emperor? But Flaccus the maddest of all, that beheld all this, and yet did permit it.—And on the other hand, let him look upon the Jews, to whom this sportful mummery is the preface to misery in good earnest: and if this mockage of their first king with a crown, robes, and sceptre of derision, put not the reader in the mind of their<sup>b</sup> scorning and usage of their true King and Saviour in the very same manner, he cannot but remember Barabbas upon the naming of Charabas by the very same sound and rhyme.

§ 4. *More outrage.*

The Alexandrians, thus countenanced by Flaccus in the derision of the new king of the Jews, grow to a boundless outrage against their God. For now they begin to assail their synagogues, and there they desire to set up images; a thing as odious to that nation, as beloved among the Alexandrians. For in them is fulfilled that prophecy of Hosea, chap. iii. 4; where they neither are as yet to God, nor as yet to any other,—but on the one hand detesting false gods, and yet on the other hand not embracing the true: hating the images of any creature for adoration, but withal hating him that is the very image and character of the living God, the Creator.

This enterprise of profaning and defiling the synagogues and houses of prayer of the Jews, was not a fearful and terrible vexation to those of that city only; but what hurt may such an example do, think you, both through Egypt, and, indeed, through all the other cities of the empire? What fruits these beginnings brought forth in the same city and elsewhere, we shall see ere long.

§ 5. *Caius will be a God.*

A special encouragement to this insolence at Alexandria was Caius the emperor's demeanour at Rome: a man not fit to be ranked in the rank of men, and yet no way with him now but he will be a god. The senseless groundwork of this his impious fancy, he took from this damnable logic and devilish argumentation,—That seeing shepherds and

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1, p. 834.

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herdsmen that are masters of sheep and cattle, are, in a degree, far above their beasts and cattle; so he, that was the lord of all men, was not to be ranked in the degree of men, but of the gods. This his opinion,—founded upon impiety, backed with flattery, and strengthened by his uncontrolled power,—he followed with such vehemency and vigour, that now no deity must be thought-on but the god Caius; and all the gods, as he pleased, were engrossed into himself. He changed his godship, when he thought good, and that with no more ado than with change of his garb. To-day, he would wear a lion's skin and a golden club,—and then he was Hercules; to-morrow, a kid's skin, and an alepole,—and then he was Bacchus:—when he laid that by, it may be, he would put on his curious bonnet, and then he was Castor or Pollux: he would but lay that by, and put on a beamy golden crown, and take bow and arrows in his hands, and he was Apollo:—a caduceus made him Mercury: and sword, helmet, and gauntlet, made him Mars. But the terror that attended him, when he would be this god last-named, walking in his armour, with his drawn sword in his hand, and a band of cut-throats about him, showed to the people but little of any divine qualities, or celestial intentions, but terrified them with expectation of devilish cruelty and murders. Sometimes would he sit betwixt the two statues of Castor and Pollux, and endure to be saluted by the name of “the Italian Jupiter:”—sometimes would he sit by Jupiter himself, and whisper with him, and threaten to banish him out of Italy into Greece. And, indeed, it had been but an equal change, had he done so; for he got the most curious pieces of the gods of that country, and struck off their heads; and on the trunk he set the representation of his own. He had a standing statue of gold erected for him, to represent his walking deity, which was clothed with the same garb, that he wore himself every day; and to this were offered daily sacrifices as rare and new-found-out as was his deity itself,—peacocks, pheasants, and other birds of the greatest rarity and value. So vain a thing is man, deserted and left unto himself,—that he will be a god, when he is in the next form to a devil. The plain and rustic Gaul hit him

<sup>1</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 828.

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right, and spake but the truth, when, seeing him in these his postures of his foolish deity, and laughing,—and being asked by Caius what he thought of him, that he laughed,—he answered boldly, and escaped with it, that “he seemed to him to be a great folly.”

§ 6. *The miseries of the Alexandrian Jews.*

How these manners of the prince might redound to the calamity of the Jews, who would worship no God but their own, it is easy to guess by the common advantages, that are always taken, in the like cases, by men, that are armed with power, and weaponed with malice. As this humour of the emperor was blown up with flattery and blasphemous clanging at home,—so was it soon blazoned and divulged abroad; and they that delighted in many gods, it was good contentment, to have them all met in the centre of the new god, All-god, their prince. But what will become of the Jews, the only opposers of such impiety? And what especially of the Alexandrian Jews, whose tragedy was begun already?—This opportunity suited with the spiteful desires of their adversaries, as their adversaries themselves could have desired. For now thinks Flaccus, he may ingratiate himself to Cæsar indeed, by being ungracious to the Jews; and now have the Alexandrians a double forwarding beside their own malice, their governor, and their prince.

First, Flaccus deprived the Jews of their synagogues, oratories, and houses of prayer, and therewith, as much as in him lay, of their religion; then, of the benefit of the city and country laws, proclaiming them strangers and foreigners: and, at last, gave free and open liberty to the Alexandrians, to use their wills upon them, in what manner and measure their malice thought meet. And now their tragedy begins.

The Jews in the city were above two parts of five; the Alexandrians driving them out of their own houses, and ransacking the houses, as they went, they force them into a strait place of the city, where they had not room to stir, one for another, much less to make any orderly battalia for defence of themselves, or for resistance. In this strait, both

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of place and fortune, it is no wonder, if they speedily suffered famine, who had nothing of their sustenance left them, unless they would have devoured one another. Here are many mouths, and no meat,—and great complaining, but no relief. Plenty enough there was in the city, but none for them; and abundance of every thing necessary but pity. The poor, crowded, starved, and distressed, people, those that had any hope or courage to shift for themselves, streak abroad, and steal forth of their enclosurè, for food and fresh air; some, to the shore,—some, into the city,—some, one way,—some, another; but the misery of them, also, was no less than theirs that stayed impounded, but that it was not so lingering. For wheresoever they were caught, as no where could they go but descried, they were either stoned, clubbed, or burned, to death; yea, often man, wife, children, and whole families, so murdered, all of a heap. Some they smoked and choked to death in a fire, where they wanted fuel to burn them out; some they haled with ropes, tied about their ancles, up and down the streets, till they were dead; and then neither spared they the dead bodies, but mangled them in pieces. Their synagogues they all burnt down, with the loss, also, of some of the Alexandrians' houses adjoining; their houses they defaced; and their lives they took away, when and wheresoever they could catch them. Flaccus, in this bloodiness, had done enough by connivance and toleration; but he is not content with this passive tyranny, unless he be an actor himself in the scene, and be not behind other in this mischief, as he was before them in authority. Eight-and-thirty of their judges and counsellors (for a senate of their own was tolerated by Augustus and allowed them) he sendeth for by his officers; and binding their hands behind them, causeth them thus to be led along the streets for a derision, and then caused them to be publicly scourged, some to death, some to the lingering out of a miserable life. He caused, also, a pretended search to be made throughout all the Jews' houses for armour, pretending a suspicion of their insurrection; but intending thereby to give the soldiers the more advantage for their pillaging and oppression. He spared neither age nor sex, against whom he could take an occasion or find cavil; nor revered he any festival for their execution, nor

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omitted any kind<sup>j</sup> of cruelty for their torture. Here is the first smarting blow to count of, that this nation felt, since they called for "the blood of the Just One upon themselves, and upon their children;" and some of this city were nimble agents for the compassing of the death of his first martyr Stephen, Acts vi. 9.

§ 7. *Agrippa in his own kingdom.*

You may well presume, that the stay of Agrippa would not be long at Alexandria, where his entertainment was so foul, and his invitation to his own home was so fair and good. His welcome thither was not so full of scorn and disgrace, as in the other place; but as full of unkindness, because the unkindness was from his own sister. Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod the tetrarch, and once some comfort to this her brother, whilst he was in distress,—grows now the bitter envier of his prosperity: a woman ever active to the mischief of others, but now beginning to twine a whip for her own back. It grieveth her to see the unlooked-for pomp of the new king Agrippa: a man that had so lately been under the hatches of fortune, and in her bilboes, debt and<sup>k</sup> danger,—that had but the other day fled from his wife, country, and friends, for poverty and shame, unable to pay the moneys that he owed, and, which was worse, as unable to borrow more; and now he is returned again, with a kingdom, a crown, and with pomp and train agreeable to both! Oh, how this grated her haughty and emulative spirit, though he were her brother! Well; whether it were in spite to his promotion, or in disdain to her degree that was now below him, which is the more like,—the shower and storms of her discontents do shower upon her husband. She lays in his dish, the present spectacle of Agrippa's glory, and his own inferiority; taxeth him with dulness and sleepiness, that would not seek for a higher dignity, which might he had for a journey to Rome; twitteth him for being an underling, when he might prevent it; persuadeth him to spare no cost nor travail for that prevention; and, in fine, worketh so with him by incessant clamours, that though he could well have been contented to have sitten quiet at home, yet he is in-

<sup>j</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 829.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 836.

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duced or driven to travel, and she with him, to Rome, to Caius. Agrippa was not unacquainted with her discontents; and with both their designs, and will not be far behind in reciprocal requital of such intentions; but their meeting, pleading, and success, at Rome, must be reserved to another year.

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### PART III.

#### THE ROMAN STORY AGAIN.

§ *Caius, the new god, little better than a devil.*

AFTER the sight of the goodly godship of the emperor, showed in little, a little before,—let us take him now, as he is indeed, little better than a devil. A man, the shame and confusion of men, if he may be called a man; and so far beyond the vices of any that had gone before, that he seemed to live to no other purpose, than to show, what the utmost extent of viciousness could do, in the utmost height of power and liberty. You would wonder,—but that his defiance of the gods doth lessen that wonder,—how scornfully and despitefully he used the memory and persons of his ancestors, sisters, kindred, and best friends. He charged Augustus with incest, Livia with base birth, Tiberius but with what he deserved, his own mother with bastardise, and whosoever was most near and most honour to him, with some ignominy and reproach or other. But such words were courtesies in comparison of his actions. All his sisters he first deflowered, and then prostituted them to others, being so deflowered. But his darling sister Drusilla, sped somewhat better, if that better were not as bad. To her he continued his affection, of love or lust, whether you will,—while she continued in life; and when she was dead, he made her the means of his profit, as he had done before of his pleasure. She was the wife of M. Lepidus, but still the whore of her brother Caius; and after her death, he made her a goddess, whom, all her life long, he had made his harlot. Altars, statues, vows, festivals, were ordained for her; and Livius

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Geminius played the knight of the post, and swore devoutly that he saw her ascend to heaven, and conversing with the gods. Such a deity had the Romans never known before; but only her brother; and she troubled them as much in her heaven, as he did on the earth. For now was it impossible for any man so to behave himself, but he was entrapped on the one hand or the other, about this new found goddess. To mourn for her death, it was criminal, because she was a deity; and to rejoice for her deity was capital, because she was dead: so that betwixt this dilemma<sup>1</sup>, of piety, tears, and devotion, that man was very wary indeed, that suffered not inhumanity and violence. For to laugh, feast, bathe, sing, or dance, was mortal, because the emperor's sister and darling was dead; and yet to mourn or sorrow for her death, was as deadly, because she was immortal. This last stale did he make of this his deceased sister, when she would now serve him for no other use,—that both sorrow for her mortality, and joy for her being immortal, did alike bring-in money to his treasures (which were now almost drained of his many millions), either by bribes for the saving of the life of some, or by confiscation upon the death of others.

But how must he do now for another paramour, after his dear Drusilla? Why, that needeth not to breed any great difficulty, when his unbridled lust is not very curious of his<sup>m</sup> choice, and his as unbridled power might choose as it list. He first married Lollia Paullina, the wife of C. Memmius, sending for her from another country, where her husband was general of the army: and all the reason of this his choice was, because he was told, that her grandmother was an exceeding great beauty: but he soon put her away again, and forbade that any should touch her for ever after him. Next came Cæsonia into his affections, and there continued; a mother of three children, and of more age than beauty, but of a lasciviousness and bestiality so well befitting his, that now he had met with his match, and it was pity they should have missed meeting. He would sometimes show her to the soldiers, in armour,—and sometimes to his friends, stark naked; transforming her by these vicissitudes into two extremes, equally unbecoming her sex, to a man and to a beast.

<sup>1</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 830.

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 837.

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By her he had a daughter, whom he named Julia Drusilla, and whom he brought to the shrines of all the goddesses in Rome, and, at last, committed to the lap of Minerva, for her tutorage and education. But this his behaviour is nothing in comparison of that, which followed. He slew divers of the senate; and yet afterward cited them to appear, as if they had been alive, and, in the end, pretended that they had died by their own hands. Others came off with a scourging, and so they escaped with life; but he caused the soldiers to tread on them, as they lay and as they whipped them, that they might have them at the more command. And thus he used some of all ranks and degrees. Being disturbed at midnight, one night, by the noise of some, that were getting places in the Circus, against the next day, he fell upon them with clubs, and slew twenty knights, as many matrons, and an infinite company of the common people. He threw a great multitude of old men and decrepit householders to the wild beasts, that he might rid such unserviceable men, as he thought them, out of the way; and he caused the granaries to be often shut up, that they that had escaped the wild beasts, might perish with famine. He used to fatten the beasts, that he desired to have fed, with the inhuman diet of human bodies yet alive, that, thereby, he might save other charges. Many men he first mangled and maimed, and then condemned to the mines, or to the wild beasts, or to little-ease-prisons; and some he caused to be sawed asunder. He forced parents to be present at the execution of their children: and for one that could not come to such a miserable spectacle, he sent a letter; and another he invited to a feast, after he had caused him to be a spectator of the execution of his own son. One of the masters of his games, that had offended him, he kept in chains, and caused him to be beaten every day before his face, till the offensiveness and stench of his wounded brain obtained his death. A Roman knight being cast by him to the wild beasts, and crying out of the injustice done to him, he caused to be taken out again, and his tongue to be cut out; and then he cast him to them again. He caused all the banished men, that were in the islands about Italy, to be slain at once; because having asked one, that was banished in the time of Tiberius, what he did

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all the time of his exile, and he answered, that "he prayed continually for the death of Tiberius and the succession of Caius," he thought that all the present exiles prayed for his death likewise. Every tenth day, he caused an execution to be had of those, that were condemned; boasting and vaunting that he scoured the prisons. And ever as any one came to suffer, he commanded the executioners to end him with such deliberate tortures, as that he should be sure to feel himself to die: involving many deaths in one, and causing men that were to die, to live even in death, that they might die with more pain.

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CAIUS CÆSAR, II. }  
L. APRONIUS CELIANUS, OR CESTIANUS, } CONSULS.

### CHAP. IX.

Ver. 32: "*And<sup>n</sup> it came to pass, as Peter passed through all quarters.*"

THE occasion of Peter's travel, at this time, may be well apprehended to be for the settling and confirming of those churches, that were now begun by the ministry of the dispersed preachers. One thing was most necessary for these new-founded churches, which the preachers themselves could not provide for them,—and that was, ministers or pastors, unless they would have stayed there themselves; which in all places they could not do, and in many places they did not,—if, in any place at all, they did longer than for a little space,—the necessity of dispersing the gospel calling them from place to place. Therefore, it was needful, that the apostles themselves should go after them to ordain ministers by the imposition of their hands; with which they did not only instal or institute into the office of the ministry, but also bestowed the Holy Ghost, for the enabling of those that they did ordain, for the performance of that office;

<sup>n</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 839.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 851.

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which gift the other disciples could not bestow. And this may be conceived one reason, why ten of the twelve apostles were absent from Jerusalem at Paul's coming there, as was observed before,—namely, because they were dispersed abroad over the new-planted churches for this purpose. And this was one cause, why Peter travels thus at this time, the plantations of the churches still increasing: and his comforting, confirming, and settling the churches, was another.

*“Through all quarters.”*

This referreth to those places mentioned in the verse preceding, Judea, Galilee, and Samaria: only whereas that verse speaketh of the places themselves,—this verse, in the word *πάντων*, a word of the masculine gender, referreth to the people of the places; and this is all the difference. And therefore, Baronius is besides the cushion, who, upon this very place, and out of this very word, would conclude, that Peter, in this his peregrination, did found the episcopacy<sup>o</sup> at Antioch. His words are these:

“Luke<sup>p</sup> (saith he) being intent (as it appeareth) to commend to memory the more remarkable miracles wrought by Peter, hath omitted in silence the rest of his actions performed in this visitation of the province; and, among other things, the institution of the church of Antioch: which that it was erected by him in this very year, we shall easily show by the testimony of the ancients.” Eusebius may be alleged as one of these ancients, and one for all, who speaketh much to the same purpose, and somewhat farther; but only with this difference,—that he hath set down this matter a little before the death of Tiberius. “Peter the apostle (saith he) founded the church of Antioch; and having there gotten his chair, he sat five-and-twenty years.” Thus Eusebius ad annum Christ, 38; Parisiis, 1511.—Now, to take up this position and story in its several particulars, almost every parcel will prove a stumbling-block; and before belief can be given to it, it must pass through and overcome these difficulties:—

1. Whereas his journey to Antioch is laid in this visi-

<sup>o</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 832.

<sup>p</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 840.

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tation,—it is strained beyond the letter, and beyond the spirit and meaning of the text. For that speaketh only of the churches of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria; and then, how came in Antioch, in another country? And those words, “through all quarters,” run at a very uncertain random, if they be uncircumscribed by the verse before.

2. It is past all peradventure, that as yet there was no church at Antioch at all; much more, that there was no episcopal chair and see there. For it is a year yet to come, before there be any mention of a church there, Acts xi; and that that story of the first beginning of that church lieth in its proper place, and without any transposition or hysteron-proteron, is so plain to him that will but view it, that it needeth no proof.

3. How is it consistent with Peter's imprisonment at Jerusalem, chap. xii, to sit bishop in another country? Much more is it inconsistent,—or rather, to speak plainly, impossible,—that he should sit five-and-twenty years at Antioch, and as many at Rome, and yet go thither in the second of Claudius, as he is held to have done. Now, Baronius hath espied these two stumbling-blocks, and laboureth to remove them: but, in his striving about the one, he throweth dirt into Eusebius, his best author's face,—for he saith he is corrupted; and, indeed, he doth little less about the other: for, whereas, Eusebius saith in plain terms, “ibi sedit,” “Peter there sat,”—this his paraphrast glosseth, that it sufficed, though he never came there; for with him, Peter was as a creator of churches and bishopricks; for if “dixit, factum est,” if he but spake the word, be he where he would, there was a metropolis or an episcopacy created in any place whatsoever. But not to spend much labour where we are sure but of little profit, let it suffice the reader to have but a catalogue and particular of his arguments; and let him censure them according to his own judgment.

*Arg. 1.* “It was Peter's office to oversee and take care of the whole flock, and for this he visited all the churches that lay round about Jerusalem,” p. 306. But that draweth on another question, which will be harder to prove than this; and it maketh Paul but an intruder, that took upon him such a care.

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*Arg. 2.* "Peter, taking opportunity of the church's tranquillity," p. 306, "visited all the Christians, which were in Syria," p. 309. But here he is besides his warrant of the text, and maketh a history of his own head.

*Arg. 3.* "Peter, wheresoever he was, might raise an episcopal or metropolitanical see at any place where he pleased, by the authority wherewith he was endowed," p. 309. When this is proved, we may believe the other, that he would prove.

*Arg. 4.* "The number of Eusebius, of his sitting twenty-five years at Antioch, is an error crept into the text; but the number of his twenty-five years at Rome in him is right," p. 306. But if he be at liberty to suspect the one, sure we may have the like liberty to suspect the other.

*Arg. 5.* "The hierarchical order seemeth not to endure, that the prime church, that had been as yet instituted, should be governed by any but the prime apostle," p. 309. 330. It will be some work to prove any hierarchical order at all,—or Peter, prime apostle,—or Antioch, a chief church above others, more than by human preferring,—or Antioch yet a church: and were all these proved,—which never will be,—yet is the inference or argumentation thereupon but of small value and validity.

*Arg. 6.* His last argument is from authorities, which at last he gathered into the centre of a council at Rome, p. 332. But "Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, magis amica veritas."

As for his answers to Eusebius, that calleth Evodius the first bishop of Antioch,—his answer to Ignatius, that saith he was placed there by the apostles, more than one,—and to Onuphrius, that maketh Peter bishop of Rome, before he was bishop of Antioch,—be they referred to the perusal of his own text; for the matter is not worth the labour of examining them.

"Lydda<sup>a</sup>."

This seemeth to be the same with *Lod*, 1 Chron. viii. 12: a city in the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned Ezra ii. 33.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 841.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 833.

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Ver. 35: "*Sharon.*"

Heb. *Sharon*: a fertile valley, famous in Scriptures, as 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, Isa. xxxiii. 9, Cant. ii. 1, &c, where the Targum renders it, "the garden of Eden;" and the LXX Πεδιον, "a field, or plain." The masculine article showeth, it is not named of a city: and so do the LXX article it, Isa. xxxiii. 9. There is mention of a *Sharon* beyond Jordan, 1 Chron. v. 16, inhabited about by Gileadites: by which it seemeth, it was a common name for plain champaign grounds wheresoever.

Ver. 36: "*Tabitha, which, by interpretation, is called Dorcas.*"

'Tabitha' the Syriac, and 'Dorcas' the Greek, do both signify a 'hind,' or 'doe,'—'capream,' as Beza renders it. Now, the reason why Luke doth thus render the one into the other, seemeth to be, because Tabitha was a Grecizing Jewess; and so was commonly called by these two names,—by the Syrian, among the Hebrews,—and by the Greek, among the Greeks.

Ver. 37: "*Whom when they had washed.*"

Whether it were a common custom among the Jews to wash all their dead bodies before they buried them, as is concluded by many upon this place, we will not insist to question; nor whether it were in token of the resurrection, or no, as some apply it; only the other application that they make hereupon, I cannot pass over untouched: which is, that Paul spake in reference to this custom, and to that intention is this custom, when he saith, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, &c, 1 Cor. xv. 29; "Else what shall they do, which are baptized for the dead," &c, as our English reads it: as if the apostle produced this custom as an argument for the resurrection, as meaning, "To what purpose should dead bodies be washed, if not to betoken this?" Thus he is conceived to argue: whereas, by the juncture of the thirtieth verse to this, it seemeth, that he intended a clean contrary or different thing, by "being baptized," ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν,—namely, "being baptized, so as baptism signifieth death by martyrdom," or suffering for the truth, as Matt. xx. 22, 23;

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Luke xii. 50. And his arguing is to this sense, "If the dead rise not again, what will become of those, that are baptized with a *martyrial baptism*, or that do suffer death for the profession of the truth? Why are they then baptized for the dead? Yea, and why stand *we* in jeopardy, every hour, of such a baptism and martyrdom also? Why do *they* suffer, and why are *we* daily in danger to suffer, for the truth, if there be no resurrection?" And so the word ὑπὲρ to signify, not *vice*, or *supra*, but *pro*; that is, 'in such a sense;' and ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν to mean, "In such a sense as *baptized* meaneth, *dead* or *martyred*:" as ὑπὲρ is taken in this clause, Παρέδωκεν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχασθαι: "Fabius delivered the power or army to Minucius, under this intent and meaning, or condition, that he should not fight." Plut. in Fab.

§ "They laid her in an upper chamber."

This, probably, was the public meeting-room for the believers of that town; Dorcas being a woman of some good rank, as may be conjectured by her plenteousness of good works and alms-deeds. Now they purposely disposing of the dead corpse, that Peter, if he would come, might exercise a miracle upon it, they lay it in that public room, that the company might be spectators of the wonder: but Peter would not suffer them so to be for some singular reason, ver. 40.

CHAP. X<sup>s</sup>.

§ *Some things remarkable about the calling-in of Cornelius.*

First, The gospel had now dilated itself to the very utmost bounds of the Jews' territories in Canaan; Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, had been preached to, and through; and now is it got to the very walls of their dominions round about. And there wanteth nothing but laying the partition-wall flat, that the gospel may get out unto the Gentiles: and that is done in this chapter; where the great partition and distance that was betwixt Jew and Gentile, is utterly removed and taken away by God himself, who had first pitched and set it betwixt them.

\* English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 842.

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Secondly, The two first and mainest stones of interposition, that were laid in this wall, were 'circumcision' and 'diet:' the one, in the time of Abraham, Gen. xvii; the other in the time of Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 32. And in reference to these two it is, that they of the circumcision contend with Peter, upon his return to Jerusalem: for they are grieved, that "he went in to men uncircumcised, and ate with them," chap. xi. 3. These were the proper distinguishers betwixt Israel and other nations; for all their other ceremonies were not so much to distinguish them from other people, as to compose them among themselves and towards God; they being first distinguished from others by these.

Of these two, singularity of diet, or prohibition of certain meats<sup>t</sup>, was the more proper difference, and the more strict distinctive. For all the seed of Abraham was circumcised; and so, in regard of that ceremony, there was no difference betwixt an Ishmaelite and a Jew: but abstaining from such and such meats, was a 'proprium quarto modo,' a singularity that differenced an Israelite from all the world besides.

Thirdly, Therefore it was most proper, and of most divine reason, that the liberty of eating any meats, did denote and show a liberty of conversing with any nation; and that the enlarging of the one, is the enlarging of the other.

Fourthly, The first-fruits of this enlargement and entertainment beyond the partition-wall is Cornelius, a convert, but not a proselyte: a man that was already come-in to God, but not come-in to the church of Israel: a man as far contrarily qualified for such a business, in all human appearance, as what could be most contrary, as being a Roman, a soldier, a centurion; and yet he, of all men, chosen to be the first-fruits of the Gentiles, that God herein might be the more plainly showed to be no respecter of persons.

Fifthly, It had been now two thousand two hundred and ten years, since the heathen were cast off at the confusion of Babel, and had lain so long in darkness, sin, superstition, and idolatry, strangers to God, and aliens from the congregation of Israel; bond-slaves of Satan, and under his dominion; and even all the world (Israel only excepted) become the kingdom of hell and the devil.

<sup>t</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 834.

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Sixthly, Satan had, by this very time, brought his kingdom among these heathens to the very apex and perfection, when he had gotten one into the throne of the Roman empire (which was now over all the world), who, by the very sword and power, will force the people to adore him for a god, and had the sword and power in his own hand to force them to adore him: as we saw by Caius even now. And here I cannot but look back from Caius, as he sat in his throne, as an ungodly deity, when the Gentiles began to be called in, to the first idol that they proposed and set up for themselves to adore at Babel, as he is described by the Jerusalem Targum, at their first casting off: for thus doth it paraphrase those rebels' plot and conspiracy, for the building of that idolatrous city, Gen. xi. 4: "And they said, Come, let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven; and in the midst of it, let us build a chapel, and an idol in the head of it, with a sword in his hand to fight for us, that we be not scattered."

Nor can I but look forward also from the same Caius's deifying himself, and that in the temple of God, as we shall see ere long,—to the succeeding times of the Gentile church, which is now beginning: wherein a man of sin, the successor of Caius Caligula, a thousand-fold more likely, than the successor of Simon Peter, hath set up himself to be adored, and exalts himself above every thing that is called God.

Seventhly, The instrument of the first introducing of the Gentiles, by the bringing-in of Cornelius, was Peter: not for any primacy or universal bishopship that he was invested withal, but rather because he was the most singular minister of the circumcision: for his bringing-in of the Gentiles would stop the mouth of the Judaizing believers the more.

Eighthly<sup>u</sup>, And for this thing he had a special engagement and deputation from our Saviour a good while ago, as he himself speaketh, Acts xv. 7: and that was, when Christ giveth him "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xvi. 19; that is, putteth into his hand the peculiar privilege to open the door of faith and the gospel to the Gentiles, and giveth him power withal to bind and to loose the use of Moses's law among the heathens, when he brought the gos-

<sup>u</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 843.

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pel among them,—some of it to fall, and some to stand, according as the Spirit should direct him, and accordingly it should be ratified in heaven. And that this is the genuine, proper, and only meaning of that so-much-disputed place, will be undeniable to him, that shall consider what is the proper meaning of “the kingdom of heaven” in Scripture, and “of binding and loosing” in Jewish authors, from whom that phrase is taken.

Ver. 1: “*In Cæsarea.*”

Called of old ‘*Turris Stratonis,*’ ‘*Straton’s Tower;*’ but new-built by Herod the Great, and named ‘*Cæsarea,*’ in honour of Augustus. It lay upon the sea-shore betwixt Joppa and Doræ, saith Josephus, *Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13*; where he describeth at large.

§ “*The Italian band.*”

Not to spend time in inquiring what Italian band this was, whether ‘*Ferrata,*’ or ‘*Dives,*’ or ‘*Voluntariorum,*’ or the like,—it seemeth to me, that the consideration of the place itself where Cornelius was, will help to understand what Luke intendeth by it. For Cæsarea was the place, where the Roman governor or proconsul resided; as appeareth, Acts xxiii. 23, 24, and xxiv. 6; and that partly for the bravery of the city, and chiefly for the commodiousness of the haven. Now, this ‘*Italian band,*’ may very properly be understood of that band, that attended the governor’s person, or were his life-guard,—and which had come out of Italy for this purpose, to be his defence and the defence of the city, where he lay.

Ver. 2: “*A devout man,*” &c.

Gr. *Εὐσεβής.* A man that worshipped the true God, and followed not idolatry: and a man that feared God indeed, as well as he worshipped him in profession.

§ “*Which gave much alms to the people.*”

To the Jews, to whom alms were not unclean though given by a heathen; to which thing our Saviour seemeth to

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allude in that speech, Luke xi. 41, "But rather give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you." And upon this respect it is like, that *alms* are called צדקה *righteousness*, so commonly among the Jewish authors, and used by the Syriac and Arabic here,—because they lost not their nature or quality of cleanness, or purity and righteousness, though they came even from an unclean, yea, a heathen, person.

## § "And prayed to God always."

Beza hath made this clause the beginning of the next verse, and that, as he saith, "with the warrant of one copy." The Arabic doth the like: they think they mend the sense with it; in which they mistake, because they mind not the scope: for it is the intent of the Holy Ghost to show the constant carriage of Cornelius in his devoutness, as ver. 4,—and not his devoutness as occasion of his vision.

## Ver. 3: "He saw in a vision evidently."

The word 'evidently,' or φανερώς, is added to show, that he saw it waking, and with his bodily eyes; for there were visions in dreams, as Gen. xx. 3, and xxviii. 12; Job iv. 13.

## § "About the ninth hour."

The hour of the evening sacrifice, three o'clock afternoon: compare Dan. v. 21. Cornelius, though he were not yet proselyted by circumcision to the Jewish church, yet followed their manner and form of worship.

Ver. 9: "To<sup>x</sup> pray, about the sixth hour."

About twelve o'clock, or high-noon; and this was the time of the 'minchah gedolah,' as the Jews called it, or the very beginning of it. And so do they expound Dan. vi. 10, and Psal. lv. 17, accordingly,—“Daniel prayed three times a day;” that is, say R. Saadiah and R. Solomon, “morning, evening, and at the minchah.” And, “evening and morning, and at noon, will I pray;” R. Solomon. “Evening, morning, and at minchah, the three times of prayer.” Now this 'minchah' time is described by their doctors thus: 'Minchah gedolah, is the beginning of the time of the daily sacrifice

<sup>x</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 844.

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between the two evenings, when the sun begins to decline; which is from the sixth hour and forward until night; some say, from the sixth hour and a half;" which was, according to our phrase in hand, 'about the sixth hour.' Now this their accounting was not, for that they always began to fall about their evening sacrifice at twelve o'clock, or half an hour after; but because that it was lawful then to begin to fall about it: for when there were additional sacrifices besides the daily,—as the Passover, or the like,—then it was necessary for them to begin to prepare the sacrifices from that time, that it was lawful to begin about them; which from that time of the day it was, all the time from thenceforward till night being בין הערבים "between the evenings," according to the letter of the law, Exod. xii. 6, Num. xxviii. 4. And to this sense speaketh the text, 1 Kings xviii. 29; "When noontide was passed, and they had now prophesied till the offering of the minchah:" not till the very time of the very firing of the sacrifice,—for that the verses following deny; but to the time of the minchah, in that sense that we have in hand: and to this purpose the difference of the words לעלות here, and בעלות ver. 36, is very remarkable.

So that Peter, in this practice of praying about the sixth hour, intimated the custom of the Jews; and though he had so long been a convert to the gospel, yet doth he not forsake their manner of worship: no more did the other disciples, as hath been showed elsewhere.

Ver. 10: Ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις. "An ecstasy fell upon him:"

And so chap. xxii. 17, γενέσθαι με ἐν ἔκστασει, "I was in an ecstasy." This was the highest and excellentest way of all other, of revelations; when a man was rapt even from himself into heaven [for so Paul calls it, 2 Cor. xii. 2], and was wholly in the Spirit [for so John calls it, Rev. i. 10]; being for the time, as it were, out of the body, and in the very next degree to souls departed, enjoying God. Seven manner of extraordinary ways did God use to reveal himself and his will to his people in ancient times. 1. By dreams. 2. By apparitions, when they were awake. 3. By visions, when they were asleep. 4. By voice from heaven. 5. By

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Urim. 6. By inspiration, or revealing of the ear. 7. By rapture or ecstasy; and this last the excellentest, as to him that did enjoy it. And of this should I understand that deep sleep, that fell upon Adam, Gen. ii. 21.

Ver. 12: “*Four-footed beasts and wild beasts.*”

בהמה and חיה “Beasts tame and wild;” for so doth the Scriptures most frequently distinguish them.

Ver. 15: “*That call not thou common<sup>x</sup>.*”

Gr. Μη κοινον: “Do not thou pollute;” that is, “do not thou call or account polluted,” ver. 28. For so is the use of Scripture very frequently, to speak as in an effective or active sense, and to intend only a declarative: as Gen. xli. 13, “Me he restored to my office, but him he hanged.”—Ezek. xliii. 3; “When I came to destroy the city.”—The priest did ‘make clean,’ or ‘make unclean,’ the leper, Lev. xiii. 6. 8, &c; which was only ‘pronouncing’ clean or unclean, as our English hath well rendered it: or ‘teaching’ what was clean and what unclean, as chap. xiv. 57. And in the very same sense is the ‘binding and loosing’ to be understood, Matt. xvi. 19, and xviii. 18, for teaching what is bound and what loose; what אסור and what מותר, as the Jews speak; or what lawful, what unlawful.

Ver. 28: “*Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a man, that is a Jew, to keep company,*” &c.

Κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἄλλοφύλῳ. By which words is not to be understood, as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentile; for they might walk, and talk, and traffic, with them<sup>y</sup>; and it was within a little of impossible to do otherwise, they living, exceeding many of them, in heathen cities: and Gentiles came continually, in way of trade, to Jerusalem, Neh. xiii. 16. But the unlawfulness of their conversing with the Gentiles, was conversing in near and more close society, as the word κολλᾶσθαι signifieth; and that especially in these two things, “not to eat with them,” and “not to go into their houses.” And this is that, for which they of the circumcision excepted at Peter upon his

<sup>x</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 836.

<sup>y</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 845.

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return; "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them," chap. xi. 3.

§ "But God hath showed me, that I should not call any man common, or unclean."

This vision that Peter had, when this satisfaction was given him, to learn to call nothing common, was only of beasts, and fowls, and creeping things; yet might he learn that the lesson was also to be understood of men, because the distinction between men and men, in regard of common and unclean, was first made, and most strictly made, by the difference betwixt meats and meats. For the very first distinguisher, that ever began to enclose Israel for a peculiar from other people, was the not eating of the sinew that shrank, Gen. xxxii. Circumcision distinguished the seed of Abraham from other people; but this began to distinguish Israel from the other seed of Abraham. And it is observable, that that ceremony or distinctive rite was first taken up, when Jacob first received the name of 'Israel.'

Now it is true, indeed, that their forbearing to eat the sinew that shrank, was not as if they accounted it common or unclean, but it was in regard of the honourable memorial that they read upon it; yet was that ceremony the first and proper distinguisher of an Israelite from all other people under heaven some hundreds of years, till more distinctive rites came in, and more things were prohibited to be eaten, for the surer distinction.

There was distinction of clean and unclean beasts before the flood, as appeareth Gen. vii. 8: but this was in reference to sacrifice only, and not in reference to diet at all: for, till the flood, they ate nothing but the fruits of the ground, till God gave Noah liberty to eat flesh, and to eat any thing, that was wholesome for diet. And in this liberty did the world continue, till the law given at Sinai,—save only an Israelite's not eating the sinew that shrank. And this liberty, some Jews themselves confess, shall be in the days of Messiah, which now first taketh place at this vision of Peter and forward. And here doth Peter begin to put in use and ure that power of 'binding and loosing,' which Christ had put into his hands, when he put into his hands the 'keys of the

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kingdom of heaven:’ and this very place doth so clearly expound and interpret that speech of our Saviour to him, that it is a wonder, that ever there should be such scruple and controversy about it.

For, 1. Here beginneth ‘the kingdom of heaven:’ when the Gentiles are received to favour and to the gospel, who had been so long cast off, and lain in ignorance and idolatry; and when no difference is made betwixt them and the Jews any longer,—but, of every nation, they that fear God and work righteousness, are accepted of him, as well as Israel. This is the very first beginning or dawning to the kingdom of heaven; and so it grew on more and more, till Jerusalem was destroyed: and then was the perfect day, when the Gentiles only were become the church of Christ; and no church or commonwealth of Israel to be had at all, but they destroyed and ruined.

2. Here ‘Peter hath the keys of the kingdom,’ and unlocked the door for the Gentiles to come in to the faith and gospel, which, till now, had been shut, and they kept out. And Peter only had the keys, and none of the apostles or disciples but he: for though they from henceforward brought-in Gentiles daily into the kingdom of heaven, by converting them to the gospel,—yet it was he<sup>z</sup> that first and only opened the door; and the door, being once opened, was never shut, nor never shall be to the end of the world. And this was all the priority, that Peter had before the other apostles, if it were any priority; and how little this concerneth Rome, or the Papacy, as to be any foundation of it, a child may observe.

3. Peter here looseth the greatest strictness, and what was the straitest bound-up of any thing that was in all the policy of Moses and customs of the Jews,—and that was, the ‘difference of clean and unclean,’ in the legal sense. And this he looseth on earth, and it is loosed in heaven; for from heaven had he an immediate warrant to dissolve it. And this he doth, first declaratively, showing that nothing henceforward is to be called common or unclean, and showing his authority for this doctrine; and then practically conforming himself to this doctrine that he taught, by going in unto the

<sup>z</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 857.

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uncircumcised, and eating<sup>a</sup> with them. 'Binding and loosing' in our Saviour's sense, and in the Jews' sense, from whose use he taketh the phrase, is 'of things, and not of persons;' for Christ saith to Peter, *ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς*, and *ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς*: *ὃ* and not *ὄν*, 'whatsoever' thou bindest, and not 'whomsoever;' and to the other apostles, *ὅσα ἐὰν δήσῃτε*, Matt. xviii. 18, *ὅσα* and not *ὄσους*, 'whatsoever *things*,' and not 'whatsoever *persons*:' so that though it be true, indeed, that Jews and Gentiles are loosed henceforward one to the communion of another,—yet the proper object of this loosing, that is loosed by Peter, was that law or doctrine that tied them up. And so concerning the eating of those things that had been prohibited,—it is true, indeed, that the Jews were let loose henceforward to the use of them in diet, and to eat what they thought good; but this loosing was not so properly of the men, as the loosing of that prohibition, that had bound them before. And this could be no way but doctrinally, by teaching that Christian liberty, that was given by the gospel.

Now, though Peter only, and none but he, had 'the keys of the kingdom' of heaven, yet had all the apostles the 'power of binding and loosing,' as well as he: and so have all the ministers of the gospel as well as they; and all in the same sense,—namely, doctrinally to teach what is bound and loose, or lawful and unlawful; but not in the same kind: for the apostles, having the constant and unerring assistance of the Holy Ghost, did nullify, by their doctrine, some part of Moses's law, as to the use of it, as circumcision, sacrifices, purifyings, and other legal rites,—which could not have been done by men, that had not had such a Spirit; for there must be the same spirit of prophecy to abrogate a law, which had set it in force.

This matter, therefore, of Cornelius's calling-in, as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, is a thing, that deserves very high regard and consideration; as in which are included and involved so many things of note as have been mentioned, and divers others that might be added thereunto. And, in the consideration of the matter, the time of it is not to be neglected,—which to the serious and considerate reader and weigher of things in the balance of judgment, will appear to

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 846.

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be in this year, in which we have laid it; especially that being concluded upon, which before we proved undeniable, that the famine was in the second year of Claudius. And this time is the rather to be looked upon, because that some do foolishly misconstrue a clause in Dan. ix. 27, by missing of the right time of this occurrence of Cornelius. For looking no farther into the text than in our English translation, which there hath not spoken the mind of the original,—they conceive, that Christ died in the midst of the last seven years of the seventy-seven's,—namely, when three years and a half of the seven were gone; and that, at the end of the other three and a half, Cornelius was converted:—and so they will make those seventies to end in that his conversion, and not in Christ's death:—which were scarcely worth answering, though we had time and season to do it; seeing it riseth from a mistake in the text, and sets in a mistake of the time.

Ver. 30: “*Four days ago I was fasting,*” &c.

The Greek hath it, “From the fourth day until this hour I was, or have been, fasting:” by which it seemeth, that Cornelius had now been fasting four days together, as Paul was three days at his conversion, chap. ix. 9. But it is not much material, whether we understand it so,—or, as it is commonly understood, of his fasting four days since, till such an hour of that day, as it was now of this day when he is speaking to Peter,—unless we will make any thing of it, that the Jews, especially upon their solemn days, used to taste nothing till noon, and Cornelius herein follows their custom: and that it was about noon when Peter comes to Cornelius, as it was about noon when Cornelius's messengers came to Peter: and so the distance betwixt Cæsarea and Joppa to be a day's journey and a half.

Ver. 36: “*The word, which God sent<sup>b</sup>.*”

Beza supposeth, that this verse ought to be referred and joined to the verse that went before, and they two together, to be construed to this sense; “Now I know, that God is no respecter of persons; but, in every nation, he that feareth

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 838.

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him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him; which is the very doctrine which God sent among the children of Israel by Moses and the prophets, preaching peace by them by Jesus Christ." And one main induction, that<sup>c</sup> he hath to this construction, is,—because otherwise it would be improper for Peter to say, 'Cornelius and his friends knew this word,' when it was Peter's very errand to instruct them in it, and teach it to them. But the words are to be read and taken in the sense, that our English hath well made of them;—namely, as following the word *ye know*: for all the country knew that Jesus preached, and preached peace and the like; and thousands, though they knew that he preached, and what he preached, yet did they not believe that he was the **Messias**, nor that he was risen from the dead: and these two last things it was, that Peter came to teach Cornelius, and not to tell him that Jesus of Nazareth had preached; for *that* he and all his friends knew.

Ver. 44: "*The Holy Ghost fell on all them,  
that heard the word.*"

This was a second confirmation of the entertainment of the Gentiles to the gospel, or a miracle added by God, to the doctrine preached by Peter,—that nothing now was to be accounted common or unclean. For when God had poured the Holy Ghost upon the uncircumcision, as well as upon the circumcised,—it was evidence sufficient, that now God made no difference betwixt them. How these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit had been confined hitherto only to the nation of the Jews, it is not only clear by Scripture, but it is, upon that clearness, thought by the Jews, that it must be confined thither ever, and that neither any Gentile at all, nor hardly any Jew out of the land of Canaan, could be capable of them: and, therefore, when they here see the same measure, and fulness, and freeness, of the Spirit upon the Gentiles, as had been upon Jews; they cannot but conclude the difference was in vanishing; and that God was setting up a church among them, when he bestowed the spirit of prophecy upon them.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 847.

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Ver. 47: "*Can any man forbid water,*" &c.

Peter's thoughts in these words, look back to those words of our Saviour, "Go, teach all nations, and baptize them," Matt. xxviii. 19: where he meaneth not, that "none should be baptized but those that are capable of teaching;" but his meaning is this, that "whereas his disciples had, hitherto, been limited and confined only to preach to the Jews, to go to none but to the lost sheep of Israel; now had the Jews, by the murdering of Christ, showed themselves unworthy, and had forfeited the benefit of the gospel: and, therefore, Christ now enlargeth his apostles and disciples, to go now and to teach all nations, and to baptize them to preach to the heathens, and to bring them in by baptism, since the Jews had despised the gospel, and crucified the Lord of life that preached it." To this it is that Peter here looketh, at this first conversion of the Gentiles; and when he seeth the very same gifts bestowed on them from heaven, that were upon the Jews,—he concluded that none could object against their being baptized: and accordingly he commands, that they should be baptized,—either by some of those that came with him from Joppa, they being more than probably ministers; or he commanded, that provision should be made for their baptizing by himself.

## CHAP XI.

That part of this chapter which falleth under this year that we have in hand,—viz. to ver. 19,—is but a rehearsal of this story in the tenth chapter; and, therefore, it is not necessary to insist upon it.

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## PART II.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *Caius<sup>d</sup> still cruel.*

THE beginning of this year Caius was consul, but held that place only for a month, or thereabouts; and then re-

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 848.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 839.

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signed for six months more to his partner Apronius; and after those six months, Sabinius Maximus took the place. A policy above his reach, howsoever he came to it, to shake the chief magistracy by so often changes, that his own power might stand the surer. Both in his consulship, and after it, he behaved himself after his wonted manner of barbarousness and cruelty; but that now he began to add one vice more to his cruelty in bloodiness,—namely, intolerable covetousness and oppression. Now, saith Dion, was nothing but slaughter: for many of the nobles were condemned, many perished by the sword-plays, and many, imprisoned by the late emperor Tiberius, were drawn to execution. Now did he bend himself to cross the people; and the people, being thoroughly incensed, began to cross him. The main causes of this his displeasure (guess how weighty) were such as these:—because they came not to the plays and shows so constantly, and at such constant times, as he had appointed: because sometimes when they came, they liked such sports as he liked not, ‘et contra:’ and because they once extolling him, called him by the title of ‘Young Augustus.’ For such occasions as these (behold the madness of a man self-willed) he brake out into all cruelty, slaying many at the theatre, for the one fault,—and many as they went home, for the other,—and many at their own homes or elsewhere, for a third. And now was his rage grown so high, that he wished, that “all the city had but one head, that he might strike it off at one blow;” and bewailed his times, for that they had not been infamously with some notable misery of the Roman state, as was the reign of Augustus, with the overthrow of Varus and his army in Germany; and the reign of Tiberius, with the slaughter of above twenty thousand men by the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenæ. And that we may take a full view of his cruel words and actions here together (the reader, I hope, will not be punctual in expecting an exact order of time, in this disorder of conditions), his common resolution against the people always was, “Let them hate me, and spare not; so that they fear me.” But what was his anger, think you, when his very feasts and embraces of his minions were mixed with cruelty? he used to have men tortured in his presence, as he sat at meat, mingling his sauce,

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as it were, with innocents' blood. At a great feast, to which he had invited the two consuls, he suddenly fell out into an extreme laughter; and, upon demand of his reason, his answer was, "Because he had power to take away their two heads, whensoever he pleased." And whensoever he was kissing the neck of his wife or paramour, he would constantly add these words, but cruelly amorous, "This neck, as fair as it is,—when I command, shall be cut off." Such was his jesting; and, as for his earnest, I suppose you will easily believe, that it was proportionable. Whereas hitherto, he had been very free and lavish of his tongue in dispraising Tiberius, and not only had not checked, but also countenanced, and taken delight in, those that spake ill of him, as well as he; he now turneth his tune, and breaketh out as fluently into his commendations: pleading, that he himself had liberty to say what he list, but accusing those that had assumed the like liberty, when as no such thing belonged to them. Then did he cause a list or catalogue to be read of those that had been executed and put to death under Tiberius; laying withal the death of the most of them to the charge of the senate; and accused some for accusing them,—others, for witnessing against them,—and all, for condemning them. The things he alleged out of those books, which, in the beginning of his reign, and in the time of his seeming goodness, he professed that he had burnt: and after a most bitter and terrible speech now made among them in the senate, and reviving an act of treason, for speaking against the prince, he suddenly departed out of the senate and the city. In what case the senate<sup>e</sup> and the people were, that were guilty either of words or actions, that he had charged them withal, it is readily guessed; but how they shall come off, and what they shall do to escape, is not easily to be resolved. Their presentest help is to fawn and speak fair; and that course they take, praising him infinitely at their next meeting, for his justice and piousness, and giving him as infinite thanks that he suffered them to live, and decreeing that sacrifices<sup>f</sup> should be offered annually to his clemency, on that very day, that those charges were published against so many; seeking to appease his senseless and foolish anger, by as

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 840.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 849.

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senseless and foolish a pacification. But how little they could sacrifice, or pray, or praise, him into a better mind than he hath been in hitherto, you shall see by the sequel.

§ 2. *An inhuman cruelty.*

Among the many cruelties of this monster, the murder of Esius Proculus may bear some bell; because he slew him for nothing but only for this,—for that he was such a one as God had made him. This man was the goodliest man of person and shape in all the city; insomuch, that he was commonly called ‘Colosseros,’ for his extraordinary properness and stature. One day, as he sat a spectator upon the scaffolds, of the bloody sports below, Caius commanded him suddenly to be put down among the combatants, and there to fight for his life. When he had had a trial with two several men and came off victorious, the inhuman tyrant caused him speedily to be bound, and, arrayed in tatters and rags, to be led about the city, showed to the women, and then slain. So much of beast had this monster in him, that he could not endure the goodness of a man.

§ 3. *Caius’s luxury, lavishness, and prodigality.*

Thus bestial was he towards men; and no less was he in another kind towards women. This appeared in the deflowering of his own sisters, and adulterating the most of the noble ladies of the city. He was his own pimp, and purveyor for his lust, with this open and hideous way of brothelery. He would invite the great men and their ladies to supper; and as the women passed by him in way of salutation, he would earnestly and leisurely view them, ‘mercantium more,’ saith my author, ‘as they do that are to buy any thing:’ and if any matron, for modesty, held down her head, he would lift it up, that he might have his full survey: she that pleased him, he took into a retiring-room and adulterated: and presently would he bring her forth again, and tell openly, whether she had given him content or no. Nor was he content with this choice and variety of women neither; but that he might be beastly in every kind, he abstained not from the abomination of sodomy with men. But let us stay no longer upon him in this his filthiness, but

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trace him a little in his more tolerable vices of fantasticness and prodigality. He seemed to affect a singularity in these three things, 'singling,—working,—and spending,'—according to the uncontrolledness of his will, the vastness of his command, and the hugeness of his revenue. He invented new manner of bathings, and prodigious kinds of meats and feasts. He would dissolve most rich and precious jewels in vinegar, and then drink them off. And because he doubted, as it seemeth, that he could not waste his treasure fast enough with such tricks as these, he would stand upon a tower divers days together, and fling great sums of money among the people. To all which ways of lavishing and expensiveness, he joined monstrous works and machinations, which showed, at once, his folly in their undertaking, and the vastness of his power in their performance: as levelling mountains to even the plain,—and, in other places, filling up the plain to equal mountains; sometimes causing rocks of flint to be cut through, to make a passage: and sometimes foundations of houses or walls to be laid in the bottom of the sea, bringing soil and rubbish to fill up the place, and to make it firm ground: ambitious to bring to pass seeming impossibilities, and cruelly hasty in the accomplishing of what he undertook, punishing the slacking of the work with certain death.

§ 4. *His strange bridge and ships.*

In the list of these his vanities, and ungodly ways of spending, let his bridge between Puteoli and Baiæ, come in the first place; or else you do it some injury. These two places were about three miles and a half distant; an arm of the sea of that breadth, severing them, and lying between. The ambition of the vain emperor, was to ride on horseback and in his chariot, between these two places. What his fancy, or frenzy rather<sup>f</sup>, was, that stirred up such a humour in him, is diversely related; and it is no great matter to inquire after it. Some say it was, that he might terrify Germany and Britain, against whom he intended hostility, with the very rumour of so great a work: others, that he might imitate, or rather excel, Xerxes, who made a bridge of ships

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 850.

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over the Hellespont. But the rumour of it at court, where his mind was likeliest to be best known, was, that he did it in confutation of a prediction of Thrasyllus, who had told Tiberius, that " Caius should no more rule than ride over the bay of Baiaë on horseback." Dion guesseth this to have been his reason;—that whereas the senate, upon their fear and fawning mentioned before, had decreed an ovation for him, or a kind of triumphant riding on horseback, he thought it too poor a thing to ride so by land; and, therefore, invented this trick of his own vain head, to ride so by sea. For this purpose, all the ships that could be got, were sent for in; and when they were not enough, others were made; and so they all were set two and two linked together, till they made a bridge three miles and a half long. Then caused he an infinite number of workmen to carry on earth, and make a causey, like the Appian road, over all those ships from the continent to the island. (If this were not a ' *Pontifex Romanus*' with a witness, let all men judge.) When his dear-bought way was thus prepared, he prepares for it and for his fantastic journey over it. His garb in which he would ride, was this: he put a breast-plate on, which, he said, had been Alexander's, and over that a rich purple robe; then his sword and buckler, and an oaken garland about his head: and having sacrificed to Neptune and to the other gods, and even to the deity Envy, lest the bridge should miscarry, he sets forth on horseback with a great troop of armed men attending him, and takes his strange and idle voyage. When he had ridden thus one day on horseback, he returns the next day in his chariot, with an infinite train<sup>s</sup> of his friends in coaches, of soldiers in arms, and of the common people lookers-on, and, among others of state, Darius, a hostage of Parthia, attended his chariot. When he had done this great exploit, of walking, riding, and coaching; so many miles upon the sea, he getteth up into a desk, which was made upon this new-founded bridge on purpose, and there maketh a solemn speech in commendation of this his great attempt, and of the soldiers' and workmen's pains and care about it; and when he had done, he bestowed a large munificence among them. And the rest of

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that day and the night that followed, he spent in feasting and banqueting in banqueting-houses, that he had made purposely upon his bridge, because he would make the sea a perfect road. Into these houses he had brought fresh water in pipes from the shore, to serve the occasions of this night's feast, if he will suffer one to call it *night*: for he that had turned the sea into a coach-way, was ambitious also to turn night into day; that in him might be showed at once both how foolish he may prove, that hath once let go the reins of reason,—and how boundless that folly is, when it is backed with power. The ships that made the bridge, were set in manner of a crescent, and so went the road: upon it he caused a great number of fires to be made, and so upon the mountains all about; that what had been his coach-way by day, was now at night become his amphitheatre. But it is strange that we hear of no murder of all this while, among all this madness; for if Caius be not cruel, he is not Caligula. After this his entertainment of his friends and of the company, he suddenly cast a great multitude of them into the sea; and when they laid hold of rudders or any thing that might succour and save their lives, he caused them to be thrust away, and so they perished.

Answerable to the vanities of this his bridge, he had also ships and frigates to sail-in for his own recreation, in which were baths, vineyards, and orchards, that sailed with him; that as upon his bridge he went over the sea by land, so in his ships when he went by sea, the land went with him.

§ 5. *His covetousness.*

It is not so much wonder, that these courses wasted the emperor's treasures, as it is, how they have held out so long. And now that all his wealth is emptied, and gone, he can find as strange and unheard-of means to fetch-in more, as he had found out to consume the old. He now began to accuse, condemn, and execute apace; that he might be dealing with their goods in confiscation. So died Calvisius Sabinus, Titius Rufus, and Junius Priscus,—for no other real fault, but only for being rich. But why should I reckon them by one and one, when, at one clap, he condemned forty men together; and when he came into his chamber, he bragged to

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Cæsonia, his darling leman, "Behold how much<sup>h</sup> I have done in the time, that thou art taking a nap at noon!" But this feat of condemning, would not bring-in money fast enough; therefore, as there were more ways of spending than one, so must there also be of getting. He inventeth new taxes and payments, strange exactions and imposts, suffering nothing to pass in common use, but it must bring some tribute unto his treasures. He set a rate to be paid him out of all meat that was eaten; a rate out of every suit or action for debt; a rate out of the porters' gains; nay, a rate out of the whores' hire. He made men that were already free of the city, to buy their freedom again; and many that had named him for their heir when they should die, he poisoned, that he might inherit their estate sooner. And these his exploits he used not only in Rome; but when money was scarce there, he went into France and Spain, and set up the same trade of polling there. He sold the jewels, the goods, and the very servants, of his condemned sisters; nay, the very jewels of the crown, as the royal robes and ornaments of Antony, Augustus, Julia, Antonia, and others of the princely blood. And to conclude all in one, he set up a stews in his own palace, and had women there of all sorts and sizes; and his panders went about to fetch in whoremaster customers: and all this was done, because it was for the emperor's profit. He also made the palace a common dicing-house, and himself was the master-gamester; cogging, cheating, lying, forswearing, and doing any thing to make himself a gainer. Having once left another to play his game, and being gone down into the court of the place, he saw two rich knights passing by, and caused them suddenly to be apprehended; and their goods to be confiscated; and returned to his game again, bragging that "he had had an exceeding good throw." Another time at play, wanting money to maintain his stake, he went down and caused divers rich nobles to be slain, and returned presently again, saying, "You sit here playing for a few pence; and I, since I went, have gotten six hundred thousand sesterces."

As he thus cruelly murdered many, only for their goods, so also did he many others upon other spleens; as Lentulus

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Getulicus, because he was beloved of the soldiers; Lepidus, because he had adulterated his sisters, when he had done with them himself; and he caused Agrippina, one of them, to carry his bones in an urn in her bosom to Rome. A poor serving-man, for filching a silver plate off the cupboard, he caused to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck,—and to be led up and down with a crier before him proclaiming his offence. Seneca was condemned by him for being too eloquent, or more eloquent than himself (for that he could not endure in any); but he escaped through the entreaty of one of Caius's lemans. But Domitius Afer deserved to escape, indeed, who overcame him with silence, and mastered the tyrant by being mastered. For being a man of renowned and incomparable eloquence, and now under accusation, Caius had strained the utmost of his own rhetoric to frame a speech to confound him<sup>i</sup>, both in his cause and in his oratory. Domitius (when the emperor looked, that he would have answered him with the same height of rhetoric again, and had he done so, it had cost him his life) sat mute, and took upon him to be amazed at so admirable and infinite fluency; and instead of pleading his own cause, he rehearsed his oration word by word, seeming to be so ravished with that eloquence, that he forgot and neglected his own life. And then cast he himself at the tyrant's feet, and begged for mercy, avowing that he dreaded him more as an orator than as Cæsar. The lion grows mild upon this fawning, and turns his malice and spleen into pride and vain-glory, rejoicing that he had so overcome Domitius in eloquence, whereas Domitius had more cause to rejoice that he had so overcome him by silence.

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### PART III.

#### THE JEWISH STORY.

##### § 1. *Herod<sup>j</sup> and Herodias before the emperor.*

WE are now to present to Caius as bloody a woman, as he was a man: Herodias, that hath committed as much mur-

<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 842.

<sup>j</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 852.

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der in taking away but one man's life, John the Baptist,—as he hath done in all his: and when these two are met together, two princes of the greatest cruelty and bloodiness that either sex could then afford, are met together. You may remember, that not long since we left her and her *Herod* (for *husband* I may not call him) shipped for Rome, to purchase, if possible, the emperor's good respect, and, with that, an augmentation of their dignity and dominion. Agrippa knowing of this their journey, and suspecting that, as it began in envy and emulation to him, so would it terminate, if they could compass it, to his disadvantage,—he sendeth his servant Fortunatus after them, with letters to the emperor, either because himself was not yet at leisure to come, or in policy trying how his letters would speed and be entertained, before he ventured his own person. At Baiaë they all met before Cæsar: and Agrippa's complaint by writing meeteth theirs by word of mouth. He layeth to Herod's charge, confederacy with Sejanus at Rome, and with Artabanus in Parthia, and an armory and magazine at his own home, sufficient to furnish seven thousand men; all which laid together could not but breed a just suspicion of his revolting. Herod not being able, upon questioning, to deny the last thing that he was charged withal about his arms, gave Caius presumption to conclude the truth of all the other: whereupon he adjudgeth him to perpetual banishment to Lyons in France: and thus (thank Herodias) by his looking for a greater dignity and honour, he lost that which he had already.

Cæsar would have spared Herodias for Agrippa's sake, as being his sister; but she refused the courtesy, and chose to suffer the same fortune with her husband; and but very justly neither, for she had brought him to it. And she could not in civility refuse to take part with him in his misery, as he had done with her in her folly, that had caused it; both their estates, dignities, and dominions, Caius bestoweth upon Agrippa, to their greater vexation: and so we leave them going to Lyons, there to think, and repent too late, how wholesome the counsel was, that was given them by the Baptist, and that they took it not.

§ 2. *The Alexandrian Jews still perplexed.*

And now let us return from Rome to Alexandria, where, the last year, we left the Jews in so extreme misery and distress; and now it is to be suspected, we shall find them in the same still. Being so oppressed, plundered, and massacred by Flaccus, as we have heard, their utmost refuge is to petition to the emperor; but a miserable refuge you must needs think it will prove, when they cannot do it but by Flaccus's permission and assistance. When they made this motion and request to him (foolish men to expect such courtesy from their greatest enemy), he taketh on him to approve of their intention, promiseth to speed their petition the best he could; but when he had it, pretending to have sent it away, he keepeth and suppresseth it, and answered neither his promise nor their expectation, either in haste or in assisting. Thus do the poor Jews lie waiting in uncertain hopes<sup>j</sup> but in certain misery, looking for some comfortable answer from Rome to their petition, which is still at Alexandria. But at last comes their old friend and countryman Agrippa to Rome, with the old grudge in his bosom against Flaccus, for his base usage of him at his last being there; and he promotes their cause to Cæsar with the best excuses he can make for them, and with some bitter accusing of their enemy the governor.

§ 3. *Flaccus's downfall.*

Whether it were the prevalency of Agrippa's letters with the emperor, or the divine vengeance upon this unjust and murderous governor, or both, or some other conjoined<sup>k</sup>, Caius ere long sent Bassus, a centurion, with his band into Alexandria, to apprehend Flaccus. He stole in by night into the city, lest his approach (had it been detected) should have bred commotion; and meeting with a soldier in the dark, and inquiring for the chief captain, that he might acquaint him with the cause of his coming, and obtain his assistance with his soldiers, if there should be any resistance, —he was informed, that Flaccus and he were both at supper with Stephanio, one of the freemen of Tiberius. Thither he

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 843.<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 853.

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getteth with all secrecy; and scouting before the house, he sendeth-in one of his soldiers habited in the garb of a serving-man, that he might the more safely thrust-in among the servitors, to see what store of company was there; and when he heard by him that it was but small, he bursteth in with his men and apprehendeth him. I leave to the reader to imagine the contrary operation, that this sudden action had with Flaccus, and with the Jews. It was now the time of the feast of tabernacles with them; but the feast was intermitted because of their common misery, but now somewhat solaced by the event of this feast of Flaccus. He is hurried away to Rome in the beginning of winter, and there tried, and condemned to perpetual banishment in the isle of Andros; where what became of him, you shall hear the next year.

§ 4. *The Jews of Alexandria still distressed.*

Flaccus, the Jews' enemy at Alexandria, they are thus happily rid of; but a worse, if worse may be, springeth, as it were, out of his corruption at Rome. Helicon, a servant of Tiberius whilst he lived, and now of Caius, a fit man for such a master,—the more to ingratiate himself into the prince's favour (yet had he it already in no ordinary measure), bendeth himself, with the utmost of his rhetoric and eloquence, skill and flattery, to traduce the people and religion of the Jews, and to make them odious, and himself the more acceptable to the emperor. The envious Alexandrians, having by their ambassadors espied this advantage, do spur him forward, who needed no incitation: with great presents and greater promises they urge him on to prosecute that malicious accusation, that he had begun: which he performed accordingly, with a renewed impetuousness, added to his present spleen by his future expectation, and present fee. The miserable Jews, thus betrayed, lie under distress and under the emperor's displeasure for a season, and could not learn from whence it proceeded. But at last they address a number of petitioners to Rome, to make their peace with Helicon, if possible, and to make an humble remonstrance to the emperor of their state and grievances, and a petition for some remedy and redress. Their legation and embassy they, indeed, presented not to the prince till the

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next year: yet since Philo saith, that they took their voyage in the very depth and middle of winter, it was not improper to mention their preparation and setting forth, this year; and you shall hear of their business, and the success of it, when the next year comes in.

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CAIUS CÆSAR, III. CONSUL.

CHAP. XI<sup>1</sup>.

Ver. 19: "*Now they, which were scattered abroad,*" &c.

IN this fourth year of Caius, and forty-first of our Saviour, we conjecture these occurrences to have been in the church; namely, Antioch's receiving the gospel: Barnabas's being sent from Jerusalem, and preaching there to the conversion of many; his going to Tarsus to hearken out Saul; and his bringing him thither: and there did they two spend a whole year in preaching; which whole year may very probably be concluded to have been the next year after this that we have in hand, or in the first of Claudius, in which year Agabus prophesied of the great famine which was to come, which befel in the second of Claudius, as we observed and proved before. So that we may hence take up the time of these ministers' dispersion, and preaching up and down, which were scattered at the death of Stephen; namely, that they had been in this employment and travail for the space of six whole years, or thereabout. And in this time they had gone over Judea, Samaria, and Galilee; and were now got out of the land of Canaan, into Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Syria; and yet preached the gospel to none but Jews only.

Ver. 20: "*Men of Cyprus and Cyrene.*"

Men of these places by original, but of Jerusalem, or some other part of Canaan, by education and residence, as Simon, Alexander, and Rufus were, Mark xv. 21; and Barnabas, Acts iv. 36.

<sup>1</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 855.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 844.

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§ “*They<sup>m</sup> spake unto the Grecians.*”

Gr. ‘To the *Hellenists*:’ this word is not opposed to the word *Jews*, in the preceding verse, but it is a part of the same story: for that telleth of their preaching to the Jews in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch; and this telleth of the fruit of their ministry to the Jews in Antioch, that<sup>n</sup> it was to the conversion of many of them. *That* showeth that they came to Antioch, and preached to Jews only; *this* showeth who they were that came to Antioch, and how they preached to the *Hellenists*, which must be understood in the same sense with the former: but he calleth them ‘*Hellenists*,’ because they were Jews of the corporation, or enfranchisement of the city; for Antioch was a Syro-Grecian city.

Ver. 22: “*They sent forth Barnabas.*”

He himself was a Hellenist, being a man of Cyprus; and he was to be a fellow-helper to the apostle of the Gentiles for their conversion: and, therefore, he a very fit man to go to this Gentile city; who, coming thither and seeing a great conversion of all sorts of people, Gentiles as well as Jews, goeth over to Tarsus to seek the doctor of the Gentiles, to bring him over thither to a work agreeable to that his function,—to preach to the Gentiles.

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## PART II.

### THE JEWISH STORY.

#### § 1. *Troubles at Jamnia.*

THE troubles and miseries of the Jews are now drawing to the heart of their state, and this year are got into their own land, and drawing near Jerusalem itself. And the poor Alexandrian Jews’ commissioners, that the last year set forward for Rome, and in the beginning of this year are gotten thither, to petition for redress of their own calamities,—do there receive tidings of worse miseries coming towards all

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 856.

<sup>n</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 845.

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their nation. The original and occasion was from Capito, a gatherer of tribute for the Romans in Judea. This man coming into that office and country a very poor man; and (as no other can be expected from men of so base and mean quality, put into so high places) having pilled and polled all before him, to raise and to mend his fortunes; and being now grown rich, and being afraid to be accused of the Jews to Cæsar, for his injustice and oppression, he thinks it the safest way to prevent that, to get some occasion against them, that he might accuse them, and cry 'thief' first. In Jamnia, therefore, where he resided, there was mixture of inhabitants, very many Jews, and not a few strangers, or Gentiles. Hereupon, Capito secretly contriveth, that these strangers should set up an altar in the city to Caius, who, as they heard, would be worshipped for a god. This both he and they knew, that the Jews would never endure, as being a most notorious violation of their law; but would oppose the matter, and so should he have cause and accusation enough against them to Cæsar, for despising of his majesty, and contemning his godhead. Accordingly did the cursed plot take effect: for suddenly and unexpectedly an altar is built and erected in the city: the Jews, as soon as they hear and see the business, rise generally and pull it down. Their enemies that had built it, run to Capito, who, indeed, had had the chief hand in the design, and complain of the indignity: he not thinking it enough to take recognizance of the business himself,—by letters, acquaints the emperor with the affront, for so he sets it forth; and well he knew the emperor would be ready enough to second him to do mischief to the Jews according to his desire.

§ 2. *Troubles<sup>o</sup> at Jerusalem, and elsewhere throughout Judea.*

*Caius's image to be set up in the temple to be worshipped.*

Caius having received this intelligence from Capito, which he had mingled with all kind of gall and vinegar of exasperation and evil language against the Jews,—and being himself already irreconcilably incensed and bent against them, partly, through mischievous incendiaries and accusations, and chiefly, because they only were cross to his deify-

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 857.*

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ing, and impious worship;—he now determineth a course against them, which should strike at the very root, and bring them either to bend or break. He<sup>p</sup> despatcheth, therefore, a message to Petronius, the governor of Judea; that, instead of the altar of stone, which the Jews had pulled down at Jamnia, he should, without fail, set up a golden coloss, or an image of the emperor, in the temple at Jerusalem: and that this design might receive no hinderance by opposition, he charged that he should send for part of the army from Euphrates<sup>q</sup>, that lay there for the guard of the east; that if the Jews would quietly receive the statue, it was well; and if they would not, they must be forced to it, whether they would or no. What must the Jews do now at such a pinch? Nay, what must Petronius? If he disobey what he is commanded, he hazardeth his own ruin; if he perform it, he ruineth a whole nation. The Jews will be ready to die, before they will admit of such an idol: and Petronius is not like to escape, if he bring them not to admit of it. In this strait, between affection to himself, and to a whole people, he useth the best accommodation that the present necessity would afford;—namely, not to decline the injunction for his own safety, but to delay it, as much as may be, for the safety of the Jews: that in the space while the image was leisurely making, the one party might possibly be brought to comply,—either the emperor upon consideration to lay his resolution down, or the Jews upon persuasion to lay down their resoluteness. He appointeth the image to be wrought at Sidon, whence, on the one hand, less offence might accrue to the Jews,—and, on the other, some satisfaction might come to the emperor; he hearing by passengers that the work was in hand,—and they seeing the gentleness of Petronius, that would not work it in their own country.

Tidings of this lamentable and heavy design could not be long kept from the Jews, nor they upon the tidings long

<sup>p</sup> Josephus relateth this story far different from Philo: for he saith, that Caius sent away Petronius for this purpose; but Philo, that he was in Judea already: Josephus, that the notice of the message came in time of seedness; Philo, in time of harvest: Josephus, that the Jews came to Petronius, at Ptolemais, and Tiberias; Philo, in Phœnicia, and the like: which the reader will readily see, if he compare the two authors together; and his judgment subscribe to Philo as the more probable, he being at the emperor's court when these things were done; but only that he hath flourished the truth with rhetoric more than needful.

<sup>q</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 846.

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from Petronius. To him they come into Phœnicia, men and women, young and old, of all sorts and conditions an innumerable multitude, with tears in their eyes, and bitter cries in their mouths, that either he would surcease the enterprise that was in hand, or take their lives before they saw the performance of such abomination. Petronius threatens, speaks fair, urgeth, persuadeth, but all to no purpose; they tendering their necks rather to the execution, than enduring to hear of such violation of their religion. In the end they obtain this favour of the gentle governor, that he will not proceed in this impious work, till he, or they, or both, have sued to Cæsar, by petition, to surcease the design, and to remit of his resolution. And so return the Jews to their home and harvest, with some contentment in speeding so well at the present, and in some hope to speed better for the future. Josephus here telleth a story of a miraculous and sudden shower that fell, as Petronius and the Jews were thus parleying together, whereas there had been no rain of a long time before, and no sign at all of any rain instantly before this fell: God (as he would have it) seconding this their request with this wonder, and using this argument for the moving of Petronius to back theirs.

§ 3. *Petronius's letter to the emperor.*

The gentle governor failed not of his promise, nor of the trust the Jews had reposed in him; but though it may breed his own smart, he addresseth a message to the emperor in their behalf, and useth the utmost of his persuasive skill and faculty in it. He layeth before him, that the prosecution of his commanded and intended enterprise would be the destruction of a whole nation, the loss of a fair and goodly tribute and revenue, the impairing of the Roman strength and honour, the prejudice of his majesty's journey into Alexandria, which he intended ere long to take: that they were already grown desperate, and began to neglect their harvest and occasions, whereby a certain famine would follow upon the land, and a disadvantage to the countries round about: with other arguments of the same nature, sensible, strong, and persuasive,—had not the emperor been wedded to his

<sup>r</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 858.*

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own senseless will, and bewitched and led away with destructive counsel. Two caitiffs he had about him, that continually suggested evil to him against the Jews, as if for either ear one; Helicon, an Egyptian, mentioned before,—and Apelles, an Ascalonite, such another as he. These were ever adding spurs to his malice against that nation, which was in its full career already, and blowing those coals, which it was impossible to quench. Wretched men that they were, that sought to rear their fortunes upon others' ruins, and to cement estates with other men's blood. Such instruments it pleased God to use for the scourging of that ungracious and condemned nation; and having done the work by them that he had appointed, he cast these rods into the fire; Apelles being tortured by Caius, whom he had indoctrinated to cruelty,—and Helicon slain by Claudius, the emperor that succeeded in Caius's room.

§ 4. *Agrippa's mediation for the Jews.*

King Agrippa, the Jews' old friend and advocate, is now at Rome, and ready in affection, as well as in place, upon these heavy tidings to intercede for his people, and to do them good, if it be possible for any good to be done. Josephus and Philo do again differ about the relation of this his undertaking of a mediation; as they do almost in every thing that they relate jointly, in one circumstance or other. Josephus saith, "That Agrippa, hearing of this misery of his people, invited Caius to a most sumptuous and extraordinary banquet; using to his cost such a preparative to his fairer and better egress, and accosting the tyrant upon a matter of so great import: that Caius at the banquet offered him a boon, whatsoever he should desire, expecting he would desire some great revenue: but that Agrippa requested nothing but the liberty of his people in their religion, and the removal of that fear, that now lay upon them by the image preparing. That Caius, overcome by so honest and unexpected a petition, condescended to his desire, and was well apaid and pacified, till Petronius's letter came to him after this, and then was he all of a fury and ragedness again."—But Philo thus, "That the intelligence from Petronius was come to him, before Agrippa began to mediate: that

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Agrippa, coming as at other times to attend the emperor, was so cast down and daunted at the terror of his looks, and thunder of his words against the Jews, that he fell down in a swoon, in which he lay till the next day. Then he addresseth a letter to him in his people's behalf, so powerful and pithy, that Caius, betwixt anger and calmness, betwixt commending Agrippa and being displeased with him, at the last granteth it to Agrippa as a special boon, that the dedication of his image should not go forward: and to such a purpose he writeth to Petronius; but withal mingling mischief with this his mitigation, he giveth order, that if any one would set up his image, or dedicate his statue in any town or city of Judea (Jerusalem excepted), it should not be opposed, but the opposer should be suddenly and severely punished." A politic and a deadly plot to involve the nation in an insurrection and rebellion: for the enemies of the Jews would be ready to be erecting such offences,—not so much for the honour of Cæsar, as for spite of the Jews; and the Jews would be as ready to oppose them to the hazard of their lives, because they abhorred idols for themselves, and not for the place: and the tyrant would be as ready as either to take this opportunity of their insurrection, to entangle them in a destructive war. But the time of their final desolation was not yet come: and so it pleased God that none of their enemies were active at this time in this kind; nor, when he set a-work a coloss to be made for him in Rome, intending from thence to convey it secretly into the temple at Jerusalem, it took effect according to his impious design and desire, but came to nothing; and the intention quashed, either by his death, which fell out the beginning of the next year,—or by some other stop and hinderance.

§ 5. *Flaccus Avilius in banishment, and his end.*

The last year we brought Flaccus to the isle of Andros, and now let us land him there. When he came within ken of land, he burst out into tears and lamentation, comparing that place, in his pensive thoughts, with Italy and Egypt,—and his deplorable condition of life, upon which he was now to enter, with the pomp and prosperity, in which he had

\* *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 847.

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lived in those two places of his education and authority. Being landed, his pensiveness increased the more, by how much he was now nearer to that misery, which his thoughts presaged. His demeanour in this his banishment,—if Philo have not set it forth with more rhetoric than truth,—was full of horror and amazedness: avoiding the society of men, running<sup>t</sup> up and down the woods, tearing his hair, tormenting himself, and sometimes rising out of his sleep at midnight, and running abroad; and he would look up towards heaven, and cry out in a lamentable note, Βασιλεῦ Θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις: “O king of Gods and men, thou art not, therefore, careless of the nation of the Jews.”

Thus did he spin out a miserable life for certain months, till Cæsar cut his woful thread in two. For the tyrant lying awake one night and not being able to sleep, among other thoughts that came into his mischievous mind, he considered how happily retired those men lived, that were banished: they wanting nothing, and enjoying all things in enjoying themselves. The cruel caitiff, from these thoughts of their estate, began to envy it; and accounting their banishment rather a pleasure than a punishment, he gave charge the next morning, that they should all be slain. Under this doom fell Flaccus, one of the first in the tyrant's thoughts, because one of the first in his displeasure. Executioners are sent for his despatch, whose errand he knew, as soon as he saw them; and from them he flies as soon as he knew them. But it is in vain to flee, and it is too late; for they and vengeance have soon overtaken him, and with many wounds have put him to death.

§ 6. *The ambassadors of the Alexandrian Jews before the emperor.*

The miseries of the Alexandrian Jews could find no remedy,—while the source, from whence they flowed, was not stopped, but overflowed them continually. The well-head of this their mischief was double; the spiteful counsel that was given the emperor against them by others,—and the endless rancour, that he bare to them himself. To stop the

<sup>t</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 859.

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current and inundation of the calamity that overwhelmed them continually from these two puddle-springs, they can find no better or more feasible means and way, than to send some men of their own nation to Rome, to atone, intercede, and mediate for them. We left them upon their journey the last year, three in number, as saith Josephus; but five, as Philo, who was one of them himself: and now let us trace them to Rome, and see how they speed.

The first sight of the emperor was in Campus Martius, who saluted them friendly, and promised to give them hearing with a great deal of speed; and, it was hoped by the most of them, with a great deal of favour; but it proved far otherwise. For he shortly went out of the city down to Puteoli by the sea, and they follow him thither. There they first hear the tidings of the state of Judea under Petronius, and of Cæsar's image that was preparing. From Puteoli they follow him to Rome again; and there being admitted to audience, he, with a terrible and grinning countenance, first asked them, "What! are you that people, that, of all others, scorn my deity, but had rather worship your nameless God?" And then scornfully lifting his hands up to heaven, he named the name 'Jehovah.' At this, all the company of the malignant party rejoiced, as accounting they had got the day. But when the Jews began to excuse and answer for themselves, he flung away, and frisked from room to room, they following him all this while: at last, after some chiding at somewhat that he disliked in the rooms<sup>u</sup>, and appointing how he would have it mended, he asked them, "How comes it to pass, that you forbear to eat swine's flesh?" Here the company laughed out again: and as the Jews began to answer, he angrily interposed thus, "I would fain know, what are those privileges of your city, that you challenge?" When they began to speak, he frisked away into another room. Shortly, he cometh to them again in a milder manner: "And now (saith he), what say you?" And when they began to lay open their matter to him, away flings he into another room again. At last, coming again more mildly still, "These men seem to me (saith he), not so evil, as miserable, which cannot be persuaded that I

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2, p. 848.

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am a god;" and so he bade them to depart. And thus concluded this great scene of expectation, for aught that we can find farther in Philo. But whether this was the very end of the matter, or it proceeded farther, but that the relation of it is failing in Philo,—is hard to decide. It seemeth by him, that this was the end of their conference with the tyrant; but it appeareth withal, that they presented him with some Palinodia, or recantation, which is perished and gone. Eusebius speaketh of five books written by Philo<sup>v</sup> about the calamities of the Jews, and the madness of Caius; whereof we have but two extant at this time,—that against Flaccus, and that about the embassy to Caius: and the other three seem to be the Palinodia, or it to be some part of them.

§ 7. *Apion*<sup>w</sup>.

Among the five or three ambassadors of a side (as Josephus and Philo differ in their number), the most renowned in their contrary and differing kinds, were Apion the Greek, and Philo the Jew: the others are wholly nameless, and their memory extinct; but these two have left a perpetuation of theirs behind them by their writings.

Apion was an Egyptian, born in the utmost borders thereof, in a place called Oasis, but feigned himself for an Alexandrian:—a man given to the Grecian studies of philosophy, but with more vain-glory than solidity. He, not contented to have been a personal accuser of the Jews to Caius in that their embassy, wrote also bitterly against them in his Egyptian history, to disgrace them to posterity. Of which Josephus, that wrote two books in answer of him, giveth this censure: "That some things that he had written, were like to what others had written before; other things, very cold; some, calumnious; and some, very unlearned." And the end and death of this black-mouthed railer he describeth thus: "To me it seemeth, that he was justly punished for his blasphemies, even against his own country laws; for he was circumcised of necessity, having an ulcer about his privities; and being nothing helped by the cutting or circumcising, but putrefying with miserable pains, he died." Contr. Apion, lib. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 5.

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 360.

§ 8. *Philo the Jew.*

Philo was a Jew by nation, and Alexandrian by birth: by line, of the kindred of the priests; and by family, the brother of Alexander alabarcha. His education was in learning, and that mixed, according to his original and residence, of the Jews' and of the Greeks': his proof was according to his education, versed in the learning of both the nations, and not inferior to the most learned in either. From this mixture of his knowledge, proceeded the quaintness of his style and writing; explaining divinity by philosophy, or rather forcing philosophy out of divinity; that he spoiled the one, and did not much mend the other. Hence his allegories, which did not only obscure the clear text, but also much soil the theology of succeeding times. His language is sweet, smooth, and easy; and Athens itself is not more elegant and Athenian. For attaining to the Greek in Alexandria, partly naturally (that being a Grecian city), and partly by study (as not native Grecians used to do), he, by a mixture of these two together, came to the very apex and perfection of the language, in copiousness of words, and in choice. His style is always fluent,—and, indeed, often to superfluity; dilating his expressions sometimes so copious, that he is rather prodigal of words, than liberal; and showeth what he could say, if the cause required,—by saying so much, when there is little or no cause at all. And to give him his character for this, in short,—he is more a philosopher than a Scripture-man in heart, and more a rhetorician than a philosopher in tongue. His manner of writing is more ingenious than solid, and seemeth rather to draw the subject, whereon he writeth, whither his fancy pleaseth, than to follow it, whither the nature and inclination of it doth incline. Hence his allegorizing of whatsoever cometh to his hand, and his peremptory confidence in whatsoever he doth allegorize; insomuch, that sometimes he persuadeth himself that he speaketh mysteries, as p. 89; and sometimes he checketh the Scripture, if it speak not as he would have it, as p. 100.

How too many of the fathers in the primitive church followed him in this his vein, it is too well known, to the loss

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of too much time, both in their writing and in our reading. Whether it were, because he was the first that wrote upon the Bible, or rather, because he was the first, that wrote in this strain, whose writings came unto their hands,—that brought him into credit with Christian writers; he was so far followed by too many, that while they would explain Scripture, they did but intricate it, and hazarded to lose the truth of the story, under the cloud of the allegory. The Jews have a strain of writing upon the Scripture, that flieth in a higher region than the writings of Christians; as is apparent to him, that shall read their authors. Now Philo being a Jew\*, and naturally affecting, like them, to soar in a high place, and being, by his education in the Grecian wisdom, more philosophical than the Jews usually were, and by inclination much affected with that learning,—he soareth the Jewish pitch with his Grecian wings; and attaineth to a place in which none had flown in before (unless the Therapeutæ, of whom hereafter), writing in a strain that none had used before, and which too many, or at least many too<sup>v</sup> much, used after. Of his many strange and mysterious matters, that he findeth out in his vein of allegorizing, let the reader taste but some.

As see what he saith of “the invisible Word of God,” p. 5. 24. 169. 152.

How he is a Pythagorean for numbers, p. 8. 15, 16. 31; where he is even bewitched with the number seven; and p. 32, 33, as the Therapeutæ were, from 695, from whom he seemeth to have sucked in his divinity.

P. 9, he accounteth the stars to presage future things; whom, in p. 12, he almost calleth intelligible creatures, p. 168; and immortal spirits, p. 222.

P. 12, he seemeth to think, that God had some coadjutors in man’s creation.

P. 15, “God honoured the seventh day, and called it holy; for it is festival, not to one people or region only, but to all: which is worthy to be called ‘the festivity of the people,’ and ‘the nativity of the world.’”

P. 43, he distinguisheth betwixt ‘Adam formed and made, earthly and heavenly.’

\* *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 849.

<sup>v</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 861.

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P. 57, he teacheth strange doctrine, which followeth more copiously, p. 61, about two natures created in man, good and bad.

P. 68, observe his temperance, when he lists.

P. 86, he believeth, that his soul had sometime her raptures, and taught him strange, profound, and unknown speculations, as there she doth concerning the Trinity; and, in p. 89, he thinketh he talketh mysteries.

P. 94, "Faith the most acceptable sacrifice;" an unexpected confession from a Jew.

P. 100, he checketh Joseph the patriarch for impropriety of speech, and he will teach him how to speak.

P. 102, speaking of the death of Moses, he saith, *οὐκ ἐκλείπων προστίθεται*, &c. "He is not gathered," or added, "fainting," or failing, "as men had done before; for he admitted not either of addition or defection: but he is translated or passeth away by the authority of that efficient Word, by which the universe was made."

P. 122, he is again very unmannerly and uncivil with Joseph; and so is he again in p. 152: he had rather lose his friend than his jest, and censure so great a patriarch than miss his allegory.

That Aaron used imposition of hands upon Moses, p. 126.

P. 127, that Abel slain yet liveth, as Heb. xi.

P. 152, God, like a shepherd and king, governeth all things in the world by right and equity, *προστησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον πρωτόγονον υἱόν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἷά τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος διαδέξεται*. "Setting over them his upright Word, which is his first-begotten Son, who taketh the care of this sacred herd, like the deputy of some great king."

P. 161, he showeth his learning is the great Encyclica<sup>y</sup>.

P. 168, he calleth angels 'genii' and 'heroes,' according to the Greeks; and holdeth that they were created in the air, but in the superior part of it, near the sky; and fly up and down there, p. 221, 222.

P. 170, his allegories make him impious; and he counteth the story of Paradise to be but foolery, if it be taken literal.

<sup>y</sup> "Adeo prope se doctum gloriatur, ut ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν sibimet scriptisque suis arrogare non erubescat." Leusden, vol. 2. p. 849.

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P. 180, he talketh a Rabbinical tale about the invention of music.

He constantly followeth the LXX, as appeareth, p. 160. 179. 218. 245. 255.

P. 190, he maketh God and his wisdom, as it were, father and mother, of whom the world was generate, but not 'humano more.'

Ibid. he readeth that place, Prov. viii. 22, "The Lord created me the first of his works: for, saith he, it was necessary that all things that came to generation, should be younger than the mother and nurse of all things."

P. 191, he is very uncivil with Jethro.

P. 205, he holdeth Lot's wife to have been turned into a stone.

P. 206, he was in the theatre at a play.

P. 213, he holdeth Isaac weaned at seven years old. And mentioneth certain dialogues made by himself, personating Isaac and Ishmael. He calleth chap. xxxii of Deuteronomy, 'Ὠδὴν μείζονα, 'Canticum majus,' according to the Rabbins' phrase: so likewise p. 179.

P. 214, Jacob, praying for Joseph, saith, *Υἱὲ ἠὺξήμενος νεώτατος πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον.* It is very questionable, where this speech is to be found.

P. 223, the Spirit of God is an immortal knowledge.

P. 232, he treateth 'de Primogenito, et Secundogenito dei:' that is, of his Word and the World.

P. 234, he<sup>a</sup> holdeth free-will; but it is in comparison of the actions of men, with the effects of plants and brutes.

P. 241, he is fallen out with Joseph again.

P. 251, he telleth a fable, how all birds and beasts spake the same language, and understood one another; but that their tongue was confounded, because they petitioned that they might never grow old, but renew their youth as the serpent doth, who is the basest of them.

But this is more than enough for a taste: we shall conclude this character with that apophthegm<sup>b</sup>, that came from him, when Caius was in a rage against him and his fellow-commissioners: "How ought we to cheer up (saith he), though Caius be angry at us in words, seeing, in his deeds,

<sup>a</sup> English folio edition, vol. 1. p. 862.

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 850.

he even opposeth God?"—Josephus relateth it, Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 10.

### PART III.

#### THE ROMAN STORY.

##### § 1. *Caius still foolish and cruel.*

THIS year did Caius make an expedition to the ocean, as if he would have passed over into Britain: but the greatest exploit that he did, was, that first he went a little upon the sea; and then returning, he gave a signal to his soldiers, that they should fall to battle,—which was nothing else but that they should gather cockles and shells upon the shore: and so he returned with these goodly spoils, and brought them to Rome in a foolish triumph, as if he had conquered the ocean. Being come into the city, he had like to have slain all the senate, because they had not decreed divine honours and worship to him: but he became reconciled to them again upon this occasion:—Protogenes, his blood-hound (that used to carry his two books, or black-bills, the one whereof he called a 'sword,' and the other a 'dagger;' in which books he enrolled whom he destined to death or punishment), coming one day into the court, and being saluted and fawned upon by all the senate, was, among them all, saluted by Scribonius Proculus. Upon whom looking with a grim and displeased countenance; "What (saith he), dost thou salute me, that hatest so deadly the emperor my master?" Whereupon, the rest of the senators arose, came upon him, and pulled him in pieces. With this piece of service, so well suiting with the tyrant's humour, he was so well pleased, that he said, 'They had now regained his favour again.' Under his cruelty, this year, perished, by name, Ptolemy, the son of king Juba, because he was rich; Cassius Bacillinus, for no crime at all; and Capito, his father, because he could not endure to look upon his son's death. Flattery delivered L. Vitellius, our late governor of Syria; and it was much to appease such a lion, but that it was a flattery without parallel.

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§ 2. *Caius profane.*

The blasphemous atheist continued still in his detestable deity, being what god he would, when he would, and changing his godship with the change of his clothes: sometimes a male deity, sometimes a female; sometimes a god of one fashion, sometimes of another. Sometimes he was Jupiter,—sometimes, Juno,—sometimes, Mars,—sometimes, Venus,—sometimes, Neptune, or Apollo, or Hercules,—and sometimes, Diana: and thus, whilst he would be any thing, he was nothing; and, under the garb of so many gods, he was, indeed, nothing but devil. He built a temple for himself in Rome, and made himself a room in the Capitol, that he might, as he said, converse with Jupiter. But it seems, Jupiter and he fell out; for he removed his own mansion, and built himself a temple in the palace, because he thought, that, if Jupiter and he shared in the same temple, Jupiter would have the upper hand, and the more repute.

Therefore, that his own deity might have room enough, he built this new temple; and that he might be sure to get equal worship with Jupiter, he intended to set up the statue of Jupiter Olympius there, but pictured directly after his own image; so that it must have been Jupiter's statue, but Caius's picture; Jupiter's trunk, but Caius's head<sup>c</sup> and face. But this fine design came to nothing, and was clean spoiled; for the ship, that went for this statue, was spoiled with lightning; and there was great laughing always heard, whensoever any one went about to meddle with the picture, to forward the business; and truly it was as fit an omen, as likely could have been invented for it. When this invention thus failed him, he found out a new trick, to get part of the temple of Castor and Pollux for himself, and joined it to the palace: and he so contrived the matter, that his entrance was just in the middle, between those two gods: and, therefore, he called them his 'porters,' and himself he styled the 'dialis:' and his dear Cæsonia, and his uncle Claudius, and divers of the richer sort, be ordained to be his priests, and got<sup>d</sup> a good sum of money of every one of them for their office. Nay, he would be a priest unto himself; and, which best suited

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 863.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 851.

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with him in such a function, he admitted his horse to be fellow-priest with him. And because he would be a right Jupiter indeed, he would have his tricks to imitate thunder and lightning: and he would ever be defying Jupiter in Homer's speech, "Either take me away, or I will take thee." And thus was his palace parted into a senseless contrariety, —one part, to be a temple,—and another part, a common stews; in one, Caius to be adored as a god,—in another, Caius to play the beast, deflowering virgins, violating boys, adulterating matrons, exacting and extracting money from all; and using to tumble himself in heaps of money, which he had so gotten.

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CAIUS CÆSAR, IV. }  
CN. SENTIUS SATURNINUS, } CONSULS.

## PART I.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *Caius's death contrived.*

THIS madness of Caius could not last long; it was so mad, and it was so violent: and he could not expect a dry and timely death himself, which had brought an untimely and bloody to so many hundreds. He began a consulship this year with Cn. Sentius, but it was soon out of date, as he was himself; but he not so soon as the people desired, as he had deserved, and some had compassed, had their plot but taken effect. One or two conspiracies had been contrived against him before this, but had failed in the success; and he escaped to do more mischief still. But now a design is in undertaking, that will run the business to the full, and men are entered into the combination, that have mettle, and want not fortune. These were Cassius Chæreas and

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 365.

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Cornelius Sabinus, that contrived in chief; and they entertained many others into the conspiracy with them,—as, Callistus and Eparchus, Regulus and Minutianus. While the plot was in hatching, Caius gave an extraordinary offence and disgust unto the people, which hastened and ripened it the more, upon his own head.

There were solemn sports kept now in the city, at which time it was the custom, that, if the people asked a boon, the emperor did freely grant it. Now, therefore, they begged, that he would ease their taxes, and release somewhat of the grievous<sup>b</sup> impositions, under which they groaned. But<sup>c</sup> he was so far from granting, that he caused many of the petitioners to be slain, hastening his own death by theirs, and condemning himself by their condemnation. For what now remains (thought the conspirators), but a speedy course, when neither his own reason, nor their petitions, nor their country's custom, can any whit move him to goodness, nor divert him from his cruelties? Besides this general quarrel of their country, some of them had their peculiar heart-burnings against him for particular abuses: as Minutianus, for the death of his friend Lepidus, and for fear of his own life: but Cassius Chæreas for divers affronts and disgraces, which the tyrant not only used, but loved, to put upon him above other men. He was tribune of the prætorian band, or, as it were, captain of the guard; and a man as valiant, as that place required, or any whatsoever. Yet was it the senseless and inconsiderate tyrant's delight and continual custom, to jeer him with the taunts of cowardice or effeminacy. Whenever he came to him, to ask of him a word or ticket for the watch, he would give him 'Venus' or 'Priapus:' when he offered him his hand to kiss, he would frame it into an obscene form, and so hold it to him: and that which might make him odious to others, he caused him to be the racker and tormentor of delinquents, himself standing by, that he might use no mercy for fear: and yet, when he had cruelly and miserably torn and rent the poor wretches, would the spiteful prince speak pitifully to them, bemoan the extremity, condole their condition, and sometimes give them rewards; thus turning the detestation of all the cruelty upon

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 852.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 866.

the head of Chæreas only. Such things as these set the abused man all of a fire for revenge, that was hot enough already for the common cause; and he wanteth nothing to end his own disgrace and his country's misery, but partners and opportunity. He therefore first assaileth Clemens, the chief commander of the soldiery, and Papinius, the chief equerry or squire of the emperor's body, with feeling words and forcible arguments to draw them into the same design with himself, of freeing the commonwealth from the common misery, and themselves from the common guilt that lay upon them,—not only for not redressing, but also for promoting, it. “For Caius (saith he) indeed commandeth such cruelties; but we are the men that execute them; he guilty in word only, but we in action. Whilst we obey his bloodiness, we encourage it; and the weapons that our offices have put into our hands for our country, we use only against it: forwarding that cruelty, which, when it wanteth farther objects, will not stop to fall upon ourselves. Come, let us, at the last, right our country and our own consciences: and give an end to those butcheries, which we promote by our obedience, and of which we are doubly guilty, because we execute them, and because we avenge them not.” With these, or such expressions as these, did Chæreas easily bend these men to his opinion, who were in the same guilt, danger, and misery, with him. But Clemens, whether for cowardice or variableness of his disposition, fell suddenly off again, and persisted not either in resolution or in secrecy; but began to divulge the conspiracy all abroad. Now, therefore, was it time for Chæreas to hasten his enterprise, or it would be too late: such undertakings as these, will not brook long delays; especially when any one of the faction beginneth to run out, and leak. He therefore speedily addresseth himself to Sabinus, and to Minutianus, though a kinsman to Caius, and prevaileth with them both, to be of the same mind and action with him: and all of them, having men ready for this exploit, do but wait for an opportunity to bring it to effect.

§ 2. *The manner of his death.*

Chæreas, afraid to lose any time, thought several times

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to have thrown the tyrant headlong from a high place, which he used to stand in in the Capitol, to throw and scatter money to the people: but he was withheld, partly by his own judgment, which doubted whether the fall would kill him or no; and partly, by the advice of his friends, which persuaded him to hold till a solemn festival, which was now coming on; in which they might have better access in a mixed crowd and multitude.

This time was come, and three days of the festival and of the shows were past, before opportunity would serve their turn. On the fourth and last of the solemnity, which must be the day or none, and this was the ninth of the calends of February, or January the twenty-third,—Chæreas provideth his confederates for the expedition, both for mettle and weapons. In the morning betime, people of all conditions flock to the place of the shows and solemnity to get them places, disposing of themselves where they could, so that men and women, bond and free, noble and base, sat mixedly together; and happy was he, that could get a place, no matter where. At last comes Caius, way forced<sup>d</sup> for him through the crowd, all eyes upon him, but theirs especially that meant him mischief. His first beginning of that day's solemnity was with sacrifice; with the blood whereof when the clothes of Asprenas, a senator, were accidentally be-daubed,—it afforded matter of laughter to the emperor; but it proved a fatal omen to himself. After his sacrifice, he took his place, with the nobles about him, and the plays began: one of them was a mimic, acting that part, which Neoptolemus did at the slaughter of king Priamus: another, of one or more actors that seemed to vomit blood, so that the stage was even bloody over: and his sports read his destiny, himself being presently to substantiate, in his own person, what these did but personate and represent of others. Having sitten a spectator of these his own omens till towards one o'clock, and indifferent whether to go to dinner or no, his stomach being indisposed through his yesterday's gluttony; Asprenas, a partner in the plot, sitting near him, persuaded him for his refreshment to go to the bath, and so to dinner,—and then to the plays and shows again. Caius giv-

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 867.

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ing notice of his rising, the company bustles to make him room,—the conspirators pretending officiousness, help to keep off the crowd and people. When he was come from among the multitude, he took not the open and ordinary way to the palace, but a back and by-way towards the bath. There was he met and accosted by Chæreas, who came to him, as the custom was, to demand the word: which when he gave him with his accustomed scorn and disgracefulness, Chæreas drew and flew upon him, with these words, “Hoc age,” and smote him sore into the collar-bone: upon the wound, Cæsar neither cried out nor resisted, but sought to have slipped away. Then was he entertained by Sabinus with the like courtesy of a blow or stab; so that, by this time, the great lion is gotten down; and then the rest of the confederacy fly all in upon him, every one with his slash, that there he lieth, mangled with few or no less than thirty wounds.

§ 3. *The sequel.*

A pleasant spectacle was this, to the overpressed commonwealth; but there must be some more trouble, before she can enjoy the pleasure. Such storms as these, though they come suddenly and without expectation, yet are they not so suddenly passed and calmed again.

The German soldiers were the first, that had notice of the prince's death, and they are the only men that will avenge it. Men not only conditioned like himself, in barbarousness and headlong cruelty, but also in love with those conditions, because they found acceptance and reward with him. These men, upon the report, rise up in revenge, and in searching for the murderers of Cæsar, you must expect some innocency will be murdered. They first light upon Asprenas, a man that indeed had a finger in the business, but it is like it is more than they knew; yet, howsoever, he must pay for it, because he cometh in their way; and so the shedding of his own blood answereth the omen, that he had but even now by the blood of the sacrifice. Next cometh Barbarus Norbanus to handling, because next to hand; and after him Anteius, whose curiosity was his destiny; for coming to look upon the corpse of the slain tyrant, he was made a corpse

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 853.

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himself. When the rumour of what had passed came into the theatre, it moved different passions, according to their different affections. Some could not believe the news, it was so good; others would not, because it was displeasing, hoping better, than that they had lost so great a patron of their unruliness and sporting. But when the soldiers came in thither after the rumour, with the heads of Asprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius, in their hands,—then imagine what case they were all in there, expecting to be all involved in the same fatal end, by the same fatal fury, though they were not of the same opinion and affection to the fact that had lately passed. But this fear and fury was with as much speed as wit, and, indeed, were both finely calmed and removed by one Aruntius: for coming in among them in a mourning-weed, as if for Caius, he plainly, and dolefully, and assuredly, averred, that he was dead. One would have thought, that this should have increased the raging of the soldiers far more than before; but it had the clean contrary effect, as his policy had wittily foreseen. For when they knew certainly, that he was dead, of whom they expected a reward for this their outrage in his quarrel; and when they considered, what the people might do now he was dead, who so hated him while he was alive,—they sheathed their swords and their fury together, and withdrew themselves from the theatre, and the people's fear from the people, fairly and quietly both at once. By a carriage of as much valour as this was of ingenuity, did Valerius Asiaticus calm the tumult of the people<sup>f</sup> in the market-place: for when there was no other language, but, “Who is it,” and, “Who is it that hath killed Cæsar?” he steppeth into some place above the people, and boldly cried, “I would it had been I;” and with his boldness daunted the mutiny, and amazed their anger.

§ 4. *Dissension about the government.*

The hearts of the people were pretty well settled about the death of the prince, but their minds not so well about the manner of the future government. The senate, being assembled in the Capitol, were divided about this great mat-

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 868.

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ter,—whether the commonwealth should return to its old democracy, or to its latter monarchy, again: some, remembering the tyrannies used by the two latter monarchs, abhorred the thought of that government any longer: others, considering that it were better to be under one tyrant, than under many, were as much against democracy; and yet, if they might have a monarch, which they desired, they were yet to seek, who should be he. Sentius, the consul, was vehement for the former choice, and might have well been suspected for affecting some kind of monarchy for the present himself, for he was chief governor alone; but that his earnestness to reduce the state to its former rule stopped the mouth of any such prejudice. Thus rose the court without any determination; and no less was the city divided in opinion. And, indeed, it was a very hard task, that they had in hand,—to resolve, for futurity, what might prove the best, being to take a gentle medium betwixt their too much liberty and too little.

§ 5. *Claudius.*

Whilst they were thus in doubt and agitation, and better able to resolve what they would not have, than what they would,—fortune seemed to offer them an umpirage and determination, winding an acceptance of a monarch into their hearts, before they were aware. Claudius,—an uncle of the tyrant that now lay dead, hearing the tumult and hubbub that the palace was in, and how the matter went with Caligula,—crept into an obscure hole to hide himself, not much guilty indeed of any other cause of such fear, but only because he was so near allied to the man, so hated and now slain. When lo, Gratus, a common soldier, searching about, whether for a prey or for a conspirator, spieth his feet lying out of his skulking-hole, and draws him out to see who it was. Here might a stander-by have laughed to have seen the different passions of Claudius and the soldier meet together in one like and uniform action. Claudius, ready to kneel to the soldier to beg for his life, and the soldier already kneeling to reverence his person. For being drawn out and brought into the light, and his face known by him and who he was, he presently shows him all reverence and homage,

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and crieth out, "An emperor, an emperor." With this cry, they bring him out to some more of their fellows, who, getting him on their shoulders bring him into their garrison, the people as he went pitying him, as going unto execution. There he lodged that night; and, you may suppose, that he slept but little, being so divided betwixt hope and fear. The consul and senate the next day, hearing what was done, send to him, advise him to submit to their government, and not to disturb the state with a monarchy again, which had been so burdensome and tedious to it so long: which if he should go about to do, they would oppose him to their utmost strength, and doubted not the assistance of the gods in this their vindication of their liberty. Verrannius and Brachus, their two legates upon this message, delivered their errand with as much moving rhetoric and entreaty as they could invent; beseeching him with all the vehemency they could, not to distemper the republic again by affecting and aspiring the monarchy, which was now in a hopeful possibility of settling her tranquillity and liberty to her own content. But the sight of the strength and forwardness of the soldiers that were about him, made them to strain their oratory one key higher, than, it may be, they had either commission for at their coming forth, or any thanks for at their return. For they besought him, that if he would needs have the empire, that he would rather receive it from the hands of the senate than of the soldiers; and make an entry to his government by consent and approval, and not by violence.

Claudius, howsoever his mind stood, gave a gentle answer, either dissembling till he could be sure to have his own party good<sup>s</sup>; or, indeed, rather forced upon this pursuit than propense; and, though affecting the majesty of the empire, yet not patient of the trouble.

§ 6. *Casonia<sup>b</sup> and her child slain.*

There let us leave him to study, as far as his fear and the soldiers' tumult would suffer him, what to resolve upon as best to be done; or, if he were resolved already, then how to do it: and let us a little step aside to the corpse of Caius; and there we shall see some partners with him in his death,

<sup>s</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 854.

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 869.

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which had better relation to it than Asprenas and the other that we saw slain before. Chæreas not thinking it enough for the common safety, and the accomplishment of his design, that Caius was dead alone, unless so much also of him were cut off with him, as was in Cæsonia, his wife, and her and his little child,—he sendeth one Lupus, one of the tribunes, upon this execution, that nothing might remain of Caligula, but his putrefied memory. Some were of opinion, that Cæsonia had been his persuasive and provocation to his mischiefs, either by charms, or exhortations, or both; others thought, that she used her utmost endeavours to have reduced him to a better mind, but could not prevail. But were it the one or the other, were she good or bad, it is all one to Chæreas; she was Caius's wife, and so must needs die for the desert of her actions, if she were naught; and, though she were otherwise, yet for the due of her relation. Lupus findeth her tumbling upon the ground with the corpse, all besmeared with his blood and her own tears. She, conceiving his errand by his very person, boldly invites him to accomplish what he came about; which he did accordingly; and withal slew the little child upon the heap. And so there lieth the greatest prince and princess under heaven, a spectacle of misery and majesty tied up together, and to be lamented in regard of these two, howsoever but justly rewarded in regard of their deserts.

§ 7. *Claudius made emperor.*

That rule and monarchy that the soldiers would have tumbled upon Claudius they cared not how, Agrippa the king, of whom we had mention a good while ago, folded it, as it were, upon him fairly and smoothly, that it both lay more easy for him himself, and less wrinkled and rugged to the eyes of others. For, first, coming privately to Claudius, whilst he somewhat fluctuated in opinion, and was ready to have yielded to the senate's propositions, he settled him in a contrary resolution,—persuading him by no means to forsake or relinquish that fair apprehension and seizure of the dominion, that was offered him. Then cometh he as craftily into the senate, as if he had been a mere stranger to what was in hand; and there asketh, how the matter went between

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them and Claudius: when they ingenuously laid all the business before him, and demanded his counsel and advice in those affairs. He, subtle enough for his own ends, and neither regarding their liberty, nor Claudius's monarchy, so much in the matter, as his own security in his kingdom, maketh fair weather to them; and professeth, with all solemnity, to serve them in their designs to the utmost of his power. But when it came to the vote, what must be done,—and the resolution was that they must take up arms, and arm their servants, and compass that with the sword that they could not do with persuasions; then Agrippa thought it was time to work or never. He, therefore, puts them in mind of the strength of the soldiers, that had proclaimed Claudius,—and of their forces, but weak, few, and utterly unexpert; that to hazard a war was to hazard their state: and, therefore, he would advise them to tender to Claudius propositions of accommodation; and, if they were so pleased, he himself would be the agent. It is agreed upon, and he sent upon this employment, which how he would perform it is easy to guess, by looking upon his own condition, in which he now stood. For, in the life of Caius, it was conceived that his evil counsel had very much forwarded the other's cruelty and mischievousness: and, therefore, if the senate be masters of their desires, he can little expect to be master any more of his kingdom; but if, with all his officiousness and trotting up and down, he can help Claudius to the monarchy, he is sure he hath then holpen himself to the royalty. It was, therefore, not an oversight in that grave and discreet great council, that they employed such a man as this in their occasions, who, a far dimmer eye of judgment than any of theirs would easily perceive, would be against them: but it was their discreet evasion with their honour, when, finding themselves too weak to deal it out by force of arms, they came to a noble reference, by the motion and mediation of so great a prince.

When<sup>1</sup> Agrippa cometh to Claudius, he is now more urgent than before, that he stand to his challenge, because he had now groped the mind and strength of the senate: and he prevaieth with him so far, that the soldiers go to the se-

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 870.

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nate-house, and there demand a confirmation of their choice. It was now come to it in the council, that they were resolved to choose one monarch; for they saw the soldiers would so have it: but now the question was, who that must be?—some were for one,—some, for another: but the conspirators against Caius were against Claudius howsoever. This division had liked to have caused another tumult: but the end of all was, that the power and fear of the soldiers prevailed; and the senate was glad to accept him for their prince, whom they durst not refuse.

§ 8. *His demeanour at his beginning.*

Agrippa had persuaded him to deal gently with the senate; but he either persuaded not, or prevailed not with him, for the like towards the conspirators of his nephew's death. Chæreas and Sabinus, the slayers of Caius, and Lupus, the executioner of Cæsonia and her child, were not, like the senate, either persuaded by reasons, or affrighted by forces, to accept of Claudius, or to owe him homage; but they boldly and resolutely gainsay his election even to the death. Claudius, therefore, causeth Chæreas to be slain, and Lupus with him: which doom they underwent with different demeanours, Chæreas stoutly, but Lupus weeping; Chæreas at one<sup>j</sup> blow, for he met death half the way; but Lupus, at many, for he shrunk it all he could. But Sabinus, fool-hardy as he was, when Claudius had granted him his pardon, and not only so, but also restored him to his former honours, he, disdainingly to be singled from his fellow-conspirators in their end any more than in their design, fell upon his own sword and died. Such a beginning did the new-made emperor make into his empire, mingling severity and clemency together, in the censure of offenders of the same knot, that he might also mingle fear and love in the hearts of the people. This Claudius was the son of Drusus, the son of Livia, a man dull and diseased even from his childhood, and, for that, brought up most in the converse with women or nurses: hence his effeminacy and luxuriousness at all times, and his readiness to be led away by the counsel of women at some. He was now about fifty years of age when he began to reign, at the very ripe-

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 855.

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ness of all the discretion he had; but that it was often blasted with fearfulness, drunkenness, and wicked counsel. When he was set quietly in the throne, the first thing he did, was, to get the two days, in which the agitation was about the change of the government, quite out of memory: and, for that end, he made an act of oblivion of all things, that had passed either in words or actions, of all that time. Yet, had he not wrought his own security so far, but that he caused all that came near him, to be searched for weapons; and, while he sat at any meal, he had a strong guard about him. For, the motion that had been so lately and so strongly carried for the abolition of monarchy, and the other which proposed others thereto, when monarchy was agreed upon, and would have excluded him,—had taken such an impression upon him, that he reputed no safety in his holding of the royalty, but by that strong hand and power, by which he had gotten it. Yet tried he fair and gentle dealing, though he durst not trust it. Those from whom he had received any affront, in the days of Tiberius and Caligula (for sometimes in those days to abuse Claudius, was to curry favour) he freely pardoned, if he found them guilty of no other crime; but, if he did, he paid them then for all together. The unjust fines of Caius he remitted; his illegal decrees he revoked; his innocents imprisoned he released; and his causeless banished he called home.

The poisons which he had prepared for the nobles, and a list of their names for whom they were prepared, being found in the palace, though Caius had pretended to have burnt them,—he showed publicly to the senate, and then burnt them, indeed. He forbade any one to adore him, or to sacrifice to him; he restrained the great and loud acclamations, that were used to be made to the emperor; and carried himself with such sweetness and moderation, that happy had the republic been in the continuance of the monarchy, had he been so happy as to have continued in this his first demeanour. But his wicked empress Messalina, and her wicked consorts, first provoked him to mischief; and his too much delight in the bloody sports did, by degrees, habituate him unto cruelty. He had recalled Julia and Agrippina, the two sisters of Caius, out of banishment, whither they had

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been sent by their own brother, after he had deflowered them; and he restored them to their estates and revenues again. But Messalina<sup>k</sup> stomaching that Julia did her not honour and homage enough, and envying her beauty, and being jealous of her privacy with Claudius,—she caused her to be banished again; and, in a short time, she compassed her death.

These were but ominous beginnings, when Cæsar's love to his own niece was cause enough to work her ruin, but was not strong enough to stand between her and the fury of his own wife. And it did but fatally presage, what mischief her wretched counsels would work the cowardice and indiscretion of her husband to, when their first effect was upon one so near allied. Nor did cruelty and bloodiness enter thus only in at his ears, by the suggestion of his cursed wife; but the like it did also at his eyes, by his frequent and delightful beholding of the bloody sports: that growing, by degrees, to be his delight to act, which had grown, by degrees, also to be his delight to see. Sometimes beasts with beasts, as twelve camels and horses at one time,—and three hundred bears, and three hundred African wild beasts, at the same: sometimes, beasts with men; and sometimes, men with men; and at all times, hideous bloodshed: that he that can look upon such barbarousness and slaughter with content, it may be suspected, that he, in time, will grow to act the like with the same delight.

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## PART II.

### CHAP. XI.

Ver. 26: “*And the disciples were called ‘Christians’ first in Antioch.*”

#### § 1. *The name of Christian.*

THE Jews and Gentiles being now, since the calling of Cornelius, knit up together into one church; they are this year tied up into the rosy and glorious knot of the same

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 871.    <sup>1</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 856.

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name and epithet, the name of '*Christian*:' a new name, which the Lord himself did give them (as we may well understand that prophecy, Isa. lxx. 15), that the two distinguishing names of Jews and heathen might no more continue the ancient distance that was betwixt them; but that that, and all differences arising therefrom, might be buried under this sweet and lovely denomination, given equally to them both. The current of the story, hitherto, hath fairly and plainly led this occurrence to this year; as the reader himself will confess upon the trace of the history, and he will be confirmed in it, when he seeth the next year following to be the year of the famine, which next followeth in relation in St. Luke to this that we have in hand, Acts xi. 26—28.

By what names the professors of the gospel were called before this time, it is plain in Scripture. Among themselves they were called 'disciples<sup>m</sup>,' 'believers<sup>n</sup>,' 'the church<sup>o</sup>,' 'devout men<sup>p</sup>,' 'brethren<sup>q</sup>:' but, among the unbelieving Jews, by this sole, common, and scornful, title of 'the sect of the Nazarites<sup>r</sup>.'—Epiphanius hath found out a strange name for them, not to be found elsewhere, nor to be warranted any where; and that is the name of '*Jessæans*:' "Before they were called Christians (saith he<sup>s</sup>), they were called *Jessæi*; either from Jesse, the father of David, from whom the Virgin Mary, and Christ by her, descended; or from Jesu, the proper name of our Saviour. Which thou shalt find in the books of Philo,—namely, in that which he wrote Περὶ Ἰεσσαίων in which, treating of their policy, praises, and monasteries, which are about the Marian marsh (commonly called 'Mareotis'), he speaketh of none others than of Christians." Of the same opinion, in regard of the men themselves, are divers others, both the fathers and later writers; though they differ in regard of the name. No Romanist but he takes it for granted, that Philo, in that book (that is meant by Epiphanius, though he either title it not right, or else couch two books under one title), speaketh of Christian monks; and, from thence, who of them doth not plead the antiquity of a monastic life, so confidently, that he shall be but laughed to scorn among them, that shall deny it? They

<sup>m</sup> Acts, vi. 1, and ix. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Acts, v. 14.

<sup>o</sup> Acts, viii. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Acts, viii. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Acts, ix. 30. 1 Cor. xv. 6.

<sup>r</sup> Acts, xxiv. 5.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. 1. advers. Nazaræos. p. 120.

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build, indeed, upon the 'ipse dixit' of some of the fathers to the same purpose, besides the likeness of those men in Philo to the Romish monks: that such a thing as this is not altogether to be passed over, but something to be examined, since it seemeth to carry in itself so great antiquity and weightiness.

Eusebius<sup>t</sup>, therefore, in his Ecclesiastical History<sup>u</sup>, delivereth such a matter as tradition. "They say (saith he), that Mark, being first sent into Egypt, preached the gospel there, which he also penned, and first founded the churches of Alexandria, where so great a multitude of believing men and women grew up, Δι' ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφωτάτης τε καὶ σφοδροτάτης, in a most philosophical and strict course,—that Philo himself vouchsafed to write of their converse, meetings, feasting, and all their demeanour." And, for this his writing of them, "He is reckoned by us (saith Jerome<sup>v</sup>) amongst the ecclesiastical writers: because writing concerning the first church of Mark the evangelist, he breaketh out into the praises of our men: relating, that they are not only there, but also in many other provinces,—and calling their dwellings 'monasteries.'"—Of the same mind with these fathers, are Cedrenus<sup>w</sup>, Nicephorus<sup>x</sup>, Sixtus Senensis<sup>y</sup>, Bellarmine<sup>z</sup>, Possevine<sup>a</sup>, and others; which last-cited Jesuit is not contented to be satisfied with this opinion himself, but he revileth the Magdeburgenses, and all others with them, that are not of the same opinion with him. For the examining of which, before we do believe it, we may part their position into these two queries:—First, Whether Mark the evangelist had founded the church at Alexandria, before Philo wrote that book? And, secondly, Whether those men about Alexandria, reported of by Philo, were Christians at all, yea or no?

First, then, look upon Philo and upon his age; and you shall find, that the last year, when he was in embassy at Rome, he was ancient and older than any of the other commissioners, that were joined with him; for so he saith of himself. Cæsar speaking affably to them when they first

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 872.

<sup>u</sup> Lib. 2. cap. 15.

<sup>v</sup> De Scriptorib. Eccles. tom. 1. p. 102.

<sup>w</sup> Lib. 2. cap. 16, 17.

<sup>x</sup> Bibl. Sanct. l. in voce Philo.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. 2. cap. 1. de Monachis.

<sup>z</sup> Appar. Saer in voce Philo.

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 857.

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came before him, the standers-by thought their matter would go well with them; “But I (saith he<sup>b</sup>), that seemed to outstrip the others in *years* and judgment,” &c: and then from him look at the time, when Mark is brought by the ecclesiastical historians first into Egypt and Alexandria. Eusebius<sup>c</sup> (for we will content ourselves with him only) hath placed this at the third of Claudius, in these words; “Marcus evangelista, interpres Petri, Ægypto et Alexandriæ Christum annunciat.” And then is Philo four years older than before. To both which, add what time would be taken up after Mark’s preaching, before his converts could be disposed into so settled a form of buildings, constitutions, and exercises; and then let indifferency censure, whether Philo, that was so old so long before, should write his two books of the ‘Esseni’ and the ‘Therapeutæ,’ after all this. But, because we will not build upon this alone, let us, for the resolution of our second query, character out these men, that are so highly esteemed for the patterns of all monastics,—and that, in Philo’s own words and description.

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### PART III.

#### THE JEWISH HISTORY.

##### § 1. *The Therapeutæ.*

“THEY are called Therapeutæ and Therapeutides (saith Philo), either because they profess a physic better than that professed in cities,—for that healeth bodies only, but this, diseased souls: or, because they have learned from nature, and the holy laws, to serve ‘him that is<sup>d</sup>.’ Those that betake themselves to this course, do it not out of fashion, or upon any one’s exhortation; but ravished with a heavenly love (even as the Bacchantes and Corybantes have their raptures<sup>e</sup>), until they behold what they desire. Then, through the desire of an immortal and blessed life, reputed them-

<sup>b</sup> In legat. ad Caium.

<sup>c</sup> In Chronico.

<sup>d</sup> Τὸ ὄν.

<sup>e</sup> Καθάπερ οἱ βακχυνόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιάζουσιν.

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selves to die to this mortal life, they leave their estates to sons, or daughters, or to other kindred; voluntarily making them their heirs,—and to their friends and familiars, if they have no kindred. When they are thus parted from their goods, being taken now by no bait, they fly irrevocably, leaving brethren, children, wives, parents, numerous kindreds, societies, and countries, where they were born and bred. They flit, not into other cities; but they make their abode without the walls, in gardens or solitary villages, affecting the wilderness, not for any hatred of men, but because of being mixed with men of different conditions; which thing they know is unprofitable and hurtful. This kind of people are in many parts of the world; but it abounds in Egypt, through every one of those places, that are called ‘Nomī,’—especially<sup>f</sup> about Alexandria. Now, out of all places, the chief or best of the Therapeutæ are sent into a colony<sup>g</sup> (as it were into their country), into a most convenient region, beside the Marian lake, upon a low, gentle rising bank, very fit both for safety and the wholesome air. The houses of the company are very mean, affording shelter in two most necessary respects,—against the heat of the sun, and the coldness of the air. Nor are they near together, like houses in a city; for such vicinity is trouble and displeasing, to such as love and affect solitude. Nor yet far asunder; because of that communion which they embrace, and that they may help one another, if there be any incursion of thieves. Every one of them hath a holy house, which is called, a ‘chapel<sup>h</sup>’ and monastery, in which they, being solitary<sup>i</sup>, do perform the mysteries of a religious life: bringing in thither neither drink nor meat, nor any other necessaries for the use of the body, but the law and the oracles given by the prophets, and hymns and other things, whereby knowledge and religion are increased and perfected. Therefore, they have God perpetually in their mind; insomuch, that in their dreams, they see nothing but the beauty of the divine powers; and there some of them, by dreaming, do vent excellent matters of philosophy. They use to pray twice every day, morning and evening, at sun-

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 873.<sup>g</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 858.<sup>h</sup> Σεμνείον και Μοναστήριον.<sup>i</sup> Μονούμενος.

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rising and sun-setting : and all the time between, they meditate and study the Scripture,—allegorizing them, because they believe, that mystical things are hid under the plain letter : they have also many commentaries of their predecessors of this sect to this purpose. They also make psalms and hymns to the praise of God. Thus spend they the six days of the week, every one in his cell, not so much as looking out of it. But, on the seventh day, they meet together, and sit down according to their age demurely, with their hands within their coats,—the right hand betwixt their breast and their skin,—and the left, on their side. Then steps forth one of the gravest and skilfullest in their profession, and preacheth to them : and the rest hearken with all silence, only nodding their heads, or moving their eyes. Their place of worship is parted into two rooms<sup>k</sup>, one for the men, and the other for the women. All the week long, they never taste meat nor drink, any day before sun-setting,—because they think the study of wisdom to be fit for the light, and the taking ease of their bodies for the dark. Some hardly eat above once in three days,—some, in six ; on the seventh day, after they have taken care of the soul, they refresh the body. Their diet is only bread and salt, and some add a little hyssop : their drink, spring water : their clothes, mean, and only fit to keep out heat and cold. At the end of every seven weeks they feast together, honouring much the number seven. Old women are present at their feasts ; but they are such, as are virgins upon devotion. When they first meet together, they first stand, and pray that the feast may be blessed to them : then sit they down, the men on one side, and the women on the other. Some of their young scholars wait on them : their diet is but as at other times, bread and salt for their meat, hyssop for sauce, and water for drink. There is general silence all the meal ; save that one or other asketh or resolveth questions, the rest holding their peace ; and they show, by their several gestures, that they understand, or approve, or doubt. Their interpretations of Scripture are all allegories. When the president hath satisfied the things proposed, they give a general applause ; and then he singeth a psalm, either of his own

<sup>k</sup> κοινὸν σελανεῖον.

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making, or of some of the ancients. And thus do the rest in their course. When all have done, the young men take away the table: and then they rise and fall to a dance, the men apart, and the women apart, for a while; but, at last, they join and dance all together: and this is in representation of the dance upon the shore of the Red Sea. Thus spend they the night: when sun riseth, they all turn their faces that way, and pray for a happy day, and for truth and understanding; and so they depart every one to their cells."

To this purpose, doth Philo describe these Therapeutæ of his times: which, howsoever they are taken for Christians by divers (as was said before), yet it is so plain, by divers passages in Philo's charactering of them, that they were no Christians, but Jewish sectaries, that it is even needless to determinate it. Let the reader but consider, that it is a Jew, that commends their devotion; that he himself imitates their manner of expounding the Scriptures by allegories; that he saith they had many commentaries of their predecessors to that tenor; that they were superstitious about the number seven, as he himself is not a little; and<sup>j</sup> if there were no other arguments to prove, that they were only a sect of the Jews, these were enow.

§ 2. *The<sup>k</sup> affairs of the Jews in Alexandria, and Babylonia.*

The death of Caius was an allay to the troubles of the Jews, both in Judea and Alexandria: and the proclamation of Claudius, which we shall hear of the next year, was their utter cessation for the present; but so it was not in Babylonia. The terror and trouble that had seized Judea, about the statue of Cæsar, was removed, and extinct with the removal and extinction of Cæsar himself: so were the pressures of them in Alexandria mitigated much from what they were before, though their commotions and troubling continued still in an equal measure. For whereas, before the displeasure of the emperor lay so heavy upon them, that they neither could nor durst stand out in their own defence, —when that burden is now removed, they gather heart and mettle: and now, though the Greeks and they be continually at daggers drawn, yet now it is upon equal terms; and they

<sup>j</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 859.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 874.

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dare strike as well as the other. But in Babylonia and thereabout, their misery is but now a-brewing, and an equal strait is preparing for them, as had been to either of the other; though it began with some smiling of a seeming happiness, and the sunshine of present prosperity. The bloodhound of vengeance was to hunt this nation, and not to be taken off, till it was destroyed: and therefore, when it giveth off the quest in one place, it takes it in another, and leaveth not their footing, till it had left them no footing at all.

Those Jews whose tragedy we have seen acted, already found their own misery, though they sought it not: and how much more shall they, that we are now to bring upon the scene, that sought and wooed it with their utmost pains.

§ 1. *The rebellion of some Jews.*

There were in Neardæa (the residence and university of the Jews in Babylonia) two brethren, named Asinæus and Anilæus, or, in their proper language, Chasinai and Chanilai. These two, their mother (their father being dead) had put to a trade and to a master, for the making of sails or other tackle for ships. The sturdy youths, having one day given their master some offence, and he them some blows, did take the matter in such high scorn and disdain, that they resolve not only to overrun their master, but indeed, to run over all mastership whatsoever. They, therefore, getting away all the arms their master's house would afford, betake themselves to a strong place in an island of Euphrates,—and there publish and proclaim their rebellious resolution. Young men flock into them apace, men of the same desperate minds and fortunes; and after building some castles in the air of future expectations, they begin to build a fort in the isle for their present security and rendezvous. They then command the neighbour-towns to pay them tribute, which the numerousness and resolution of the commanders made them that they durst not disobey. The governor of Babylonia, thinking to quell this growing evil before it should be too strong, cometh secretly upon them on the sabbath-day,—thinking to involve them in their own superstition into the trap, that he had prepared for them. But the furious

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youths were not so over-religious, as to be killed in devotion; nor did they prize the sabbath above their own lives: but for all it was that day, they are resolved to fight; and they fight resolvedly, and kill, and rout, and foil, the forces, that made no other account but of victory.

Artabanus, king of Parthia, hearing of the power of this new-born army, and the resolution of those upstart captains, and considering how advantageous it might be for his own affairs, to have them sure and firm unto himself, he sendeth for the two brethren, with assurance of their safety: whereupon they come to him, and are royally and bravely entertained by him: and when Abdagasis, the general of his army, would have slain Asinæus treacherously, the king forbade him, sent Asinæus home with rich gifts, and the government of Babylonia committed to him. There he grew greater and greater in power and honour; and stood in high repute both with the Babylonians and the Parthians, and had all Mesopotamia at his command. And thus continued these brethren in pomp and height for fifteen years together: till a miscarriage of Anilæus began to cloud and eclipse their prosperity. For Anilæus having slain a Parthian peer, that he might enjoy his lady, and she, when she was now his wife, using her ancient idolatry as in her first husband's days, this became a double offence to his chiefest friends,—namely, for that he had married a heathen, and for that she continued still in her idolatry. They seriously admonish Anilæus of the matter; but he slew one of the chiefest of them for his home-reproof and admonition. Therefore, the rest address themselves to Asinæus, and demand<sup>1</sup> the vindication of their native laws and religion: he rebuketh his brother Anilæus, and is, therefore, poisoned by the Parthian lady, because that her husband might be from under rebuke, and might be commander of all. He being now so indeed, first invadeth the country of Mithridates, son-in-law to Artabanus, and forageth that; and, by a surprisal, getteth Mithridates prisoner, yet sendeth him home again to his own possessions, having hardly delivered him from his soldiers' fury that they did not kill him. Mithridates, sensible of the disgrace of his usage (for they had set him naked

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 875.

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upon an ass), and instigated by the haughty and revengeful spirit of his wife, raiseth what force he can get, and giveth Anilæus battle, and routeth him. But Anilæus himself escaping, and recruiting an army of dissolute and resolute fellows again, he beginneth to spoil some towns of the Babylonians; but the Babylonians, finding a fit opportunity, fall upon Anilæus and his troop, and slew many of them, and Anilæus himself among the rest. This bridle and curb of the Jews, which had lain so long and so heavy upon the Babylonians<sup>m</sup>, being now taken off,—they begin now to rise up, and to curb and oppress the Jews: who for their safety flee to Seleucia; and there they reside quietly for the space of five years. But, in the sixth year, a hot plague driving the rest of them that had stayed behind at Babylon, into Seleucia also,—Providence did, as it were, bring them all thither together to execution: for a quarrel being first between the Greeks and Syrians that dwelt in that city, and the Syrians getting the better through the help of the Jews, at last Greeks and Syrians join both together against the Jews, and destroy fifty thousand of them. And this was a second notable vengeance, that hath overtaken that nation since the murder of the Lord of life.

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CLAUDIUS, II. } CONSULS.  
C. LARGUS, }

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 28: “*Great dearth throughout all the world; which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.*”

THAT this famine was in the second of Claudius, we have showed before, not only out of Dion, the Roman historian, but even by necessary collection from other things. Now, whether it proceeded from want of rain, or from what other cause, it is not determinable: it appeareth by Suetonius, that

<sup>m</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 860.

<sup>n</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 877.

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it came to this height through a continued sterility of the ground; which, it seemeth, had been some years together. This year was Helena, the queen of the Adiabeni, present at Jerusalem, and her presence there was a happiness to the city; for, from Cyprus and Alexandria, she sent for provisions, and distributed them among the people, when divers had perished of famine before.

Ver. 30: “*Sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*”

§ *Paul's rapture into the third heaven.*

Although it be not mentioned in this chapter, that Paul went up to Jerusalem, but was sent only with provisions to the poor brethren in Judea; yet have we also proved before, that, at this journey, he had his trance in the temple, Acts xxii. 17: and in that<sup>a</sup> trance he was rapt up into the third heaven: the story of which he himself relateth, 2 Cor. xii. 2: “I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago,—whether in the body, I cannot tell,” &c. And there he relateth also the story of the messenger of Satan, buffeting him, and himself praying, and God giving him a gracious answer; all which we shall explain, by God's permission, in another place.

In this trance God bids him get out of Jerusalem, and gives him commission to go preach among the Gentiles, Acts xxii. 18. 21. And so he returneth from Jerusalem to Antioch; where we shall have him the next year<sup>o</sup>.

§ 2. *Peter<sup>p</sup> not this year at Rome.*

This year the Romanists have brought Peter to Rome, and made this the first year or beginning of his episcopacy there. For thus Baronius; “That Peter came to Rome this second year of Claudius the emperor, it is the common opinion of all men.”—And to this purpose he allegeth Eusebius's Chronicle, and Jerome ‘*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*;

and concludeth, that “others have written the same things concerning the time, that there can be no doubt left of it.”

It may be tolerated to insist a little the more largely upon

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 878.

<sup>o</sup> This paragraph does not occur in Leusden's edition.—Ed.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 861.

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the examination of this opinion; not for that it is of any such great import in its own nature, as for that it is made of so great by them for their own advantage. For were it granted, that Peter was bishop of Rome, and that he went thither in this year,—yet what great matter were there in this, in common sense and reason? But because unreasonable men have, from hence, or upon this foundation, built the supremacy of the pope, the great delusion of the world,—let the same common sense and reason, equally and impartially, judge of the probability or improbability of this thing, in these two parts, into which this tenet doth fall of itself:—

1. Whether it be probable, that Peter was bishop of Rome at all.

2. Whether it be possible, that he could come thither this year, according as they themselves have laid his progress, and that he should set up an episcopacy there.

Weigh the first by these:—

First, Peter was minister of the circumcision: why then should he go settle himself to live and die among the uncircumcised? He might, indeed, have preached to the uncircumcised as he travelled up and down, as Paul did to the circumcised, being the minister of the uncircumcision; but to take up his abode and residence, and there to settle, to live and die among them,—was a thing neither probable in the eyes of other men, nor justifiable in him himself.

Secondly, If Peter were at Rome in the sense and extent that the Romanists will have it, then hath the Scripture omitted one of the greatest points of salvation that belongeth to Christianity. For how many main points of faith hath Popery drawn out of this one conclusion, *that Peter was bishop of Rome*; as, the primacy of the pope; the infallibility of his chair; his absolute power of binding and loosing; no salvation out of the church of Rome; and divers other things, which all hang upon the pin forenamed. And it is utterly incredible; 1. That the Holy Ghost, that wrote the Scriptures for man's salvation, should not express or mention a thing, that containeth so many points of salvation. 2. That Luke, that undertook to write the Acts of the Apostles, should omit this one act of Peter, which is made of more

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consequence than all the actions of all the apostles beside. It is above all belief, that he that would tell of Philip's being at Azotus, and going to Cæsarea, chap. viii. 40; Saul's going to Tarsus, chap. ix. 30; and Barnabas's going thither to him; and divers other things of small import, in comparison,—should omit the greatest and most material, and of the infinite import that ever mortal man's journey was (for to that height is the journey of Peter to Rome now come), if there had ever been such a thing at all.

Thirdly, It is as incredible, that Paul, sending salutations to so many in Rome, and again from so many there, should omit to have named Peter at one time or other, if he had been there. What was become of Peter in these reciprocal kindnesses and salutations of the saints one to another? was he asleep, or was he sullen? or what shall we make of him? or was he not, indeed, at Rome at all?

But not to insist upon this question, whether Peter were at Rome at all, which hath been proved negatively by many authors, and by many undeniable arguments;—let us look a little upon this foundation of his being there, which hath been laid,—namely, his coming thither this year, which is the second thing to be taken into consideration.

And<sup>a</sup> about this point, there have been divers simple ignoramuses in former time, who so they held this first article of the Roman creed, that “Peter was bishop of Rome five-and-twenty years, and died in the last year of Nero,” and so believed as the church believed,—they never cared to bring the head and heels together, or to observe how the times agreed; but have easily swallowed this camel of senseless computation, that “Peter went from the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv, to Rome, and there sat bishop five-and-twenty years, which expired in the last of Nero:” whereas, betwixt the council at Jerusalem, and the last of Nero, there were but twenty years in all, if there were so many. But nimbler wits, that cannot be caught in so plain and apparent a trap as this, have found out a quainter and more curious date, from which to begin the chair of Peter at Rome, than this; and that is, from the story in the twelfth of the Acts of the Apostles: where Peter being apprehended by Herod

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 379.

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after his murder of James the Great, and being delivered by an angel, and having acquainted the disciples with his delivery, they being together in John Mark's house<sup>r</sup>, he is said, "to depart to another place;" which, they say (and you must believe it, or they will take it very ill) was to Rome; and this was (say they) the second year of Claudius. A long journey, believe it,—to run to Rome, to avoid danger at Jerusalem: and Rome but a mad place to set up an episcopacy in at this time, as hath been plain in the preceding, and will be also in the subsequent, story of it. But that we may see, if not the impossibility, yet the utter improbability, of that his journey in this second of Claudius, if that were the journey in the twelfth of the Acts,—it will not be impertinent to insert a story out of Josephus concerning Agrippa's return from Rome to Jerusalem, where he slew James, and imprisoned Peter.

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## PART II.

### THE JEWISH STORY.

#### § *Herod Agrippa's coming to Jerusalem.*

CLAUDIUS, the emperor, having attained the empire as we have seen, the more easily and readily by the mediation and agitating of Agrippa,—he would requite him like an emperor for that his service: and, therefore, he confirmed to him by charter that kingdom, in which he had been enthroned by Caius, adding also Judea and Samaria, which had belonged to his grandfather Herod (from hence it may seem that he took that name), and Abilene, and the region near it and appertaining to it, in Lebanon, which had belonged to Lysanias. He caused also the articles of a league betwixt himself and the king, to be cut in brass, and to be set up in the midst of the Forum.

There was now some sedition and civil hostility in Alexandria; for the Jews, having been suppressed and oppressed by the Greeks, all the time of Caius, began after his death to stand in their own defence, and to rise up against those that

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 862.

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had opposed them. Claudius by letter commands the governor of Egypt to quell the tumult : and at the request of Agrippa, and of Herod king of Chalcis, he sendeth forth an edict into Syria and Alexandria in behalf and favour of the Jews. And another decree he sent also through the rest of the Roman empire, to the same tenor, and for the benefit of the same people, beginning with these his titles, " Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pont. Maximus, Trib. Pleb. or Tribunitiæ Potestatis Consul designatus II." or second time consul : and so it goes on.

By these decrees (saith Josephus) being thus sent to Alexandria, and through the whole empire, Claudius declared what opinion he had of the Jews. And presently he sent away Agrippa to manage his kingdom, with enlarged honours, and wrote to the governors of the provinces and to the magistrates to favour him. And he, as it befitted a man that had had happy success, returned with speed. And coming to Jerusalem, he performed or offered thank-offerings, omitting nothing that was enjoined by the law. Wherefore he caused many Nazarites to be shaven ; and the golden chain which was given him by Caius, weighing equally with the iron chain, that had bound his royal hands<sup>6</sup>, he hung up<sup>7</sup> in the consecrate court over the treasury, for a memorial of his adversity, and for a witness of his better fortune. Thus Agrippa having performed rightly this his service to God, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high-priesthood, and conferred the honour upon Simon the son of Boethus ; whose name was also Cantheras : thus Josephus, Antiq. l. 19. c. 4.

§ *Peter not imprisoned in the second year of Claudius.*

To which let us join some of St. Luke's text in the twelfth of the Acts, and then let us make use of both together. " Now about that time (saith he), Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain<sup>8</sup> of the church ; and he killed James, the brother of John, with the sword. And because he saw, it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter : then were the days of unleavened bread."

<sup>6</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 880.    <sup>7</sup> Ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ, within the enclosure.

<sup>8</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 863.

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Now let the reader observe in either story one special circumstance of time; as in Josephus, that "Claudius was now second time consul:" and in St. Luke, that "James was slain before Easter:" and then let him cast whether it were possible,—at the least, probable,—that so many things should be done and intercede between the beginning of January, when Claudius entered his consulship, and Easter, as in these stories must intercede, if Peter were imprisoned at the Easter of this year; yea, though it fell the latest or farthest in the year, that ever Easter yet fell. For, for Claudius to make his decree, and disperse it;—for Agrippa to provide for his journey, and part from his friends in Rome;—for him to travel from Rome to Jerusalem, to perform his sacrifices and ceremonies there;—to seek to lay hold upon certain of the church;—to light upon James, and to kill him, and then to apprehend and imprison Peter;—and all this betwixt Claudius's entry of his consulship in January, and Easter;—is a thing so incredible (especially to him that considereth how slowly great bodies move, as kings and emperors in their actions), as that it seemeth next to impossible. For it cannot be imagined, that this decree for the Jews was the first thing that Claudius did after he was made consul; or, that he fell upon that work, in the very beginning of January: for matters of the city and of Italy, one would think, should take up the first thoughts of the consuls, when they entered into that office, and not of Jerusalem and Alexandria, so many hundreds of miles distant: and matters of the Romans themselves, and not of the Jews, a despised nation. But grant, that, on the very first day, he set pen to paper for that decree, on the second dispersed it, and on the third dismissed Agrippa,—yet must so great a prince have some preparation for so great a journey; he must have some time to part with so great acquaintance; it was strange, if he waited not some time for a convenient wind; and he must take up some reasonable time after he is shipped, before he land in Judea. After his landing, some time was required for such a king in his own kingdom, to prepare for his journey by land to Jerusalem,—some, for his settling there; some for his sacrifices, and performances of the rites of the law mentioned: and all these before the apprehension

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of James ; and that no man knows how long before Easter. Let indifferency judge, whether all these things were possible to be done in that space of time ; and then let it censure of the matter in hand.

To the eviction of this opinion, that Peter went to Rome, and there began his episcopacy the second year of Claudius, Romanists themselves may be produced, that do gainsay it, as Salmeron on the twelfth of the Acts,—who holds, that he went thither in Claudius's fourth ; and he produceth Comestor, Nauclerus, and Petrus ' de natalibus,' of the same opinion with him.

So likewise Simeon the metaphrast, though he bring Peter from Jerusalem this year for fear of Herod, and lead him through many places, ordaining churches, and making bishops ; yet, in conclusion, he mentioneth not one word of Rome, but bringeth him to Jerusalem again at Passover next. Hereupon, Surius, or at least his marginist, and Baronius, are ready to give him the lie ; and though they both allege him, and applaud him while he serveth their own humour, yet, here they fly in his face, and tell him he is beside the cushion, because he is beside their opinion ; and saith not what they would have him say.

Upon consideration of what hath been said before, we have put over the death of James to the year next following, as not seeing it possible to have fallen out this year before Easter, all circumstances being well considered. And accordingly have we referred thither, as the order requireth, the imprisonment of Peter, and his fleeing for his life, or retiring for some other cause, which the Romanists will have to have been to Rome ; and there will we take it into some examination again.

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### PART III<sup>d</sup>.

#### THE ROMAN HISTORY.

THE MOORS, rebelling, are beaten by Suetonius Paulinus, and, after him, by Cn. Sidius Geta ; who, following them far

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 881.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 864.

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into the sands, fell into an extreme want of water for his army. But, by the wicked advice and furtherance of a renegade Moor, he obtaineth an extraordinary great rain, by magic, to the sufficient refreshing of his army, and the terror and subduing of the enemy. And now did Claudius divide Mauritania into Tingitana and Cæsariensis.

Claudius is exceedingly delighted with, and given to, the cruelty of the sword-plays, in which he swept away a world of servants and freedmen, that had been accusers of their masters in the time of Caius. And, which was most ridiculous, he caused the statue of Augustus to be removed out of the place, because it should not behold such bloody work ; being inhumanly himself delighted in that butchery, which he thought too barbarous for a brazen statue to look upon.

These bloody spectacles brought him to a habit of cruelty, which was augmented and hardened in him by the damnable counsels of his empress Messalina, a woman, wicked above parallel or expression :—and, by the spurrings on of other sycophants, C. Appius Silanus is put to death, because he refused to incestuate Messalina, when she desired him, for he had married her mother: but, because Claudius must not hear of this beastly cause of her displeasure, Narcissus, a freeman of the emperor, accused him for this,—that, in a dream, he had seen Appius slay the emperor.

Upon his death, the people began to expect no more goodness from Claudius at all, but gave him up for a tyrant, like the two that had gone before him. Whereupon, Annus Vincianus, and Furius Camillus Scribonianus, and others, conspired against him ; but being deserted of their soldiers in the enterprise, they are glad to end their lives by their own hands, that they might escape the executioner's.

Messalina and Narcissus, and others of their faction, using the stupid folly of the emperor to the compassing of their own wills, involve, in false accusations and in miserable deaths, an infinite multitude of men and women, honourable and inferior, of all qualities and conditions, according as the spleen of any of them moved or was provoked. Among them that thus perished, Arria the wife of Cæcina is upon record for her Roman valour: for when her husband trembled, and was afraid to slay himself, she took the sword out of his

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hand, and fell upon it, and gave it him again, reeking with her blood, with these words, "Behold, boy, how I feel no pain." And now, saith my author, were matters come to such a pass, that nothing was reputed a greater virtue, than to die valiantly and like a Roman. To such a cruelty had custom and evil counsel brought him, that of himself was of a reasonable gentle nature, but wanted constancy and discretion to manage it.

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L. VITELLIUS, }

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 CHAP. XII<sup>f</sup>.

Ver. 2: "*And he killed James.*"

§ 1. *The martyrdom of James the Great.*

WE are now come to the time of Great James's death. For Agrippa coming the last year into Judea, as we saw from Josephus, and it not being probable that he should do this exploit before Easter, as the circumstances told us; we may justly take this year for its proper time and place. "Now, about that time (saith St. Luke), Herod the king" (the Syriac addeth, 'who is called Agrippa') "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Jews; and he killed James the brother of John with the sword." The first words, "about that time," relate to what went before in the preceding chapter, ver. 28; and meaneth, "in the days of Claudius Cæsar." Now, what should be the incentive of the spleen of Agrippa against the church, is not specified: it may well be supposed it proceeded from that his ceremoniousness and strict observance of Mosaic rites, which is mentioned by Josephus. Concerning the martyrdom of James under this his spleen, we will content ourselves with the words of the text, "He killed James the brother of John with the sword;" account-

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 883.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 865.

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ing all other additional circumstances, which may be found in officious authors, to be nothing else but gilded legends, and fond inventions: as that mentioned by Eusebius out of Clemens's 'Hypotyposeon,' concerning his accuser, that seeing his constancy to the death, confessed the faith, and was martyred<sup>g</sup> with him: that by Epiphanius, that he lived and died a virgin: and that by Surius<sup>h</sup> (who is the bell-wether for old winter tales), that telleth, that his body, after his martyrdom, was shipped by Ctesiphon and his fellow-bishops for Spain; that the ship in six days was directed thither, without pilot or compass, but only by the influence of the corpse that it carried: that, at the landing, the body was taken up into the air, and carried near the place of its burial, twelve miles off: that Ctesiphon and his fellows were led to it by an angel:—and more such trash, that it is but labour lost, either to read or mention.

### § 2. *The Apostles' Creed.*

“The Creed was made upon this occasion (saith Rabanus Maurus<sup>i</sup>), as our ancestors have delivered unto us. The disciples, after the ascension of our Saviour, being inflamed with the Holy Ghost, &c, and being charged by the Lord to go to all nations for the preaching of the gospel,—when they are to part one from another, they first make a common platform among themselves for their future preaching: lest being severed in place, divers and different things should be preached to those, that were invited to the faith of Christ. Being therefore together in one place, and filled with the Holy Ghost, they compose a short platform for their preaching, conferring together what they thought. And this they appoint to be given to them that believe, and to be called *Symbolum*,” &c. Thus he, and very many others with him, conceiving that the apostles supplied not only the matter of the doctrine contained in the Creed, but the very form and words also.

For Peter said, say they, “I believe in God, the Father Almighty.”

John, “The maker of heaven and earth.”

<sup>g</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 384.

<sup>h</sup> Tom. 2. Julii 25.

<sup>i</sup> De Institut. Cleric. l. 2. c. 56. extat in Auctario ad Biblioth. Patrum, col. 620.

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James, "And I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord."

Andrew, "Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

Philip, "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried."

Thomas, "He descended into hell: the third day, he rose again from the dead."

Bartholomew, "He ascended into heaven: sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

Matthew, "From thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead."

James the son of Alpheus, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic church."

Simon Zelotes, "The communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins."

Judas the brother of James, "The resurrection of the flesh."

Matthias, "The life everlasting. Amen."

Thus the hundred and fifteenth Sermon 'de Tempore,' that goeth under the name of Austin<sup>j</sup>: but apparent that it is not his, by this, that here is reckoned "the descent into hell," which, in his book, 'de Fide et Symbolo<sup>k</sup>,' is quite omitted.

Now, were this tradition as true as it is punctual, it would readily plead for its own place in chronology,—namely, about this time at which we now are, before James's death; for he gave in his symbolum (according to this tradition) among the rest. But that this opinion of the apostles' casting in every one his parcel, is of no validity, but a presumptuous and false surmise, may be evinced by these arguments:

First, Because<sup>l</sup> the title of "The Catholic church," is neither used in any of the apostles' writings; nor is it likely that it came into use, till after the apostles' days, when the church was dispersed into all parts of the earth.

Secondly, Because the article, "He descended into hell," is not owned or acknowledged at all by the Nicene Creed, nor by any of the ancientest fathers next the apostles' times,

<sup>j</sup> Tom. 10. col. 849.

<sup>k</sup> Tom. 3. p. 143.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Perk. on the Creed.

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in their reckoning up of the articles of the Creed; as see instances in abundance in Polanus's 'Syntagma<sup>m</sup>,' lib. 6. cap. 21.

Thirdly, If the matter and words of the Creed had been from the apostles themselves, why is it not then canonical Scripture as well as any of the sacred writ?

Fourthly, In the giving-in of their several symbols or parcels, after the manner opinionated before, there is so great disproportion and inequality, some giving so much, and some so little, that it maketh the contribution itself to be very suspicious.

Fifthly, The summary collection of the points of Christian religion, taught by the apostles, and delivered by them to others to teach by, consisteth of two heads,—faith and love, 2 Tim. i. 13. But the Creed consisted of faith only. "I rather think therefore (saith Mr. Perkins), that it is called the Apostles' Creed, because it doth summarily contain the chief and principal points of religion, handled and propounded in the doctrine of the apostles; and because the points of the Creed are conformable and agreeable to their doctrine and writings."

### § 3. *Traditions*<sup>n</sup>.

With their framing of the Creed before their parting, hath Baronius joined also their delivery of traditions: "Sicut Symbolo (saith he) ita etiam aliis absque Scriptura traditionibus ecclesiæ impertitis, diviserunt sibi, ad quas singuli proficiscerentur, orbis terræ provincias:" "Having thus imparted the Creed, and also traditions without Scripture to the church, they parted among themselves what country every one of them should go unto."

These traditions the council of Trent<sup>o</sup> divideth into "those, which were received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ; or delivered from hand to hand, from the apostles to our times; the Holy Ghost dictating them unto them." And these, those fathers hold of equal authority with the Scriptures; and the council curseth them, that shall, willingly and knowingly, contemn them. And well do they deserve it, if they did but certainly and assuredly know, that

<sup>m</sup> Page 410.

<sup>n</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 885.

<sup>o</sup> Sess. 4. decret. 1. extat tom. 4. Conciliorum part 2.

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they came from such hands. Bellarmine<sup>p</sup> hath stretched the name and piece of traditions to one tenterhook higher. For "Traditions (saith he) are divine, apostolical, and ecclesiastical. *Divine* are those, which were received from Christ himself teaching his apostles, and yet are not to be found in the Scriptures; such are<sup>q</sup> those, which concern the matter and form of the sacraments. *Apostolical* are those, which were instituted by the apostles, not without the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and yet are not to be found in their Epistles. *Ecclesiastical* traditions are properly called certain old customs, begun either by prelates, or by people, which, by little and little, by the tacit consent of the people, obtained the power of a law." Under these heads, especially under the two first, hath he placed these particulars, "The perpetual virginity of Mary; the number of the canonical books; baptizing of infants; blessing the water before; bidding them renounce Satan and his works; signing them with the sign of the cross; anointing them with oil; not re-baptizing after heretics; lent; ember week; inferior orders in the church; worshipping of images," &c. To which others add<sup>s</sup>, "The oblation of the sacrament of the altar; invocation of saints; prayer for the dead; the primacy; confirmation; orders; matrimony; penance; extreme unction; merits; necessity of satisfaction; auricular confession," &c. Into which controversy not to enter, concerning the thing itself, which so many grave and learned pens have handled sufficiently, reckoned by Bellarmine, though with small good will, in his entry upon this question; let but reason and indifferency censure, concerning that which is more proper to this discourse,—namely, the time of delivering these traditions, whether this or any other. And here, in the first place, let the reader but consider, that, at this time, there was no more of the New Testament written, than the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; if so be, that those also were written at this time. And then let him judge, how senseless a thing it is to speak of delivering unwritten traditions to the church, when almost all the New Testament was yet to be written.

<sup>p</sup> Lib. 4. de verbo non script. c. 2. extat tom. 1. p. 166.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 867.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. 4. de verbo non script. c. 9.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Whitaker de S. Script. contro. 1. q. 9. c. 5.

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Or take it at the council at Jerusalem, which was divers years hence, when all the apostles were all together, and giving rules to the church; or take it at Paul's apprehension at Jerusalem, when imagine all the apostles to be together again, and even at either of those times, will the same absurdity follow still, for no more of the New Testament was written, or very little more than now. And then how ridiculous doth it appear, that the apostles should offer to give rules to the church by unwritten tradition, when they had all their Epistles for rules of the church yet to write. If they would leave the church to be regulated by unwritten traditions, why should they write after? And if they would have her regulated by their writings, why should they give her unwritten traditions before? A quick wit will nimbly answer, that "they left her such traditions as were not to be expressed in their writings:" but let an honest conscience and an unprejudicate judgment censure, whether this will abide the test, yea or no. For, is it within any compass of likelihood, that these apostles did know what things Paul would not write of in his Epistles, that they should deliver such things beforehand for tradition, when, as yet, they hardly knew, whether he was to be an apostle of the Gentiles or no; when they did not know, whether he would write any epistles or no, much less did they know what epistles he would write? "Appello conscientiam:" and so much for traditions.

Ver. 3: "*He proceeded to take Peter also,*" &c.

§ *Peter's imprisonment and delivery.*

James's death was seconded by Peter's imprisonment; but his time for martyrdom was not yet come, as was the other's. Agrippa, having laid hold upon him, deferred his execution<sup>t</sup> till after the Passover<sup>u</sup>; either because he would not defile that holy feast with effusion of human blood; or because he would afflict Peter the more, and give the Jews the greater content, by his long restraint and strait imprisonment; or rather, because he feared a tumult, if he should have slain him in that concourse of people, as was there at

<sup>t</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 886.

<sup>u</sup> *Sanctius* in Acts xii.

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Passover-time. Thus lay he guarded, with four quaternions, or (as the Syriac hath it) with sixteen soldiers, which, as it seemeth, watched him by course, for the four watches of the night; two close by him, and two at the gate. Besides these two and two successive jailors, he was bound with two chains; and, if<sup>v</sup> some say true, his two keepers were tied for the more sureness in the same chains with him. Happy men were they sure, that had so great interest in these happy chains; which, if you dare believe Surius<sup>w</sup>, had the virtue to work miracles, to diffuse grace, to procure holiness, to heal diseases, to affright the devil, and to defend Christians. They were preserved, saith he, by some of Herod's servants that believed; and, in process of time, laid up for a sacred relic at Constantinople; and there either he or they lie.

That very night, that preceded Peter's intended execution, he, being fast asleep between his keepers, is waked, loosed, and delivered by an angel. Baronius<sup>x</sup> maketh a great matter of it, that the whole church prayed for Peter whilst he was in prison; and, since the like is not related to have been done by them for any other, he will needs from hence infer his primacy, the whole flock praying for her universal pastor; whereas<sup>y</sup>, the reasons of this expression are apparent to be only these two:—First, To show that the church was praying for him, whilst he was sleeping; for after he had taken a part of his first sleep, this night he cometh to the house of John Mark, and they are there still out of their beds, and at prayer. Secondly, Because the fruit of their prayers were showed in his delivery. There is no doubt but constant prayers were made for James by the whole church, whilst he was in prison, as well as for Peter; but so much is not expressed, because the story could not answer that relation with relation of his delivery. And atheism and profaneness would have been ready to have scoffed, that the whole church should have prayed in vain.

The angel and Peter (thus loosed) pass two watches, and then come to the iron gate. There are some, that hold these watches to be two prisons; and the word *φυλακή* to be taken, as it were, passively, for places where men are kept; and that

<sup>v</sup> Sanct. ubi supra ex Chrysost.

<sup>w</sup> August. 8. c. 18—20.

<sup>x</sup> Annal. ad ann.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 868.

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Peter was in a jail within these two, as in the worst, basest, and surest place; and that all were closed with a gate of iron. But others<sup>2</sup> hold these watches to be guards of men; and, that the prison was without the city, between or within the two outmost walls: but, in these things, it is not material to insist for determination. The latter is far the more probable, both in regard of the signification of the Greek word, and that Josephus mentioneth three walls about Jerusalem, and divers towers in every wall; as also in regard of the greater heightening of the miracle, in that Peter escapeth, not only his own sixteen men's watch, at the prison-door, but also two watches more at the two walls' gates: and the second, which was the iron-gate, gave them free passage of its own accord.

Peter, being cleared of the danger, and left of the angel, betaketh himself to the house of Mary the mother of John Mark: where, when Rhoda, upon his knocking and speech, averred constantly it was Peter, the whole company there assembled conclude, that it was his angel. Here is some ambiguity about their thus concluding<sup>a</sup>. Some understand it of his tutelar angel; and from hence would strongly plead the opinion, that every man hath his proper and allotted angel to attend him.

But, first, We sometimes read of one angel attending many men.

Secondly, Sometimes of many angels attending one man.

But, thirdly, If the matter may be agitated by reason,—if a singular angel be destined to the attendance of every singular man, what doth that angel do, till his man be born? especially, what did all the angels, but Adam's and Eve's, and a few more, for many hundreds of years, till the world was full? Others<sup>b</sup>, therefore, understand it of a messenger, which, the disciples supposed, Peter had sent to them upon some errand. But this opinion is easily confuted by Rhoda's owning of Peter's voice<sup>c</sup>. There is yet a third opinion, as much unwarrantable as either of these; that the disciples concluded, that an angel, by this knocking and voice, came to give them notice of Peter's death to be near at hand; and

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Baron.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Salmeron. in locum.

<sup>a</sup> Chrysost. in loc. hom. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Aretius in loc.

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that, therefore, they call him his angel ; and that it was sometimes so used, that one saint should know of another's death by such revelations. The Jews, indeed, in their writings, make frequent mention of Samael, the angel of death ; but they call him so for inflicting it, and not for foretelling it. And we have some examples, indeed, in the ecclesiastical history, of one man knowing of another's death by such revelations and apparitions as these : but because those stories are very dubitable in themselves, and that the Scripture<sup>d</sup> is utterly without any such precedent, this interpretation is but utterly groundless and unwarrantable. The most proper and most easy meaning, therefore, of those words of the disciples ; " It is his angel," seemeth to be, that they took it for some angel, that had assumed Peter's shape, or stood at the gate in his resemblance.

Ver. 17 : " *He departed, and went to another place.*"

The place whither he went, is not to be known, because not revealed by Scripture. As for his going to Rome, which is the gloss that Papists set upon this place, it is a thing senseless and ridiculous, as was touched before, and might be showed at large, were it worth the labour. I should as soon nominate Antioch for the place, whither he went at this time ; as any other place at a far distance. For I cannot imagine any time, when he and Paul should meet at Antioch, and Paul reprove him, Gal. ii. 11, so likely as this time : for it is most probable, that Peter, being put to flee for his life, would get out of the territories of Herod for his safety : now there was no place more likely for his safety than in Antioch ; where not only the distance of place might preserve him, but the new-born church would seek to secure him.

Ver. 21 : " *And, upon a day, Herod arrayed in royal apparel.*"

The acts of this Herod Agrippa, after his coming from Rome to Jerusalem, and the manner of his death, are largely described by Josephus ; and, therefore, we will trace them in him in our Jewish story.

\* *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 887.*

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## PART II<sup>a</sup>.

### THE ROMAN STORY.

#### § 1. *Some acts of Claudius this year.*

THE Roman year was now taken almost wholly up with sacrifices and holy-days, even as it is at this day, to the great hinderance of the people in their employments and occasions: therefore, Claudius, being now consul, abrogated abundance of these days and solemnities, and contracted those that he let remain, into as narrow compass as was possible. Many things, that Caius had foolishly given away, he remanded; and many again that he had wickedly wronged, he repaired. He brought Lycia under servitude, because, in a tumult, they had slain some Romans, and he joined it to Pamphylia: and disfranchised a Lycian ambassador that came to treat about the business, because he could not speak Latin, saying, that "it was not fit that he should be a Roman, that understood not the Roman tongue:" and many others he disfranchised for other causes. Yet on the contrary was he most lavish,—he, Messalina, and his and her favourites,—in conferring the Roman freedom and other offices for money; insomuch, that he was glad to give an account of it in an oration in Campus Martius. He exhibited some sword-plays, this year, in the camp.

#### § 2. *The abominable whoredoms and actions of Messalina the empress.*

She lived in continual lust and uncleanness: and was not content to do so herself, but she forced divers other women to the same course. Nay, she caused some women to commit adultery, even in the very sight of their own husbands. And those that consented to her villany, she honoured and rewarded; and those that did not, she hated and sought to destroy. These her detestable carriages she kept long unknown from Claudius, providing him lasses for his bed, while she took, whom she thought good, to hers: and killing and taking out of the way, whomsoever she sus-

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 869.

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pected likely to tell Claudius. So slew she Catonius Justus, to prevent his telling of tales: and the two Julias upon other occasions.

A Roman knight was also, this year, executed as for some conspiracy against the emperor.

§ 3. *An<sup>s</sup> expedition into England.*

This year, did Aulus Plautius, with much ado, lead an army into Britain. For one Bericus, who had been expelled thence for sedition, had persuaded Claudius to send an army over: but hardly would the soldiers be gotten out of Gaul over thither, they being incensed and taking it ill, that they should go fight even out of the world. Narcissus, being sent by Claudius to the army, made a speech to them, which exasperated them the more; insomuch, that they made the outcry of "Io Saturnalia," or "All masters;" and were ready to make head; but, at last, they willingly followed Plautius. He parted his army into three parts; because that, if they were repelled and opposed in one place, they might land in another. They had some trouble in their passage, through cross winds; but they took heart and bare it out; and the rather, because a bright light or flame ran from the east towards the west, even that way, that they were to go. They entered the island without opposition: for the Britons suspected not their coming: but when they were now entered, and they not ready to withstand them, they ran into the woods and bogs, hoping to weary out the Romans with following and seeking them, and so to cause them to return without doing any more.

It cost Plautius a great deal of toil, accordingly, to find them out; which at last he did, and overcame first Caractacus, and then Jogodumnus, the two sons of Cynobellinus, who himself was but lately dead.

These fleeing, he took into homage part<sup>h</sup> of the Boduni<sup>i</sup>, who were subject to the Catuellani<sup>k</sup>: for the Britons were now subject to divers kings. He, leaving a garrison there, marched on till he came to a river, which, the Britons

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 888.    <sup>h</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 870.

<sup>i</sup> Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

<sup>k</sup> Buckinghamshire and Herefordshire. See Camden's Britain.

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thought, he could not have passed without a bridge; and, therefore, they encamped carelessly on the other side. But Plautius sent over some German<sup>j</sup> soldiers, who were accustomed to swim over rivers, and they suddenly assault the enemy, but wounded not the men, but only their horses that should have drawn their chariots, and so spoiled and undid the riders. Then sent he over Flavius Vespasian, who was afterward emperor, and Sabinus his brother; who, passing the river, slew many of the enemies on a sudden. Yet did not the rest flee; but gave battle the next day; and the fortune of the fight was doubtful, till C. Sidius Geta, being in danger to be taken, did so stoutly behave himself, that he got the victory, and triumphal honours, though he were not consul.

Then did the Britons betake themselves to the Thames, towards the place, where it falls into the sea, and flows high; and they easily got over, knowing the convenientest places: but the Romans, following them, were in danger. When the Germans had again swum the river, and others had passed at a bridge above, they fell upon the Britons on all parts, and made a great slaughter: but, in pursuit of them, they fell into some marshes, and so lost many of their men.

Upon this mishap, and because the Britons were exceedingly exasperated for the death of Jogodumnus, and made still greater preparations for war, Plautius proceeded no farther; but garrisoning those places that he had gotten, he sends for Claudius: for so he had been commanded to do, if he came to a pinch.

Claudius, receiving the tidings, prepares for the expedition; and, among many other things, brings divers elephants along with him; and coming to his army at the Thames, and passing the river, he fights a pitched battle, and obtains the victory, and takes in Camalodunum<sup>k</sup> the chief<sup>l</sup> city of Cynobellinus; disarms the Britons; leaves them that were conquered, to be governed, and the rest to be conquered, by Plautius; and so goes for Rome, where the senate gives him the title of Britannicus, appoints triumphs and statues for him, and honours for Messalina.

<sup>j</sup> Κελτούς.

<sup>k</sup> Maldon.

<sup>l</sup> Βασιλείον, Regiam.

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 § 3. *A whorish trick of Messalina.*

Little did she either deserve either honour or respect; but fear and flattery regard not desert. Among her various and continual adulteries, she cast her eyes of lust upon one Mnester, an actor or player, a man that had been very intimate with Caius, and never the better to be thought of for that. This man she solicits to her bed, with words, promises, and gifts; but prevails not with him, not for any honesty that was in the man, but for fear of the displeasure of Claudius. When the shameless strumpet could not prevail with all her solicitations, she goeth to Claudius, and desires him to command Mnester to do what she would have him: which Claudius did, not knowing what he commanded<sup>m</sup>. And then did Mnester adulterate the empress so freely from fear of Claudius, that he thought it had been the emperor's express mind he should so do. And by divers other men did Messalina practise the very same project. And to that impudency did she grow in her whoredom with this Mnester, that, when the senate had commanded, that all the brass coin, that bare Caius's image, should be melted, and this in detestation of Caius,—she caused pictures of Mnester to be made of it.

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 PART III<sup>n</sup>.

## THE JEWISH STORY.

 § 1. *Agrippa's actions at Jerusalem, after his return from Rome.*

AGRIPPA returned, the last year, to Jerusalem; where, as we observed and saw before, he performed much ceremoniousness, and changed the high-priest, slew James, and imprisoned Peter. Besides these things, he remitted a tribute to the men of Jerusalem, for their kindness in entertaining of him: he obtained the letters of Petronius to the men of Dor for the removal of Cæsar's statue, which some

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 889.

<sup>n</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 871.

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A. D. 44: CLAUDIUS, 3: A. M. 3971: A. U. C. 796.

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sedition men had set up in their synagogue: he removed Cantheras from the high-priest again, and placed Matthias in his stead. He imprisoned Silas, the master of his horse, for his free discourse concerning his service done to him in the time of his calamity and poverty; but on his birth-day festival he enlarged him again; where he, continuing still in the same freedom of speech, he imprisoned him again. He began to fortify Jerusalem, and to make it exceeding strong; but Marsus (the present governor of Syria instead of Petronius) got letters from Claudius to stop his work, as suspicious towards innovation. He was exceedingly observant of his country's laws, and much care and cost he bestowed on sacrifices; yet was he challenged by one Simon<sup>o</sup>, that took on him to be a teacher, for an unholy man, and one unfit to come into the temple: which Simon he sent-for to Cæsarea, where he questioned with him about the words, and dissuaded him without punishment, but with a reward.

He built sumptuous things in Berytus,—as, a theatre, amphitheatre, baths, porches, and such-like magnificences; and set seven hundred and seven hundred condemned men to fight together for pastime; and so destroyed them. From thence he went to Tiberias of Galilee, whither divers kings came to him to visit. And so did Marsus also, the governor of Syria; but he seeing so many kings together with him (for they were five), he suspected the matter as tending to innovation; and therefore, he commanded them home. Herod, after this, went down to Cæsarea, and there he made sports and shows in honour of Cæsar; and, on the second day, being most gorgeously apparelled, and the sun shining very bright upon his bright clothing, his flatterers saluted him for a god, and cried out to him; “Be merciful unto us; hitherto have we feared thee as a man, but henceforward we will acknowledge thee to be of a nature more excellent than mortal frailty can attain unto.” The wretched king reprov'd not this abominable flattery, but did digest it: and, not long after, he espied his owl, which the German had foretold to be the omen of his death. And suddenly, he was seized with miserable gripings in his belly, which came upon him with vehement extremity; whereupon turning himself

<sup>o</sup> It may be this story aimeth something at Simon Peter.

## CLAUDIUS, III. L. VITELLIUS, COSS.

towards his friends, "Lo (saith he), he, whom ye esteem for a god, is doomed to die; and destiny shall evidently confute you in those flattering and false speeches, which you lately used concerning me. For I, who have been adored by you, as one immortal, am now under the hands of death." And so his griefs and torments increasing, his death drew on apace; whereupon he was removed into the palace; and all the people put on sackcloth, and lay on the ground praying for him; which he beholding, could not refrain from tears. And so, after five days, he gave up the ghost, being now fifty-four years old; and having reigned seven years,—four years in the time of Caius, and three under Claudius. He left a son behind him of seventeen years old, named also Agrippa,—and three daughters, Berenice, Mariamme, and Drusilla. Before his death was published, his brother Herod, the prince of Chalcis, and Chelchias the king's lieutenant, caused Silas to be put to death.



A

# CHRONICAL TABLE

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CHIEF STORIES  
CONTAINED IN THE  
COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS.

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**FRAGMENTA QUÆDAM**  
**HISTORIÆ**  
**ROMANÆ ET CHRISTIANÆ,**  
**DE REBUS ET PERSONIS**  
**QUATUOR PRIMORUM SECLORUM.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 354

LECTURE 1

STATISTICAL MECHANICS

FRAGMENTA QUÆDAM<sup>a</sup>  
HISTORIÆ  
ROMANÆ ET CHRISTIANÆ,  
&c.

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SECVLI I. CAPVT I<sup>b</sup>.

*De assumptione Virginis Mariæ in cælum.*

MASSÆVS, in sua chronologia<sup>c</sup> ad hunc annum, meminit *assumptionis* Virginis Mariæ, cum nulli hominum 36 A. D. hactenus tempus ejus assignare datum esset. 3964 A. M. Narratiuncula hæc primum, ut rumor fert, in 21 Tiberii. notuit revelatione: sed, ut verum dicam, primam sui originem debet superstitioni,—pro fundamento habet commoditatem et amorem dierum festalium, —promota et defensa est credulitate et longa consuetudine. Fabula, si tempus respicias, non magis sibi constans et lubrica est, quam sexus ille, qui ejus est argumentum; fabula non minus vana et impia quoad alias circumstantias, quam ipsa (Maria videlicet) seria et sancta fuit.

I. Enim circa tempus tanti miraculi tam insignis est differentia, ut nullo modo mirum sit, si quem suspicio subeat illud nullo unquam juxta calculum suum tempore contigisse, quod tam diversis temporibus factum narratur. Nam auctor meus eam in scenam producit duobus post adscensionem Servatoris nostri annis; alii interstitium ponunt annorum duodecim, alii duorum et viginti; alii statuunt assumptionem hanc contigisse anno quarto et vicesimo ab adscensione Domini, alii alia assignant tempora:—ac proinde nisi illi, quibus cordi est materiam hanc ceu veram mundo obtrudere, inter se consentiant, non video, cur fidem et assensum suum non possint aut debeant suspendere, quos cura ea non tangit, aut quorum hæc scire nihil interest.

Historiola hæc primum orta est, teste Eusebio, (si modo

<sup>a</sup> Not in the *English folio-edition*.

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 3. p. 148.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronol. Mund.* lib. 8.

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A. D. 36: A. M. 3964: TIBERII, 21.

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ipse sit qui id dixisse dicitur; Baronius enim dubitat, an ipse dicat, aut non) ex revelatione. Sed quis nobis dicere poterit, cui revelata sit? Quid? an revelata est virgini Elisabethæ, ac postliminio Bertrاندæ Cisterciensi? Sed quid attinet<sup>e</sup> tanti momenti rem hominibus credendam obtrudere, si tam exiguis ac obscuris nitatur fundamentis? cum Dionysius Areopagita, funeralium Mariæ spectator, eam in cœlum assumptam esse fidejubeat; quod ceu fide dignum testimonium in suis ad primum caput Actorum notis Rhemistæ citant. Sed hujus testimonium tantisper seponamus, usquedum tempus et locus occasionem libri illius examinandi suppeditent.

Non minus mirum est, quam assumptio ipsa, tam insignem et nitide confictam historiam, quæ omnium assensum meretur, et festi diei fundamentum futurum esset, tam debilibus columnis inædificari, ut quidem hic sese produnt, modo ne quæ assertioni huic confirmandæ proferuntur, castelli in aere fabrefacti speciem habeant. 1. Firmissimum fundamentum, quod Eusebius huic historiæ substernit, non aliud est, quam hoc, debile satis: “Quidam fuisse sibi revelatum scribunt<sup>d</sup>,” videlicet, Virginem Mariam ad filium suum assumptam esse. 2. Baronius, qui humeros suos adstruendæ hujus historiæ veritati commodat, et omnibus viribus columnas, quibus ea innititur, sartas tectas tuetur, (secus ac Samson, qui columnas evertibat) non aliud illi statuminandæ fulcimentum, quam hoc unicum, at miserum, subjungit: “Nec quis putet derogatum quicquam ejus gloriæ, hæc remansisse tam obscura. Nam historia hæc non solum instar solis, qui radiorum suorum claritate seipsum conspicuum præbet, nullis tenebris, propter Scriptorum de ea paucitatem, involuta est, sed in mediis his tenebris seipsam magis conspiciendam præbet: quæ enim Catholici orbis pars est, ubi festum assumptionis ejus non quotannis solenniter celebretur? Propheticum enim illud oraculum, quod ab ipsa pronunciatum, et ab evangelista conscriptum est, ‘Ecce ab hoc tempore beatam me prædicabunt omnes ætates,’ sufficiens videtur ad expellendas et superandas omnes tenebras, et amplissimam ejus gloriam patefaciendam<sup>e</sup>.” Quis credet eam fuisse revela-

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 3. p. 149.

<sup>d</sup> *Chron.* ad ann. Chr. 48.

<sup>e</sup> *Baron. Annal.* ad ann. 48.

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 A. D. 36 : A. M. 3964 : TIBERII, 21.
 

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tam, absque revelatione alia, quam ‘ Quidam scribunt,’ immo quis credet ullum pene hominem illam crediturum? fortiora enim argumenta sæpius producta sunt ad probandum id, quod in natura rei longe erat vero similis, quibus tamen assensus fuit denegatus. Interim hæc historia omnibus creditur esse vera, non alio fundamento, quam quod produximus, aut huic simile est; quæ, sive seorsim sive conjunctim sumta, non majoris ponderis, quam nulla, sunt; nimirum, fides ei habetur, si Baronio credimus, in toto Catholicorum orbe, et, si vera loquitur Hildephonsus<sup>f</sup>, festivitas illa in terra, cælo, et inferno celebratur. Sic enim in quinto de Assumptione sermone ejus anniversariam festivitatem deprædicat? “ Universus mundus hunc diem festum celebrat. Die enim, qui Matris Dei assumptæ honori dicatus est, angeli gaudent, virgines ipsi gratulantur, patriarchæ et prophetæ Deum colaudant, apostoli et evangelistæ salutant, matres gloriantur, papæ, confessores, et doctores Catholici exultant. Si licitum est, plus dicam; et dicam id ex certa præsumptione; dicam id cum sancta stultitia; universus mundus lætatur, et debito jubilo gaudet, inferno excepto, qui ejulat, murmurat, et lamentatur, quod hujus diei festivitas et lætitia iis, qui infernalibus claustris detinentur, aliquod solamen apportet. Censeo enim inferni potestatibus eo die illicitum esse captivos suos ullo modo vexare.”

Quantopere dolendum fuisset tanta festivitate, qualis hæc est, mundum, ipsum Credo, et Fastos fuisse orbatos! Verumenimvero, si annua hæc festivitas, quæ memoriam ejus tantummodo repetit, ea pollet efficacia, quantam assumptionis ipsius efficaciam fuisse censes?

Sed pergamus. Specialia, quæ hanc historiam concernunt, licebit addiscere ex Melitone, Simeone Metaphraste, Nicephoro, et aliis, qui ea multo accuratius, quam S. Dionysius, enarrant. Historiam hoc modo confingunt.

Cum quodam die virgo Maria præ desiderio videndi Christi lachrymans consideret, accedebat ad eam angelus, eam immenso splendore circumfulgens, qui ei ramum palmæ itidem splendentem offerebat, addito hoc nuncio, eam intra triduum abituram visum filium suum, et ramum istum deportatum<sup>g</sup> iri ante feretrum suum. Audito hoc nuncio, illa pete-

<sup>f</sup> Hildeph. in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. 9. p. 164.

<sup>g</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 150.

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bat, ut omnes apostoli, antequam moreretur, apud se congregarentur; quod ex voto ei contigit: nam primum Johannes Ephesi coram populo concionem habens, (erat enim dies Dominica) hora ferme nona ante-meridiana, post subitum terræ motum de pulpito abripietur, et sub nûbe illinc deferretur ad domum, in qua Maria commorabatur. Concipit facile lector, quantus terror auditores occupaverit, quando concionatorem suum tam insolito modo videbant abripi, nescientes quomodo aut quorsum deferretur. Sed quicquid Ephesii de eo statuerent, aliud et majoris ponderis, quam illic Ephesiis concionari, Johanni peragendum erat. Interim hoc modo concionatore suo orbari non magis populo mirum erat, quam conspectus ejus virginem matrem gaudio afficiebat; quæ mox cum ipso acceptum nuncium communicat, palmæ ramum ostendit, quem ante feretrum tempore sepulturæ suæ portari jubet, ipsi porro mandans, ut ejus funus curaret, et præsertim, ut Judæos ab injuria corpori suo inferenda, quæ alioquin, quod Dominus Jesus ex eo natus esset, metuenda erat, arceret. Mandatum sane magnum, quod uni contra tam multos injungebatur. Verum confestim alii ipsi auxiliaturi aderant: nam omnes reliqui apostoli, una cum Paulo, nube (uti modo de Johanne dictum est) sine mora e locis dissitis, ubi concionabantur, huc ante fores domus Mariæ deferebantur. Non mirum erat eos mirari, quid causæ esset, cur omnes hoc modo congregarentur, sed causam hanc eos edocebant Johannes et virgo Maria. Ad tertium usque diem omnes hi apostoli cum Maria excubabant, Deum colaudantes: sub finem istius tridui subitus sopor omnes, qui in conclavi præsentis erant, occupabat, exceptis apostolis: eodem tempore Christus multis angelis stipatus, et ingenti splendore fulgens, in medio illorum se stitit, angelis sine intermissione cantantibus. Virgo Maria se coram Christo in faciem prosternebat, ipsum adoratura, et post habitos utrinque blandos sermones in lecto decumbens obibat. Christus autem, cum animam ejus Michaeli archangelo commendasset, et apostolos corpus emortuum terræ mandare jussisset, in cælum rediit. Quæ autem tempore sepulturæ acciderint, singula recensere infinitum esset: verbi gratia, quam vividus etiam mortuæ remanserit color; quam fragrans ejus fuerit corpus; quod nubes coronæ instar feretro insederit; quod

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 A. D. 70: VESPASIAN. 1: A. U. C. 823.
 

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angelis tempore sepulturæ alternatim canentibus quindecim hominum millia causam istius cantus inquisituri confluerint; quod denique vir quidam, loculo vim illaturus, paralysi impeditus,—alii ob eandem causam visu orbati,—et denique omnes sanati sint: quæ recensere, inquam, infinitum esset.

Locus sepulturæ tandem non videtur prætereundus; erat autem in loco quodam Gethsemanæ, quem ipsis ejus filius assignaverat. Illic angeli totum triduum *Kurie* &c. cantabant; et dubium videtur, an angeli illinc in cælum fuissent discessuri, nisi corpus ejus una cum illis illuc abiisset. Die tertio Thomas, eandem quam olim servans methodum, (nolens credere nisi vidisset) sepultum corpus visurus, et veneraturus veniebat. Quid fit? “Sepulchro<sup>h</sup> aperto id ipsum reperiebatur vacuum, sed fragrantem exhalare odorem:—inde reversus indubium credebat corpus ejus in cælum assumptum esse, prout ecclesia Dei asserit, quæ exinde id speciale matris Dei privilegium esse judicavit, ac proinde diem assumptionis ejus solenni modo celebrat.”

Hæc summa est historiæ, quam prolixius enarravi, ut ulteriori labore supersedere liceret: vidisse enim satis est, et quivis ex recensione sola judicare de ejus veritate potest. Unum hoc solummodo lectori considerandum relinquo, integram hanc fabulam ita esse confictam, ut virgo mater filio suo æquiparetur, quod liquet ex palma, quæ ante eam ferebatur, ex resurrectione ejus tertio post sepulturam die, et ex curiositate Thomæ.

Verbo, si cui libeat eam credere, quia fide digna est, et ab omnibus pro vera agnoscitur, (hæc duo enim illa sunt argumenta, quibus ad adstruendam ejus veritatem Baronius uti potest) id ipsi per me licet.

## CAPUT II<sup>i</sup>.

### DE REGNO VESPASIANI.

#### § 1.

#### *Admiranda Vespasiani.*

VESPASIANUS et Titus ineunte hoc anno erant in Ægypto; illic Roma Vitellium<sup>j</sup> obiisse nunciabatur, et

<sup>h</sup> Rhemist. in Acts i. 14.

<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 151.

<sup>j</sup> Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 4. c. 42.

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A. D. 70: VESPASIAN. 1: A. U. C. 823.

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823 A. U. C. ex omni orbis parte confluebant, qui ei  
 1 *Vespas.* de imperio gratulabantur; quorum tam in-  
 70 A. D. gens erat numerus, ut Alexandria, ubi tunc  
 temporis commorabatur, quamvis Roma  
 excepta maxima imperii urbs esset, omnibus, qui in eum  
 finem adveniebant, excipiendis non sufficeret. Sub idem  
 tempus, cum certa maris seu secundum ventum et au-  
 ram, Romam profecturus, opperiretur, potestatem miracula  
 faciendi ipsi divinitus concessam narrant, data hac occa-  
 sione. Cum pro tribunali considebat, accessit ad eum  
 homo quidam luminibus orbatus, et alius manu æger (mo-  
 nitu, uti ipsi præ se ferebant, Dei Serapidis); illo exposcente,  
 ut oculos suos saliva conspergeret; hoc, ut manum suam  
 pede calcaret. Vespasianus, postquam quid faciendum de-  
 liberasset, urgentibus iis qui præsentibus erant, præsertim  
 cæco et manco hoc, utrumque tentavit; nec eventus defuit;  
 cæco enim visus, et manco manus usus, restitutus est.  
 Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam  
 nullum mendacio pretium.

Addamus quæ de eo porro narrantur. Nilus eo die, quo  
 Alexandriam appulit, palmam ultra quam solet affluxu suo  
 exundasse dicitur: et cum in Serapidis templo solus esset,  
 hominem sibi esse visum sub forma Basilidis (qui unus suo-  
 rum libertorum erat) ipsi verbenas, libamina, et coronas, ex  
 consuetudine superstitiosæ illius nationis, offerentem; quem  
 tamen eodem tempore ægrum illinc octoginta millibus pas-  
 suum abesse constabat.

Insolita hæc, quæ de hoc Judaicæ civitatis et nationis  
 destructore narrantur, non possunt non in memoriam revo-  
 care, quæ Nebucadnezari, qui eam olim destruxerat, evene-  
 runt, quorum propheta Daniel mentionem facit: hæc poste-  
 riora autem Deum habebant auctorem, quod itidem circa  
 Vespasianum locum habuisse Romanæ historiæ scriptores  
 credunt; verum quam divinitatem aut divinam manum ipsi  
 agnoverint nulli, non notum est.

Nihil sane in iis, quæ de Vespasiano narrantur, factum  
 est, nisi quod ipsorum dii seu dæmones versutia sua efficere  
 poterant: nullum enim est dubium, quin diabolus potuerit  
 hominem Basilidi similem subornare, quin et cæcitatem et

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manus imbecillitatem, quæ postea sua potentia curata crederent, simulare. Et quod ad Nilum attinet, quamvis nolim dicere, eum non potuisse efficere, ut tam insolito more exundaret, id saltem potuit procurare, ut Vespasianus, qui ei fideliter inserviebat, et salvum conductum ab eo expectabat, eo tempore illuc adveniret, quo Nilus ad tantam altitudinem accrescere solebat.

Hujusmodi admirandis factis Vespasiani nomen celebrare Satanæ erat stratagema, ut eo facilius vera Domini vitæ miracula supprimeret; et quidem nomen Vespasiani potius quam aliorum imperatorum, quia ipse destructurus erat eam nationem et illum populum, in quorum medio ea miracula revera facta erant; ac proinde majus illa decrementum passura videbantur, quando loca, ubi ea conspicua fuerant, in cineres redigebantur. Non dissimilis huic fuit illa versutia, qua mundus ex male applicato rumore, "aliquem, ex Judæa oriundum, universo orbi esse imperaturum<sup>k</sup>," est deceptus, eum applicando Vespasiano ejusque filio Tito.

Nemo<sup>l</sup> ægre feret, si Alexandrinorum ipsorum judicium de hac re sequamur. Hi non ignari miraculorum, quæ diis suis adscribebantur, et admirandorum, quæ a Vespasiano patrata narrabantur, eum nihilominus publice et privatim explodebant et deridiculo habebant<sup>m</sup>.

## § 2.

*Quæ, ipsis Calendis Januarii, Romæ, in Senatu acciderint.*

Senatus-consulto statuebatur<sup>n</sup> regibus et exercitui, qui a Vespasiani parte steterant, gratias agendas, et eos, qui adversam partem erant tuiti, aut ab eo defecerant, puniendos.

Duodecim Tabulæ, jam ferme attritæ, jussu senatus reparabantur. Aliis publica acta recensere, et a mendaciis et adulationibus, quibus sequior ætas ea corruerat, purgare mandabatur; et senatus-consulto cavebatur, ne, multiplicatis in immensum impensis, ærarium publicum aliquid detrimenti caperet.

Dies hic multis turbis ac variorum severo examine transigebatur: criminum enim, tempore Neronis commissorum,

<sup>k</sup> Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. c. 1. Suet. ubi sup. c. 4. <sup>l</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 152.

<sup>m</sup> Dion. ubi supra.

<sup>n</sup> Tacit. Histor. lib. 4. c. 40, &c.

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accusabantur P. Celer, Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Actianus, Cestius Severus, Pactius Africanus, Aquilius, Regulus, et alii. Catalogum accusatorum publice prælegi a quibusdam petebatur; quod tamen differebatur, propterea quod justum censeretur Principis, quum advenisset, suffragium expectare: interim senatus quid de toto hoc negotio censeret, annotari jubebat, expressah ac formula, 'se Deos advocare testes, se nulli damnum fecisse, neque præmium aut honorem ex calamitate civium cepisse.' Qui vero criminum sibi conscii erant, omnibus modis curabant, ne hujus juramenti formula actis insereretur. Atrocibus hic dies contestationibus eo modo consumtus est. Eodem die senatus fiebat consultum, ut ingens a privatis pecuniæ summa mutua acciperetur.

Senatus paulo post congregatus sedatior erat, Domitiani priorum temporum dolorem atque iram oblivioni tradendam et abolendam suadens. Attamen exilio mulctabantur Octavius Sagitta, Antistius Sosianus, et Antonius Flamma. In Seniensis coloniæ plebem ob male acceptum Manlium Patruitum vindicatum est, et additum S. C. quo ea modestiæ admonebatur.

### § 3.

#### *Varia in Urbe et Imperio gesta.*

Milites Romæ, ferme in seditionem erumpentes, Muciani adventu in ordinem rediguntur. Flavii Sabini exsequiæ. L. Piso Africæ proconsul interficitur, postquam ejus servus, audacter se Pisonem esse dicens, si forte eo modo heri sui necem avertere posset, trucidatus esset.

Vespasianus et Titus discedebant Alexandria<sup>o</sup>, pater in Italiam, et filius ad obsidendam Hierosolymam. Ægre ferebat Vespasianus<sup>p</sup>, quod Domitianus, se absente, nimiam sibi potestatem arrogasset; quo non obstante gratias ei agebat, quod ipsius permissu imperium ei traderetur: verum Tito mediante hæc æmulatio cessavit. Hinc Vespasiano in Italia Brundusii<sup>q</sup> obviam venit Mucianus, et Beneventi Domitianus, qui male sibi conscius et quid faciendum esset

<sup>o</sup> Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 4. cap. 42.

<sup>p</sup> Dion. p. 745.

<sup>q</sup> Tacit. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 12. Dion. p. 749.

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incertus, ei obviam venire, ac eo modo metum suum dissimulare, consultius tandem judicabat.

Annus hic admodum erat turbulentus: in Germania enim Classicus et Civilis acre movebant bellum, quibus Romanorum haud pauci tribuni se adjungebant; et Romæ cuncta retro sublabi ac imperium periclitari videbantur. Horum omnium loco citato amplam satis mentionem facit Tacitus<sup>r</sup>; ubi præ cæteris hoc notatu dignum est, Sabinum quendam, qui sibi Cæsaris dignitatem arrogarat, bello victum, pagum, quo confugerat, incendio consumsisse; unde rumor spargebatur eum seipsum flammis tradidisse: cum interea adhuc novem annos, quamvis privatus, eo incendio supervixerit.

### CAPUT III.

#### DE REGNO NERVÆ.

AN, mortuo Domitiano, nullus e stirpe Flavianorum superstes fuerit, non operæ pretium est inquirere; præsertim cum Senatus Romanus, si quis fuisset superstes, ex ea stirpe novum imperatorem nullo modo exoptasset, ut quos jam nuperi tyranni regiminis satietas ceperat. Senatus igitur imperatorem designabat Nervam Cocceium, peregrinum quidem, sed ea gravitate, dignitate, et munificentia, ut eum præ aliis indigenis præferrent. Huic senatus consulto assentiebantur milites.

Domitianus occisus erat<sup>s</sup> quarto decimo Calendas Octobris, seu decimo octavo die Septembris, anni ab Urbe condita 849, Consulibus Cajo Fulvio Valente et C. Antistio Veteri. Ab eo die imperium Nervæ incipit, quod duravit<sup>t</sup> annum unum, menses quatuor, et dies novem, ad finem usque Januarii anni Urbis conditæ 851, quo ineunte quarta vice una cum Trajano, qui ei in imperio successit, consulatum adiit.

Post mortem Domitiani, et electionem Nervæ, omnes a Domitiano erectæ statuæ disrumpebantur, ex aureis et argenteis nummus cudebatur, et quæcunque ejus monumenta eradebantur: adeo ut nulla hujus tyranni memoria relinqueretur.

Nerva plane alio quam Domitianus ingenio erat; non solum enim ab omni tyrannica sævitia abhorrebat, sed nimia

<sup>r</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 153.

<sup>s</sup> Sueton. in Domit. p. 472.

<sup>t</sup> Dion. lib. 68. p. 771.

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ejus benignitas (quæ imperatori vitio verti potest) ansam eum culpandi præbuit, ita ut Frontonis consulis de eo iudicium verum fuerit, videlicet, “ Miserum esse habere Imperatorem, sub cuius regimine nulli quicquam liceret facere; sed pejus esse, quando cuilibet quicquid facere liceret.” Quod cum ad aures Nervæ pervenisset, ipse aliam instituere viam, et paulo severius imperium gerere cœpit.

Servos et libertos, qui tempore Domitiani heros suos accusandi et eorum perniciem procurandi potestatem sibi assumserant, morti adjudicabat; et, ne quid ejusmodi in posterum fieret, decrevit.

Sibi aureas aut argenteas statuas nolebat erigi; et quoscunque Deos sub præcedentis tyranni regimine in Capitolio seclusos reperiret, eos suis restituebat possessoribus.

Magnam agrorum copiam in pauperes erogabat; et deficientibus nummis, quæ sua aut quæ imperatori designata erant vendere, quam populo extorquere, malebat. Sacrificia et spectacula multa, ut impensis, quas ea requirebant, parceret, abrogavit. Sacramento sanciebat neminem senatorum trucidandum; quod violare nefas duxit, quamvis aliquos eorum contra se conspirasse compertum haberet.

‡ Inter alia, quæ ipse statuit, hæc memoratu digna sunt, eum prohibuisse, ne quis emascularetur, et cognatam suam in matrimonium duceret.

## SECULUM II<sup>t</sup>.

*Anno Domini centesimo, Trajanus Agrippinæ in Galliis Imperator factus, natus Italicæ in Hispania.*

Romanorum Imperatorum xi. Regnavit Trajanus ann. xix. mens. 6.

### CAPUT I.

#### DE IMPERIO TRAJANI.

TRAJANUS Romanorum imperatorum undecimus juxta calculum Eusebii<sup>u</sup> et Cassiodori<sup>v</sup>; aut secundum Orosium<sup>w</sup> ab Augusto decimus tertius; 1 *Trajan.* aut ex computo Dionis a Julio decimus quartus<sup>x</sup>, imperare cœpit anno æræ Christianæ  
4028 A. M. aut ex computo Dionis a Julio decimus quartus<sup>x</sup>, imperare cœpit anno æræ Christianæ  
100 A. D.

<sup>u</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 154.

<sup>w</sup> Lib. 7. c. 8.

<sup>v</sup> In Chron.

<sup>x</sup> Lib. 68.

<sup>v</sup> In Chron.

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centesimo, circa ejus anni Calendas Februarii. Natione erat Hispanus, et, excepto Nerva, qui eum adoptaverat, extraneorum primus, qui imperio potitus fuerat. Ab eo itaque tempore urbs, quin et imperium ipsum, condecorari et stabiliri cœpit per eos, qui neque Romanæ urbis, neque Italiæ erant indigenæ.

M. Ulpius Trajanus (hoc enim ejus nomen erat, quamvis a Nerva adoptatus insuper ejus nomen assumserit) natus erat<sup>x</sup> Italicæ, urbe Hispaniæ, in provincia Turditana, pro quo Aurelius Victor male posuit urbem Tudertinam. Ulpius dictus erat ab avo suo, et Trajanus sive a Trajo, paternæ familiæ auctore, sive de nomine patris sui, cui Trajani nomen erat<sup>y</sup>. Antiqua quidem, minus tamen clara, ejus erat familia. Pater ejus fuerat consul, et primus quidem omnium, qui ex ea prosapia ortum suum ducebant<sup>z</sup>.

Educatus est in bello; ubi admodum juvenis tribunitia potestate fungebatur<sup>a</sup>; et, si Plinii Panegyricus tam verus, quam quidem assentationibus refertus, esset, fuit Trajanus tam bello gerendo quam pacis tempore rempublicam administrando aptus, idque non solum in juvenili, sed etiam in adulta ætate; æque militis ac Imperatoris officio fungi noverat, adeo ut ei parem orbis non haberet, aut saltem ægre producere potuisset.

Nerva mortuo, offerebatur ei imperatoria dignitas, cum apud Coloniam Agrippinam castra faceret; imperavit annos novendecim, menses sex, et dies quindecim, juxta calculum Dionis et Cassiodori, quibuscum consentit Eusebius, nisi quod inæquales illos dies silentio prætereat. Qui eo tempore consules fuerint, sequens indicabit tabella.

*Consules<sup>b</sup>, regnante Trajano, ex Dione lib. 68. additis annis à nato Christo, et ab Urbe condita.*

Anni			
Traj.	A. D.	A. U. C.	
1	100	851	} Nerva Cæsar August. IV. } Nerva Trajanus Cæs. II.
2	101	852	
			} C. Sosius, II. } A. Cornelius Palma.

<sup>x</sup> Dion. loc. cit.

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Panegy.

<sup>y</sup> Aurel. Vict. Epit.

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 155.

<sup>z</sup> Eotrop. lib. 8.

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Anni			
Traj.	A. D.	A. U. C.	
3	102	853	{ Nerva Trajanus Aug. III. { M. Cornelius Fronto III.
4	103	854	{ Nerva Trajanus August. IV. { Sext. Pætus Articuleius.
5	104	855	{ C. Sosius, III. { L. Licinius Sura, II.
6	105	856	{ Nerva Trajanus Aug. V. { L. Maximus, II.
7	106	857	{ Suranus, II. { P. Neratius Marcellus.
8	107	858	{ Julius Candidus. { Julius Quadratus.
9	108	859	{ L. Commodus Verus. { L. Cerealis,
10	109	860	{ C. Sosius, IV. { L. Sura, III.
11	110	861	{ Trebonius Gallus. { M. Bradua.
12	111	862	{ Cornelius Palma, II. { C. Calvisius.
13	112	863	{ Clodius Crispinus. { Solenus Orfitus.
14	113	864	{ L. Calphurnius Piso. { Vettius Bolanus.
15	114	865	{ Nerva Trajanus August. VI. { C. Julius Africanus.
16	115	866	{ L. Celsus. { Clodius Crispinus.
17	116	867	{ Q. Ninnius Hasta. { P. Manilius Vopiscus,
18	117	868	{ M. Valerius Messala. { C. Popilius Peditus.
19	118	869	{ Æmilius Ælianus. { L. Antistius Veter.
20	119	870	{ Quinctius Niger. { T. Vipsanius Apronianus.

Hi, regnante Trajano, fuerunt consules, uti eos enumerat Dion. Longe ab eo differt Cassiodorus, si nomina et seriem inspicias: orditur insuper suum catalogum a quarto aut quinto anno consulatus sub imperio Trajani, et eum continuat, enumerando quatuor annorum binos consules, qui, Trajano jam mortuo, eo munere functi sunt. Neuter interim

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consulatus Plinii Secundi meminit; cum tamen Panegyricus ejus nos doceat, eum regnante Trajano consulem fuisse, et Panegyricum suum tempore, quo consul erat, imperatori dixisse. Verum idem ille Panegyricus abunde<sup>z</sup> satis edocet, quo pacto scrupulus hic possit removeri: nam circa medium sermonis sui hæc inserit: “Quid<sup>a</sup> quod duos pariter tertio consulatu Collegas tui sanctitate decorasti?” Et alia, quæ eodem spectant. Quibus innuit Trajanum revera assumpsisse tertium consulatum, quod tertio imperii Trajani anno contigit; sed eum resignavit in Plinium Secundum, et Cornutum Tertullum, eodem modo, quo id antea a patre suo Nerva factum erat: hoc enim verba proxime sequentia indicant: “Uterque nuper consulatum alterum gesserat a patre tuo;” ac paulo post: “Modo prætextas exuerant, resumant: modo lictores abire jusserant, revocent: modo gratulantes amici recesserant, revertantur.” Duo hi pariter secunda, et forsitan alter eorum tertia vice, consules erant<sup>b</sup>; duo hi simul præfecti erant ærarii, et, ut Plinius innuit<sup>c</sup>, publicarum viarum inspectores. Laudat ibidem Plinius collegam suum Cornutum Tertullum mirum in modum: “Cornuto, inquit, quid melius? quid sanctius? quid in omni genere laudis ad exemplar antiquitatis expressius?”

## CAPUT II.

### *Trajani prolixior descriptio.*

OPTIME Imperatorem hunc delineare Plinii Secundi calamus, modo tam sincerus, quam idoneus, et tam ab assentando, quam quidem præ se fert, alienus fuisset. Tanta inter eos intercedebat familiaritas, et consuetudo, ut nemo hominum Imperatorem melius ipso ob oculos ponere posset: sed cum ea tanta fuerit, non aliud expectandum, quam ut de eo scribat non ut res ipsa flagitabat, sed ut favor, quo eum prosequeretur, dictabat. Ejus Panegyricus, qui florido ac grato stylo conscriptus est, tam accuratam nobis exhiberet ejus delineationem, quam qua ullus unquam homo delineari potuit, modo pictor hic nimiis assentationibus et encomiis abstinuisset. Interim aliqua his adulationibus subest veritas; et quamvis plura dicat, quam pro rei veritate dicendum

<sup>z</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 156.

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 53.

<sup>b</sup> Pag. 52.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 5. Epist. 15.

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erat, attamen non ita a vero abludit, ut omnis narrationi ejus fides deneganda sit. Historiographi enim, quos tempus, quo scripserunt, omni suspicione de studio partium liberat, et quos neque cognatio, neque proprium commodum a recta semita declinare cogebat, ampla et non contemnenda de ejus (pro temporis illius ratione) virtutibus testimonia consignarunt, quæ ex collatione cum vitiis præcedentium Imperatorum eum magis conspicuum et memoratu dignum reddunt. Producam igitur ipsa illorum verba, quibus tantopere commendatur, ut si postea eum alium, quam depingi solet, esse pateat, id non mihi, sed ipsis imputetur.

“Imperare cœpit, teste Dione<sup>d</sup>, cum annos natus esset duos et quadraginta, robustus corpore, et fortis spiritu, ita ut neque præ juvenili ardore temerarius, neque ob gravem senectam tardus esset. Neminem odio prosequeretur, aut perdere studebat; sed omnes bonos pariter colebat et promovebat, ac proinde neminem illorum aut metuebat, aut odio habebat. Calumniatoribus non habebat fidem, nec iræ serviebat. Aliorum possessiones non ambiebat, nec injustis delectabatur cædibus .... A populo amari quam coli malebat. Cum populo familiariter, cum Senatu ingenue, conversabatur. Omnibus carus, nulli, nisi hosti, terribilis erat. Socium se illis præbebat, cum venabantur, festivitates suas celebrabant, jocabantur, &c. Subinde in comitatus domos eorum adiit, et cum iis se recreabat. Non quidem exquisite doctus erat; nihilominus de iis, quæ eruditionem spectant, judicare poterat. Nihil denique eximium erat, quod in eo locum non haberet.”

“Talem se,” verba sunt Victoris<sup>e</sup>, “Reipublicæ præbuit, qualem vix ægreque exprimere valuerunt summorum scriptorum admiranda ingenia. In re militari diligentiam habebat, in civilibus lenitatem, in sublevandis civitatibus largitionem.—Cumque duo sint,” pergit idem auctor, “quæ ab egregiis principibus expectentur, sanctitas domi, in armis fortitudo, utrobique prudentia; tantus erat in eo maximarum rerum modus, ut quasi temperamento quodam virtutes miscuisse videretur, nisi quod cibo vinoque paululum deditus erat.” Quibus Dion tertium, quod prioribus non cedit, adjungit, eum turpi in juvenes amore flagrasse: “Novi, inquit,

<sup>d</sup> Dion. lib. 68. p. 772.

<sup>e</sup> Sext. Aurel. Vict. Epitom.

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eum vino et adolescentibus nimium deditum fuisse." Si quod autem incommodum aut dedecus ex eo contraxisset, aut aliis inussisset, sane culpandus esset; sed etiamsi se vino repleret, mentis tamen erat compos, et quod ejus adolescentulos attinebat, nulli unquam molestus erat. Pergit Victor: " Liberalis in amicos, et tanquam vitæ conditione par, societatibus perfrui. . . . Fuit patiens laboris, studiosus optimi cujusque, ac bellicosi; magisque simpliciora ingenia, aut eruditissimos, quamvis ipse parcæ esset scientiæ, moderateque eloquens, diligebat. Justitiæ vero ac juris humani divinique tam repertor novi, quam inveterati custos; quæ omnia majora visebantur<sup>e</sup>, quoniam, per multos atque atroces tyrannos perditio atque prostrato statu Romano, in remedium tantorum malorum divinitus credebatur opportune datus, usque eo, ut adveniens imperium ejus pleraque mirifica denunciaverint; in quibus præcipuum, cornix e fastigio Capitolii Atticis sermonibus effata, καλῶς ἔσται." Ad eundem ferme modum de eo scribit Eutropius<sup>f</sup>: " Rempublicam ita administravit, ut omnibus principibus merito præferatur. Inusitata civilitatis et fortitudinis fuit. Romani imperii, quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat, quam nobiliter ampliatum, fines longe lateque diffudit." Et paulo post: " Gloriam tamen militarem civilitate et moderatione superavit, Romæ et per provincias æqualem se omnibus exhibens, amicos salutandi causa frequentans, vel ægrotantes, vel cum festos dies habuissent; convivia cum iisdem indiscreta vicissim habens, sæpe in vehiculis eorum sedens; nullum Senatorum lædens, nihil injustum ad augendum fiscum agens; liberalis in cunctos; publice privatimque ditans omnes et honoribus augens, quos mediocri vel familiaritate cognovisset; orbem terrarum ædificans, multas immunitates civitatibus tribuens; nihil non tranquillum et placidum agens, adeo ut omni ejus ætate unus tantum senator damnatus sit, at is tamen per senatum, ignorante Trajano. Ob hoc per orbem terrarum Deo proximus, nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus. Inter alia dicta hoc illius fertur egregium: amicis eum culpantibus, quod nimis circa omnes comis esset, respondit, " Talem se imperatorem esse privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset." Et

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 157.<sup>f</sup> Eutrop. lib. 8.

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paulo post: “ Hujus memoriæ tantum delatum est, ut usque ad nostram ætatem non aliter in Senatu Principibus acclametur, nisi, Felicior Augusto, melior Trajano.” Hactenus Eutropius.

Hisce ex aliis scriptoribus multo plura possent addi; sed hæc plus satis sunt, cum viderimus ea, ut in speciem bona, aliam induere faciem, et eodem modo, ut de Paulo, sententiam hic ferendam esse, quem Pharisæica non proderat justitia, cum Ecclesiam Christi ad sanguinis effusionem usque persecutionibus vexaret: ita ut, si eximia quæque et virtutes, quibus eum scriptores condecorant, in hac, ac excessum ejus in cibo et potu, ejus sodomiam, et sævitiam in persecuendis ubique Christianis, in illa lance appendas, virtutes ejus, paleæ instar, leviores erunt, et pondere et valore vitiis longe cèdent.

Verbo, si ejus cum antecessore suo collationem instituas, liquebit eum natura comem fuisse, ad modum Nervæ, sed spiritu vivaciorem; unde conjicere licet Trajanum a Nervæ honeste et cum judicio in filium adoptatum esse<sup>h</sup>. Nervæ enim, cum se ob affectam jam ætatem minus coli et honorari animadverteret, Trajanum adoptabat, et successorem sibi designabat; hujus enim ingenium eo propendebat, ut nullius contemptum fuisset passurus; ac interim ea erat comitate et lenitate, ut haud facile in tyrannidem videretur erupturus. Insuper eum non ad sævitiam incitabat, sed justo modo se vindicatum, et pœnam iis, qui eum in diversum abripere studuerant, inflictam volebat, cum literis suis ad eum post adoptionem datis crebrius hæc Homeri verba insereret,

Τίσταν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν. q. d. “ Curæ tibi sit meas ulcisci lachrymas.” Quod non longe post accidit; Trajano enim cedebatur imperium, et mandatorum exsecutio.

### CAPUT III.

#### *De Plutarcho.*

Si quæ Trajani fuerint virtutes, quæ sane fuerunt complures, si cum præcedentium Imperatorum odiosa truculentia comparentur, magna illæ ex parte debentur Plutarcho philo-

<sup>h</sup> Dion. l. 68.

## DE PLUTARCHO.

sopho, si modo verum sit eum Trajani fuisse Ephorum; aut eam epistolam, quæ exemplaribus aliquot Latinis librorum ejus Politicorum præfigitur, genuinam esse; lubet eam hic annectere.

“Plutarchus Trajano salutem. Novi modestiam tuam non affectasse imperium, cui tamen exquisitis tuis moribus servire semper studuisti; et eo plus fastigio isto dignus judicaberis, quo magis ab ambitionis crimine alienus esse videberis. Gratulor itaque tibi de tua virtute, et mihi de mea fortuna, si modo officio, quo dignus es, satisfacias. Secus enim nullus dubito, quin tibi immineant pericula, mihi cædes; Roma enim imperatorem, qui imperio non satisfacit, perferre nequit; et communis rumor discipuli vitia præceptoris imputat.” Ac paulo post: “Proposui tibi quæ antecessorum nostrorum circa politica administratio fuerit: quam si sequeris, Plutarchum vitæ habebis auctorem; secus literas has testes advoco, te absque Plutarchi consensu Reipublicæ semitam iniisse.”

Epistola hæc eo magis dubia est, quod in Latina solum, non in Græca lingua reperiatur, et Plutarchus hujus scripti, ad Trajanum a se ceu Ephoro scripti, nullibi<sup>1</sup> mentionem faciat. Genuinam tamen eam esse tuentur Johannes Sarisburiensis, Petrarcha, et Rualdus: Græcum enim manuscriptum, quod interiisse dicitur, in vitæ Plutarchi descriptione, quam modo dictus Rualdus edidit<sup>2</sup>, videre licet.

Quicquid sit, tam certum est, quam quod certissimum, hunc Ethnicæ eruditionis principem et fontem Plutarchum eodem cum imperatore hoc tempore vixisse, et, si Suidæ liceat fidem habere, cum eo familiariter versatum esse<sup>k</sup>. Natus erat Philosophus hic Cheroneæ in Bœotia. Avus ejus dictus erat Lampsias, qui Augusto fuerat coætaneus; sed quod patri ejus nomen fuerit, nusquam annotatum legimus. Uxorem habuit Timoxenam, fœminam modestia et virtutibus insignem, ex qua quinque liberos procreabat, quatuor filios, et filiam unam, quæ matri cognominis tenera adhuc ætate obiit. Fundamenta studii sui jecit sub Ammonio Ægyptio, sub finem imperii Neronis. Quousque autem in studiis profecerit, neminem literatorum fugit.

<sup>1</sup>Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>Ruald. de vita Plutarch. c. 15.

<sup>k</sup>Id. ibid. c. 3. 5, 6, 7. 9.

## DE SILENTIO ORACULORUM.

Eum S. Scripturam vidisse hinc conijcere licet, quod omnibus auctoribus legendis indefessam operam suam impenderit; nihilominus nullibi eum Christianismum probare aut improbare liquet. Quæ de vitæ ejus instituendæ modo sciri possunt, videre licebit apud Rualdum, qui eum, sub finem primi tomi operum Plutarchi, ad vivum depinxit<sup>1</sup>; quorsum Lectorem, quoniam hæc aliquo modo extra nostram sphæram sunt, remitto.

## CAPUT IV.

*De Silentio Oraculorum.*

INTER alia docte et jucunde a Plutarcho conscripta, nulli non Literato abunde notus est ejus liber *περὶ τῶν ἐκλειπομένων χρηστηρίων*, i. e. de Cessatione Oraculorum; qui a Christianis examinari dignus est. Quid enim vetat ex ejus confessione oracula jam inter Gentes cessasse, concludere id Christi potentia effectum, et consequens prædicati Evangelii fuisse? adeo ut, fallacibus et nugatoriis Dæmonum responsis cessantibus, quilibet ad infallibilia et divina oracula Dei, intellige Sacram Scripturam, respicere doceretur.

“Videmus, inquit<sup>m</sup>, omnia Deorum repona, duobus aut tribus exceptis, cessare.” Et paulo post: “Sed quid plura dicam? Cum Bœotia, olim multis oraculis clara, iis derelicta sit, et ea, ut rivuli, exsiccata sint, ut integra illa terra prophetiis careat. Hoc enim tempore Bœotia nullibi desiderantibus responsa dare potest, nisi circa Lebadiam; alibi enim silentium est impositum, et alia loca sunt plane devastata.” Cujus cessationis et silentii rationes variæ exquiruntur sequenti dialogo, ubi Didymus vanas et frivolas quæstiones silentio ansam præbuisse judicat; Ammonius asserit cessationem oraculorum Græciæ interitum prænunciasset: Cleombrotus Genios, qui responsa dabant, censet aut muneri huic non suffecisse, aut aliorum demigrasse: Plutarchus ipse judicat, Deum per ista simulachra non loqui,—sed ea prædita esse facultate aliqua, quæ jam per naturam deficiebat; sive tempus vitæ Dæmonibus assignatum, quod ad novem annorum millia, annos septingentos et viginti ipsi extenditur, esse elapsum:—quibus plures ejusmodi λόγους ἀλόγους addit; interim vera ejus ratio animum ejus non subibat, videlicet,

<sup>1</sup> Edit. Paris. 1624.<sup>m</sup> Plutarch. tom. 2. p. 411.

## DE SILENTIO ORACULORUM.

id attribuendum esse efficaciam prædicati Evangelii, quo jam tanta cum gloria et splendore, Satanæ penetralibus, in quibus sese hactenus tutum fore crediderat, effractis, hominum occæcatæ mentes et conscientia convincebantur.

Non possum non ex eodem libro historiam unam aut alteram excerpere, unde quivis, cui oculus ad videndum, et cor ad intelligendum non est denegatum, eandem Evangelii potentiam deprædicare docetur. Prior harum<sup>n</sup> narrat: “Navem quandam, tempore Tiberii, onustam mercimoniis et hominibus in Italiam transvehendis, circa vesperam appulisse prope insulam, cui nomen erat Paxæ, ubi ex improvise vox audiebatur ex insula, quæ alta voce inclamabat ‘Thammuz, Thammuz.’ Hic autem erat Ægyptius natione, et navis hujus gubernator. Ad hanc vocem nihil regerebat Thammuz, nisi cum tertia vice appellaretur. Quid fit? Altiori voce quam antea audiebatur exclamari, ‘Quando ad insulas Palodes perveneris, exclama, magnum Deum Pana mortuum esse.’ Vox hæc ab omnibus audiebatur, qui, timore percussi, dubii erant an huic voci parendum esset, aut non. Thammuz autem sic apud se statuebat,—si dictas insulas vento secundo posset prætervehi, nihil dicere; sed si contrario vento ibidem commorandum esset, mandatum, quod acceperat, exsequi.—Illuc venientibus non favebat ventus; itaque Thammuz e prora, in insulam prospiciens, alta voce exclamat, ‘Magnus Deus Pan est mortuus.’ Quo facto mox ingens ejusmodi audiebatur<sup>o</sup> ejulatus, non unius, sed multorum, qui cunctis terrorem incutiebat.”

Altera nostram spectat Britanniam, et a Demetrio, uno collocutorum, qui se oculis suis eam conspexisse dicit, narratur. “Britanniæ<sup>p</sup> adjacent plures dispersæ insulæ, quæ maxima ex parte incolis carent: quædam illarum cognominantur insulæ *Δαιμόνων* καὶ *Ἡρώων*, Dæmonum et Heroum.” Narrat idem Demetrius, “Se a Rege illuc missum, in unam illarum insularum, quæ desertis proximior erat, appulisse, quæ quidem paucos habebat incolas, sed qui Britannis sacri et inviolabiles credebantur.” Pergit Demetrius narrare, “Mox, post suum appulsum, magnam aeris intemperiem, et varia et admiranda ostenta visa; horribilem ventum ortum;

<sup>n</sup> Plutarch, tom. 2. p. 419.

<sup>o</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 159.

<sup>p</sup> Plutarch, tom. 2. p. 419.

et subita de cœlo fulgetra in terram immissa esse. Postquam hæc omnia cessassent, ab insularis sibi narratum ait, id mortem unius suorum Heroum seu Dæmonum significare. Quemadmodum enim candela, dum ardet, nemini molesta est, sed, extincta, multis molestiam creat,—sic grandes hæ animæ splendidam et gratam emittunt lucem; sed cum extinguuntur, sæpius, uti jam, tempestates et turbida quæque movent, et non raro aerem ipsum corrumpunt et inficiunt.

## CAPUT V.

*De Clemente Romano.*

Ad tertium imperii Trajani annum annotatur ab Eusebio<sup>q</sup> Liber Pontificalis Damasi, et ab aliis<sup>r</sup> mors Clementis, Romanorum episcopi, et successoris S. Petri, qui<sup>s</sup> post eum erat tertius, et sedit annos novem. Alii ab illis in assignando tempore episcopatus et mortis differunt, et eum pontificatum gessisse volunt annos novem, menses sex, et totidem dies, et diem suum obiisse anno Trajani secundo. Sed quid de eo sit, anxie inquirere non admodum necesse est, si quidem hæc scire non magni interest, et huic solum fini inservit, ut innotescat eos, qui pontificem hunc canonizarunt et adorant, in calculo pontificatus et mortis ejus non posse convenire. Eum primo anno Trajani Chersonesum in exilium missum, et tertio anno ibidem obiisse, prolixius legere licet, si auctoribus citatis fidem habere fas sit, apud Surium<sup>t</sup>. Quibus additur, eum Trajani mandato navigio illuc transportatum a Mamertino, qui non sine lachrymis illi hoc modo valedixisset: “Deus, quem colis, tibi in exilio tuo adsit.” Erat hic idem ille Mamertinus, apud quem delatus, et cui examinandò traditus fuerat: ibidem duo millia Christianorum ad secunda marmora damnatorum invenisse dicitur; et cum aquæ penuria, quam sexto inde milliario humeris suis apportabant, laborarent, in colle haud longe posito, ductu agni, quem ex visione Christum esse noverat, fontem dulcis aquæ reperisse.

Quo viso, et aliis ab eo patratis miraculis, omnes ejus regionis incolæ ad Christianismum convertebantur; quingenti singulis diebus baptizabantur; septuaginta quinque

<sup>q</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 28.<sup>r</sup> In Cono. Gener. tom. 1. Baron.<sup>s</sup> Not. in lib. Pontifical.<sup>t</sup> Colum. 1618.

ecclesiæ unius anni spatio ædificabantur; et omnia idolorum templa et luci, ter centies milliarium spatio undique, solo æquabantur.

Ægre hoc ferebat Trajanus, qui Clementem in mare, ne quis ejus corpus reperiret, aut eum colere posset, projici jussit. Discipulis ejus interim precantibus, Deo ut placeret ejus corpus indicare, mare subito tribus milliariis retrocedebat; Discipuli retrocedens mare sequentes locum, marmoreum sacellum repræsentantem, ibique capulum, et in eo emortui Clementis corpus reperiabant:—quod cum conarentur inde deportare, divinitus monebantur, ut proposito desisterent; quotannis enim, eo anni tempore, mare, ut nunc factum erat, retrocessurum, et viam, eo ducentem, septem dies siccam mansuram, ut corpus ejus adoraturi tuto illuc venire possent. Non defuit promisso huic eventus. Accidit autem patrem et matrem, stato tempore, eo secum deduxisse filium suum, quem revertentes reducere neglexerant; verum subsequente anno eum vivum et vividum reperiabant, postquam duodecim menses cum Sancto hoc in maris fundo commoratus esset.

Nullus dubito, quin ex eodem fonte inventionum, ex quo miracula primarii hujus pontificis emanarunt, eadem potuerint profluere, quæ 'Epistolis Decretalibus' sub ejus nomine continentur. Has enim supposititias esse luce meridiana clarius evincunt Magdeburgenses<sup>u</sup>, quamvis contrarium ejus præfracte tueatur Turrianus. Non diffiteor Eusebium<sup>v</sup> meminisse 'epistolæ Clementis ad Corinthios,' quæ suo tempore in Ecclesiis prælegebatur: sed liber Pontificalis Damasi eam auxit, et duarum epistolarum canonicarum Clementis mentionem facit; et hoc seculo in primo tomo conciliorum numerus iste insuper sic accrevit, ut jam 'quinque Decretales' recenseantur. Quas si quis attente perlegit, animadvertet, præter ea, quæ Centuriatoribus<sup>w</sup> observata sunt, hæc sequentia earum falsitatem indicare.

*Epist. 1. Ad 'Jacobum fratrem Domini,' ex editione Paris, 1636.*

1. Jacobum jam tum fuisse mortuum.

2. Nullius esse pretii narratiunculam, qua Jacobo signi-

<sup>u</sup> Cent. 2. p. 143.

<sup>v</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 15, 16. Græc. Lat. c. 12.

<sup>w</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 160.

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 DE HADRIANO: A. D. 118.
 

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ficat se a Petro episcopum Romæ designatum esse. Quid enim Jacobi tam longe illinc dissiti illud scire intererat?

3. Insuper magnum illinc se patefacere fastum, cum non parum se in sui ipsius laudem diffundat.

[*Criteria reliqua in M. S. non reperiuntur.*]

## CAPUT VI.

### DE REGNO HADRIANI.

HADRIANUS uxorem habebat filiam fratris Trajani; et eo nomine, quod illi affinitate junctus erat, im-

1 *Hadrian.* perium adeptus est, ut sentit Dion<sup>x</sup>: Spartianus autem ejus cum Trajano affinitatem  
118 *A. D.* aliunde deducit. Linguam Græcam et Latinam æque callebat; varios conscribebat  
871 *A. U. C.* libros. Quod in aliis eximium erat, ipse obliquis spectabat oculis; hinc Apollodorum architectum, et alios, ob dotes, quibus eminebant, vita privari jussit, uti etiam Favorini Galli et Dionysii Milesii necem intentabat. Græculus cognominari solebat; pictor erat, et statuarius, et quidvis ad conciliandam sibi famam faciebat. Insuper munificus erat, et affabilis, et varia, quibus magnificentiam suam ostenderet, patrabat. Hæc omnia de ipso testatur Dion.

Tenendæ per orbem terrarum paci operam dedit. Mauri, Sarmatæ, Britanni, Ægyptii, Lycia, Palæstina rebellarunt: quare omnia trans Euphratem et Tigrim reliquit. *Spartian.*

De Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia revocavit exercitus; ac finem imperii esse voluit Euphratem. *Eutrop.*

Primo ejus adventu Romam, vectigalia, quæ solvi restabant, remittebat. *Dion.* Spectacula die suo natali exhibuit: centum leones, centum lænæ cæsæ.

Dona in Theatro et Circo dedit. Ne mulieres cum viris lavarentur, prohibuit. Euphrati philosopho propter senectutem et morbum cicutam bibere concessit: imperium peragravit; ædificia et mores correxit. Ipse duriter vixit, propter nives Celticas, aut calores. Disciplinam militarem instituit accuratam.

Plotino honores summos indixit. Per novem dies ipse atratus incessit. Græciam, Judæam, Ægyptum peragravit. Antinoum amisit:—urbem ei condidit. Hierosolyman<sup>y</sup>

## DE DIOCLETIANO: A. D. 306.

Æliam Capitolinam vocavit. Ubi templum fuerat, fanum Jovi ædificavit. Hinc commoti Judæi per totum orbem: quibus etiam aliæ gentes conjunctæ, ac fere omnis orbis terrarum commotus.

Julius Severus<sup>z</sup> in Judæam missus oppressit rebellantes, quinquaginta arces evertit et 980 vicos. Cæsi sunt in præliis 580,000 homines; fame periit infinita multitudo. Tota Judæa desolata.

Monumentum Salomonis sua sponte divisum corruebat; lupi et hyænæ in urbibus multæ hoc prædixerunt.

Massagetæ bellum movent.

Templum Jovis Olympii Athenis ædificavit. Templum suum Panhellenium Græcis ædificare permisit.

Romam rediens<sup>a</sup> sanguinis profluvio e naribus tabuit. Adoptaverat Lucium Commodum; sed et hic profluvio sanguinis periit. Substituit ergo Aurelium Antoninum, qui deinde rursus adoptavit Commodum Commodi defuncti filium, ac Marcum Antoninum Verum, filium amici Veri.

Hadrianus hydrope tabuit; mortem optavit et quæsivit, sed non invenit. Inedia ergo et cibus non idoneis se confecit. Vixit annos lxxii. Regnavit annos xx. menses xi.

Sub ipso floruerunt Severianus, Turbo, Similis.

[N. B. Ex iis, quæ porro hoc seculo ut et sequenti acciderunt, auctorem plura collegisse non constat.]

SECULUM IV<sup>b</sup>.

## CAPUT I.

*De Diocletiano.*

PUBLICO edicto ecclesiæ solo æquari, Scripturæ sacræ comburi, et Christiani suis privilegiis et immunitatibus privari, jubebantur<sup>c</sup>. Confer  
306 A. D.      19 *Diocletian.*      decimum nonum hunc Diocletiani annum cum imperii Nebucadnezaris itidem anno decimo nono, quo templum Hierosolymitanum flammis consumebatur. Statutum hoc promulgabatur mense Martio Nicomediæ, ubi tunc temporis Diocletianus cum Galerio commorabatur. Martyrium sub ejus persecutione passi sunt

<sup>z</sup> p. 794.

<sup>a</sup> p. 795.

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 3. p. 161.

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 2. et seqq. ad 20. usque.*

Dorotheus, Petrus, Gorgonius, aulici; Antimus, episcopus Nicomediensis; Philoromus et Phileas in Ægypto; Procopius, Alphæus, et Zacharias in Palæstina; Romanus Antiochiæ; et infiniti alii, qui, supra quam dici possit, misere vexati occubuerunt.

Anno Diocletiani vicesimo<sup>d</sup> omnes captivi vinculis soluebantur, propter anni illius solennem festivitatem: nihilo secius Romanus, qui anno proxime elapso torturam passus, et cui lingua exsecta erat, in vinculis strangulabatur.

Quis ille dies festus fuerit, inquiritur. Eusebius videtur innuere, quod fuerit *εἰκοσιετηρίς*, vicesimus annus imperii Diocletiani. Audiatur hac occasione Zosimus, quid de anno ludorum secularium statuatur. Postquam prolixè de origine horum ludorum disseruisset, tandem conqueritur de calamitatibus, ex eorum per Diocletianum neglectu imperio obortis. “Cum enim, inquit<sup>e</sup>, ludis his rite celebratis, imperium Romanum stabile esset et floreret, id ipsum, cum Diocletiano imperium abdicante negligeretur, tabescere et paulatim in barbariem declinare cœpit.” Quem suum conceptum ex observatione ejus temporis confirmatum it. “A consulatu Chilonis et Libonis, cum ludi seculares celebrarentur, ad illum, quo Diocletianus IX, et Maximianus VIII. Consules essent, unus et centum numerantur anni; eo autem tempore Diocletianus deposito imperio non imperator, sed privatus erat.”

Audiatur etiam quid de eo sentiat Vopiscus<sup>f</sup>: “Denique, inquit, cum omnibus gentibus advocatis Diocletianus daret ludos, parcissime usus liberalitate, dicens, castiores esse oportere ludos, spectante censore,” &c. Et quid dicat Eusebius: “Ὅποτε καὶ οἱ μάλιστα τοῦ καθόλου κρατοῦντες ἀρχῆς δεκαετηρίδας καὶ εἰκοσιετηρίδας ἐκπλήσαντες ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι παιδροτάταις τε θαλίαις, &c. i. e. “Tunc illi, penes quos imperium erat, omnia festivitatis, spectaculorum, et pompæ genera, ludos decennales et vicennales, celebrabant.” Ut quod res est dicam, pietati et veritati magis consentaneum videtur, imperii prosperum statum, quo id hactenus gavisum erat, jam justo Dei judicio in pejus cœpisse ruere, ob atrocem, quæ eo tempore vigeat, persecutionem.

Ante hujus anni finem Diocletianus imperium deposuit;

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. lib. cit. cap. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Zosim. lib. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Vopisc. in Carino.

## A DIOCLETIANO AD CONSTANTIN. MAG.

quod, ipso suadente, itidem faciebat collega ejus Maximianus. Causam Eusebius putat fuisse, quod mentis suæ non satis esset compos, unde se imperio moderando minus idoneum senserit: alii autem historiographi eum, amore solitudinis seu privatæ vitæ, illud apud se statuisse; quod si verum, non aliud faciebat nisi id ipsum, quod Augustus imperii sui decimo, vigesimo, et trigesimo annis petiisse dicitur.

Ut e diverticulo in viam redeam, captivorum eo anno liberatio in honorem fiebat vicesimi imperii Diocletiani. Quod autem 'ludos seculares' non instituerit, facile concipi potest factum esse, quod longius Roma abesset, nec sumptibus ac negotiis admodum delectaretur, et ante finem anni purpuram deponere statuerat. Privato itaque habitu imperii insigne mutavit Diocletianus Nicomediæ, et Maximianus Herculus eodem die Mediolani.

CAPUT II<sup>g</sup>.*Status imperii sub Diocletiano, Constantio, ad initium imperii Constantini Magni usque.*

CARUS magnæ spei imperator, et Numerianus non minoris filius ejus, intempestive e vita decesserunt. Pater ictus fulmine, vel morbo subito in media aeris tempestate oppressus<sup>h</sup>; filius violenta et dolosa manu Apris socii sui.

Omnium consensu in imperatorem eligebatur Valerius Diocletianus, ea spe, ut principis cædem vindicaret, et labantem rempublicam stabiliret. Hic Dalmata natione erat, sed obscurissime natus<sup>i</sup>; adeo ut a plerisque scribæ filius, a nonnullis Anulini senatoris libertus, crederetur. Imperium tenuit annos quinque et viginti. De ejus imperio accipe sequentia.

Quum primum Augustus esset proclamatus, Aprum manu sua interfecit, additis his verbis: "Hic auctor erat cædis Numeriani." Paulo post prælio vicit Carinum, alterum Cari filium, monstrum hominis, qui turpi vita et libidine insignis erat, et immane quantum a patris et fratris ingenio distabat<sup>j</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 162.

<sup>h</sup> Vict. Entrop. lib. 9.—Euseb. Chron.—Cassiod. Chron.—Vopisc. in Caro.

<sup>i</sup> Entrop. ubi supra.—Sext. Aurel. Vict. Epit.

<sup>j</sup> Vopisc. in Numer.—Euseb. in Chron.—Entrop. Vict.

Carino, qui in Gallia et Britannia aliisque, ei a patre suo assignatis, provinciis imperabat, mortuo,—Helianus et Amandus, collectis in Gallia multis rusticanis et prædonibus, tumultum concitabant. Quibus subigendis Diocletianus Maximianum (postea condictum Herculium) creavit Cæsarem, et in Galliam ablegavit. Hic, mandatum hoc fideliter exsequens, rebellibus deletis, tumultui finem imposuit. Sub idem tempus quoque rebellabat Carausius quidam, cui, ob strenua sua facinora, ceu architalasso maris pacandi et piratarum Germanorum delendorum cura commissa erat:—hic enim cum male munere suo fungi reperiretur, et ei a Maximiano insidiæ struerentur, in Britanniam classe sua recedebat, ibique sibi purpuram et imperatoriam dignitatem assumebat. Eo tempore, ferme per totum terrarum orbem, turbæ movebantur. Nam<sup>k</sup> Carausius rebellabat in Britannia, Achilles in Ægypto, Narseus et Persæ in Oriente, Quinquegentiani in Africa, Julianus ibidem, et in Italia; adeo ut Diocletianus cogere Maximianum Herculium ex Cæsare juxta se facere Augustum, et Julium Constantium una cum Galerio Maximiano (qui etiam Armentarius cognominabatur) creare Cæsares; quibus, ut eo magis sibi devinciret, in matrimonium daret filiam suam Galeriam Galerio Maximiano, et Herculius Theodoram suam, aut uxoris suæ filiam<sup>l</sup> Constantio:—hi autem principes jam antea suas habebant uxores, sed illas, novi honoris et affinitatis causa, repudiare compellebantur.

Hac occasione non possum non annotare, translatores Nicephori nimiam sibi libertatem arrogasse; cum enim auctor Theodoram *ιδίαν θυγατέρα*, Herculii propriam nominet, translator eam ejus dicit privignam. Eadem licentia etiam usus est mox in initio citati capituli, ubi *είκοσι ἔτη τὰ πάντα* Latine reddit ‘viginti duobus annis.’ Verum quidem est translatores illic a vero non admodum aberrare; interim hoc pacto se potius correctorem, quam translatores ostendit.

Diocletianus et Maximianus Herculius jam privati vivebant, postquam imperium simul tenuerant, et simul abdicarant. Et Constantius Chlorus, qui aliis dicitur Constans, et Maximianus Galerius, hactenus Cæsares, jam Augusti erant. Constantius Herculio succedebat in Occidente, et

<sup>k</sup> Eutrop. ubi supra.

<sup>l</sup> Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 18. *ιδία θυγάτηρ*.  
Sext. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar. Eutrop. lib. 9. privignam Herculii.

Diocletiano in Oriente Galerius : ac proinde Constantius obtinebat Galliam, Italiam, et Africam ; sed Italiæ atque Africæ administrandæ sollicitudinem recusavit, et Galliæ atque Britannicæ imperio contentus erat. Contigit hoc anno a nato Christo 306.

Hic jam eo loci devenimus, ut inquiretur, a quo tempore primus annus Constantii, sive primus Constantini filii ejus supputandus sit. Juxta Aurelium Victorem<sup>m</sup>, “Constantio imperium annum fuit, Galerio quinquennii, cum sane uterque potentiam Cæsarum annos tredecim gessissent.” Verum Cassiodorus asserit, annos regiminis Constantii includi annis regiminis Constantini, cujus assertionis has adducit rationes. Primum enim omnium, qui eo tempore imperabant, maxime privatus vixit ; erat enim, teste Victore, otiosus ; unde non verisimile est supputationem imperatorum per eum potius, quam per alium illorum, in Chronicis continuatam esse. Addit insuper, imperialibus fascibus a Diocletiano et Herculo relictis, res admodum fuisse turbatas, quæ sub Constantini monarchia demum sunt pacatæ :—proinde commodissimum videri posset, duas has periodos, relictæ imperii a Diocletiano, et ejusdem assumpti a Constantino, compingendas, præsertim cum hujus sententiæ stabiliendæ non contemendæ ex Cassiodoro rationes nobis constent.

Nisi<sup>a</sup> malis Constantini imperium ordiri a morte Constantii, quæ accidit anno Christi 307. Si quis desideret scire, quo pacto Scaliger calculum hunc cum annis Olympiadum conciliet, et ad quod lustrum Julianum et Iphiteum hæc referenda sint, videat de his prolixè eum dissertantem in Prolegomenis ad Emendationem Temporum.

Constantium quod attinet, hic ab omnibus prædicatur fuisse clemens, benignus, et amabilis princeps :—quin et a quibusdam inter bonos Christianos numeratur ; verum id ipsum, an unquam Christianus fuerit, incertum est ; contrarium enim abunde liquet ex sequentibus. 1. Quod, cum Cæsar crearetur, uxorem suam Helenam repudiaverit. 2. Quod testante Eutropio<sup>o</sup> “inter divos relatus sit ;” hoc autem, si Christianus fuisset, non fuisset factum. 3. Quin et non satis constat filium ejus Constantinum, longe postquam

<sup>m</sup> De Cæsaribus.

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 163.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. 10.

imperator proclamatus esset, religionem Christianam amplexum fuisse.

Sive autem Christianus fuerit, sive non, dubium saltem est, eum<sup>p</sup> Christianæ religioni, quoad poterat, fuisse, et propenso in eam profitentes animo fuisse,—cum interim tres illi, qui una imperium administrabant, Christianis persecutionibus suis maxime infesti erant. Accidit quodam tempore, ut per nuncios Diocletianus ei negligentiam suam in persecuenda religione Christiana et pauperiem exprobraret, eo quod fiscum, seu ærarium, non ut ipse, repletum curaret.

Bonus princeps nuncios hos ad certum tempus illic manere jubebat; ac interim subditis suis passim indicari curat nummis sibi maxime opus esse, et petere ut ne tributis solvendis deessent; quod tam liberaliter et lubenti animo ab omnibus fiebat, ut æraria intra breve spatium omnia nummis referta essent. Quo facto nunciis dicebat, “Abite jam, et nunciate principi vestro, quid videritis: Thesaurus hic, qui jam in mea custodia est, hactenus in manibus et cistis fidelium meorum thesaurariorum asservatus fuit.” Nunciis domum reversis, Constantius cuilibet suam pecuniæ summam domum reportare jubebat, sic ut princeps et populus, uter alterum caritate et liberalitate superaret, certarent.

Ad eundem fere modum, quo subditorum suorum erga se affectum explorarat, hoc sacro dolo et fallacia eorum erga Deum animum tentare instituit. Publico edicto mandabat, ut omnes, qui munere aut dignitate fungebantur, idolis sacrificarent; illud autem detrectantes muneribus et officiis privarentur, ac aula et principis conspectu arcerentur. Quid fit? Christiani complures, præ pusillanimitate et avaritia, Deo suo potius renunciare, quam honoribus, quibus cumulati erant, privari, in animum suum inducebant, et idololatriæ se reos facturos pollicebantur: hos autem Princeps summa cum indignatione muneribus suis privavit, addita hac ratione, ‘eos, qui Deo suo fidelitatem denegabant, nequaquam erga ipsum fideles subditos fore:’ eos autem, qui suis potius quam religioni suæ renunciare, et honores potius et aulam quam Christum suum deserere statuebant, revocabat, et amplioribus honoribus cumulabat.

Talis erat Constantius, cum adhuc Cæsar in quartam tan-

tum imperii partem imperium teneret; talis itidem erat, cum jam Augustus dimidiam ejus partem sub imperio haberet. E contra, tres ejus collegæ mire crudeles et antichristiani erant, opposcentes se indesinenter veritati et evangelium profitentibus, ac quibusvis mediis ea destruere et delere conantes. Galerius reliquis (si modo dici possit, quis illorum pessimus fuerit, cum omnes sævitia sua æque essent insignes) truculentior erat. Placuit Deo eum, cum non diu Augusti titulo condecoratus fuisset, insolito ac tremendo judicio e vita tollere.

## CAPUT III.

*De Constantini prosapia, nativitate, educatione, et quo tempore imperare cœperit.*

CONSTANTIUS, Constantini pater, e stirpe erat imperatoris Claudii, secundi ejus nominis; nam fratris ejus ex filia erat nepos. Crispus Claudii frater<sup>q</sup> filiam habebat Claudiam, quæ, juxta Eutropium, nobilis erat e Dardania mulier, quæ Constantium peperit. Constantini mater Helena Nicephoro<sup>r</sup> creditur oriunda fuisse e Bithynia, loco non procul Nicomedia, cui nomen erat Drepanum:—qui insuper asserit Constantium, illic iter facientem, in ædibus parentis ejus pernoctasse, et cum eam compressisset, genuisse Constantium. Quin ipse Eusebius, alioquin in laudando Constantino non parcus, ejus matrem non alio quam Constantii concubinæ nomine insignit. Verum nullo modo probabile videtur, Constantium, cujus pudicitia et virtus usque adeo celebrantur<sup>s</sup>, sui ipsius oblitum impuditiæ sese dedidisse: et multo minus improbabile, eum imperium in<sup>t</sup> spurium, tam illegitime et obscure natum, conferre,—et filios, quos ex legitimo et regio matrimonio procreaverat, negligere voluisse.

Alii igitur credunt Helenam ex Britannia ortam fuisse; quod rationi magis consentaneum videtur, quoniam illic Constantius munere imperii præcipue fungebatur. Verum sit ut sit; sive Helena in Bithynia aut Dalmatia nata fuerit, siquidem, secundum Vopiscum<sup>u</sup>, Constantius tempore Cari (nec certo sciri potest, quamdiu ante id tempus) ejus provinciæ

<sup>q</sup> Trebell. Poll. in Claud. Eutrop. lib. 9.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. 9. cap. 18.

<sup>s</sup> Paneg. Maximio et Constantino. Vopisc. in Carino.

Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 164.

<sup>u</sup> Vopisc. in Carino.

## DE CONSTANTINI PROSAPIA, &amp;c.

Præfectus fuit; sive natione fuerit Britanna, certissimum est Constantinum in hac nostra regione natum esse. Nam præter alia, quæ abunde proferri possent, testimonia, sic asserit, qui partes hac in materia non sectatur, videlicet Auctor Panegyrici Maximiano et Constantino dicti, quando collatione illius cum patre instituta sic ait<sup>v</sup>: “Liberavit ille Britannias servitute. Tu etiam nobiles illuc oriundo fecisti.” Negare Helenam Constantini fuisse matrem, est omnibus, quæ de eo scripserunt, historiis fidem denegare. Sed sive ea non fuerit matrona, sive concubina tantum, quid movit Maximianum filiam suam illi potius uxorem dare, quam uni filiorum Constantii, qui matrem e regia stirpe ortam habebant? De hoc matrimonio dictus Panegyricus prolixè disserit, et duorum præcipue meminit, videlicet Constantinum adhucdum fuisse juvenem, et matrimonium hoc diu, antequam consummaretur, designatum et præfiguratum; insuper eum, quamvis juvenilis ætatis, jam tum de belli stratagematis ante id tempus a se factis disseruisse.

Educatus est Constantinus magna ex parte in aulis Diocletiani et Maximiani Herculii, cujus filiam adhuc admodum juvenis uxorem duxerat<sup>w</sup>. Constantinus, cum a Galerio in urbe Roma, religionis specie, obses teneretur, clam fugam arripens, publica jumenta, quaquã iter ageret, præter ea, quibus utebatur, ad frustrandos insequentes, ex relatione Victoris, interfecit; sed secundum alios, cruribus recisis mutilavit: hoc modo ad patrem jam morti proximum pervenit in Britanniam. Eusebius<sup>x</sup> aliam fugæ hujus causam enarrat; nimirum, quod Diocletianus et Collegæ ejus, eximias in Constantino dotes observantes, adeoque invidi, quoquo modo eum crimini alicui implicare moliebantur, &c. Addit idem scriptor quoque eum ad patrem suum pervenisse, cum moribundus esset, qui eum, ceu filium suum natu maximum, Imperatorem designabat, quamvis adhuc admodum juvenis esset; uti ex Panegyrico, Maximiano et Constantino dicto, patet.

Patre Eboraci mortuo, ipse thronum conscendit, ut qui patris testamento Imperator designatus, et militum favore ad illud fastigium promotus esset<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>v</sup> Panegyrici. citat.<sup>x</sup> Loc. cit.<sup>w</sup> Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 1. cap. 8. 13.<sup>y</sup> Euseb. ubi sup, cap. 25.

## CONSTANTINUS IMPERATOR.

Quo autem anno aut tempore imperare cœperit, variant Historici; et difficile est statuere, quid in tanta diversitate sentiendum sit.

Cedrenus indigitat annum a nato Salvatore 291; Baronius<sup>z</sup>, Helvicus<sup>a</sup>, et Notæ in Concilium Nicænum<sup>b</sup> assignant annum 306; Scaliger<sup>c</sup> annum 307; Eusebius<sup>d</sup> 308; Funcius<sup>e</sup> 310; et Bellarminus<sup>f</sup> refert ad annum 311. In tanta opinionum diversitate, cum Scaligero in assignatione hæc sentio, ductus non rationibus, quas ipse adducit, sed alia, quæ hæc est: Eusebius annos a nato Christo ad impium edictum Diocletiani, quo Tempia destrui et Biblia flammis tradi jubebantur, enumerans, annum indicat 305. Sic enim ait<sup>g</sup>: Ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προσευκ-  
τηρίων καταίρεσιν πέντε καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη. Non potest autem concipi Eusebium,—qui eo tempore vivebat, florebat, et quæ fiebant, oculis suis conspiciere poterat,—in calculo annorum Christi errasse; quin potius certum videtur, eum non minus pro rei veritate annum 305 assignasse, quam nos annum a nato Christo statuimus 307. Impium autem hoc Diocletiani edictum publicatum est paulo ante Pascha<sup>h</sup>, anno imperii sui nono et decimo. Anno proxime sequenti, qui imperii ejus erat vicesimus, ipse cum Collega suo purpuram deposuit, et privatus vixit: in horum locum in imperio successerunt Constantius et Galerius, quod accidit anno Christi 306. Constantius autem imperio potiebatur unum tantummodo annum, juxta Victorem antea a nobis citatum; ac proinde ab eo anno non dubitamus initium sumere regnum Constantini.

## CAPUT IV.

*De Statu Imperii, cum Constantinus illud auspicabatur.*

Cum Constantinum patris thronum conscendisse e Britannia Romæ nunciaretur, Maxentius (Maximiani Herculii, juxta Zosimum<sup>i</sup>, Nicephorum<sup>j</sup>, et alios, filius,—aut, uti Baronius ex antiquæ monetæ inscriptione probare nititur, privig-

<sup>z</sup> Annal. tom. 3.<sup>a</sup> In Chron.<sup>b</sup> Concil. tom. 1.<sup>c</sup> De Emend. Temp. lib. 6.<sup>d</sup> In Chron.<sup>e</sup> In Chronol.<sup>f</sup> De Concil. lib. cap. 5.<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 32.<sup>h</sup> Ibid. lib. 8. cap. 2. 13.<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 165.—Hist. Eccl. lib. 2.<sup>j</sup> Lib. 7. cap. 17.

## DE ARIO HÆRETICO.

nus, quod tamen minus ad rem facit) ægre ferens affinem sibi præferri, cum Marcello, Marcelliano, et aliis Prætorianis paciscitur, qui eum auxiliantibus militibus Romæ Augustum nuncupant:—sic ut imperii Romani eo tempore complures essent Augusti, Imperatores, et Cæsares: Diocletianus, qui tamen, sponte deposita purpura, privatus vivebat; Maximianus Herculus, qui, quamvis non sponte, itidem privatus vivebat; Galerius, qui imperium tenebat in Oriente; Constantinus, qui hic in Britannia coronatus erat; Maxentius, qui Romæ Augustus nuncupabatur; et Maximinus cum Severo, qui ante Constantii obitum Cæsares creati erant<sup>k</sup>. Hi omnes sive ex consanguinitate sive ex affinitate sibi invicem propinqui et conjuncti erant; quod tamen non ita prævalebat, ut, cum de imperio ageretur, non postponeretur. Diocletianus filiam suam Galeriam Galerio uxorem dederat, qui ex ea genuit Maximinum et Severum. Herculus filiam suam Theodoram uxorem dederat Constantio, quem matrem Constantini priorem suam conjugem Helenam repudiare cogebat; ex Theodora habuit hos liberos; Constantium (Galli et Juliani Apostatæ patrem), Hanniballinum, conductum Dalmatium (Dalmatii junioris patrem), et Constantiam, quæ cum Licinio nupta erat. Constantinus uxorem habebat Faustam, filiam Maximiani. . . . . Militibus per hostes ad seditionem persuasis, Severus ipse Ravennam fugiebat, ubi obsidione captus interficiebatur. Herculus post hæc, eadem premens vestigia, eodem modo a militibus desertus, in Galliam ad Constantinum profugit: verum cum ejus insidias, quas Constantini vitæ struxerat, filia ejus Fausta Constantini uxor detexisset, fugit inde Massiliam; ubi oppressus, captus, et debita pœna mulctatus est.

## CAPUT V.

*De Ario Hæretico.*

TURBIS his ubique compositis, alia, quæ majoris ponderis, longius latiusque sese diffundebat, et plures annos vigebat, oriebatur. ‘Majoris,’ inquam, ‘ponderis,’ ut quæ intra ecclesiæ septa locum habebat. ‘Latius se diffundebat,’ ut quæ omnes totius orbis angulos perreptabat, et sive hoc sive

<sup>k</sup> Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 10. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar.

## DE ARIO HÆRETICO.

alio modo turbabat. Diuturnior itidem erat, ut quæ nonnisi post longam annorum seriem sedari et componi potuit.

Erat in ecclesia Alexandrina Arius quidam, homo callidi ingenii, perfrictæ frontis, et profligatæ vitæ, unde tanquam ex tribus principiis aptus erat ad producendas pessimas opiniones, quibus tenacissime adhærebat, quasque passim disseminabat et audacter propugnabat.

Si fides historiis habenda est, natione erat Libyus<sup>1</sup>, sed commorabatur plurimum Alexandriæ. Schismate ibidem orto, Arius partes tuebatur Meletii<sup>m</sup>: sed, eo deserto, postea ad partes transiit Petri, episcopi Alexandrini, a quo dictus Meletius dissentiebat, qui eum non solum in suam recepit ecclesiam, sed etiam ad diaconatus officium promovit; quo facto Arius non minus acerbe et contumeliose in Petrum, quam quivis Meletianorum, invehebatur. Cum vero Petrus martyrium passus esset, Achyllas ejus successor Arium iterum in ecclesiam et ordinem Presbyterorum admisit. Presbyter factus cum esset, rectura ei committebatur Baucalæ, (ecclesiæ parochialis, cujus generis illic complures erant) quæ Alexandrinis Laura seu Labi (hoc modo enim Epiphanius textus a marginali annotatione differt) dicebatur.

Quoad formam corporis, longioris erat staturæ: quoad vultum videbatur austerior esse, interim moribus et conversatione quosvis fallere aptus natus erat. Capitis tegumento et vestimentis iisdem, quibus antea, utebatur, ut optimos quosque deciperet: sed præcipue blandis suis verbis aliis imponebat; quibus omnibus accedebat ex annis gravitas, quæ causa erat, quod delusionibus ejus eo magis fides haberetur.

Quæ Ario innovandi occasio data fuerit; sive quod periculosæ et novæ ejus opiniones ex ignorantia, ut quidem in aliis accidit, ortæ sint; sive ex fastu, uti Epiphanius<sup>n</sup> censet; sive quod stomacharetur Alexandrum præ se ad episcopatum promoveri, uti judicat Theodoretus<sup>o</sup>; sive quod cæco conatu confutandi hæresin, qua Alexandrum infectum credebat, ipse in hæresin prolapsus sit, uti Socrati<sup>p</sup> visum est; sive aliunde originem sumserit, ejus heterodoxia adeo prævaluit, ut cum

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. lib. 2. tom. 2. p. 727. Paris. 1622.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 718. Niceph. lib. 8. c. 5.

<sup>n</sup> Epiph. ubi supr. p. 729.

<sup>o</sup> Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 3.

## ARII HETERODOXIÆ.

eo septingentæ virgines, septem presbyteri, duodecim diaconi, et episcopi aliquot facerent, priusquam Alexandro, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopo, res plene cognita esset.

Hic Alexander in sede episcopali successerat<sup>p</sup> Achyllæ (qui Arium non solum in ecclesiam et ordinem presbyterorum, postquam tempore Petri, sui in episcopali sede prædecessoris, a Meletii partibus stetisset, receperat); hic eum favore suo prosequabatur, et, ad exemplum prædecessoris sui, officium et beneficium ejus continuabat. Arius autem ingenio superbus<sup>q</sup> æmulationem pectore suo fovebat, ægre ferens Alexandrum ad sedem episcopalem, se neglecto, promotum: cum interim nihil occurreret, quod in vita sancti hujus episcopi posset culpâre, doctrinam ejus, ceu pronam in hæresim, sugillare instituit. Cum enim Alexander coram Presbyteris suis de Unitate et Trinitate docte et accurate dissereret, Arius sub prætextu eum sic docendo Sabellianismum, qui Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum S. non tres personas, sed tres solum denominationes denotare volebat<sup>r</sup>, promovere, plane contrariam doctrinam promulgare cœpit.

*Arii Heterodoxia.*

Deus non semper fuit Pater<sup>s</sup>. Fuit tempus, quo non erat Filius. Deus Filium suum genuit ex nihilo. Filius est creatus. Filius non est naturale verbum, nec sapientia Dei. Ipse mutabilis est, sicuti aliæ rationales creaturæ. Filius creatus est, ut nos crearemur per ipsum; et ipse nunquam fuisset, nisi Deus creationem hominum proposuisset. Filius Patri non est cœqualis, nec eum perfecte cognoscit. Has et ejus generis plures blasphemias (indignæ quas recenseamus, et rursum e cœno in lucem proferamus) eructabat, ac iis misere decipiebat et seducebat tam ingentem hominum multitudinem, idque prius quam res ipsa ad Alexandri aures perveniret. Omnium primus id Alexandro indicabat Thebaidos episcopus Meletius<sup>t</sup>; qui quidem schismate ab ecclesia Alexandrina secesserat, sed doctrina erat orthodoxus. Alexander, accepto hoc nuncio, Arium convenit, et quid de rei veritate sit inquit: hic autem audacter et aperte assertiones suas propugnare et confirmare aggrediebatur: hac de

<sup>p</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 166.<sup>q</sup> Niceph. Calist. lib. 8. cap. 5.<sup>r</sup> Epiph. hæres. 42. p. 513.<sup>s</sup> Socr. lib. 1, cap. 3.<sup>t</sup> Epiph. ubi supr.

## DE CONCILIO NICÆNO.

causa ipse una cum iis, qui seducti illi adhærebant, ab Alexandro excommunicabatur.

## CAPUT VI.

*De Concilio Nicæno.*

SOLLICITUS et pius imperator Constantinus, videns se, sua ope et epistolis ac delegatorum mediationibus, tollendo huic malo parum proficere, generale Concilium, quod de his controversiis definiret, convocare statuit. Romanenses statuunt id Sylvestri, episcopi Romani, auctoritate et prævio consensu factum esse<sup>u</sup>. Cui sententiæ confirmandæ<sup>v</sup> Pisanus consarcinatas aliquot epistolas concilii ad Papam, et Papæ ad concilium, quibus acta ejus synodi confirmata essent, orbi obtrudit, cum interim horum omnium ne γὰρ quidem apud Eusebium, Theodoretum, Socratem, Sozomenum, aut Nicephorum occurrat, quin et secundum duos hos, quos postremo loco nominavi<sup>w</sup>, Romæ eo tempore episcopus erat Julius.

Locus conventui destinatus erat Nicæa, urbs Bithyniæ<sup>x</sup>. Mittebantur ab imperatore quaquaversum ad episcopos literæ. Equi, muli, et vehicula in longe dissitorum, aut infirmorum, aut veteranorum usum, ubique publicis sumtibus præsto erant<sup>y</sup>.

Numerus episcoporum hic congregatorum erat 250, teste Eusebio<sup>z</sup>; 300, juxta Athanasium<sup>a</sup>; excedebat 270, uti in Theodoreto narrat Eustathius; major erat quam 310, dicente Sozomeno: verum Epiphanius aliique 318 episcopos hic congregatos fuisse volunt<sup>b</sup>, ac sub numero hoc mysterium latere credunt, instituta collatione hujus numeri cum numero servorum et militum Abrahami, quorum ope quatuor reges prælio inito succumbebant.

Præter episcopos multi aderant presbyteri, ac diaconi<sup>c</sup>; quin et laici complures, qui cum his aut illis faciebant.

Dialectici et sophistæ ab utraque parte undique, ut sophismatibus suis quæstiones controversas tractarent, collige-

<sup>u</sup> Binius in Notis ad Concil. Possevin. Appar. sacer in voce Nicæn. Conc. Liber Pontific. Damasi. Bellarm. lib. 1. de Concil. cap. 5.

<sup>v</sup> Lib. 4. Conc. Nicæn.

<sup>w</sup> Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 16. Niceph.

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. de vit. Const. lib. 3. cap. 6. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 7.

<sup>y</sup> Loc. cit. cap. 9.

<sup>z</sup> Vide Bellarm. loc. cit.

<sup>a</sup> Soor. lib. 1. cap. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Epiph. hæres. 69. 11. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. et Soer. ll. cit.

## DE REGNO CONSTANTINI.

bantur. Accidit autem die aliquo, antequam concilium consideret, quod cum horum aliqui concertarent, laicus quis in hæc erumperet verba: " Neque Christus, neque ejus apostoli, nos artem disputandi, aut fallacibus sophismatibus uti docuit, sed sinceram mentem fide et operibus servare jussit."

Membris tandem omnibus in amplo huic rei destinato aulæ conclavi congregatis<sup>c</sup>, introiit imperator, et occupavit locum suum<sup>d</sup>, non tamen considens, nisi ex episcoporum petitione; quo facto ipse omnes itidem considerare jussit. Post brevis temporis moram, Eustathius episcopus Antiochenus surgebat. \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

*Cætera desunt.*

## CAPUT VII.

*De tempore et fine regni Constantini.*

COMMUNIS omnium est sententia<sup>e</sup> Constantinum imperium tenuisse annos unum et triginta, cum tamen mortuus sit imperii sui anno secundo post tricesimum; quod liquet ex Aurelio Victore, cujus hæc sunt verba: " Sexaginta tres annos vixit; ex quibus dimidios ita, ut tredecim solus imperaret; et specialius ex proverbio, quod idem omnium ore tritum fuisse narrat: Thracala decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus latro, decem novissimis pupillus ob immodicas profusiones nominatus."

Idem hic numerus ex Theodoreti calculo colligi potest. Ait enim Constantinum trigesimo imperii sui anno Treviros in Germania misisse in exilium Athanasium, ac deinde elapso anno et mensibus aliquot morbo occubuisse<sup>f</sup>. Quibuscum consentit Eusebius<sup>g</sup>: " Duos et triginta annos extra paucos menses et dies cum imperio fuit," &c. Obiit die Pentecostes circa meridiem.

Post se reliquit filios tres, qui simul imperium tenebant, videlicet Constantinum Juniorem, Constantium, et Constantem; hos autem procrearat non ex Fausta Hercullii filia, sed ex alia conjuge, quam ob adulterii suspicionem neci tradiderat.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 3, p. 167.

<sup>d</sup> Theodoret. et Socr. ubi supra.

<sup>e</sup> Socr. lib. 1. cap. 26. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 32. Entrop. lib. 10, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Theod. lib. 1. cap. 31, 32.

<sup>g</sup> De vit. Const. lib. 4. cap. 53. et 64.

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 DE CONSTANTINI FILIIS : A. D. 339—341.
 

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## CAPUT VIII.

*De iis, quæ in Ecclesia et imperio sub Constantino Juniore, Constantio, et Constante acta sunt.*

CONSTANTINUS Junior. Hic omnes trans Alpes provincias regendas habuit<sup>b</sup>.

1 *Ann. Imperat.* Constantius. Hic in Asia, Oriente,  
339 *Ann. Christi.* et Ægypto imperabat.

Constans. Hujus imperium se extendebat in Illyricum, Italiam, Africam, Dalmatiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, et Achaiam.

Dalmatius et Constantius Constantini Magni frater, insuper etiam Anaballianus, a Constantino Cæsares nuncupati erant.

Constantius interficit patrum suum Constantium, Dalmatium Cæsarem, Optatum, Abablium, et Anaballianum.

*Ann. Imperat. 2. A. D. 340.*—Athanasius, jussu Constantini, in Alexandriam reducitur; cui se vehementer opponunt Eusebius, Theognis, alique Ariani, qui eum apud Constantium accusant.

Constantia Licinii vidua, Constantini Magni soror, moribunda fratri suo Constantino presbyterum, quocum familiariter vixerat, et qui Arianae factioni palam addictus erat, commendat. Constantinus eo familiariter utitur, presbytero interim Arianismum suum celante, et moriens (nemine filiorum præsente) ipsi testamentum suum Constantio tradendum in manus dat. Quo facto magnum sibi presbyter hic apud Constantium favorem conciliat, et Arianorum causæ in aula promovendæ occasionem nanciscitur. Hujus igitur ductu Eusebius, Theognis, et Theodorus Heracleotes omnia apud Constantium contra Athanasium ita peragunt, ut Athanasius fuga sibi consulere cogeretur.

*Ann. Imperat. 3. A. D. 341.*—Constantinus et Constans de finibus suarum provinciarum certant<sup>i</sup>. Tandem autem Constantinus per insidias necatur. Socrate teste id contigit Acindyno et Proculo Coss.: hos autem consules proximo post mortem Constantini Magni anno fuisse censet Cassiodorus. Zosimus vero testatur Constantem, fratrem incautum opprimere volentem, inimicitias toto triennio dissimu-

<sup>b</sup> Aurel. Vict. Epit.

<sup>i</sup> Vide Vict. et Entrop.

lasse; ita ut Constantini cædes indubie ad hunc annum referenda sit.

Eusebius Pamphiliensis circa hoc tempus moritur.

*Ann. Imperat. 4. A. D. 342.*—Annus hic, ut ex sequentibus liquebit, magnarum turbarum in Constantinopolitano episcopo, post Alexandri mortem, eligendo initium dedit. Orthodoxi eligunt Paulum; Ariani contra Macedonium eligunt. Verum Constantius domum redux subito concilium convocat, cujus ope Paulus rejicitur, et Eusebius Nicomediensis in eum locum introducit<sup>k</sup>.

*Ann. Imperat. 5. A. D. 343.*—Constantius proficiscitur Antiochiam, templum a patre ædificari cœptum quasi consecraturus (Eusebius et qui cum Arianis faciebant, illuc confluent); sed revera eo scopo, ut convocato concilio Nicænæ synodi symbolum everteret. Socrates testatur illic congregatos fuisse episcopos nonaginta; Sozomenus eos ait fuisse numero nonaginta novem, et hanc synodum habitam præsentente Constantio. Referunt hanc synodum auctores prædicti ad annum a Constantini morte quintum,—Marcello et Probino Coss., uti addit Socrates. Quo autem pacto hoc cum Cassiodoro, qui hos secundo a morte Constantini anno consules fuisse scribit, conciliari possit, discutiendum relinquo.

Hoc concilium primum occupatur virulentis accusationibus Athanasii, ac deinde conficiendo novo fidei suæ symbolo, quod tamen postea immutarunt. Eusebius Emisenus creatur episcopus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ: hic vero conditionem illam accipere recusat; et ut Sabellianismi aliquatenus esset suspectus, et astrologiæ judiciariæ adhæreret, Emisæ episcopus designatur. Gregorius quidam Alexandriæ episcopus creatur<sup>l</sup>.

Franci Romanorum terram in Gallia invadunt. Oriens pluribus locis (præsertim Antiochiæ, integro anno) terræ motum sentit. Gregorius quinquies mille militibus stipatus Alexandriam tendit, et templum, in quo Athanasius una cum cœtu sacra peragebat, obsidione cingit. Athanasius populum psalmum canere jubet, ac ipse clam aufugiens Romam proficiscitur. Hac occasione S. Dionysii templum flammis consumitur.

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 168.

<sup>k</sup> Socr. lib. 2. cap. 5. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Socr. et Sozom.

## DE CONSTANTINI FILIIS : A. D. 344—9.

*Ann. Imperat. 6. A. D. 344.*—Eusebius, Arianismi patronus, paulo post finitum Antiochenum concilium moritur. Orthodoxi denuo Paulum in Constantinopolitani episcopatus sedem introducunt; Ariani contra Paulo substituunt Macedonium. Hinc variæ oriuntur in urbe turbæ, adeo ut Hermogenes militum præfectus illuc, Paulum ut removeret missus, interficeretur. Hoc, teste Socrate, factum est Constantio III. et Constantio II. Coss. adeoque ad hunc annum indubie referendum est.

Constans hoc anno Francos prælio vincit.

Constantius, postquam ipsi turbæ modo dictæ essent nunciatæ, omni festinatione Constantinopolin properat, Paulum ejicit, urbem mulctis vexat, et Macedonium indigne tractat.

Ariani Gregorium Alexandria pellunt, ac Georgium introducunt.

Athanasius, Paulus, et alii ejecti orthodoxi Romam proficiscuntur<sup>m</sup>, quos ad communionem admittit Julius; hic ad Orientales per eos literas scribit stylo satis acri, quibus Ariani ad eundem modum respondent.

*Ann. Imperat. 7. A. D. 345.*—Georgius contra Athanasium, Alexandriam reversum, turbas movet.

Paulus, sedem suam occupaturus, Constantinopolin revertitur. Constantius gubernatorem Philippum Paulum urbe ejicere jubet, qui stratagemate conficto eum apprehendit, et in exilium mittit; Macedonium autem restituit; quod tamen non nisi cæde 3150 hominum effectum dat.

Templum Sophiæ per Constantium ædificatur.

*Ann. Imperat. 8. A. D. 346.*—Athanasius iterum fugit. Venit Romam, uti et Paulus. Constanti injurias sibi illatas exponunt, qui a Constantio legatos petit, ex quibus de causa ejectionis Athanasii cognoscat. Veniunt legati, verum Constanti non satisfaciunt.

Photinus circa hoc tempus exurgit.

*Ann. Imperat. 10. A. D. 348.*—Athanasius Romæ est.

*Ann. Imperat. 11. A. D. 349.*—Orientales episcopi convocato concilio prolixam edunt fidei confessionem<sup>n</sup>, in qua Christum quadringentis annis ante, quam hactenus credebatur, incarnatum dicunt.

<sup>m</sup> Lege Socr. lib. 2. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7. de potest Episcop. Rom.

<sup>n</sup> Socr. p. 563. 567.

Concilium Sardicense congregatur anno undecimo post mortem Constantini, Ruffino et Eusebio consulibus<sup>o</sup>. Convocatum id fuit auctoritate Constantis et Constantii. Orientales autem episcopi se concilio adjungere nolunt, nisi ejectis Athanasio et Paulo; quod cum Occidentales recusabant, Philippos secedunt, ibique conventiculum formant.

Occidentales<sup>p</sup> episcopi orthodoxiam tuentur; Athanasium, Paulum, et Marcellum restituunt. Horum numerus erat 250<sup>q</sup>; Julium Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopum nuncupant suum *συλλειτουργόν*. Hic Hosius Cordubensis jam grandævus præsens erat. Enumerat hoc Concilium Arianorum impia ac abominanda facta. Epistola hujus Concilii lectu digna est. Eusebius Pamphiliensis non orthodoxus satis judicatur; Marcellus, in quem ipse calamus strinxerat, restituitur.

Tisucis mons inter Illyricum et Italiam terminus; quo communio inter Orientales et Occidentales distincta erat<sup>r</sup>.

*Ann. Imperat. 12. A. D. 350.*—Constans, cum Sardicensis Concilii acta secum communicata essent, scribit Constantio Athanasium oportere restitui, additis comminationibus eum, si secus fiat, adhibita vi, in Alexandrinam sedem velle restituere.

Constantius, acceptis his literis, semel atque iterum literis Athanasium ad se advocat. Venit tandem Athanasius. Imperator eum literis commendatitiis munit, et quidquid contra eum, aut qui ejusdem cum ipso communionis erant, decretum fuerat, irritum pronunciat<sup>s</sup>.

Athanasius per Hierosolymam domum revertitur. Maximus, convocato Concilio, communionem cum ipso renovat.

Athanasius cum magna festivitate in urbe Alexandria recipitur. Gregorius, qui sedem eam occupat, a populo interfectus erat.

Ursacius et Valens palinodiam canunt.

*Ann. Imperat. 14. A. D. 352.*—Sergio et Nigrino Coss. interficitur Constans anno<sup>t</sup> tertio decimo Augustæ dominationis, anno imperii decimo septimo; addit Eutropius eum factione Magnentii, anno ætatis trigesimo, occisum esse. Post Constantis necem Italiam, Africam, et Gallias obtinet

<sup>o</sup> Soer. *ibid.* Sozom. p. 276.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 3. p. 169.

<sup>q</sup> Theod. p. 54.

<sup>r</sup> Soer. p. 570.

<sup>s</sup> *Id.* p. 574.

<sup>t</sup> Victor.

## DE CONSTANTINI FILIIS: A. D. 352—5.

Magnentius. Veteranio in Illyrico ad imperium eligitur a militibus, senex prope ad stultitiam simplicissimus: quem brevi tempore elapso Constantius imperio et vita privabat.

Constantius Gallum creat Cæsarem, uti et Magnentius trans Alpes creat Decentium.

Nepotianus, filius Eutropiæ sororis Constantini, Augusti nomen, ut testatur Victor, rapit; verum octavo vicesimo die a Magnentio opprimitur.

*Ann. Imperat. 15. A. D. 353.*—Athanasius est Alexandriae. Ariani, cum jam Constantius universum imperium obtinebat, rursus movent turbas. Paulus episcopus Constantinopolitanus in exilium mittitur, et laqueo interimitur. Marcellus itidem in exilium mittitur. Lucius carceri includitur. Theodulus et Olympius occiduntur. Macedonius hoc tempore Constantinopolitanus episcopus imperatorem incitat contra orthodoxos, quos misere vexabat<sup>u</sup>; sed a Constantio, teste Sozomeno, ob sævitiam sede sua dejectus est.

Nullus hoc anno erat consul<sup>v</sup>.

Constantius Magnentium oppugnat; Gallum Cæsarem in Orientem mittit.

Rara crucis effigies in aere visa est<sup>w</sup>.

Photinus Sirmiensis antistes suas, cum imperator illuc venisset, opiniones profert, Christum videlicet non fuisse ante secula, sed tum demum initium habuisse, cum ex Virgine Maria nasceretur. Imperator indignabundus concilium eo loci convocat. Proximus hic annus erat post consulatum Sergii et Nigrini<sup>x</sup>. In hoc concilio Ariani tres fidei confessiones edunt; quibus subscribere Hosium Cordubensem adigebant. Photinus in exilium mittitur.

Magnentii violenta mors, Constantio VI. et Gallo Coss. 18. Cal. Sept.

Judæi, in Palæstina rebellantes, a Gallo subjugantur<sup>y</sup>.

Concilium Sirmiense fidei confessionem, quam ediderant, revocare studebat, sed frustra.

*Ann. Imperat. 17. A. D. 355.*—Gallus interficitur, Constantio VII. et Gallo II. consulibus.—Notæ in Socratem cædem Galli rejiciunt ad annum Christi 359<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Socr. lib. 2. cap. 22.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2. Ibid. p. 581. et Sozom. p. 297.

<sup>x</sup> Idem, p. 297.

<sup>y</sup> Sozom. p. 299.

<sup>w</sup> Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Vict. p. 275.

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HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL

**Exercitations**

UPON THE

**ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.**



## LECTOREM PRÆFATIO.

SACRAM Scripturam (Amice Lector) præ aliis omnibus, quæ hactenus apud homines literis mandata habentur, facile principem esse nemini dubium erit, qui, ne quid de summa ejus antiquitate dicam, Autorem illius atque institutum paulo attentius considerarit. Nam cum primum Divini Spiritus afflatu fuerit consignata, deque rebus summi momenti agat,—tum etiam ad præstantissimum scopum collimare certum est, ut genus nempe humanum ad æternam felicitatem perducatur;—inde merito censere debemus eam ita fuisse Dei consilio conscriptam, ut huic fini quam optime inserviret; adeoque pios homines, qui simplici corde ac præjudiciis exuto ad ipsam accesserint, fructum plane eximium ex ejus lectione percepturos.

Quanquam vero hæc ita sint, tamen aliqua in sacris hisce paginis *δυσνόητα* esse negari minime potest; ac facile evenire hinc posse, ut homines, *ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀσθήρικτοι*, ea prave distorqueant, ac, ut cum S. Petro loqui pergam, *πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν* pervertant. Neque arduum certe foret plurima istius modi loca adducere: sed cum hæc jam abunde ab aliis fuerint tractata, nec res id a me jam exigat, operæ pretium non sum ratus de iis hic fusius disquirere.

At enimvero quo plures majoresque in sacro hoc codice difficultates occurrunt, et quo gravius ejus sensum corrumpendi periculum nobis impendit, eo alacrius instare debemus, ut illa omnia a nobis diligenter ac studiose adhibeantur, quæ tum ad sensum ejus recte assequendum, tum ad periculi hujus magnitudinem evitandam, conducant. Non enim idcirco, ut aliqui improbe opinantur, quod nonnulla in eo difficiliora sint, abjici continuo debet; sed eo majori cura ac modestia est evolvendus; atque omnino arbitrari æquum

<sup>a</sup> Not in the English folio-edition.—ED.

est id potius tum humanæ rationis debilitati, tum voluntatis et affectuum pravitati, (quæ menti caliginem offundit) tribuendum, quod in harum rerum cognitione majorem profectum non fecerimus.

Nec sane mirum alicui videri debet, in libro vetustissimo ante tot sæcula scripto, eaque in gente cujus ritus ac consuetudines maximam fere partem ignoramus, tot inveniri obscura et intellectu difficilia. Quare ea aut perperam rejicere, aut, quod nonnulli faciunt, sibi inde ac aliis urbani videri volunt, risu ac sannis excipere, iniquissimum est. Liquido enim constat plurima in ea, vel ipsis fatentibus, præclara et eximia contineri; ut non aliter nobis de eo censendum sit, quam fecit olim Socrates de quodam Heracliti scripto, de quo sententiam rogatus ita respondit, "Α μὲν συνῆκα γενναῖα. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα, i. e. "Ea quidem quæ assecutus sum, pulchra sunt; puto item et quæ non sum assecutus." Præterea videmus nostris hisce temporibus illustria quædam ingenia extitisse, quæ summas ejus difficultates egregie enodârunt; unde non sit desperandum quin pari successu, et ea quæ etiamnum restant, explicentur. Quinimo iis, quæ jam præstita ab ipsis sunt, multo majora et præstantiora fieri possent, et in posterum fient, si Principes ac Magistratus tum impensam ad hæc necessariam, tum alia quæ in eorum potestate sunt subsidia, conferre velint. Ejusmodi enim sunt hæc studia, ut, ad ea perfecte absolvenda, cum populis Orientalibus commercia colere, eorum scripta penetius cognoscere, regionesque iis habitatas invisere ac perlustrare necessum sit.

Inter alios autem Viros præstantissimos, populares nostros, qui insignem in veteribus sacræ Scripturæ ritibus explicandis operam navârunt, merito primum locum occupat (ut ego arbitror) Johannes Lightfoot, S. T. D., Aulæque S. Catharinæ in Academia Cantabrigiensi non ita pridem præfectus. Majori industria an modestia fuerit, dicere nequeo; erat ille quidem in omni literatura, Hebraica vero in primis, peritissimus; in Sacris Scripturis diligentissime atque accuratissime versatus. Ad hæc, Verbi Divini præco assiduus; summa præterea morum simplicitate conspicuus; ab omni animi fastu ac φιλαντία maxime alienus. Neminem aut læsit aut contempsit; verbo dicam; qualis revera vir fuerit, plurima ab ipso edita, tum latino tum vernaculo nostro sermone, præclare testantur. Quæque ille ad extricandas

hasce sacrarum literarum difficultates eruditissime omnino ac felicissime præstitit, satis fidem faciunt, quanta demum præstari possent, si ea (de quibus jam ante dixi) accederent, quibusque eximius hic vir plane erat destitutus.

Quod ad sequentia attinet *σχεδιάσματα*, ex proprio Autoris MSto. desumpta, typis jam excuduntur; nec præconio sane ullo ad aucupandam Lectoris benevolentiam egent; satis ipsi constabit cujus sint,—nomineque, quod in fronte ostentant, optimi hujus viri, haud esse indigna. Equidem decreveram de vitæ, studiorumque Reverendi doctissimique Autoris ratione breviter sermonem instituisse, sed unici ejus fratris morte præventus sum; unde iis omnibus, quæ ad hanc rem opus erant, penitus excidi:—quamobrem in præsentiarum tantum esto.

R. KIDDER.



# EXERCITATIONS.

UPON THE

## ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

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### CHAP. I.

Ver. 1: Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην, &c. “*The former treatise have I made,*” &c.

WE may reduce to this place (for even thus far it may be extended) what our historian had said in the very entrance of his Gospel, Ἔδοξε καὶ μοι καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, “It seemed good to me also to write to thee in order:” where καθεξῆς, *in order*, seems to promise not only an orderly series of the history of the actions of our Saviour, but, successively, even of the apostles too. For what passages we have related to us in this book, may very well be reckoned amongst the Πράγματα πεπληροφορημένα, “the things which were most surely believed amongst them.” Indeed, by the very style in this place he shows, that he had a design of writing these stories jointly; that is to say, first to give us a narration of the actions and doctrine of Christ,—and then, in their due place and order, to commit to writing the acts and sayings of the apostles.

As to most of the things contained in this book, St. Luke was both αὐτόπτης, ‘an eye-witness,’ yea, and a part also: but how far he was spectator of those acts of our Saviour, which he relates in his other book, none can say. What he speaks in the preface of that work, is ambiguous, ἔδοξε καὶ μοι πᾶσιν ἄνωθεν παρηκολουθηκότι, and leaves the reader to inquire, whether he means, “he had a perfect understanding of things from the first,” by the same only way which those had, that undertook to compile the evangelical histories from the mouth, αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ λόγου, “of those that were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word;”—or

\* *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 633.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 685.

whether he came to this understanding of things from the first, he himself having been from the beginning, an ‘eye-witness,’ and a ‘minister:’—or, lastly, whether he does not, by the word *ἀνωθεν*, declare, that he understood all these things from heaven, and ‘from above.’ We have taken it in this last sense in our notes upon that place, as being beyond all controversy, that he was divinely inspired, and the Spirit ‘from above’ governed his pen, while he was writing those things. But whether it might not mean, according to the second sense (for the first we wholly disallow), viz. that St. Luke was amongst those, who adhered to our Saviour Christ from his very first preaching of the gospel; I leave it to the inquiry of the reader to determine.

*Ἔτιν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν, &c.* “*Of all that Jesus began to do,*” &c.

I am sensible, that, in the common dialect, to ‘begin to do,’ and ‘to do,’ is one and the same thing. But I suppose the phrase, in this place, is to be taken relatively; q. d. “In the former treatise, I discoursed of all those things, which Jesus himself *began* to do and to teach: in this, I am to give a relation of those things, which were continued by his apostles after him.”

Ver. 2: *Διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου* “*Through the Holy Ghost.*”

Expositors place these words differently. The Syriac, one of the Arabic copies, Beza, and the Italian, place them next after οὗς ἐξελέξατο, “whom he had chosen:” that the sense according to them is, “after that he had given commandment to the apostles, whom he had chosen through the Holy Ghost.”—But the other Arabic, as also the Vulgar, the French and English translations, retain the same order of the words, as we find them in the Greek text: most rightly rendering it, “after that he, through the Holy Ghost, had given commandment.” Which also of old had been done by God to the prophets, dictating to them, by the inspiration<sup>c</sup> of his Holy Spirit, what they should teach and preach.

The apostles had indeed cast out devils, and healed diseases, through the Spirit; but it is a question, whether they had as yet *taught* any thing, but what they had heard verbatim from the mouth of their great Master. He had

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 634.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 686.

given them a promise, that they should bind and loose the law of Moses: he had told them, that there were several things yet behind, that must be revealed to them, which, as yet, they could not bear, concerning which, they should be farther instructed by the inspiration of the Spirit. When therefore he had risen, and breathed in their face, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" from that time, they were endued with the Spirit, as the prophets of old,—who dictated to them what they should preach, what they should require, and what they should ordain. And now nothing was wanting but the gift of tongues; that what was dictated to them, they might declare and make known to all men in their own languages.

Ver. 3: *Δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὄπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς*  
 "Being seen of them forty days."

"It<sup>d</sup> is a tradition. On the evening of the Passover they hanged Jesus. And a crier went before him for forty days, saying, Behold the man condemned to be stoned, because, by the help of magic, he hath deceived and drawn away Israel into an apostasy. Whoever hath any thing to allege in testimony of his innocency, let him come forth and bear witness. But they found none, that would be a witness in his behalf."—But he himself (O thou tongue fit to be cut out) gives a sufficient testimony of his own innocency; having, for the space of forty days, conversed amongst men, after his resurrection from death, under the power of which he could not be kept, by reason of his innocency.

"It<sup>e</sup> is a tradition. R. Eliezer saith, The days of the Messiah are forty years, according as it is said, Forty years *בדור אקוט* shall I be grieved with this generation." The gloss is, "Because it is *אקוט* (in the future tense) it is a sign the prophecy is concerning the time to come." It is ingenuously done, however, of these Jews, that they parallel that faithless generation, that was in the days of the Messiah, with that perverse and rebellious generation, that had been in the wilderness: for they will, both of them, prove a loathing and offence to God, for the space of forty years. And as those forty years, in the wilderness, were numbered according to the forty days, in which the land

<sup>d</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 43. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. fol. 99. 1.

had been searching<sup>f</sup>; so also may those forty years of the Messiah be numbered according to the forty days, wherein he was conversant amongst mankind, after his resurrection from the dead. But you must compute warily, lest you stumble at the threshold about the year of Tiberius, wherein Christ rose again; or at the close about the year of Vespasian, wherein Jerusalem was taken. 'Εάλω μὲν (saith Josephus<sup>g</sup>) 'Ιεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας, "Jerusalem was taken in the second year of Vespasian's reign:"—When indeed, according to the 'Fasti Consulares,' it was taken in his first year; but his second year from the time, wherein he had been declared emperor by the army. He is saluted emperor by the army in Egypt, at the very calends of July, and the fifth of the ides of July in Judea. So that his first year from the time of his being declared emperor, was complete on the calends of July, the year following; but indeed, it was but half his first year according to the computation of the 'Fasti.' Now Jerusalem was sacked, on the eighth of September following.

Ver. 4<sup>h</sup>: Καὶ συναλιζόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς "And being assembled together with them, commanded them," &c.

We will make some inquiry, both as to the place and time, wherein these things were spoken and done.

I. We derive the word συναλιζόμενος not from ἅλς, 'salt,' but from ἀλία, 'an assembly,' or congregation. So the Lexicons: 'Αλία, a congregation; 'Εκκλησία, Ἄθροισμα, an assembly.—Προείπας<sup>i</sup> ἀλίζειν Πέρσησι στρατὸν, "When thou shalt give notice to the Persians to gather their forces together."—Τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσσας εἰς τῶντὸ, ἔθνε' "Cyrus, having gathered together his father's flocks and herds of goats, and sheep, and oxen, sacrificed them<sup>j</sup>," &c.

II. Our Saviour, after his resurrection, never appeared amongst his disciples but by surprise and unexpectedly, excepting that one time in the mountain of Galilee, where he had appointed to meet with them, Matt. xxviii. 16. So that I would refer these words therefore to that passage in St. Matthew; so that συναλιζόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν may signify

<sup>f</sup> Num. xiv. 34.

<sup>g</sup> De excid. lib. 6. cap. 47. [Hudson. p. 1292.]

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 635.

<sup>i</sup> Herodot. Polymn. cap. 12.

<sup>j</sup> Id. Clio, cap. 126.

his meeting with them in the mountain of Galilee, according to the appointment he had made. Nor do those words hinder, that it is said, "he commanded them, that they should not depart from Jerusalem," &c; as if it should necessarily be supposed, that they were now at Jerusalem: that passage ver. 6, οἱ οὖν συνελθόντες, "when they were come together," may signify their assembling in that place; and the words παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, "he commanded them," &c, may very well be construed, that he commanded them to repair straightway to Jerusalem, and not to depart thence.

III. I conceive, therefore, that these things were spoken and done in the mountain of Galilee (where probably the five hundred at once were together to see him, 1 Cor. xv. 6), and that when the time of his ascension drew near. For reason would persuade us, that they would not delay their return into the city, when he had commanded them thither; nor that he commanded them thither, but when the time drew near, wherein he was to meet them there.

And whereas he adds in the very same place and discourse, ver. 5, Οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας, "not many days hence;" it is necessary, that the word ταύτας should have its due force, having not been added here in vain; but seems to respect the days, that were yet to come between that and Pentecost.

We have frequent mention amongst the Rabbins concerning פּרַס הַפּסַח, 'the Paras of the Passover,'—and פּרַס הַעֲזָרָת 'the Paras<sup>k</sup> of Pentecost,'—and פּרַס הַחֹג 'the Paras of the feast of tabernacles.' Now the פּרַס Paras (themselves being the interpreters) was that space of fifteen days immediately before any of these feasts. So that five-and-thirty days after the second of the Passover, began the פּרַס הַעֲזָרָת, 'the Paras of the feast of tabernacles:': and the second day of those fifteen was (this year) the Lord's day, on which, I almost think, they had that assembly on the mountain of Galilee,—and that the disciples, being remanded from thence to Jerusalem, got thither within three days. But lest we should straiten the matter within too narrow a compass of time, and seem too nice and curious about the very day,—I should judge we can hardly more properly apply these words συναλιζόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν, "being

<sup>k</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 687.

assembled together with them," than to that meeting on the mountain of Galilee, which Christ himself had made the appointment of. From thence it was, that Christ commanded them to Jerusalem, a place which, having tainted itself with the blood of their Lord, they might probably have very little mind to return to again, had it not been by some special command:—and do we think they would have gone thither to have celebrated the feast of Pentecost, or, indeed, have been present all at it, in that place, had not their Master directed them so to do?

Ver. 6: Εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; “*Wilt thou, at this time, restore the kingdom to Israel?*”

It is very apparent, that the apostles had the same fanciful conceptions about the earthly reign of Christ with the rest of that nation: but yet they seem here a little to doubt and hesitate, either as to the thing itself, or at least as to the time; and that, not without cause, considering some things which had so lately fallen out.—‘Lord, wilt thou restore the kingdom to those, that have dealt so basely and perfidiously with thee? What, to this generation, that lies under the actual guilt of thy bloodshed? Or indeed, to this nation at all, which, by the perpetration of the late wickedness, had made itself unworthy of so great a kindness?’—Now, what our Saviour returns for answer,—viz. “that it is not for them to know the times or the seasons,” does not in the least hint any such kingdom ever to be; but he openly rebukes their curiosity in inquiring into the times, and, in some measure, the opinion itself, when he tells them, that “they should receive power from heaven; and should be his witnesses,” &c.

What that nation apprehended concerning the temporal reign of the Messiah, as to many things, they speak plainly and openly enough; but in other things, a man may inquire, but can hardly satisfy himself, what they mean or intend. To omit others, they are in three things somewhat obscure:—

I. Whether the ten tribes be to be admitted to the felicities of this reign? For as to this matter, it is disputed by the Rabbins. “The ten tribes are not to return<sup>m</sup>.” But

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 636.

<sup>m</sup> *Sanhedr. cap. Chelek, halak. 7.*

in the Jerusalem Talmudists, it is expressed thus, “The ten tribes have not a part in the world to come, וְאֵינָן רוֹאִין לְעֵתִיד, neither shall they see the future age.” Which is discoursed in the Babylonian writers,—viz. whether this be not to be understood of those individual persons only, that were carried away by the king of Assyria; that they indeed shall not partake of the blessings of the Messias, though their posterity should. So that there may lie hid something of ambiguity in the word *Israel*, in this passage we are now examining; that is, whether, in the conception of those that speak it, the ten tribes are included, yea or no. For commonly the name *Israel* amongst the Jews, was wont to be taken for the Jews only; so that they called themselves *Israel*,—and the ten tribes, by way of distinction, the *ten tribes*. In which sense, and according to which distinction, that of the apostle<sup>a</sup> seems to be said, “Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I.”

II. What opinion was to be had of the two Messiahs, Messiah Ben David,—and Messiah Ben Joseph,—or Ben Ephraim, as he is called by the paraphrast, Cant. iv. 5. Whether they were to reign at the same time, the one over the ten tribes, the other over the two? or whether in succession to one another, both of them over the whole nation? Messiah Ben Joseph was to be cut off<sup>b</sup>. And then, what must become of his subjects, whether they were of the ten tribes or of the two, or of all?

III. It is farther obscure in their writings, whether they had an apprehension that the Messiah should reign alone; or whether he should substitute any king or kings under him, or after him. It seems probable to them, that the Messiah should reign his thousand years alone: but then, as to that age which they called עֵתִיד לְבָא (if *eternity* be not meant, by it) what did they conceive must be done in it? Whether kings should be substituted in it, of the race of David? They can dream of nothing but mere earthly things: and if from such kind of dreams we might conjecture, what kind of future state that עֵתִיד לְבָא should be, we may guess what should then be done. But to what purpose is it to trace error,—where, as we cannot so much as fix a foot, so the farther we proceed, the more we slip?

What kind of kingdom the apostles had framed in their

<sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Succah, fol. 52. 1.

imaginations, is not easy to conceive. There was something that might seem to cherish that opinion about a temporal reign, wherewith they had been leavened from their very childhood; and that was, that not only Christ, but several of the saints, had rose from the dead; and that the kingdom of the Messiah should commence from some resurrection, they had already learnt from some of their own traditions. But in what manner should Christ now reign? His body was made a spiritual body. Now he appears: anon he vanisheth and disappears again; and how will this agree with mortals? The traditions, indeed, suppose the Messiah would be perhaps מן דמתיא one of the dead: but when he should revive, he was to have the same kind of body with other men. This was apprehended by some<sup>p</sup>, that those dead, mentioned Ezek. xxxvii, did revive, returned into the land of Israel, married wives and begat children: "I myself, saith R. Judah Ben Betirah, am one of their offspring; and these very phylacteries<sup>q</sup>, which my grandfather bequeathed to me, belonged to them." Now, who is it can so much as imagine, what opinion the apostles conceived concerning the bodily presence of Christ in this kingdom of his, which they had been dreaming?

Ver. 12: Σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν. "A sabbath-day's journey."

I have already said something in Luke xxiv, concerning a sabbath-day's journey. I will add a few things in this place<sup>r</sup>. "Whosoever goeth beyond the bounds of the city on the sabbath-day, let him be scourged: because it is said, Let no one go out from his place on the seventh day: This place, is the bounds of the city. The law doth not determine the compass<sup>s</sup> of these bounds. But the wise men define these bounds from without, to be about twelve miles, according to the Israelites' camp: for Moses, our master, said unto them, Ye shall not go out of your camp.—However, it is ordained by the words of the scribes, Let no one go out of the city beyond two thousand cubits. For two thousand cubits are the suburbs of the city. From whence we may learn, that it is lawful to walk clear through the city on the sabbath-day, be it as spacious as Nineveh, and whether it be walled or no. He may also expatiate beyond the

<sup>p</sup> In Sanhedr. fol. 92. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Maimonid. Schabb. cap. 27.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 688.

<sup>s</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 637.

city to the length of two thousand cubits from every side of it.—But if a man go beyond these two thousand cubits, they scourge him מכות מרדות with the scourge of rebellion; that is, if he go so far as twelve miles: but if he go out of the city beyond twelve miles, though it be but the space of one cubit, he is scourged according to the law.” Let us comment a little.

I. It was commonly believed, that the Israelites' encamping in the wilderness, was about twelve miles square: “The<sup>t</sup> length of the Israelites' camp was twelve miles, and the breadth twelve miles.”

“The breadth of the waters” (that is, those that were divided in Jordan) “was twelve miles, answerable to the camp of Israel, according as our Rabbins expound it”.—The waters, which came down from above, stood and rose up upon a heap, Josh. iii. 16. And what was the height of these waters? It was twelve miles' height upon twelve miles' breadth, according to the camp of Israel.” Where the gloss is, “The camp of the Israelites was twelve miles upon twelve miles” (that is, twelve miles square): “and they passed over Jordan according to their encampings; viz. the whole breadth of their camp passed over together for the space of twelve miles<sup>v</sup>.” Hence that in Hieros. Sotah<sup>w</sup>, “Adam and Zarethan” (i. e. the place from whence, and the place to which, the waters were divided) “were distant from one another twelve miles.”

Whether they took the number of twelve miles precisely, from allusion to the twelve tribes, or from any other reason retained that exact number and space,—is not easy to determine: yet this is certain, that the Israelites' camp was very spacious, and had a very large compass, especially granting a mile's distance between the first tents and the tabernacle. And, indeed, as to this commonly-received opinion, of the camp's being twelve miles square on every side, we shall hardly believe it exceeds the just proportion, if we consider the vast numbers of that people: nay, it might rather seem a wonder, that the encamping of so many myriads, or rather so many hundred thousands, should not exceed that proportion. Place the tabernacle in the midst: allow the space of one mile from each side of it (in which space were the tents of the Levites), before you come to the first tents of

<sup>t</sup> Targ. Jonath. in Numb. ii.

<sup>v</sup> Sotab, fol. 34. 1.

<sup>w</sup> Kimch. in Josh. iii. 16.

<sup>x</sup> Fol. 21. 4.

the Israelites; and then guess, what length, and breadth, and thickness, all the other tents would take up.

II. It is supposed lawful for any one to have walked upon the sabbath-day, not only from the outmost border of the camp to the tabernacle, but also through the whole camp, from one end of it to the other; because, the whole encamping was of one and the same, and not a diverse, jurisdiction. According to that known canon concerning עירובי חצרות 'commixion,' or 'communion of courts.' And hence it is, that Maimonides makes such mention of twelve miles, and the lawfulness of walking on the sabbath-day through any city,—be it as spacious as Nineveh itself.

III. But when the people were disposed of, and placed in their several cities and towns in the land of Canaan, and the face of things quite changed from what it had been in the wilderness,—it seemed good to the wise men to circumscribe the space of a sabbath-day's journey within the bounds of two thousand cubits. And that partly, because the inmost borders of the Israelites' tents were so much distant from the tabernacle, as may be gathered from Josh. iii. 4: and partly, because it is said, Num. xxxv. 4, 5, "From the wall of the city ye shall measure a thousand cubits; and from without the city ye shall measure two thousand cubits." Now\*, "a thousand cubits are the suburbs of the city, and two thousand cubits are the bounds of the sabbath."

IV. As to these words, therefore, of the evangelist, now before us, we must suppose they do not define the exact distance of the mount of Olives from Jerusalem, which, indeed, was but five furlongs<sup>y</sup>; nor do they take in the town of Bethany within the bounds of the sabbath, which was distant fifteen furlongs, John xi. 18: but they point out that place of the mount, where our Saviour ascended into heaven,—viz. that place where that tract of the mount of Olives ceased to be called 'Beth-phage,' and began to be called 'Bethany.' Concerning which, we have discoursed more largely in another place.

\* Sotah, fol. 27

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.

Ver. 13: Ἀνέβησαν εἰς ὑπεροῶν· “*They<sup>a</sup> went up into an upper room.*”

לעליה “*To an upper room,*” in Talmudic language.

I. It was very familiar with that nation, that, when they were to concern themselves with the law, or any parts of religion out of the synagogue, they went up לעליה “*into an upper room,*” some uppermost part of the house. “*Abniah<sup>b</sup>, a very rich man, invited Rabban Johanan ben Zacchai, and his disciples, and Nicodemus, &c, to a feast, which he made at the circumcision of his son. When the feast was done, Rabban Johanan, and his disciples, went up לעליה into an upper room, and read, and expounded, till the fire shone round about them, as when the law was given at mount Sinai. Abniah was amazed at the honour that was given to the law, and so devoted his son to the law.*” Take notice that עליה ‘*an upper room*’ is distinct from a ‘*dining-room,*’ where they dined and supped; and there it was they handled the law and divine things:—to which if that ἀνώγειον ‘*large upper-room,*’ mentioned Mark xiv. 15, and Luke xxii. 12, where our Saviour celebrated the Passover,—had any affinity, it seems to have been something different from a common dining-room.

II. Such a kind of ὑπεροῶν, or ‘*upper room,*’ I presume, was the Beth-Midrash of this or that Rabbin. R. Simeon<sup>c</sup> saith, “*I saw בני עליה the sons of the upper room, that they were few in number;*” that is (if I take the word עליה aright), ‘*the sons or disciples of Beth-Midrash:*’ but I will not contend in this matter.

“*Those<sup>d</sup> are the traditions, which they delivered בעליה in the upper room of Hananiah, Ben Hezekiah, Ben Garon:*” —and many instances of that kind. Of this kind seems that upper chamber at Troas, mentioned Acts xx. 8. And so, where we meet with the church, in such or such a one’s house, it seems to look this way:—viz. some upper part of the house, sequestered on purpose for the assembling of the church,—in the same manner that the Beth-Midrash was set apart, for the meeting of the disciples of this or that Rabbin. And, as the Beth-Midrash was always in the house of some Rabbin, so, probably, for the most part, were these

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 638.—Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 689.

<sup>b</sup> Juchasin, fol. 23. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Juchasin, fol. 45. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Schab. fol. 3. 3.

churches in the house of some minister, or doctor, of the church. Was not Aquila such a one, in whose house we find a church mentioned? Rom. xvi. 5, compared with Acts xviii. 26. Was not Philemon such a one? Phil. ver. 2.

Ver. 15: "Ὠς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι." "About a hundred and twenty."

The same number was Ezra's great synagogue. "Ezra<sup>e</sup> was the head of all: he was the twenty-second receiver of traditions, וקניס קך" דינו היו קך" and his whole Sanhedrim consisted of a hundred and twenty elders."—There was no stated council in any city under this number. "How<sup>f</sup> many men are requisite in a city, that it might be capable of having a council settled in it? A hundred and twenty. What is their office? Three-and-twenty are to make up the number of the lesser Sanhedrim. And there are three classes of twenty-three: behold, there are ninety-two. There are ten במליך to be at leisure for the synagogue: behold, there are a hundred and two. Two בעל דינין (the plaintiff and the defendant) who have business before the Sanhedrim: שני זוממין two crafty witnesses" (those who, by their counter-evidence, might implead the witnesses, if possible, of a lie): "שני זוממי זוממין two counter-witnesses, against those counter-witnesses. Two scribes. Two chazanim, two collectors of the alms, and a third to distribute. רופא A physician (the gloss hath it, 'one to circumcise infants'). אומן An artificer, chirurgeon (the gloss is, 'one to let blood'). לבלר A libellary, i. e. one that was to write bills of espousals, divorces, contracts, &c, and a schoolmaster; behold, a hundred and twenty." If you will pick any thing out of this parity of number, you may. However, certainly, the number of those we have now before us, ought always to occur to mind, when we read such passages as these; "They were all, with one accord, in one place," Acts ii. 1: "They were all scattered abroad, excepting the apostles," chap. viii. 1. —So, chap. xi. 19, &c.

Besides the twelve apostles, and seventy-two disciples, who can tell us who those other thirty-six were, that were to fill up the number? what kind of men, of what degree and quality, who, though they were neither of the number of the twelve apostles, nor the seventy disciples, yet were admitted members of that great and holy consistory? Reason

<sup>e</sup> Juchasin, fol. 13. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 17. 2. et Maimon. Sanhedr. cap. 1.

itself seems against it, that any women should be accounted of that number. As, also, it is plain, that though there were more in the city that believed, yet these were, for some special cause and reason, ascribed into this peculiar fellowship and number. As to the twelve, and the seventy, we need not inquire: as to the rest, let<sup>s</sup> us see, whether it may not be intimated to us, ver. 21, that they had been the followers of Christ, in company with the others, from the very first of his publishing the gospel.

That Peter should be always at the head of them, and have the chief parts in the whole history, as their prolocutor and chief actor, must be attributed,

1. To his seniority, he being older than any of the other twelve. And whereas, under this notion of his age, he had been their chief speaker, all the while that our Saviour conversed amongst them,—it was but just and reasonable, he should hold the same place and quality, now that their Lord was gone.

2. To his repentance. As what was but necessary, that he, who had so scandalously fallen, might, by his future zeal and religion, as much as possible, give some considerable testimonies both of his repentance and recovery.

3. He was designed to the apostleship of circumcision, as the chief minister: it was fit, therefore<sup>b</sup>, that he should be chief amongst those of the circumcision. But when we style him the chief minister of the circumcision, we do not dream of any primacy he had over the other ministers of the circumcision; only that the greatest work, and the widest space of that ministry, fell to his lot, viz. Mesopotamia, or the Babylonish and Assyrian captivity,—namely, the Jews in Babylon, and the ten tribes mixed with them. And when we speak of him, as acting the chief and principal parts, we do not believe the rest of the apostles idle; we know, they were endowed with equal authority,—an equal gift of miracles,—equal number of tongues,—equal wisdom,—and an equal power of preaching the gospel: but that he, for the reasons above mentioned, had shown his zeal, industry, and activity, in some ways and measures very extraordinary.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 639.

<sup>b</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 690.

Ver. 18: Καὶ πρηνῆς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος· “*Falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst.*”

The Vulgar and Erasmus have it, “*Suspensus crepuit medius:*” “*Being hanged, he cracked asunder in the midst.*” So the Italian translation: “*Appicato crepò pelmezzo;*” rendering St. Matthew rather than St. Luke; and I question, indeed, whether they do rightly take the mind of St. Matthew, while they so strictly confine the word ἀπήγαρο to *being hanged*. I have produced my conjecture concerning this business at Matt. xxvii; viz. that the devil, immediately after Judas had cast back his money into the temple, caught him up into the air, strangled him, threw him headlong, and dashed him in pieces upon the ground. For,

I. It is questionable enough, whether the word ἀπήγαρο do, necessarily and singly, denote “*he hanged himself;*” and not as well, “*he was hanged*” or “*choked:*”—and, indeed, whether the word always supposes the halter: how the learned Heinsius hath defended the negative, we may consult him upon this place, and upon Matt. xxvii.

II. If Judas *hanged* himself, as is commonly believed, and commonly so painted,—how could it be said of him, that ἐγένετο πρηνῆς, “*he fell headlong?*” Grant, that, upon the breaking of the halter, he might fall upon the ground; yet what matter is it, whether he fell on his face, or that he fell backward? But if πρηνῆς be derived ἀπὸ τοῦ προνεύειν, as the grammarians would have it, it may be *headlong* as well as *upon the face*; that is, as *upon the face* is opposed τῷ ὑπτίῳ to *supine* or *backward*.

III. Histories tell us of persons strangled by the devil. That is a known passage in Tob. iii. 8: “*Asmodeus πρηνῆς (so it is in the Heb. of P. Fagius) strangled Sarah’s seven husbands,*” &c; and it may be the less wonder, if the devil, being corporally seated in this wretch, should at last strangle him.

IV. There are also histories of the devil snatching up some into the air, and carrying them away with him. Now, of all mortals, no wretch did ever more deserve so direful a fate than this traitor; nor did any other death become the most impious of all mankind than the dreadfulest the devil (to whom he was entirely given up) could inflict; as what might be of most horror to himself, and terror to others.

V. The words immediately following, "That this was known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem," ver. 19, argue it was a thing of no common and ordinary event, and must be something more than hanging himself; which was an accident not so very unusual in that nation.

Καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. "And all his bowels gushed out."

"A<sup>k</sup> certain Syrian saw a man, who fell from the roof of his house upon the ground; פקעיה ברסיה ונפיק מעיניו his belly burst, and his bowels gushed out. The Syrian brought the son of him, that had thus fallen, and slew him before him, באחיית עיניו but at length it seemed so."—The gloss<sup>1</sup> telleth us, he did not strike or hurt the boy; but made, as if he would have killed him; because he, loath to meddle with the man's bowels himself, for fear lest he should any way displace them, seemed as if he had killed the boy; that so the father, upon the sight of it, groaning and fetching strong and deep sighs, might draw in his bowels into their proper place again.

The devil had dwelt in this wretch for three days, or thereabout, from the time that he had entered him upon his receiving the sop, John xiii; and now, by a horrid eruption tearing out his bowels, he goes out again.

Ver. 19: 'Ακελδαμά. "Aceldama."

אחזקל "A field of blood:" so called, both as it had been purchased with the price of blood, and as it had been watered with the blood of this traitor; for hither I presume the devil had thrown him headlong: and upon this event it was, that the priests were moved to purchase this very field; and so, in a twofold sense, it might be said of this traitor, that ἐκτήσατο τὸ χωρίον, "he purchased a field," both as it was bought with his money, and sealed with his blood. If Aceldama was in that quarter of the city that it is now shown in to strangers, that is, between the east and the south, as Borchard tells us; then it was in the valley of Hinnom, or thereabout.

<sup>k</sup> Cholin, fol. 56. 2.

<sup>1</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 640.

Ver. 25: Πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. “*That he might go to his own place.*”

Balaam<sup>j</sup> “went to his own place, that is, into hell.”—“It<sup>k</sup> is not said of the friends of Job, that they, each of them, came from his own house, or his own city, or his own country, but from his own place, שנתבצר לו בגהינם that is, from a place cut out for them in hell.”—The gloss is, “from his own place, that is, from hell, appointed for idolaters.”—“Whosoever betrays<sup>l</sup> an Israelite into the hands of the Gentiles, hath no part in the world to come<sup>m</sup>.” If so, then where must he have his place, that betrayed the very Messiah of Israel?

Ver. 23: Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβᾶν. “*Joseph, called Barsabas.*”

I. Amongst the Jews, יוסֵי *Jose*, and יוסֵף *Joseph*, are one and the same name. “אמר ר' יוסי בבבל לשון ארמי” R. Jose saith, In Babylon, the Syrian tongue,” &c; which being recited in Sotah<sup>o</sup>, is thus expressed, “א' ר' יוסף בבבל לשון ארמי” R. Joseph said, In Babylon,” &c.—So יוסי ר' R. *Jose*, in Hieros. Jom Tobh<sup>p</sup>, is יוסף ר' R. *Joseph* in Bab. Berac<sup>q</sup>. יוסֵי בן יוחנן *Jose Ben Johanan* in Avoth<sup>r</sup>, is *Joseph Ben Johanan* in Maimonides's preface to Misnah. And so Ἰωσήφ in Matt. xxvii. 56, and Mark vi. 3, is rendered in the Vulgar, *Joseph*.—See Beza upon the place now before us.

II. I would, therefore, suspect, that this Joseph, who is called ‘Barsabas,’ might be Joses the son of Alpheus, the brother of James the Less, who, as James also, was called the Just: nor could we suppose any a more likely candidate for the apostleship, than he who was brother to so many of the apostles, and had been so oftentimes named with James. What the word ‘Barsabas’ might signify, it is not so easy to determine; because *Sabas* may agree with so many Hebrew words; the nomenclators render it, the son of *conversion*, son of *quiet*, son of an *oath*. (But, by the way, who can tell what etymology the Arabic interpreter in Bib. Polygl. referred to, when he rendered it ברצאפאן ‘Barzaphan?’) I would write it בר סבא Bar Saba (which also the Erpenian

<sup>j</sup> Baal turim, in Num. xxiv. 25.

<sup>l</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 691.

<sup>n</sup> Bava kama, fol. 83. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Fol. 19. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Midras Coheleth, fol. 100. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Maimon. in Covet umazzi. cap. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Fol. 49. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Fol. 61. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Cap. 1. hal. 4.

Arab. does) i. e. a *wise son*: unless you had rather “son of an old man.” There is also another Barsabas, chap. xv. 22; “Judas surnamed Barsabas:” by whom if Judas the apostle be to be understood, let Josus and he (both Barsabas) be brothers, both of them בר סבא, “the sons of old Alpheus.”

CHAP. II<sup>s</sup>.

Ver. 1: Καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς  
 “*And when the day of Pentecost was fully come.*”

1. THIS word *Pentecost*, seems to be taken into use by the Hellenist Jews, to signify this feast; which also almost all the versions retain, the Western especially, and, amongst the Eastern, the Syriac and Ethiopic. The Hebraizing Jews commonly call this feast by the name of עֲצֵרֶת; from which one of the Arabics differs very little, when it renders it in this place יום אל עֲצֵרֶת אֶלְחֻמְשֵׁן; where the letter נ<sup>t</sup> is only interserted; the other omits the word wholly, and only hath אִיּוֹם אֶלְחֻמְשֵׁן, “the day of the fifty.”

II. It is well enough known, that עֲצֵרֶת, in the Holy Scriptures, was a *holiday*, Levit. xxiii. 36; Deut. xvi. 8; 2 Kings x. 20: and the reason why the Jews so peculiarly appropriate it to the feast of Pentecost, seems to be this; because this feast consisted in one solemn day; whereas the feast of the Passover, and of tabernacles, had more days. “As<sup>u</sup> the days of the feast are seven. R. Chaija saith, Because the Pentecost is but for one day, is the morning so too? They say unto him, Thou arguest from a far-fetched tradition.” Where the gloss hath it, “That this feast is but for one day, we learn from the very word עֲצֵרֶת.”—“The<sup>x</sup> men of the town Mahæsia are strong of heart; for they see the glory of the law twice in the year.” The gloss is, “Thither all Israel is gathered together in the month Adar, that they may hear the traditions concerning that Passover in the school of Rabh Asai: and in the month Elul, that they may hear the traditions concerning the feast of tabernacles. But they were not so gathered together בעֲצֵרֶת שְׁאִינוּ אֵלָּא יוֹם אֶחָד at the feast of Pentecost, because that is not above one day.”

Hence that Baithusean may be the better believed in his

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 641.

<sup>t</sup> Leusden's edition has ב, instead of ג.—ED. <sup>u</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 114. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Beracoth, fol. 17. 2.

dispute with Rabban Johanan<sup>v</sup>, “Moses our master (saith he) will love Israel; ויודע שעצרת יום אחד היא and he knows that the feast of Pentecost is but for one day.”

III. And yet there is mention<sup>w</sup> of a second holiday in Pentecost, הנהו קבוראי דקבור נפשה ביום טוב ראשין של עצרת “Rabh Papa hath shammatized those bearers, that bury the dead on the first feast-day of Pentecost,” &c; where the mention of the ‘first feast-day’ hints to us, that there is a second, which we find elsewhere asserted in express terms. “R. Simeon<sup>x</sup> Ben Jozadek saith, In eighteen days any single person repeats the Hallel over; that is to say, in the seven days of the feast of tabernacles, in the eight days of the feast of dedication, the first day of the Passover, and the first day of Pentecost. But *in the captivity* they did it in one-and-twenty days. In the nine days of the feast of tabernacles, in the eight days of the feast of dedication, in the two feast-days of the Passover, ושני ימים טובים של עצרת, and the two feast-days of Pentecost.”

Whereas it is said בגולה “in the captivity,” the difficulty is answered; for although, in the land of Israel, there was but one solemn day in the feast of Pentecost, yet amongst the Jews in foreign countries there were two; which also happened in other solemnities. For instance, within Palestine, they kept but one day holy in the beginning of the year<sup>y</sup>,—viz. the first day of the month Tisri; but, in Babylon and other foreign countries, they observed both the first and the second day. And the reason was, because, at so great a distance from the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, they could not be exactly certain of the precise day, as it had been stated by the Sanhedrim; they observed, therefore, two days, that, by the one or the other, they might be sure to hit upon the right.

IV. God himself did, indeed, institute but one holiday in the feast of Pentecost, Levit. xxiii: and, therefore, is it more peculiarly called עצרת ‘a solemn day,’ because it had but one feast-day. And yet, that feast hath the name of חג and רגל, the same titles that the feast of tabernacles, and the Passover had, Exod. xxiii. 14, &c:—and all the males appeared in this feast as well as in the others; nor was this feast without its Chagigah any more than the rest. So that,

<sup>v</sup> Menacoth, fol. 65. 1.

<sup>w</sup> Sanhed. fol. 26. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Erachin, fol. 10. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 692.

however the first day of Pentecost only, was the holy and solemn day, yet the feast itself was continued for seven days. So the doctors in Rosh Hashanah<sup>2</sup>; “ R. Oshaiah saith, Whence comes it that *עצרת* the Pentecost hath *תשלומין* compensations for all the seven days? because the Scripture saith, *בחנו חמצות* In the feast of unleavened bread, *ובחנו* and in the feast of weeks, *הסוכות* and in the feast of tabernacles. He compares the feast of weeks (i. e. Pentecost) with the feast of unleavened bread. That hath compensations for all the seven days, *אף חג השבועות יש לו תשלומין* so the feast of weeks (i. e. Pentecost) hath compensations for all the seven days.” They called that *תשלומין* ‘compensations,’ when any one, not having made his just offerings in the beginning of the feast, repaired and compensated this negligence or defect of his, by offering in any other of the seven<sup>a</sup> days. And thus much may suffice as to this whole feast in general. Now as to the very day of Pentecost itself, it may not be amiss to add something.

I. It is well known, that the account of weeks and days from the Passover to Pentecost took its beginning from, and depended upon, the day of offering the sheaf of the first-fruits, Levit. xxiii. 15. But, through the ambiguity of the phrase *ממחרת השבת* “the morrow of the sabbath,” there hath arose a controversy betwixt the scribes and Baithuseans, whether, by the sabbath, ought to be understood the weekly sabbath (or as the scribes commonly called it *שבת*, *בראשית* ‘the sabbath of the creation’); or, whether it should be understood of the ‘sabbatical day,’ i. e. the first day of the seven days of Passover, which was the solemn day, Exod. xii. 16. The Baithuseans contend vehemently for the former, and will not have the sheaf offered but after the weekly sabbath. As suppose, the first day of the Passover should fall out upon the first day of the week, they would stay till the whole week with the sabbath-day was run out; and then, on the morrow of that sabbath, i. e. the first day of the following week, they offered the sheaf. But the scribes, very differently, keep strictly to the sixteenth day of the month Nisan, for offering the first-fruits without any dispensation,—after the sabbatical-day, or the first day of the feast, is over. And amongst other arguments, by which they strengthen their opinion, those two different places of Scrip-

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 4. 2.<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 642.

ture, Exod. xii. 15, "Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread," and Deut. xvi. 8, "Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread;"—they, according to the sense they have, do thus reconcile, 'seven days, indeed, you shall eat unleavened bread;' that is, unleavened bread of the old wheat, on the first day of the feast, the sheaf being not yet offered; and unleavened bread of the new wheat, the remaining six days, after you have offered the first-fruits<sup>b</sup>.

II. If the day of the first-fruits be to be taken into the number of the fifty days, which the authors, now quoted, do clearly enough affirm out of those words, Deut. xvi. 9, "Number the seven weeks to thyself *מִחֵל הָרִמֶּשׁ בַּקֹּמֶה*, when thou beginnest to put the sickle into the corn;"—then it will appear plain enough to any one, that, upon whatsoever day of the week the sheaf-offering should fall, on that day of the week the day of Pentecost would fall too. And hence the Baithuseans contended so earnestly, that the *מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת* "the morrow after the sabbath" (on which, it is commanded, that the sheaf of the first-fruits should be offered) should be understood of the first day of the week; that so the day of Pentecost might fall out to be the first day of the week too: not so much in honour of that day (which is, indeed, our Lord's day), but that the Pentecost might have the more feast-days; *כִּדִּי שִׁיחַ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִתְּעוּגֵי שְׁנֵי יָמִים* "that the Israelites might delight themselves for two days together," as one of them speaks out their meaning<sup>c</sup>.

III. As to the year, therefore, we are now upon, wherein Christ ascended, and the Holy Ghost came down,—the sheaf-offering was on the sabbath-day. For the paschal lamb was eaten on Thursday; so that Friday (on which day our Saviour was crucified) was the first day of the feast, the sabbatical, or holiday. And the following day, which was their sabbath,—was the *δευτέρα*, the 'second,' on which the sheaf was offered, whilst Christ lay in the grave. And for this very reason was it said to be *ἡμέρα μεγάλη τοῦ σαββάτου*, "a high day of the sabbath," John xix. 31.

IV. Let us inquire, therefore, whether the day of Pentecost fell out on their sabbath-day? I know, indeed, that the fifty days are reckoned by some from the resurrection of our Lord; and then Pentecost, or the fiftieth day, must fall on

<sup>b</sup> Siphra, fol. 51. 1. Pesikta, fol. 20. 1. Menao. fol. 66. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Menao. fol. 65. 1.

the first day of the week, that is, our Lord's-day : but if we number the days from the common epocha, that is, from the time of offering the sheaf of first-fruits (which account doubtless St. Luke doth follow), then the day of Pentecost fell out upon the Jewish sabbath. And here, by the good leave of some learned men, it may be questioned,—‘ Whether the Holy Ghost was poured-out upon the disciples, on the very day of Pentecost, or no.’—The reasons of this question may be these:—

I. The ambiguity of the words themselves, Ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι<sup>d</sup> τὴν ἡμέραν, which may be either rendered, as we have done in English, “ When the day of Pentecost was fully come;” or as they in the Italian, “ Et nel finire del giorno de la Pentecoste,” q. d. ‘ when it was fully gone.’ So that the phrase leaves it undetermined, whether the day of Pentecost was fully *come*, or fully *gone*:—and what is there could be alleged against it, should we render it in the latter sense?

II. It is worthy our observation, that Christ the antitype, in answering some types that represented him, did not tie himself up to the very day of the type itself for the fulfilling of it, but put it off to the day following. So it was not upon the very day of the Passover, but the day following, that ἐθύθη αὐτὸς Πάσχα ἡμῶν, “ Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us<sup>e</sup> :” it was not on the very day that the sheaf of the first-fruits was offered, but the day following, that Christ became ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, “ the first-fruits of them that slept<sup>f</sup>.” So also did he institute the Christian sabbath not the same day with the Jewish sabbath, wherein God had finished the work of his creation,—but<sup>g</sup> the day following, wherein Christ had finished the work of his redemption. And so it was agreeable to reason, and to the order wherein he disposed of things already mentioned,—that he should indulge that mysterious gift of the Holy Ghost, not upon the day of the Jewish sabbath, but the day following, the day of his own resurrection from the grave; that the Spirit should not be poured out upon the same day, wherein the giving of the law was commemorated,—but upon a day, that might keep-up the commemoration of himself for ever.

III. We can hardly invent a more fit and proper reason,

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 693.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Cor. v. 7.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 20.

<sup>g</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 643.

why, upon this day, they should be ἅπαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, “all with one accord in one place,” than that they were so gathered together for the celebration of the Lord’s-day. So that although we have adventured to call it into question, whether the Holy Ghost was poured-out upon the very day of the Jewish Pentecost,—yet have we not done it with any love to contradiction, but as having considerable reason so to do, and with design of asserting to the Lord’s-day its just honour and esteem: for, on that day, beyond all controversy, the Holy Ghost did come down amongst them.

Ἦσαν ἅπαντες ὁμοθυμαδόν, &c. “*They were all with one accord,*” &c.

Who were these ἅπαντες, these *all* here mentioned? probably the hundred and twenty spoken-of chap. i. 15: and the connexion falls-in well enough with the foregoing story. Those *all* were together; when the election of the twelfth apostle was propounded, and when the choice was made too: and, therefore, why the *all* in this place ought not to have reference to this very number also, who can allege any reason? Perhaps you will say, This reason may be given why it should not;—namely, that ‘all those that were here assembled, were endued with the gift of tongues; and who will say that all the hundred and twenty were so gifted?’—I do myself believe it, and that for these reasons:—

I. All the rest were likely to publish the gospel in foreign countries, as well as the apostles; and therefore was it necessary, that they also should be endowed with foreign tongues.

II. The apostles themselves imparted the same gift, by the imposition of hands, to those, whom they ordained the ministers of particular churches. It would seem unreasonable, therefore, that those extraordinary persons, that had been all along in company with Christ and his apostles, and were to be the great preachers of the gospel in several parts of the world, should not be enriched with the same gift.

III. It is said of the seven deacons, that they were πλήρεις Πνεύματος ἁγίου, “full of the Holy Ghost,”—even before they were chosen to that office: which doth so very well agree with what is said in this part of the story, ver. 4, Ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες Πνεύματος ἁγίου, “they were all filled

with the Holy Ghost," that we can hardly find out a more likely time or place, wherein these deacons had been thus replenished, than when the apostles themselves were so; that is, upon the coming down of the Holy Ghost.

IV. The dignity and prerogative of the apostles, above the rest of the disciples, did not so much consist in this gift of tongues being appropriated to themselves; but in this, amongst other things, that they were capable of conferring this gift upon others, which the rest could not do. Philip the deacon, doubtless, did himself speak with tongues; but he could not confer this gift to the Samaritans, that they also should speak with tongues as he did: this was reserved to Peter and to John the apostles.

V. The Holy Ghost, as to the gift of tongues, fell upon all, that heard Peter's discourse in the house of Cornelius, chap. x. 44: it may seem the less strange, therefore, if it should fall on these also, at this time and in this place.

Ver. 2: Ἦχος ὡσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας. "A sound as of a rushing mighty wind."

The sound of a *mighty wind*, but without wind; so also tongues *like as of fire*, but without fire. Φερομένης is fitly and emphatically enough added here; but I question whether ἐπεφέρετο was so properly put by the Greek interpreters in Gen. i. 2; Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, "the Spirit of God was carried upon the face of the waters." And yet the paraphrast and Samaritan copy is much wider still from the meaning and intention of Moses, when they render it by מושבה 'he breathed' upon the waters. I conceive they might in those words, "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," have an eye to those waters, that covered the earth: whereas Moses plainly distinguisheth between the abyss, that is, the waters that covered the earth, upon the face of which deep the darkness was,—and those waters, which the Spirit of God moved upon, that is, the waters which were above the firmament, ver. 6, 7. And by the moving or incubation of<sup>h</sup> the Spirit upon these waters, I would rather understand the motion of the heavens, the Spirit of God turning them about, and by that motion cherishing the things below, as the bird doth by sitting upon its young,—than of any blowing or breathing of the Spirit or

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 644.

the wind upon them; or that the Spirit was carried upon the waters, as a wind is upon the sea, or upon the land.

Ver. 3<sup>i</sup>: Διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός· “*Cloven tongues, like as of fire.*”

The confusion of languages was the casting-off of the Gentiles, and the confusion of religion: for after once all other nations, excepting that of the Jewish, came to be deprived of the use and knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, in which language alone the things of true religion, and all divine truth were known, taught, and delivered,—it was unavoidable, but that they must needs be deprived of the knowledge of God and religion. Hence that very darkness, that fell upon the Gentile world by that confusion of tongues, continued upon them to this very time. But now behold the remedy; and that wound that had been inflicted by the confusion, is now healed by the gift of tongues: that veil, that was spread over all nations at Babel, was taken away at mount Zion, Isa. xxv. 7. We meet with a form of prayer, in the Jewish writings, which was used on the solemn fast of the ninth month Ab, of which this is one clause<sup>j</sup>: “Have mercy, O God, upon the city that mourneth, that is trodden down and desolate; כִּי באשׁ החרבתה ובאשׁ אתה עתיד לבנותה because thou didst lay it waste by fire, and by fire wilt build it up again.” If the Jews expect and desire their Jerusalem should be rebuilt by fire, let them direct their eyes towards these fiery tongues; and acknowledge both that the building commenced from that time,—and the manner also, how only it is to be restored.

Ver. 13: Γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι· “*These men are full of new wine.*”

“Rabba saith, מִיָּהׁיב אִינִישׁ בְּסוּמִי בְּפֹרִיא A man is bound to make himself so mellow on the feast of Purim, that he shall not be able to distinguish between Cursed be Haman, and Blessed be Mordecai.”—“Rabbah and R. Zeira feasted together on the feast of Purim אִיבְסִים, and they were sweetened, or made very mellow.” The gloss is, וְאִיבְסוּם וְשִׁתְּכֵרוּ “and they were sweetened,” i. e. “they were got drunk.”—So that the γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσὶ, is nothing,

<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 694.

<sup>j</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 65. 3.

but what they were wont to express in their common dialect, אִיבִסְסִי "they are sweeted," that is, "are drunk."

But may we not rather judge those drunk, who, by saying the apostles were full of new wine, imputed that sudden skill of theirs in so many languages to wine and intemperance? The Rabbins, indeed, mention a demon קרדיקוס *Cordicus*, who possesseth those, that are drunk with new wine<sup>k</sup>. But is he so great a master of art and wit, that he can furnish them with tongues too? These scoffers seem to be of the very dregs and scum of the people; who, knowing no other language but their own mother-tongue, and not understanding what the apostles said, while they were speaking in foreign languages,—thought they said nothing but mere babble and gibberish.

Ver. 15: "Ἔστι γὰρ ὡρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας" "It is but the third hour of the day."

That is, with us, nine o'clock in the morning; before which time, especially on the sabbath and other feast-days, the Jews were not wont so much as to taste any thing of meat or drink, nor, indeed, hardly of other days. "This<sup>l</sup> was the custom of the religious of old, first to say over his morning prayers on the sabbath-day, with those additional ones in the synagogue,—and then go home and take his second repast:"—for he had taken his first repast, on the evening before, at the entrance of the sabbath. Nothing might be tasted, before the prayers in the synagogue were finished, which sometimes lasted even till noonday; for<sup>o</sup> so the gloss upon the place, "When they continue in the synagogue beyond the sixth hour and a half, which is the time of the great Minchah (for on a feast-day, they delayed their coming out of the synagogue), then let a man pray his prayer of the Minchah before he eat, and so let him eat." And in those days it was, that that commonly obtained, which Targ. in Koheleth noteth<sup>m</sup>; בָּתַר דְּמִקְרִבֵּן תְּמִידָא אֲכַלֵּן; לחמא בזמן ד' שעין After they had offered the daily sacrifice, they eat bread in the time of the four hours;" i. e. in the fourth hour. In Bava Meziab<sup>n</sup>, a certain officer of the king's teacheth R. Eleazer, the son of R. Simeon, how he should<sup>o</sup> distinguish betwixt thieves and honest men; "על ארבע שעין"

<sup>k</sup> Gittin, cap. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Fol. 83. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Maimon. Schab. cap. 30.

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 645.

<sup>n</sup> Cap. 10. 16.

לחנות Go (saith he) into the tabernæ on the fourth hour; and if thou seest any person drinking wine, and nodding while he holds his cup in his hand," &c. Where the gloss hath it, "The fourth hour was the hour of eating, when every one went into the tabernæ, and there eat."—So that these whom ye deride, O ye false mockers, are not drunk; for it is but the third hour of the day; that is, it is not yet the time to eat and drink in.

Ver. 17: 'Εν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις' "*In the last days.*"

The prophet Joel hath it אחרֵי כֵן, "After these things;"—Greek, μετὰ ταῦτα' "After these things." Where Kimchi upon the place hath this note, והיה אחרֵי כֵן כמו והיה באחרית הימים, And it shall come to pass "after these things," is the same with καὶ ἔσται ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, it shall come to pass "in the last days."—We have elsewhere observed, that, by *the last days*, is to be understood, the last days of Jerusalem, and the Jewish economy,—viz. when the τέλος τοῦ αἰῶνος Ἰουδαϊκοῦ, "the end of the Jewish world"<sup>p</sup> drew near. And there would be the less doubt as to this matter, if we would frame a right notion of "that great and terrible day of the Lord;" that is,—the day of his vengeance upon that place and nation. Which terror, the Jews, according to their custom and fashion, put far off from themselves, and devolve it upon Gog and Magog, who were to be cut off and destroyed.

Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα  
 "I will pour-out of my Spirit upon all flesh."

The Jews cautiously enough, here, though not so honestly, apply this prophecy and promise to Israel solely; as having this for a maxim amongst them, "That the Holy Ghost is never imparted to any Gentile." Hence those of the circumcision that believed, were so astonished, when they saw,—that "on the Gentiles, also, was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost," chap. x. 45.—But, with the Jews' good leave, whether they will or no, the Gentiles are, beyond all question, included within such-like promises as these:—"All flesh shall see the salvation of God<sup>q</sup>;" and, "All flesh come and worship before the Lord<sup>r</sup>," &c.

<sup>p</sup> Vide Matt. xxiv. 3. and 1 Cor. x. 11.

<sup>q</sup> Isa. xl. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Isa. lxvi. 23.

Ver. 19: Καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. “*And vapour of smoke.*”

The prophet hath it in the Hebrew ותמרות עשן “and pillars of smoke.” St. Luke follows the Greek; who, as it should seem, are not very solicitous about that nice distinction between עשן מתמר ועולה כמקל “pillaring smoke,” or ‘smoke ascending like a staff,’—and עשן מפציע לכאן ולכאן “smoke dispersing itself here and there:”—a distinction we meet with in Joma<sup>s</sup>; where we have a ridiculous story, concerning the curiosity of the wise men, about the ascending up of the smoke of incense.

As to these prodigies, in blood, fire, and smoke, I would understand it of the slaughter and conflagrations, that should be committed in that nation to a wonder, by seditious and intestine broils there. They were monsters rather than instances; than which there could never have been a more prodigious presage of the ruin of that nation, than that they grew so cruel within themselves, breathing nothing but mutual slaughters and desolations.

Ver. 23: Τοῦτον τῇ ὀρισμένη βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκδοτον λαβόντες, &c. “*Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken,*” &c.

We may best fetch the reason, why St. Peter adds this clause,—from the conceptions of the Jews. Can he be the Messiah, think they, that hath suffered such things? What! the Messiah crucified and slain? Alas! how different are these things from the character of the Messiah! לו יתרון ומעלה “To him belong honour, and glory, and pre-eminence, above all kings, that have ever been in the world; according as all the prophets, from Moses our master (to whom be peace!) to Malachi (to whom be peace!) have prophesied concerning him.” Is he then the Messiah, that was spit upon, scourged, thrust through with a spear, and crucified?—“Yes (saith St. Peter); these things he suffered τῇ<sup>u</sup> ὀρισμένη βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει Θεοῦ, “by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.” And these things had been foretold concerning him from Moses to Malachi; so that he was nevertheless their Messiah, though he suffered these things; nor did he, indeed, suffer these things by

<sup>s</sup> Fol. 33. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Rambam in Artic. fid. Jud. Sanhedr. fol. 121. 1.

<sup>u</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 646.

chance, but by the determinate counsel of God. What the learned have argued from this place, concerning God's decrees, I leave to the schools.

Ver. 24: Λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου  
 “*Having loosed the pains of death.*”

Let these ὠδῖνας θανάτου, be either the *pains* of death, or the *bands* of death,—yet is it doubtful, whether St. Peter might speak only of the death of Christ, or of death in general: so that the sense may be,—that God raised him up; and, by his resurrection, hath loosed the bands of death, with respect to others also.—But supposing the expression ought to be appropriated to Christ only (whom, indeed, they do chiefly respect), then, by ὠδῖνας θανάτου, we are not to understand so much the *torments* and *pangs* in the last moments of death, as those *bands* which followed; viz. the continued separation of soul and body, the putrefaction and corruption of the body in the grave; which two things are those, which St. Peter acquits our Saviour from, in the following words. For, however it be a great truth, that death is the wages of sin,—yet is it not to be understood so much of those very pangs, whereby the soul and body are disjoined, as the continuation of the divorce betwixt soul and body in the grave.

Ver. 27: Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾄδου  
 “*Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.*”

It is well known, what the word ᾄδης signifies in Greek authors: viz. *the state of the dead*, be they just or unjust. And their eternal state is distinguished not so much by the word itself, as by the qualities of the persons. All the just, the heroes, the followers of religion and virtue, according to those authors, are in ᾄδου, *hades*; but it is in Elysium, in joy and felicity. All the evil, the wicked, the unjust, they are in *hades* too; but then, that is in hell, in torture and punishment. So that the word *hades* is not used in opposition to heaven, or the state of the blessed,—but to this world only, or this present state of life: which might be made out by numberless instances in those authors. The soul of our Saviour, therefore, κατήλθεν εἰς ᾄδου, “descended into hell;” i. e. he passed into the state of the dead,—viz. into that place in *hades*, where the souls of good men went. But

even there did not God suffer his soul to abide, separate from his body, nor his body to putrefy in the grave; because it was impossible for Christ to be holden of those bands of death, seeing his death was not some punishment of sin, but the utmost pitch of obedience; he himself being not only without sin, but incapable of committing any.

Ver. 29: Ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας, &c.

“*Let me speak freely,*” &c.

It is doubted whether ἐξὸν should be rendered *I may*, or *let me*: if that which<sup>v</sup> R. Isaac saith, obtained at that time, —viz. “Those words, ‘my flesh shall rest in hope,’ teach us רמה ותולעה שלא שלט בו רמה ותולעה that neither worm nor insect had any power over David<sup>w</sup>;”—then was it agreeable enough, that St. Peter should, by way of preface crave the leave of his auditory, in speaking of David’s being putrefied in the grave; and so the word ἐξὸν is well rendered, *let me*. But *I may*, pleaseth me best; and by this paraphrase, the words may be illustrated;—“That this passage, ‘Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell,’ &c. is not to be applied to David himself, appears, in that *I may* confidently aver concerning him, that he was dead and buried, and never rose again, but his soul was left εἰς ᾄδου, ‘in the state of the dead,’ and he saw corruption: for his sepulchre is with us unto this day, under that very notion, that it is the sepulchre of David, who died and was there buried; nor is there one syllable any where mentioned of the resurrection of his body, or the return of his soul ἐξ ᾄδου, ‘from the state of the dead.’”

I cannot slip over that passage<sup>x</sup>, “R. Jose Ben R. Ben saith בעצרת דוד מת David died at Pentecost; and all Israel bewailed him, and offered their sacrifices the day following.”

Ver. 34<sup>y</sup>: Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου, &c. “*The Lord said unto my Lord,*” &c.

Seeing St. Peter doth, with so much assurance and without scruple, apply these words to the Messiah,—it is some sign, that that comment, wherewith the later Jews have glossed over this place, was not thought of or invented at that time; glossing on the words thus: “The Lord said

<sup>v</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 696.

<sup>w</sup> Midr. Till. fol. 13. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Hieros. Chagig. fol. 78. 1.

<sup>y</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 647.

unto Abraham, Sit thou on my right hand.”—“Sem<sup>r</sup> the Great said unto Eleazar, When the kings of the east and of the west came against you, how did you do? He said unto him אֵייתִי הַבְּה' לְאַבְרָהָם וְאוֹתֵבִיהָ מִיְמִינָה God took up Abraham, and made him sit at his right hand: he threw dust upon them, and that dust was turned into swords; stubble, and that stubble was turned into darts: so it is said in David's psalm, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand.” Where the gloss very cautiously notes, that these words, “The Lord said unto my Lord,” are the words of Eleazar, whose Lord of right Abraham might be called.

“R. Zachariah<sup>a</sup>, in the name of R. Ismael, saith: God had a purpose to have drawn the priesthood from Sem, according as it is said, He was the priest of the Most High God. But when he pronounced his blessing of Abraham, before his blessing of God, God derived the priesthood from Abraham. For it is said, ‘And he blessed him saying, Blessed be Abraham of the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be the Most High God.’ Abraham saith unto him, Doth any one put the blessing of the servant, before the blessing of his Lord? Immediately the priesthood was given to Abraham; as it is said, ‘The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand.’ It is written afterward, ‘Thou art a priest for ever,’ עַל דְּבַרְתִּי עַל עַל דְּבַרְתִּי for the words of Melchizedek” [who had not placed his blessings in due order]. “And forasmuch as it is written, ‘And he was a priest of the Most High God,’—it intimates to us, that he was a priest, but his seed was not.” Can we think, that this gloss was framed at that time, when St. Peter so confidently, as though none would oppose him in it, applied this passage to the Messiah? which also our Saviour himself did, before him, to the great doctors of that nation; and there was not one, that opened his mouth against it<sup>b</sup>.

Ver. 38: Βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. “*Be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ.*”

Beza tells us, that “this doth not declare the form of baptism, but the scope and end of it. Yet this clause is wanting in the Syriac interpreter.” Wherever he might

Sanhedr. fol. 108. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Nederim, fol. 32. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xxii. 44.

have got a copy, wherein this was wanting,—yet is it not so in other copies. But to let that pass: what he sayeth, that “this doth not declare the form of baptism,” is, I fear, a mistake: for at that time, they baptized amongst the Jews, in the name of ‘Jesus’ (although among the Gentiles, they baptized ‘in the name of the Father, and the Son, and Holy Ghost’), that Jesus might be acknowledged for the Messiah by them, that were baptized; than which nothing was more tenaciously and obstinately denied and contradicted by the Jews. Let the Jew therefore, in his baptism, own Jesus for the true Messiah; and let the Gentile, in his, confess the true God, three in one.

Ver. 41: Προστέθησαν ψυχὰὶ ὡς τρισχίλια: “*There were added about three thousand souls.*”

And chap. iv. 4, ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες πέντε “about five thousand.” To which I would refer that passage in Psal. cx. 3, עַמְךָ נְדִבּוֹת בְּיּוֹם חֵילֶךָ “Thy people shall be a willing people in the day of thy power.” The day of Christ’s power, was the day of his resurrection, when he had subdued death and hell; and the day of his ascension, when he was set at the right hand of God above all principality and power; concerning which, the first verse of that psalm speaks. The story in this place, therefore, is the fulfilling of the prophecy, ver. 3; and it shows, how willing his people were in that day of his power.

Ver. 42<sup>f</sup>: Καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου. “*And in breaking of bread.*”

Breaking of bread, was a phrase much in use amongst the Jews,—arising from a custom as much in use among them. For their dinner began with blessing and breaking of bread. “R. Zeira<sup>g</sup> was sick. R. Abhu came to him, and bound himself, saying, ‘If R. Zeira recover, I will make a festival-day for the Rabbins.’ He did recover, and he made a feast for all the Rabbins. כִּי מִטָּא לְמִשְׁרֵי When they were going to dinner, R. Abhu said to R. Zeira, לִישְׁרֵי לָן מֵר, ‘Master, begin for us.’—To whom he answered, לֹא סָכַר לָהּ, ‘Doth not the master remember, or call to mind, that of R. Johanan, who saith, בְּעַל חֲבִית בּוֹצֵעַ The master of the house breaketh bread?’” Where the gloss upon these words כִּי מִטָּא לְמִשְׁרֵי is this: “It signifies a feast; as if

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 648.

<sup>g</sup> Beracoth, fol. 46. 1.

he should have said, 'Break bread to us with the blessing, **המוציא** He that bringeth forth food out of the earth,' &c. The Gemara goes on: "When they came to give the blessing, R. Abhu said to R. Zeira, 'Let the master give the blessing for us:' to whom he answered, 'Doth not the master call to mind that of R. Hounah of Babylon, who saith, **בוצע מברך** He that breaketh bread, giveth the blessing?'"—And a little after; "He that breaketh bread, doth not break it before the *Amen* of all, that sit down at meat, be pronounced; and that they all answer *Amen* to him, when he giveth the blessing." Again in the same place; "No one of the guests must taste any thing, till he who breaketh bread, hath first tasted."

"R. Abba<sup>s</sup> saith, **בשבת חייב אדם לבציע על שתי ככרות** A man is bound on the sabbath-day, to break upon two loaves, because it is written **לחם משנה** double bread," Exod. xvi. 22. "Rabh Issai saith: I saw Rabh Calina, that he took two loaves, **ובצע אחד** and brake but one." Instances of this kind, as to the use of this phrase, are endless.

But now the question is, whether *κλάσις ἄρτου* 'breaking of bread' in this place, be to be taken in this sense: that is, for 'common bread,' or not rather for 'bread of the holy eucharist:' which question also returns, ver. 46, "breaking bread from house to house." Now, I ask whether **בציעה**, 'breaking of bread,' amongst the Jews, was ever used to denote the whole dinner, or the whole supper? It signifies indeed, that particular action, by which they began the meal; but I do not remember, that I have, any where in the Talmudists, observed the phrase applied to the whole meal of dinner or supper. **סעודה** was the word, by which they commonly expressed the whole repast: but **בציעה** 'breaking bread,' never,—if I am not much deceived. And I doubt that of Beza is but "gratis dictum," rather than proved,—when he tells us, "Factum est, ut mutuus convictus," &c. "It came to pass, that eating together, and so all the feasts they were wont to make amongst one another, went under the name of 'breaking of bread.'" Which if true, I ingenuously confess my ignorance: but if false, then *κλάσις ἄρτου*, or 'breaking bread,' in these places we are now upon, must not be understood of their ordinary eating together, but of the eucharist; which the Syriac interpreter does render so

in express terms: a parallel to which we have in 1 Cor. x. 16. Acts xx. 7.

Ver. 44: Εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά. "They had all things common."

To repeat here, what is disputed concerning the Essenes and Therapeutæ, is to say the same thing over and over again; but what is said of the Jerusalem writers, and is not so obvious, I cannot omit:—viz. that they did not hire either houses or beds in Jerusalem; those things were not mercenary, but lent gratis by the owners to all, who came up to the feast<sup>e</sup>. The same may be well supposed of their ovens, caldrons, tables, spits, and other utensils. Also provisions of water were made for them at the public care and charge<sup>f</sup>.

CHAP. III<sup>e</sup>

Ver. 1: Ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐνάτην. "At the hour of prayer; being the ninth hour."

WHETHER it was the ninth hour of the same day, wherein, about the third, the Holy Ghost had been poured out,—must be left to conjecture. This is certain, that the ninth hour of the day (which, with us, is three o'clock in the afternoon) was the ordinary hour, as for sacrifice, so also for prayer too. As to the hours of sacrifice, Josephus gives us this account<sup>h</sup>: Δίς τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτῃ τε καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν, ἱερουργοῦντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ "Twice a day,—viz. in the morning, and at the ninth hour,—they offer sacrifices on the altar." And concerning the hours of prayer, the Talmudists thus: "R. Jose Ben R. Chaninah saith, The patriarchs appointed the prayers. R. Joshuah Ben Levi saith, They appointed them according to the daily sacrifices. Morning prayer is till the fourth hour. The prayer of the Minchah, or evening, is till the evening. Which is the great Minchah? That from the sixth hour and a half. Which is the less Minchah? from the ninth hour and a half," &c.

They distinguish betwixt the afternoon prayers, and the evening prayers; although part of them, if not all, were one and the same. For whereas the precise time for recital of the phylacteries and the prayers annexed for the evening, was not but at the entering-in of night, yet they recited them

<sup>e</sup> Joma, fol. 12. 1. Megill. fol. 26. 1.

(Shekalim, cap. 5.

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 649.

<sup>h</sup> Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. [Hudson, p. 614.]

<sup>i</sup> Beracoth, fol. 26. 1, 2.

in their prayers at the Minchah. Hence that dispensation in the gloss in Beracoth<sup>1</sup>; "The recital of the Shema in bed, is the foundation; that is, after that the stars have begun to appear: and so it is in the Jerusalem Talmud. If any one recite them before that time, he doth<sup>j</sup> not do his duty. If it be thus, then why do we say our phylactery prayers in the synagogue? It is, that we may continue in prayer because of the words of the law."

Ver. 2: Πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν λεγομένην Ὠραίαν "At the gate of the temple, which is called Beautiful."

Here I am at a stand, as to the determination of this gate, according to the uncertain signification of the word Ὠραίαν. If, in the etymology of it, it hath any relation with ὥρα, *time* (which any one would imagine), then we might suppose it the gate called הולדה 'Huldah;' perhaps so called from הלח 'Heledh,' *time*, or *age*. There were two gates of this name on the south side of the court of the Gentiles, under that noble porch called the Βασιλική, or 'Royal porch<sup>k</sup>;' through which the way led from Jerusalem itself, or Acra, into the temple. But if by Ὠραίαν be meant strictly *beautiful*, as it is commonly rendered, then we might suppose it the east gate of the women's court: which, although it was but a brazen gate, yet for splendour and glittering it exceeded the other gates of silver or gold. "There were nine of the gates, indeed, that were overlaid with silver and gold.—But one without the temple, made of Corinthian brass, which far exceeded those of gold or silver<sup>l</sup>."

Let the reader judge, whether that, which is added ver. 11, increase or explain the difficulty: "As the lame man which was healed, held Peter and John, all the people ran together unto them in the porch, which is called 'Solomon's.'" From whence this difficulty ariseth: Whether Peter, and John, and the lame man, had hitherto gone no farther than the court of the Gentiles; or whether they had come back thither, from the women's court. If the former, then the lame man lay at some gate of the court of the Gentiles, that was called Ὠραία, which, we may suppose, was the gate called Huldah: if the latter, then he lay at that Corinthian gate.

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 2. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 698.

<sup>k</sup> Middoth, cap. 1. hal. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Joseph. de Excid. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Ver. 4: Βλέψον ἡμᾶς “ *Look on us<sup>m</sup>.*”

Ver. 5: Ὁ δὲ ἐπέχεν αὐτοῖς. “ *He gave heed unto them.*”

In the Jerusalem language, perhaps, it might be said רחמי לון לן ורחמי לן “ *Look on us; and he looked on them.*”—“ *On* a certain day, Elias came to R. Judah, while a fit of tooth-ache was upon him, and he said unto him, לי רחמי *Look on me.* ורחמי ליה *And he looked on him, and he touched his teeth, and cured him.*”

Ver. 6: Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔχω. “ *Silver and gold have I none.*”

“ *It is a tradition<sup>o</sup>: Let no one enter into the mountain of the temple במעות הצרורים לו בסדינו* with money bound up in his linen; *וּבפונדתו מושפלת אחריו* nor with his purse hanging behind him.” Where, by the way, we may observe the gloss of Rambam upon the word פונדתו; “ *It is a garment (saith he), which a man puts on next his skin, in which he sweats, that he may not spoil better clothes: nor is it the custom for any one to go abroad with that garment alone, having no other clothes on.*” We leave the reader to spell out his meaning; but with this remark,—that he is not followed in the explication of this word by his countrymen.

But, though it was not lawful for any to carry a purse into the temple with them, yet was it very seldom, that any did go into the temple without money, either in his hand, or carried about them some other way,—and that, with an intent either to bestow in alms, or to make a voluntary offering in the treasury: this is evident from those two mites of the poor widow. Might not Peter have something of this nature to bestow to a beggar, though he had neither silver nor gold? Doubtless he had no such equivocation; but meant it sincerely, that he had no money at all.

Ver. 11: Ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ καλουμένη Σολομῶντος. “ *In the porch, that is called Solomon’s.*”

If we will distinguish betwixt porch and porch, then *Solomon’s porch* was on the east, and the *royal porch* on the south, &c. But if we would have the whole court of the Gentiles to be comprehended under the name of ‘ *Solomon’s*

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 650.*

<sup>o</sup> *Hieros. Chetub, fol. 35. 1.*

<sup>o</sup> *Beracoth, fol. 62. 2.*

porch,' though it may seem something obscure, why it should be called a 'porch,' and why 'Solomon's porch,' yet it may not be unfitly admitted here. But whether it took its name from Solomon's porch, strictly so called, as being the most noble porch, and anciently that of Solomon; or because Solomon consecrated that court in his temple by sacrifices<sup>p</sup>: or, whether because Solomon *μεγάλας ἐμφορήσας φάραγγας*, (as Josephus tells us), "filled the deep trenches with earth," that, by levelling the place, he might have room enough to make this court:—whatever it was, I deny not but the whole court might go under that name; although, as I have elsewhere shown, the very Solomon's porch, strictly taken as a 'porch,' was only the eastern part and porch of that court. And let me only repeat what I have quoted in that place<sup>q</sup>: שַׁעַר הַכֹּהֲנִים וְשַׁעַר הַחֹלְדָּה לֹא חָרְבוּ לְעוֹלָם "The priests' gate, and the gate Huldah, were not to be destroyed at all, till God should renew them."—Which increaseth our suspicion, that the name *חולדה* Huldah is derived from *הלך* Heled, which signifies *time*, and *age*, from the lastingness they had fancied of this gate; and that the word *Ὠραία*, in this place might have some such signification, as one would say, "the gate of time." And perhaps, the little priests' gate was the other gate of Huldah, from the same duration they conceited in that gate also;—for there were two gates of that name, on the south side of the court, as we have noted before.

Ver. 19: "Ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως" "When the times of refreshing shall come."

I may, perhaps, betray my ignorance in the Greek tongue, if I should confess that I cannot see, by what authority of that language the most learned interpreters have rendered, *ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν*, &c., "That when the times of refreshing shall come:" as the Vulgar, Erasmus, and the Interlinear: or "when they shall come:" also the English, French, and Italian<sup>s</sup>: or, "after they shall come," as Beza. I am not ashamed to confess, I do not understand by what reason they thus render it; when it so well agrees with the idiom of that language to translate it, "That the times of refreshing may come."—Psal. ix. 14, *ὅπως ἂν ἐξαγγείλω* Hebrew, *הַפְרַח אֶנְצִי* "That I may show forth," &c.—Psal. xcii. 8, *ὅπως ἂν ἐξολο-*

<sup>p</sup> 1 Kings, viii. 64.

<sup>r</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 699.

<sup>q</sup> *Midr. Schir.* fol. 16. 4.

<sup>s</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 651.

θρευθῶσι. Hebrew, לְהַשְׁמֹד “That they may be destroyed for ever.”—Psal. cxix. 101, ὅπως ἂν φυλάξω. Hebrew, לְאֶשְׁמֹר “That I might keep.”—Acts xv. 17, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσι. “That they might seek,” &c. And so in this place; “Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι, that the times of refreshing may come, and God may send Jesus Christ to you.” These last words, “may send Jesus Christ,” I suppose, have begot the difficulty in this place, and occasioned the variety of versions we meet with: and how the Chiliasts apply these things, is well known. But if our interpretation be admitted, what could be more fully and plainly said to answer the conceptions of the auditors, who might be ready to object against what St. Peter had said,—“Is it so indeed? Was that Jesus, whom we have crucified, the true Christ? Then is all our hope of refreshment by the Messiah vanished, because he himself is vanished and gone. Then our expectation, as to the consolation of Israel, is at an end; because he, who should be our consolation, is perished.”—“Not so (saith St. Peter); but the Messiah, and the refreshing by him, shall be restored to you, if you will repent: yet so, that he himself shall continue still in heaven. He shall be sent to you in his refreshing and consolatory word, and in his benefits, if you repent,” &c. We have something parallel to this in Acts xiii. 47: “We turn unto the Gentiles: for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles.” Set thee? Whom? What, Paul and Barnabas? No, but thee Christ sent, and shining forth by the ministry of those two apostles.

And hence it is, that I the less doubt of the reading of the word προκεκηρυγμένον, “preached before unto you” (whereas some would rather have it προκεχειρισμένον, “made ready”); for St. Peter’s design and discourse is about *preaching*. He shall send Christ to you by way of preaching, “as he was before preached of.” We may observe, that the apostle, in this discourse of his, instances in a threefold time: 1. The time before his coming, wherein he was προκεκηρυγμένος, “preached before” by Moses and all the prophets from Samuel, and so on. 2. This time when he came, and God exhibited him to the world (ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν, “having raised him up,” ver. 26): raising him up for a Saviour, he sent him to you first, that, by his doctrine, he might turn

every one of you from his iniquities. And, 3. Now that he is gone up into heaven, and is there to abide, yet God will send him to you that repent, in the preaching of his word, as he was before preached."

Ver. 24: Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ Προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ, &c.

"And all the prophets from Samuel," &c.

We have Moses and Samuel mentioned together in this place, as also Psal. xcix. 6; because there were few or no prophets between these two, 1 Sam. iii. 1, and the apparitions of angels having been more frequent. And, after the decease of Phineas, it is a question, whether there was any oracle by Urim and Thummim, through the defect of prophecy in the high-priests, till the times of Samuel: but then it revived in Abimelech, Abiathar, &c. שמואל רבן של נביאים "Samuel was the master of the prophets<sup>s</sup>."

#### CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1: Καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ "And the captain of the temple."

WE have spoken already of this "captain of the temple," in notes upon Luke xxii. 4; and told you, that he was the captain of all those priestly and Levitical guards and watches, that were kept in the temple. He is termed in the Talmudists איש הר הבית "The man of the mountain of the house;" or, the ruler of the mountain of the temple.

Ver. 5<sup>t</sup>: Συναχθῆναι ἄρχοντας, καὶ Πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ Γραμματεῖς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ: "Their rulers, and elders, and scribes, were gathered together in Jerusalem."

In Jerusalem, admits of a double construction; either as the city may be set in opposition to the country: or the town itself to the temple.

I. If we admit the former, and that these had gathered themselves from the adjacent towns to meet in Jerusalem; then we may suppose them assembled rather upon the account of some solemnity of the day, than merely to take cognizance of the cause of Peter and John. It is a question, whether they all knew of their imprisonment, which was done the evening before; and probably, while they were

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Chagigah, fol. 77. 1.

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 652.

absent, their commitment was made, and that act done by some chief of the priests, the captain of the watches, and by the Sadducees, not by a just Sanhedrim.

If we will grant, therefore, that the lame man was healed that day in the afternoon, on which the Holy Ghost had been poured out upon the disciples in the forenoon,—then, on this very day, it behoved every male to appear before the Lord, in the temple, with some oblation or other. For, whereas the day of Pentecost fell then on the Jewish sabbath, and this day (that being supposed) was the second day after that, it was the day הָרְאִיָּה of *appearing* in the temple; which, probably, might occasion these rulers and elders' meeting together in the city at this time.

II. But if we take *Jerusalem*, in this place, in opposition to the temple,—it remembers us of the tradition concerning the Sanhedrim's removal from the temple to the city, which Jewish authors tell us of. “The Sanhedrim removed from the room Gazith to the Tabernæ, and from the Tabernæ into Jerusalem,” &c. Where we may observe the same contradiction between the city and the temple: for in the temple was both Gazith, and the “Tabernæ,” or shops. This removal happened forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. “Forty<sup>w</sup> years before the destruction of the city, the Sanhedrim removed.—For, when they observed the strange increase of murderers amongst them, that they grew too many to be called in question, they said, מוטב בגלי ממקום למקום It is best for us to remove from place to place.” Upon which very words ‘it is best for us to remove,’ I cannot but remember that passage in Josephus; “On<sup>x</sup> the feast which is called Pentecost, the priests, according to custom, entering into the inner temple by night, to perform the service, perceived first, as they said, a certain motion and crack, and then a sudden voice, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, Let us remove from hence.” Which words whether they agree amongst themselves, and fall-in with the time now before us, let the reader himself consider and judge. That passage in chap. v. 25, gives some hint, that the Sanhedrim at this time sat in the city, and not in the temple; which the reader may also consider.

III. I hardly believe, any one will doubt but that by

<sup>w</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 700.

<sup>x</sup> Rosk hashanah, fol. 31. 1.

<sup>v</sup> Avodah Zarah, fol. 8. 2.

<sup>y</sup> De Exoid. lib. 6. cap. 31. [Hudson, p. 1282.]

Ἄρχοντας, Πρεσβυτέρους, and Γραμματεῖς, "rulers, elders, and scribes," must be understood the 'great council:' but to distinguish these particularly, I can hardly say, whether it be more nice, or more difficult. We might say that by ἄρχοντας, 'rulers,' might be meant Gamaliel the president, and Simeon his son, the vice-president: by the 'elders,' the rest of the body of the Sanhedrim: by the 'scribes,' either the two registers, or those wise men הַדְּנִים לְפָנֵי הַכְּנֵסִים "who judged before the Sanhedrim," or both:—but I waive being too curious.

Ver. 6: Ἰωάννην. "John,"

If we may render ἐκ γένους Ἀρχιερατικοῦ with the Vulgar, "ex genere sacerdotali,"—and especially with the Syriac and Arabic, "of the stock of the priests,"—I would, without any stickling, conceive this John, here mentioned, to be no other than Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai; because, at that time, there was not any one more famous throughout the whole nation; and he was of the stock of the priests.

Rabban<sup>y</sup> Jochanan Ben Zaccai the priest, lived a hundred and twenty years, &c. He found favour in the eyes of Cæsar: from whom he obtained Jafneh, and his wise men, and physicians, that cured R. Zadok.—משמת בטלה וי החכמה. "From the time that he died, the glory of wisdom ceased." About that very time, which we now have under consideration; we have this passage related concerning him: "Forty years before the destruction of the city, when the gates of the temple flew open of their own accord; Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai said, 'O temple, temple, why dost thou disturb thyself? I know thy end, that thou shalt be destroyed; for so the prophet Zachary hath spoken concerning thee, Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.'" He<sup>s</sup> saw the flames of the city and of the temple: and having obtained from the emperor Titus, that the Sanhedrim might be settled at Jabneh, he presided there, two or five years; for the certain number is not agreed upon.

All that can be objected against this Jochanan Ben Zaccai, being the John mentioned in this place, seems to be this,—that if this was an assembly of priests, leavened with the leaven of the Sadducees (as may be conjectured out of

chap. v. 17), then this Jochanan Ben Zaccai ought not to be reckoned amongst them; for he both lived and died a Pharisee, at least not a Sadducee:—but if the whole Sanhedrim is to be understood here, wherein the priests, as much as they were capable, would strengthen their own party,—then would I look for no other John than this son of Zaccai.

Ver. 11: Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς, &c. “ *This is the stone, which was set at nought,*” &c.

The words are taken out of Psal. cxviii. 22; אבן מאסוּ הַבְּנִיִּים “The stone which they rejected,” &c. And are these things said of the Messiah? Surely the Jew will hardly believe, his pompous Messiah should be rejected, and set at nought, by his own countrymen. And therefore doth St. Peter the more vehemently inculcate it; “This is the stone.” Our Saviour had said before, Matt. xxi, “Did you never read in the Scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected,” &c. Yes, they had read, and read it again, and oftentimes recited in their great Hallel; but you shall never persuade them, that these things were spoken of their Messiah, but rather of Jacob, as some<sup>b</sup>; or of David, as others<sup>c</sup>; or of the congregation of Israel, as Aben Ezra, &c; but by no means of their Messiah:—for they dreamed of such a Messiah, that should come so according to their hearts’ desire, that it was incredible any Jew should ever reject or despise him.

Ver. 13<sup>d</sup>: Ἀγράμματοί εἰσι καὶ ἰδιῶται. “ *Unlearned and ignorant men.*”

“Illiterate and vulgar persons also.”—For it is supposed in Joma<sup>e</sup>, that even the high-priest himself may be Ἀγράμματος, ‘unlearned,’ when yet he was by no means a vulgar person, no Ἰδιώτης, ‘plebeian.’ “They say unto him, Lord high-priest, do thou read thyself, out of thine own mouth: perhaps thou hast forgotten; or perhaps thou didst never learn.” And so ‘vice versa.’ There<sup>f</sup> are some called ἰδιῶται, who were not so ‘unlearned.’—“There are three kings, that have no part in the world to come,—viz. Jero-boam, Ahab, and Manasseh; וארבעה הדייטות and four common persons, Balaam, Doeg, Ahithophel, and Gehazi.”

<sup>b</sup> Midr. Tillip, <sup>c</sup> Pesachim, fol. 119. 1. <sup>d</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2, p. 701.  
<sup>e</sup> Cap. 1, hal. 3. <sup>f</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 90. 1.

But these apostles were unlearned, and Ἰδιῶται, men of no degree or quality, but vulgar persons, and of the common people. So, 1 Sam. xviii. 23, אִישׁ רֵשׁ וְנִקְלָהּ, “a poor and vile man.” The Targumist reads, גַּבֵּר מִסְקֵן וְהַדְיוּט, “A poor man and Ἰδιώτης, or vulgar person.”—And chap. xxiv. 14, “After a dead dog, after a flea?” Targumist, בְּתֵר חֵלֶשׁ חַד בְּתֵר הַדְיוּט חַד “After one feeble wretch, after one Ἰδιώτης common person.”

Ver. 17: Ἀπειλῆ ἀπειλησώμεθα αὐτοῖς, &c. “Let us straitly threaten them,” &c.

I. This incessant and implacable enmity and stubbornness, the Sanhedrim had against the doctrine and miracles of the apostles in the name of Jesus (of which this was the first specimen), did betray a most particular spite and ill-will they had towards Jesus above all other men. Let us only compare the case of Jesus, with that of John Baptist. “All men esteemed John a prophet<sup>s</sup> ;” nor did they so much oppugn his preaching. And why should they so unanimously set themselves against the preaching of Jesus, which was signalized with so many and so great miracles, beyond that of John the Baptist?

II. We conceive, in our notes upon John xi. 48, that the fathers of the Sanhedrim had either a downright knowledge, or at least a suspicion, that Jesus was indeed the Messiah; and hence arose their hatred against his person and doctrine. It is much disputed and questioned concerning the testimony, which Josephus gives concerning Jesus, whether it was Josephus’s own, or whether it had not been foisted and thrust-in by some Christian. And yet in it (excepting the last clause) you will hardly find any thing, but what the very rulers of the Jews either owned, or at least suspected, if they would speak out. Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρὴ ἢν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής<sup>h</sup> “About this time, there was one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him<sup>i</sup> a man: for he wrought strange works.” I suspect, that Josephus, in those words, “if it be lawful to call him a man,” did not set the word ἄνδρα, *man*, in opposition to *God*, but in opposition to *prophet*, in some such sense as this; “If it be lawful to call him

<sup>s</sup> Matt. xxi. 26.

<sup>h</sup> Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 4. [Hudson, p. 798.]

<sup>i</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 654.

merely σοφὸν ἄνδρα, ‘a wise man’ [Heb. חכם], and not to call him a prophet; for he did great miracles.”—He goes on: Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. This was the Christ, Matt. xxi. 38: “The husbandmen seeing the son, said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him.” Now, if the rest of that parable agree with the actions of the rulers of that nation, in persecuting the prophets, and even Christ himself, which any one may discern; then, why may not this clause be accounted to agree so far with them too, as that when it shows, that “they said amongst themselves, This is the heir,” &c; it may intimate, that the chief of the Jews, who condemned and crucified the Lord Jesus, knew him to have been the Messiah?

To proceed in the historian, Ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν. “He appeared to them (*his disciples*) having revived the third day.” Let us but consult Matt. xxviii. 13—15; and see if there can be any doubt, whether the priests and fathers of the Sanhedrim were not convinced and persuaded, that Jesus had indeed arose from the dead, when they did, so knowingly and industriously, devise a tale to elude his resurrection. Thus far, therefore, Josephus (if it was he indeed, that was the author of that passage) hath uttered nothing but what the rulers themselves were conscious of, if they would have spoken out: but what is added in him, τῶν θεῶν Προφητῶν ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα μύρια θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. “The divine prophets having said these, and a thousand other wonderful things of him,”—this, I confess, is so noble and ingenuous an acknowledgment of Jesus, that I would hardly expect it from Josephus, and much less from any of his countrymen. But, however, be this passage Josephus’s own or no, yet,—

III. That which we assert, seems confirmed by that of John xi. 47, 48; “The chief priests and Pharisees said, What do we? this man doth many miracles: if we let him thus alone, the Romans will come, and take away both our place and nation.” Who does not here see, that they that speak this, had their eye upon that of Daniel, ix. 26, 27; where the prophet discourseth about the Messiah, “that he shall be cut off; that he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; that the *people of the prince that shall come* [i. e. the Romans] shall destroy the city and sanctuary?” Whence it may very probably be argued, that they, both

from the agreement of times, and from the miracles and doctrine of Jesus, did more than suspect, that this was the Messiah, of whom the prophet had there discoursed, and that they were in great doubt what to do with him. "This man doth many miracles, and demonstrates himself to be the Messiah; and what shall we do? To cut off the Messiah, would be a horrid thing: and yet, on the other hand, if we should suffer him, he would make the sacrifice and oblation to cease; he would put an end to the service in the temple; our religion would fall: and then what remains, but that the people of the prince that shall come, the Romans,—will come, and take away both our place and nation?"

*Object.* But do we not meet with such passages as these? "And now brethren, I wot, that through ignorance ye did it; as also did your rulers," Acts<sup>i</sup>. iii. 17.—"For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they know him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets," &c; chap. xiii. 27.

*Answer.* They knew not, indeed, the person and office of the Messiah: they were ignorant of his Godhead; and, as to his office, dreamed of nothing but earthly and temporal things; but then, this doth not hinder, but that they might know Jesus to be the true Messiah: whom when they found falling short of the expectations and conceits they had framed of the Messiah, and that his doctrine tended to the subversion of Judaism,—they had rather have no Messiah than such a one; and let himself and his gospel perish with him, rather than their Judaism.

Ver. 27: Συνήχθησαν ἐπ' ἀληθείας: "Of a truth they were gathered together."

And then follows in some Bibles, ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ "In this city:"—so Beza, the Vulgar, the Syriac, and the Alexandrian MS. Ἐν τῇ πόλει σου ταύτῃ: "In this city of thine." Which might be, therefore, the rather allowed of, because the Jews do remove the insurrection, that should be made against the Lord and his Christ, so far from their own city. It is a thing they will not believe, that, in Jerusalem, or amongst the Jews, any rebellion against the Messiah should ever be moved or fomented: these things, they say, were spoken concerning Gog and Magog, that rose up against

Israel<sup>k</sup>: or concerning some other (heathen) country rebelling against the Messiah<sup>l</sup>.

Ver. 36<sup>m</sup>: Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρνάβας, &c.  
 “Joseph, surnamed Barnabas,” &c.

Whereas there were two very noted Josephs; for distinction's sake, as it should seem, the one was Joseph Barnabas,—the other, Joseph Barsabas. The apostles gave the name of ‘Barnabas;’ it may be questioned, whether they did the name of ‘Barsabas,’ or no: because there is a Judas Barsabas, also, in Acts xv. 22.

It is uncertain, whence the name ‘Barnabas’ derives itself; and so much the more, because it is uncertain, what the word παράκλησις should signify in this place. It is generally interpreted, “the son of consolation.” In the Syriac, כְּבִיבָא דְבִנָּה; whence, by a long deduction, they would make נָבָא *naba*. I contend not;—but when παράκλησις equally signifies *exhortation*, as well as *consolation*: and the apostle expressly distinguisheth it from παραμυθία, *consolation*, 1 Cor. xiv. 3: it seems more probable to take its original from נָבָא ‘to prophesy;’ under which word every one knows *exhortation* is comprehended in the first place; and, according to this signification of the word παράκλησις, we find him behaving himself, chap. xi. 23: παρεκάλει πάντας, &c. “He exhorted them all, that, with purpose of heart, they would cleave unto the Lord.”

Κύπριος τῷ γένει “Of the country of Cyprus.”

So, the two apostles of the Gentiles have Gentile countries for their native soil. Paul in Cilicia, Barnabas in Cyprus: where he also sold his land; for it is a question, whether he could have sold it in the land of Israel; as, also, whether he, being a Levite, was capable of possessing any land, that had not belonged to the cities of Levi, which could not be sold in the same manner that other lands were. Nay, “It was not lawful for an Israelite to part with the land of his inheritance, unless constrained to it by his poverty: according as it is said, If thy brother should become poor, and sell his possession<sup>n</sup>,” &c. Here lands are sold, not so

<sup>k</sup> Avodah Zarah, fol. 3. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Midr. Till. fol. 4. 2.

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 655.

<sup>n</sup> Maimon. Shemittah Vejobel, cap. 11.

much upon account of their own poverty, as the poverty of others.

### CHAP. V.

Ver. 2: Ἐνοσφίσατο ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς, &c.

“Kept back part of the price,” &c.

Didst thou not remember, O Ananias, what things had been prophesied concerning the Spirit of the Messiah? רוחו של מלך משיח ‘The Spirit of the King Messiah,’—viz. a spirit of wisdom and understanding, &c. Isa. xi. 2: “He shall make him quick of scent in the fear of the Lord.”—“Rabba<sup>o</sup> saith, רמורה וראין He smelleth and judgeth: not after the sight of his eyes doth he judge.—Bar-Cozbi reigned two years and a half; and said to the Rabbins, I am the Messiah. They reply upon him, It is written of the Messiah, That he smelleth and judgeth: let us see, if thou canst do so also,” &c. The gloss is, “He smells out a man, whether he be guilty or innocent.”

By what apprehension of things, Ananias was so deceived, as to think to have deceived the Holy Ghost, is not easy to conceive or guess. He might understand, by the instance of Gehazi, how quick and sagacious the spirit of a prophet is, in detecting all cheats and tricks: and did he not suppose the apostles endowed with a spirit as capable as the prophet’s was? Whatever it was that had blinded him to that madness, or hardened him to that daringness in sin, he abides as a dreadful monument, throughout all ages, of the indignation of God, upon all those, that shall contemn and vilify his Holy Spirit: whom, if he did not blaspheme within his heart, how near was he to that sin! Such mischiefs can hypocrisy and covetousness bring about!

It is not to be searched-out, of what degree or quality this Ananias was. There is some probability, he was not of the mere vulgar sort, but of some higher rank; because, the mention of him falls in with that of Barnabas; and there are more things, that do, in some measure, persuade us. For what hinders, why he should not be supposed to have been one of that number, upon whom<sup>p</sup> the Holy Ghost had been shed? What Judas was amongst<sup>q</sup> the twelve, that might he be amongst the hundred and twenty; endowed

<sup>o</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 93. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 703.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 656.

with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and yet a devil. For ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, may have something more in it, than “lying to the Holy Ghost.” Perhaps it may be the same with ἠψεύσας “falsifying” the Holy Ghost, and making him a liar.

Ver. 3: Εἶπε δὲ Πέτρος, &c. “*And Peter said,*” &c.

Whether St. Peter derived the authority of sentencing this man to an immediate death, from those words of our Lord, “Whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained<sup>r</sup> ;” or whether from some immediate revelation ; or both ;—he gives a notable instance of his own repentance and recovery, after his fall,—whilst he, who, by a lie, yea, even perjury itself, had denied his Master, doth such severe execution upon another, for a lie he was guilty of.

Ver. 6: Συνέστειλαν αὐτὸν, &c. “*Wound him up,*” &c.

They having no תכריכין “burying-cloths” at hand, do bind up the dead man in what fashion they can ; and, carrying him out of that place, commit him to the earth.

Ver. 7: Ὡς τριῶν ὥρῶν διάστημα. “*About the space of three hours.*”

So long a space of time being spent for interring the deceased, doth seem to hint something as to the distance of the burying-place ; which, in the cities of the Levites, we have thus described:—“The suburbical lands for the Levitical cities are defined in the law, to be three thousand cubits from the wall of each side, outward. According as it is said, From the wall of the city and outward, a thousand cubits. And it is elsewhere said, Ye shall measure from without the city, on the east side, two thousand cubits. The thousand cubits are the suburbs of the city ; and those two thousand, which they measure beyond those, are for fields and vineyards. Now, they assign the burying-place for each city, beyond all these bounds ; because they do not bury their dead within the limits of the city<sup>s</sup>.” The burying-place from a Levitical city was above a mile and a half distant. Was it so in other cities, that belonged not to the Levites ? doubtless, burying-places were at some dis-

<sup>r</sup> John, xxi.

<sup>s</sup> Maimon. Shemittah Vejobel, cap. 13.

tance from all cities; but whether so far, may be inquired, but must not be the matter of our present search.

Μὴ εἰδῦία τὸ γεγονός· “ *Not knowing what was done.*”

Hence, probably, we may gather the reason, why the word συνέστειλαν, “they wound him up,” is added. Had the deceased been carried to his own house, or lodgings, by them who brought him out of the chamber, where he fell down dead, to fetch burying-cloths,—his wife could not have been ignorant of what had fallen out: but συνέστειλαν αὐτὸν, “they wound him up,” as well as they could, in his own clothes, and so carried him out and buried him.

Ver. 13: Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα κολλᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς· “ *And of the rest durst no man join themselves unto them.*”

Who should these λοιποὶ, *rest*, be? Those, certainly, that were of the number of the hundred and twenty, excepting the twelve apostles. Of this number, I presume, Ananias might be one: and the rest, being terrified by the fate of one of their own order, conceived so great a dread and reverence for the apostles, that they durst not join with them as their equals.

Ver. 15<sup>t</sup>: Ἴνα ἐρχομένου κἄν ἡ σκιά ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὲ αὐτῶν· “ *That at least the shadow of Peter, passing by, might overshadow some of them.*”

And why the shadow of Peter more than the rest of the apostles, who shared an equal authority and power of miracles with himself, ver. 12? 1. It must be supposed, that the sick were not brought out in their beds into the streets, unless they had first seen Peter, or were assured that he must pass by. 2. It is a question, whether they that brought out their sick, knew any other of the apostles besides Peter. They had heard him speaking, they had seen him doing, while the rest were silent, and sat still. And that which these believers here do, doth not so much argue his pre-eminence beyond the rest of the apostles, as that he was more known and noted than the others were.

Ver. 20: Τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης· “ *The words of this life.*”

There is no necessity, that these words should beget any

difficulty; if we will observe, that, ver. 17, there is mention of the ‘sect of the Sadducees.’ So that “the words of this life,” are words, that assert and prove this life, that is, the resurrection; which the Sadducees deny. For the controversy was about Jesus’s resurrection.

Ver. 34: Γαμαλιήλ Νομοδιδάσκαλος. “*Gamaliel a doctor of the law.*”

This was Rabban Gamaliel the first,—commonly, and by way of distinction, called רבן גמליאל הזקן “Rabban Gamaliel the old.” He was president of the council, after his own father Rabban Simeon, who was the son of Hillel. He was St. Paul’s master, and five-and-thirtieth receiver of the traditions; and upon this account, might not improperly be termed νομοδιδάσκαλος “a doctor of the laws,” because he was one that kept and handed down the Cabala received from mount Sinai; only that the Rabbins of an inferior degree, enjoyed also the same title. He died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem, his son Simeon succeeding him in the chair, who perished in the ruins of the city. Whereas he doth, in some measure, apologize for the apostles,—one might believe, he did favour Christianity. But he died<sup>u</sup> a Pharisee; and if he was not the author, yet did he approve and recommend that prayer entitled ברכת מינים “a prayer against the heretics,” Samuel the Little being the author: and who they meant by ‘heretics,’ is easy enough to apprehend. The counsel, therefore, that he giveth here, seems to be of that nature, that had all along been practised between the Sadducees and the Pharisees,—one sect always wishing and looking for the destruction of the other.

Ver. 36: Πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς. “*Before these days rose up Theudas.*”

Josephus makes mention of one Theudas, an impostor<sup>v</sup>, whose character indeed agrees well enough with this of ours; but they seem to disagree in time. For Josephus brings-in his Theudas Φάδου τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπέουτος, “when Fadus was governor of Judea,” about the fifth or sixth year of Claudius: and Gamaliel brings-in his, before the times of ‘Judas, the Galilean.’

Those that are advocates for Josephus, do imagine there

<sup>u</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 704.

<sup>v</sup> *Antiq.* l. 20. cap. 2.

might be another Theudas, besides him that he mentions : and they do but imagine it, for they name none. I could instance, indeed, in two more of that name ; neither of which agrees with this of Gamaliel, or will afford any light to the chronology of Josephus.

I. We meet with one Theudas a physician, in Bab. Sanhedrim<sup>w</sup>, where there is a dispute upon no mean question ;—where Daniel was at that time, that Nebuchadnezzar's image was set up and worshipped, that he should, all that while, come under no examination, nor have any the least harm fall to him : and it being answered amongst other things that he was then sent into Egypt, to fetch some swine thence, it is objected **איני התניא** “ Is it so indeed ? but this is the tradition : תודוס הרופא אמר Theudas the physician saith, That neither cow nor sow come from Alexandria of Egypt.”

II. There<sup>x</sup> is mention of one Theudas, a Jew, living at Rome<sup>y</sup>. “ The traditions of R. Jose saith, תודוס איש רומי Theudas, a man at Rome, taught men (i. e. Jews) at Rome, שיהו אוכלין גדיים מקולסין בלילי פסחים, that, on the Passover-nights, they should eat whole kids roasted :” the gloss is, “ the trotters, legs,” &c. The wise men sent to him, threatening excommunication, because he taught Israel לאכול קדושים בחוץ “ to eat holy things without,” i. e. the Passover, at Rome ;—which it was not lawful to eat but at Jerusalem : for, as the gloss hath it, “ Whosoever should see kids so roasted, would conceive they were consecrated for paschal lambs.” I am very apt to believe, that the proccenium, or meal before the Lord's supper, 1 Cor. xi. 21, might be some such thing as this.

Can we suppose now, that Gamaliel could have either of these Theudas in his eye ? Indeed, neither the one nor the other has any agreeableness with that character, that is given of this Theudas, about whom we are inquiring. That in Josephus is much more adapted ; and grant only that the historian might slip in his chronology, and there is no other difficulty in it. Nor do I indeed see, why we should give so much deference to Josephus in this matter, as to take such pains in vindicating his care or skill in it. We must (forsooth) find out some other Theudas, or change the stops

<sup>w</sup> Fol. 93. 1.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 658.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Jom Tobh, fol. 61. 3 ; and Moed Katon, fol. 81. 4 ; and Bab. Bera-coth, fol. 19. 1.

in the verses, or invent some other plaster for the sore,—rather than Josephus should be charged with the least mistake; to whom yet, both in history and chronology, it is no unusual thing to trip or go out of the road of truth. I would therefore think, that the Theudas in Josephus is this same in Gamaliel; only that the historian mistook in his accounts of time, and so defaced a true story by false chronology.

Ver. 37: Ἰούδας Γαλιλαῖος “*Judas of Galilee.*”

In Josephus, it is Ἰούδας Γαυλανίτης “*Judas the Gaulanite*”;<sup>2</sup> and yet, in the title and inscription of that chapter, it is περὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου, “*concerning Judas of Galilee*”;<sup>3</sup>—which hath elsewhere occasioned a question, Whether some part of the country beyond Jordan, went not also under the name of Galilee? But I shall not repeat it here.

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1: Γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους  
“*A murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews.*”

FIRST, let us consider, who these Hebrews were.

1. The word עברי ‘a Hebrew,’ admitted another kind of signification under the second temple, than it had before and under the first: because, in the Old Testament, it had reference to the original and language of that nation; in the New Testament, to their travels and their language. Abraham is first called עברי Gen. xiv. 13, “a Hebrew.” So Symmachus, the Vulgar, and others: but the Greek interpreters render it περάτης, “a Passover<sup>a</sup>.” But this version need not concern us much; when, it is plain, the interpreters have rendered the word עברי according to the common use under the second temple, and not according to the primitive and original use of it. For the same reason, the Rabbins incline the same way.

“R. Nehemiah<sup>b</sup> saith, Abraham is called עברי a Hebrew, because he was of the posterity of Heber; but the Rabbins say, he is so called, because he came from beyond the river.” And they add withal (which deserves some inquiry) ושהוא עברי “*And<sup>c</sup> for that he used the language beyond the river.*” I would rather have said, he might fitly be called עברי ‘a Hebrew,’ because, even in Mesopotamia and

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1.      <sup>a</sup> Vid. Nobil. in loc.      <sup>b</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 47. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 705.

Chaldea, he retained the Hebrew language in the proper sense. For, if he brought over the transfluvian or Chaldean language into Canaan, as his own and family's mother-tongue,—it is hardly imaginable by what means the Hebrew tongue, strictly so called, should become the native and proper language of his posterity. I have elsewhere offered another reason, why he should be termed a 'Hebrew' in that place in Genesis; which I still adhere to.

II. After<sup>d</sup> the Babylonish captivity, there was such an alteration of things, that לשון עברי 'the Hebrew tongue' became 'the language beyond the river,' or 'the Chaldee tongue.' This is plain from those several words, 'Bethesda,' 'Golgotha,' 'Akeldama,' &c, which are said 'Εβραϊστί λέγεσθαι' to be so called in the Hebrew tongue; and yet, every one knows the words to be mere Chaldee. The old and pure Hebrew language, at that time, was called לשון אשורי 'the Assyrian tongue:' and the Syriac and Chaldee לשון עברי 'the Hebrew tongue,' or (as themselves interpret it) 'the language beyond the river.' עברית לשון דעבר הנהר "In the Hebrew language, i. e. in the language beyond the river<sup>e</sup>." אשורית לשון הקודש "In the Assyrian tongue, i. e. in the holy language<sup>f</sup>."

We cannot but observe by the way, that the doctors distinguish betwixt עברי 'the Hebrew tongue' and סורסי 'the Syriac;' in the mean time, distinguishing both from אשורי 'the Assyrian,' or 'holy language.'—"סורסי לאיליא the Syriac tongue is fit for lamentation; עברי לדיבור the Hebrew tongue for speech: ויש אומרים אף אשורי לכתב and there are that say, the Assyrian tongue is good for writing<sup>g</sup>." This distinction between the Hebrew tongue, or that beyond the river, and the Syrian, which really are the same language,—is much such another distinction as between סורסי 'the Syriac, and ארמי 'the Aramean.'—"Rabbi<sup>h</sup> saith, "סורסי ובא" Why the Syrian tongue in the land of Israel; אלא או לשון קודש או לשון יונית when either the holy language, or the Greek, should rather be used? R. Jose saith, ארמי לשון ארמי לבבל Why the Aramean tongue in Babylon; אלא או לשון הקודש או לשון פרסי when rather, either the holy language, or the Persian, should be used?"—The gloss is, "Because the Greek is more elegant than the Syriac, and the Persian than the Aramean."

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 659. <sup>e</sup> Aruch. in עבר <sup>f</sup> Gloss. in Megil. fol. 8. 2.  
<sup>g</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 21. 3. <sup>h</sup> Bava Kama, fol. 83. 1. and Sotah, fol. 49. 2.

We see, first, how they distinguish here betwixt the Syriac tongue and the Aramean; and the Gloss upon the place tells us, upon what account they do it, in these words:—"Behold, whereas he takes notice, that the Syriac is used in the land of Israel, and the Aramean in Babylon, therefore he doth it, as saith R. Tam, because there is some variation and difference between them: as it happens in any common language, which they speak much finer in one country than in another. For as to those words, Gen. xxxi. 52, עַד הַגַּל הַזֶּה This heap be witness; Onkelos renders them, סְהַד דְּנִוְרָא הַדִּין, when Laban saith יַגֵּר שְׁחָדוֹתָא But now we must say, that Laban spoke לְשׁוֹן סוּרְסִי in the Syriac tongue, which is so called from Syria. Now, Syria was Aram Naharaim, and Aram Zobah, which David subdued. And because that is nearer to the land of Israel, the Aramean language of it is not so pure."—Gloss in Sotah<sup>1</sup>; "The Syriac tongue is near a-kin to the Aramean. And I say, that that is the language of the Jerusalem Talmud."

We see, secondly, that the Syriac was the mother-tongue of the land of Israel,—and the Aramean, which is almost the same, was that of Babylon, rather than the Greek or Persic, which were more elegant; nay, rather than the holy language, which was the noblest of all: and that (as to the holy language), for a reason very obvious,—viz. that it was every where lost as to common use, and was generally unknown. As to the two other languages, why they were not in use, the Gloss gives the reason; which we have, also, given us elsewhere: "אל יהי לשון סורסי קל בעיניך" Lest the Syriac tongue should be vile in thine eyes." [Bereshith Rabba, by a mistake of the printer, hath פּרְסִי the Persic, instead of סוּרְסִי the Syriac] "For, behold, God doth give it honour in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Hagiographa. In the Law, for it is said, יַגֵּר שְׁחָדוֹתָא The heap of witness, Gen. xxxi. 47:—in the Prophets, for it is said, כִּדְנַה תֹּאמְרוּן לְהוֹם Thus shall ye say unto them, Jer. x. 11:—and in the Hagiographa, for it is said, וַיְדַבְּרוּ הַכַּשְׂדִּים לְמֶלֶךְ אַרְמִית And the Chaldeans spake to the king in Syriac," Dan. ii. 4.

The Syriac, therefore, or the Aramean tongue under the second temple, was that, which went under the name of the 'Hebrew' tongue,—that is, the language beyond the river: whence they were at that time called Hebrews, upon the ac-

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 49. 2.<sup>2</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 21. 3. and Beresh. Rabba, fol. 83. 4.

count of the common use of that tongue. But whether all, to whom that was their mother-tongue, were called Hebrews, may be a little questioned: and for what reasons it may be so, I shall show, after I have said something concerning the Hellenists.

I. It is not denied by any, but that the Hebrews were Jews in their original: whether the Hellenists were Jews too, is called in question by some. Beza, upon the place, denies it: “Ἑλληνιστὰς, ‘Lucas hoc loco vocat genere quidem profanos,’ &c. The *Hellenists* St. Luke means in this place, are those, who were of a profane stock, but adopted into the nation of the Jews by circumcision, called therefore ‘proselytes.’ For they are mistaken, who think those Jews that were dispersed amongst other nations, were called Ἑλληνιστᾶι, Hellenists.” He thinks this opinion of his, is countenanced by that of Acts xi. 19, 20: “Preaching the word to none, but to the Jews only. And some<sup>k</sup> of them were men of Cyprus, and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the *Hellenists*.” From whence Beza infers, “Cum hoc loco opponi videantur Ἑλληνιστᾶι Judeis, &c. Whereas the Ἑλληνιστᾶι, or Hellenists, seem to be opposed to the Jews in this place,—it is plain, that by the name of Hellenists, not only the provincial or proselyte Jews are to be understood, that is, such as were<sup>l</sup> here and there dispersed; but even those also of the Gentiles, who are elsewhere, by St. Luke, termed Σεβόμενοι, or devout men,” &c.

Let it be granted, that the σεβόμενοι or ‘devout men’ should be promiscuously understood with the proselytes, though there is some difference betwixt them, and that very conspicuous; yet I see not, by what law or authority he should confound the Hellenists with the proselytes. And, if those are mistaken, who suppose the Jews, that were dispersed amongst other nations, to be called Ἑλληνιστᾶι Hellenists,—I confess myself willingly to be in that error too. Nor yet would I put all these Jews, that were dispersed among the Gentiles, under the name of ‘Hellenists;’ not those that were scattered amongst the Medes, Parthians, Persians, Arabians, and those eastern countries. Nor do I suppose that he would call the proselytes of those nations ‘Hellenists,’ because the very etymology of the word implies Grecism.

1. Chap. ii. 10, we meet with Jews and proselytes; and,

<sup>k</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 706.

<sup>l</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 660.

in this chapter, we meet with Hebrews and Hellenists. We may most truly say, that the proselytes there, are distinguished from the Jews: we cannot, at the same time, say, that the word 'Hellenists,' in this place, distinguisheth them from the Jews, when, we see, it only distinguisheth from the Hebrews.

2. St. Luke calls Nicolas, 'a proselyte of Antioch,' ver. 5. Would we, therefore, call him, 'Ἑλληνιστὴν Ἀντιοχείας,' 'a Hellenist of Antioch?' we would rather term him, 'Ἕλληνα,' 'a Greek,' because his very name shows him to have been originally a Greek.

3. As to that distinction in chap. xi. 19, 20 (for I would rather term it a distinction, than an antithesis), it doth not conclude the Hellenists not to have been Jews; but intimates the difference only, between Jews of a more pure and worthy rank, and Jews not so pure and worthy.

II. There are those that think, and that truly, that the Hellenists were Jews, dispersed amongst the Gentiles: but that they were called Hellenists for this reason especially,—viz. because they used the Greek Bible in their synagogues: which, whether it be true or no, I question, but will not dispute it at this present; only thus far I will observe:—

1. That the Greek tongue was in mean esteem amongst the Jews; indeed, they hated it rather than took any pleasure in it, or had any value for it. When<sup>m</sup> Aristobulus the Asmonean besieged his brother Hyrcanus, and some things had fallen out amiss with them, through the counsel of a certain old man, skilled in the Greek learning, "they said at that time, Cursed be the man that cherisheth swine; and, Cursed the man that teacheth his son the wisdom of the Greeks.—בפולמוס של שיטום. In<sup>n</sup> the war of Titus, שלא ילמד, they decreed, that no man should teach his son Greek."—The Gloss upon this place confounds the stories; and would have the war of Titus the same with that of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus; but the gloss upon the former place rightly distinguisheth, and grants there was such a decree made in the days of the Asmoneans, but having been neglected, in process of time, was revived and renewed in the war with Titus. Let it be one or the other, we may abundantly see what kind of respect the Greek learning or language had amongst them. For this passage follows in

<sup>m</sup> Bava Kama, fol. 82. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Sotah, fol. 40. 1.

both:—"Samuel saith in the name of Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel: There were a thousand boys בבית אבא in my father's school, of whom five hundred learned the law, and five hundred the wisdom of the Greeks, and there is not one (of all that last number) now alive, excepting myself here, and my uncle's son in Asia."

I rendered בבית אבא 'in my father's school,' or 'family,'—because of what follows in both places; "They allowed the family of Rabban Gamaliel the Greek learning, because they were allied to the royal blood," i. e. they sprung of the stock and lineage of David. They permitted, that that family should be brought up in that learning, because it became them, for their honour and nobility, to want no kind of learning. But this they did not freely allow others; and if they did not permit the wisdom of the Greeks, we can hardly suppose they excepted the Greek tongue; especially, when we find it in the very terms of the decree, "let no man teach his son יונית Greek." Upon what I have already said, I cannot but make these following remarks:—

I. What an effectual bar they laid in their own way against the reading of the New Testament, when they so renounced the Greek tongue: which God had now honoured beyond their Syriac, though they will have that so much graced both in the law, prophets, and holy writings.

II. That even those, who understood little else but Greek, would very hardly admit the reading of the law and the prophets, in their synagogues, in the Greek tongue; in that it was so very grateful to their countrymen, and the decrees and canons of the elders did either require, or at least permit, an interpreter in the reading of the Bible in their synagogues.

III. How<sup>o</sup> probable a thing is it, that those Jews, who, having lived amongst the Gentiles, understood no other language but the Greek:—for that very thing grew the less valuable with their own nation, that had retained the common use of the Hebrew tongue; and were had in some lower esteem than others.

2. If, therefore, they stood so affected towards the Greek learning, what value must they have for the Greek tongue? Grant that it were in some esteem amongst them, because, indeed, most of the learned Rabbins did understand it; yet

what account must they make of those Jews, that knew no other language but<sup>p</sup> the Greek? Surely they must be looked upon as in the lower, yea, the lowest, degree of Jews, who were such strangers to the language so peculiar to that nation,—that is, the Hebrew. Such are those whom we find mentioned in Hieros. Sotah<sup>q</sup>: “R. Levi Ben Chajathah, going down to Cæsarea, heard them קרין שמע אלוניםתין reciting their phylacteries in Greek, and would have forbidden them: which when R. Jose heard, he was very angry, and said, If a man doth not know how to recite אשורית in the holy tongue, must he not recite them at all? let him perform his duty in what language he can.”

Cæsarea Philippi is the scene of this story, a city that the Rabbins make very frequent and honourable mention of, in both the Talmuds. This being one of the cities in Decapolis, which were all under the Gentile or Greek jurisdiction,—it seems there might be some Jews there, that understood Greek, but not Hebrew. Otherwise they would, doubtless, have said over their phylacteries in the Hebrew, though they could not do it in the holy tongue.

3. There were many Jews in several countries, and those very probably, to whom both the languages of Hebrew and Greek were their mother-tongues. The Hebrew in their own country, and the Greek among the Grecians; the Hebrew in the families and synagogues of the Jews; the Greek amongst their fellow-citizens the Gentiles. Such was Paul of Tarsus, a Greek city; and yet was he a “Hebrew of the Hebrews,” Phil. iii. 5. And such those of Cyprus and Cyrene seem to be, who are mentioned chap. xi. 19, 20; who, in Cyprus, Phœnice, and Antioch itself, preached the word of God amongst the Hebraizing Jews (though perhaps they might also speak the Greek tongue), and at length to the Hellenists in Antioch, i. e. the Jews who understood nothing but Greek, to whom the Hebrew tongue was perfectly unknown. For so I would distinguish the Hellenists from the Jews in that place; and not oppose them to the Jews, as if they were not Jews themselves. And let me crave the reader’s leave to give my judgment of these Hebrews and Hellenists, in these following particulars:—

I. That the Hellenists were Jews, dwelling among the

<sup>p</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 707.

<sup>q</sup> Fol. 21. 2.

Gentiles, and not at all skilled in the Hebrew tongue. The apostle in that division of his, which he so oftentimes useth, of Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνας “Jews and Greeks,” meaning by *Greeks* all other nations excepting the Jewish only, speaks chiefly to the capacity of the vulgar, to whom, by reason of the late circumjacent empires of the Greeks, that way of expressing the Gentiles was most known and familiar: nor perhaps was it so very safe at that time to have brought-in the Romans in that antithesis.

But may the word ‘Hellenist’ be taken with that latitude on the other side, that the phrase may be applied not to the Jews only, who understood nothing but Greek, but to all the Jews also, that did not understand Hebrew?—Perhaps the strict etymology of the word may make something against it: but should it be granted, it would not be of so absurd a consequence, if we do but except the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the rest of those eastern countries, who were not of the Greek or Macedonian, but the Persian and Babylonish, captivity or transmigration. For the very word ‘Hellenist,’ especially as it is opposed to Hebrew, seems to intend some such thing; viz. that those who are called Hebrews, should be those, who were of the captivity and dispersion beyond the river; and those that go under the denomination of Hellenists, are those, who, after their return from this captivity, have suffered some other removal or scattering among the Greek or western countries, and understood no other language but of those countries only, having lost the use of what was originally their native tongue, viz. the Hebrew or Chaldee.

II. As to the Hebrews, I suppose there are hardly any will deny, but that all in general might be so called, that used the Hebrew as their own mother-tongue. Nor can I imagine, for what other reason Paul of Tarsus should go under the denomination of a ‘Hebrew,’ but because the Hebrew tongue, in his father’s family, was his mother-tongue,—and the Greek was the mother-tongue of the place, where he was born. But that we may inquire a little more strictly into the peculiar propriety of this title and denomination, let us propound this question,—viz. to whom that Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews was particularly written?

I would say, To those of Palestine: for to them it is that

the name of 'Hebrew' doth of greatest right belong; which these two particulars (if I mistake not) will make very plain<sup>r</sup>.

1. That it seems most proper, that they should be termed 'Hebrews,' who use the Hebrew tongue, and none else, as their natural language,—rather than they, who use the Greek and Hebrew tongue indifferently. 2. Indeed the Mesopotamians used the Hebrew only as their mother-tongue; and ought, in reason, to be accounted amongst the Hebrews in general: but they went commonly under the denomination of גולה 'the captivity,' because they dwelt still in the place, whither they had been led captive, and had not returned into their own land. But those of Palestine, who had returned thither, were the most properly called 'Hebrews;' because they had past over from beyond the river, and had brought the transfluvian tongue along with them.

And as to what concerns this present matter,—viz. the murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews about an equal distribution of the common charity; it may be made a question, whether any other, besides those of Palestine, had as yet sold their lands and patrimonies. For, omitting that, by reason of the distance of place, they could hardly yet be capable of doing it; that concerning Barnabas's selling his land in Cyprus, seems to hint some such thing, and that it was a thing very extraordinary, and that had not been done elsewhere. But our inquiry is chiefly about the *Hellenists*, not the *Hebrews*: and what we have said concerning both, is ingenuously submitted to the candour of the judicious reader.

Ver. 3<sup>a</sup>: "Ἀνδρας ἑξ ὑμῶν μαρτυρομένους ἑπτά, &c.

"Seven men of honest report," &c.

I. This office of the deacon (to whom the charge and care of the poor was intrusted) was translated from the Jewish to the Christian church. For there belonged to every synagogue ג' פְּרוֹנָסִים 'three deacons' with whom that care was deposited<sup>t</sup>.

II. As to the number *seven*, I would not be curious. The multitude of the poor and the increase of the church made it necessary, that the number of the deacons should exceed the number, that were allotted for every single syna-

<sup>r</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 662.

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 708.

<sup>t</sup> See Hor. in Matt. iv. 23, and elsewhere.

gogue: why they should be just seven, let him that hath confidence enough, pretend to assign a particular reason. Only from the number and character of the men, I cannot but call to mind the *שבעה טובי העיר* “seven good men of the city” frequently mentioned by the Rabbins: and I would suppose them chosen both out of the number of the hundred and twenty mentioned chap. i. 15; and also by them only, and not the whole church in general.

Ver. 5: *Καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχία*. “*And Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.*”

I. Whereas this Nicolas only is termed a ‘proselyte,’ it makes it evident, that all the rest, excepting himself, were Jews, however they might be known by Greek names. Nor yet would I call them ‘Hellenists,’ but ‘Hebrews’ rather;—who understood Greek indeed (and, for that reason, the care of the Hellenists was committed to them), but yet the Hebrew was their own mother-tongue. For it is hardly supposable, that Stephen, when he pleaded his cause before the Sanhedrim and the whole multitude, would plead it in Greek, though he understood it well.

II. It is so constant an opinion of the ancients, that the most impure sect of the Nicolaitans derived their name and filthy doctrines from this Nicolas<sup>u</sup>, that so much as to distrust the thing would look like contradicting antiquity. But if it were lawful in this matter freely to speak one’s thoughts, I should conjecture (for the honour of our Nicolas), that the name might take its derivation from *ניכולא* *Necola*, “let us eat together;” those brutes animating one another to eat things offered to idols. Like those in Isa. xxii. 13; *ניכול בשר ונשתי חמר* “Let us eat flesh and drink wine.”

Ver. 6: *Ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας*. “*They laid their hands upon them.*”

We read of this or that Rabbin constituting “deacons” in this or that synagogue, but not a word about laying-on of hands in that action<sup>w</sup>: and no wonder, when, even in the promotion of their elders, they commonly used only some form of words, and not this rite or ceremony; which we observe in notes upon chap. xiii. The apostles, in this place

<sup>u</sup> Irenæ. lib. 1. cap. 27. Epiphani. lib. 1. hæres. 5, &c. <sup>v</sup> פרינסין

<sup>w</sup> Hieros. Peah, fol. 21. 1.

and elsewhere, retain the ancient usage ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν “of imposition of hands.” At other times frequently, that they might, in ordaining any to the ministry<sup>w</sup>, impart to them the gift of the Holy Ghost; here, that they might ordain persons to the office of deacons without the gift of the Holy Ghost: for these seven had been so endowed already, ver. 3.

Ver. 9: Ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων. “*Certain of the synagogue, which is called ‘the synagogue of the Libertines.’*”

*Libertines*, i. e. servants that had received their freedom, called in the Jewish writings משוחררים, which,

I. Must be understood of servants, that were of the Jewish nation: for this was a rule amongst them<sup>x</sup>, אסור לאדם לשחרר עבר כנעני “It is not lawful to make a Canaanite (or Gentile) servant free: and if any one doth make such a one free, he transgresseth the law, להם תעבדו they shall be your bondmen for ever, Levit. xxv. 46:—but if any one do make him free, he is made free.”—There is a dispute about this matter in Sotah<sup>y</sup>; “R. Ishmael saith, There is only רשות a licence” granted (if you have a mind) of keeping a Canaanite as bondman for ever. “But R. Akibah saith, It is חובת a binding command,” that every one who hath a Canaanite servant, is bound to keep him in his service, and never to make him free. If it should be granted what R. Ishmael would have, that a man might, if he please, make a Gentile servant free,—yet it is not likely there could be a whole synagogue of such, so made free.

II. Those, therefore, משוחררים, “servants that had their freedom,” whom the Talmudic writers so frequently speak of,—they were certain Jews, who had either been sold into bondage by the Sanhedrim, for theft,—or, who had sold themselves for mere poverty, and had now regained their freedom anew.—Exod. xxi. 2: כי תקנה עבד עברי “If thou buy a Hebrew servant.”—“If thou<sup>z</sup> buy him from the hand of the Sanhedrim, who sell him for his thieving: or if he have sold himself through mere necessity.”

In the servitude of these, there were these differences. “It<sup>a</sup> is a tradition: he that selleth himself, is sold for six

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 663.

<sup>x</sup> Maimon. Avadim, cap. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Fol. 3. 1.

<sup>z</sup> R. Solomon upon the place.

<sup>a</sup> Kiddushin, fol. 14. 2.

years, or for more than six. He that is sold by the Sanhedrim, is sold but for six years only. He that selleth himself, is not bored through the ear with an awl. He<sup>b</sup> that is sold by the Sanhedrim, is bored through. He that selleth himself, they provide no viaticum for him: he that is sold by the Sanhedrim, they do provide for him. A man that selleth himself, his master cannot give him a Canaanitish handmaid to wife: to him that is sold by the Sanhedrim, he may.”

III. In what manner these are made free, either by paying a price, or by the year of jubilee, or by the seventh year, or upon any other occasions, having a writing of their freedom given them, Maimonides treats largely in<sup>c</sup> ‘Avadim;’ and the Talmudic writers in the place already quoted, and elsewhere.

I question not but the *Λιβερτίνοι*, the ‘libertines,’ in this place were such; and that our historian doth, by this phrase, render the word *משחררים*, than which nothing was more commonly known in that nation, or more commonly mentioned in Jewish writers. And if so, then may we see what dregs of people, what a lousy tribe (if I may so speak), rose up against our most blessed martyr;—such as had been formerly either beggars, or thieves,—afterward slaves; and were now little else but a pack of knaves.

#### *Κυρηναίων* “*Cyrenians.*”

What Cyrene that was, from whence these Cyrenians are so called, St. Luke points to us Acts ii, by its neighbourhood to Libya: which whether the interpreters rightly understand, when they render *Kir* by *Cyrene*, let us consult themselves and see. So the Vulgar, and the Alexandrian MS. in 2 Kings xvi. 9; the Vulgar and Targum in Amos i. 5.

Whether these Cyrenians, mentioned by St. Luke here and elsewhere, took their denomination from the city Cyrene, or the country of Cyrene, is hardly worth our inquiring. Strabo describes the city, lib. 17; and Pliny the country, lib. 5. cap. 5: but neither of them says any thing of the Jews dwelling there. However, Dion Cassius, in the life of Trajan, speaks it out; *Ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι*, &c. “In the mean time, the Jews, who dwelt about Cyrene, under the conduct of one Andrew, fell upon both Romans and Greeks, tear their flesh, devour their entrails, besmear

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xxi. 6.

<sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 709.

themselves with their blood, and cover themselves with their skins. They sawed many of them asunder from the crown of the head; they threw many to the beasts, and forced several of them to fight one with another:—so that they destroyed at least two hundred thousand men.” It must surely be an infinite number of Jews, that could commit so great a slaughter (the like the Jews did in Egypt and Cyprus). It might be a wonder, how so vast a multitude of Jews could be got together in those countries:—but this is not our present inquiry.

That<sup>d</sup> which is rather to be discussed is, what language the Cyrenian Jews used. I would say Greek; for that was the language of Cyrene, the city having been built by the Grecians, and the whole country under the government of the Ptolemies, as Strabo tells us in the place before quoted. I would reckon them, therefore, among the Hellenists, to whom the Hebrew tongue was strange and foreign; unless that this synagogue, having been conversant at Jerusalem, might perhaps have learned the language there.

Ἰαλεξανδρέων “*Alexandrians.*”

We met with a synagogue of Alexandrians in Jerusalem, mentioned in the Jewish writers. “There is a story of R. Eliezer Ben Zadoc, that he took בית הכנסת של אלכסנדריים the synagogue of the Alexandrians, that was in Jerusalem, ועשה בה צרכיו and turned it to his own use:” word for word, “Did in it all his business<sup>e</sup>:” כל חפצו “All his pleasure.”

There is a dispute in the place newly quoted, whether it be lawful to alienate a synagogue from its sacred to a common use: and it is distinguished betwixt בית יהוד של יחיד ‘the synagogue of one man,’ and בית הכנסת של רבים ‘a public synagogue.’ And, upon permitting that the former may be alienated, but the latter not,—there is this story, which I have newly quoted, objected to the contrary; and this passage farther added, אלכסנדריים עשו אותה משל עצמן “The Alexandrians build that synagogue at their own charge;” which doth both attest to what our sacred historian mentions of a ‘synagogue of Alexandrians’ at Jerusalem; and argues that they were divers synagogues here spoken of, one of the Libertines, another of the Cyrenians, and so of the rest: which

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 664.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Megil. fol. 73. 4. Juchas. fol. 26. 4.

may be so much the more credible, if that be true, which is related in the same place,—viz. that there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem.

Καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας· “*And them of Cilicia.*”

St. Paul seems to have been of this synagogue, but of the school of Gamaliel: for the Jewish youth, sent out of far countries to Jerusalem, for education, being allotted to this or that synagogue, chose this or that master for themselves according to their own pleasure. St. Paul had been brought up in a Greek academy from his very childhood,—viz. that of Tarsus: I call Tarsus both an ‘academy,’ and a ‘Greek’ one too, upon the credit of Strabo, who speaks thus concerning it<sup>f</sup>; Ταρσὸς κτίσμα ἐστὶ τῶν μετὰ Τριπτολέμου πλανηθέντων Ἀργείων κατὰ Ζήτησιν Ἰοῦς· “Tarsus was built by the Argives, that wandered with Triptolemus in the search of Io.” And a little after; Τοσαύτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν, &c. “They of Tarsus had so great a love to philosophy, and all liberal sciences, that they excelled Athens, Alexandria, and if there were any other place worth naming, where the schools and disputes of philosophy and all human arts were maintained.” Hence is it so much the less strange, that St. Paul should be so well stocked with the Greek learning, and should quote in his discourses the poets of that nation, having been educated in so famous a university from his very youth.

Ver. 15: Ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου· “*As it had been the face of an angel.*”

God himself by a miracle bears witness to the innocence of this holy man, and shows he had done no wrong to Moses, —when he makes his face shine as Moses’s had formerly done, and gave him an angelical<sup>g</sup> countenance like that of Gabriel: for if he had said, that “Jesus should destroy that place,” &c. he had but said what Gabriel had said before him.

## CHAP. VII<sup>b</sup>.

Ver. 2: Τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὄντι ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ· “*To Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia.*”

“**ABRAHAM**<sup>i</sup> is like the friend of a king, who, when he

<sup>f</sup> Geogr. lib. 14.

<sup>g</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 710.

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 665.

<sup>i</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 32. 3.

saw the king walking in darksome galleries, gave light to him by a window: which when the king saw, he said unto him, Because thou hast given me light through a window, come and give me light before my face.—So did the holy blessed God say to Abraham, Because thou hast given light to me, מִמְּסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּא וּמִחֲבֵרוֹתֶיהָ out of my Mesopotamia, and its companions, come and give light to me in the land of Israel.” Whether or no it be worth the while to inquire, why God should term it “my Mesopotamia,”—as also what should be the meaning of חֲבֵרוֹתֶיהָ “her consorts,” or “companions;”—yet can I not but take notice, that this adjunct doth, once and again, occur in the writings of the Jews. “O seed<sup>j</sup> of Abraham my friend, I took thee from the ends of the earth; מִמְּסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּא וּמִחֲבֵרוֹתֶיהָ—viz. from Mesopotamia and her companions.—Who<sup>k</sup> is he among you, that feareth the Lord? This is Abraham: who walketh in darkness: who came מִמְּסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּא וּמִחֲבֵרוֹתֶיהָ out of Mesopotamia and her consorts, and knew not whither; like the man that dwelleth in darkness.” It is written indeed מִמְּסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּא, as if it should be “out of Spain;” but I correct it, by the authority of the Aruch; and, indeed, the very sense itself corrects it. The gloss hath nothing but this trifling passage in it; “I have found the interpretation of Mesopotamia,—viz. that it is the name of a city in Aram Naharaim.”

The geographers do, indeed, distinguish betwixt Mesopotamia and Babylon, or Chaldea; so in Ptolemy’s fourth table of Asia, to omit other authors; Ἡ Βαβυλωνία περιόριζεται, ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων Μεσσοποταμίας, &c. “The country of Babylon is bounded, on the south, by Mesopotamia,” &c. And yet, Bābylon may, in some measure, be said to be in ‘Mesopotamia:’ partly, because it lay between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris; but especially according to the propriety of Scripture-language, because it was “beyond the river.” Which, we may take notice, was observed by the Vulgar interpreter, in Josh. xxiv. 3; where, what in the Hebrew is, “I took your father Abraham מֵעֵבֶר הַנְּהָר from the other side of the flood,” he hath rendered it, “I took your father Abraham, De Mesopotamiæ finibus, from the borders of Mesopotamia.”

Josephus, speaking of Abraham and his removing from

<sup>j</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 48. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 66. 1.

his country, hath this passage<sup>1</sup>; Δι' ἄπερ Χαλδαίωντε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν, μετοικεῖν δοκιμύσας, &c. "Wherefore the Chaldeans and other Mesopotamians moving tumults against him, he thought fit to remove his seat," &c. Where we see the 'Chaldeans,' amongst others, are called "those of Mesopotamia:"—nor indeed without cause; when as Eratosthenes in Strabo tells us<sup>m</sup>, Τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, &c. "That Mesopotamia, with the country of Babylon, is contained in that great compass, from Euphrates and Tigris."

And so perhaps the Rabbin newly quoted distinguisheth; that that Mesopotamia, which he makes to be called by God, מִשְׁכַּן מֵסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּה *my* Mesopotamia, is Charran,—where the worship of God had been kept-up in the family of Nahor; and which had been the native country and breeder-up of eleven patriarchs. And so let הַבְּרִיתִּים "her consorts" be Babylon and Chaldea: for in what other signification הַבְּרִיתִּים here can be taken, I cannot well tell.

In that Stephen speaks of God appearing to Abraham, while he was yet in Chaldea, before he removed to Charran, when Moses rather ascribes that passage to Terah his father, Gen. xi,—he speaks with the Vulgar, according to the commonly received opinion of his countrymen; who not only taught, that Abraham acknowledged and worshipped the true God, even while his father Terah worshipped idols; but farther, that Terah was so zealous an idolater, that he delivered his son Abraham to Nimrod, to be cast into a fiery furnace. We have the tale in Bereshith Rabba<sup>n</sup>, ridiculous enough. [Fregerat Abrahamus idola Terachi, et dixit, ea mutuis ictibus se confregisse, litigantia de farinæ eis oblata comestione. Suspicans Terachus se illusum לְנִמְרוֹד רַמְסָרִיָּה נִסְבֵּי "prehendit Abrahamum, et tradidit eum Nimrodo: qui projecit eum in fornacem ignis. Ast Abrahamus exiit e fornace salvus<sup>o</sup> etc.]

Ver. 3: "Ἐξελεθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου"  
 "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred."

I would not confound this passage with that in Gen. xii. 1: for Stephen, and, indeed, the thing itself, assures us, that this was spoken to Abraham, in Chaldea; but that, in

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. [Hudson, p. 22.]      <sup>m</sup> Lib. 2.      <sup>n</sup> Fol. 42. 2.

<sup>o</sup> From "Pauca interserenda in quædam Horarum Hebraicarum et Talmudicarum loca," the eighth tract, in Leusden's edition, vol. 3. p. 87.—Ed.

Charran. Here is no mention of his going “from his father’s house,” as there is there. Nor did<sup>p</sup> he, indeed, depart “from his father’s house,” when he removed from Ur of the Chaldeans; for he took his father and whole family along with him. But he departed, when he removed from Charran,—leaving his father buried behind him, and Nahor his brother, with his family.

Ver. 4: Μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, &c. “When his father was dead,” &c.

Here ariseth a difficulty, and, upon that, a controversy, which we may take in in the words of R. Solomon, upon Gen. xi: “And Terah died in Charran, that is, more than threescore years after Abraham had left Charran, and had settled in the land of Canaan. For it is written, Abraham was seventy-five years of age, when he went out of Charran, and Terah was seventy years old, when Abraham was born. Behold, Terah was one hundred and forty-five<sup>q</sup> years of age when Abraham left Charran, and he had a great many years yet behind.” There remained, indeed, according to this calculation, sixty years.

I. In that whole chapter, there is no mention of the death of any person there named, before or beside that of Terah. Where, by the way, we may take notice of the boldness of the Greek interpreters, who to every one of those persons have annexed, καὶ ἀπέθανε, “and he died,” directly against the purpose of Moses, and the mind of the apostle, Heb. vii. 3. Now, therefore, why, when Moses had passed over the death of all the rest, that had been reckoned-up before in that catalogue, should it be put in concerning Terah only, that “he died in Charran,”—were it not to show, that Abraham did not remove from thence, till after his father’s decease there? This R. Solomon, even while he is defending the contrary, seems something apprehensive of; for thus he expresseth himself; “Why doth the Scripture tell of the death of Terah, before it mentions Abraham’s removal?—viz. lest the matter should be made public, and men should say, Abraham did not give that honour to his father, that he ought to have done, relinquishing him now in his old age, and going away from him. The Scripture there-

<sup>p</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 666.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 711

fore speaks of him as now dead, because the wicked, even while they are alive, are accounted for dead."

How is this Rabbin mistaken! For Terah now is no wicked man, nor an idolater, but converted; and, therefore, Moses makes him chief in that removal out of Chaldea, that his conversion might be known; although the command concerning the departure from that country came first to Abraham. And if it was not lawful for Abraham to have forsaken his father, being yet an idolater, much less was it so, when he was now become a worshipper of the true God.

II. It is, indeed, said, that "Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran:" but as it is against reason to suppose, they were all begot in one year, so there is no necessity to think they were begot in the order they are placed-in in the story. Here that common maxim of the Rabbins takes place; אין מוקדם ומאוחר במקרא "There is no first and last in the Holy Scripture," i. e. the order of the story does not necessarily determine the time of it. And the Gemarists themselves, however they suppose that Abraham might be older than Nahor one year, and Nahor than Haran one year,—yet do they at length conclude דלמא דלמא דלמא "perhaps Abraham was the youngest of his brethren<sup>r</sup>:" which they also confirm out of the order observed in numbering the sons of Noah, where Sem is first in the catalogue, though he was younger than Japhet.

It is commonly received amongst the Jews, that Sarah, Abraham's wife, was the daughter of his brother Haran; and that not without reason. ויסקה זו שרה "Iscah (say they) is the same with Sarah." And Josephus speaks it out, as a thing of ancient tradition; Ἀράνης μὲν, καταλιπὼν υἱὸν Ἀῶτον, καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχὰν θυγατέρας, ἐν Χαλδαίοις ἀπέθανεν. "Haran, leaving one son, Lot, and Sarah and Melcha two daughters, died in Chaldea<sup>s</sup>." If, therefore, Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham, was Haran's daughter, which seems to be in some measure confirmed, Gen. xx. 12; we can by no means suppose Abraham to have been the first-born amongst the sons of Terah, but Haran rather; unless we will trifle with some of the Rabbins, and say that Haran begat Melcha, when he was but six or eight years old. But they conclude at length a little more rationally, if I under-

<sup>r</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 69. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. [Hudson, p. 21.]

stand what they mean; דרך חכמתן קא חשיב להו "they reckon them up according to their wisdom."

Conceive therefore Abraham born, not in the seventieth, but in the hundred and thirtieth, year of Terah; and that these words, here recited by Stephen, were spoken to him in "Ur of the Chaldeans;" but those, mentioned Gen. xii. 1, spoken in Charran; and<sup>t</sup> thus join the story:—"Terah died in Charran: then said God unto Abraham," &c.

Ver. 14: 'Εν ψυχαῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε "Threescore and fifteen souls."

The Hebrew copies have it every where but "threescore and ten." So also Josephus<sup>u</sup>; Εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, &c. "He came to Egypt with his sons, and all their sons; ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἑβδομήκοντα, they were in all threescore and ten."—Again<sup>v</sup>, elsewhere, Οὗ μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πάντων, &c. "Wherewith threescore and ten, all that were with him, going down into Egypt," &c.

So Ezekiel, Tragœd. in Euseb. de Præpar. Evangel.<sup>w</sup>: 'Αφ' οὗ Ἰακώβ γῆν λιπῶν Χανααῖαν Κατῆλθ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔχων ἑπτάκις δέκα ψυχὰς σὺν αὐτῷ. "From the time that Jacob, having left the land of Canaan, came down into Egypt, having seven times ten souls with him."—So the very Greek version itself in Deut. x. 22; 'Εν ἑβδομήκοντα ψυχαῖς, &c. "Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons;"—which is strange, when they have it in another place<sup>x</sup>, ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, "threescore and fifteen." We may easily discern, that St. Luke here follows that version, that adds five grandchildren to Joseph, Gen. xlvi. 20,—Machir and Gilead, because of those words, Gen. 1. 22; "the sons of Machir, the son of Manasseh, brought up upon Joseph's knees:" and Sutelah, and Tahan, and Eden; because it is said, "Joseph saw Ephraim's children unto the third generation." Where, by the way, I cannot but think it strange, why the Greek interpreters should select these their additional persons out of the sons of Joseph, rather than any other of the patriarchs: and farther take notice, how, though they reckon up nine children of Joseph (υἱοὶ δὲ Ἰωσήφ, &c. "Now the sons of Joseph, which were born to him in the land of Egypt, were nine souls," ver. 27), yet they name but

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 667.

<sup>u</sup> Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 4.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid. cap. 5.

<sup>w</sup> Lib. 9. cap. 28.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Gen. xlvi. 27. and Exod. i. 5.

seven. Josephus the historian, speaking of those threescore and ten persons, that went down into Egypt, "I will reckon them up (saith he), that I may satisfy those, who would pretend we took not our original from Mesopotamia, but from Egypt." It is strange, therefore, that the interpreters would add those, that were actually born in Egypt. But it seems, that, when they would confound the true number, they chose those upon the account of those words in Gen. 1, which we mentioned.

As<sup>y</sup> to these children of Ephraim, and others, whose story is mentioned 1 Chron. vii. 20,—the masters of traditions tell some ridiculous tales of them; viz. that having not counted right as to the years of their bondage in Egypt, they went to invade the land of Palestine before the appointed time, and fell by the sword of the Gittites<sup>z</sup>: but that they came to life again with those, whom Ezekiel raised from the dead, chap. xxxvii<sup>a</sup>.

I have, in my notes upon Luke iii, offered my conjecture, why the interpreter should confound the number, and put threescore and fifteen, instead of threescore and ten: as also, why the evangelist should follow that version, and that number: and am of the same mind still. In the mean time, wondering at their retaining the true number, Deut. x. 22; where Nobilius, in his Scholia, tells us, "Josephus lib. 2. Antiquitatum," &c. "Josephus, in his second book of Antiquities, writing of Jacob, hath set the number." (I have quoted the passage already.) "And St. Jerome, in his questions upon Genesis, witnesseth that the Septuagint so writ it. Alii codices, &c. Other copies have, Ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ψυχαῖς, threescore and fifteen souls."

If the Septuagint wrote so in this place, when elsewhere they have "threescore and fifteen," I know no other reason can be rendered of it, but that Moses is here introduced speaking to the people of Israel, who very well knew the certain and true number: but elsewhere, where it is rendered by them "threescore and fifteen," he is writing a history for the whole world, to whom the precise number was not so well known. But one may suspect, the same pen did not translate the Book of Deuteronomy, that had translated the Books of Genesis and Exodus. So "Capthorim," in Gen.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 712.

<sup>z</sup> Targ. in Cant. ii. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 92. 2.

x. 14, by the interpreter of that Book is rendered Γαφθορείμ, 'Gaphthoriim;' or, as it is in MS. Alex. Καφθορειμ, 'Caphthoriim;' but in the Book of Deuteronomy, chap. ii. 23, it is Καππάδοκες, 'Cappadocians.'

Ver. 16<sup>b</sup>: Μετετέθησαν εἰς Συχέμ. "Were carried over into Sychem."

לעולם ישנה אדם לתלמידו דרך קצרה "Ever let a man teach his disciple concisely<sup>c</sup>," or briefly. So that a short way of speaking, especially in a thing plain, was not strange amongst the Jews:—which rule if Stephen followed in this place, he might do it more safely and unblamably in a story so well known.

I. It was very commonly, and without any kind of doubt, received amongst them, that the bones of the twelve patriarchs, as well as those of Jacob, were carried out of Egypt into Canaan. "It<sup>d</sup> is written, I will go down with thee into Egypt, and even in going up, I will make thee to go up, Gen. xlvi. 4. וואנכי אעלך גם עלה What are we taught by וואנכי אעלך גם עלה even in going up? He saith, I will make thee to go up, and I will make all the other tribes to go up too: teaching thereby שכל שבט ושבט העלה עצמות ראש שבטו עמו that every tribe should carry up the bones of the patriarch of his tribe with it."—Take notice, by the way, that the Seventy render וואנכי אעלך גם עלה, εἰς τέλος, "unto the end."

"The<sup>e</sup> bones of all the patriarchs were carried out of Egypt and buried in the land of Canaan: as it is written, And ye shall carry up my bones with you," Gen. i. 25<sup>f</sup>.

II. Thus far, therefore, Stephen speaks with the consent of that nation, viz. That the bones of the patriarchs were conveyed out of Egypt into Canaan. But what can we say as to their being buried in Sychem? Doubtless, he spake according to the common received opinion amongst them in this thing also; though I cannot but say, that all Jewish writers, as far as I have met with, are wholly silent in it. Nay, Josephus himself will have them buried in Hebron, and that before the Israelites came out of Egypt<sup>g</sup>.

The Talmudists speak very much of Joseph's being buried in Sychem, and amongst other things say this, "That

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 668.

<sup>d</sup> Hierosol. Sotah, fol. 17. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Gloss in Zevachim, fol. 2. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Gloss in Bava kama, fol. 92. 1.

<sup>f</sup> See also Beresh. Rabba, fol. 115. 3. Gloss in Maccoth. 11. 2. R. Sol. in Exod. xiii. 19.

<sup>g</sup> Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 4.

they stole him from Sychem, and restored him to Sychem again<sup>h</sup>." But as to the burying of the other patriarchs there, they have not one word. Benjamin also in his Itinerary, speaking of Sychem, mentions the sepulchre of Joseph, and none but that. And so do the Cippi Hebraici, as the learned Hottinger translates them; "From Sychem at the distance of a sabbath-day's journey, lies a village called בִּלְאֵטָה Belata, where Joseph the Just, of blessed memory, lies buried."

I conceive the reason why the Jews are so silent in this matter, may be, because they fear it would be a reproach to themselves, and too great an honour for the Samaritans, that the patriarch's bones should lie amongst them. As to Joseph's being buried there, there could be no denial of that, because the Scripture speaks it in express terms, that he was buried in Sychem: but it is very grievous for them to acknowledge, that all the other heads of the nation and tribes should lie there, where the apostasy of the ten tribes first began, and, after their expulsion, the odious nation of the Samaritans were seated: and for this very reason one might argue, that Stephen would never have mentioned such a thing, if it could have been contradicted by them. The masters of the traditions indeed do tacitly yield, that the eleven patriarchs were not buried in Hebron, when they admit but four couples there,—viz. Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah<sup>i</sup>. And if so, where were they buried? If we do but consider, how the great charge and care of public affairs was committed to Joshua, who was of the stock and lineage of Joseph, and, from that very relation, had a particular concern with Sychem,—probability itself would argue (were there no other proof for it), that he would have as strict a care of the patriarchs now dead, as his progenitor Joseph had had of them, while they were yet alive.

Whence<sup>j</sup> I cannot but wonder, that the Samaritans dwelling in Sychem, having in their letters, sent lately into England, made mention of the sepulchres of Joseph, Eleazar, Phinehas, the seventy elders, Eldad and Medad, that are with them to this day, should say nothing of the sepulchres of the eleven patriarchs. But so long as all the other tribes are in mean esteem amongst them, and the tribe of Ephraim,

<sup>h</sup> Sotah, fol. 13. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Sotah, fol. 13. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 715.

i. e. (if I may so speak) the Samaritan tribe being of greatest account, it is the less wonder, if they are not so very solicitous, at least do not boast so much of the heads of the other tribes.

Καὶ ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῷ μνήματι, ὃ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμὸρ τοῦ Συχέμ. “*And laid in the sepulchre, that Abraham bought for a sum of money, of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem.*”

This passage is not a little obscure: not very unlike that in Gen. l. 5; Joseph saith, “My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die. In my grave אשר כריתתי לי which I have digged for me, or, which I have purchased for myself, there shalt thou bury me.” I will not contend about the word כריתתי, whether it should be rendered, *I have digged*, as the Greek, Jonathan’s Targum<sup>k</sup>, &c, have rendered it; or whether it should be, *I have bought*, as Onkelos, the Syriac, and the Talmudists. Be it the one or the other, seeing the discourse is plainly about the cave of Machpelah, how can we say either this or that is true? I little question the former sense: for when Abraham had bought the cave, and digged a sepulchre in it for himself and Sarah; reason will tell us, that Isaac did the same for himself and Rebekah; and Jacob for himself and Leah; for they both dwelt in Hebron as well as Abraham. But if we will admit of the latter sense, which the Rabbins tenaciously adhere to, there is no less a difficulty occurs, than what is now before us. They indeed remove it by this blessed comment,—viz. that when Jacob purchased the birthright from Esau, he did, by a peculiar writing and deed of contract, include this cave within the bargain, as his own propriety. We may read the whole figment in Sotah and the Targum of Jonathan, in the places above-quoted.

But to take this matter in hand a little more seriously.

I. It had been enough for Stephen to have made mention of the burial of Jacob and the patriarchs, without any addition about the purchase of the burying-place, if he had not a design to hint something peculiar, in the mention he makes of it. Nor did it make for his cause at all, to tell over a bare story, which they all knew,—if there were not something included in it, that made for his defence. He had said before, ver. 5, concerning Abraham, that God had not given

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 669.*

him any inheritance in the promised land, no, not so much as to set his foot on: and here he tells them, that even Jacob and the patriarchs had no place where they should be buried, but what they themselves bought for a sum of money: "and will you, O ye persecutors, upon the mere promise of the land made to your fathers, be so confident as to persuade yourselves it will be your abiding-place for ever? and that, howsoever you behave yourselves towards God, you cannot be removed from it?"

II. "Ὁ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου, " That Abraham bought for a sum of money." Thus far is no difficulty, when the discourse is of the burial of Jacob in the cave of Machpelah; but the knot is in the following words, Παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμὸρ τοῦ Συχέμ, " of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem." That the text is not interpolated (as Beza and Heinsius would have it), appears from the universal consent both of the copies and the translations. For, those that would have it interpolated, cannot show one copy, reading it otherwise; and all the versions follow this reading, in the very words wherein the difficulty most lieth. The Syriac, indeed, refers the words to Jacob only, rendering it in the singular number אִישְׁתִּי אֶתְתְּסוּס " And he was carried and laid," &c; but yet owns the following words, " in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor," where all the difficulty lies. So also, as to that clause, other versions have it.

Now, as to what is objected, let us take it in the words of Bereshith Rabba<sup>1</sup>: " R. Juda Bar Simon saith, This is one of the three places" (viz. the cave Jacob bought, Gen. xxxiii. 19), " concerning which the nations of the world cannot reproach Israel, saying, That they took it by force and rapine. The places are these, the Cave of Machpelah, the House of the Sanctuary, and the Sepulchre of Joseph. The cave of Machpelah, as it is written, And Abraham hearkened to Ephron, and weighed to Ephron, &c. Gen. xxiii. 16. The house of the sanctuary, according as it is said, So David gave to Ornan for the place, &c. 1 Chron. xxi. 25. And the sepulchre of Joseph, as it is said, He (Jacob) bought a parcel of a field, &c. Gen. xxxiii. 19. יַעֲקֹב קָנָה שֵׁכֶם Jacob bought Shechem," or that parcel of it: therefore, Abraham did not. But,

I. Let us take a little view of that passage, Gen. xii. 6 :

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 89. 1.

“Abraham passed through the land unto the place of Sychem, ער אלון מורה Gr. ἐπὶ τῆν δρῦν τῆν ὑψηλὴν, to the high oak: ער מישור מורה to the plain of Moreh:” Vulg. “Usque ad convallem illustrem, to the famous valley.”—Targ. Hieros. et Samarit., “to the vale of vision,” &c. But our inquiry is for the place, rather than the etymology. Deut. xi. 29, 30; “Thou shalt put the blessing upon mount Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal. Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champaign over-against Gilgal אצל אלוני מורה besides the plain of Moreh?”

Let us take the Talmudic comments upon this place: “When<sup>m</sup> the Israelites had passed over Jordan, they came to mount Gerizim and mount Ebal, which are in the country of Samaria, near Sychem, which is besides the plain of Moreh, according as it is said, Are they not on the other side Jordan, &c? And it is said elsewhere, Abraham passed through the land unto the place of Sychem, to the plain of Moreh. What, is<sup>n</sup> the plain of Moreh there? Gen. xii. 6, it is Sychem. And so the plain of Moreh is Sychem here also, Deut. xi. 30.”—“R. Eliezer<sup>o</sup> Ben Jose saith, In this thing have I accused the Samaritan books of falsifying; and I said unto them, Ye have falsified your law, and gained nothing by it; for you say אצל אלוני מורה שכם the plain of Moreh which is Sychem: for we confess, that the plain of Moreh is Sychem.” The Samaritan text in Deut. xi. 30, hath אלון מורה מול שכם “the plain of Moreh near Sychem;” but no such thing in Gen. xii. 6 is added.

If<sup>p</sup> the word *μνήματι*, “in the sepulchre,” did not lay some obstacle in the way, I should easily conceive, that Stephen had his eye as intent (if not more) upon this place, as upon the cave of Machpelah. It is not said, that Abraham bought this place, much less that he bought it for a burying-place: but however, that he did buy it (though not under that notion of a burying-place), seems probable, because this was the first place, in which he pitched his tent, and built an altar: all which he would hardly have done upon another man’s ground. It is said of Jacob, that he bought a parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent, Gen. xxxiii. 19. And why should we not think that Abraham did the

<sup>m</sup> Sotah, fol. 31. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Sotah, fol. 33. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 714.

<sup>p</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 670.

same?—only it is not expressly said so of him, as it is of Jacob.

It might be no improper question here, upon what conditions Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, fed their cattle, and maintained their families, in the land of Canaan? Whether the places and fields they occupied, were common, and had no proper owner? Whether Abraham, not far from Sychem, in the plain of Moreh, in the disposal of himself and his flocks, intruded upon another's possession, or whether it was all champaign without any lord? It is probable, it was neither one nor the other: and, therefore, some third thing must be found out,—viz. that either they might purchase those lands, or take them of the owners upon an agreed rent. It is said of Abraham, that “he planted a grove in Beer-sheba,” Gen. xxi. 33. How came he to any right in that piece of land? Had that place no lord, no prince, no owner, till he came? If it had any lord or owner (which is most probable), then it is easy apprehending, how Abraham might come by the possession of it,—viz. by some sum of money, though there is no mention made of it.

However, whether Abraham bought ‘the plain of Moreh’ or no, it is very evident, from the words of the protomartyr, that the patriarchs were buried in that place, where he, in his very first entry upon that land, had made his abode,—where he had received the first promise of the land by vision,—and where he erected his first altar. And I cannot believe, but that either St. Stephen or St. Luke would, in this their short way of speaking, revive the memory of some such thing;—viz. that the patriarchs were buried in that very same place, where Abraham had made his first abode, where he had received the first promise of the land; yet that they did not possess that land any otherwise than in their graves.

Ver. 23: Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρακονταετῆς χρόνος, &c.

“When he was full forty years old.”

The martyr speaks agreeably with the whole nation; “Moses<sup>a</sup> was forty years in Pharaoh's court, and forty years in Midian, and forty years he served Israel. Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai exercised merchandise forty years, was learning the law forty years, and forty years he ministered to Israel. R. Akibah was בור an illiterate person forty years;

<sup>a</sup> Beresh. Rabba, fol. 115. 3.

he bent himself to study forty years, and forty years he ministered to Israel.<sup>r</sup>”

Ver. 25: Ἐνομίζετο γὰρ συνιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, &c. “*For he supposed, that his brethren would have understood,*” &c.

Moses was endowed with a spirit of prophecy even in Pharaoh’s court (to which that passage may refer, “that he was mighty in words and in deeds”), and knew himself designed to redeem Israel out of Egypt; and so, he thought, that people conceived of him too. For they could not but know the story of his miraculous preservation in his infancy; his providential education in a prince’s court; and, especially, the apparent signs of a prophetic spirit in him. Which though Moses himself speaks nothing of, yet doth Stephen relate it, not without good authority, and the consent of his countrymen; who all suppose Moses miraculously born, and as wonderfully saved in the ark of bulrushes;—namely, that he was conceived, when his mother was a hundred and thirty years of age; brought forth without any of the pangs of childbirth, and born טוב הוא ‘good,’ that is לְנִבְיָאוֹת “apt for prophesying<sup>s</sup>.” Note by the way, how that fiction of Josephus<sup>t</sup> concerning Pharaoh’s putting his crown upon the head of the child Moses, and his throwing it to the ground, is told also by the Jewish Rabbins<sup>u</sup>, only with this variation;—that Moses himself took the crown from Pharaoh’s head, and put it upon his own.

Ver. 42<sup>v</sup>: Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι, &c. “*Have you offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices,*” &c.

Kimchi upon this place of Amos, speaks out, what the Jewish schools think in this matter, by a passage taken out of Chagigah<sup>w</sup>; “There is a tradition concerning the daily sacrifice made in mount Sinai. R. Eliezer saith, That there were rules indeed given concerning it on mount Sinai, but the sacrifice itself was not offered. R. Akibah saith<sup>x</sup>, It was offered, and, from that time, hath not ceased. But what do I prove” (in these words), “Have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices, by the space of forty years in the wilderness, O ye house of Israel? viz. the tribe of Levi,

<sup>r</sup> Vid. et Shemoth Rabba, fol. 118. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Shemoth, Rabb. fol. 118. 3.

<sup>w</sup> Babyl. fol. 6. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Sotah, fol. 12. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 5.

<sup>v</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 671.

<sup>x</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 715.

that had not committed idolatry, they offered; but Israel did not offer. And in those words,—‘the children of Israel kept the Passover in its time,’—seems to be some reproach reflected upon Israel; as hinting, that they had observed no Passover in the wilderness, but that.”

It is most certain, that sacrifices were offered in the striking of the covenant, Exod. xxiv; in the consecration of the altar and the tabernacle; and in the celebration of that Passover; and this was all done in Sinai, before the fatal decree passed of their not entering the land. But it may not without reason be suspected, that the daily sacrifice were continued after that time; for we find live-coals upon the altar, Numb. xvi. 46; and it is not to be thought, that fire would be perpetually burning on the altar to no purpose:—but God’s complaint seems to be about the free-will offerings, that *they* ceased; and that none made oblations of their own good-will. Nor let any think it strange, that the prophet, and, after him, the protomartyr, counts up the time in that round sum of forty years, when it was, indeed, but eight-and-thirty and a half; for so doth God himself, Numb. xiv. 34.

Ver. 43: Καὶ ἀνελάβετε, &c. “*And ye took up,*” &c.

The word in Amos is **וַיִּשְׂאוּ**: which, if we might render with R. Solomon in the future tense, “*And ye shall bear your idols with you into captivity, as burdens laid upon your shoulders;*” it would take off a little of the difficulty, that otherwise seems to lie in this passage; for it might be very reasonably questioned, whether the Israelites ever did this in the wilderness: but then, this is directly contrary both to the Greek version in that prophet, and now, to the Holy Ghost in this place, and to the very scope of the protomartyr in quoting it. For he speaketh of God, as giving up the people to worship the host of heaven; and straightways suggests, that they first desisted from serving God, and then addicted themselves to the worshipping of idols. But the question is, whether the discourse in this place is concerned in the idolatry they committed in the wilderness, or that in after-times. That it doth not point at the idolatry in the wilderness, these following arguments seem to confirm:—

I. Because there is no mention of any idolatry committed in the wilderness after the golden calf, besides that with

Baal-Peor. And it is hardly imaginable, that Moloch and Baal-Peor were the same, and that Moloch and Remphan were not two different idols. Nor is it probable at all, that the sacred historian would have passed over such a piece of wickedness, without taking any notice either of the fault or punishment; especially when as, every where else, the history of their idolatry is related so very accurately. But not to multiply arguments,—

II. If Stephen refer this idolatry of the Israelites, to the times after those in the wilderness, and, in that sense, interprets the prophet,—he speaks the same thing, that was commonly known and received amongst the Jews; viz. that the punishment of that sin, of the golden calf, descended and was derived to following generations. “R. Oshaiah<sup>y</sup> saith, that to the times of Jeroboam, the children of Israel sucked of one calf” (the Gloss is, viz. That calf they made in the wilderness); “but, from that time forward, they sucked of two, and of a third, too” (the Gloss is, those two of Jeroboam’s, and the third, of the wilderness). “R. Isaac saith, There is not any instance of vengeance that comes upon the world, wherein there is not a twenty-fourth part of a pound of the first calf. According as it is said, ‘In the day that I visit, I will visit their sin upon them,’ Exod. xxxii.—R. Chaninah saith, After twenty-four generations” (the Gloss hath it, In the reign of king Zedekiah), “this verse was accomplished, as it is said; ‘He cried in mine ears with a loud voice, The visitations of the city draw near, every man having his destroying weapon in his hand,’ Ezek. ix. 1.”

Τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ: “*The tabernacle of Moloch<sup>z</sup>.*”

The prophet Amos hath it וּנְשֵׂאתֶם אֶת סִנְיֹת מַלְכֵכֶם; Lat. Interlin., “Et portastis Siccuth Regem vestrum,” i. e. “Ye carried Siccuth your king.”—So R. Solomon and Kimchi, “Siccuth is the name of an idol.” For my part, I am at a stand in this matter; as also in what words the Chaldee paraphrast hath rendered this clause. For in the books published amongst us, it is יֵת סִנְיֹת פִּתְכוּמְרוֹן; when as the Aruch, citing the Targumist in this place, saith, סִנְיֹת מַלְכֵכֶם תְּרַגְּוּם פִּתְכוּרִיכוֹן “Siccuth Malchechem with the Targumist, is Succuth Pethacrecon.” Observe *Pe-*

<sup>y</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 102. 1.

<sup>z</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 672.

*thacrecon* not *Pathcumarcon*:—and, that it was so originally written in the Targumist, I do very much suspect, however Kimchi owns only the other reading. For,

I. It is not easy, I may say, not possible, to give פתכומרכון that propriety in this place, that it bears in Ezek. xiii. 18, and xvi. 16.

II. Whereas the same paraphrast renders מלכו, in Isa. viii. 21, by פתכריה, and מלכּ in Zeph. i. 5, by פתכריחון; it is the more probable, that he may render מלכּ in this place by פתכריכון; which word, it should seem, he useth for some idol, or heathen god; because when he would express a *king*, taken in its proper sense, he always retains the usual word מלכּא. If, therefore, according to the copy quoted by the Aruch, it should be read פתכריכון, then the Chaldee version falls in with the Greek, and shews that מלכּ should be rendered *your Moloch*: so that *Moloch* signifies an *idol*; and *Succuth* not an *idol*, but σκηνη τοῦ Μολοχ, *the tabernacle of Moloch*:—which seems the more likely from the agreement of the two clauses, Σκηνη τοῦ Μολοχ, and ἄστρον τοῦ Ῥεμφαν, “the tabernacle of Moloch, and star of Remphan.”

But who or what kind of god this Moloch should be, I will not spend much time to find out<sup>a</sup>, this having been the business of so many pens already: only, this I cannot but observe, that both Moloch and Remphan were certain figures, that represented some of the celestial luminaries; because he saith, “He gave them up to worship the host of heaven,” &c: and that it is generally supposed, that, by Moloch, was represented the sun; partly, because of the kingly name; and partly, upon the account of the fiery form and shape of the idol, and the fiery rites of its worship. It is also called Baal, Jer. xxxii. 35; “They built the high places of Baal, to offer their sons to Moloch:”—which, whether it be the same idol that Ahab brought in upon Israel, might not be unworthy our considering. There may be some colour and hint of that bloody worship, in what the priests of Baal did to themselves; “They cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them<sup>b</sup>.”

Moloch (as the Jews describe him) was an image of brass, having the face of a calf, his hands open, like one ready to

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 716.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings, xviii. 28.

receive something brought him from another. And so Diodorus Siculus describes Saturn of Carthage, Ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς ἐκτετακῶς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας, ἐκτεταμένας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὥστε τὸν συντιθέντα τῶν παιδῶν ἀποκυλίσσθαι, καὶ πίπτειν εἰς τὸ χάσμα πλήρες πυρός. "They had an image of Saturn made of brass, stretching out his hands, extended towards the earth; so that a child, being put into them, was thrown and rolled into a great gulf of fire." There we have also this passage out of Philo, concerning the history of the Phœnicians, Κρόνος τοίνυν, δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες Ἰσραὴλ προσαγορεύουσι, &c. "Saturn, therefore, whom the Phœnicians call *Israel*, having governed that country, after his death, was made the star called Saturn. Of his wife Anobret, he had one only-begotten son, whom therefore they call Jeoud; that being the term for an only-begotten son amongst the Phœnicians to this day. Upon the breaking-in of a very destructive war upon the country, he takes his son, and having decently adorned him, and prepared an altar for him, sacrificed him on it." This *Israel* by name was Abraham by the character, from whom whether they derived, by direful imitation, this horrid usage of sacrificing to Moloch, is no place at present to dispute; the question rather might be, whether the Israelites did act any such thing themselves in the wilderness; whether, with the tabernacle of the Lord, they also erected a tabernacle to Moloch too; whether, having slighted the way of sacrificing beasts, they instituted the offering-up of their own children. Which how unlikely it was, that Moses should either suffer it to be done, —or having been done, should pass it by in silence, and make no mention at all of it,—any one may judge. I shall conclude with that passage in Porphyrius, quoted by the same Eusebius, worth our taking notice of: Καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνδρωποθυσίας, &c. "That these sacrifices of men were abolished almost every where, Pallas tells us, who wrote excellently well concerning the mysteries of Mithra, under Adrian the emperor."

Καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφάν. "And the star of your god *Remphan*."

In Amos it is רִיב, *Chijun*; in the Seventy, Ῥαιφάν, *Re-*

<sup>c</sup> Apud Euseb. Prepar. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16.

*phan*. I would not, in this place, heap up what learned men have said in this matter; upon these two hinges the whole difficulty turns; First, To reconcile the Septuagint with the prophet Amos; and then to reconcile St. Stephen, or St. Luke, with the Septuagint.

I. Forasmuch as the Heb. *כִּיּוֹן* *Chijun* is *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, in the Septuagint, I would not look for any thing 'gigantic' in the word *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, but something rather 'weak' and 'infirm.' Any one knows, that *רַפּוּה* and *רַפּוּיִן* signify 'weak' and 'weakness;' and from thence perhaps the word *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, may take its original, and not from *רַפּוּה*, a *giant*. And so the same thing might be done by the interpreters in this name, that had been done by the Jews in the name of Beelzebul,—viz. invented the name for mere contempt and reproach. The naked and native signification of *כִּיּוֹן* *Chijun*, is 'firm,' 'upright,' 'stable;' and, therefore, is rendered by some in that place 'basis,' or 'foundation;' a name, indeed, most unfit for an idol, which is a lie, vanity, nothing. This the Septuagint being apprehensive of, might translate it by a word perfectly contrary, but more agreeable to the thing itself;—viz. *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, that is, in Hebrew, *רַפּוּיִן* 'weakness,' 'infirmity:' if *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, does not denote 'Saturn' in the Coptic language, as Kircher tells us.

II. But how *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, should be changed into *Ῥεμφᾶν*,—there have been various, and those not impertinent, conjectures. The Syriac and Arabic retain *רַפּוּן* and *רַפּוּנָא*; which, as to the sense we have mentioned, sound properly enough to eastern ears. And what if St. Luke, or our martyr, that they also (as much as might be) might sound the same thing in the ears of the Greeks, should pronounce it by *Ῥεμφᾶν*, *Remphan*; where the sound of the word *Ῥεμβῶς*, which signifies 'wandering,' or 'tottering,' might be included.

Be it, therefore, that Moloch is the sun, and *Remphan* or *Chijun* should be Saturn; we read of the introduction of Moloch into the land of Israel, but of *Chijun* not at all, only in the prophet Amos, and here in the mention of *Remphan*.

When I read that in 1 Kings xii. 30, "That all the people went to worship the calf in Dan;" and observe farther, that Dan was called *Panias*,—I begin to think, that *Ῥᾶν*, *Phan*, in *Ῥαιφᾶν*, *Rephan*, and *Ῥεμφᾶν*, *Remphan*, may have some relation with that name; and that Dan is mentioned

rather than Beth-el, because<sup>d</sup> the idolatry or calf of that place continued longer than that of Beth-el.

Μετροικῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος “ *I will carry you beyond Babylon.*”

But the Hebrew words of Amos are, מִחֻלָּה לְדַמְשֶׁק “ beyond Damascus:” so the Greek, ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ, “ beyond Damascus.”

I. Nothing was more usual in the schools and pulpits of the Jews, than for the reader or preacher to vary and invert the text of the Scripture, to adapt and accommodate it to his own sense. Hundreds of times we meet with this phrase אַל תִּקְרָא in the Talmudic writers, and the Jewish expositors, “ Do not read this or that word so, but so, or so:”—where forsaking the proper and genuine reading, they put another in the stead, that may better fall-in with the matter they are upon. Not that they reject or vilify the original text, but to bring what they allege more ingeniously to their own purpose. I have known this done in some words, wherein they keep indeed to the same letters; but make the variation by the change of vowels. Which shows, in the mean time, that this was neither any strange thing amongst them, nor accounted any crime; but received rather with applause, to alienate the words of the Hebrew text from their native and original reading, to deduce something either true in itself, or at least smooth and ingenious. And if Stephen here, after the usage of the schools, quoting this passage of the prophet Amos מִחֻלָּה לְדַמְשֶׁק “ beyond Damascus,” had magisterially said, as they were wont to do, אַל תִּקְרָא Do not read it לְדַמְשֶׁק “ beyond Damascus,” but לְבָבֶל “ beyond Babylon,”—it would have gone down well enough with his auditory, both by reason of the usual custom of the nation,—and principally because what he said, was true. For,

II. Let us consult another place in the same prophet, Amos iv. 3: “ And ye shall go out at the breaches one against another, וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנּוּ הַחֲרוּמוֹנָה and ye shall cast them into the palace.” Where the Targum and Syriac, “ They shall carry them beyond the mountains of Armenia.” And the Greek, Εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ῥομμαν, “ Unto the mount Roman.”—R. Solomon upon the place tells us, that Jonathan paraphraseth מִן שׁוּרֵי חֲרוּמוֹנֵי הַן הָרֵי חֲשׁוּךְ “ Beyond the

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 717.

mountains of Horman, they are the mountains of darkness.”—  
 “ Alexander<sup>e</sup>, king of Macedon, אול לגבי מלכא קצא לאחורי הרי  
 אול לגבי מלכא קצא לאחורי הרי went to the king of Cazia behind the mountains of dark-  
 ness.”—Let me add one passage more: “ Israel<sup>f</sup> went into  
 three captivities; מנהר סנבטיון one was within the  
 river Sanbation, ואחד לדפני של אנטוכיא and the other was to  
 Daphne of Antioch. The other, where the clouds did de-  
 scend upon them and covered them<sup>g</sup>.”

Ver. 51: Σκληροτραχηλοι. “ *Stiff-necked*<sup>h</sup>.”

We have a like phrase, and a story not much unlike, in  
 Shemoth Rabba<sup>i</sup>: When the people, in the absence of Moses,  
 were urgent with Aaron to make them gods, that should go  
 before them, “ Hur resisted them, and said to them; קציעי  
 צואריא Ye short-necked, do you not remember, what wonder-  
 ful things God hath done for you? Immediately they rose  
 up against him, and slew him.”

Ver. 53: Εἰς διαταγὰς Ἀγγέλων. “ *By the disposition  
 of angels.*”

I. I would not render this word Ἀγγέλων by the Hebrew  
 word מלאכים ‘angels,’ as the Syriac and Arabic interpreters  
 have done; but by שליחים ‘messengers;’ so שליח צבור is  
 “Ἀγγελος Ἐκκλησίας, ‘the angel,’ or ‘messenger of the  
 church.’” The Jews have a trifling fiction, that those Israel-  
 ites, that were present at mount Sinai, and heard the law  
 pronounced thence by God himself, should have been like  
 the angels; that they should never have begot children, nor  
 died; but, for the time to come, should have been like to  
 angels, had it not been for that fatal and unfortunate crime  
 of theirs in the matter of the golden calf<sup>j</sup>.

If εἰς διαταγὰς Ἀγγέλων might admit of this passive con-  
 struction, “ that men might be disposed into the same pre-  
 dicament or state with the angels;” then I should think our  
 blessed martyr might, in this passage, remember them of  
 their own opinion, and the more smartly convince them of  
 their ἀνομία, ‘transgression of the law,’ even from what they  
 themselves granted. As though he had said, “ Ye have re-  
 ceived a law, which, you yourselves confess, would have put

<sup>e</sup> Beresh. rab. fol. 35. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Sanhed. fol. 29. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. and Bemid. rabba, fol. 268. 1.

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 674.

<sup>i</sup> Fol. 156. 2.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. Avod. Zarab, fol. 5. 1, and Hor. Heb. in John, x. 35.

men into an angelical state; and yet you have not observed it."

II. But if this clause will not bear that interpretation, it is doubtful in what sense the word Ἀγγέλων must be taken; and whether εἰς διατάγας, 'unto the dispositions' be the same with διὰ διαταγῶν, or διὰ διαταγῆς, 'by the dispositions, or disposition.' That expression in Gal. iii. 19 agrees with this, διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων, 'ordained by angels;' and in both these places, it would be something harsh to understand by *angels*, those heavenly spirits strictly and properly so taken: for what had they to do in the disposition of the law? They were present indeed at mount Sinai, when the law was given, as many places of the Holy Scriptures do witness; but then they were but present there; for we do not find, that any thing farther was done or performed by them. So that the thing itself makes it necessary, that, both in this and in that place, we should understand by *angels*, 'the messengers' of God's word; his prophets and ministers. And the particle εἰς may retain its own proper force and virtue, that the sense may come to thus much;—viz. "Ye have received the law 'unto the disposition of messengers,' i. e. that it should be propounded and published by<sup>k</sup> ministers, prophets, and others: and that according to your own desire and wish, Exod. xx. 19, Deut. v. 25, and xviii. 15, 16: and yet ye have not kept the law. Ye desired prophets, and ye had them: and yet which of those prophets have not you persecuted?"

Ver. 56: Τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
*"The Son of man standing at the right hand of God."*

Christ frequently calls himself the *Son of man*; but it is rarely that we find him so called by others. But St. Stephen, in this expression, recites that of Dan. vii. 13: "I saw one, like the Son of man, coming with the clouds of heaven, and coming to the Ancient of days, and they brought him before him." I would hardly have expected from a Jew, what R. Saadiah saith upon this place, 'like to the Son of man:' "זוהו משיח צדקנו This is the Messiah our righteousness; but is it not written of the Messiah, Poor and riding upon an ass? For he shall come in humility.—'And they brought him before the Ancient of days:' this is that that is

\* Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 713.

written, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand."

The<sup>l</sup> doctors in 'Sanhedrim'<sup>m</sup> talk much more out of the way; "זכו עם ענני שמיא If they are worthy (i. e. the Israelites), then he shall come with the clouds of heaven; but if they are not worthy, then he will come poor, and riding upon an ass."—The proto-martyr declares, he saw that of Daniel fulfilled now in Jesus; to which that in Isa. vi. 1 is something parallel.

Ver. 58: Καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐλιθοβόλουν

"And, casting him out of the city, they stoned him."

I. "בית הסקילה חוץ לב"ד" The place of stoning was without the Sanhedrim; according as it is said, Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp, Lev. xxiv. 14."—"It is a tradition: בית הסקילה היה חוץ לג' מחנות The place of stoning was without three camps."—The Gloss tells us, that the court was the camp of the Divine Presence; the mountain of the temple, the camp of the Levites; and Jerusalem, the camp of Israel. Now, in every Sanhedrim, in whatever city, the place of stoning was without the city, as it was at Jerusalem.

We are told the reason, by the Gemarists, why the place of stoning was 'without the Sanhedrim,'—and again, 'without three camps,'—viz. "דאי נפק בד' ויתיב בחוץ לג' מחנות If the Sanhedrim go forth, and sit without the three camps," they make the place for stoning also distant from the Sanhedrim; partly, lest the Sanhedrim should seem to kill the man; partly, that, by the distance of the place, there might be a little stop and space of time, before the criminal come to the place of execution, if, peradventure, any one might offer some testimony, that might make for him. For, in the expectation of some such thing,

II. "אחד עומד על פתח בד' והסודרון בידו There stood one at the door of the Sanhedrim, having a handkerchief in his hand, וסוס רחוק ממנו כדי שיהא רואה, and a horse at such a distance, as it was only within sight. If any one, therefore, say, 'I have something to offer in behalf of the condemned person,' he waves the handkerchief; and the horseman rides and calls the people back. Nay, if the man himself say, 'I have something to offer in my own defence,' they bring him

<sup>l</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 675.

<sup>m</sup> Fol. 98. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 23. 1, and Bab. Sanhed. fol. 42. 2.

back four or five times, one after another, if it be any thing of moment that he hath to say."—I doubt they hardly dealt so gently with the innocent Stephen.

III. If no testimony arise, that makes any thing for him, then they go on to stoning him: "The crier proclaiming before him, N, the son of N, comes forth to be stoned, for such or such a crime: N and N are the witnesses against him: if any one hath any thing to testify on his behalf, let him come forth and give his evidence."

IV. "When they come within ten cubits of the place where he must be stoned, they exhort him to confess: for so it is the custom for the malefactor to confess; because every one that confesseth, hath his part in the world to come, as we find in the instance of Achan," &c.

V. "When they come within four cubits of the place, they pluck off his clothes, and make him naked."

VI. "The place of execution was twice a man's height. One of the witnesses throws him down upon his loins; if he roll upon his breast, they turn him upon his loins again. If he die so, well: if not, then the other witness takes up a stone, and lays it upon his heart. If he die so, well; but if not, then he is stoned by all Israel."

VII. "All that are stoned, are hanged also," &c.—These things I thought fit to transcribe the more largely, that the reader may compare this present action with this rule and common usage of doing it.

1. It may first be questioned, for what crime this person was condemned to die. You will say, For blasphemy: "For we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God." But no one is condemned as a blasphemer (כַּוְרֵי), unless for abusing the sacred name with four letters, &c. Hence is it, that although they oftentimes accused our Saviour as a blasphemer, yet he was not condemned for this, but because כִּשְׁףַ הַיְסוּד וְהַדְרִיחַ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל "he used witchcraft and deceived Israel, and seduced them into apostasy."—And these are reckoned amongst persons, that are to be stoned, הַמְסִית וְהַמְדִיחַ וְהַמְכַשֵּׁף "He that evilly persuades, and he that draws into apostasy<sup>p</sup>, and a conjurer<sup>q</sup>."

2. It may farther be questioned, whether our blessed martyr was condemned by any formal sentence of the San-

<sup>o</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 43. 1.

<sup>p</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 719.

<sup>q</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 53. 1.

hedrim, or hurried in a tumultuary manner by the people, and so murdered: it seems to be the latter.

Παρά τοὺς πόδας τοῦ νεανίου. “*At a young man’s feet.*”

Phil. ver. 9: Τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης, “*Being such a one as Paul the aged;*” by which we may compute, whether νεανίας here denotes ‘mere youth,’ and not rather ‘strength,’ and ‘stoutness;’ 2 Sam. vi. 1, כל בחור בישראל, “*Every chosen man of Israel;*” where the Greek hath it πάντα νεανίαν ἐξ Ἰσραήλ, “*every young man of Israel.*”

Ver. 60: Ἐκοιμήθη. “*Fell asleep.*”

דמך or דמך *He slept;* than which nothing is more common in the Talmudists.

### CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 2: Συνεκόμισαν τὸν Στέφανον. “*Carried Stephen to his burial.*”

“THEY<sup>s</sup> do not bury (any one condemned by the Sanhedrim) in the sepulchres of their fathers. But there are two places of burial, belonging to the Sanhedrim: one for those that are beheaded and strangled; the other, for those that are stoned and burnt.” The reason why such are not to be buried with their fathers, is this; שאין קוברין רשע עם צדיק “*Because they do not bury the guilty with the innocent;*”—which they deduce from the story of an ordinary person cast into Elisha’s grave, who continued not there but rose again.

“The<sup>t</sup> stone wherewith any one is stoned, the wood on which he is hanged, the sword by which he is beheaded, and the halter wherewith he is strangled,—is still buried in the same place with him:” or, at least, very near him. That it was otherwise with Stephen, the words now before us do evince: but whether this was from the indulgence of the Sanhedrim towards the condemned person, or because he was not condemned by the Sanhedrim;—let others judge.

Καὶ ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. “*And made great lamentation over him.*”

The Rabbins go on: לא היו מתאבלין אלא אוננים “*They do not make a lamentation over one condemned by the Sanhe-*

<sup>r</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 676.

<sup>s</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 46. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. fol. 45. 2.

drim, only bemoan him," i. e. inwardly, and in their heart only: שׂאֵן אֲנִינֹת אֵלֶּא בִּלְבָב “for this grief is not but in the heart.”—And it was a vulgar conceit amongst the Jews, that by how much the more sordidly the criminal was handled by the Sanhedrim, and how much the less bemoaned after execution, by so much the more it tended towards the remission of his sins. Whence the Gloss upon the place, “They do not bewail him, that so that disgrace of his might turn to his atonement.”

This generous and true Christian courage of these good men burying St. Stephen, is deservedly applauded by all: and those that did thus bury him, did thereby publicly explode that ridiculous conceit of expiation by undergoing the greatest disgrace here: for they knew well enough, that the remission of this martyr's sins flowed from a more noble source.

Ver. 5: Εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας “Unto the city of Samaria.”

Having done with the story of Stephen, who was the first named amongst the seven deacons, the evangelist passeth on to the affairs of Philip, who was the second. Whether he betook himself to Sebaste, or to Sychem, or to some other third city of Samaria, might be a reasonable question; because it is said, ver. 14, that “the apostles heard, that Samaria had received the word of God;”—which seems more agreeably to be understood of some city in Samaria, rather than the whole Samaritan country. Now, what city should that be, which, as the metropolis of that country, is, by way of emphasis, called Samaria? It is certain, that Sebaste is that very city, which anciently was Samaria.

שׂוֹמְרוֹן הִיא שֶׁבַשְׁתַּי “Sebaste is the same which was Samaria, where, to this day, the palace of Ahab is shown.”—Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι, &c. “In Samaria (Herod) fortified a city with a noble wall of twenty furlongs; and carrying thither a colony of six thousand men, and distributing good land amongst them, in the midst of the city erected a goodly temple to Cæsar; and leaving a grove about it of about three half furlongs, τὸ ἄστυ Σεβαστήν ἐκάλεσεν, he called the city Sebaste.”

Was this, therefore, the city of Samaria, where Philip

<sup>u</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 677.

<sup>v</sup> Benjam. in Itinerar. <sup>w</sup> Joseph. de Excid. l. 1. c. 16. [Hadson, p. 1007.]

now was, because that was once the city Samaria? If we observe, how the city of Sychem was the very heart and seat of the Samaritan religion, and the mount Gerizim was, as it were, the cathedral church of that sect;—perhaps to this one might more fitly have respect, when mention is made of ‘the city of Samaria,’ than any other place.

Ver. 9: Σίμων προῦπήρχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων\*

“Simon, who before-time, in the same city, used sorcery.”

If this was in Sychem, you will say, What became then of the Sychemites’ faith, which Christ himself had already planted amongst them<sup>x</sup>?—It may be answered (though, in so very obscure a thing, I would not be positive), That it was some years since the time when Christ had conversed in that city, and when as he had done nothing that was miraculous there, Simon, by his magics, might obtain the easier reception amongst them. But, however, grant it was Sebaste, or any other city of Samaria, that was the scene of this story,—yet who<sup>y</sup> did this Simon give out himself to be, when he said μέγαν εἶναι τινα, that “he himself was some great one?” And what sort of persons did the Samaritans account him, when they said of him, Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλη, “This man is the great power of God?”

I. Did they take him for the Messiah?—It is commonly presumed, that Simon was a Samaritan by birth: but, should Messiah spring out of the Samaritans? It is no impertinent question, whether the Samaritans, when they looked for the Messiah<sup>z</sup>, yet could expect he should be one of the Samaritan stock,—when they admitted of no article of faith, that had not its foundation in the Books of Moses? Could they not gather this from thence, that “the Messiah should come of the tribe of Judah?” A Samaritan, perhaps, will deny this, and elude that passage, in Gen. xlix. 10, by some such way as this: “It is true, ‘the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come;’ but then, this does not argue, that Shiloh must derive his original from the tribe of Judah; only, that some dominion should continue in Judah, till Shiloh should appear.” Where, by the way, it is worth our observing, that the Samaritan text, and interpreter, in that place, instead of שִׁלֹה reads שֵׁלָה, without the *jod*, and instead of מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו reads מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו, without the *jod*, and instead of

\* John, iv.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 720.

<sup>z</sup> John, iv. 25.

“from between his *feet*,” that text reads מבין רגליו “from between his *banners* ;” and the interpreter hath it מבין דוריו “from between his *ranks*,” or companies.

That figment concerning Messiah Ben Joseph, or Messiah Ben Ephraim (for he goes by both those names), whether it was first invented by the Jews, or by the Samaritans, is not easily determined. The Jewish writers make very frequent mention of him: but the thing itself makes so much for the Samaritans, that one might believe it was first hatched amongst themselves; only, that the story tells us, that Messiah was at length slain; which the Samaritans would hardly ever have invented concerning him. And the Jews, perhaps, might be the authors of it; that so they might the better evade those passages, that speak of the death of the true Messiah.

II. However, it was impiety enough in Simon, if he gave out himself for a prophet, when he knew so well, what himself was; and if you expound his “giving out himself to be some great one,” no higher than this, yet does it argue arrogance enough in the knave. I would not depress the sense of those words concerning John Baptist, Luke i. 15; *ἔσται μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ Κυρίου*, “He shall be great in the sight of the Lord;” but if we take it in the highest degree, “he shall be a prophet before the Lord Christ,” it carries both an excellent truth along with it, and also a most plain agreeableness with the office of John. And when Stephen expresseth Moses to have been a prophet, in these terms, *Ἦν δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις*, “He was mighty in words and deeds,”—perhaps it bears the same sense with what the Samaritans said and conceited concerning this Simon, that he was *ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ μεγάλη*, “the great power of God.”

Ver. 13: *Ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε* “*Then Simon himself believed also.*”

That is, he believed, that ‘Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah,’ and so was made capable of baptism, as in ver. 37; and was, indeed, baptized in the name of Jesus, ver. 16. And now, O Simon, what thinkest thou of thyself, if hitherto thou hadst exhibited thyself as the Messiah? Darest thou, after this, pretend to be the Son of God?—That which is commonly told of him, and which Epiphanius reports, with-

out alleging any others, Τὸν πατέρα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Σαμαρείταις, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν υἱόν. “To the Samaritans he gave out himself to be the Father,—to the Jews, to be the Son;” betrays not only the blasphemy, but the madness, of the man; that, amongst the Jews, he should pretend himself to be the ‘Son of God,’ when they would acknowledge no Son of God at all.

Ver. 16: Ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, &c.

“*They sent unto them Peter and John,*” &c.

Epiphanius<sup>b</sup> here very appositely tells us, Ὁ Φίλιππος διάκονος ὦν, &c. “Philip being but a deacon, had not the power of imposition of hands, so as by that to confer the gift of the Holy Ghost.” It was the apostles’ peculiar province and prerogative, by laying-on of their hands, to communicate the Holy Ghost, that is, in his extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophecy; for as to the Spirit of Sanctification, they never dispensed that.

Peter and John, besides the eminent station they held amongst the apostles, were also to be the apostles of the circumcision in foreign countries. James, the brother of John, was now alive, who, with those two, made up that noble triumvirate, that had a more intimate familiarity with Christ. And one would believe, he ought also to have been sent along with them, but that they were sufficient; and, that this was only as a prologue to their future charge and office of dealing with the circumcision in foreign countries.

They lay their hands upon some, whom the Holy Ghost had pointed out to be ordained ministers: and, by so doing, they did communicate the gifts of tongues and prophecy, so very visibly and conspicuously, that it is said, that “Simon saw, how, through the laying-on of the apostles’ hands, the Holy Ghost was given.” Amongst the Jews, persons were ordained elders, by three men: but here, this duumvirate was abundantly more valuable, when they could not only promote to the ministry, but, farther, confer upon those that were so promoted, a fitness and ability for the performance of their office.

<sup>b</sup> Hæres. 21.

Ver. 19: Δότε καὶ μοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην, &c.

\* "Give me, also, this power," &c.

How infinitely mistaken is this wretch, if he think, that the gifts of the Holy Ghost could be bought and procured by silver or gold; and how much more mistaken still, if he think, that the power of conferring these gifts to others could be thus attained! The apostles had a power of imparting these gifts, but even they had not a power of enabling another to impart them. Paul, by laying hands on Timothy, could endow him with the gifts of tongues<sup>b</sup> and prophecy; but he could not so endow him, that he should be capable of conveying those gifts to another. This was purely apostolical to dispense these gifts; and when they died, this power and privilege died with them.

It is easy apprehending, what this wily wretch had in his thoughts and design,—viz. an affectation both of lucre and vain-glory: otherwise, it might have been abundantly enough for him to have requested, 'Give me, also, the gift of tongues and prophecy, as ye have given to these.'

Ver. 24<sup>c</sup>: Δεήθητε ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, &c. "Pray ye to the Lord for me."

If he begged this in earnest and from his heart, it is a wonder he should afterward break-out into so much blasphemy and wickedness, that church-history reports concerning him; if that say true. "And<sup>d</sup> when he did still more and more disbelieve God, and set himself more greedily in an opposition against the apostles," &c.—Σίμωνα μέγαν μεγάλων ἀντίπαλον τῶν θεσπεσίων Ἀποστόλων, &c. "Simon, the great adversary of the great and holy apostles," &c.<sup>e</sup> For him to beseech the apostles earnestly to pray for him, and yet from thenceforth to oppose them to the utmost of his power,—this certainly is the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity.

We have (if we believe the story) St. Peter and this Simon meeting with one another again at Rome; where the apostle, by his prayers, tumbles this magician headlong to the ground, while he was flying in the air,—and so Simon Magus breathes his last. If it had been taken notice of,

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 721.

<sup>d</sup> Irene. lib. 1, cap. 20.

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 679.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 11.

that (if Philostratus may be believed) it is probable St. Peter and Apollonius Tyanæus were at one and the same time together in Babylon, doubtless there would have been some such tale as this framed about St. Peter's triumphing over him also.

That in Justin Martyr concerning a statue erected at Rome to Simon Magus with this inscription 'Simoni Sancto Deo,' 'To Simon the Holy God,'—is shown by learned men to have been so called by mistake, when it was rather a statue erected 'Simoni Sango Deo.' I fear there is some such mistake concerning St. Peter's chair erected in Rome, as there was concerning the statue of Simon erected at Rome.

Ver. 26 : Εἰς Γάζαν αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἔρημος. "To Gaza,  
*which is desert.*"

Who is it speaks this clause '*which is desert,*' the angel or the historian? Strabo indeed tells us<sup>f</sup>, that "Gaza anciently was a noble city, destroyed by Alexander, καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος, and continues desert:"—but why is this added in this place, and by whom is it so? I would suppose it is added by the angel, and that for this reason; because there was another Gaza not very far from that place, where Philip now was, viz. in the tribe of Ephraim, 1 Chron. vii. 28: שָׁנִים וּבְנֵי יָהּ עַד "Sychem with the towns thereof, to Gaza with the towns thereof:" this was the dwelling of the children of Ephraim. Here is Gaza of Ephraim; but Philip must go to Gaza of the Philistines.

Ver. 27 : Δυνάστης Κανδάκης τῆς βασιλείσης Αἰθιοπῶν  
"Of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians."

In a French treatise lately published, that bears the title of 'Histoire de la Haute Ethiopie,' p. 15, all the Ethiopian kings are named and reckoned up, and Candace not mentioned. But at the end there is this animadversion upon it: "Dans cette chronologie il n'est point parlé ni de la reine Candace, ni de l'imperatrice Helene, &c.—In this chronology, there is no mention of the queen Candace, nor of the empress Helen: the Abyssins, no more than the Jews, use not to name the women in their genealogies; a thing very common with all the eastern nations."

However, that there was a certain Candace, queen of the

<sup>f</sup> Lib. 16.

Ethiopians,—nay, that there were several queens of that name,—is so very plain, both from Pliny and Strabo, that it would be an impertinent thing to seek for this Candace of ours any where else. “The head of the kingdom (saith Strabo) was Meroe, a city of the same name with the island itself.” Now, the country Meroe was made an island by the river Nile westward, and the river Astabora eastwards.

If our eunuch here came indeed from Meroe, then may we call to mind that passage in Zeph. iii. 10, “From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants,” &c. But from what part soever of Candace’s empire he might come, and what way soever he went; that might be true of him, and a very long journey he must needs take, before he could arrive at Jerusalem. But the Ethiopic version cuts the journey much shorter, when it makes him travelling to the city Gaza; so rendering that passage, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς, not “who had the charge of all her *treasure*,”—but “who was over all *Gaza*.”

I am apt to imagine, this devotionist might come to Jerusalem upon the same errand, that had brought the Jews from all countries, Acts ii; viz. led hither by the prophecy of Daniel, which had foretold the appearance of the Messiah about this time. And one would wonder, that, whilst he was at Jerusalem, he should have heard nothing concerning Jesus. Or perhaps what he heard of him, was the occasion of his studying at this time that passage in Isaiah’s prophecy. Where now were the apostles and the rest of that holy college and company, that so great a person, and one of such devotion, should be let go untaught and unsatisfied concerning the Lord Jesus? Is it possible, that he could be ignorant of the talk of his death and resurrection, abiding in the city, although as yet he might not believe it?—but his instruction and conversion is reserved to a more peculiar miracle, that should render it the more famous and better known.

Ver. 32: Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη. “*He was led as a sheep to the slaughter.*”

The text in Isaiah is indeed expressed here according to the Greek version; but whether the eunuch used that version or no, is no unjust question.—As<sup>i</sup> also, whether he

<sup>s</sup> Ptol. tab. 4. Africa.

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 680.

<sup>i</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 722.

were a Jew or a proselyte; whether a proselyte made, or a mere Gentile; whether a eunuch in the strict, or in the larger, sense:—which things are not to be inquired into, because we can no where be resolved about them.—The perverseness of the Jews is more obvious, who, to elude these express and plain things about the sufferings of the Messiah, do divert the whole sense of this chapter to another thing.—It goes current amongst them, that the afflicted people of Israel are the subject of this prophecy: although there are those, that would apply part of it to Jeremiah; others, part of it to ‘R. Judah the Holy;’ nay, some there are, that will allow some part of it to the Messias himself, in the mean time providing that they admit not of his death.—It would be very tedious to set down particularly their triflings and illusions in this matter: I rather inquire, who it is that the Greek interpreters apply this passage to? Whether they plainly and sincerely understood them of the sufferings and death of the Messiah? Let those answer for them, who would have them inspired by the Holy Ghost. If they were thus inspired, they could not but attain the true sense and scope of the Scripture, as well as the grammatical signification of the words, and could not but discern here, that the prophet treats of an afflicted, suffering, dying, buried Messias, &c.

And if so, how strange a thing is it, that the whole nation should be carried away with so cursed, perverse, and obstinate, a denial of the Messiah’s death! What! for seventy-two doctors and guides of the people, and those divinely inspired too, so plainly to foresee the sufferings and death of the Messiah foretold in this chapter, and yet not to take care to disperse this doctrine amongst the people, nor deliver and hand it down to posterity? But if they did do it, how came so horrid an averseness to this doctrine to seize the whole nation? If they did not, what execrable pastors of the people were they, to conceal so noble and so necessary an article of their faith, and not impart it?

In like manner do the Jews commonly apply that famed prophecy of Christ, Isa. ix. 6, to king Hezekiah. I doubt also the Greek interpreters lean that way;—that clause, “*Ἀξω ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ*,” “I will restore health, or soundness, to him,” gives a suspicion of it.

Ver. 33: Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἢ κρισις αὐτοῦ ἤρξατο. “*In his humiliation, his judgment was taken from him.*”

The Hebrew text is, מעצר וממשפט לקח “He was taken from prison and from judgment:” which the Seventy read thus, מעצנו ממשפט לקח. If you render the word עצר in the same sense with יחזק לפני יהוה 1 Sam. xxi. 8, “Doeg” (for devotion, saith Kimchi) “was detained before the Lord;”—then is shown so much the greater wrong done to Christ. He was snatched from the place of his devotion, and from his work; and he was snatched from the place of judgment, that he could neither be safe in that, nor have just judgment in the other. Any one knows what עצרת signifies, namely, “being detained upon a religious account:” and what affinity the word עצר ‘to shut up,’ may have with it, every one may also see.

Τῆν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; “*Who shall declare his generation?*”

That is, “Who shall declare the wickedness of that age, or *generation*, wherein he lived, and by whom he suffered such things?” This and such-like passages are very usual amongst the Jews. “In <sup>k</sup> the generation, in which the son of David shall come, the synagogue shall be a common stews; Galilee shall be destroyed, and Gablan shall be laid waste:—the wisdom of the Scribes shall putrefy; good and merciful men shall fail; yea, and truth itself shall fail; and the faces of that generation shall be as the faces of dogs.—R. Levi saith, The son of David shall not come, but in a generation wherein men’s faces shall be impudent; and which will deserve to be cut off.—R. Jannai saith, When thou seest the generation, after the slandering and blaspheming generation, then expect the feet of King Messiah,” that is, his coming.—While I read the Chaldee paraphrast, in Isa. liii, methinks I see a forehead not unlike the faces before mentioned; for he wrests the prophet’s words with that impudence and perverseness from their own proper sense, that it is a wonder, if his own conscience, while he was writing it, did not check and admonish him.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 681.

<sup>k</sup> *Midr. Schir.* fol. 17. 3.

Ver. 40: Φίλιππος δὲ εὑρέθη εἰς Ἀζωτον “*But Philip was found at Azotus.*”

If this was done at Gaza, or near it, it was from thence to Azotus about two hundred and seventy furlongs; or thirty-four miles, or thereabout. And Azotus was<sup>1</sup>, as it seems, two miles from Jamnia, according to the computation of Antoninus’s Itinerarium. From Gaza to Askalon, sixteen miles; from Askalon to Jamnia, twenty. We have the mention of one רבי פליפא ‘*Rabba Philippi,*’ as it should seem, in the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>m</sup>.

### CHAP. IX.

Ver. 2: Ἡτήσατο παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολάς εἰς Δαμασκόν. “*He desired letters of him [the high-priest] to Damascus.*”

THESE letters were written from the whole Sanhedrim<sup>n</sup>, the head of which was Gamaliel, Paul’s master; yet they are attributed to the high-priest, he being of a more worthy degree and order, than the president of the council. That, in Acts xxiii. 4, hath a peculiar emphasis, τὸν Ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ, “*God’s high-priest;*” and hints to us the opinion that nation had of the high-priest,—namely, that he was ‘*God’s officer:*’ whereas the president of the council was only an officer of the people, and chosen by men. The charge of the high-priest was to take care about holy things: the charge of the president was to take care about the traditions: for he was the מִקְבֵּל, the keeper and repository of traditions.

But<sup>o</sup> the words we are upon, do occasion a more knotty and difficult question,—viz. whether the decrees of the Sanhedrim were of authority amongst the Jews in countries abroad? As to Damascus, there is the less scruple; because Syria, in very many things, was looked upon to be of the same rank and condition with the land of Israel. But what shall we think of more remote countries? For instance, Egypt or Babylon,—where the greatest number of Jews, above all other countries in the world, did reside.

I. There was no Sanhedrim of seventy men, either in Egypt or Babylon, or indeed any where else, but that at Jerusalem. There were very famous academies in Babylon,—viz. that of Nehardea, that of Sorah, and that of Pumbeditha;

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sicul. lib. 19.

<sup>m</sup> Megill. fol. 70. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Acts, xxii. 5.

<sup>o</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 723.

but a Sanhedrim no where. There was a very famous cathedral church at Alexandria, wherein were seventy pompous stalls ; but it was but a church, not a Sanhedrim<sup>p</sup>.

II. In what veneration the Jerusalem Sanhedrim was held every where amongst all sorts of Jews, may be collected from this : that the rule and determination concerning intercalating the year, concerning the beginning of the year, and the appointed time of the feasts, &c. came from it ; as also that was esteemed the keeper and repository of the oral law.

III. The judgment of life and death, in the matter of heresy and heterodoxy, belonged only to the Jerusalem Sanhedrim : and it is some such thing, that is now before us. The Christians were to be sent from the synagogues, bound, to Jerusalem, that if they would not deny their faith, they might be condemned to die. The synagogues, by their three men<sup>q</sup>, might scourge them, but they could not pass sentence of death : and these goodly men conceived, there was no other way to extirpate Christianity but by the death of Christians.

IV. Whether, therefore, these were mandatory letters, or only exhortatory, which St. Paul desired ; the fathers of the Sanhedrim knew the synagogues were heated with so great an indignation against Christianity, that they would most readily undertake, what was desired. Where, by the way, we may make this observation, That the power of life and death was not yet taken out of the hands of the Sanhedrim. I have elsewhere given you a copy of a letter from the Sanhedrim to those of Babylon, and also to those of Alexandria<sup>r</sup>.

Ver. 5: Σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. “ *It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.*”

In Syriac, ארסא לערש למכעשן. It is well known that ערש signifies to *kick*, from Deut. xxxii. 15, and 1 Sam. ii. 29 : nor is it less known what this word *kicking* in these places means.—“ R. Bibai sat and taught—R. Isaac Ben Cahna ערש ביה kicked against him<sup>s</sup>.”

Ver. 7: Ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, &c. “ *Hearing a voice,*” &c.

But it is said, chap. xxii. 9, “They heard not the voice

<sup>p</sup> Hieros. Succah, fol. 55. 1.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 682.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Hor. Heb. ad Matt. ii. 14.

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Schab. fol. 11. 1.

of him that spake unto me." They heard קול the *voice*, or *sound*; but they did not hear דבר the *words*. So we find the Jewish writers distinguishing: "There I will speak with thee. The word shall be with thee, but not with them all. יהוה שומעין את הדבר אבל לא היו שומעין את הקול Perhaps they did not hear the words, but they heard the voice<sup>t</sup>."

...Μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες. "But seeing no man."

But did Paul himself see him? See ver. 17: "Jesus that appeared to thee in the way:" and ver. 27, "He saw the Lord in the way."—1 Cor. ix. 1; "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" And chap. xv. 8, "He was seen of me also," &c: but did he see his person, or his glory only? I would say, he saw both; and so had obtained a more illustrious vision of him than any of the rest, having seen him since he was glorified; which they did not. But whether he saw with his bodily eyes, or as Isaiah, chap. vi. 1, by vision only,—let those dispute it, that think fit.

Concerning Damascus, the scene of this history, we may call to mind that of Zech. ix. 1: "The burden of the word of the Lord in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus the rest thereof," &c: where the Targum; "Damascus shall be converted, so that it shall be of the land of the house of his majesty."—Kimchi hath it, "Damascus shall be his rest:" that is, "the habitation of his glory and of his prophet," &c; which things whether they have any relation to this place, let the reader judge. Only I must not let it pass unobserved, that Paul, the converter of the Gentiles, was called to his apostleship, and saw Christ, in a country, and almost in a city, of the Gentiles.

St. Paul himself tells us, that this voice which came from heaven, spake to him Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ, "in the Hebrew tongue," chap. xxvi. 14: which our historian doth not mention; nor indeed those passages, ver. 16, 17, 18, which St. Paul there relates.

Ver. 12: Ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ χεῖρα, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ. "Putting his hand on him, that he may receive his sight."

Ananias himself adds, ver. 17, "that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost." Could Ananias, therefore, confer the Holy Ghost? This seemed

<sup>t</sup> Bemidb. Rab. fol. 163. 1.

the peculiar prerogative of the apostles: could therefore a private disciple do this to an apostle? By the imposition of his hands, could he impart the gift of tongues and prophecy? Will not this degrade our apostle even below the ordinary ministers, who received these gifts by the imposition of the apostles' hands; and shall he that is an apostle, take his commission from the hands of one that is not so himself? It was not ordinary for an apostle to be baptized by one, that was not an apostle; and it would be strange, if such a one should add over and above greater things to an apostle.

It<sup>u</sup> may be no needless question, who it was, that baptized the rest of the apostles, when "Jesus himself baptized not," John iv. 2? who, therefore, baptized those, that did baptize? Let the Romanists say, who baptized Peter: I would say, John the Baptist did. But do you think, Peter was re-baptized? If so, by whom, when Jesus himself did not baptize?

## CHAP. XII.

Ver. 2: Ἀνείλε δὲ Ἰάκωβον μαχαίρᾳ. "He killed James with the sword."

THIS kind of death is called הרג *kill*ing. "Four kinds of death are delivered into the hands of the Sanhedrim. סקילה stoning; שריפה burning; הרג killing (with the sword); חנק strangling<sup>v</sup>."—"The precept נהרגין concerning those that are to be killed, is this; הוּ מתיין את ראשו בסייף They beheaded him with the sword as the (Roman) kingdom does. R. Judah saith, This is a vile disgrace to him. But they lay his head upon a block, and chop it off with an axe. Others reply, There can be no death more disgraceful than that<sup>w</sup>." You will say Herod (Agrippa) imitated the Roman customs, as having no small relation to Rome. But beheading by the sword, was a death used amongst the Jews themselves; and they particularly fell under that sentence, that drew away the people to the worship of other gods. "If they be but a few that seduce the people to strange worship, they are stoned, and their goods are not confiscated: but if their numbers be great, they die by the sword, and their goods are confiscated<sup>x</sup>."

<sup>u</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 683.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 724.

<sup>v</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 49. 2.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. fol. 52. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. fol. 111. 2.

St. James, indeed, was but a single person; but Herod knew, that there was Peter, also, and several others, who, according to his judgment, מדיקן drew away the people to an irreligious worship; and deals with James, as he intended to do with the rest. So he falls, and his goods are confiscated: and so that begins to be accomplished, which our Saviour had formerly told the sons of Zebedee, “Ye shall drink of my cup,” &c. “The Rabbins say, Killing [by the sword] is a heavier punishment than strangling.”

Ver. 7: Αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. “*His chains from his hands.*”

I am mistaken, if the Jerusalem Talmudists do not express ἀλύσεις τῶν χειρῶν by “כירו מניקיא, chiromanicae, hand-manacles.”—“It is written, The Lord spake to Manasseh, and to his people, but they hearkened not: wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of that host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh בַּחֲזִים. What signifies בַּחֲזִים? that is, בכירו מניקיא in manacles?” The Targum, on 2 Chron. xxxiii, thus renders it ואחדו ית מנשה בכירו מנקה; where I am apt to suspect the word כירו is ill writ instead of כירו: but I stand corrected, very willingly, if I guess amiss.

In those words of our Saviour, “Bind the unprofitable servant, hand and foot,” &c, it is plain to see, how he alluded to manacles and fetters.

Ver. 15: Ὁ Ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. “*It is his angel.*”

That is, an angel in his shape: for it was familiarly received amongst them, that the angels did sometimes put on the shape of this or of that person.—“It is written, He hath delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh. Bar Kaphra saith, מלאך ירד בדמות משה והבריחו, An angel descended in the shape of Moses, and made him flee. והיו סבורין במלאך שמשח. הוא And they that came to lay hold on Moses, thought the angel to be Moses.”—The gloss is, “The angel quickened Moses in his flight; so that those that sought for Moses, were very little solicitous about him, because they thought the angel was Moses.”—“The holy blessed God saith, ‘I have said to Mirth, What doth it? What doth that crown in thine hand? Descend from my throne.’ In

<sup>1</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 29. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. fol. 28. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Debarim Rabba, fol. 290. 4.

the same hour an angel descended *בדמותו של שלמה* in the shape of Solomon, and sat upon his throne<sup>b</sup>.”

It is well known, that the Jewish writers do take Elias for the “angel of the covenant,” Mal. iii. 1; and how often have we Elias, appearing in the shape of this or of that man! “Elias<sup>c</sup> came *וואדמי להו כחד מיניהו* and seemed unto them as one of themselves<sup>d</sup>.”—“*עאל אליהו לנביה בדמות ר' חיה*” — “On a certain day, Elias came to R. Judah the Holy, in the shape of R. Chaiah Rubbah, &c: having touched his teeth, he took away their pain. The next day R. Chaiah Rubbah came to him and said, ‘How doth Rabbi, how do his teeth?’ To whom he replied, ‘From the time that thou touchedst my teeth with thy fingers, they were healed<sup>e</sup>.’”

Ver. 20: *Διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῆς Βασιλικῆς.*  
“*Because their country was nourished by the king's country.*”

Here we may call to mind that of Ezek. xxvii. 17: “Judah and the land of Israel [O Tyre] were thy merchants; they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm.” So the Latin, the Interlinear, our English, and the Italian versions. But others make Minnith and Pannag not places, but merchandise ware; namely, the Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and the Chaldee especially, who hath rendered the words, so that R. Solomon and R. Kimchi confess they knew not well what he means. As for *Minnith*, we have it mentioned in Judges xi. 33: for which<sup>f</sup> the Syriac hath *Makir*, for a reason not known; and the Greek, *Arnon*, for no reason at all. As for *Pannag*, we meet with it no where else. Whatever it be, the words of the prophet hint to us the same thing, that the evangelist doth here; which is strengthened also from that in 1 Kings v. 11; “And Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat for food to his household, and twenty measures of pure oil; thus gave Solomon to Hiram year by year.”

Ver. 23: *Γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν.* “*Being eaten of worms, he gave up the ghost.*”

Josephus speaks more sparingly in this matter, “*Ἄθρουσεν δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας, προσέψυσεν ἄλγημα.*” “The pains of his

<sup>b</sup> Midr. Coheleth, fol. 87. 4.

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 684.

<sup>d</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 109. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Kilaim, fol. 32. 2.

<sup>f</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 725.

belly came thick upon him:” speaking only of the torments of the belly, and suppressing the cause:—and that (as it should seem), not only to conceal the king’s reproach, but to add something of honour to him. For lay that passage in the Talmud to this; “רובן של צדיקים מתים בחולי מעיים.” Many just persons have died of the pain in the bowels<sup>g</sup>.” On the contrary, to be devoured by worms was reckoned an accursed thing, and what befel none but men of greatest impiety. Those<sup>h</sup> that went to spy out the land of promise, and raised an evil report upon it, “They had their tongues hanging out, and falling upon their navels; *היו תולעות יוצאות מלשונם* and worms issued out of their tongues and crept into their navels, and issued out of their navels again, and crept into their tongues.”—“A certain priest” (a Baithusean as it should seem) “made incense without, and brought it within.—There are who say, *יצא חוששו מונק תולעים* that his nose hung down, issuing out with worms; and that something like a calf’s hoof grew in his forehead<sup>i</sup>.”

### CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. Ἦσαν δέ τινες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν Ἐκκλησίαν.  
“*There were some in the church, that was at Antioch.*”

Compare that passage, chap. xi. 27, with this place; and neither the word *τινες*, *some*, will seem redundant, nor the phrase *κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν ἐκκλησίαν*, so harsh. “There came some prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch,” when yet, there were in the church of Antioch some prophets of their own already. And it seems to hint, that the separation of Paul and Barnabas to the ministry, was done by the stated ministers of that church, and not by others that came thither.

*Προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι*: “*Prophets and teachers*<sup>k</sup>.”

These offices, indeed, are distinguished, 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Eph. iv. 11: but here, they seem, as if they were not so to be. For the church of Antioch was not yet arrived at that maturity, that it should produce teachers, that were not endowed with the Holy Ghost and the gift of prophecy; and the phrase *κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν ἐκκλησίαν* seems to intimate some such thing,—viz. that, according to the state of the church then being in that place, there were, nay it was necessary

<sup>g</sup> Schabb. fol. 118. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Sotah. fol. 35. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Joma, fol. 39. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 685.

there should be, prophetic teachers,—because there was not any, who, by the study of the Scriptures, was become fit for that office. But why then is it not rather said, Διδάσκαλοι Προφητικοί, “prophetic teachers,” than Προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι, “prophets and teachers?” Namely, because there were prophets, who were not ordinary teachers, but acted in their prophetic office occasionally only: and they were such, as rather foretold things to come, than ordinarily preached, or taught catechistically. But these were both prophets, and constant preachers too.

Μαναήντε Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου σύντροφος. “*And Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch.*”

So Menahem is writ in the Alexandrian copy, at 2 Kings xv, Μαναήν, *Manaen*: but the Roman hath, Μαναήμ, *Manaem*. This our Manaen’s education with Herod the tetrarch, brings to mind what is related in Juchasin<sup>1</sup>:—“Hillel and Shammai received their traditions from them” (that is, from Shamaiah and Abtalion). “But first were Hillel and Menahem. Menahem went off into the king’s family and service, עם שמנים לבושים זהב with fourscore men clothed in gold.—Menahem was grave and wise, like a prophet, and uttered many prophecies. He foretold Herod, when he was yet very young, that he should come to reign: and when he did reign, he sent for him, who foretold him also that he should reign above thirty years. And he did reign seven-and-thirty.”—Josephus (who is quoted, also, by this our author) speaks much the same as to part of the story:—“There was amongst the Essenes one named Menaem; who, besides that he was famous for the holiness of his life, had obtained of God a foreknowledge of future things. He called Herod, while he was yet a child, king of the Jews<sup>m</sup>,” &c.

I do not think this our Manaem was the same person; nor do I say, that he was his son; for had the Essenes children? But whereas this person was so accepted in the court of Herod the Great, and our Manaen brought up with Herod his son;—I cannot but suspect there might be something of kindred betwixt them. But that matter is not *tanti*: it is only worthy our considering, whether this Manaen might not lay the foundations of his Christianity, while he was in Herod the tetrarch’s court, where John the Baptist preached

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 19. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. [Hudson, p. 699.]

and that with some kind of approbation and applause even from Herod himself, Mark vi. 20.

As to the remaining part of the story, the Talmudists<sup>n</sup> add this passage; “ יצא מנחם ונכנס שמאי Menahem went out, and Shammai entered. But whither went Menahem? Abai saith, יצא לתרבות רעה He lashed out into all abundance of wickedness. Aba saith, He went into the service<sup>o</sup> of the king, and with him went fourscore pair of disciples, all clad in silk.” I dare not say, this Menahem was the same with our Menahem, unless he were a hundred years of age, or thereabout; and yet, when I observe the familiarity, that was between that Menahem and Herod the father,—and how ours was brought up with Herod the son (which certainly was not put in by our historian for no reason), it cannot but give me some apprehension, that either he might be the person himself, or rather his son (if at least that Essenes had children); or, in a word, some very near relation. Be it one or other, it is worthy inquiry, whether this our Manaen might not lay the foundation of his evangelical religion in the court of Herod the tetrarch, when John Baptist preached there.

Ver. 2: Διουροῦντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ νηστεύοντων.  
 “ As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted.”

I. The more religious amongst the Jews fasted, and met in their synagogues to the public prayers and service, on the second and fifth days of the week: so that on those days it might be properly said of them, Ἐλειτούργουν, καὶ ἐνήστειον, that they *ministered* and *fasted*. On their sabbath, indeed, ἐλειτούργουν, they *ministered*, but they did not ἐνήστειον, *fast*; but on these days in the week, the second and the fifth, they did both.

II. Perhaps it might be somewhat bold to say, that the church at Antioch did, according to the Jewish custom, observe the weekly fasts:—and yet more bold to say, that church chose those days for fasting, which the Jews had done,—viz. the second and fifth days of the week:—but it would be most audacious to conjecture, that they observed the Jewish sabbath<sup>p</sup> in some measure with the Lord’s day, and that with fasting,—when as the Jews would, by no means, endure a fast upon that day. But whatever the day of this

<sup>n</sup> Chagigah, fol. 16. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 726.

<sup>p</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 686.

fasting was, or what occasion soever there was of it,—from that ordinary custom of the Jews, it is easy to judge of that phrase, *λειτουργούντων*, *ministering*,—viz. that a public fast was celebrated with the public assembly of the church, and administration of holy things:—which whether it was so done, ver. 3, where it is said, *τότε νηστεύσαντες, καὶ προσευξάμενοι*, “then they fasted and prayed,” may be some question: that is, whether, at that time, there was a public fast of the whole church, or a more private one amongst the elders only.

Ver. 3: Ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς, &c.

“*Laying their hands on them,*” &c.

“סמיכת זקנים ועריפת עגלה בשלשה” The ordaining of the elders, and beheading the heifer, is by the three<sup>a</sup>. In this thing; therefore, this present action agreeth with the common usage of the synagogue,—that three persons, Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen, lay their hands on two, that were to be sent out,—viz. Paul and Barnabas. But in that they lay on their hands, they do, also, recede from the usual custom. “After what manner is the ordaining of elders for ever? Not that they should lay their hands upon the head of an elder, but only should call him ‘Rabbi,’ and say to him, ‘Behold, thou art ordained, and thou hast power of judging,’ &c. Anciently, every one, that had been promoted to be an elder, promoted his disciples also: but this honour the wise men indulged to old Hillel,—namely, decreeing that no person should be ordained to be an elder, but with the licence of the president. But neither is the president to ordain any person, unless the vice-president assist him; nor the vice-president, unless the president assist him. But as to what belongs to the other societies,—it is lawful for one man to ordain with the allowance of the president: but let him have two more with him; for it is not an ordination unless by three; nor do they ordain elders out of the land<sup>r</sup>.”

It might not be unworthy our inquiry, if there were place for it here,—both, why they have abolished the ceremony of imposition of hands;—as, also, why they should restrain the ordaining of elders to the land of Israel only. We see, the church at Antioch doth otherwise; and, by the same rule, the Christian church.—But, perhaps, some will ask, upon

<sup>a</sup> Sanhedr. cap. 1. hal. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Maimon. Sanhedr. cap. 4.

what reason? when laying-on of hands in the ordination of elders, was hardly used at all, either under the first temple, or before or under the second temple. It was not under the second temple, if we may believe the Rabbin newly quoted; or, at least, if it was used,—it was abolished at last. And, before the second temple, where is there any sign or foot-step of such a thing?

Ver. 4: Κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν  
 “*Departed unto Seleucia.*”

This, doubtless, is Seleucia of Pieria; concerning which Strabo<sup>s</sup> tells us, Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν πρώτη πόλις ἐστὶ τῶν Σύρων Σελεύκεια, ἣ ἐν Πιερία, καὶ πλησίον Ὀρόντης ἐκδίδωσι ποταμός. “Beyond Cilicia, the first city in Syria is Seleucia, which is said to be in Pieria.” So Xylander translates it, leaving out the version of the last clause wholly; intimating, that ‘the river Orontes pours itself into the sea, not far from this place.’ And to this, the situation and distances in Ptolemy do agree.

Seleucia of Pieria, 68. 36. 35. 26.

The mouth of the river Orontes, 68. 30. 35. 30.

Pliny<sup>t</sup>, also, affirms, that Seleucia in Pieria is the very first coast of Syria from Cilicia: “*Latitudo (Syriæ) a Seleucia Pieriæ, ad oppidum in Euphrate Zeugma, DXXV. M.P.:*” “The latitude (*of Syria*), from Seleucia of Pieria to Zeugma, a town upon Euphrates, is 525 miles.”

Ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον. “*From thence they sailed to Cyprus.*”

How great a multitude of Jews there were in Cyprus, may be somewhat conjectured from the times of Trajan backward, from this story: Ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι, &c. “In the mean time, the Jews who dwelt<sup>v</sup> about Cyrene, under the conduct of one Andrew, fall both upon the Romans and the Greeks, feed on their flesh, eat their bowels, besmear themselves with their blood, and cover themselves with their skins: many of them they sawed asunder, from the crown of the head down the middle; many of them they threw to the wild beasts; many of them they forced to fight amongst themselves, till they had destroyed above two hundred and

<sup>s</sup> Lib. 14.

<sup>t</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Dion. Cass. in Vit. Trajani.

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 727.

twenty thousand men. In Egypt and Cyprus, they committed the same kind of outrages, the<sup>w</sup> leader (*of the Cypriots*) being Artemion; where two hundred and forty thousand men were lost: whence it came to pass, that a Jew might not come into Cyprus. But if, by chance and stress of weather, he put in upon the island, he was killed. But the Jews, as by others, so especially by Lucius, whom Trajanus sent upon that expedition, were all subdued.”

Ver. 6: Ὡς ὄνομα Βαριησοῦς “ *Whose name was Bar-jesus.*”

Ver. 8: Ἐλύμας ὁ μάγος, οὕτω γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. “ *Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation).*”

I. It may be inquired, whether Ἰησοῦς, *Jesus*, in Βαριησοῦς, *Bar-Jesus*, be a proper name, or an appellative. In the Arabic in the Polyglot Bible, it is writ as a proper name ישוע *Jesu*; but in the Arabic of the Erpenian edition, it is writ as an appellative يسوع *Jesus*: and under the same notion, the Syriac, taking the word for ‘Bar-Jesus,’ hath בר, שומא ‘Bar-Shumah,’ the ‘son of a name,’ as Beza would have it: but trulier, the “son of a swelling, or a wound:” for שומא and סומא is a *tumor* or *pustule*, in the Targumists of Jonathan and of Jerusalem, upon Levit. xiii. 2; and in the Syriac, it is שומתא. So also חבורה a *wound*, is by that translated שומתא, Isa. i. 6. liii. 5. And, indeed, ‘Elymas,’ can no way be the interpretation of ‘Bar-Jesus,’ if ‘Jesus’ here be a proper name, and especially if it must be writ ישוע.

II. I would, therefore, write ‘Bar-Jesus’ in Hebrew letters thus, בר יעשוש, a word derived from עשש, which signifies to ‘waste away,’ or be corroded and worn by a disease. So Psal. vi. 8. xxxi. 10. עששה מכעם עינו “mine eye is consumed,” or, as the Interlinear, “corroded because of grief.” And that the Syriac had reference to this radix, when he renders it by בר שומא, ‘the son of a wound, or a swelling’ proceeding from a disease, is little to be doubted; and with this etymology the word ‘Elymas’ agrees excellently well.

III. There are those, that would have it to be the interpretation of the word Μάγος; that is, that the Arabic word עלیما, and so *Elymas*, is the same with Μάγος, a *sorcerer*; which does not seem very distant from truth. Once, indeed,

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 687.

such a conceit pleased me well enough; but since, these two things, well considered, have led me another way:—

1. Because it may reasonably be doubted, whether St. Luke would explain *Μάγος*, a well-known word, by a word far more unknown. Besides, why should this sorcerer only be called *Elymas*, when as, according to that etymology, all persons of the same art might have the same name?

2. Because the Syriac and Arabic do not begin the word 'Elymas' with the letter  $\gamma$  but  $\alpha$ . I little doubt, therefore, but this name 'Elymas' takes its original from the Arabic word  $\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\alpha$  *Alima* or *Elima*, which signifies to 'grieve' or be 'tormented.' And how this sense agrees with the word  $\text{עשש}$ , any one may see:—for what can be nearer akin than to 'consume away,' and to 'grieve;' and to 'waste away by a distemper,' and 'be under torment?' So that, I suppose, this sorcerer was called, in his own Hebrew name,  $\text{בר יעשש}$  Bar-Jesus,—and went by that name among the Hebraizing Jews: but amongst those that spake Arabic,—Elymas; which, in the Arabic tongue, signifies the same thing. I confess it is something an unusual thing for St. Luke to render a Hebrew name by Arabic, and not by Greek; which the evangelists commonly do. But it seems, that this magician was born and bred in some place or country, where the Arabic was the mother-tongue, inhabited by Jews also, that used their own language; and from thence he came to be known by this twofold name. I am mistaken, if Jabneh itself, a known academy of the Jews, and sometime the seat of the Sanhedrim, was not in such a country. For it may be made out elsewhere, that it is very probable, the whole Philistine country, at least the greatest part of it, did use the Arabic as their mother-tongue.

Ver. 9:  $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος “*Then Saul, who is also called Paul.*”

Here is both his Hebrew and Roman name too, upon the account of that relation he had to both nations. He was, by his parentage, a Jew, and so called Saul; but withal, he was a free denison of Rome, and thence had the name of Paul. Under the same notion Silas is called Silvanus; for he also was a citizen of Rome, as may be collected out of Acts xvi. 37. The apostle, having hitherto conversed chiefly amongst the Jews, retains his Jewish name; but being now

declared the apostle of the Gentiles, and travelling amongst the Gentiles, St. Luke gives him his Gentile name only.

Ver. 10<sup>x</sup>: Υἱὲ διαβόλου. “*Thou child of the devil.*”

Is not this much of the same import with that in the Old Testament, בן בליעל, “*Son of Belial?*”—בכור שטן, at first hearing, seems to sound very harshly; and, indeed, at first sight, might appear as if it signified the “*first-born of Satan:*” but it is given to a certain Rabbin to his praise, and as a title of honour<sup>y</sup>, in a far different signification, the word שטן taking its derivation from שט, “*to decline from.*”

Ver. 12: Ἀνθύπατος. “*The deputy.*”

This is a word much in use amongst the Talmudists, with a little variation only in the reading. “*R. Chanina and R. Joshua Ben Levi passed קומי אונטיפותא דקיסרין before the ἀνθύπατος, or deputy of Cæsarea. He seeing<sup>z</sup> them, rose up to them. His own people say unto him, ‘Dost thou rise up to these Jews?’ He answered them and said, ‘I saw their faces as the faces of angels<sup>a</sup>.’*” See the Aruch upon the word.

Ver. 13: ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας. “*They came to Perga in Pamphylia.*”

From Paphos in Cyprus, whether old or new (both being maritime places situated on the western shore of the island), they seemed to sail into the mouth of the river Cestrus; concerning which Strabo hath this passage<sup>b</sup>: Εἰς ὃ Κέστρος ποταμὸς, &c. “*Then there is the river Cestrus, which when one hath sailed sixty furlongs, he comes to the city Perga, near which is the temple of Diana of Perga, in a high place, where every year there is a solemn convention.*” Ptolemy also speaks of the river Cestrus, and of the cataract, concerning which Strabo hath some mention.

But Mela<sup>c</sup> hath this passage: “*Thence there are two strong rivers Oestros and Cataractes: Oestros is easily navigable; but Cataractes hath its name from the violence of its running; amongst these is the city Perga,*” &c. One may justly suspect an error in the writer here, writing Oes-

<sup>x</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 688.

<sup>y</sup> Hieros. Jevamoth, fol. 3. 1. et Bab. Jevamoth, fol. 16. 1.

<sup>z</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 728.

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 9. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Geograph. lib. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Mela, lib. 1. cap. 14.

tros for Cestros; and it is something strange, that Olivarius hath taken no notice of it.

We may conjecture there was no synagogue of Jews in Perga; because there is no mention of it, nor any memorable thing recorded as done by the apostles here: only that John, whose surname was Mark, did, in this place, depart from them; for what reason is not known.

Ver. 14: Παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας·

“*They came to Antioch in Pisidia.*”

Strabo reckons up thirteen cities in Pisidia<sup>d</sup> from Artemidorus, amongst which he makes no mention of Antioch. But Pliny<sup>e</sup> tells us, “*Insident vertici Pisidiæ quondam Solyymi appellati,*” &c. “*There are that inhabit the top of Pisidia, who were once called Solymites; their colony is Cæsarea, the same is Antioch.*” And Ptolemy, Πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μεσόγειοι, Φρυγίας μὲν Σελεύκεια, Πισιδίας δὲ Ἀντιόχεια· “*The inland cities in Pamphylia, are Seleucia of Phrygia,—and Antioch, of Pisidia.*” Where the interpreter most confusedly, “*Civitates sunt in provincia mediterranea, Phrygia quidem Pisidiæ, Seleucia Pisidiæ, Antiochia:*” that is, “*There are cities in the midland country, Phrygia of Pisidia, Seleucia of Pisidia, Antioch;*” and in the margin he sets Cæsarea.

Ver. 15: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν·

“*After the reading of the law and the prophets.*”

But in what language were the law and the prophets read, in this synagogue? It is generally supposed, that, in the synagogues of the Hellenists, the Greek Bible was read. But was that tongue understood amongst the Pisidians? Strabo, at the end of his thirteenth book, tells us, “*The Cibratian prefecture was reckoned amongst the greatest of Asia: Τέταρσι δὲ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυράται, τῇ Πισιδικῇ, τῇ Σολύμων, τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, τῇ Λύδων.* The Cibyrates used four languages, the Pisidian, the Solyman, the Greek, and Lydian.”—Where we see the Pisidian tongue is expressly distinguished from the Greek. If Moses and the prophets, therefore, were read here in the Greek tongue, were they understood by those in Pisidia? Yes, you will say; for the very name of the city Antioch speaks it to have been a

<sup>d</sup> Strabo, lib. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. lib. 5. cap. 27.

Greek colony.—Grant this: but then suppose a Jewish synagogue in some city of Pisidia, that was purely Pisidian, such as Selge, Sagalessus, Pernelissus, &c. or in some city of the Solymites, or of the Lydians,—in what language was the law read there? Doubtless in the same tongue<sup>f</sup> and the same manner that it was read in the synagogue of the Hebrews, i. e. in the original Hebrew, some interpreter assisting, and rendering it to them in their mother-tongue.

Ἐκάθισαν. “*They sat down.*”

So<sup>g</sup> it is expressed commonly of any one that teaches; כָּתִיב, “*he sat down.*”—And if the rulers of the synagogue had no other knowledge of Barnabas and Saul, they might gather they were preachers from this,—that, when they entered the synagogue, “*they sat down,*” according to the custom of those that taught or preached.

Ver. 16: Οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν. “*And ye that fear God.*”

That is, Proselytes. “*Blessed is every one, that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways, Psal. cxxviii. 1. He doth not say, Blessed is Israel, or Blessed are the priests, or Blessed the Levites; but, Blessed is every one, that feareth the Lord. אֵילֵינוּ גֵרִים שְׁהָם יִרְאֶה ה' These are the proselytes, the φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, they that fear the Lord. According as it is said of Israel, Blessed art thou, O Israel,—so is it said of these, Blessed is every one, that feareth the Lord.—Now of what proselyte is it said, that he is blessed? It is said of the proselyte of justice. Not as those Cuthites, of whom it is said, That they feared the Lord, and yet worshipped their own gods<sup>h</sup>.*”

Ver. 18: Ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτούς. “*He suffered their manners.*”

The particle ὧς seems to exclude the reading of ἐτροποφόρησεν, which word we meet with in the Seventy, Deut. i. 31: Ἐτροποφόρησε, God did indeed *bear with them* full forty years: and so you will say, ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτούς, is not wide from the truth. But the apostle adding the particle ὧς, “*about the time of forty years,*” seems chiefly to respect that time, which went between the fatal decree, that they should not enter the land, and the going-in.

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 689.

<sup>g</sup> This paragraph is omitted in Leusden's edition.—Ed.

<sup>h</sup> Bemed. rab. fol. 27. 2.

Ver. 19: "Ἐθνη ἑπτα" "Seven nations."

The Rabbins very frequently, when they mention the Canaanitish people, give them this very term of the 'seven nations.' שבועה אומות

Ver. 20<sup>i</sup>: "Ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα" "About the space of four hundred and fifty years."

Amongst the many things, that are offered upon this difficulty, I would choose this;—that, in this number, are reckoned the years of the judges, and the years of those tyrants that oppressed Israel, computing them disjunctly and singly: which, at first sight, any one would think, ought to be so reckoned,—but that 1 Kings vi. 1, gives a check to a too large computation.

1. The years of the judges and tyrants, thus distinguished, answer the sum exactly:—

<i>The Judges.</i>		<i>The Tyrants.</i>	
Othniel	40	Chushan	8
Ehud	80	Eglon	18
Deborah	40	Sisera	20
Gideon	40	Midian	7
Abimelech	3	Ammon	18
Tola	23	The Philistines	40
Jair	22		
Jephthah	6	In all	111
Ibsan	7		
Elon	10		
Abdon	8		
Samson	20		
Eli	40		
	<hr/>		
In all	339		

So that reckoning three hundred and thirty-nine, and one hundred and eleven together, the sum amounts exactly to four hundred and fifty.

II. Josephus<sup>j</sup> seems expressly to follow this computation<sup>k</sup>: "Solomon began to build his temple in the fourth year of his reign, and in the second month, which the Ma-

<sup>i</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 729.

<sup>j</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 690.

<sup>k</sup> Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2. [Hudson, p. 341.]

cedonians term 'Artemision,'—the Hebrews 'Ijar.' Μετὰ ἕτη πεντακόσια καὶ ἐννενήκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐξόδου. After five hundred and ninety and two years, from the Israelites' going out of Egypt."

In 1 Kings vi. 1, there are reckoned four hundred and fourscore years: Josephus, five hundred and ninety-two, exceeding that number by a hundred and twelve years: so as the three years of the tyrants make the number to exceed in this place.

III. In the particular summing up of these years, I cannot omit what is said concerning Samson in the Jewish writers<sup>1</sup>: "Samson saith, O Lord eternal, give me a recompense for one of mine eyes, in this world,—and for the other, in the world to come. One place saith, וְיִשְׁפּוּט אֶת שְׁנֵי עֵינָיו אַרְבַּעִים שָׁנָה. And he judged Israel forty years. Another place saith, וְהָיָה שִׁפְטָת אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה. And he judged Israel twenty years. R. Acha saith, By this it is hinted, that the Philistines were afraid of him twenty years after his death,—as they had stood in fear of him twenty years, while he was alive."

From these words we might imagine, that it was written concerning Samson, that he judged Israel forty years; which yet is no where found: only it is said in two places, Judg. xv. 20, xvi. 31, that "he judged twenty years:"—whence the Jewish writers draw that conclusion as was said before,—viz. that the Philistines were under the terror of him, for the space of twenty years after he had been dead. Indeed, it is said of Eli, that "he judged Israel forty years," 1 Sam. iv. 18:—which, when I observe the LXX rendering by εἴκοσι ἔτη, 'twenty years,' I cannot but suspect, they might somewhat favour the received opinion amongst the Jews.

Ver. 33: Ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ. "In the second psalm."

"Why<sup>m</sup> are the daily prayers to the number of eighteen? R. Joshua Ben Levi saith, It is according to the eighteen psalms, from the beginning of the psalms to 'the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble' [Psal. xx. 1]. But if any one say to thee, They are nineteen, למה רגשו לית הוא מינון say thou to him, 'Why do the heathen rage?' [i. e. the second

<sup>1</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 17. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Tannith, fol. 65. 3.

*psalm*] is not one of them. Hence they say, He that prays and is not heard, it is necessary for him to fast too."

I. Judge hence, whether this second psalm were joined or confounded with the first,—when it seems, in some measure, sequestered from the whole number. And do you observe the Rabbins' way of arguing? Being to prove that the number of the daily prayers being eighteen, was adapted to the number of the eighteen psalms, from the beginning of the book to that place, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," &c. Psal. xx, he takes refuge in a common axiom of theirs, "He that prayeth and is not heard, must fast also." As if that maxim was founded upon the equality of numbers, and the authors of that maxim did so design it: q. d. He that pours out eighteen prayers, according to the number of those eighteen psalms, and is not heard, let him fast, and he shall be heard, according to the tenor of the psalm immediately following, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," i. e. in the day when thou troublest and afflictest thyself with fasting.

II. I will not make any nice inquiry, for what reason they should exclude the second psalm out of the number. We find in it, however shut out of the number, a considerable testimony to the resurrection of the Messiah: and perhaps to this, the apostle may have some respect in these words. But if not, by this his noting the number and order of the psalm, we may guess he spake to this sense,—viz. Ye have a testimony of the resurrection of Christ, in the very entrance of the Book of Psalms, so near the beginning of it, that we meet with it even in the second psalm.

Υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

R. Solomon confesseth, that the Rabbins do interpret this psalm of the Messiah; but he had rather it should be applied to David. For the Jews take special care, that the Messias should not be acknowledged as the genuine Son of God. Hence<sup>n</sup> Midras Tillim<sup>o</sup>, "Thou art my Son: hence we may answer the heretics, who say He is Son to God. Do thou answer, בן לי אתה אינו אומר, He doth not say, Thou art Son to me, אלה בני אתה but, Thou art my Son. (*A very learned distinction indeed!*) As the master speaking kindly to

<sup>n</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 730.

<sup>o</sup> In loc.

his servant, may say to him, I love thee like my own son."—  
So the Targumist<sup>p</sup>; "The Lord said חביב כבר לאבא לי אנה  
Thou art beloved to me, as a son is to his father."

They do indeed acknowledge, that the Messiah is concerned in this psalm<sup>q</sup>: but then, if you will be a true Jew indeed, you must have a care, how you acknowledge him the begotten<sup>r</sup> Son of God. It would be a vain and impertinent thing, to collect all their little artifices, by which they endeavour to evade the force of this place. It were much more proper for us to observe the way of the apostle's arguing,—and by what means he makes it out, that these words of the Psalmist point at the resurrection of the Messiah. Take this passage by the way<sup>s</sup>: "R. Houna saith, חלקים נחלקו היסורין There are three portions of chastisements divided. The fathers of the world and all generations received one part: the generation of persecution, another; and the generation of the Messias, another. And when his time cometh, then will the Holy Blessed say, עלי לבראתו על בריתה חדשה It lies upon me to make him a new creature. And so he saith, היום ילדתיך To-day have I begotten thee."

When the Jews asked a sign of our Saviour, he constantly gives them the sign of Jonas the prophet; that is, that his resurrection, which should come to pass, should be a most undoubted proof for him, that he is the Son of God, the true Messias. So, Rom. i. 4, "He was declared to be the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead:"—for so was he indeed distinguished from all mortals, and sons of men. And God saith he had then begotten him, when he had given a token, that he was not a mere man, by his divine power, whereby he had raised him from the dead. And according to the tenor of the whole psalm, God is said to have begotten him then, when he was ordained king in Sion, and all nations subdued under him. Upon which words that passage of our Saviour, uttered immediately after he had arisen from the dead, is a good commentary: "All power is given unto me," &c. Matt. xxviii. 18.

What do those words mean, Matt. xxvi. 29, "I will not henceforth drink of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom?" They seem to look this way; viz. "I will drink no more of

<sup>p</sup> In loc.

<sup>q</sup> Succah, fol. 52. 1.

<sup>r</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 691.

<sup>s</sup> Midr. Tillim, ubi supr.

it before my resurrection." For, in truth, his resurrection was the beginning of his kingdom, when he had overcome those enemies of his, Satan, hell, and death: from that time was he begotten and established king in Zion.—I am mistaken, if that of Psal. cx. 3, doth not, in some measure, fall in here also; which give me leave to render by way of paraphrase into such a sense as this:—"Thy people shall be a willing people in the day of thy power: it shall be a willing people in the beauties of holiness; it shall be a willing people from the womb of the morning: thine is the dew of thy youth." Now the dew of Christ, is that quickening power of his, by which he can bring the dead to life again, Isa. xxvi. 19. "And the dew of thy youth, O Christ, is thine:" that is, "It is thine own power and virtue, that raiseth thee again." I would, therefore, apply those words "from the womb of the morning" to his resurrection: because the resurrection of Jesus was the dawn of the new world, the morning of the new creation.

Ver. 34: Τὰ ὄσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά. "The sure mercies of David."

It hath been generally observed, that this phrase, τὰ ὄσια, is taken from the Greek version in Isa. lv. 3. But it is not so generally remarked, that by 'David' was understood the Messiah; which yet the Rabbins themselves, Kimchi and Ab. Ezra, have well observed, the following verse expressly confirming it. The resurrection of our Saviour therefore, by the interpretation of the apostle, is said to be the τὰ ὄσια τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ πιστά, "the sure mercies of Christ." And God by his prophet (from whence this clause is taken) doth promise the raising again of the Messiah, and all the benefits of that resurrection. He had foretold and promised his death, chap. liii. But what mercies could have been hoped for by a dead Messiah, had he been always to have continued dead? They had been weak and unstable kindnesses, had they terminated in death: he promises mercies, therefore, firm and stable, that were never to have end; because they should be always flowing and issuing out of his resurrection.

Whereas these things are quoted out of the prophet in the words of the LXX, varying a little from the prophet's words; and those much more, Ἰδετε οἱ καταφρονῆται, "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder," &c. ver. 41,—it might be

inquired, in what language the apostle preached; as also, in what language Moses and the prophets were read in that synagogue, ver. 15? If we say in the Greek,—it is a question, whether the Pisidians could understand it. If we say in the Pisidian language,—it is hardly to be believed the Bible was then rendered into that language. It is remarkable, what was quoted above out of Strabo, where he mentions four tongues, amongst them the Greek and the Pisidian distinct from one another. But this I have already discussed in the notes upon ver. 15 of this chapter.

Ver. 41<sup>t</sup>: Ἰδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί, &c. “Behold ye despisers,” &c.

Dr. Pocock<sup>u</sup> here, as always, very learnedly and accurately examines, what the Greek interpreters, Hab. i, read: saving in the mean time the reading, which the Hebrew Bibles exhibit: for it is one thing, how the Greek read it,—and another thing, how it should be truly read.

Ver. 42: Παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη, &c. “The Gentiles besought,” &c.

It is all one as to the force of the words, as far as I see,—whether you render them “they besought the Gentiles,” or “the Gentiles besought them.” The latter version hath chiefly obtained: but what absurdity is it, if we should admit the former? And doth not the very order of the words seem to favour it? If it had been τὰ ἔθνη παρεκάλουν, one might have inclined to the latter without controversy; but being it is παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη, there is place for doubting. And if it were so, that the Jews resented the apostles’ doctrine so ill, that they went out of the synagogue disturbed and offended,—as some conjecture, and that not improbably,—we may the easier imagine, that the apostles besought the Gentiles that tarried behind, that they would patiently hear these things again.

Εἰς τὸ μετὰξὺ σάββαρον. “On the next sabbath.”

I. The word μετὰξὺ, as the lexicons tell us, amongst other things, denotes, “henceforward,” or “hereafter.” Now this must be noted, that this discourse was held in the forenoon; for it was that time of the day only, that they as-

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 692.

<sup>u</sup> Poe. Miscell. 3.

sembled in the synagogue; in the afternoon they met in Beth Midras. Let us consider, therefore, whether this phrase will not bear this sense,—‘They besought, that, afterward, upon that sabbath,—viz. in the afternoon, they would hear again such a sermon.’ And then, whether the Gentiles besought the apostles, or the apostles the Gentiles, it doth not alter the case.

II. Let us inquire, whether the apostles and the Christian church did not now observe and celebrate the Lord’s day. It can hardly be denied: and if so, then judge whether the apostles might not invite the Gentiles, that they would assemble again the next day,—that is, upon the Christian sabbath,—and hear these things again. If we yield, that the Lord’s day is to be called the sabbath,—then we shall easily yield, that it might be rightly called *μεταξὺ σάββατον*, “the sabbath after.” And indeed, when the speech was amongst the Jews or Judaizing proselytes, it is no wonder, if it were called the sabbath. As if the apostles had said, “To-morrow we celebrate our sabbath; and will you, on that day, *λαληθῆναι τὰ ῥήματα*, ‘have these words preached to you?’”

III. Or let *τὸ μεταξὺ Σάββατον*, be the week betwixt the two sabbaths;—as that expression must be rendered *νηστεύω δις τοῦ Σαββάτου*, “I fast twice in the week;”—then, as the sense is easy, that they besought them the same things might be repeated on the following week,—so the respect might have more particularly been had to the second and fifth days in the week, when they usually met together in the synagogue.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 6: *Εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας, Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην*  
 “*To Derbe and Lystra, cities of Lycaonia.*”

STRABO tells us expressly, that Iconium also was within Lycaonia<sup>v</sup>; “Thence are the Lycaonian hills, plain, cold, naked, and pastures for wild asses, &c. There are also the lakes,—the greater called Coralis; the less, called Trogitis. *Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πού καὶ τὸ Ἰκόνιον ἐστίν*. About those places stands Iconium, a town built in a better soil, than what I mentioned as the pasture of wild asses.”—Ptolemy also places Iconium in Lycaonia<sup>w</sup>. How comes it to pass, then,

<sup>v</sup> Strab. Geogr. lib. 12.

<sup>w</sup> Ptol. Tab. Asiæ 1. cap. 6.

that St. Luke doth not call *Iconium* a city of Lycaonia, as well as *Derbe*<sup>x</sup> and *Lystra*? Because *Iconium* was of something a distinct jurisdiction. “*Datur et tetrarchia ex Lycaonia,*” &c. “There is also granted a tetrarchy out of Lycaonia, on that side that bounds upon Galatia, consisting of fourteen cities, the most famous of which is *Iconium*.”

Ver. 11: *Λυκαονιστί*. “*In the speech of Lycaonia.*”

It is hard to say, what the Lycaonian tongue was; nor is it easy to say, why this was added, when it might have sufficed to have said, “They lift up their voices, saying, The Gods,” &c.

I. I should hardly be persuaded, the Lycaonian language was any Greek dialect,—when it sufficiently appears by what I lately quoted out of Strabo, that there were peculiar mother-tongues in these countries, distinct from the Greek. And he himself remarketh<sup>z</sup>, That the Carians, who are situated something nearer Greece than the Lycaonians, were called by Homer *Βαρβαρόφωνοι*, “people of a barbarous language;” so the Phrygians, also, were ‘barbari,’ ‘barbarous<sup>a</sup>.’

Let us hear once again, what Strabo saith<sup>b</sup>: “The Cappadocians, who use the same language, are those chiefly, who are bounded southward, with that part of Cilicia, that is called Taurus, eastward by Armenia, and Colchis; *καὶ τοῖς μεταξὺ ἑτερογλώττοις ἔθνεσι*, and other interjacent countries, that use a different language.”—What amongst these *other languages*, should be the Lycaonian, let him find out, that hath leisure and capacity to do it: as for my part, I neither can, nor dare, attempt it.

## CHAP. XV<sup>c</sup>.

Ver. 2: *Γενομένης οὖν στάσεως καὶ συζητήσεως*, &c.  
“*Dissension and disputation,*” &c.

WERE I to render these words into the Talmudic language (which was the school-language), I would render *στάσεως* by *מחלוקה*, and *συζητήσεως* by *מחלוקה*, terms very well known in the schools; according to which idiom, if they were expounded, there would be no difficulty in them.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 693.      <sup>y</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. 5. c. 27.  
<sup>z</sup> *Lib. 8.*    <sup>a</sup> *Pausan. lib. 1.*    <sup>b</sup> *Strab. lib. 12.*    <sup>c</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 733.

Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον, &c. “ *They determined that Paul should go up,*” &c.

Of this journey, Paul himself makes some mention, Gal. ii. 1; where he intimates, “ that he went up by revelation;” that is, given to the ministers of Antioch; for it would not have been said ἔταξαν, “ *they determined,*” if the revelation had been made to Paul himself. Amongst others that accompanied him in his journey, Titus was one: but where he adopted him to himself, in those his journeys described chap. xiii. and xiv, let him guess that can.

Ver. 7: Ἀφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων “ *A good while ago,*” &c.

I do not question, but St. Peter, in these words, had an eye to that saying of our Saviour, “ I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” viz. that ‘ thou mayest first open the door of the gospel to the Gentiles.’—Then it was that the Lord chose him, “ that, by his mouth first, the Gentiles might hear the word of the gospel, and might believe.” This, he saith, was done ἐν ἡμέραις ἀρχαίαις, “ *In former days;*” that is, as he speaks elsewhere, “ in the time, when Jesus went in and out amongst them,” Acts i. 21: which time is expressed by our evangelists by ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, “ *from the beginning,*” Luke i. 2.

Ver. 16<sup>d</sup>: Ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαβὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν “ *I will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down.*”

“ Rab. Nachman said to R. Isaac, מי שמיע לך אימת אתי, Whence art thou taught, when Bar Naphli will come? —He saith unto him, מאן בר נפלי, Who is this Bar Naphli? —The other replied; It is the Messiah.—Dost thou then call the Messiah Bar Naphli?—Yes, saith he, for it is written, In that day I will build again the tabernacle of David, הנופלת Nopheleth, falling down<sup>e</sup>.”

Ver. 17: Ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. “ *That the residue of men might seek after the Lord,*” &c.

I. I think it will hardly be denied by any, but that St. James spake now in Hebrew, i. e. in the Syriac tongue. For reason will tell us, that the council at Jerusalem would be managed best in the language of Jerusalem: and, indeed, the

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 694.

<sup>e</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 69. 2.

word Συμεών, Symeon, with which he begins his discourse, argues that he spoke Hebrew amongst Hebrews; not so much in that he saith Simeon, and not Simon; as in that he saith Συμεών, with the letter *υ*, and not Σιμεών, Simeon; the Syriac tongue affecting the letter *u*, in the first syllable, as in דובתא, גושמא, בוכרא, and many such words. So, also, in proper names, בן סוטדא Ben Sutda, in Jerusalem language, for Ben Satda,—and מוגדלא Mugdala, for Magdala.

II. Neither, I presume, will it be denied, that the apostle, quoting this passage of the prophet, recites the very words, as they are in the Hebrew: which was always done in their schools and sermons; when they recited any place or testimony of Scripture, they did it always in the very original words. But do you think, that the Hebrew words of Amos, in the mouth of James, were למען ירשו שארית אדום “That the residue of men might seek;” in which sense the Greek words speak? The Hebrew text in Amos ix. 12, is thus, למען ירשו את שארית אדום “That they may possess the remnant of Edom.” But the Greek interpreters have it, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν, &c. “That the residue of men might seek after the Lord:” where they add Κύριον, *the Lord*, of their own, and is not the prophet’s: nor, indeed, is it in the Roman copy; but in the Alexandrian MS. it is.

It is hardly worth our inquiry, whether, through carelessness or set design, they have gone thus wide from the words of the prophet: for, indeed, nothing is more common with those interpreters, than to depart, after that manner, from the Hebrew text. One may suspect, that they did it on purpose here, partly, as envying so comfortable a promise made to Edom; and partly, because, in the prophecy next following, it is said, “There shall be no remnant of the house of Esau,” Obad. ver. 18: where they distinguish that also by rendering שריר by Πυροφόρος, “One that carrieth fire.”

III. The Hebrew words of Amos, quoted by James, do suit very well with his design and purpose,—when, to prove ‘that God visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name,’ he cites this,—“I will build again the tabernacle of David, that they may possess the remnant of Edom:” τὸ λείμμα τοῦ Ἐδὼμ, ‘The remnant of Edom,’ in the same sense with the τὸ λείμμα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ‘the remnant of Israel,’ mentioned Rom. xi. 5. And by naming Edom, one of the bitterest enemies that Israel had, from whom a remnant should

be taken out and reserved,—the thing propounded is the more clearly made out,—viz. “That God had visited the Gentiles,” &c. The words also in the Greek version, which St. Luke follows, do prove the thing too; mention being made of “all nations seeking after the Lord:” and, therefore, he doth the more safely follow that version here, which, indeed, he doth almost every where: and for what reasons he so doth, I have observed in another place.

IV. I know, that the Talmudic and other Jewish writers understand by the *Edomites*, commonly the *Romans*: but why they do so, does not so well appear. But their impudence sufficiently appears, when they<sup>f</sup> introduce the Romans<sup>g</sup> owning themselves for the children of Esau, or Edom, and making their boasts of it. “At Rome, once within seventy years, מביאין אדם שלם, They bring forth a sound man” [one that represents Esau], “ומרכיבין אותו על אדם חנר” and make him ride upon a lame man” [that represents Jacob, and by that they show, how Esau now ruleth over Jacob]; “ומלבישין אותו ובגדי אדם הראשון and they clothe him with the garments of Adam” [those were בגדי חמדת ‘the garments of desire’ that Esau<sup>h</sup> had]; “and they put upon his head קרקפלו של רבי ישמעאל the skin of the head of Rabbi Ishmael” [he was the high-priest, that had been killed by the kingdom of the Romans;<sup>i</sup> but had so comely a face, that Cæsar’s daughter caused the skin of it to be taken off and preserved in balsam]: “ותלו לו מתקל זוזא דפינא And they hang upon him a pearl of the weight of a zuzee;—and proclaim before him, סך קירי, The computation of the Lord” [of *Jacob*, as one gloss,—or of *Isaac*, as another] “is falsehood” [that is, his prophecy, by which he promised redemption to his children, is a lie]: “the brother of our Lord” [i. e. of *Esau*] “is a deceiver. מאי רחמי חמי ורלא חמי לא חמי Whosoever sees” [this sight at present], “let him see it; and whosoever doth not see it, shall not see it” [that is, till the seventieth year again]. “What did thy deceiver get by his deceit, and what did that falsifier get by his falsehood? And so at length conclude, ווי לדין כד יקום דיין Woe to this man, when he shall arise” [Woe to Esau, when Jacob shall arise].

I thought fit to transcribe these things, only to give you a specimen, with what confidence the Jewish writers esteem

<sup>f</sup> *Avodah Zarah*, fol. 11. 2.

<sup>g</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 733.

<sup>h</sup> *Gen.* xxvii. 15.

<sup>i</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 695.

the Romans for Edomites; of whom they hardly ever speak without spleen and hatred, curse and abhorrency. The words, shut within the parentheses, are not mine, but those of the gloss.

V. I do not believe, that the Romans were thus taken for Edomites by the Jews, when the Greek version was wrote: but yet I do believe, that, at that time, the Edomites were as odious to the Jews: so that it is no wonder, if those interpreters, from that hatred, should envy them those things, which Amos had foretold should happen to them, "that remained of Edom," and diverted his words another way: "This is the offering, thou shalt receive from them, gold, silver, and brass, Exod. xxv. 3.—The gold is Babel: the silver is Media: the brass is Greece, Dan. ii: but there is no mention of iron: why so? Because wicked Edom, that wasted the sanctuary, is likened to that;—to teach us, that God, in time to come, will accept an offering from every kingdom, except Edom."

Ver. 20: Ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων εἰδώλων, καὶ τῆς πορνείας. "That they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication."

I. It may with good reason be asked, whether these four things were forbidden under one and the same notion, namely, this,—that the converted Gentiles might not give offence to the Jews, if they should not abstain from all these things:—or, whether there might not be something else interwoven,—viz. that those converted Gentiles might not relapse into something of their former heathenism: the "abstaining from pollutions of idols, and from fornication," seems to respect this latter,—as that of abstaining "from things strangled, and from blood," the former.

In the mean time, one might wonder at the heart and forehead of the Nicolaitans, who not only practised, but taught, diametrically contrary to this decree of the apostles, Rev. ii. 14. 20. Those Balaamites and Jezebelites,—with what paint could they beautify that horrid and accursed doctrine and practice of theirs? was it the liberty of the gospel they pretended? or rather did they not abuse that love and charity, commanded in the gospel?—namely, making a show of some more transcendent friendship amongst themselves,

<sup>1</sup> Shemoth Rabba, fol. 152. 3.

they would eat any thing with any man, and lie carnally with any woman.

I have oftentimes thought of those words of the apostle, 1 Tim. iv. 3, "forbidding to marry." Who were these that forbade to marry? but especially, upon what account did they forbid it? We know, indeed, upon what unreasonable reason marriage is forbidden to some, in the Romish communion, in these latter ages of the world: but to whom, and upon what occasion, it was forbidden in those last days of the Jewish economy, to which times the apostle refers in this place, is not easily determined.

As to the clause, that follows immediately in the apostle, "commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received," &c; that passage<sup>j</sup> comes into my mind,—“When the temple was destroyed the second time, the Pharisees” [i. e. the separatists] “were greatly multiplied in Israel, who taught that it was not lawful to eat flesh, nor to drink wine. R. Joshua applied himself to them and said, My sons, why do you not eat flesh, nor drink any wine?—They say unto him, Shall we eat flesh, that were wont to offer it upon the altar, and that altar is now broken down? shall we drink wine, that were wont to pour it out upon the altar, which altar is now gone?—If it be so, saith he, then we should not eat bread, because the offerings of bread-corn are ceased: we should not eat any fruits, because the offering of first-fruits is at an end: we should not drink water, because the drink-offering is ceased,” &c. And a little after; “Since the kingdom of iniquity” [the Roman empire] “hath decreed sharp things against us—it is but just that we should ordain amongst ourselves שלא לישא אשה not to marry wives, nor beget children, &c; and so it would come to pass, that the seed of Abraham would decay and fail of itself. But let Israel rather be שגוי mistaken than כזידין presumptuous.”

How<sup>k</sup> great a difference is there between these men, and the Nicolaitans! And yet these as foolishly and superstitiously erred in one extreme,—as those did, impiously and filthily, in the other. As to the Nicolaitans, we may wonder at their ignorance, if they knew nothing of this decree of the apostles; and their impudence in so bold a contradiction, if they did.

<sup>j</sup> Bava bathra, fol. 60. 2.

<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 696.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 734.

Ἐκ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων “ *From pollutions of idols.*”

In the epistle of the council it is, Ἐκ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, “ *From meats offered to idols.*” The Rabbins distinguish the matter (when they discourse of what is forbidden concerning idolatry) into הַלְבָלָה אֲסוּרָה “ *things prohibited to eat,*” and הַנֶּאֱמָר אֲסוּרָה “ *things prohibited to use.*” The εἰδωλόθυσια, or “ *things offered to idols,*” were prohibited *to eat*; and all the utensils about any idolatrous sacrifice, were prohibited *to use*. Ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων, doubtless comprehended all things “ *offered to idols,*” and perhaps all the utensils too: and it is no impertinent question, whether that in the epistle, commanding them ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων, “ *to abstain from things offered to idols,*”—did not restrain them from the use of all such utensils, as well as from the eating of things offered.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας “ *And from fornication.*”

Any one may discern, how obvious this twofold inquiry is:—namely, of what fornication the discourse here is? and for what reason, fornication, whatsoever it is, should be reckoned here amongst the ἀδιάφορα, or *indifferent* things?

I. When I recollect, what we frequently meet with amongst the Rabbins, that some things are permitted מפני שלום דרכי “ *for peace’ sake;*” and some things forbidden מפני דרכי אֲמֹרִים “ *by reason of the customs of the Amorites,*” or the Gentiles;—I am apt to suspect, in these decrees of the apostles there is some relation to both; that it was permitted to the converted Gentiles, to judaize in some things ‘ *for peace’ sake;*’ but to abstain in other, not that they might not judaize, but that they might not do as the heathen.

II. Particularly in this prohibition of fornication, we must consider, that it is not so proper to think there needed any peculiar command or prescript of the apostles, to those that had embraced Christianity, against fornication in the common notion and acceptation of the word; whereas the whole tenor of the gospel prescribed against it. And, for that very reason, I cannot persuade myself, that by *blood* forbidden in this place, we are to understand *murder*.

III. There was a certain fornication amongst the Jews that seemed to them lawful, and had some colour of legiti-

mation : this was polygamy, Hos. iv. 10 ; *הזנו ולא יפרצו* “ They commit whoredom and shall not increase : ” so the Chaldee and Syriac and our own translation render it well. But now fornication, as it denotes whoredom, doth not wish or expect any offspring, but the contrary rather : but the words relate to bigamy, or polygamy. For in case of the wife’s barrenness, it was a common thing for them to take to them another woman, or more, for propagation’s sake : and this it is, that God brands with the reproachful name of *fornication* : “ they commit *fornication*, but do not multiply.” Whatever else is understood by this word,—I would certainly understand this ;—namely, that the apostles prescribed against polygamy, a thing esteemed indifferent amongst the Jews (as fornication was amongst the Gentiles), and, therefore, not unfitly mentioned here amongst things indifferent.

Tell me, in what place in the New Testament, bigamy or polygamy is forbidden, if not in this ? Perhaps you will say, in that of our Saviour, Matt. xix. 4, 5 :—where, indeed, provision is made against putting away of a man’s wife, but hardly against polygamy, especially comparing the apostle’s words, 1 Cor. vi. 16.—Provision is made, that bishops and deacons shall not have two wives, 1 Tim. iii. 2 : and I should not believe, but that the same provision is made against the bigamy of the laity. But where is that done, if not in this place ?

IV. There was another fornication, ordinarily so reckoned also in the opinion of the Jews themselves (for they did not account the having many wives to be fornication) ; and that was, besides what they call simple fornication, their marrying within the prohibited degrees, that which they commonly called *ערוות* ‘ nakedness.’—These marriages they were so averse to, that to some of them they allotted ‘ death,’—to all of them *לקברת*, or ‘ cutting-off : ’—concerning which Maimonides speaks largely<sup>m</sup>. In the mean time, they allowed the Gentile, that became a proselyte to the Jewish religion, to marry with his kindred, though never so near in blood,—with his sister, if he pleased,—or with his mother<sup>n</sup>, &c. Hence, perhaps, arose that incestuous marriage, mentioned 1 Cor. v. 1.—They did well, therefore, to provide, by this apostolical decree, against such kind of marriages, as these, being so odious to the Jews.

<sup>m</sup> Maimon. Issur. biah, cap. 1. et per tot. tract.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, ibid. cap. 14.

Καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· “*And° from things strangled, and from blood.*”

These, I suppose, were forbidden the Gentile converts for the sake of the Jews,—and by way of condescension, that they might not take offence. By *blood*, therefore, I can, by no means, understand *murder*:—πνικτὸν, *strangled*, shall be considered by and by.

I. For wherefore should any mention of ‘murder’ come into this present controversy? Were the Gentile converts to be brought over to Moses? when the moral precepts of Moses scarcely came in their minds, as being the precepts even of nature itself. But the question is<sup>p</sup> about ceremonials; and what hath ‘murder’ to do in that? and, as I have already said, what need could there be of such peculiar caution against ‘murder,’ to those who had embraced the gospel of love and peace?

II. By the prohibition of blood, therefore, I make no question but that caution is given against eating of blood; which is more than once prohibited in the law<sup>q</sup>: and there could hardly any thing, except an idol, be named, that the Jew had a greater abhorrence for, than the eating of blood.

III. The Jews distinguish between אבר מן החי “the member of a living beast, and דם מן החי the blood of a living beast.” The former is forbidden by that,—“Flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.” The latter, also, is forbidden,—“Thou shalt not eat blood let out by the cutting of a vein, or any other way, from any beast,” saith R. Chaninah, in the place above quoted. See also Pesikta and R. Solomon<sup>s</sup>; and instead of more, that passage<sup>t</sup>: “Wherefore is blood forbidden five times in Scripture? [Gen. ix. 4. Lev. iii. 17. vii. 26. xvii. 10. Deut. xii. 16.] That the blood of animals that are holy, might be included,—and the blood of animals not holy,—and the blood that was to be covered in the dust,—and the blood אבר החי of the member of a living beast, דם המצות and the blood that is let out,” by the cutting of a vein, or otherwise. God himself adjudgeth him that eats blood, to be cut off, Lev. vii. 27, &c. But, as to this matter, there are wondrous nice

<sup>o</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 697.

<sup>p</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 735.

<sup>q</sup> Gen. ix. 4. Deut. xii. 16, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 59. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Pesikta in Deut. xii. and R. Sol. in Gen. ix.

<sup>t</sup> Cherithuth, fol. 76. 2.

and subtle questions and distinctions, laid down in Maimonides<sup>u</sup>; I will only transcribe this one:—"As to the blood that is let out, and the blood of the members,—viz. of the spleen, the kidneys, the testicles, and the blood gathered about the heart in the time of slaying, and the blood found about the liver,—they are not guilty of cutting-off: but whoever eateth of any of that blood, let him be scourged: because it is said, Thou shalt eat no blood. But concerning being guilty to cutting-off, it is said, Because the life of the flesh is in the blood.—A man, therefore, is not guilty of cutting-off, unless he eats of that blood, with which the life goes out."

IV. I know what the *κρεάδια πνικτὰ*, "strangled flesh," in Athenæus<sup>v</sup> means: but that hath no place here; nor is there any reason, why such meats, as he there sets on the table, should be forbidden even to the Jew. Nor would I by *πνικτὸν*, 'strangled,' understand אבר מן החי "the member of a living beast,"—partly, because I suppose that included in the word αἷματος, 'blood;' and partly, because it is thus determined by the Rabbins<sup>w</sup> concerning it:—"They learn by tradition, that that, which is said in the law, 'Thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh,' forbids the eating of a member torn from a living animal: and concerning אבר מן החי the member cut off from a living beast, God saith to Noah, 'But flesh with the life, which is the blood thereof, shalt thou not eat.'" So that, to eat a member so cut off, is to eat blood: and under that clause καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, "and from blood," is contained the prohibition of eating both דם מן החי "the blood of a living beast," and, also, אבר מן החי "the member of a living beast." And under that clause καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ, "and of things strangled," is the prohibition of eating flesh of a beast not well killed, so as the blood issueth not out, as it ought to do. Concerning which, there is a large discourse in the tract Cholin, obscure and tedious enough; however, I cannot but note one passage<sup>x</sup> out of it:—"If any one desire to eat of a beast, before the life of it be gone,—let him cut off a piece of flesh from the killing place, to the quantity of an olive,—and salt it very well, and wash it very well, and stay, till the life of the beast be gone out of him; and then he may eat it: this is equally lawful, both to the

<sup>u</sup> Maimon. Maacaloth Asuroth, cap. 6.

<sup>v</sup> Lib. 9.

<sup>w</sup> Maim. Maacaloth Asuroth, cap. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Cholin, fol. 33. 1.

stranger and to the Israelite." When we speak of not eating of flesh, which the blood is not duly got out of,—it is not necessary we should include within this rank גבלה "that which dies of itself," and טרפה "that which is torn" of wild beasts.

CHAP. XXIII<sup>y</sup>.

Ver. 2: 'Ο δὲ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας "Ananias, the high-priest."

It is a question among some expositors, whether this Ananias be the same Ananias that Josephus mentions, that was high-priest: and I ask again, whether ἀρχιερεὺς, in this place, be to be necessarily rendered, "high-priest?"

I. That Ananias the high-priest, whom Josephus mentions<sup>z</sup>, was sent bound to Rome, by Quadratus, the governor of Syria, to render an account of his actions to Claudius Cæsar, and that, before Felix entered upon the procuratorship of Judea: but whether he ever returned to Jerusalem again, is uncertain: still more uncertain, whether ever restored to his place of high-priest: and most uncertain of all, whether he filled the chair at that time when Paul pleaded his cause, which was some years after Felix had been settled in the government, Acts xxiv. 10.

II. About this time, there was one Ananias, a man very much celebrated indeed, but not the high-priest, only the 'sagan of the priests,' concerning whom, the Talmudic writers record these passages:—"There were thirteen corban chests, thirteen tables, thirteen adorations in the temple: but to them that were of the house of Rabban Gamaliel ושל בית ר' הגנייה סגן הכהנים and to those that were of the house of R. Ananias, sagan of the priests, there were fourteen<sup>a</sup>," &c.—"R. Ananias, sagan of the priests, saith<sup>b</sup>," &c.—"Ananias, sagan of the priests, was slain<sup>c</sup> in the time of the destruction (of Jerusalem), with Rabban Simeon, the son of Gamaliel<sup>d</sup>."—"R. Ananias, the sagan, is said to be slain on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Sivan, together with Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel, and R. Ismael<sup>e</sup>."

If we cannot reconcile the Ananias in Josephus, with this

<sup>y</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 698.

<sup>z</sup> Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. et De Excid. lib. 2. cap. 21.     <sup>a</sup> Shekalim, cap. 6. hal. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Pesachin, c. 1. hal. 6. et Misn. Hieros.     <sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 736.

<sup>d</sup> Tsemach David.

<sup>e</sup> Juchasin, fol. 57. 1.

in St. Luke,—let Ananias, the ‘sagan,’ be the Ananias mentioned in this place, who may very well be called Ἀρχιερεὺς, or ‘high-priest,’ as may be evident from those titles given to Annas and Caiaphas, Luke iii. 2. Nor doth any thing hinder, but that we may easily suppose, that Ananias the sagan was in the possession of his sagan-ship, at this very time.

Ver. 5: Οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἀρχιερεὺς. “*I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest.*”

I. Suppose he might not know that man to have been high-priest, or the sagan (which is hardly probable),—yet he could not be ignorant, from the rank he held, and the seat he possessed, that he must be, at least, one of the fathers of the Sanhedrim, and rulers of the people; and so, in reviling him, he transgressed that precept, “Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people,” as well as if he had reviled the high-priest.

II. It is very little to the credit of the apostle, to think, that when he said, “God shall smite thee, thou whited wall,” &c. that he uttered it rashly and unadvisedly, or carried away in a heat of passion and indignation, or that he did not know whom he thus threatened, or what degree and office he held. But he spoke it soberly, and as became an apostle, by the authority and guidance of the Holy Ghost. Nor did he, nor had he any need to, retract those words, or make apology for his rashness; but they are of the very same tenor with the rest, that he uttered.

III. If this Ananias was that ‘sagan of the priests,’ that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, as hath been already said,—I would conceive his death was foretold prophetically by the apostle, rather than that he rashly poured out words, that he afterward retracted. Let me, therefore, paraphrase upon the words before us, “I know it is not lawful to speak evil of the ruler of the people; nor would I have said these things to him which I have, if I had owned such a one; but I did not own him so, for he is not worthy the name of a high-priest.”

IV. The president of the Sanhedrim, at this time, was Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel: his father Gamaliel having been dead about two or three years before. Paul knew Simeon, and Simeon very well knew him, having been fellow-disciples, and both sat together at the feet of Gamaliel.

Nor, indeed, could he be ignorant of any of the rulers of the people, if they were of any age,—because he had been so long educated and conversed in Jerusalem<sup>f</sup>. So that it is very improbable he should not know either Ananias the high-priest, if he were now present,—or Ananias the sagan,—or, indeed, any of the fathers of the Sanhedrim, if they had any years upon their backs.

Indeed, not a few years had passed, since he had left Jerusalem: but seeing formerly he had spent so many years there, and had been of that degree and order, that he was an officer of the Sanhedrim, and had a patent from them, he could not have so slippery and treacherous a memory, but that, upon his return, he could readily know and distinguish their faces and persons. And whereas it is said in the verse immediately following, that “Paul perceived, that the one part were Sadducees,” &c.—if it should be asked, whence he came to distinguish so well concerning their persons; it may be answered, that (if he had no other ways to know them) he might understand that by his former knowledge of them: he had known them from the time, that he himself had been a Pharisee, and conversed among them. See chap. xxii. 5.

V. Forasmuch, therefore, as he saith, *οὐκ ᾔδειν*, “I wist not,”—I do not see, how it can argue so much an ignorance of his person (with whom he might have had some former transactions, in obtaining that accursed commission against the followers of Christ), but that it must relate to his affection, rather than his understanding. So that the sense is, “I knew not that there was any high-priest at all:” or, “I do not acknowledge this person for such a one.” It was safer to inveigh against the person, than the office: but if he had said concerning the very office, “I do not know that there is any high-priest at all;” I question not, but he had uttered his mind: being well assured, that that high-priesthood was now antiquated, by the death of our great high-priest, Jesus.

For let us lay down this problem: Although the apostle, as to other things, had owned the service of the temple (for he was purified in it); yet, as to the high-priesthood, he did not own the peculiar ministry of that; doth it not carry truth with it, seeing God, by an irrefragable token,—viz.

<sup>f</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 699.

the rending of the veil of the temple from the top to the bottom,—had shown the end and abolishing of that office?

But suppose the words of the apostle relate to the person, and not the office, and that they were spoken in reference to the man himself; “I do not own him Ἀρχιερεὺς, high-priest;—he is not worthy of that title:”—perhaps, St. Paul knew of old, how wicked a person he had been; or, from his present injustice or rash severity, had reason enough to make such a reply. To *know*, instead of to *own* and *acknowledge*, is not unusual in Scripture-style. That is a sad and dreadful instance enough, “I know you not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity!” And in the Jewish writings, when R. Judah, being angry with Bar Kaphrah, only said to him, “I know thee not,” he went away, as נזף “one rebuked,” and took נזיפה “the rebuke” to himself. The story is this<sup>g</sup>: “When Bar Kaphrah came to visit him, he said unto him, בר קפרא איני מכירך סעולם, O Bar Kaphrah, I never knew thee. He understood what he meant: therefore, he took the rebuke unto himself for the space of thirty days.”

Ver. 8<sup>h</sup>: Σαδδουκαῖοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν. “*The Sadducees say there is no resurrection.*”

What, therefore, is the religion of a Sadducee? He prays; he fasts; he offers sacrifice; he observes the law; and yet doth not expect a resurrection, or life eternal. To what end is this religion? It is, that he may obtain temporal good things,—observing only the promise of them made in the law, and he seeks for nothing beyond the mere letter. That the Sadducees took their denomination from one Sadoc, a disciple of Antigonus Socheus, is commonly received, and that not without reason. In the mean time, it may not be amiss to inquire, whether Sadoc did himself deny the resurrection; and whether he rejected all the books of the Holy Scripture, excepting the five books of Moses, which the Sadducees in some measure did.

I. The Jewish writers do relate his story with so much variety, that, as some represent him, we might think he denied the resurrection and future rewards; but, as others, that he did not. For so say some<sup>i</sup>: “Sadoc and Baithus were

<sup>g</sup> Moed Katon, fol. 16. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 737.

<sup>i</sup> Juchasin, fol. 15. 2.

the heads of the heretics: for they erred concerning the words of their master," &c. "Sadoc<sup>j</sup> and Baithus hearing this passage from their master, 'Be ye not as servants, that serve their master for hire and reward's sake;' &c. they said among themselves, 'Our master teaches us, that there is neither reward nor punishment,' &c. Therefore they departed from the rule, and forsook the law," &c.

Others<sup>k</sup> say otherwise; "Antigonus Socheus had two disciples, who delivered his doctrine to their disciples, and their disciples again to their disciples; they stood forth, and taught after them, and said, What did our fathers see, that they should say, It is possible for a labourer to perform all his work for the whole day, and yet not receive his wages in the evening? Surely, if our fathers had thought there was another world, and the resurrection of the dead, they would not have said thus," &c.—"Antigonus<sup>l</sup> Socheus had two disciples; their names<sup>m</sup> Sadoc and Baithus: he taught them, saying, Be ye not as hirelings, that serve their masters, only that they may receive their pay, &c.—They went and taught this to their disciples, and to the disciples of their disciples; לא אמרו פירושו; but they did not expound his sense." [*Mark that.*] "There arose up after them that said, If our fathers had known, that there were a resurrection, and a recompense for the just in the world to come, they had not said this.—So they arose up, and separated from the law, &c.—And from thence sprung those two evil sects, the Sadducees and Baithuseans."—Let us but add that of Rambam, mentioned before; לא הבינו כוננתו "Sadoc and Baithus did not understand the sense of their master, in those words, Be ye not as servants, who serve their master for the reward's sake," &c.

From all which compared together, as we find the Jewish writers varying from one another somewhat, in relating this story,—so, from the latter passages compared, one would believe, that Sadoc was not a Sadducee, nor Baithus a Baithusean: that is, that neither of them was leavened with that heresy, that denied the resurrection, &c. There was an occasion taken from the words of Antigonus, misunderstood and depraved, to raise such a heresy; but it was not by Sadoc, or Baithus; for they "did not understand the

<sup>j</sup> Rambam in Avoth. cap. 1.    <sup>k</sup> Avoth R. Nathan, cap. 5.    <sup>l</sup> Aruch in בירושין

<sup>m</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 700.

sense of them," saith Rambam: and as it appears out of the Aruch, they propounded the naked words to their disciples without any gloss at all upon them, and their disciples again to the disciples that followed them;—so that the name, sect, and heresy of the Sadducees, do not seem to have sprung up, till the second or third generation after Sadoc himself: which, if I mistake not, is not unworthy our remark, as to the story and chronology. There was a time when I believed, (and who believes it not?) being led to it by the author of Juchasin and Maimonides,—that Sadoc himself was the first author of the sect and heterodoxy of the Sadducees: but weighing a little more strictly this matter from the allegations I have newly made out of R. Nathan and Aruch, it seems to me more probable, that that sect did not spring up, till many years after the death of Sadoc. Let us compare the times.

The Talmudists themselves own that story, that Josephus tells us of Jaddua, whom Alexander the Great met, and worshipped: but they alter the name, and say it was Simeon the Just. Let those endeavour to reconcile Josephus with the Talmudists, about the person and the name, who believe any thing of the story and thing itself; but let Simeon the Just, and Jaddua, be one and the same person, as some would have it<sup>a</sup>. So then the times of Simeon the Just, and Alexander the Great, are coincident. Let Antigonus Socheus, who took the chair after him, be contemporary with Ptolemeus Lagus. Let Sadoc and Baithus, both his disciples, be of the same age with Ptolemeus Philadelphus. And so the times of at least one generation (if not a second) of the disciples of Sadoc, may have run out, before the name of 'Sadducees' took place.

If there be any truth or probability in these things, we shall do well to consider them, when we come to inquire upon what reasons the Sadducees received not the rest of the books of the sacred volume, with the same authority, they did those of the five books of Moses. I ask, therefore, first, whether this was done, before the Greek version was writ? You will hardly say Antigonus, or, indeed, Sadoc his disciple, was touched with this error. He would have been a monster of a president of the Sanhedrim, that should not acknowledge that distinction<sup>o</sup> of the law, "the prophets

<sup>a</sup> Vide Juchas. fol. 14. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 738.

and holy writings." And it would be strange, if Sadoc should, from his master, renounce all the other books, excepting the Pentateuch.

The Sadducees might learn indeed, from the Scribes and Pharisees themselves, to give a greater share of honour to the Pentateuch, than the other books; for even they did so: but that they should reject them, so at least, as not to read them in their synagogues, there was some other thing, that must have moved them to it.

When I take notice of this passage<sup>p</sup>, that "five of the elders translated the law into Greek for Ptolemy;" and that, in Josephus<sup>q</sup>, that "the law only was translated;" and both these, before so much as the name or sect of the Sadducees was known in the world,—I begin to suspect, the Sadducees, especially the Samaritans, might have drawn something from this example:—at least, if that be true, that is related by Aristeas,—that he was under an anathema, that should add any thing to, or alter any thing in, that version. When the Sadducees, therefore, would be separating into a sect, having imbibed that heresy, "that there is no resurrection," and wrested the words of Antigonus into such a sense,—it is less wonder, if they would admit of none but the books of Moses only; because, there was nothing plainly occurred in them, that contradicted their error: and farther, because those ancients of great name, having rendered those five books only into Greek, seem to have consigned no other, for books of a divine stamp. I do not at all think, that all the Sadducees did follow that version; but I suspect, that the Samaritans took something from thence into their own text.—It is said by some, in defence of the Greek version, that, in many things, it agrees with the Hebrew text of the Samaritans<sup>r</sup>, as if that text were purer than our Hebrew, and that the Greek interpreters followed that text. They do indeed agree often; but if I should say, that the Samaritan text in those places, or in some of them, hath followed the Greek version, and not the Greek version the Samaritan text,—I presume, I should not be easily confuted.

Shall I give you one or two agreements in the very beginning of the Pentateuch? In Gen. ii. 2, the Hebrew text is, *ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי* "For God ended his work on the

<sup>p</sup> Massech. Soph. cap. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 1.

<sup>r</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 701.

*seventh* day :”—but the Greek hath it, Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτῃ; “God finished his work on the *sixth* day.” The Samaritan text agrees with this, ויכלא להים ביום הששי, “He finished his work on the sixth day,” &c.—You will say, The Greek version translated according to the Samaritan text.—I say, The Samaritan text was framed according to this Greek version. Who shall determine this matter between us? That which goes current amongst the Jews, makes for me;—viz. that “this alteration was made by the LXXII<sup>s</sup>.” But be it all one, which followeth the other in this agreement we next produce, in the same chapter, Gen. ii. 19: ויצר יהוה אלהים מן האדמה “The Lord God had formed out of the ground :”—The Greek word sare, Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς, “The Lord God formed as yet out of the ground.” The Samaritan text agrees, ויצר יהוה אלהים עוד מן האדמה.—We will not inquire here which follows which; but we rather complain of the boldness of both; the one, to add the word ἔτι, the other, עוד, *as yet*: which seems to persuade us, that God, after he had created Adam and Eve, did, over and above, create something anew: which as yet, to me, is a thing unheard of: and to whom is it not?

Μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν. “*That there is no resurrection.*”

In my notes upon Matt. iii. 9, I take notice out of the Gloss upon Beracoth<sup>t</sup> (if he be of any credit), that there were heretics even in the days of Ezra, who said, that “there is no world but this:” which, indeed, falls in with Sadducism, though the name of Sadducee was not known then, nor a long time after. But as to their heresy, when they first sprung up, they seem, principally, and in the first place, to have denied the immortality of the soul,—and so, by consequence, the resurrection of the body.

I know that תחיית המתים, in the Jewish writers, is taken infinite times for “the resurrection from the dead;” but it is very often taken also for “the life of the dead:” so, as the one denotes the resurrection of the body,—the other, the immortality of the soul.

In the beginning of the Talmudic chapter Helec, where there is a discourse on purpose concerning the life of the world to come, they collect several arguments to prove תחיית המתים מן התורה “the life of the dead, out of the law;”

<sup>s</sup> Megill. fol. 9. 1. et Massech. Sopher. cap. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Babyl. fol. 54. 1.

for so let me render it here, rather than “the resurrection of the dead.” And the reason of it we may judge from that one argument which they bring<sup>u</sup>, instead of many others;—viz. “Some do say that it is proved out of this Scripture. He saith unto them, But ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God, *הַיִּים כֻּלְּכֶם הַיִּים* are alive every one of you this day, Deut. iv. 4. *פְּשִׁיטָא דְחַיִּים כֻּלְּכֶם הַיִּים* It is plain that you are now alive, when Moses speaks these things; but he means this,—that in the day, wherein all the world is dead, ye shall live:” that is, “Ye also, though dead, shall live;”—which rather speaks out the immortality of the soul after death, than the resurrection of the body.—So our Saviour’s answer to the Sadducees, Matt. xxii. 31, 32, from those words, “I am<sup>v</sup> the God of Abraham,” &c. is fitted directly to confute their opinion against the immortality of the soul; but it little, either plainly or directly, so proves the resurrection of the body, but that the Sadducees might cavil at that way of proof.

And in that saying of the Sadducees themselves, concerning the labourer working all the day, and not receiving his wages at night,—there is a plain intimation, that they especially considered of the state of the soul after death, and the non-resurrection of the body by consequence. Let the words, therefore, be taken in this sense; “The Sadducees say, Souls are not immortal, and that there are neither angels nor spirits;” and then the twofold branch, which our sacred historian speaks of, will the more clearly appear, when he saith, “But the Pharisees confess both.”

It is doubtful from the words of Josephus<sup>w</sup>, whether the Essenes acknowledge the resurrection of the body, when, in the mean time, they did most heartily own the immortality of the soul: *Καὶ γὰρ ἑρρώται παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἠδὲ ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰὶ διαμένειν*. “This opinion prevails amongst them, that the body, indeed, is corruptible, and the matter of it doth not endure; but souls endure for ever immortal.” So that the question, chiefly, is concerned about the soul’s immortality.

<sup>u</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 90. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Leusden’s edition, vol. 2. p. 739.

<sup>w</sup> Jos. de excid. lib. 2. c. 12. [Hudson, p. 1064.]

Μηδὲ Ἄγγελον μήτε Πνεῦμα “Neither angel nor spirit\*.”

They deny that the soul is immortal; and they deny any spirits (in the mean time, perhaps, not denying God to be a spirit, and that there is a Spirit of God, mentioned Gen. i. 2). And it is a question, whether they took not the occasion of their opinion from that deep silence they observe in Moses, concerning the creation of angels or spirits, or from something else.

There is frequent mention in him of the apparitions of angels: and what can the Sadducee say to this?—Think you the Samaritans were Sadducees?—If so, it is very observable, that the Samaritan interpreter doth once and again render the word אלהים *God*, by מלאכיה *angels*. So Gen. iii. 5; “Ye shall be as Elohim;” Samar. תהונו כמלאכיה “Ye shall be as angels.”—Chap. v. 1; “In the similitude of God:” Samar. בצורת מלאכיה “In the similitude of angels.”—So also chap. ix. 6: בצורת מלאכיה “In the similitude of angels.” And wherever there is mention of angels in the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text retains the word *angels* too.

Did not the Sadducees believe there were angels once, but their very being was for ever vanished? that they vanished with Moses and were no more? Did they believe that the soul of Moses was mortal, and perished with his body? and that the angels died with him? Otherwise, I know not by what art or wit they could evade what they meet with in the books of Moses concerning angels; that especially in Gen. xxxii. 1.

You will say, perhaps, that by ‘angels’ might be meant ‘good motions and affections of the mind.’ The Pharisees themselves do sometimes call ‘evil affections’ by the name of ‘devils:’ יצר הרע שטן “an evil affection is Satan.” But they do not call ‘good affections’ ‘angels;’ nor can ye yourselves apply that passage so;—“The angels of God met him, and he called the name of that place Mahanaim,” i. e. ‘two camps,’ or ‘two hosts.’ One of those camps consisted of the multitude of his own family: and will you have the other to consist of good affections?

If the Sadducees should grant that angels were ever created (Moses not mentioning their creation in his history), I should think they acknowledged the being of angels in

\* English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 702.

the same sense that we do, in the whole story of the Pentateuch: but that they conceived, that, after the history of the Pentateuch was completed, those angels were annihilated; and that, after Moses, there was neither angel, nor spirit, nor prophecy.

I have, in another place, taken notice, that the Jews commonly distinguished between 'angels and spirits' and 'devils.' Where by *spirits* they understood either the ghosts of dead persons, or spirits in human shape, but not so dreadful and terrible as the angels. And what need is there any more (will the Sadducee say), either of angel or spirit, when God, before Moses died, had made known his will by his writings,—had given his eternal law,—completely constituted his church?

It is an innocent and blameless ignorance not to understand τὰ βάθη τοῦ Σατανᾶ, "the depths of Satan," and the secrets of heretics; and if, in learning their doctrines, we mistake, and perhaps not a little,—the shame is not much. It is venial to err *concerning* them; to err *with* them, is mortal. Let the reader, therefore, pardon my ignorance, if I confess I am wholly ignorant, where lay the difference between the Sadducee and Baithusean; whether they agreed in one, or whether they disagreed in some things. The Holy Scriptures make no mention of the Baithuseans: the Jewish writings talk much of them, and in some things they seem to be distinguished from the Sadducees; but, in what, it is somewhat obscure.

We have the Sadducees disputing with the Pharisees<sup>y</sup>; and we have the Baithuseans disputing with a Pharisee<sup>z</sup>; and a Baithusean interrogating something of R. Joshua<sup>a</sup>; and frequent mention of them up and down in the Jewish writings. But particularly I cannot let pass one thing, I have met with<sup>b</sup>,—"Of old they received<sup>c</sup> a testimony of the new moon from any person whatsoever, משקלקלו המינים but after that the *heretics* began to deal deceitfully," &c; so the Jerusalem Misna reads it. But the Babylonian, משקלקלו הביתוסין "After that the *Baithuseans* began to deal deceitfully, or lightly." And the Misna, published by itself at Amsterdam, hath it, משקלקלו האפיקורוסים "When the *Epicureans* dealt lightly," &c. Where both the Gemaras tell us,

<sup>y</sup> Jadaim, cap. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Menacoth, fol. 65. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Schabb. fol. 108. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Rosh hashlanah, cap. 2. hal. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 740.

“The Baithuseans endeavoured to lead the wise men into an error, and hired, for the sum of four hundred zuzees, one of our own, and one of theirs, to give in a false testimony as to the new moons,” &c. The glosses give this reason of it; “The thirtieth day of the month Adar fell upon a sabbath; and the new moon did not appear in its time. And the Baithuseans were desirous, that the first day of the Passover should fall upon the sabbath, that the sheaf-offering might fall upon the first day of the week; and so the day of Pentecost upon the first day of the week also.”

Who, now, should these Baithuseans be? Sadducees, or Samaritans, or Christians, or some fourth sect? The Christians, indeed, would have the day of Pentecost on the first day of the week; but whether they mean them in this particular, let others judge. In other things otherwise. “Wherefore<sup>d</sup> do they adjure the high-priest?” [viz. that he rightly perform the service<sup>e</sup> of the day of expiation:] “Because of the Baithuseans, who say, Let him burn incense without, and bring it within. There is a story of a certain person that burnt incense without, and brought it within . . . . Concerning whom, one said, I should wonder if he should live very long. They say, that he died in a very little time after.” You would believe this was a high-priest, and a Baithusean.

Ver. 9: Γραμματεῖς ἐκ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων. “*The scribes that were of the Pharisees’ part.*”

For there were also “scribes of the Sadducees’ part:” and, on both parts, the Γραμματεῖς, *scribes*, must not be distinguished either from the Pharisees, or from the Sadducees, that were now present in the Sanhedrim: but the meaning is, the scribes that were of the sect or profession of the Sadducees, or of the Pharisees; and, by this twofold division, the whole Sanhedrim is to be understood.—But if we would take the thing more strictly,—there were in the Sanhedrim some scribes, who took the part of the Pharisees against the Sadducees, who yet were not of the sect of the Pharisees. I should believe the Shammeans and Hillelites were all against the Sadducees; and yet I should hardly believe all of them of the sect of the Pharisees. We find them frequently disputing and quarrelling one against the other in the Talmudic

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Joma, fol. 39. 1.

<sup>e</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 703.

writings; and yet I do not think, that either the one or the other favoured the Sadducee, nor that all of them bore good will to Pharisaism. There is a bloody fight between them mentioned<sup>f</sup>; "The Shammeans" (who, at that time, were the greatest number) "stood below, and killed some of the Hillelites." This was done in the house of Hananiah Ben Hezekiah Ben Garon, whom they came to visit, being sick. A friendly visit this indeed!

Ver. 11: Οὕτω σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι "So must thou bear witness also at Rome."

Hence the warrant and intimation given to St. Paul of appealing to Cæsar. It was a rare thing for a Jew to appeal to any heathenish tribunal; and it savoured of venomous malice, the Sanhedrim had against Jesus, that they delivered him over to a heathen judge. St. Paul, therefore, when he found no place or manner of escaping otherwise, was directed by this vision what to do.

Ver. 12: Μῆτε φαγεῖν μῆτε πιεῖν, &c. "Neither to eat nor drink," &c.

What will become of these anathematized persons, if their curse should be upon them, and they cannot reach to murder Paul? (as indeed it happened they could not :) must not these wretches helplessly die with hunger? Alas! they need not be very solicitous about that matter; they have their casuist-Rabbins, that can easily release them of that vow<sup>g</sup>: לא אחר שנודר "He that hath made a vow not to eat any thing, woe to him if he eat; and woe to him, if he do not eat. If he eat, he sinneth against his vow; if he do not eat, he sinneth against his life. What must such a man do in this sense? לך אצל חכמים ויתירו לו את נדרו Let him go to the wise men, and they will loose his vow; according as it is written, The tongue of the wise is health," Prov. xii. 18. It is no wonder, if they were prodigal and monstrous in their vows, when they could be so easily absolved.

#### CHAP. XXVIII<sup>b</sup>.

Ver. 1: Μελιτη "Melita."

PLINY tells us<sup>i</sup>, that, in the Sicilian sea, "Insulæ sunt

<sup>f</sup> Hieros. Schab. fol. 3. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Hieros. Avodah Zarah, fol. 40. 1.

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 704.

<sup>i</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 8.

in Africam versæ, Gauros, Melita," &c; 'there are islands towards Africa, Gauros, Melita, from Camerina eighty-four miles, from Lilybæum a hundred and thirteen.'—Ptolemy reckons it amongst the maritime islands of Africa: for thus he distinguisheth; Νῆσοι τῇ Ἀφρικῇ παρακείμεναι πλησίον τῆς γῆς, "Islands adjacent to Afric, near the land." And, Νῆσοι πελάγαι τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, "the maritime islands of Afric." Amongst these latter we find the island Melita, in which was the city:—

Melita	38.	45.	34.	40.
Chersonesus	38.	40.	34.	45.
Juno's Temple	39.		34.	40.
Hercules' Temple	38.	45.	36.	6.

Πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ Παχύνου Μελίτη<sup>k</sup>, &c. "Before Pachynus lieth Melita<sup>l</sup>, and Gaudus" (Pliny calleth it *Gauros*) "eighty-three miles from both" (i. e. Sicily and Pachynus), "both being distant eighty-eight miles:" where the Latin interpreter saith *furlongs*, making a very vast defect in the measure. Whereas, therefore, according to the same Strabo<sup>m</sup>, the distance between Carthage and Lilybæum of Sicily was χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, "one thousand five hundred furlongs," or near two hundred miles,—and Melita from Lilybæum one hundred and thirteen miles,—it is evident, that island was situated almost in the middle between the Sicilian and the African shore, anciently under the jurisdiction of Carthage:—and from them, perhaps, took the name of Melita, which, in their language, signifies *evasion* or *escape*, from ὑλῆ, to *escape*,—from the mariners,' that sail out of Africa, escaping the danger of the Syrtes. It was certainly an escape to Paul and the rest, that were shipwrecked with him in this place.

Ver. 2: Οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι, &c. "And the barbarous people," &c.

Col. iii. 11: Ἕλλην, Βάρβαρος, Σκύθης. "Greek, Barbarian, Scythian."

I. The Gentiles were called by the Jews דְּנִי "Ἕλληνες, 'Greeks;' partly, because the Grecians excelled all other nations in language and learning; partly, because the Jews had so long lain under the empire of the Greeks,—the Ptole-

<sup>k</sup> Strab. lib. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 741.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. 17.

mies on one side, and the Seleucidæ on the other. From whence, 1. חכמת יונית “the wisdom of the Greeks” is commonly taken by the Rabbins for all kind of Gentile learning, wherein the Grecians peculiarly excelled. Hence that passage; “The beauty of Japheth shall be in the tabernacles of Sem.” The Gloss is, “This is the Greek tongue, which is more elegant than any language of the children of Japheth.”—And Aruch in כתובת יונית מובהרת; “The Greek way of writing is most elegant.” And hence is it, 2. That the Jews, even while they were under the Roman yoke, counted their years by the epocha or era of the Greeks,—that is, the Seleucidæ. Whence that cavil of the Sadducee; “A certain Sadducee said, I rebuke you, O ye Pharisees, because you write the emperor with Moses<sup>o</sup>.” The Gloss is, “In writings of contracts, they write the years of the kings, and this also, החוא ברת משה וישראל and this also is according to the law of Moses and Israel;”—viz. that they might reckon according to the years of the Seleucidæ.—See Josephus and the book of Maccabees.

II. After the same manner that the Jews called all Gentiles ‘Greeks,’—so the Greeks called all other nations but their own, ‘Barbarians.’ Strabo<sup>p</sup> largely discusseth the reason of that name; and him the reader may consult. Perhaps the etymology of the word may have some relation with בר *bar*, a Chaldee word, which signifies *without*. Whence בר a *stranger*, or one of another country, in the Samaritan version, is בראי *bari*, a foreigner: so that בר בראי the word, being doubled, denotes a *great foreigner*. But to let etymologies pass, I take notice that the Syriac, in that place of the Colossians before quoted, instead of “Ἕλλην, Greek, hath ארמיה *Arami*; for Βαρβαρὸς, Barbarian, hath יוניה *Ioni*, or Greek (which is chiefly to be taken notice of), and for Σκυθης, Scythian, ברבריה *Barbari*.—Whence these<sup>q</sup> inhabitants of Melita should be termed Βάρβαροι, “Barbarous people,” is something obscure; when, doubtless, the island itself was under the Roman jurisdiction, which the very name *Publius*, who was the chief of this island, does make out. However, the inhabitants seem to be Africans, brought over thither by the Carthaginians, when they had possession of that island. For I hardly think, St. Luke would call the Romans, ‘Bar-

<sup>n</sup> Megillah, fol. 9. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Jadaim, cap. 4. hal. 8.

<sup>p</sup> Lib. 14.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 705.

barians,' when they were so very cultivated a nation; and all people were ambitious of the name of a 'Roman,' St. Paul himself having obtained it. The people of Melita, perhaps, were transplanted out of Barbary itself, as that part of Africa at length was called.

"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. אֵילֵנוּ אִנְשֵׁי בַרְבַּרְיָה וְאִנְשֵׁי מֹרְטַנְיָה These are the men of Barbary, and the men of Mauritania, that walk naked in the streets. Nor is there any thing more loathsome and execrable before God, than he that goes naked in the streets'."

Ver. 4: Ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἶασεν. "Vengeance suffereth not to live."

That of the Jewish writers is not much unlike this<sup>s</sup>:—"Although the Sanhedrim is ceased, yet are not the four deaths ceased. For he that deserves stoning, either falls from his house, or a wild beast tears and devours him. He that deserves burning, either falls into the fire, or a serpent bites him. He that deserves cutting-off with the sword, is either betrayed into the power of a heathen kingdom, or the robbers break in upon him. He that deserves strangling, is either suffocated in the waters, or dies by a squinancy."

Ver. 5: Ἀποτινάξας τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ, &c.  
"Shaking the beast off into the fire."

The first miraculous sign, recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is about a serpent, Exod. iv: and so is this last; for they may both be reckoned amongst mere signs.

Ver. 10: Οἱ καὶ πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς  
"Who honoured us with many honours."

That is, 'bestowed many gifts upon us: ' Manoah<sup>t</sup> said to the angel of the Lord, What is thy name, that when thy words shall come to pass, וּבְבִדְנוֹךָ we may do thee honour? that is, לֵךְ דֹּרוֹן we may give thee a gift: nor is וּבְבִדְנוֹךָ any other than, We may do thee honour with some gift. According as it is said, כְּבֹר אֶנְבֹּדְךָ In honouring I will honour thee," Num. xxii. 16.—So 1 Tim. v. 3, "Honour widows, that are widows indeed."

<sup>r</sup> Jevamoth, fol. 63. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 37. 2. et Bemid. rab. fol. 259. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Bemidb. rab. fol. 239. 3.

Ver. 11<sup>u</sup>: Παρασήμεν Διοσκούροις: "Whose sign was Castor and Pollux."

Gemini in the zodiac,—commonly pictured sitting upon horses. And so they appeared (if we will believe the historian) in that fight at the lake Regillus, leading on the Roman horse,—and so pressing upon the enemy, that, under their conduct, the victory was obtained<sup>x</sup>. But another time the Pseudo-Castores, false Castor and Pollux appeared not so fortunately<sup>y</sup>: Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων, &c. "While the Lacedæmonians were celebrating the feast of Castor and Pollux within their camp, and had given themselves to sports and drinking,—after dinner, Gonippus and Pandoremus" [two Messenian young men, that were wont to waste the Lacedæmonians], "of a sudden, appear amongst these Lacedæmonians, clothed in white tunics and purple cloaks, mounted on beautiful horses. The Lacedæmonians beholding them, and supposing them no other than Castor and Pollux, and that they were come to their own festivals, worship them, and make their prayers to them. But the young men, as soon as they found themselves received in the midst of them, break through them, making slaughter every where with their lances; and so a great number being slain, they return safe to Audania, casting a reproach upon the feast of Castor and Pollux."

From the habit of these Pseudo-Castores, false Castor and Pollux, it is easy conjecturing in what form they were wont to be pictured, who, in the judgment of the deceived people, were the true ones. Comely young men, in comely apparel, and riding on horseback; and yet they are sometimes drawn on foot; as, in that obscure passage in the same Pausanias<sup>z</sup>, Τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες, καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοι σφίσιν ἐφ' ἵππον: where the Latin interpreter renders it, "The temple of Castor and Pollux is very ancient<sup>a</sup>, where young men are beheld sitting on horseback." But the words of the author are plainly to this purpose,—that "Castor and Pollux are drawn standing, and their boys on horseback." There is something parallel in another place of this author, that gives some light in this

<sup>u</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 742.

<sup>x</sup> Dionys. lib. 6.

<sup>y</sup> Pausan. in Messeniæ, vel lib. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Pausan. in Atticis, vel lib. 1.

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 706.

matter<sup>b</sup>: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός· Ἄγαλμα δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἰσιν, Ἀναξίς καὶ Μνασίνουσ, σὺν τε σφίσιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάρεια καὶ Φοίβη etc. “After this is the temple of Castor and Pollux. They are pictured themselves, and their two sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, and together with them, their mothers, Hilaria and Phœbe, done, by the skill of Diopœnus and Scyllis, in ebony wood: the greater part even of the horses being made of ebony,—the rest, though very little, of ivory.”

It was believed they were propitious deities to mariners: and, therefore, does the centurion, having been so lately shipwrecked, so much the rather commit himself to a ship, that carried that sign. And what doth St. Paul say to such a superstition? He knew he had the convoy and protection of a better Deity; nor is it improbable, but that the centurion had imbibed something of Christianity himself; and it would be strange, if some of the soldiers, by so long society with St. Paul, had not also. But it seems, there was no other ship ready,—at least, no other that was bound for Italy.

Ver. 13: Ἠλθομεν εἰς Πυτιόλους· “We came to Puteoli.”

Πόλις ἐμπόριον μέγιστον, χειροποιήτους ἔχουσα ὄρμους<sup>c</sup>. “It is a city, a very great mart-town, where there are havens for ships, made by art and labour.”—Whence it is less wonder, if now there were Christians there, either such as were merchants themselves,—or such, as were instructed in Christianity by merchants trading there.

The Jewish writers make some mention of this place with this story<sup>d</sup>: “Rabban Gamaliel, and R. Eliezer Ben Azariah, and R. Joshua, and R. Akiba וְרַבִּי גַמְלִיֵּל וְרַבִּי אֶלִיעֶזֶר בֶּן אַזַּרְיָהוּ וְרַבִּי יוֹשֻׁעַ וְרַבִּי אַכִּיבָה ἤλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, went to Rome” [i. e. made a voyage to Rome, as in this chap. ver. 14, Ἠλθομεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ‘we went towards Rome’]: “וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ קוֹל הַמִּוֶּנֶה שֶׁל רוֹמָי מִפוֹטִילִיּוֹם” and they heard the sound of the multitude at Rome, being distant a hundred and twenty miles. Therefore they began to weep; but R. Akiba laughed. They say unto him, O Akiba, why shouldst thou laugh, while we weep?—He saith unto them, And why should you weep?—They make answer, Have we not cause to weep, when these Gentile idolaters worship their idols, and yet remain prosperous and quiet,—whiles, in the mean time, the temple,

<sup>b</sup> In Corinthiacis, vel lib. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo, lib. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Echah rabbath. fol. 81. 2.

the footstool of our God, is become a flame, and a habitation for wild beasts? Have we not cause to weep?—To whom he answereth, For this very cause do I laugh; for if it be so prosperous with those, that provoke God to anger,—how much more shall it be so to those, that do his will?”

This story is repeated elsewhere, Maccoth, fol. 24. 1; and there, instead of פוטליוס ‘Puteolus,’ it is set פרטיה; and yet the Gloss upon the place, quoted out of Echah Rabbathi, tells us, that “in the third chapter of the treatise Maccoth, it is written פטוליוס.”

St. Paul and the rest abide at Puteoli seven days, at the entreaty of the Christians of that place: which redounded to the credit of the centurion, whose leave must be obtained in that case: so that his yielding so far may somewhat argue, that he favoured Christianity.

Ver. 15: Ἐξήλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῖν ἄχρις Ἀππίου Φόρου, καὶ Τριῶν Ταβερῶν. *“They came to meet us as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns.”*

‘Via Appia’ and ‘Appii forum’ are much spoke of in authors; but the mention of the ‘Three Taverns’ is not so frequent. There is mention, in Zosimus<sup>f</sup>, of Τρία Καπηλεία, i. e. ‘The three victualling-houses;’ where Severus the emperor was strangled by the treason of Maximianus Herculus, and Maxentius his son.

<sup>f</sup> Zosim. lib. 2.



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