JULIAN,
OR
A DISCOURSE
Concerning the
EARTHQUAKE
AND
FIERY EROSION,
Which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild
the Temple at Jerusalem.

IN WHICH
The reality of a divine Interposition is shewn;
The Objections to it are answered;

AND
The nature of that Evidence which demands the
assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact, is considered and explained.

By the Rev. Mr. WARBURTON,
Preacher to the Hon. Society of LINCOLN's Inn.

Nec sunt Necessaria, quia super vacanea dedicerunt.
SeneCA.

LONDON,
Printed for J. and P. Knapton, in Ludgate-street
MDCL.
INTRODUCTION.

A sovereign contempt for the authority of the Fathers, and no great reverence for any other, is what now-a-days makes a Protestant in fashion. But as I imagine Religion loses something, and Learning a great deal, by the neglect in which they lye at present, I should have been tempted to say a word or two in their behalf, even tho’ the subject of the following sheets did not require that they whose testimony I make some use of, should have their pretences examined, and their character fairly settled. But what is here insinuated to the discredit of the present mode in Theology, is not said in behalf of the past, but of that which good sense seems ready to place between them.

The authority of the Fathers had now for many ages, been esteemed sacred. These men, by taking the Greek Philosophers to their
their assistance in explaining the nature and genius of the Gospel, had unhappily turned Religion into an art; and their successors, the Schoolmen, by framing a body of Theology out of Them, instead of search-ing for it in the Scriptures, soon after turned it into a trade. But (as in all affairs where Reason does not hold the balance) that which had been extravagantly advanced, was, on the turn of the times, as extravagantly undervalued. It may not therefore be amiss to acquaint the English Reader, in few words, how all this came to pass.

* When the avarice and ambition of the Romish clergy had, by working with the superstition and ignorance of the people, erected what they call their Hierarchy, and digested an ecclesiastical policy on the ruins of Gospel liberty, for the administration of it, they found nothing of such use for the support of this lordly system as the making

* Comme l’autorité fait le fondement de cette étude [la Theologie] il est juste de defferer absolument non seulement à l’Ecriture sainte, mais encore aux sentimen-tens des Peres, qui nous ont expliqué la tradition, sur tout à ceux que l’Eglise a canoniséz, pour ainsi dire, par son approbation, ou en tout ou en partie. Traité des études monastiques par Mabillon, p. 360.
the authority of the Fathers sacred and decisive. For having introduced numerous errors and superstitions, both in Rites and Doctrine, which the silence and the declarations of Scripture equally condemned, they were obliged to seal up those living Oracles, and open this new warehouse of the Dead. And it was no wonder if in that shoal of writers (as a poet of our own calls it) which the great drag-net of time hath inclosed and brought down to us, under the name of Fathers, there should be some amongst them of a character suited to countenance any kind of folly or extravagance. The decisions of the Fathers, therefore, they thought fit to treat as Laws; and to collect them into a kind of Code under the title of the Sentences.

From this time every thing was tried at the bar of the Fathers; and so unquestioned was their jurisdiction, that when the great defection was made from the Church of Rome back again to the Church of Christ, the Reformed, tho' they shook off the tyranny of the Pope, could not disengage themselves from the unbounded authority of the Fathers; but carried that prejudice with a 2 them,
them, as they did some others, of a worse complexion, into the Protestant religion. For, in sacred matters, as Novelty is suspicious, and Antiquity venerable, they thought it for their credit to have the Fathers on their side. They seemed neither to consider Antiquity in general as a thing relative, nor Christian antiquity as a thing positive: either of which would have shewn them that the Fathers themselves were modern, compared to that authority on which Reformation was founded; and that the Gospel was that true antiquity on which all its followers should repose themselves b. The con-

b The Roman Catholics have long objected to us the Antiquity of their Church, as one of its greatest supports. But none of them have been so ingenuous as the admirable author of L'Esprit des Loix, to shew us wherein the force of this argument consists. L'antiquité (fays he) convient à la Religion, parce que souvent nous croyons plus les choses à mesure qu'elles sont plus reculées : car nous n'avons pas dans la tête des idées accessoires tirées de ces temps-là qui puissent les contredire. Vol. ii. p. 203. 8vo Ed. But then unluckily this force lies in the supposition of its being not a true, but a false Church. For tho' false religion receives an advantage from the oblivion of those discrediting circumstances which attended its original, and which time hath now deprived us of; yet true religion

sequence
I N T R O D U C T I O N.

sequence of which unhappy error was, that, in the long appeal to Reason, between Protestants and Papists, both of them going on a common principle, of the decisive authority of the Fathers, enabled the Latter to support their credit against all the evidence of common sense and sacred Scripture.

At length an excellent writer of the Reformed, observing that the controversy was likely to be endless; for tho' the gross corruptions of Popery were certainly later than the third, fourth, and fifth Centuries, to which the appeal was usually made, yet the seeds of them being then sown, and beginning to pullulate, it was but too plain there was hold enough for a skilful Debater to draw the Fathers to his own side, and make them water the sprouts they had been planting: observing this, I say, he wisely projected to shift the ground, and force the disputants to vary their method, both of at-

receives infinite damage from the same effects of time, because several circumstances now lost, which accompanied its birth, must needs have greatly confirmed its character. For it is as much in nature that the circumstances attending truth should confirm it, as that the circumstances attending error should detect it.

a 3  
tack
INTRODUCTION.

tack and defence. In order to this he composed a discourse of the true use of the Fathers. In which, with uncommon learning, and strength of argument, he shewed, that the Fathers were incompetent deciders of the controversies now on foot; since the points in question were not formed into articles till long after the ages in which they lived. This was bringing the Fathers from the bench to the table; degrading them from the rank of judges, into the class of simple evidence; in which, too, they were not to speak, like Irissb evidence, in every case where they were wanted, but only to such matters as were agreed to be within their knowledge. Had this learned critic stopped here, his book had been free from blame; but at the same time his honest purpose had, in all likelihood, proved very ineffectual: for the obliquity of old prejudices is not to be set strait by just reducing it to that line of right which barely restores it to integrity. He went much further: and by shewing, occasionally, that they were absurd interpreters of holy-writ; that they were bad Reasoners in morals; and very loose evidence in facts; he seemed willing to have

* De l'Emploi des Peres, par M. Daille.
his Reader infer, that even tho' they had been masters of the subject, yet these other defects would have rendered them very unqualified deciders.

However the work of this famous Foreigner had great consequences: and especially with us here at home. The more learned amongst the Nobility (which, at that time, was of the Republic of letters) were the first who emancipated themselves from the general prejudice. It brought the excellent Lord Faulkland to think moderately of the Fathers, and to turn his theological inquiries into a more useful channel. And his great rival in arts, the famous Lord Digby, found it of such use to him, in his defence of Reformation against his cousin Sir Kenhelm, that he has even epitomised it, in his fine letter on that subject. But what it has chiefly to boast of is, that it gave birth to the two best defences ever written, on the two best subjects, Religion and Liberty; I mean Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, and Dr. Jer. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying. In a word, it may be truly said to be the storehouse, from whence all who have since
written popularly on the character of the Fathers, have derived their materials.

Dr. Whitby, in whose way they fell as Interpreters of Scripture, hath, in imitation of the pattern Dailé set him, made a large collection from their writings, to expose their talents for Criticism. In the same manner, and in a larger volume, Mr. Barbeyrac afterwards treated their pretensions to the science of Ethics: And now of late the very learned and ingenious Dr. Middleton, finding them in the support of Monkish Miracles, hath written as largely to prove their Testimony in matters of fact to be none of the clearest.

So that these several constituent parts of their character being thus taken up in their turns; and the whole order exposed as incompetent Judges of Doctrine, as trifling Interpreters of Scripture, as bad Moralists, and as slippery Evidence; it is no wonder the English reader, who only measures them by such representations, should be disposed to think very irreverently of these early Lights of the holy Catholic Church.

* Dissert. de S. S. interpretatione secund. Patres.
* La Morale des Peres &c.

But,
INTRODUCTION.

But, let us lay aside prejudice on either hand, and we shall see enough to persuade us, that disputers, who have little more in view than to support a favourite charge, will not always be careful to preserve their candor. In the heat of a prosecution, proofs will be apt to be overstrained: but admit they are not; and that the facts are fairly represented; what considerate man will think himself able to form a true judgment of a character, when no more of it is laid before him than a collection of its blots and blemishes?

There were always some indeed, till of late, who preserved their moderation (which, in matters where our interests are highly concerned, as in Religion and Politics, is not easy to do) and these were wont to say, "That tho' we should indeed suppose the Fathers to be as fanciful Divines, as bad Critics, and as unsafe Moralists, as Daillé, Whitby, and Barbeyrac are pleased to represent them, yet this would take nothing from the integrity of their Evidence: and what we want of them is only their Testimony to facts." But now, even this service is thought too much. The learned Author of the Free Inquiry
INTRODUCTION.

Inquiry seems unwilling to allow them this small remnant of credit: which he has certainly much hurt by exposing their excessive credulity in point of false Miracles. But, controversy apart, I see no reason why their veracity should be questioned when they bear witness to the state of Religion in their own times, because they disgraced their judgment, in giving ear to every strange tale of Monkish extraction. The most learned and virtuous Divine of the barbarous ages is the venerable Bede; and the honestest as well as most discerning historian of those, or perhaps of any age, is Matthew Paris: yet their propensity to recount the wonderful exceeds all imagination. Neither learning, judgment, nor integrity could secure them against the general contagion. Now if this disposition was, in them (as is confessed) only the vice of the times, is it not unjust to ascribe the same disposition in the Fathers, to the vice of the Men?

But our folly has ever been, and is likely to continue, to judge of antiquity by a modern standard: when, if we would form reasonable ideas on this subject, we should compare the parts of it with one another. We
INTRODUCTION

We examine the conceits of a Basil or an Austin, on the test of the improved reasoning of our own times. And we do well. It is the way to read them with profit. But when, from a contempt of their logic, which follows this comparison, we come to despise their other accomplishments of parts and learning, we betray gross ignorance or injustice. To know the real value of the Fathers we should place them by their contemporaries, the Pagan writers of greatest fame and reputation; and if they suffer in their neighbourhood; e'en let them stay, where most of them already are, with the Grocers. But it is a truth none acquainted with antiquity can deny, how great a secret soever modern Divines make of it, that as polite scholars (and it is that which we now most affect to value) whether in eloquence, ethics, antiquity, or philosophy, the Christian writers have indisputably the first place. Nay, one may venture to say, there are some of them who have successfully rivaled the very best writers of antiquity. St. Chrysostome has more good sense than Plato; and you may find in Lactantius almost as many good words as in Tully. So that if, on the principles of a classical taste, we discard the
INTRODUCTION.

the Fathers, we should discard along with them the Pagan writers of the same ages; unless the wonderful Theology of the Latter can atone for (what they both have in common) their false rhetoric and bad reasoning.

These imperfections, therefore, being common both to Gentile and Christian writers, it is plain they were the faults of the Times, and not of the Men. For whatever advantages the ancients might have over us in the arts of poetry, oratory, and history, it is certain, that in the Science of Reasoning, as far as it concerns the discovery of moral truth, the moderns are infinitely superior.

Those who are not able to form a comparison between them, on their own knowledge, may be reconciled to this conclusion, when the peculiar hindrances, in the ancient world, to the advancement of moral truth, on the principles of a just logic, have been laid before them.

The cultivation of the art of reasoning on this subject, was, in the most early times of learning, in the hands of their Orators and Sophists. Whatever was the pro-
profection, the real business of the Orator was not to convince, but to persuade; and not in favour of truth, but of convenience or utility: which, again, was not general utility (for that coincides with truth) but particular; which is often at variance with it. So that their art of reasoning, was as much an art to binder the discovery of truth, as to promote it. Nor was that part which was employed in the support of error merely lost to the service of truth. The mischief went further. It brought in many fallacious rules and modes of reasoning, which greatly embarrassed and misled the Advocate when he was employed in a better cause. Particularly those by similitude and analogy: which had their rise from hence; and soon spread, like a leprosy, over all the argumentation of antiquity.

We need not wonder then, if under this management Truth was rarely found. What seems to be more strange is, that when it was found, its value was so little understood that it was as frequently sacrificed to the empty vanity, as to the more solid interest, of the disputer. For the Sophists, the abstracted
abstracled Inquirers after truth, made their wisdom (from whence they took their name) to consist in bringing truth to the side of their reasoning; not in bringing their reasoning to the side of truth. Hence it became the glory of their profession to demonstrate for, or against any opinion, indifferently: and they were never better pleased than when that was prescribed to them for their subject, let it be what it would, which their auditors had a mind should be the truth. The difficulties they frequently had to encounter, in support of so extravagant a character, introduced into the ancient reasoning new modes of fallacies, a set of metaphysical quibbles, which being the invention of wise Men, are fitted only to impose on others as wise.

But tho' so much had been done to betray, to estrange, and to discredit truth; yet common sense revolts against every thing when it becomes, to a certain degree, unnatural. This insolent abuse of Reason, now proceeding to an open mockery of Truth, brought the Sophists into public contempt: and gave room to another set of men, of a more
modestri denomination, to raise themselves upon their ruins.

These were the Philosophers: and to these, it must be owned, the Gentile world owed all its real improvements in the art of reasoning, and advancement in truth. But the defects of their constitution, the errors of their principles, and the folly of their conduct, were so great, that truth was kept in that state of inferiority, in which, we say, it came to the Fathers of the Church. It would ill suit the occasion of this discourse to explain these things at large: we can only hint at some of the most considerable.

The Philosophers presently ran into two extremes, of all things the most hurtful to reason, Scepticism and Dogmatizing. There they doubted too much; here, too little. And these vices they contracted of the stock from which they sprung, the Sophists: who by their custom of disputing for and against every thing, brought every thing, in its turn, according to the temper of the recipients, to be firmly embraced, or wantonly doubted of. For extremes often beget, and, when
INTRODUCTION.

when they have begot, always support one another.

A second injury to reason was that principle, which they all held in common, *that truth was ever to give place to utility*. A principle which had the appearance of modesty, as seeming only to imply, what is very true, that we are less able to judge of *causes* than *effects*; but, indeed, the natural issue of the inveteracy and absurdity of popular Paganism, and of its incorporation with the state.

Another principle held by them in common, and no less injurious to the rights of reason, was that the fundamental doctrines of each Sect were to be held unquestioned by all who professed themselves of it. For, in most societies, Truth is but the second care; the first is to provide for themselves; and as this can be done only by uniformity of opinions, and opinions will continue no longer uniform than while they remain unquestioned, an *ipse dixit* was the *rule* of all, tho' the *badge* only of one Sect. These several defects in the constitution of ancient Philosophy had, in course of time, brought on others. The Dogmatists, as was natural,
INTRODUCTION. xvii

tentional, grew enthusiastic; and the Sceptics immoral. The two worst disasters that can befall a searcher after Truth. For her abode is neither in the clouds, nor on the dung-hill.

Take then all these things together, and we shall see, they must be insuperable bars to improvement, in the science of moral reasoning.

But to this it will be said, that those two great instruments of Truth, Logic and Mathematics, were, the one invented, and the other highly advanced, in these very Ages. It is certain they were. But if the plain truth may be told, the use of these boasted instruments goes no further than to assist us, the one in the Form of reasoning, the other in the Method of discourse.

Aristotle's invention of the Categories was a surprizing effort of human wit. But, in practice, Logic is more a Trick than a Science, formed rather to amuse than to instruct. And, in some sort, we may apply to the art of syllogism what a man of wit says of Rhetoric, that it only b teacheth
teacheth us to name those tools, which nature had before put into our hands, and taught the use of. However, all its real virtue consists in the compendious detection of a Fallacy. This is the utmost it can do for Truth. In the service of chicane, indeed, it is a mere juggler's knot, now fast, now loose; and the Schoolmen, who possessed it in a supreme degree, are full of its Legerdemain. But its true value is now well known: and there is but little need to put it lower in the general estimation.

However what Logic hath lost of its credit for this service, Mathematics have gained. And Geometry is now supposed to do wonders as well in the system of Man as of Matter. It must be owned, the real virtue it hath, it had acquired long since: for, by what is left us of antiquity, we see how elegantly it was then handled, and how sublimely it was pursued. But the truth is, all its use, for the purpose in question, besides what hath been already mentioned, seems to be only habituating the mind to think long and closely: and it would be well if this advantage made amendments for some inconveniencies, as inseparable
rable from it. It may seem perhaps too much a paradox to say, that long habit in this Science incapacitates the mind for reasoning at large, and especially in the search of moral Truth. And yet, I believe, nothing is more certain. The object of Geometry is demonstration, and its subject admits of it, and is almost the only one that doth. In this science, whatever is not demonstration, is nothing; or at least below the Professor's regard. Probability thro' its almost infinite degrees, from simple ignorance up to absolute certainty, is the terra incognita of the Geometrician. And yet here it is that the great business of the human mind, is carried on, the search and discovery of all the important Truths which concern us as reasonable creatures. And here too it is that all its vigour is exerted; for to proportion the assent to the probability accompanying every varying degree of moral Evidence requires the most enlarged and sovereign exercise of Reason. But the harder the use of any thing, the more of habit is required to make us perfect in it. Is it then likely that the Geometer, long confined to the routine of demonstration, the easiest exercise of Reason, where much
INTRODUCTION.

less of the Vigour than of the Attention of mind is required to excel, should form a right judgment on subjects, whose Truth or Falsity is to be rated by the probabilities of moral Evidence. I call mathematics the easiest exercise of Reason on the authority of Cicero, who observes, that scarce any Man ever set himself upon this study, who did not make what progress in it be pleased to. But besides acquired inability, prejudice renders the veteran Mathematician still less capable of judging of moral Evidence. He who hath been so long accustomed to lay together and compare ideas, and hath reaped the richest fruits of speculative Truth for his labour, regards all the lower degrees of Evidence as in the train only of his mathematical Principality: and he commonly disposes of them in so despotic a manner, that the ratio ultima Mathematicorum is become almost as great a libel upon Reason, as other sovereign deci-

f Quis ignorat, ii, qui Mathematici vocantur, quanta in obscuritate rerum, & quam recondita in arte & multiplica subtilitate versentur? quo tam in genere ita multi perfecti homines extiterunt, ut nemo fere studuisse ei scientiae vehementius videatur, quin, quod voluerit, secutus sit. De Orat. l. i.
INTRODUCTION.

I might appeal, for the truth of this, to those wonderful conclusions which Geometers, when condescending to write on History, Ethics, or Theology, have made from their premises. But the thing is notorious: and it is now no secret that the oldest Mathematician in England is the worst Reasoner in it. But I would not be mistaken, as undervaluing the many useful discoveries made from time to time in moral matters by professed Mathematicians. Nor will any one so mistake me, who does not first confound the Genius and the Geometer; and then conclude that what was the achievement of his Wit, was the product of his Theorems.

Yet still it must be owned, that this discipline habituates the mind to think closely; and may help us to a good method of composition. In those most unpromising ages, when the forms of the Schools were as tedious and intricate, as the matter they treated, was absurd or trifling, it hath had force enough to break thro' the bondage of custom, and to clear away the thorns that then perplexed and overgrew the paths of learning. Thomas Bradwardin, a mathematician,
INTRODUCTION.

matician, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in the fourteenth Century, in his famous book De causa Dei, hath treated his subject, not as it was wont to be handled in the Schools, but in the better method of the Geometers. And in another instance, of more importance, he hath given the age he lived in an example to emancipate itself from the slavery of fashion, I mean in his attempt (as by his freedom with the Fathers it seems to be) of reducing their extravagant authority to its just bounds. But yet, so true is the preceding observation, that tho' Mathematics, in good hands, could do this, it could do no more: All the opening it gave to Truth could not secure Bradwardin from the dishonour of becoming advocate for the most absurd opinion that ever was, the Anti-Pelagian Doctrine of St. Austin; in which the good archbishop was so much in earnest, that he calls the defence of it, the Cause of God.

To return. Such was the state and condition of the human understanding in the ancient World (rather a mechanical than a moral cultivation of reasoning) when Christianity arose, and on such Principles as were
INTRODUCTION. xxiii

were best adapted to correct those very errors and prejudices, which had so long and so fatally retarded the progress of Truth. It would require a just volume to treat this matter as it deserves. The nature of my work will not allow me to enlarge upon it. I can only give a single instance, but it shall be an important one, namely the use of these principles in discovering the true end of man; and in directing him to the right means of attaining it.

The knowledge of the One God, as the moral and immediate Governor of the Universe, directly leads us to the supreme good; and the doctrine of Faith, as it inspires the love of truth, enables us to procure it.

In the Pagan world, from which God was removed, the end was totally obscured by their perplexed disputes concerning the supreme good; and the means, quite lost in the various passions that had absorbed the love of truth.

These were the principles revealed by Heaven for the advancement of moral knowledge: and in God's good time they had b 4 their
INTRODUCTION.
their effect: tho' indeed somewhat with the latest. For it is not to be dissembled, that here, as in most other cases in the moral World, the perversity of Man soon ran counter to God's Providence; which had so admirably fitted and disposed things for a general reform.

The first Preachers of the Gospel were the inspired Messengers of the Word. They committed its dictates to writing; and with that Purity, and consequently with that Splendor, in which they drew them from the fountain of Truth.

Their immediate followers, whom we call the Apostolic Fathers, received at their hands the Doctrine of Life, in all the simplicity of Understanding as well as Heart. It cannot be said their Writings do much honour to the rational sublimity of sacred Truth; but then they do not violate its integrity. For false philosophy had not yet made havoc of the Faith, tho' it was then beginning to work. If, in their Writings, we see but little of that manly elegance of Reason, which makes the Scriptures so truly respectable, it must be allowed however, there is as little of those adulterate Orna-
INTRODUCTION. xxv

Ornaments, which their Successors brought from the brothels of Philosophy to adorn the sanctity of Religion: and let me add further, that tho' the early prospect of things may not be, in all respects, what one could wish; yet there is one circumstance, which does great credit to our holy Faith; It is this, That as the integrity and dignity of its simple and perfect nature refused all fellowship with the adulterate arts of Grecian learning; so the admirable display of divine Wisdom in disposing the parts, and conducting the course of the grand system of Redemption, was not to be tolerably apprehended but by an improved and well disciplined understanding. Both these qualities suited the nobility of its Original. It could bear no communion with error; and was as little fitted to consort with ignorance.

The men of Science were not the first who attended to the call of the Gospel. It was not likely, they should be the first. Their station presented many prejudices against it. It was taught by simple and unlettered Men, whose condition they held in contempt; and it required that they who had been till now the Teachers of Mankind, should
INTRODUCTION.

should become Learners. The Doctrines of the Gospel had indeed this to recommend them, that they were rational; but the Philosophers were already no strangers to those principles of natural Religion which Christianity adopted, such as the unity of the Godhead, his moral Government, and the essential difference between good and evil. The attestations to its Truth were wonderful; but these, their principles of false Philosophy enabled them to evade: so that their Passions and Prejudices, for some time, supported them in holding out against all the conviction of Gospel-Evidence.

But it was not so with plainer Men. They submitted to its force with less reluctance. Philosophy had secreted from them what it taught, of most reasonable, concerning God and his Attributes; so that the Religion which openly delivered these Truths, of such repose and comfort to the human mind, was embraced with eagerness. And as the Grecian Wisdom could not keep them from receiving the Truth when offered, so neither did that false science tempt them to vitiate it after they had received it, and were become the Preachers.
INTRODUCTION. xxvii

er of it. They were apt indeed to fall
into the other extreme, and (by considering
of how little public use Philosophy had ever
been to Mankind, and how violently it now
opposed the new Religion which had man-
kind for its object) to neglect or avoid all
human literature, without distinction. They
saw, in the power of Miracles, a more effi-
cacious way of propagating the Faith: and
they thought they saw, in St. Paul's cen-
sure of the Grecian science, the condemna-
tion of all human literature, in general.
St. Paul had himself abstained from their
meretricious Eloquence, and had caution-
ed posterity against their magical Philoso-
phy. The first, lest it should occasion a
suspicion that the Faith had made its way
rather by the power of human speech, than
by the word of the Spirit: The latter,
because he saw it fatally framed to infect
Religion; and had some experience, and
more divine foresight, that it would speedily
do so,

Indeed the time was at hand. For
the convictive evidence, and rapid progress
of the Gospel had so shaken and discon-
certed Learned pride, that the next age saw
a tor-
xxviii INTRODUCTION,
a torrent of Believers pour in, from the Schools of their Rhetors, the Colleges of their Philosophers, and the Cloisters of their Priests. The sincerity of these illustrious Converts in embracing a Religion which did not hold out, so much as in distant prospect, any advantages of the temporal kind, cannot be fairly brought in question. Their discretion, their prudence, were the things wanting. But that passion of new Converts, Zeal, which is then least under the direction of Knowledge when it most needs it, hindered them from making their advantages of the principles of Revelation; so admirably fitted, as we have shewn, to improve human nature on that side where its perfection lies, I mean, in the high attainments of moral Truth. For, instead of reasoning from truths clearly revealed, and so, from things known, to advance, by due degrees, in the method of the mathematicians, to the discovery of truths unknown, They travest obscure uncertainties, nay, manifest errors into truth; and sought in Philosophy and Logic analogies and quibbles to support them.

Their two great objects, as became them, were to increase the number of Believers;
INTRODUCTION.

lievers; and to defend the Faith against Infidels and Heretics.

AMONGST the means they employed for the speedy conversion of the World, one was to bring Christianity as near to the Genius of the Gentile Religion, and of the Greek Philosophy, as could be done with a safe conscience, and without offence. They thought it prudent to avail themselves of the prejudices of Paganism; and perhaps they themselves were not free from all remains of those prejudices. The Jewish law, ill understood, satisfied them in the innocence of those means. They saw there, compliances made by God himself to the prejudices and superstitions of the times. But they did not see that a national Worship, instituted for peculiar and temporary ends, was to be conducted on different maxims from those of a Religion whose purity was erected on the universal principles of Spirit and Truth. They did not see that one mean was to be pursued when the end was to keep a chosen Family from the contagion of general Idolatry; and another, when Idolaters were to be invited into the profession of an universal Faith.
INTRODUCTION.

There were two things in Paganism, which, by exciting and keeping up the most amusing exercise of the mind, Admiration, did, more than any other, hold the people attached to Idolatry; and these were mysterious Rites and hidden Doctrines.

One would think it hard to find an equivalent for these in so simple and perfect a Religion as the Christian; yet the figurative expressions in the institution of the last Supper, and the frequent mention of mysteries in the Apostolic Writings, tho' it be of mysteries which the Genius of the Gospel had revealed, not of such as it had invented, gave occasion to accommodators to speak of the celebration of the last Supper as a hidden rite, to which they applied all the terms in use at the celebration of the Pagan Mysteries; and of the doctrine of Redemption as one of those sublime and occult Truths, which the fanatic Platonists, the fashionable sect of those times, boasted they had in trust, for the purification and perfection of human natures.

It may not be improper to observe, that Platonism was the sect to which these Christian Fathers principally addicted themselves. Partly because it was then
INTRODUCTION. xxxi

This mysterious Genius of Paganism, together with its popular absurdities, naturally and necessarily produced a method of the Philosophy in fashion, and partly because (in consequence of that) several of them came from that School into the Church; but chiefly because they had entertained greater hopes of bringing over the Platonists to the Faith, which, as it was in the highest credit, would be a victory over Philosophy in general. What they seemed to ground their hopes upon was the sceptical disposition of that School as in its first institution. The soberer Platonists professed to seek Truth; and, were not ashamed to own they could not find it. It was therefore imagined they would gladly receive it, in doctrines so rational, and so clearly revealed. But in this they were deceived: for Uncertainty is not the state and condition of the Sceptic's knowledge, but the Principle and the Genius of it: And it was departing from the fundamental laws of their profession to acknowledge anything Certain. As for the enthusiastic part of this Sect, which was now daily getting ground, the magic to which they were so madly given kept them confined within its circle. This, and some manifest mischiefs, which even the warmest of the Fathers could not but perceive, made them ever and anon, when in ill humour, to execute the Schools of Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, &c. and denounce each of them, in their turns, to be the great nurseries of Hereby. But, falsely supposing that the evil arose from this or that particular Sect, when it had its root in the Genius of them all, they went on exclaiming against their particular Doctrines, and theologizing and reasoning on their general Principles.

teaching,
INTRODUCTION.

Teaching, which always pleases the imagination in proportion as it disgusts the understanding, that is to say, the method of Allegory. An art excellently fitted to cover the old nonsense of the vulgar Gentilism, and to ornament the new inventions of the Philosophic; but very abhorrent of the nature of Christianity, where every thing was rational, and every thing clear and open. Yet as Allegory was become the general Vehicle of instruction, and that which particularly distinguished the School of Plato, the Fathers, who leaned most towards that Sect, thought fit to accommodate themselves to the fashion. They allegorized every thing; and their success was such as might be expected from so absurd an expedient. Here, again, Judaism, misunderstood, supported them in their ill-judged schemes. For the Law is full of Allegories, and figurative representations. And with great propriety, as that Religion was dependent on, and preparatory to the Gospel; which, being its end and completion, required to have some idea of itself delineated in the means. But this, which shews Allegories to be reasonable in the Old Testament, shews the folly of expecting them in the New. For when the
INTRODUCTION. xxxii

the substance was come in, and full light, the shadow was of course to be cast behind. Yet, by the most unaccountable perversity, the very reason which the Apostle gives for the necessity of interpreting the Law figuratively, that the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life, was made the authority for using the Gospel in the same manner.

Thus much for a taste of their Didactic Theology. Their Polemic favoured as strongly of the same impure mixture. For the form of argument, and the matter of confutation, came from the same Shops: From the teaching Rhetors they learnt the art of reasoning by similitudes and analogies; from the talking Orators, that capital argument, the argument ad hominem; and from the wrangling Philosophers, such as the Academics, the address of using any sort of Principles to support their own opinions, or confute their adversaries. The three eternal bars to the discovery and advancement of Truth.

But matters still grew from bad to worse; till one dark Cloud of Ignorance had overspread the Western World: this was fol-
INTRODUCTION.

lowed by a Spiritual Dominion, which took advantage of the disorders occasioned by the continued inroads of savage spoilers, to strike its roots deep and wide in the fat and lumpish soil of Gothic Barbarism. For as a Temporal Tyranny maintains itself by corrupt Manners, so a Spiritual by corrupt Doctrines. And, as in large Empires subject to the former, the luxury of Vice runs into delicacies; so in those of the Latter, the absurdity of Doctrines converts itself into Subtilties. Hence the original of the Schoolmen’s art; as we find it completed in the Peripatetic Code of Sums and Sentences. And this was in the order of things: what the fanatical visions of the Platonic Philosophy had brought into the Faith, it was but fit the subtleties of the Aristotelian should support. And it is observable, that the use which the Schoolmen made of their disputatious genius, was neither better nor worse than what the Sophists made before them. For triumphant Dulness commonly grows wanton in the exercise of imputed Wit. And the Sic and Non of Peter Abelard was now as famous as, aforetime, the ἀροτρία of Gorgias.
INTRODUCTION. xxxv

At length Truth shot its ray into this Chaos of reason: but it came not directly from its Source; but from the ferment of such Passions as error and corruption are apt to raise amongst those who govern in, and enjoy the benefit of, that state of confusion. For when a Reform happens to appear from within, it cannot be supposed to have its birth in a love of truth; hardly, in the knowledge of it. Generally, some oblique Passion gratifies itself in decrying the groelier corruptions, supported by, and supporting, Those it hates. The Machine thus set a going, Truth has fair play: she is now at liberty to procure lovers, and to attach them to her service. This was the course of things in the revolution we are about to speak of; and is the natural rise and progress of religious reformations in general. For if, in the state of such established Error, Providence was to wait till a love of truth had set men upon breaking through their slavery, its Dispensations could never provide that timely aid to miserable Humanity, as we now find they almost always do. For when the corruption hath spread so wide, as to make Truth, if haply she could be found, an indifferent object
object; What is there left, to enable men to break their fetters but the clashing interests of the corruption itself? And it is knowing as little of the religious, as of the moral course of God's Providence, to upbraid those, who have profited of the blessing, with the baseness of the Instruments that procured it.

However, the love of Truth soon came in aid of Those, whom St. Paul himself would not discourage (such as preach Christ even of envy and strife) to carry on the work of Reformation. For though the grossness of the corruptions did not straitway make them suspected, yet, being tyrannically imposed, they soon became hated; and that hatred brought on an enquiry, which ended not but in their detection. And then, Those, whose honesty and courage emboldened them to make a secession, found no way of supporting themselves in their new-recovered liberty, but by supplying their want of power with a superior share of knowledge.

To this every thing concurred. They were led, even by the spirit of opposition, to the fountain of Truth, the Scriptures; from
INTRODUCTION. From which they had been so long exclud-
ed. And the Scriptures, as we observed, had, amongst their other advantages, this peculiar virtue, to direct and enlarge the Mind, by providing it with such objects as were best suited for its contemplation; and presenting them in such lights as most readily promoted its improvement by them. Such too was the gracious disposition of Heaven, that at the very time they were breaking up the recovered fountains of divine knowledge, the whole treasury of human learning was ready to be laid open to them. For a powerful Nation, of fierce Enthusiasts, the enemies of the Christian name, had just driven Grecian Literature from its native seats, and forced it to take refuge in the western parts of Europe.

How admirable are the ways of Providence! and how illustrious was its present dispensation! It directed the independent, various, and contrary Revolutions of these times, to rectify the mischiefs occasioned by the past: Whereby, the very Learning, which had in the first ages been employed to corrupt Christianity, now served to purify and restore it: The Philosophy, which was
INTRODUCTION.

superior to those Gentile writers, their contemporaries, whom we most admire: and I have explained the unhappy causes (in which religion and reason suffered equally, as they always will suffer together) why the Fathers did not, in the exactness of their Logic, and in the purity of their Ethics, infinitely surpass them. But, in the course of this Apology, I have endeavoured to serve a greater purpose; which was, to vindicate our holy Religion from its supposed impotency and incapacity to direct and enlarge the reasoning faculties in the discovery and advancement of moral truth.

So far then as to the genius and literary talents of the Fathers: their moral character is a distinct consideration; and would well deserve it. But I have already exceeded my limits. However, this I may venture to say, that the most prejudiced against them will never be able to prove, they had an immoral intention to deceive. If there be any

1 See a very sensible and ingenious Writer, the Reverend Mr. Frederick Toll, on this head, p. 88, & seq. who (distinct from the merits of the cause) has with uncommon abilities and candor Defended the Free Enquiry of Dr. Middleton.
INTRODUCTION.

learned man who thinks otherwise, I would advise him, before he attempts to make out this charge against them, to weigh well the force of the following Remark, though made on somewhat a different occasion.

"Whenever (says the admirable author of the Esprit des Loix) one observes, in any age or government, the several Bodies in a Community intent on augmenting their own authority, and vigilant to procure certain advantages to themselves exclusive of each other’s pretensions, we should run a very great chance of being deceived if we regarded these attempts as a certain mark of their corruptions. By an unhappiness inseparable from the condition of humanity, moderation is a rare virtue in Men of superior talents. And as it is always more easy to push on force in the direction in which it moves,

1 Lorsque dans un Siècle, on dans un Gouvernement, on voit les divers Corps de l’État chercher à augmenter leur Autorité, & à prendre les uns sur les autres de certains avantages, on se tromperait souvent si l’on regardait leurs entreprises, comme une marque certaine de leur Corruption. Par un malheur attaché à la condition humaine, les Grands-hommes modérés sont rares; & comme il est toujours plus aisé de suivre la

" than.
INTRODUCTION.

than to stop or divert its moment; perhaps, in the class of superior Geniuses,
you will sooner find men extremely virtuous, than extremely prudent.


ERRATA.

Page xiii. Line penult. for reasoning road reason
40. Note in L. 3. vieto viétu
59. 7 14. strow aitrow
99. 12. story true story
162. 21. more much
164. 13. arise arises
262. 6. Brennus's Brennus
281. 5. offered afford
A DISCOURSE

On the ATTEMPT of the

EMPEROR JULIAN

To rebuild the

TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

In considering the state of this new controversy, concerning MIRACLES, two things seemed to be wanting, as of use to oppose to the insinuations of licentious Readers, who are commonly more forward to come to a conclusion than the Disputants themselves: The one is, to shew that all the Miracles recorded in Church-History, are not forgeries or delusions: The other, that their evidence doth not stand on the same foot of credit with the Miracles recorded in Gospel-History. For most theological debates amongst Churchmen, notwithstanding their use to clear up.
2 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
up and confirm the truth, are attended
with this apparent evil, that the Enemies
of religion draw their own consequen-
ces from them, how contrary forever to the
express reasonings and declarations of the
Parties concerned.

To obviate therefore the abuses arising
from the management of the present que-
station, I have taken upon me to defend a
Miracle of the fourth Century; and to enquire
into the nature of that Evidence, which will
demand the assent of every reasonable man to a
miraculous fact.

The first part of this plan is prosecuted
in the following sheets: The second, will
afford a subject for another discourse.

My chief purpose here is to prove the
miraculous interposition of Providence, in
defeating the attempt of Julian to rebuild
the Temple of Jerusalem.

As my design in writing is in behalf of
our common Christianity, and not to sup-
port or to discredit the particular doctrines of
this or that Church or Age; I have taken
for my subject a Miracle worked by the im-
mediate
mediate Agency of God, and not through the Ministry of his Servants.

So that, whether the power of miracles as exercised by the Apostles, and their first followers, ceased with them, or was conveyed to their successors of the next age, is a question that doth not at all affect the present subject: For, God's shortening the hands of his Servants doth not imply that he shortened his own.

SECTION I.

WHEN God, in his mercy, had decreed to restore mankind to the state of immortality forfeited by Adam, He saw fit, in order to preserve the memory of himself amidst a world running headlong into Idolatry, to select a single Family, which, advanced into a Nation, might, in the interim, become the repository of his holy Name. To this purpose he took the Seed of Abraham, in reward of the virtues of their forefathers: and, in due time, brought them, by Leaders chosen from amongst themselves, to the Land he had appointed for them.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

In compliance with the religious notions of those times, he condescended, when he communicated himself as the Maker and Governor of the Universe, to adopt them for his peculiar People, under the idea of their tutelar Deity, or the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And, the better to secure the great end of their separation, assumed likewise the title and office of their King, or civil Governor.

Hence their Religion came under the idea of a Law; and was so considered and denominated. And their Law was, in the strictest sense, Religion, as having all the sanctions of a divine command.

In a word, those two great Rules of human conduct, which are, elsewhere, kept so distinct by their different originals, and different administrations, were, Here, by the sameness of both, specifically lost in a perfect incorporation. And the whole economy (as every thing in this dispensation was relative to the Jews as a body) went under the common name of Law.

From this account of the Jewish Constitution, it follows, That Religion, which, elsewhere,
elsewhere, hath only particulars for its subjects, had, Here, the nation or community: And what, elsewhere, as far as concerns the divinity of religion, is only a private matter, was, Here, a public: For the Deity being both their tutelary God and civil Governor, the proper object of his care, in each capacity, was the collective Body: And, whether we consider the observance due to him under the idea of Law or Religion, it was still the body which was the proper subject of it. Not but that Religion had there a private part, or particulars for its subject: 'But then it was that Religion we call natural; founded in what reason discovers of the relation between the creator and the Creature; an aid, which Revelation is so far from rejecting, that we find it constitutes the ground of every extraordinary Dispensation vouchsafed by God to mankind. For, be that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."

From this account of the Hebrew Government, one natural consequence ariseth, That the principal Rites of their religion

*Heb. xi. 6.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

and law were to be performed and celebrated in some determined Place. This, the object and subject of their ceremonial seemed equally to require. For, the ideas of tutelary God and King implied a Local residence: And a national act, created by the relations arising from them, required a fixed and certain place for its celebration: And both together seemed to mark out the Capital of the Country for that purpose.

This consequent practice, which the nature and reason of things so evidently point out, the Institutes of the Hebrew Constitution expressly order and enjoin. During the early and unsettled times of the Jewish State, the Sacrifices, prescribed by their Ritual, were directed to be offered up before the door of an ambulatory Tabernacle: But when they had gained the establishment decreed for them, and a magnificent Temple was erected for religious worship, then all their Sacrifices were to be offered at Jerusalem only.

Now, Sacrifices constituting the substance of their national Worship, their Religion could not be said to subsist longer than the continuance of that Celebration. But sacrifices could be performed only in one appointed
pointed Temple: So that, when this was finally destroyed, the Institution itself became abolished.

Nor was any thing more consonant to the nature of this religion, than the assigning such a celebration of its Rites. The Temple would exist while they remained a People, and continued sovereign: And when they ceased to be such, they would indeed lose their Temple, but then they had no further occasion for it; because the Rites there celebrated were relative to them, only as a civil politicied Nation.

These consequences are all so necessarily connected, and clearly understood, that when Jesus informs the woman of Samaria of the approaching abolition of the Law of Moses, he expresses himself by this circumstance, that men should no longer worship at the Temple of Jerusalem.

If, from the nature of this religion, we go on to consider its end, we shall find, in it, all the marks of a Religion, preparatory and introductory to another more complete and perfect; of which it contains the rudiments,

\[ \text{John iv. 21.} \]

\[ \text{B 3} \]
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

and presents the shadow. Such as the con-
fining its fundamental doctrine, the wor-
ship of the true God, within the limits of
one small Country. Such again, as its
multisarious and enigmatical Ritual; of which
no reasonable account can be had, but that
part was instituted to oppose the reigning
superstitions, in order to preserve the Sepa-
ration; and part to prefigure, by types or
symbols, the essential circumstances of
some future Dispensation.

But Christianity, which established its
pretensions by the power of miracles and
the purity of doctrine, doth in fact sup-
port these conclusions, by representing Ju-
daism as only the rudiments and shadow of
its own more complete economy.

This being premised, we say, that the
more perfect Dispensation could not take
place till the less perfect, which prefigured
it, and prepared its way, was set aside and
abolished.

But now, If the mere voluntary ad-
herence to a Religion were enough to pre-
vent its abolition, the perverseness and ob-
stinacy of man are such, that they might,
and, in fact, would lie in the way, and obstruct the purposes of Providence.

Therefore has the great Disposer of all things so divinely constituted this preparatory Religion, as to put it out of the power of human perversity even to delay or retard its destined abolition; by so constituting the natures, and disposing the order of his Dispensations, that those essential Rites, which made the Jewish religion to be what it was, should of necessity require a fixed local celebration, which it was not possible to perform longer than while the Jewish People continued a Nation, and in possession of the sovereignty of Palestine. St. Chrysostom has an elegant observation to this purpose: "From the necessity (says he) of a local worship, God covertly withdrew the Jews from the rage of ritual observances. For as a physician, by breaking the cup, prevents his patient from indulging his appetite in a hurtful draught; so God with-held them from their sacrifices, by destroying the City itself, and making the place inaccessible to all of them."

—Αιτό τὴς καλᾶ τοῦ τόπου ἀνάγυρες λαμβανόμενης αὑτὸς ἀπήγαλε, τὴς οὖς το πρᾶγμα μανεῖς—ὡσπερ
It may not be improper, in this place, to take notice of an objection, though indeed it be already obviated. It is, "that the sacrificing at Jerusalem being a mere ceremony, we can hardly conceive how the want of it should annihilate the whole system of a religious Institution." The objection goes upon ideas foreign to the subject. The essence of the Jewish religion was ceremonial. Hence it is, that there is no word in the Hebrew language that signifies what we mean by ceremonies: nor, if what we have delivered, concerning the nature and genius of the Jewish religion be true, could there be any such. The same is observable in the Greek language. And the reason is the same. It hath been shewn elsewhere, that this nature was common both to the Jewish and Greek Religions; rational indeed, in the former; but altogether absurd in the other. Yet it will be said, the Romans had a word to express ceremonies. It is true,
they had. And the occasion of having it will shew, why the Jews and Greeks had it not. Their Lawgiver, Numa, instituted a kind of system of natural Religion for their national use; which, time and craft soon corrupted with gross idolatries. So that as superstitions accumulated, they would be under a necessity of inventing a word to signify that specific mode of worship, through which such superstitions were conveyed.

Thus Judaism being of necessity to cease on the establishment of Christianity, we see for what reason it was predicted, that when Shiloh came, the sceptre should depart from Judah. Admirable are the ways of Providence! and so will they be always found, whenever we happen upon the clue, that leads us to the right opening.

If then, from the nature of things, it doth appear, that the Temple Worship must fall with the rise of that which is in spirit and in truth; and that the abolition of the Mosaic Law is essential to the establishment of the Gospel; we cannot but conclude, that a matter of this importance (so illustrious a proof of the relation and dependance between these two Religions!) must be predicted,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

dicted, both by the Prophets of the old, and the Founder of the new Dispensation.

They Both, indeed, have done it. And fully to comprehend the force and just value of their expressions was the end for which we have here deduced things from their original, and given this general view of the course and order of God's moral economy; on which, the sense of the prophecies relating to it must needs be determined: And without which, the several predictions of the destruction of the Temple, expressed in general terms, would be subject to cavil, as, in themselves, implying only a total, and not a final subversion. Whereas now, from the nature of the Dispensations, we understand that a destruction, thus foretold, necessarily implied a final one.

The prophet Isaiah, predicting, as usual, the triumphs of the Gospel under the terms of a temporal deliverance of the Jews from their hostile neighbours, delivers himself in the following words: "And in this moun-
tain [viz. of Zion] shall the Lord of Hosts make unto all People a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on
the Temple of Jerusalem.

"the lees well refined. And he will de-
stroy in this mountain the face of the co-
vering cast over all People, and the veil
that is spread over all nations. He will
swallow up death in victory." And to
shew, that some great event in a remote
and future age was the principal object of
his prophecy, he introduces it with this
song of triumph; "O Lord, thou art my
God, I will exalt thee, I will praise thy
name; for thou hast done wonderful
things; thy counsels of old are Faithfulness
and Truth." i.e. What thou hast origi-
nally decreed, thou wilt, in the latter ages,
bring to pass. Therefore having, in the
sixth verse, enigmatically described that sal-
vation which should arise from mount Zi-
on; in the seventh, he more openly inti-
mates the abolition of the Temple-worship,
by the figure of destroying that veil, which,
at the crucifixion of the Lord of life, the
Evangelist informs us, was rent in twain
from the top to the bottom; called by the Pro-
phet, from the confined nature of the Jew-
ish religion, the veil that hid truth from
the nations. In this sense St. Paul appears
to have understood the prophecy; for he

\(^4\text{Ch. xxv. } 6, 7, 8.\)

\(^5\text{Iisa. xxv. } 1.\) applies
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild applies the concluding words to the last triumph of Christ over Death.

Conformably to these ideas, Jesus says to the woman of Samaria,—"Believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. — But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." And to secure the honour of this great event, Providence had decreed that the City and Temple of Jerusalem should be destroyed; of which the Angel informs Daniel in the following words: "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consumation, 1 Cor. xv. 54. 6 John iv. 21—23. "mation,
the Temple of Jerusalem. 15

"nation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."
In which we see a plain and circumstantial description of the overthrow of the City and Temple by the Romans under Titus. Jesus foretells the then approaching event in the following manner: "And when Jesus was come near, he beheld the City, and wept over it, saying—The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children drenched within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another." Two other evangelists inform us, that Jesus went out, and departed from the Temple; and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? Verily, I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." And when the disciples privately asked him when these things should be, he answered, When ye shall see the abo-

Dan. ix. 26, 27.  
Luke xix. 41, 43, 44.  
Matt. xxiv. 1, 2, 15.  
Mark xiii. 1, 2, 14.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

mination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel
the prophet, standing in the holy place; refer-
ting to the prophecy quoted above. Hi-
therto we see a total destruction indefinitely
predicted. The following passage of St.
Luke's Gospel marks the fixed duration of
it. "And Jerusalem (says Jesus) shall be
" trodden down of the Gentiles, until the
" times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." But,
of the period here meant, commentators
differ: Some, as Hammond, suppose it
reaches no lower than till the empire be-
came Christian: others, as Dr. S. Clarke,
that it extends to the future conversion of
the Jews.

Amidst this uncertainty, arising from
the general expressions of these prophecies
considered alone, the only way of coming
to the truth, i.e. to know whether they
mean a final destruction, or, if not, what
sort of restoration; and when it is to succeed;
the only way, I say, is to recur to what hath
been discoursed above, concerning the na-
ture of the two dispensations: In
which we have shewn, that Christianity and
the Temple-worship cannot subsist together:


And
And so must conclude, that these Prophecies foretell not only the total, but the final destruction of the Jewish Temple.

And now, What are we to conclude from all this, to the case in hand?—It is evident, a repugnancy in the co-existence of Judaism and Christianity, would require God's interposition to prevent the restoration of the Temple: it is as evident, a Prophecy of its final destruction would do the same. Either of these facts therefore being sufficient to establish our point, so much discourse had not been employed on both, had they stood independent of one another. But the Prophecies being so delivered, as to be, of themselves, ambiguous, there was a necessity of calling-in the nature of God's Dispensations, to explain their precise meaning; which would, then, reciprocally support what we infer from the different genius of the two Religions.

If it be asked (as there is now no secret in the counsels of God but what audacious man will demand a reason of) "Why the final destruction of the Temple was so doubtfully delivered, that there was need of our having recourse to the nature and genius of the two Dispensations, to comprehend the full
full meaning of the Prophecy;" I answer, in general, that it seems very irreverent, when God hath clearly made known his Will to us, to cavil with his Wisdom, for not doing it in that way which to us may seem the most direct and simple. But, in this case it happens, we see great ends obtained, by the very way he hath been pleased to use. For by obliging us to have recourse to the nature of his Dispensations, in order to ascertain the full meaning of his Prophecies, he hath put us under the necessity of having always in view a circumstance of great moment, which we might otherwise be apt to forget; a circumstance which impresseth on us the strongest ideas of the divine wisdom. Had the abolition of Judaism, on the establishment of Christianity, been only expedient, and not necessary, as even in that case we may be assured it had been in God's counsel never to suffer the Temple to be rebuilt, so we may well believe that the revelation of this counsel by Prophecy, had been in the express terms of a final destruction; because, from the expediency only of an abolition, general terms could never lead us to conclude the predicted destruction to be final. But now as the abolition was necessary; that alone would suffice to fix the precise meaning of general
the Temple of Jerusalem.

general terms. And as the use of general terms would oblige us to have recourse to those circumstances on which the necessity was founded, and the constant view of those circumstances is highly useful for religious purposes, therefore were general terms very wisely employed.

It may perhaps be further objected, "That the reasons here given for the necessity of abolishing Judaism, on the coming of Christianity, reach no further than to a virtual abolition: whereas it is an actual abolition only that can serve our purpose."

To this I reply, That the abolition of a preparatory Religion, on the appearance of that which was to follow, is not a matter of every day's experience. There is but this one instance in the world, and never will be another. Let us divest ourselves, therefore, of all those common notions we form from analogies, and we shall see that reason leads us to expect an actual abolition. Indeed, according to our ideas of the general nature of Religion, an actual abolition could not be certainly had, without a force upon free-will; hence, in such cases, a virtual abolition is all we are to expect: and, from a consideration of the general nature of religion, we are
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

misled into this objection. But the Religion in question was of a peculiar kind. The essential part of it was a local worship. This might be actually abolished without any force upon the will. When therefore an abolition was foretold, and the necessity of it seen, must we not conclude such a one to be meant? On the whole, A virtual abolition of circumcision, purification, distinetion of meats, &c. which belong to the private part of the Jewish religion, was all that could be expected; but the nature of things seems to require an actual abolition of the public part, which was the Temple-worship. To these many other reasons might be added, Such as the apparent necessity of shewing, that this nation was no longer God's peculiar; which could hardly be done while they were in possession of a worship, that was the characteristic mark of God's peculiarity: And such as the transferring the kingship of the Jews from God to Christ; which would not appear to be done while the Temple-worship, the specific act of allegiance, was in being. There are various considerations besides of equal weight. But we may seem perhaps to have already exceeded the proportion that the parts of this Discourse should bear to one another.
Thus much, therefore, being premised, we enter directly on our Subject; it being now seen, that the truth of Christianity must stand or fall with the ruin or the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem; for if that Temple should be rebuilt for the purpose of Jewish worship, Christianity could not support its pretensions; nor the Prophets, nor Jesus, the truth of their predictions.

There was a time when the Powers of this world were all opposed to the progress of the Gospel; and continued thus opposed for some Ages. So that it would have been a miracle, as rare as most of those by which it was supported, if, amongst the various attempts to suppress and discredit it, there had not been a project formed to give the lye to those Prophecies which denounced ruin and desolation to the Jewish Temple.

The first attempt upon Christianity was such as was most natural to this Power, The suppressing it by brutal force. And the subjection of the whole civilized World to the despotic Will of one blind Persecutor, gave that force its utmost moment. The violence of its effort was ten times repeated; and, as often, by the blood of the martyrs, victoriously repelled.
Of Julian's Attempt to Rebuild

Though this may be justly reckoned amongst the marks of its divinity, yet it must be owned, that brutal force was not the most artful or dangerous way of procuring the ruin even of what they thought it, a mere human contrivance. The utmost which force can do (and that, it often fails in) is to stop the progress of a Profession: while the same advantages of Power, employed towards a rational conviction of its falsehood, proceed more fatally to its ruin. But this method of attack required a comprehensive knowledge of human Nature, and of the Doctrines to be suppressed.

Few of the persecuting Emperors had either. M. Antoninus had the one; Julian only, who closed the scene, had both. Till his time, the sole engine was simple force. Antonine himself used no other. And yet his knowledge of men might have shewn him the folly of so unmanly a proceeding. But then he knew no more of Christianity than the most ignorant of his Courtiers. Philosophy, which should have led him to enquire into a Religion that all were running eagerly to embrace, was the very thing that restrained his curiosity. For Stoical pride (of which he was) would
the Temple of Jerusalem.

would confess no need of the knowledge of falsehood to perfect its followers in truth: It despised the oblique genius of the Academy, which made all truth to depend on the knowledge and detection of falsehood.

Julian was the first who got enough acquainted with the Gospel to apply such arms against it as must have ended in its destruction, had it been nothing more than what he affected to think it, a human invention. And here we shall be forced to confess, that Providence seems to have raised up this extraordinary man on set purpose to do the last honours to the Religion of Jesus; to shew the world what human power, with all its advantages united, was able to oppose to its establishment. For we find in this Emperor all the great qualities that a Projector could conceive, or an Adversary would require, to secure success to so daring an opposition. He was eloquent and liberal; artful, insinuating, and indefatigable; which, joined to a severe temperance, an affected love of justice, and a courage superior to all trials, first gained him the affections, and, soon after, the peaceable possession of the whole Empire.

C 3

He
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

He was bred up in the Christian religion from his infancy: and was obliged to profess it (or at least to disguise his passion for Paganism) to the time he assumed the purple. His aversion to his uncle Constantine, and his cousin Constantius, for the cruelties exercised on his family, had prejudiced him against the Christian religion: And his attachment to some Platonic Sophists, who had been employed in his education, gave him as violent a bias towards Paganism. He was ambitious; and Paganism, in some of its Theurgic rites, had flattered and encouraged his views of the Diadem; He was vain, which made him aspire to the glory of re-establishing the ancient Rites: He was extremely knowing, and fond of Grecian literature; the very soul of which, in his opinion, was the old Theology: But above all, notwithstanding a considerable mixture of enthusiasm, his Superstition was excessive, and what nothing, but the blood of Hecatombs, could appease.

A rudimentis pueritiae primis inclinatio erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adolescens desiderio rei flagraban. Am. Marc. I. xxii. c. 5.

the Temple of Jerusalem.

With these dispositions he came to the Empire; and, consequently, with a determined purpose of subverting the Christian, and restoring the Pagan Worship. His predecessors had left him the repeated experience of the inefficacy of downright force. The virtue of the past times still rendered this effort fruitless; the numbers of the present would have made it dangerous. He found it necessary therefore to change his ground: His knowledge of human Nature furnished him with arms; and his knowledge of the Faith he had abandoned, enabled him to direct those arms to most advantage.

He began with re-establishing Paganism by Law, and granting a full liberty of conscience to the Christians. On this principle, he restored those to their civil rights, of what party soever, who had been banished on account of Religion: and even affected to reconcile, to a mutual forbearance, the various sects of Christianity. Yet notwithstanding, his own Historian assures us, he put on this mask of moderation and

o Planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templae, ariique hostias ad moveri ad deorum statuit cultum. Am. Mar. l. xxii. c. 5.

C 4 equity,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild equity, for no other purpose than to inflame the dissentions in the Church. And his subsequent conduct fully justifies the historian's observation.

He then fined and banished such of the more popular Clergy as had abused their power, either in exciting the People to burn and destroy pagan Temples; or to commit violence on an opposite Sect. And it cannot be denied, but that their turbulent and insolent manners deserved all the severity of his justice.

He proceeded to revoke and take away those immunities, honours, and revenues, which his uncle and cousin had granted to

---

* Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe diffissa in palatium intromissa monebat, ut, civilibus discordiis confopitis, quiisque, nullo vetante, religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut diffensiones, augente licentia, non timeret unanimitatem postea plebe." Idem ib.

† Nazianz Orat. i. cont. Jul.

* See the learned and respectable Mr. Archdeacon Law's very ingenious Discourse, of the several Dispensations of revealed Religion, p. 174, 1st Edit.

† Κυριακοῦς μεῖναι, πῶς εκάνταν ἥ τιμήν ἢ τὰ σῆμερα αἰφελεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς Κωνσταντίνου [Κωνσταντίνος Val.] Soz. 1. v. c. 5.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 25

the Clergy. Neither was his pretence for this altogether unreasonable. He judged the grants to be exorbitant; and besides, as they were attendant on a national Religion, when the establishment came to be transferred from Christianity to Paganism, he concluded, they must follow the Religion of the State. But there was one immunity he took away, which no good policy, even under an establishment, should have granted them; which was an exemption from the civil Tribunals.

The Apostate went still further; he disqualified the Christian Laity for bearing office in the State: and even this, the security of the established Religion may often require.

But his most illiberal treatment of the Christians, was his forbidding the Professors, who were of that Religion, to teach Humanity and the sciences, in the public Schools. His more immediate design, in this, was to hinder the Youth from taking impressions to the disadvantage of Pa-

* Tois βουληταῖς αὑτῶν. Soz. l. v. c. 5.

ganism;
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
rganism: His remoter view, to deprive
Christianity of the support of human li-
terature.

This Edict is to be found amongst the works of Ju-
lian; and goes under the name of his xliii Epistle. It
forbids the Christian Professors to teach human literature.
But because the Ancients, such as Gregory Naz. Socrates,
Sozomen, Theodoret, and Rufinus expressly say, that
he forbade Christians to learn it; some modern critics
have embarrased themselves in according this imagi-
inary difference. Baronius, and Valesius, who could
not find it was forbid, by this Edict, to learn, concluded
there was no such prohibition. Tillemont and Fleuri will
not allow the Fathers to be mistaken; and therefore
imagine there was another Edict, which extended the
prohibition to the case in question. Tillemont supposes
this the more readily, because he thinks the xliii letter
is indefinite and obscure. It appears to me very clear
and precise; and it seems strange none of these critics
saw, that, as this prohibition is circunstanced in the
Edict, the not being allowed to learn was the necessary
consequence of being forbid to teach. For the Profes-
sors are not only disallowed to explain Pagan authors to
Pagan auditories, but to Christian likewise; as appears
from the following words, But if they [the Christian
Professors] think these authors give a false and unworthy
account of the tremendous majesty of the Immortals, let
them go and explain Matthew and Luke in the churches
of the Galileans. οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸς τιμωδότας υπολαμ-
éseως πεπλανόθαν, βαδιζόνων εἰς τὸς τῶν Γαλιλαίων
ιελεισιες, ξηρακόμενοι Ματθαίου καὶ Λουκᾶν. But
why was this said, if they were at liberty to teach the
Not
Not content with this, he endeavoured even to destroy what was already written in Christian youth the sciences? If they were not, Where could they go for instruction but to the schools of the pagan Professors? Hither, indeed, they are invited by the Edict itself. Those of the [Christian] youth (saying Julian) who are desirous of frequenting [the schools of the Pagan professors] are by no means to be excluded. 'O βελάμενος τῶν νέων Φοίνικας ἡτ δικάλωσις.
This was kind: but would by no means be accepted. Here the bait was half off the hook; and discovered, that to draw them thither was one end of the Edict: which he imagined would necessarily reduce things to this state, either to dispose the Galileans, during their youth, in favour of Paganism; or to disable them, in their adult age, to defend Christianity. So that it appears, from hence, his forbidding Christian professors to explain Pagan writers to any audience whatsoever, fully amounted to a prohibition of learning them. The Fathers, we see, did not scruple directly to affirm it. And that they believed it, appears from their finding no other way of avoiding the dilemma of corruption, or ignorance, than by composing Epic poems, Tragedies, and other classic compositions upon a Christian plan, and on subjects taken from sacred story. This circumstance (had Baronius and Valesius attended to it) was alone sufficient to shew them, that the Fathers have told us no more than what they saw and felt, when they said, that Julian forbade them to learn human literature, as well as to teach it. Let me add, that nothing but this interpretation of his Edict can account for the severe censure.

defence
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
defence of Christianity. With this view
he wrote to Ecdicius the governor of Egypt,
and to Porphyry the treasurer-general, to
collect up, and send to him the library of
George bishop of Alexandria, who for his
cruelty and tyranny had been torn in pieces
by the People.

Nay, to such a length did his aversion
to the name of Christ carry him, as to de-
cree, by a public Edict, that his followers
should be no longer called Christians, but
Galileans*. Not but there might be a mix-
ture of policy in it too, as knowing the ef-
ficacy of a nick-name to render a profession
ridiculous. However, it is more than pro-
bable, superstition had its share in this ri-

which his own Historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, passes
upon it, in the following words, " illud autem erat in-
clemens, abruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat
docere Magistros Rhetoricos & Grammaticos, ritus
"Christiani cultores." Lib. xxii. c. 10.

* Ep. ix. and xxxvi.—πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν Φιλόσοφα
προφητεύ, πολλὰ δὲ ἰδιοφυα, πολλὰ δὲ ἂν ὅ τις τῶν
δισερεών Γαλιλαίων διδάσκαλος, ἀ βυθοὶ μὲν ἡγα-

*Γαλιλαίως οὖν Χριστιανῶν ὀνομάσας τί ἡ καλε-
culous Edict. The fanatic Platonists, to whom Julian had entirely given himself up, were much besotted with the mysterious power of Names. These having been struck with the wonders performed by the name of Christ, and finding so many difficulties oppose themselves to their Master's exterminating scheme, might well fancy there was a certain Charm in the Word Christian, which rendered the Religion, so denominated, invincible. And this seems to be the ground Gregory Naz. went upon (if he had any) for saying, that the reason of this extraordinary Law was, because the Demons trembled at the name of Christ, and suffered torments as often as they heard it pronounced.

A man so transported by a train of the most ungoverned passions, we may well think, would stop at no means, how low and vile soever, to carry on his project. His Letters supply us with an instance of one so dishonourable, that no testimony but his own could make it credible. Titus, bishop of Bostra, and his Clergy, in an address presented to Julian, acquaint him with their care in keeping the flock committed to them (then
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
(then equal in number to the Pagans) in due
obedience to the laws. The return Julian
makes for this act of duty is to acquaint the
people of Bosra, that their bishop was be-
come their delator; that he had represented
them as prone to sedition, and even capable
of the last excesses, but that he and his Cler-
gy kept them in order. For this crime, there-
fore, which he calls the taking to himself
the merit of the People's good behaviour,
he advises them to expel the Bishop from
their city. 

After this, no instance of baseness or in-
justice will be thought strange. On pretence
that the Arian church of Edessa was too rich,
and had not used the Valentinians with tem-
per, he seized on every thing belonging to it,
and divided the plunder amongst his soldiers.
And, to add the bitterness of contumely
to his injustice, he told them he did it to

* Ep. liii. Βοσφόροι. It is remarkable, that the Author
of the Characteristics, in his third Vol. of Misc. Ref-
hath given his reader a translation of this Latter, for a
pattern, as he tells us, of the humour and genius, of the
principle and sentiments, of this virtuous, gallant, gene-
rous and mild Emperor, p. 87, & seq. 4th Ed. It is
true, he hath dropt the affair of Titus, their Bishop, in-
his Translation.
eafe them of their burthens, that they might proceed more lightly, and with less impediment in their journey to Heaven.

But Socrates, the Historian, tells us, that he imposed a tax or tribute, proportioned to every man's circumstances, on all who would not sacrifice. This was persecution in form: And yet he did not stop here; but proceeded to still greater extremities.

Though he did not persecute to death by Laws, that being directly contrary to his Edicts of toleration, which he had with so much vanity and frequency repeated; yet he connived at the fury of the People, and the brutality of the Governors of provinces; who, during his short reign, brought many martyrs to the stake. For he put such into Governments, whose inhumanity and blind zeal for their country-superstitions were most distinguished. And when the suffering Churches presented their complaints to him, he dismissed them with cruel scoffs, telling them, their Religion directed them.

32. Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild to suffer without murmuring. So that we have little reason to doubt what the Ancients say of his declared intention (had he returned victorious from the Persia war) to subject the whole Christian world to the harshest persecution of fire and sword.

These were the efforts of the Emperor Julian to subvert Christianity. However he took care to avoid the absurdity of our modern Apostates, who are for abolishing the Faith in which, like him, they have been bred, without substituting any other Religion in its stead. Julian's attempts to destroy Christianity did not precede, but went hand in hand with, his projects to support and reform Paganism.

He wrote and he preached in person, in defence of Gentile superstition: and has him-

---

b Gr. Naz. ii. Orat. contr. Jul. Ruff. Eccl. Hist. i. i. c. 36. How well all this agrees with what the Author of the Characteristics says of Julian, in the following words, I need not say [Julian] was a great restrainer of Persecution, and would allow of nothing further than a Resumption of Church-lands and publick Schools; without any attempt on the goods or persons, even of those who branded the State-Religion, and made a merit of affronting the public Worship. Vol. I. p. 25. 4th Edit.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 33
self acquainted us with the ill success of his Ministry c. Of his controversial writings, his answerer Cyril hath given us a large specimen; by which we see he was equally intent to recommend Paganism and to discredit Revelation.

His reformation of gentile Superstition turned upon these points, 1. To hide the absurdity of its traditions by moral and philosophic allegories d. These he found provided for him, principally, by philosophers of his own sect, the Platonists. For they, not without the assistance of the other sects of Theists, had, ever since the appearance of Christianity, been refining the Theology of paganism, to oppose it to that of Revelation; under pretense, That their new invented allegories were the ancient spirit of the letter, which the first poetical divines had thus convey'd to posterity. A noble

c — εἰς τὴν Βέροιαν ἐπορεύομαι — Διελέχθην δὲ ὀλίγα τῇ βυζάντῳ περὶ Θεοτεκνίας, ἀλλὰ τὸς λόγος ἐπήνει μὲν ἀπαντεῖ τις λόγων ἔπηνε, μὲν ἀπαντεῖ τις λόγων ἔπηνε, καὶ ἔτι οὐ βασιλέας παρθένος ἀποδείξας ἔτι οὐ βασιλέας παρθένος ἀποδείξας τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος πάνω, καὶ οὗτοι ἔστω τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐκείνην ἑκείνην ἑαυτοῖς ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκείνην ἑκεί

d — See his Discourse composed in honour of the Mother of the gods.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild design! of which some Letters, lately published, concerning Mythology, will give the reader a very tolerable idea.

2. He then attempted to correct the morals of the Pagan priesthood, and regulate their manners on the practice of the first Christians. In his Epistle to Arsacius, he not only requires of them a personal behaviour void of offence; but that they reform their household on the same principle: He directs that they who attend at the altar should abstain from the theatre, the tavern, and the exercise of all ignoble professions: That in their private character they be meek and humble; but that, in the acts and offices of religion, they assume a character conformable to the majesty of the immortal Gods whose ministers they are. But above all he recommends to them the virtues of charity and benevolence.

With regard to Discipline and Religious policy, Nazianzene and Sozomene tell us, he established Readers in Divinity; directed the order and parts of the divine offices; con-

• Ep. xlix. Ἀρσακίῳ σειρματικῇ Γαλατίαις. Fragmentum Orationis Epistolae.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 35

stituted a regular and formal service, with
days and hours of worship; prescribed ini-
tiatory and expiatory rites; founded hospi-
tals for the poor, monasteries for the de-
voit, and enjoined a course of penance for
the flagitious; and in all things imitated
the Church discipline of that time.

But the indifference and corruptions of
Paganism, joined to the obstinacy and per-
severance of the Christians, kept his project
from advancing with that speed which his
malice as well as zeal demanded. So that,
impatient of delay, he struck out a new and
daring project to alter the whole face of
things at once. With this view he planned
the famous scheme of rebuilding the Tem-
ple of Jerusalem. Its final destruction
had been foretold both by Jesus and the
Prophets: and it was, as he imagined, re-
served for this favorite of the Gods, to give
the lye to their predictions.

He had before (in pursuance of his ge-
neral scheme of opposing Revelation to it-
sel, by setting one sect against another)
written to the Body or Community of the


D 2  Jews,
36 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild Jerusalem, in which he assured them of his protection; his concern for their former ill usage; and his fixed purpose to screen them from future oppression, that they might be at liberty, and in a disposition to redouble their vows for the prosperity of his reign. And concluded with a promise, that, if he came back victorious from the Persian war, he would rebuild Jerusalem, restore them to their possessions, live with them in the holy City, and join with them in their worship of the Great God of the universe.

So that, after this, a proposal of beginning with the Temple, we may well think, would be eagerly embraced by them. Till this was rebuilt, their Religion, as we have seen, was in a state of inanition; Sacrifices, which were essential to it, being forbid to be offered in any other place. Hence the Jews had attempted—

ἐνδάιον τῷ κοινῷ.

καὶ Καλευθεν τινὶ βασιλεὺς Ἡλί αἱ τὰ κάσιν, καθ' ἀπερ πολεμῆσαι, ἵππον ἤδη ποιεῖν ώμᾶς, ἰδα καὶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πέρσην πόλεμον διορθωσάμεθα, τῷ εἰ πωλ- λῷν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁποίηματος παρ' ύμῖν ἱδεῖν οἰκεῖαν τὸν ὄμιλον Ἰεροσολῦμον, ὑπὸ τοῖς καμάτων ἁμαρτοδομήσαις οἰκεῖ- σαι, ἃ ἐν αὐτῇ δίδασκαν ἰδιῶς μετ᾽ ύμῶν τῷ μεταίχῳ.

Επ. xxv.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

ed; more than once, to restore it, in defiance of the Power to which they were subject; first, in the reign of Adrian, and afterwards, under that of Constantine¹: but reasons of state defeated the former attempt, and reasons of religion, the latter. Adrian regarded and punished it as a rebellion; Constantine, as an impiety. They were now invited, as good subjects and faithful worshippers of the true God, to second the Emperor's design in restoring them to their city and religion.

But, besides the principal purpose of utterly discrediting the Christian name, there were other auxiliary motives to push him on to a speedy execution. He liked the Jews for their bloody sacrifices, to which he himself was extravagantly devoted; he liked them better for their implacable hatred to the Christians, in which he far outwented them; and he soothed his family revenge, in favouring those whom Constantine had persecuted, and persecuted for this very attempt. To which we may add that which Marcellinus assigns as his

¹ Chrysof. advers. Judæos, passim.

principal
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild principal motive, the glory of achieving so bold an enterprize.

But Julian, who aimed at higher purposes than obtaining the good-will of the Jews, would not intrust so important a design to their inclinations or abilities. He assumed the care of it himself; and carried on the project (as far as it was carried) under the Imperial authority. He assigned for this use immense sums out of the public revenue. The superintendancy of it he committed to his bosom friend, Alypius, to whom he joined, for his assistant, the Governor of the province. Alypius was one who had been much obliged by Julian, and for this reason, as is the nature of princes, was as much beloved by him: but their strongest tye was a congenial malice, and equal aversion to the Christian name; qualities, doubtless, for which Alypius was preferred before others to this employment. This man, in conjunction with the Jews,

1 Imperii fui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare. Am. Marc. l. iii. c. 1.

2 The xxixth and xxxth Epistles of Julian are written to him; in the latter of which he calls him, Ἀδὰμ φιλικότατα καὶ φιλικότατα.

1 See the xxixth Epistle.
and under the sanction of the Imperial authority, entered upon the business. They laid in immense quantities of materials; they assembled vast numbers of workmen; the Jews, of both sexes, and of all degrees, bore a share in the labour: they entered upon the ruins, cleared away the rubbish, and opened the old foundations.

An account of this attempt (to wave the testimony of Christian authors) is transmitted to us by a contemporary writer, of noble extraction, a friend and admirer of Julian, and his companion in arms; a man of affairs, learned, candid, and impartial; a lover of truth, and the best historian of his time; who, although neither ignorant of the doctrines, nor bigotted against the followers of our Faith, yet was strongly attached to the superstition of his ancestors, and, in one word, a Pagan professed and declared m.

m As there have been critics absurd enough to suspect that Ammianus Marcellinus might be a Christian; it may be just worth while to quote a passage of the celebrated Hadrian Valesius, who, in few words, has well exposed this groundless conceit. "Petrus Pithaenus ad latus Am-" "miani sui manu sua notavit, eum Christianumuisse,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

So much then the most sceptical reader must be forced to grant. To doubt of this

propterea quod in libro xxvii. scripsit, Antistites quosdam provinciales, id est, episcopos Christianorum, parco vieto, vili vestis, & demissis oculis, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut parcos commendari & verecundos. An ideo Ammianus Christianus habendus est, quod Deum Christianorum perpetuum numen, id est, Deum aeternum, & Christianos Antistites vero perpetui numinis cultores appellat? Quasi non vero perpetui numinis cultores Ammianus vocaverat Gentiles ipfos ac sui similes, quibus quidam etiam Christianorum episcopi in provinciis sanctitate vitae & verecundia commendarentur ac placent. 

Ita 
tamen de Ammiano senit & Claudius Chifletius, cun verbis ejus supra laudatis, tum alios levissimiis concerturis adductus. Sed qui attente legerit, quae praeter cetera in fine libri xiv de Adraisti vel Nemesti, quae in libro xvi de Mercurio, quae in libro xxi de numine Themidis, de Haruspicina, de Auguriis, variisque artibus futura praenoscendi, veteres Theologos suos, & physicos, ac mysticos fecutus scripsit: profecto fateri cogetur, eum cultui Deum addicturn ac devotum suisse. Certè de Diis Gentium tanquam de suis semper loquitur; de Christianis facris mysteriis que non item. Nunquam Christianis se adjungit; nunquam & nusquam eorum se numero adscribit; & Julianum A. quem suum heroa fecit, hanc praecepue ob causam mihi videtur toties & tantopere laudare, quod à religione Christiana ad numinum cultum desciverit. Qua tamen erat prudentia, adeo modo desete atque sincerè, ac nonnumquam etiam benevolè
the Temple of Jerusalem.

would be subverting the very foundations of human credit; and it might as well be que-

" de Christianis rebus commemorat, ut aliqui unum ex nostris putaverint. Nimium, sicuti exstimo, vir bonus, integer & sapiens Religionem Christianam non sequi, tuto se possit intelligebat: eandem Principibus suis acceptam & toto seré orbe Romano diffusam palam damnare non audebat, sed & forsitan religionum diversitates non improbavit, persuasumque habituit (sicut ait De notitia Dei Symmachus) unà viá non posse pervenire ad tam grande secretum." Pref. in postér. Am. Marc. editionem. To these a thousand other proofs might be added. I shall content myself, at present, with one, taken from those very words which Chifflet has given as the strongest evidence of his Christianity, where, speaking of Constantius, he says, "Christianam religionem absolvatam & simplicem anili superstitione confundens: in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius, excitat divitia plurima; quae progressa fusiis aluit concertatione verborum." Lib. xxi. cap. 16. By these words (as the critics observe) are doubtless meant those two famous party-badges, the "οὐονίσις" and "οὐμοισις". Now it seems odd, the historian should characterize a temper of mind, arising from a dispute of this kind (which has rather the appearance of a philosophic than a popular bigotry) by the name of anilis superstition. On a supposition, that the censorer was a Christian, it appears very odd: But consider him as a Pagan, and nothing is more natural: He must then see this question, concerning the Son of God, in the same light he did what their Mythology taught concerning the paternity and filiation of

4

stationed,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild.

What now was the condition of the Church at this juncture! and how were the fears of the good people alarmed! It had long combated, and at length triumphed over, the prejudices of the People, the arts of the Philosophers, and the violence of civil Power. It had bent the obstinacy of Superstition by their gods; which the learned amongst them ranked in the first class of their "aniles superstitiones." It is true, Ammianus thought more reverently of the Christian martyrs than the famous philosophic Emperor had formerly done (who called their virtue, a more brutish obstinacy, *Julian* lib. xi. § 3.) for he says of them, — "Qui deviare a Religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, adusque glo-
--rioam mortem intererrata sive progressi nunc Mar-
tis tyres appellantur." Lib. xxii. cap. x. But Antoni-
nus was entirely ignorant of the Christian religion: We have shewn above what kept him from the knowledge of it. The Historian knew it well, as appears from the character he gives it, of *absoluta & simplex*; and the dying in defense of such a religion could not but be; in his opinion, *mors gloriosa*: he being, as appears throughout his history, a *religious Theist*, and untainted with the *Naturalism* of Tacitus; for Christianity had produced this good effect in the quarter of its ene-
--mies, that it had entirely discredited the schools of *Strato* and *Epicurus*, as Julian himself informs us.
the superior force of miracles: It had confounded the meretricious confidence of Grecian Sophistry, by the simple majesty of Truth; and had wearied out the rage of tyranny, by constancy and contempt of suffering. But it was now summoned to a severer trial, and pushed upon the very crisis of its fate. Its enemies, supported by the whole power of the Empire, had brought a decisive scheme to its projection; a scheme that was to reflect eternal dishonour upon the Oracles of Truth. The credit of God's Servants, the authority of his Word, and the very pretensions of Revelation were all vitally interested in the event. The long struggle between Superstition and Religion was now to be finally decided. The God of the Christians was publicly challenged: his power was denied to protect his dispensation against this impending stroke. Destitute of all human aid, their only reliance was on Heaven. And no Believer, but must conclude, that God would indeed interpose to vindicate the character of his Son: no Man, but must confess, that to support a Religion like this, was an occasion worthy the interposition of the Lord of all things.

Well,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Well, the impious attack was made, and the expected protection afforded. The same great and impartial historian, who acquaints us with the attempt, informs us likewise of the defeat. His account is in these words: "Julian (having been already thrice Consul) taking Sallust, Prefect of the several Gauls, for his Colleague, entered a fourth time on this high magistracy. It appeared strange to see a private man associated with Augustus: a thing, which, since the Consulate of Dioclesian and Aristobulus, history afforded no example of. And although his sensibility of the many and great events, which this year was likely to produce, made him very anxious for the future, yet he pushed on the various and complicated preparatives for this expedition with the utmost application; and having an eye in every quarter..."

the Temple of Jerusalem.

"ter, and being desirous to eternize his
"reign by the greatness of his achie-
"vements, he projected to rebuild, at an im-
"mense expence, the proud and magnifi-
cent Temple of Jerusalem; which (after
"many combats, attended with much blood-
shed on both sides, during the siege by Vef-
pasian) was, with great difficulty, taken
"and destroyed by Titus. He committed the
"conduct of this affair to Alypius of An-
tioch, who formerly had been Lieutenant
"in Britain. When, therefore, this Aly-
pius had set himself to the vigorous execu-
tion of his charge, in which he had all
the assistance that the Governor of the
province could afford him, horrible balls
of fire, breaking out near the foundations,
with frequent and reiterated attacks, ren-
dered the place, from time to time, inac-
cessible to the scorched and blasted work-
men; and the victorious element continu-
ing, in this manner, obstinately and re-
solutely bent, as it were, to drive them
"to a distance, Alypius thought best to give
"over the enterprize."

P Julianus jam ter Consul adscito in Collegium tra-
beæ Sallustio, Praefecto per Gallias, quater ipse ampli-

Thus
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Thus did the vigilance of Providence not only vindicate the honour of our holy faith in the open view of all men, but, in its goodness, secured the memory of this atrocious act by the testimony of the most unexceptionable Witness. For were Infidelity itself, when it would evade the force of evidence, to prescribe what qualities it expected in a faultless testimony, it could invent none but what might be found in the historian here produced. He was a Pagan,

\[\text{\textit{summa inierat magistratum: \& videbatur novum, ad-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{junctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum \&}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Aristobulem nullus meminerat gestum. Et licet ac-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{cidentium varietatem licita mente praecipiens, mul-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{tiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perur-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{gere: diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui}}\]
\[\text{\textit{memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, am-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{bitiosum quondam apud Hierofolyam templum, quod}}\]
\[\text{\textit{post multa \& interneciva certamina, obsidenti Vespa-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{riano posteaque Tito, segre est expugnatum, instaurare sump-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{tibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Alypio dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias cura-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{verat pro Prefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter in-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{flaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ Rector, metuendi}}\]
\[\text{\textit{globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus}}\]
\[\text{\textit{erumpentes, secere locum exuflis aliquoties operantibus}}\]
\[\text{\textit{inacceffum: hocque modo elemento destinatus re-}}\]
\[\text{\textit{pellente, cellavit inceptum. Amm. Marc. lib. xxiii.}}\]
\[\text{\textit{cap. i.}}\]

and
the Temple of Jerusalem. 47

and so not prejudiced in favour of Christianity: He was a dependent, a follower, and a profound admirer of Julian, and so not inclined to report any thing to his dishonour: He was a lover of truth, and so would not relate what he knew, or but suspected, to be false: He had great sense, improved by the study of philosophy and knowledge of the world, and so would not easily suffer himself to be deceived: He was not only contemporary to the fact; but, at the time it happened, resident near the place: He recorded the event not on its first report, when, in the relation of journ alary occurrences, much falsehood blends itself with truth; but after time and enquiry, which separates this impure mixture, had confirmed what was real in the case: He related it not as an uncertain report or hearsay, with diffidence; but as a notorious fact, at that time, no more questioned in Asia, than the project and success of the Persian expedition: He inserted it not for any partial purpose; in support or confutation of any system; in defence or discredit of any character: He delivered it in no cursory or transient manner, nor in a loose or private memoir; but gravely and
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
and deliberately, as the natural and necessary part of a composition the most useful and important, a general History of the Empire; on the complete performance of which the author was so intent, that he exchanged a court life, for one of study and contemplation; and chose Rome, the great repository of these materials, for the place of his retirement.

But the evidence given by the adversaries of our faith to the truth of this illustrious miracle does not rest upon a single Witness: I propose to shew, that even Julian himself, whose impiety brought this disgrace upon Paganism, has confessed the hand by which he was overcome; though with that obscurity, and confusion of tongue, which always attends the graceless shame of an impenitent offender.

And I shall be the fuller in weighing the value of this testimony, as it hath hitherto, I think, been entirely overlooked, and, by reason of its affected disguise, pass'd the critics unobserved.

I have already taken notice of his Letter to the community of the Jews. From that part
part of it, wherein he informs them how he had punished those who had given their people unjust vexation, it appears to have been written early in his reign; on his first coming to Constantinople, when he purged the city and palace of spies, informers, and the like pests of a corrupted Court. The prin-

Sozomene takes notice of this letter, καὶ παλελαξ-χασ καὶ χιφυοι αὐτῶν χαὶ αὐτῷ ἄ τι πλῆθι ἐφε-
σεν, ὡς ἔστε ἔστε αὐτῷ ἄ τις αὐτῷ βασιλεῖς. Not-
withstanding which, those who have conveyed it to us from antiquity, have stamped this mark of doubt and suspi-
cion on the face of it, εἰ γενήσεται. Without question, they believed it to be forged by the Jews. The writer of it calls the injuries offered to the Jews, impious; as if they were a holy nation—Καὶ τὸ τῆς πρωτῆς δυσφημίας ἀνικήμα τω οὐσίν ἔστει: that he had precipitated the Delators into horrible dungeons with his own hands, ἃς μὴ ἔγετεν ἐν χερσὶ τιμᾶς λαβόμενος, ἀς βοήθειον ἔστε θεοῦ. He calls the Patriarch his Bro-
ther, ῥ ο ἀδελφὸν Ἰωλοῦ ῥ αἰδεσμομενον παλελαξχιν. and promises, that, when he had restored their City, he would come thither, and live and worship with them. All these the Critics conceived to smell strongly of impostu-
ture. But what probably most confirmed their suspicions, was the use the Jews made of it, to evade a miracle that so much humbled them: We see it only promises their restoration after his Persian expedition. And one R. David Gans, of the sixteenth century, in the second part of his book, called Zamach, quoted by Wagensei-
lius, in his Tela ignea Satanae, p. 231. appears to have

E

cipal
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
principal design of it is to tell them of his
purpose to rebuild their city, on his return
made this very use of it. "Julianus Cæsar præcepit ut re-
stitueret Templum sancissimum, magno cum de-
core & pulchritudine, huicque rei ipse sumtus sup-
peditavit. Verum coelitus impedimentum injectum
eft ne perficereetur fabrica, nam Cæsar in bello Per-
∈lico perit."

But what Greg. Nazianzen, in his second Invective,
tells us of the conference that followed this letter,
plainly shews it to be genuine. Julian, he says, af-
sured the leaders of the Jews, he had discovered, from
their sacred books, that the time of their restora-
tion was at hand. Ἡθεναζων τε δὴ τινὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν
βιβλίων ὡς ὑποψήων, ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ ἑπικράτεσσα. Ἡ
καλεθεῖται ὡς τῷ ἑαυτῶν ὥς νοῦν αἰνεῖαισθήθη, ἢ τῇ
παλαιαῖς τῷ πρεσβύτερῳ ἀνανεῶσθαι ἢ ἑπικράτεσθαι τῷ
τιμίῳ τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ τῷ ἑαυτὸν λαμπρότατῳ ἑυ-
νοῖας πλάσματι τῷ Θείῳ. — It is not a mere cu-
riosity to enquire, what Prophecy it was, that Julian
perverted; because it tends to confirm the truth of Na-
zianzen's relation. I have sometimes thought it might
possibly be the words of the Septuagint, in Dan. ix. 27.
Σωμῇ τῆς δοθήσεται Θεῷ τῷ ἐρήμῳσιν. The ambiguity
of which Julian took the advantage of (against hel-
lenistic Jews, who, it is probable, knew no more of
the Original than himself) as signifying, the Tribute shall
be given to the desolate, instead of, the consummation shall
be poured upon the desolate. For the letter in question
tells us, he had remitted their tribute; and by so do-
ing, we see, was for passing himself upon them for a
kind of second Cyrus.

All this (that is to say, the authenticity of the letter,
from
the Temple of Jerusalem. 51
from the Persian war. And without doubt
he then intended to defer the re-establish-
ment of the Jewish religion till that war

the truth of Nazianzen's relation, and this conjecture
concerning the prophecy Julian pretended to go upon)
seems greatly to be supported by what the Christian
writers say of the behaviour of the Jews while the pro-
ject was in agitation. Socrates tells us, that they men-
caced the Christians, and threatened to treat them as
they themselves had been treated by the Romans. L. iii:
c. 20. — ουθεπες χαρισματικες επιδεικνυσαι εαυτης,
πλατευσθαι τε κατ αυτων, επαπελυντες τυπατα τωι
σεν, ώσα αυτι ους Ρωμαιων παιλαι πεπονθαι.
And Rufinus says, they were as vain as if they had had
a Prophet of their own at their head. And this they
might well be, when they had an Emperor who pro-
mised to live and worship with them, and set himself
up for the Restorer foretold by their Prophets.

There is only one thing in the Letter, which re-
mains to be accounted for; and that is the strange boast
he makes of his personal achievement, in thrust-
ing down the Delators into dungeons with his own hands:
in which the Imperial character is so little preserved,
that the learned M. de la Bleterie is almost tempted,
on this single circumstance, to give up the Letter for
a forgery. But he here forgets what he himself had
before mentioned of the strange escapes of this fantastic
Monarch. "Saint Gregoire Nazianze dit, que Julien
chassoit à coups de pie & de poing de pauvres gens
qui venoient lui demander des graces. Ces pauvres
gen's (fays M. de la Bleterie) pouvoient bien être dés
Delateurs." Vie de Julien, p. 314. 2d Edit.

E 2 was
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
was at an end. But his various attacks upon
Christianity not succeeding to his hopes, he
grew enraged by his defeat, and resolved
to put this last effort of his malice in imme-
diate execution.

We may be assured, this Letter had
brought the principal Jews, from all quar-
ters, to Court. The manner in which he
appeared to interest himself in their quar-
rel, could not but persuade them, that the
Apostate from Christianity was become
more than half a Proselyte to Judaism.
While he, on his part, flattered himself,
that those who adhered so obstinately to
bloody sacrifices might be easily cajoled into
Idolatry.

These, apparently, were the men, whom,
Chrysostome and Gregory Nazianzen tell us,
he called together, to enquire, Why they
did not offer sacrifices as the Law directed;
at a time when the Empire stood so much in
need of the divine protection, and the Em-
peror was so well disposed to implore it
from every quarter. They replied, that it
was not lawful to sacrifice but in the Temple
of Jerusalem only. This was what He would
be at: So he took the advantage of their
answer,
the Temple of Jerusalem.

answer, to facilitate his secret purpose; which was to give the lye at once to all the Prophets and Messengers of God.

For we are by no means to suppose him so ignorant as not to know what the Law, in this case, required. That very letter to the Community plainly insinuates he knew it. His acquaintance with Scripture must have informed him of it: for if there was any part to which he would give greater attention than the rest, it was the Ritual of sacrifices, a species of worship, to which he was inordinately addicted. Besides, in his Discourse against the Christian Religion, he occasionally, but in express words, declares, it was of the nature of the Mosaic Law, to offer sacrifices at Jerusalem only. But as this discourse was written some time after that consultation, I would lay the less weight upon it.

However, no one, I think, can doubt, but that the whole Conference was a Farce; that Julian only wanted a screen for his malice; and that the pretence of procur-

1 Τιμής γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Σουλαν ἐπιφύλατος, ἀπὸ διότι λέον τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἀντὶ τὴν ἔλεας — apud Cyril. p. 306. Span. Ed.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

ing the means of their intercession with the
God of the Universe, for the prosperity of the Empires, was no other than a decent cover for putting this last effort of his rage in present execution. The Jews eagerly fell in with his project; and the issue was as we have related it.

This great event happened in the beginning of the Year cccxiii, as appears from the express words of Ammianus Marcellinus, quoted above. Julian, who then wintered at Antioch, was preparing for his Persian expedition; for which he did not set out till the month of March. So unexpected a traverse, we must suppose, would be immediately carried to him, with all the circumstances that attended it: Alypius could not but assure him, that it was impracticable to persist in the attempt; and that his agents were utterly incapable of speedily renewing it. What his first sentiments were, on this occasion, we have no certain or particular account: how he resented the disgrace in his cooler hours, I am now going to shew.

There is, amongst the writings of Julian, a notable fragment of an Oration, or

\[\text{ταῦτα Ἄρσε Ἰουλιανός. Theod. l. iii. c. 20.} \]

Epistle,
Epistle, call it which you will, first given us by Petavius, wherein the Emperor, with great abilities and learning, prescribes and marks out a method to reform Paganism, and set it up for a Rival to the Gospel, in all the plausible pretences to piety and virtue. This, and his books against the Christian Religion, were the two master wheels of the same machine: the one to degrade Christianity, the other to advance Superstition: and therefore it is no wonder we find them written at the same time. St. Jerom expressly says, that the books against our holy Faith were composed during the Persian expedition. Labanius, indeed, intimates, they were written in his winter quarters at Antioch. Their accounts may be easily reconciled, in supposing that part to be planned and begun before his remove. However, that these directions for the reformation of Paganism were as late as the Persian expedition, we have the author's own word, where, speaking of the customary honours paid to the Gods, he says — "which not three years, nor three thousand have established; but all past ages, amongst

Ep. lxxxiii. ad Magnum Oratorem.

E 4 " all
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"all the nations upon earth." By the three years he evidently alludes to his restoration of Idolatry; which, at any time sooner than the Persian expedition, was not intitled to so high a date. For he was first saluted Augustus in the spring of the year ccclx, and the Persian expedition was in the spring ccclxiii.

At this time, therefore, he had well digested his defeat at Jerusalem. What effects it left upon his temper, the following passage of this fragment will inform us; where, after having justified the Gods for suffering their temples, images, and most devout worshippers to be injuriously treated, he proceeds thus: --- "Let no man, therefore, because he hath seen or heard of those who have insulted their images and temples, entertain any doubts concerning their superintendency. For this reason too, let them not think to delude us with their sophistry, nor terrify us with the cry of Providence. For, the Prophets amongst the Jews, who so much upbraid us with


"these
these disasters, what will they say to their own Temple? that Temple of theirs, which has been now a third time destroyed, and is not raised again to this day. I say not this to upbraid them; for I myself, after so long a desolation, would have rebuilt it, in honour of the God which was there worshipped. But I now mention it only as I was willing to shew, that nothing human is exempt from the injuries of time. As to the Prophets, who write in this manner, they merely rave, and cant to the capaci-

The learned J. A. Fabricius thinks this τεθν αιβαλεγμένος includes the defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple; and so, in his Lux Evangelii, he brings it to prove Julian's own acknowledgment of the miracle in which he has been followed by M. de la Bretonie and others. But 1. Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot, in any known figure of speech, be called the overthrow of a building. 2. Ευεργετής ὁ ἀδέ νυῶ can never be said of a building destroyed but two months before. In a word, Fabricius is mistaken; the three subversions here meant, were — that by the Assyrians, — that by Herod, the son of Antipater, — and that by Vespasian. And though Herod's demolition of it was only in order to rebuild it, yet it was such a one as Julian might properly enough urge for the support of his argument, against an objection, that supposed stability amongst the qualities to be looked for in the domicile of the true God; which the Pagan temples not having, were concluded to belong to the false. — Or it may possibly be, that, instead of Herod's demolition, he might allude to the Prophanation of it by Antiochus, as a learned Friend suggests.

" ties
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"ties of dreaming old women. Not that
"I would insinuate, the God they worship
"is not great and mighty: but this I say, he
"hath no good Prophets, nor Interpreters of
"his will, amongst them. The reason is, they
"never applied themselves to purge and puri-
"fy the mind in the circle of human science,
"nor tried to open their eyes which igno-
"rance had fast closed, nor strove to drive
"away the darkness in which they lay involv-
"ed: but are as men, who through mists or
"clouds see the great light of heaven * nei-
"ther clearly nor distinctly, and mistake that
"ethereal splendor for an impure terrestrial
"fire; and stark blind to all Nature work-
"ing round them, roar out with frantic ve-
"hemence, Fear and tremble, ye inhabitants
"of earth! Fire, lightening, the sword,
"darts, death, and all the frightful words
"that express that one destructive property
"of Fire. But of these things it is more
"expedient to speak in private, where we
"may shew, how much these masters of

* Julian, by Φως, means the Sun, as before,
Θεὸς μέγας, the God of the universe. For, Φως ἡματησόν
which follows, was, I believe, never used by these Fanatic
Platonists, for a terrestrial fire, it being the term they
gave to their holy light, or the αὕτων ἀγαλμάτων. Ju-
lian thought nothing more holy than the Sun. He did
not add the article, because he is here expressing the idea
of the mistaken beholder,—a great light, tho', by that,
he himself meant, the great light.

"wisdom
The reader, who consults the fragment from whence this long passage is transcribed,

will
will perceive, that it is a mere digression. But if it were foreign to his subject, we shall see it concerned a matter very intimate to his thoughts. The persecuted Church of Christ was, at this time, triumphant, and loudly exulting in the divine protection so miraculously afforded it. The Apostate, when the power of the Empire failed him, had recourse to this last expedient, the arms of calumny, to vent his rage, and cover the shame of his disappointment. And then it was that, exchanging the Imperial for the Sophist’s Throne*, he composed the two Discourses mentioned above. Now, to be altogether silent on a subject, that was plainly the occasion of his writing, would have been an affectation that had rather betrayed, than covered, his self-conviction. On the other hand, the Soldier’s pride of heart, the Sophist’s contempt for his adversaries, and the Monarch’s delicacy for the imperial dignity, would not suffer him to enter on a formal altercation. Besides, in this case, he must either have confessed or denied the Fact. The one would have completed the triumph of his Adversaries, and the other

* Φίλος Θρόνον τινὸς ὑπῆρχε μακρὰ Κοφίσικας ἐν Σολάγος. Themist. Orat. i.

offended
offended the ingenuity of his Friends. He therefore chose a middle way: and, under shew of condemning the denunciations of the Jewish Prophets against past Idolatries, as the ravings of enthusiasm, he covertly represents the triumphs of the Church, on the present occasion, as the workings of the same spirit upon the ground of a natural event.

For, taking occasion (tho' the subject of the work before us was the reformation of Paganism) to vindicate that Worship from the dishonours it had from time to time suffered, in the overthrow of its temples and idols, he observes, that those who exulted most in its disgraces, the Jewish prophets (whose writings, indeed, abound with exclamations and denunciations on the folly of idolatry, the impuissance of idols, and the destruction to which both were devoted) had of all men the least reason to triumph; since their own Temple had been thrice destroyed, and at that very time lay in ruins. This leads him to the subject he wanted covertly to touch upon: he therefore adds, that he spoke this out of no ill-will to the community of the Jews, for that he was himself desirous of rebuilding their Temple. No, but only to convince them that neither the overthrow
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

throw of their Temple; nor the Temples of
Paganism, was the sentence of divine wrath
upon them, but the natural condition of
earthly things. And, enraged at the contrary
principle, which occasioned these exultations
in the Christian Church, he attempts to shew,
in the character he gives of the Jewish Pro-
phets, which he trusted the intelligent rea-
der would apply to the Christian Ministers,
that it was the issue of ignorance and super-
fition. These Prophets he represents as de-
spising human science, and acting upon the
principles, and preaching to the capacities
of ignorant and superstitious women. But,
left this should not sufficiently mark his pur-
pose, by an elegant similitude, in which
he employs his favourite idol, the Sun, to
shew the root of these superstitions to be the
ignorance of nature, he makes those, whom
he supposes under its illusions, to cry out in
the very exclamations that then resounded
from one end of the Christian world to the
other, Fear and tremble, ye inhabitants of
earth! -- Fire, lightning, the sword, darts,
death, and all the frightful words (says he)

And for a further purpose, which will be explained
when we come to speak of the accounts which the Chris-
tians of that time give us of this miracle.

which
the Temple of Jerusalem. 63

which express that one destructive property of Fire.— But as if now he had run riot, he suddenly checks himself, and observes, that this was a subject proper for a private audience: yet, concluding with a contemptuous parallel, he once again drops the mask, and turns his discourse from the Jewish prophets, which had been hitherto his cover, directly to the Christian teachers, whom he had indeed all along attacked under it: but now more openly calls oί ὅπερ Θεός λόγον διδάσκαλος, those masters of wisdom pretending to be sent from God.

On this exposition of the passage, let me just make the following remarks.

1. If we understand the observations contained in it as indefinite, nothing can be more disjointed or absurd. The Christians of that

b It evidently appeared to be so to the ingenious M. de la Bleterie, who considered the passage only in this view: therefore, to save the honour of the writer, he condemns the man, and turns the defect of the composition to a charge on the prevarication of the composer: "On voit ici [says he, in his excellent history of this Emperor, p. 399.] "que Julien loin de con-
" clure de ce qui étoit arrivé à Jerusalem la vérité de la " Religion Chrétienne, en inferoit que la revelation Ju-
" daïque étoit fausse. Etrange effet de la prevention.—

[Time]
time were wont to draw an argument of the
impuissance of Polytheism from the repeat-
ed disgraces the heathen temples and their
idols had suffered in every period of the
world. Julian undertakes to solve this ob-
jection; but, instead of directing his anser
to the Christians, who now make it against
him, he retorts it upon the Jews, who, ma-
ny ages ago, had made it against others.
These he wantonly provokes at a time his
views made them necessary to him. Again,
he speaks of these Prophets with such
ambiguity and confusion, that you may ei-
ther take them for the writers of the Old
testament, or the Heads of the Jewish com-
munity of that time: which no rules of
good writing can accounť for, but that which
allows cautious authors to call one system of
things by the names that belong to another.
Lastly, he recounts some terrifying exclama-
tions as made by the Prophets, which
they never did make; and which, tho' made
by Christ and his Apostles, are, by them,
applied to the punishments of an bereafter;

For Julian does not infer the falsehood of Judaism from
their inability to rebuild their own Temple, but from
the false judgment they were wont to pass on the de-
struction of others.

whereas
whereas he is speaking of what the worshipers of One God say of the dispensations of Providence here. We must conclude therefore, that the exclamations, quoted in this passage, must needs be those which the recent event at Jerusalem had occasioned.

2. Take the passage in this sense, and nothing can be more artful than the conduct of the Imperial Sophist. Our Religion was at this juncture properly triumphant. It was exulting over Paganism in the destruction of the temple at Daphné; it was exulting over Judaism in the divine opposition to the restoration of that at Jerusalem; and over the Apostate Emperor in the disgraces of both. This spirit Julian wanted to repress and mortify. In the case of Apollo's temple he had no reason to be de-

* The Oracle of Apollo in the Temple at Daphné near Antioch had been for some time dumb. When Julian came thither, he urged the God himself to declare the cause of his silence. The Oracle replied, that he was hindered by the bones of St. Babylas, which were then inshrined in his neighbourhood. These Julian ordered to be removed: And soon after the Temple at Daphné was burnt to the ground. The Christians (says Sozomen) affirmed it was by lightning from Heaven: but the Pagans laughed at this, and said it was fired by the Galileans.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

liciate. As to that of the God of Israel, we have shewn, it would not bear a pro-

fessed mention. How has he conducted his
discourse? By retorting upon the Jews, in
the case of their old ruined Temple, the
Christian objection arising from that at Daph-
né: which recrimination served a double
purpose; to introduce what he had to say on
his own baffled attempt, and to say it (which
was the great point) obscurely and darkly.
Thus the Christian Triumphs, which he in-
troduces to ridicule, are so represented as to
have a more obvious reference to the Tem-
ple at Daphné, and a covert one to the Tem-
ple at Jerusalem, by the choice of several
words which necessarily extend it to that
further meaning. And now the retortion on
the Jewish writers will not appear so forced
and unnatural. It was a Christian practice
to apply the language of the Old testament
to the events of the Gospel dispensation; and
the confusion of idols and idolaters being the
standing subject of those writings, we may
be sure, the Christians would not fail to ap-
ply every thing of this nature to the present
occasion. So that those being employed as di-
vine decisions to confirm their cause, naturally
became the object of Julian's resentment.

3. This
the Temple of Jerusalem.

3. This likewise well accounts for the title of Prophets, which he gives these Jewish Writers or Rulers; and for his abuse of them under that character. It was to prevent the Reader's stopping at Apollo's Temple, when it was the writer's purpose to lead him silently to that of Jerusalem: to which only the Jewish Prophets and their Prophecies could have any reference. There is another reflexion Julian makes, which relates as little to the destruction of the Temple at Daphné; and that is where he speaks of their ignorance of nature, ἂν ἐκλαβὼν ὑμῖς ἀδικεῖν, by which he would insinuate, the readiness in believing miracles arises from that ignorance. But he could never intend this observation should be applied to Apollo's Temple, which he was persuaded was not consumed by lightning. These then we may consider as certain marks of his further meaning. And, indeed, if he had it not, What reason was there for being so shy in mentioning that Idol Temple? Its destruction did not at all distress him; as he believed it was set on fire by the Christians. But, in the other case, he had to do with the God of the Christians; and he was not yet in an humour, whatever
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
he might be afterwards, to cry, Viçisti, Galilææ.

4. It being now clearly seen, that Julian in this passage refers to his defeat, the covert manner in which he owns himself overcome, adds greatly to the weight of it. For no suspicion can lye against so oblique a reference to the Fact, even in the opinion of those who could smell forgery in an open and direct confession. An Impostor, piously disposed to procure Julian's testimony against himself, would never think of doing it so obscurely, as that it should escape the notice of those whom he principally intended to deceive.

Thus far concerning the Apostate's own testimony. But as there were three Parties interested in this affair, the Pagans, the Jews, and the Christians; our evidence might be thought defective, if any one of them were wanting on so solemn an occasion.

We shall therefore, in the next place, produce the testimony of a famous Rabbi: who, tho' late in time, yet composed the work, from whence the following passage is taken, on the Traditions and Records of the several
the Temple of Jerusalem.

several ages he writes of. This is the celebrated R. Gedaliah ben Joseph Scebaja; he lived in the fifteenth century, and, in his history called Schalscheletb Hakkabbala expresses himself to this effect: "In the days of R. Channan and his brethren, about the year of the world 4349, our Annals tell us, there was a great earthquake over all the earth; by which the Temple which the Jews had raised at Jerusalem with vast expence, at the command of Julian the apostate, was thrown down. The day after the earthquake, a dreadful fire fell from heaven, which melted all the iron tools and instruments employed about the work; and destroyed many, nay incredible numbers of the Jews." I will make two remarks on this testimony. 1. The Historian's calling it an earthquake over all


F 3
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild the earth, is in the language of the Jews; and the same with that of the Evangelist, who tells us, that at the crucifixion, there was darkness over all the earth. 2. His speaking of the Temple as actually rebuilt, shews he had not his materials from Pagan or Christian writers; who are unanimous that no more than the foundations were prepared. And, as there is no visible purpose why he should invent this circumstance, we must conclude, he found it thus related in the Annals of the Rabbins; the composers of which might possibly draw this conclusion from what they found recorded of the contributions of their People on this occasion, which, according to all accounts, were immense. 3. The historian says, it was at the command of Julian; which, without bringing Christiandity into the question, supplies his Reader with a plausible account of this visible mark of the divine displeasure at the attempt; and consequently affords his brethren a principle on which they might believe the fact consistently with their profession of Judaism.

Here then, for the present, we shall rest our evidence; on the confession of Luke xxiii. 44.
Our adversaries themselves: And, from the nature of the testimony, proceed to some considerations on the nature of the fact, in order to the fuller establishment of this important truth.

One of the requisite qualities in a false Miracle, that pretends to live and do well, is, that the fact on which it rises, be private, obscure, unconcerning, and remote from general observation. And tho' these circumstances may sometimes attend a true one; yet that is but accidental, and hurts not its credit, so long as it is accompanied, which it ever is, with others, that supply their defects. But for a false Miracle to pretend to the distinction of public notoriety, would be too impudent a reliance even on religious credulity. To feign a miracle on a civil fact, which must have passed in sight of a whole nation, would be rather an attempt to put out men's eyes, that to induce their belief. Hence it is we see, the lying wonders of him, whose coming was after the working of Satan, so well answer the description which He, who came with all the power of the Father, hath given us of every subtile Impo-

2 Thess. ii. 9.

F 4 tor
72 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

tor in general, that they love darkness rather
than light, because their deeds are evil.

Now the Project to rebuild the Temple
of Jerusalem was a public transaction, the
most notorious and interesting of that Age.

The Projector was no other than the Em-
peror of the world himself; a circumstance
alone sufficient to draw the attention of the
World upon it.

His Attempt produced other circum-
stances that would obtrude themselves even
on the most incurious. The principal Jews
were called together from all quarters: Alypius, a man of the first figure, was put
at the head of the Undertaking: an immense
quantity of materials was laid in; vast num-
bers of workmen were assembled: and the
impotent triumphs of the Jews gave an eclat
to every movement which the restless tho'
determined spirit of Julian was hourly push-
ning forward.

ε — τάτων ἦ ὁ έκεῖνος [οι Ιεραχοι] στοι πόλεος ἀπα-
σίως ἀκέσαιες, ἀπαι τὰ προπολεμικὰ τοῖς ἅγιοι
οἱ κυρίων ὀμοφύλοις ἐπελευσαν. Οἱ ζ πρόλοις οἰωνίσ-
η, ἀν κυρίῳ ἐκ προδομίων εἰς οἰκοδομίας εἰσφέροις.

THE
The Place contributed no less to its notoriety. It was in the centre of the Empire; and in the head quarters of the two religious Parties that then divided it.

The Time likewise was critical. The religious World had just suffered a surprising revolution. It had been suddenly brought back from the new Opinions to a profession of the old. Yet the disgraced Religion, by courage and constancy in suffering, still kept its enemies anxious amidst all their success, and fearful amidst all their power for what might be the final issue.

The Action too was capitally interesting: The design of the project was to give the last blow to the credit of Christianity. And the honour of the new and old profession was staked on the event. We have shewn that every body understood Julian's purpose to be no other than to put a public affront upon Revelation. Paganism was big with expectation. The Church in general was alarmed; but the more knowing and pious amongst them, to the very last, mocked and defied the impiety of the attempt h.

h Cyrillus, post Maximum confessorem, Jerofolymis habebatur episcopus. Apertis igitur fundamentis, cal-
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Such were the various passions and interests which concurred with the Time and Place to engage the attention, and excite the impatience of all men for the event.

But now, when full expectation on the one side, and continued alarms on the other, had set the world at gaze, the project suddenly disappeared. It was as if it had never been; and the Temple once more presented itself in its old ruins; but with a worse face, of horror and desolation. A surprising issue of so much determined power, and immense preparation!

A World, thus attentive and concerned, could not but be desirous of knowing the cause of so sudden a change of measures, if it were a change of measures, that influenced the event. Did the Emperor relent? Did his Agents fail in their obedience; or were the Jews, on better thoughts, intimi-

cæmentaque adhibita: nihil omnino deerat, quin die postera, veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta; cum tamen episcopus, diligentia consideratione habita, vel ex his quæ in Danielis Prophetia de temporibus legerat, vel quod in Evangelii Dominus prædixerat, persisteret nullo genere fieri posse ut ibi a Judæis lapis super lapidem poneretur. Res erat in expectatione.—Rufini Hist. Eccl. 1. x. c. 37, &c.

dated?
dated? Was the purpose diverted by a Foreign invasion, or by Domestic tumults? Did some hostile Barbarian, at that juncture, break in upon the Empire; or some rebellious Province suspend and weaken its authority? Or lastly, did the Christians themselves defeat this insult, by opposing force to force? One or other of these causes must be given, to account, in a natural way, for the defeat: and yet the astonished Inquirer perceived that none of these had the least share in it. The Emperor's hatred to our holy Faith kept increasing to his death: Alypius's fidelity to his Master, and zeal for the old Superstition were without bounds; and the mad insolence of the Jews proved them as devoid of fear before, as of shame, after the event. The Empire, in all other quarters, was at peace; and the only enemy it had, in these, was the Persian; who was too much alarmed by Julian's preparations, and too much taken up in putting its own frontiers in a condition of defence, to think of farther provoking him by new inroads into the Empire.

What then would be the state of men's minds on this posture of affairs? Those who were more remote, would, in their loss for a na-
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

a natural cause, be attentive to what was told them of a miracle. And those who were on the place would want no means of convincing their hearers. For nothing was equivocal. The Directors, the Overseers, and the Agents in this attempt were all scattered and dispersed; and, surely, by no panic terror. An Earthquake, that let loose a subterranean fire, joined to a Heaven all in flames, tore in sunder the Foundations, destroyed the Workmen, and burnt up and consumed the Materials. Effects, which were all the objects of sense; and, what is more, remained so for a long time. For many of those who survived their fellows, bore about them, the lasting marks of their punishment: And, another religious Revolution coming on, the site of the Temple was suffered to retain that face of ravage and combustion, which the escape of pent-up fires always leaves behind them.


κ Καὶ νῦν ἐλθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, γυμνά όσια τοῦ ἡμελίῳ καὶ τῶι αὐτίῳ ὁμόφως, ἕξετε ἀλλ' ἔτειτοι ἁμέσως. η' τέτω μαθήματος ἡμείς πέμπεις ἢ φυλαγμόν; κ' εὐρεία τις πολλ' ταῦτα γέγονε χρόνο—Chrysl. adver. Judæos, Orat. 5.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

In this account then all Parties must needs agree. And, by what remains of Antiquity, it appears they did so: A consent, not procured in the way whereby false reports of the like kind have sometimes procured it. For this was no trifling event, laid in a remote corner, seen but by a few prejudiced relators, and accompanied only with ambiguous circumstances: In which case, partly from contempt of a thing incredible, partly from neglect of a thing uninteresting, but principally from an indolence that shuns the trouble of examining, many a Monkish Tale has made its fortune. But here, had the Fact been groundless, its falsehood must have been known to thousands: and what was so easy to be disproved, the interests of thousands would have exposed. Had it been ambiguous, it could not have passed uncontroverted: for it was not of the nature of the miracle procured by the prayers of the Thundering Legion, which only gave testimony to the power of Christ, a matter about which Paganism was very indifferent: This went to the quick, and exposed the impotence and falsehood of their idols, a charge which always put them out of temper. But if they were so cold in the cause of Superstition
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

ation as to need a spur to vindicate its honour. This they had likewise in the triumphs and exultations of the Christian Ministers; who in their Sermons, their Apologies, their Histories, addressed both to friends and enemies, relate the event in all its circumstances, call upon the numerous eye-witnesses to attest the truth, appeal to the standing marks of the fact, the traces of a dreadful exterminating fire over all the place, and on many of the persons concerned; and, lastly, defy the advocates of Idolatry to gainsay the exactness of their relation.

Such is the illustrious Miracle we have here attempted to defend. We have examined it on the severest rules of rational ascent. And we find it established on that full concurrence of happy circumstances which, we might expect, should attend a miracle so singular in its nature, and so important and decisive in its use.

But there is one circumstance almost peculiar to it, and, as it crowns all the rest, will deserve our most serious regard. It is this, that the attempt and the issue are so interwoven with one another, that they must stand or fall together. For whoever allows
allows that Julian began to rebuild the Temple, must confess the obstruction came from above, because no human impediment existed. And whoever denies the obstruction must deny the attempt, because if there was no obstruction of this kind, there was none at all: and if there were none at all, then was there nothing to be obstructed. That is, Julian never attempted to rebuild the Temple; an inference, whose scepticism would make sad havock in civil history.

Having then so well established the fact, we have little need to inquire into the objections that may be made to it, any further than as we may be led by our own curiosity, or inclined to gratify the curiosity of others, in seeing how far the capriciousness of wanton wit can go in its frolics to puzzle the plainest and most evident of useful truths.

SECTION II.

I. FIRST then it may be objected, "That the credit of the Miracle rests entirely on the truth of this supposition, That the holy Oracles of God have declared, that the Jewish Temple should never
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
be rebuilt: For if this were not predicted, 
the restoration of it did not impeach the di-
vine veracity; nor, consequently, was its ho-
nour concerned in frustrating the attempt. 
Now the word of God no where says that 
the Jewish Temple should never be rebuilt; 
on the contrary, it insinuates that it should. 
It predicts, in general terms, the total, but 
not final destruction of the Temple; and, in 
express words, says, That Jerusalem shall be 
trodden down of the Gentiles until the times 
of the Gentiles be fulfilled. Which imply 
there was to be a period to the desolation, 
tho' the time be so obscurely marked as to 
make the fixing that period uncertain."

The objection is plausible, and well de-
serves a solution. On which account (the 
method of the discourse concurring) it was 
thought proper to obviate it in the very en-
trance on this Argument: where it is shewn, 
from the nature of the Jewish and Christian 
Religions, that the total destruction, men-
tioned in the Prophecies, necessarily im-
plied a final one: For that, in the order of 
God's dispensations, the Jewish and the 
Christian Religions could never stand toge-
ther: when This became established, That 
was to be done away. But while the Tem-
ple
the Temple of Jerusalem. 81

temple remained, Judaism still existed: when That was overthrown, the Religion fell with it; and consequently must rise again with the Temple's restoration. But as it was not to rise while Christianity continued, the Temple was never to be restored. The consequence of all is, that, if it were, Christianity could no longer support its pretensions, nor the Prophets nor Jesus the truth of their predictions.

II. Secondly, The testimony of Amm. Marcellinus, decisive as it is, hath been impeached. It is suspected, "That He is no original Evidence; but hath taken the account he gives us, of what then passed at Jerusalem, from the Christian writers. The work in which we find it, being composed near twenty years after the event, when the Fathers had turned what there was of fact into a Miracle; and, by their declamatory eloquence, had made it famous throughout the now believing Empire."

This reasoning abounds with absurdities: but the Objection is not of my invention.

It supposes Marcellinus to have taken his account from the Christian writers, because there
82 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
there were no other to be had: for if there were other, then the Historian's authority does not rest on their testimony; or, if it does, it rests on a good foundation, the evidence of Christian, supported by Pagan writers. Now is it likely that an Unbeliever, a man of sense, and a lover of truth, should so confide in those of the new Persuasion, speaking in their own cause, and unsupported by other evidence, as to deliver a fact, in terms of absolute certainty, which discredited a Religion he reverenced, and a Master he idolized? Could we, under these circumstances, suppose him capable of preserving the memory of so unsupported a Story, we should at least look to find it delivered in such terms of doubt and suspicion as he must needs think were justly due unto it.

But the Objector seems to have attended as little to the situation and circumstances, as to the character of the Historian. When this event happened at Jerusalem, Ammianus was not in winter-quarters afar off in Gaul or Germany; but near at hand, in the Emperor's court at Antioch, and in an office of distinction. The Objector, I suppose, will allow that Julian made the attempt. The attempt, I have shewn, was, in
in its nature, such as must draw the attention of the whole Empire upon it. Ammianus represents it as one of the most considerable enterprises of his Master's reign; and that it was projected to perpetuate his memory. It miscarried. And is it possible the cause of the miscarriage could, at that time, be more a secret to him than the undertaking? Yet, if we believe the Objector, the first news he heard of it was from the Christian Priests. Be it so. I ask no more, to shew the objection devoid of common sense. A Courtier of credit, a curious observer of what passed about him, hears nothing of what happened in his neighbourhood, at the time it did happen, tho' in an affair that engaged all men's attention. Many years after, in hunting for materials to compose his History, he starts this Story. And where, I pray, does he find it, but skulking in the cover of a flowery Homily, or a thorny and perplexed Invective? and on the authority of these loose and prejudiced Declaimers, records it, in his Annals, as a fact unquestionable. Not, as was said, to derive credit to his Master or his Religion, but to entail eternal dishonour upon both: And all this without giving either of them the least relief;
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild relief; as was easy to be done by only telling from whom he had his Story.

In a word, we see, the objection arises out of this circumstance, *The distance of time between the fact and the historian's account of it*. But such a circumstance can never support a conclusion of this nature, but in the case where a Writer, who had an occasion to speak of a memorable fact at the time it happened, omits to do so; and afterwards, at the distance of many years, records it, without any reason given for his preceding silence. But this was not the case of *Am. Marcellinus*: he tells the story as soon as ever he had an opportunity of so doing; which was when he retired from business to write his History. And the distance between *that* and the event is so far from taking from the credit of his relation, that, as was observed, it adds greatly to it.

For we cannot but conclude, that, as a Soldier and man of business, he kept a journal of every thing that passed; tho' we should not suppose, what is equally probable, that as a lover of letters he had very early formed his design of writing history.
In what, therefore, concerned the transactions of those times, he had a sure and easy way of coming to the truth; which was by comparing his own diary with the later, and better digested, accounts of others. But indeed the nature of the fact, and the quality of the Writer, shew us, there was little danger of mistake. An authentic account of this whole matter was doubtless amongst the papers of State; to all which our Historian had free access. And if we should suppose his relation to be no other than a faithful abstract of Alypius's letter to Julian, we should not, I believe, be a great way from the mark. It is certain, that a prudent historian, circumstanced as Marcellinus then was, could not have acted a wiser part than to relate so nice an adventure in the very words of the person, to whose conduct it was committed: for in so doing, he found himself in that rare situation of adhering strictly to Truth, without offending either of the Parties who then strove for the possession of it. We may further observe, that this supposition clears up another Objection which has been made to his narrative. For,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

III. Thirdly we are told, "that the testimony of Marcellinus does but half our business: for tho' he gives a circumstantial relation of the fact, he speaks of it as a natural, not a miraculous event."

The former objection, we see, supposes he had gone too far; This, that he has not gone far enough. And yet I cannot understand how a professed Pagan could have said more, in conscience. This Objector, sure, is not so unreasonable to expect, he should have recorded the triumphs of the Gospel over his own Religion, in the words of the Christian writers, Because the other Objector had taken it into his head that he was beholden to them for his account of the story.

Thus far we may be certain, had Ammi-anus thought it an artifice or imposture, he would have contrived to tell us so. For what should hinder him? Not any regard to the Leaders of the Christian sect, upon whom the scandal would have fallen; for he is not backward, on any occasion, to expose their follies and perversities. On the other hand, the general Character of Paganism made him very easy not to form any distinct judgment about the matter. Had he had any such
such inclination, he was fairly invited to it by what he found, and therefore honestly related, of the obstinacy of the eruption, resolutely bent to drive them to a distance.

After all, A faithful Historian, thus circumstanced, must be sufficiently distressed.

But Ammianus his skill was great, like his honesty; and he found a way to disengage himself with honour. Other considerations away, The fact was too notorious to be smothered, and too important to be passed over: at the same time, the mention of it was nice and delicate; it was like walking over the burning ruins of an unquenched conflagration. Two things, in it, equally required management, the motive to the attempt; and the nature of the defeat: the one affected the glory of his master; the other, the interests of his Religion. See, now, his address, and how artfully he has come off! Julian gave different reasons for his project, as best suited the views he had on those to whom he told it. To the Jews he affected compassion for their

* Hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, celfavit inceptum.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
sufferings, and reverence for their holy rites: To his Priests and Sophists, we may be confident, he revealed his secret purpose, the disgrace and ruin of Revelation; And to his Courtiers and Military men he pretended, what was most to their humour, the fame and glory of the enterprise. Tho' Ammianus was certainly no Dupe to his professions, yet he found it convenient, and he thought it fair, to convey that motive to posterity, which Julian had given to himself. The defeat was next to be considered. To own the miracle, would be condemning his Religion; explicitly to deny it, would be violating his Honour. He avoided this dilemma, by employing the words of the original Relator: And when we see, in his account, the very language of Alypius, we can no more doubt that he did employ them, than that Alypius himself sent his master a relation of the whole affair.

But if the necessity of saying so much distressed his Principles, the necessity of saying no more equally distressed his Talents. For his Genius was bold and over-bearing; and prompt, on these occasions, to pour along the torrent of his eloquence. Hear how he describes
describes an earthquake at Nicomedia. —
"Eminuere Nicomediæ clades ---. But the
reader will find the rest below b.

He professes, we see, to tell his story
brevly and truly. And I believe he did so.
Yet his brevity does not hinder him from
specifying the very day, nay even the hour

b "— cujus ruinarum eventum vere breviterque absol-
vam. Primo lucis exortu die nono kal. Septembrium,
concreti nubium globi nigrantium, lætam paulo antè
cæli speciem confuderunt: et amandato solis splen-
dore, nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur: ita ocu-
lorum obtutu præstrieto, humo involutus crassæ cali-
ginis squalor infedit. Deim velut Numine summò fa-
tales contorquente manubias, ventosque ab ipsis exci-
tante cardinibus, magnitudo fureenitum incubuit pra-
cellarum, et elisi literis fragor: hæc quæ secuti ty-
phones atque presteros, cum horrihico tremore terra-
rum, civitatem et suburbana funditus everterunt. —
Interim clamoribus variis excelsa culmina reflexabant,
querritantium conjugium liberosque, et si quid necequi-
tudinis arte constringit. Post horam denique secum-
dam, multo ante tertiam, aër jam sudus et liquidus
latentes retextit funereas strages. Nonnulli enim su-
perruentium ruderum vi nimia constringata sub ipsis in-
terie re ponderibus. Quidam collo tenus aggeribus ob-
ruti, cum superesse possent si qui juvissent, auxilio-
rum inopiam necabant. Alii lignorum extinguant
acuminibus fixi pendebant. Uno ietu cæli complures
paullo ante homines, tunc promiscuae strages cada-

when
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
when this or that circumstance was remarked: nor his truth from giving us as minute a description of the various kinds of deaths as may be found in a battle in Homer. How different from his relation of the event at Jerusalem! There he does not so much as inform us of the Month in which it happened; we should even have been at a loss for the Year, but that the Persian expedition, to which the form of his Annals connected it, has served for our direction. And so far is he from taking notice of any slaughter, the too certain consequence of eruptions of this nature, that, had it not been for the Christian writers, we might have suspected his horrible balls of fire had contained nothing but a lambent flame.

Again, he is not content to relate the Nicomedian earthquake, and expatiate only

"verum cernebantur. *Quosdam* domorum inclinata
"*fasficiae* intrinsecus serebant intaclos, angore et inedia
"confumendos.— *Alii* subita ruinae magnitudine op-
"pressi ilisdem adhuc molibus conteguntur. Collisivis
"*quidam* capitibus, vel humeris praefectis aut cruribus,
"*inter vitæ mortifque confinia, aliorum adjumenta pa-
"*ria* perferentium implorantes cum obtestatione mag-
"na deferebantur —

*Metuendi globi flammarum.*
the Temple of Jerusalem.

on its effects: he is as particular in describing both the signs and prognostics that preceded it (such as the firmament overcast, and the day darkened with storms and tempests) and the symptoms that attended it, (such as the lightning and whirlwind.) But his account of the disaster in Jerusalem is stripped of all these circumstances of terror; tho' they be the constant fore-runners and attendants of fiery eruptions; and, if we may believe the Christian writers, did actually precede and accompany this: nor have we any reason to disbelieve them, because they speak (as we shall see) of certain phenomena, the natural effects of the disordered elements, which they erroneously ascribe to a different cause.

But this is not all, Ammianus, to give us the dreadfulst idea of this desolation at Nicomedia, says, the conflict of Nature was such, as if the God of Nature himself, armed with all the stores of heaven, was hurling his lightening over a perishing world. But we find not a single stroke of this imagery in the affair at Jerusalem. The Deity is there kept out of sight; tho' the repeated eruptions, which, he says, seemed obstinately and reso-
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild resolutely bent to drive the workmen to a distance, drove him to the confines of a superior agency. But he was unwilling, and for a good reason, to call his Readers after him.

What could occasion a conduct so different in a case so similar? Had he related the one as a noted fact, and the other but as an uncertain rumour, something might have been pretended. But, this makes the difficulty, he tells them both as facts; and facts of equal notoriety and truth. A difficulty nothing can solve but what we have already shewn to be the case, the bashfulness of a backward Evidence.

On this principle, we see that his relating the eruption of Jerusalem as a natural event, takes nothing from the reality of the divine interposition. When a Pagan bears testimony to a fact of this importance, we may be as sure it is a Miracle, as when a Papist bears testimony to a miracle of no importance at all, we are sure it is a Trick.

But his reserve is so far from depriving us of the benefit of his testimony, that it is that which supports it. Had we found a Pagan
Pagan speaking like a Christian Father on this occasion, his evidence had soon become as suspected as that of the Jewish historian, where he speaks of Christ; which, one of the ablest and most candid of his Critics frankly owns, could never come from him in the condition it is brought down to us. This miracle, without question, embarrassed Marcellinus no less than the Worker of miracles distressed the other Historian: whose case the excellent Writer just now mentioned, has well described. But had posterity made equally free with both, I should have despaired of disengaging my Author with the address and abilities he has done Josephus.

In a word, all we want of our adversaries is to have the fact acknowledged as Ammianus relates it. Its nature depends neither on his, nor on their, nor on our opinion; but on the reason of things. We think, indeed, the nature of it speaks itself. But, for the sake of those who think otherwise, I pro-

---

d See Mr. Forster's Discourse, intituled, A Dissertation upon the Account supposed to have been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus &c. Oxon. MDCCXLIX.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild pose, in the course of this examination, to shew, that it was an effect, which no power but that of the moral Governor of the universe was able to produce.

I proceed, then, in my subject; to which these cavils are only the prelude, or, as it were, the shadow of the good things to come.

IV. For the next Objection to the fact arises from what, one would have hoped, should have been the chief support of it, the testimony of the Fathers. But their credit in the fashionable world is now so low, that if they do not dishonour the cause they appear in, it is all we are to expect from them. For, as a late writer graciously allows us to believe every strange thing except a Miracle, that is to say, any the most extraordinary phenomenon in Nature, but where Religion lends it a support; so, to say the truth, we are enough disposed to credit the wonders of antiquity, all but those the Fathers have officiously pass'd their words for. And yet, it is very certain, these Fathers were, at worst, no more prejudiced in favour

* In a book, intituled, Philosophical essays concerning human understanding, printed 1748. p. 199.
of Religion, than their Pagan neighbours were prejudiced against it. And whether these were Philosophers, Sophists, or Statesmen, if we read their works, we shall find that very credulity, prejudice, false reasoning, and ill faith, which these objectors pretend has been discovered in some of the most celebrated Fathers. I say this only to shew, that this slippery temper was the vice of the times, rather than of the men; consequently that their character of Fathers of the church is not to answer for its irregularities.

But what is it the Fathers have done, in the point in question, that proves so injurious to their own cause? "Why, it seems, they differ greatly from Ammianus, in their relation of this extraordinary fact; by adding many circumstances to his; some of which are utterly incredible."

Whether it were the Fathers, or their Cause, which render their accounts incredible, will be seen in due time. At present let me observe, it greatly eases their defence, that it cannot be fairly pretended, the Christian writers contradict the relation of Ammianus, in any the least particular.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

In the second place, What I said before, of his subtractions, I here repeat of their additions; that they are so far from invalidating the fact, that they add to its support. We have shewn Ammianus to be an unwilling evidence, who has cautiously avoided saying more than was just necessary to save harmless his character of a faithful Historian. It was natural then to expect he had studiously omitted such circumstances as made most for the honour of that cause to which he was neither a friend nor favourer.

Thirdly, Admitting it was as is pretended, that incredible things are to be found in their relations: this circumstance will scarce be deemed sufficient to overthrow a well attested fact, by any who consider that those which are best established, have never been exempt from such injurious pollutions. The miracles of Christ and his Apostles have not escaped the adulterations of Monkery. And if this were sufficient to discredit Truth, there is not a fact in civil history that would stand its ground. As to those who expect a certain innate virtue in it, of force to extrude all heterogeneous mixture, they
they expect a quality in Truth which was never yet found in it, nor, I fear, ever will. Nay the more notorious a fact of this kind is, that is to say, the more eye-witnesses there are of it, the more subject it is to undesigned depravation; as there must be, amongst a large cloud of evidence, some men of heated fancies: and the greater the communication, and the frequenter the collision, of these warm heads, the more active and inflamed will be the creative faculty of the mind; which, in that state, we find, has always been the seminary of false circumstances of the prodigious kind.

But we should grant a great deal too much in allowing this to be the case here. Providence did not do its work by halves; nor was penurious in the grace so seasonably bestowed upon the suffering Church. For, what, we have shewn, was performed in the fight of all men, we shall see, was faithfully commemorated by the most celebrated Preachers and Apologists of that age; and as soberly and carefully recorded by the best Historians of the following. And if, travelling downwards in a blind and heavy road, it contracted some stains of the soil thro' which it passed, it was never so disguised as to have H thos
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild those dirty features mistaken for its natural countenance, by any the least attentive observer.

The Christian Evidence for the fact are Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and Chrysostom. These lived at the time it happened. The next age produced Rufinus, Sozomen, and Theodoret, whose testimony is perfectly consistent one with the other. In the last place are Philostorgius, Theophanes, Orosius, Nicephorus, Zonaras, and Cedrenus, who, altho' distant in age, are so near allied in judgment, that they are here put together; not to add credit to the cause they serve; but, by separating them from their several contemporaries of a better paste and compound, to bear alone the shame of their proper folly or prevarication.

The original evidence, as we said, are Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen. Of these, Ambrose lived far in the West; and having, as may be supposed, received only a general relation of the fact, he delivers it as generally. Have you not heard (says he, writing to the Emperor Theodosius) how when Julian gave command to rebuild the temple
the Temple of Jerusalem.

In which may be discerned the different fortune that naturally attends Truth and Falseness. A Fable, the further it goes, the more circumstances it gathers: for, like all untimely productions, coming out, at first, rude and undigested, it leaves room for charitable invention to give it shape; which, by general contribution, soon raises it to a bulk that looks formidable. Whereas the circumstances of a story drop off, one after an-

This is in an epistle to the Emperor, written on a very singular occasion — A certain bishop had excited his flock to burn a Jewish synagogue: which being complained of to Theodosius, he ordered the offenders to be punished; and that the bishop should rebuild it at his own expense. The impiety of this sentence was so offensive to Ambrose, that, having reminded the Emperor of the fate of the Jewish Temple, he asks him, whether he does not expect the same dishonours should attend his command, which followed the attempt of Julian. "Non audisti, Imperator, quia cum justissime Julianus reparari Templum Hierofolymis, quod divino "qui faciebant repagulum igne flagrarunt? Non caves "ne etiam nunc faciat? Adeo a te non sit jubendum "ut Julianus hoc jussisset." Ep. xil. It was well, this miracle was performed by God, to do honour to himself: Had it been to do honour to the bishops of his church, we see how little they deserved it! Here is One other,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

other, as it advances in its progress, till it becomes strict, and contracted to its essence: for there being precision in the testimony of the evidence, and conviction in the nature of the fact, men, on its first appearance, are less solicitous, as they have less need, to support it by its circumstances, than to convey it by its essentials.

Chrysostom, indeed, was in the neighbourhood of the place. But, speaking to an Audience as well instructed in the affair as himself, tho' he had frequent occa-

who violates the civil peace, and invades the religious rights of his neighbour; and Another who supports him in so doing, on the authority of the miracle at Jerusalem. In which they either foully prevaricate; or grossly mistake the purpose of God's interposition. They represent it as intended for an example to the Magistrate to restrain the Jews from all exercise of their Superstition; when it was evidently for no other purpose than to support the truth of the divine predictions concerning the ruin of a certain temple. Theodosius was to expect the fate of Julian. And why? Because he was supporting those very rights of nature which Julian then violated: For the attempt to rebuild the Temple was but one of the many arts he employed to extirpate the Christian Faith by violence. But it has always been the trick, and has often proved the folly, of Intolerants, to place their miserable principle on such foundations as are found most of all to discredit it.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

vision to put them in mind of so distinguishing a mercy, yet always dwells in generals; just as he would have done in referring to the crucifixion, or to any other the most known incident in the Gospel. Thus, in his Discourse against the Jews and Gentiles, speaking of the desolate condition of the Temple, he says — "For in our times that Monarch, " who exceeded all men in his malice to our " holy faith, both lent the aid of the Imperial authority, and became an associate in " the design. They began the work, but " could make no progress; for a Fire, bursting " ing from the foundations, drove away, " and dispersed all concerned in the under- " taking."

The only contemporary Father, therefore, from whom we can expect a detailed history of the event, is Gregory Nazianzen. For he, not living at a distance, like Ambrose; nor preaching, like Chrysostome, to those who knew every circum-

— ἀλλὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Μεσσίαν νίκησαν βασιλεύει, ἦν ἐκκόμμα ξυσσίων ἐς ἡ " Μεσσίανε, ἦν ἐγένετο Ἰησοῦς, ἦν ὑπὸ μικρῶν προσελ- " θείων ἱδρυθέν ἦν ἰδρυθέναν, ἀλλὰς ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἔστατον. Adversus Judæos et Gen- " tiles, tom. i.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

stance, but residing in these quarters, and
writing in defense of our holy faith, against
Julian, in an appeal to the Roman Empire,
was both qualified, by his knowledge, and
called upon, by the nature of his performance,
to be particular in his relation of the fact.

Now, as his account must undergo a se-
vere scrutiny, it will be but fair to give it
in his own words. Speaking then of Ju-
lian, he says,

"After having run thro' a course of eve-
ry other tyrannical experiment against the
Faith, and, upon trial, despising all of
them as trifling and contemptible, he, at
last, brought down the whole body of the
Jews upon us; whom, for their ancient
turn to seditious novelties, and an invete-
rate hatred of the Christian name, he chose
as the fittest instruments of his machina-
tions. These, under a shew of great good
will, which hid his secret purpose, he en-
deavoured to convince, from their sacred
Books and Traditions, which he took up-
on him to interpret, that now was come

I think Gregory uses the word Ἐνθεομαζομαι ironically, in the sense of pretending to interpret with a pro-
phetic spirit.

"the
the Temple of Jerusalem: 1 of the time foretold, when they should return to their own Land, rebuild their Temple, and restore the Law to its ancient force and splendor. When these things had been thoroughly insinuated, and heartily entertained (for deceit finds easy admittance when it flatters our passions) the Jews set upon the work of rebuilding, with great attention, and pushed on the project with the utmost labour and application. But when now driven from their work by a violent Whirlwind and a sudden Earthquake, they fled together for refuge to a certain neighbouring church (some to deprecate the impending mischief, others, as is natural in such cases, to catch at any help that presents itself; and others, again, enveloped in the crowd, were carried along with the body of flyers) there are who say, the church refused them entrance; and that when they came to the doors, which were wide open but a moment before, they found them, on a sudden, closed by a secret and invisible hand; a hand accustomed to work these wonders for the terror and confusion of the impious, and for the security and comfort of godly men. This however is now

H 4
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

...invariably affirmed and believed by all,

"That as they strove to force their way in
by violence, the Fire, which burst from
the foundations of the Temple, met and
kept them, and one part it burnt and de-
stroyed; and another it desperately maim-
ed, leaving them a living monument of
God's commination and wrath against sin-
ners. Thus the affair passed; and let no
man continue incredulous concerning this,
or the other miraculous works of God. But
still the thing most wonderful and illustri-
ous was a Light, which appeared in the
heavens, of a Cross within a Circle. That
name and figure, which impious men be-
fore esteemed so dishonourable upon earth,
was now raised on high, and equally ob-
jected to the common view of all men;
advanced, by God himself, as the Trophy
of his victory over Unbelievers; of all Tro-
phies the most exalted and sublime. Nay
further, they who were present, and par-
takers of the miracle, we are now about
to speak of, shew, to this very day, the sign
or figure of the Cross which was then
marked or impressed upon their garments.
For, at that time, as these men (whether
such as were of us, or strangers) were shew-
ing
ing these marks, or attending to others who shewed them, each presently observed the wonder, either on himself or his neighbour: having a radiant mark on his body or on his garment: in which there was something that, in art and elegance, exceeded all painting or embroidery.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

This is the only Christian contemporary writer who delivers the account of the miracle differently from Ammianus Marcellinus, that is, with additional circumstances. Let us see then what handle be hath given to the Objector.

But before we come to examine what he really affirms, and takes upon his credit...
to support; it will be proper to set in a true light what he is only supposed to affirm, and what he does not undertake to warrant.

He tells us, it was reported, that those who fled for refuge to an adjoining church, whose doors were wide open but a moment before, found them suddenly closed by an invisible power. — And, without question, They who could not then get in, did believe the impediment to be miraculous. They did not consider, that a frightened crowd, all pressing to be foremost, would soon choke up a wider passage than the door of a little oratory, like this where they sought for refuge, had the doors been still open. But he tells us they were suddenly closed: and, if they opened outward, the power that shut them could be only invisible to a blind crowd, half frightened out of their wits. And, indeed, Gregory himself intimates, in the following words (where he speaks of the fiery eruption) that this was not the general opinion; and particularly not his own; for he insinuates what he deemed to be the true cause of the impediment, in telling us they strove to force their way in by violence. But (adds he) that which followed, namely the eruption, is now invariably affirmed and believed by all. As much
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild much as to say, time and cool examination, which corrected the first reports, have left the miraculous circumstance of the impediment doubtful; but have put that of the eruption out of all question.

This being premised, we come to the circumstances, additional to the account of Marcellinus. Gregory mentions three: 1. a Whirlwind and Earthquake. 2. The Light which appeared in the heavens of a Cross within a Circle; and 3. The figure of a Cross on the bodies and garments of the workmen and assistants. These, indeed, Gregory delivers as unquestioned facts, doubted or contradicted by none: And of so trite, and frequent mention in the Divines and Historians of this time, that it is observable he tells the main fact, the fiery eruption, not directly, but only hints at it occasionally, for the sake of a circumstance not so generally known. Of all these, therefore, it will be incumbent on us to give some good account. I shall try them on the test of Ammianus’s relation, as that is made (though only for this purpose) the standard of the truth; and doubt not but they will be all found very credible, notwithstanding their different degrees of evidence;
the Temple of Jerusalem. 109
vidence, the first being necessarily connected with the eruption recorded by Ammianus; the second, a likely attendant on the then unquiet state of the elements: and the third, very consonant to what we know of meteorology.

1. First then, as to the Earthquake. Natural history informs us, that fiery eruptions, of which it makes frequent mention, are always preceded by an earthquake. And, indeed, the obvious nature of the thing instructs us, it can hardly be otherwise; the force of fire making its way thro' a heavy load, opposed to its explosion, cannot but throw the incumbent earth into convulsive struggles, during the agitation. And this tumult in the inferior elements must needs communicate itself to the adjoining parts of the superior. Hence it has so generally happened, that the disorder below has been accompanied with the like above, such as fierce Whirlwinds and a troubled sky: this was the first signal of the like dreadful conflict in the desolation at Nicomedia, as Ammianus himself relates it.--- "Concreti nubium glo-
"bi nigrantium, laetam paullo ante coeli spe-
"ciem confuderunt." Thus far, therefore,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Gregory's account is not only agreeable to the usual course of things, in their unquiet state, but the appearances are told in their order; the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire.

2. The light which was seen in the heavens of a Cross within a Circle, is the second thing we are to speak to. Of this kind of phenomenon, the Ecclesiastical, the Civil, and the Natural history, both of ancient and modern ages, affords us so many instances, that it will give us very little trouble. Not to keep the Reader in suspense, it was neither more nor less than one of those meteoric lights, in a still and clouded sky, which are not unfrequently seen in solar or lunar halos: And when the parhelia, and parafelenes, which sometimes attend them, are added to that appearance, we can easily conceive how greatly the pomp of them must be increased. To support this account, we may observe, that this celestial Cross was not seen till the conflict in the sky was over; it being the night after the Storm, and the night after that, as Theodoret informs us; where, by

---

1 - ἐκ τῆς Ἴσωρος τοῦ ἱστορίας ἡ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς θυελλῆς, ἡ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς θυελλῆς τοῦ ὁλόσθενος ἡμέρᾳ τῆς θυελλῆς. Excl. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.
the Temple of Jerusalem.  

the way, we may observe, this was a lunar halo.

It was the same appearance, from whence (as Eusebius and others tell us) Constantine the Great drew the happy prelude of an approaching victory: it was the same which Cyril of Jerusalem saw over that city, in the time of his son Constantius; to whom the good bishop sent the news, and, indeed, endeavoured to make the most of it. The Historians of the middle ages have, at different times, occasionally mentioned the like appearances; and, generally, mentioned them as miraculous. Since the revival of learning, the Naturalists and Astronomers have taken notice of such as happened in their times; and have attempted to explain their physical causes.

But here, I find, what I had further to say, on this subject, already done, to my hands, in a very ingenious and learned discourse m of the excellent J. A. Fabricius: to which,

Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
with much satisfaction, I refer the Reader:
For it is not my way to repeat what others
have proved before me; or to defraud them
of the praises due to their discoveries.

I will only make one observation. All
these meteoric crosses are represented as be-
ing encompassed by a luminous Circle. A
circumstance, which, if but commonly at-
tended to, would have betrayed their origi-
nal. But so far from that, the Circle was
brought as a convincing argument of their
being miraculous. With this, Gregory tri-
umphs over the Mathematicians or Astro-
logers; and defies them to account for it by
their rules of art. Would the Reader know
the ground of so gross a delusion? It was no
more than this, The Circle was so established
an emblem of victory, that, like one of Epi-
curus's Simulacra, perpetually flying off from
bodies, they regarded it as the moral Phan-
tom that proclaimed Julian's defeat. For,
figure and rhetoric, had, in most times, but
especially in those, been an overmatch for
reality and science.

Πιθανόν ἐξ Χριστού ἔτσι παρατείνεται τὸν Πλάτωνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Στέφανου;
Οὐτὸς ἐκ Χεισοῦ Νικήτος ὑπὸ Στέφανου. Ora. iv.

3. But
But the last circumstance (say the Objectors) so far exceeds all the common lengths of credulity, that its invention must have put Fancy to the stretch, and even Fraud itself to the blush: and this is, the mark of the Cross impressed upon the bodies, or garments of the people present.

As extraordinary as this may seem, I do not despair of regaining those whom it hath most revolted.

But first it will be necessary to call in a Writer of the next Class, and consider his words—"When therefore (says Socrates) a vast number were assembled on the place, another prodigy happened; for a fire fell from heaven, which consumed all the workmen's tools." As this Historian is the only writer who explictely mentions

\[\text{Philostorgius, by the mode of his expression, and by the order in which he puts things, seems as if he meant this fire, in the following words; τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, πῦρ ἐπηλέπθε τοῦς ἐγκαίνησας τολμῶν τὸ τε \\
iσχίς ἐξωτερικῶν. Ex. Lib. vii. c. 9.}\]

I Lightening,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Lightening, and its effects; it will be proper to consider its credibility. Under the last head we have shewn, how a fiery eruption must occasion a previous earthquake; and this earthquake, a stormy sky. But air, put into a violent motion, always produces lightening, when it abounds with matter susceptible of inflammation. And those columns of air, which lie over places that labour with convulsive throws to cast out an inkindled matter from its entrails, must needs be impregnated with vast quantities of sulphureous particles, which the earth, in that condition, exsudes from its pores, and which the solar heat draws upwards. But the natural history of these eruptions supports this reasoning. And Ammianus, whose evidence we have so often appealed to, gives us an example of it in the before-cited case of the Earthquake at Nicodemia, attended, as appears by his account, with a fiery eruption, like that at Jerusalem. Now this historian tells us, that there the earthquake was preceded by Lightening, as well as storms. — "Concreti nubium globi "migrantium, latam paullo ante celi spe-"ciem confuderunt—Dein velut numine "summo fatales contorquente manubias ven-"tosque
Lightening therefore, we see, is one of the constant concomitants in this Desolation.

Now lightening is formed by the ferment and explosion of sulphureous and bituminous exhalations from the earth, mixing with nitrous acids in the air. And as this mixture, or combination, is variously proportioned, according to the then casual concourse of elementary particles, so its destructive effects are various. Sometimes it hath been known to scorch up the cloaths without penetrating the body; and, sometimes again, to break all the bones without discolouring the flesh or cloaths; nay, even to melt the sword without injuring the scabbard. In the first case we must conclude, the sulphur predominated; in the latter, the salts. And according to this proportion, the lightening in question seems to have been formed. For, they tell us, it melted the iron instruments, but hurt neither the cloaths nor flesh; on which it affixed a cross, without any sensible notice.
at the time of the impression. For I make no scruple to affirm, that this mark was the natural effect of lightening, so constituted.

That lightening falls in regular figures, hath been frequently observed. The most unlikely, one should think, is a circle; and yet, in that, it hath been commonly known to fall: the most likely is an angle, (and a cross is but two straight lines meeting at right angles) yet this hath been more rare.

But, it will be said, "the Fathers make it a matter of much more importance; and the fantastic things they tell of these Crosses, exclude both Nature and Miracle; and admit of no other cause but Fraud or Fanaticism; even though we should subtract from the account the contradictions that arise from their joint testimony. Gregory* and Socrates* say these Crosses were shining and radiated. And Rufinus* gives us to understand, it was by night they had this

* Κατάσσερος. * Τῆς ἐπισκύρως ματί, οφραγι-}

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signacu-

* In sequenti notae in vestimentis omnium signa
the Temple of Jerusalem. 117

appearance: yet Theodoret⁶ tells us, they were not bright and shining, but shaded with a dark colour: again, Rufinus and Socrates affirm, they were by no means to be washed out.⁸"

All this, it must be owned, hath the rank air of inventive Prodigy. Yet view it well, and you see Nature breaking in upon you. In a word, the Fathers could have said nothing more corroborative of our account; which reduces them to a natural phenomenon: for the qualities they give to these crosses, not only shew them to be meteoric, but inform us of their very specific nature; which was precisely that of the Phosphorus.

They shone by night, and were dark and smokey coloured by day (for thus, the different accounts of their appearance, given us by Gregory and Theodoret, are plainly to be understood): the very property both

⁶ Οὐκ ἦτε μένοι Φωλονδῶν, αὔλλ' ἐν μελαῖνης καλα-σχευασμένης χρωίας. L. iii. c. 20.
⁸ Ut etiam qui diluere pro fui infidelitate voluisset, nullo genere valeret abolere. Ruf. — ἀποτρίλυγεν καὶ ἀποσμένεις Σέλωνεσ, ἕδει, τρόπῳ ἡδύνασθαι. Socr.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
of natural and artificial Phosphori. The first kind of which are insects, rotten-wood, shell-fish, tainted flesh, scales, feathers, of certain animals, &c. the latter, that solid body, in particular, made from urine (for almost all bodies will afford it) with which, if one writes, as with a pencil on paper, the letters will, in the night, appear like flame, and, in the day time, present only a dim, smokey suffusion.

The reader will be further confirmed in this opinion, if he considers of what the artificial Phosphorus is composed; which is chiefly a fixed salt, obtained by a long process of fire; in the course of which much of this element seems to be imbibed; so as to give the minute parts of the phosphorus the proper motion and agitation to produce light. Now the salts were predominant in the lightening in question, as appears by its violent effects on metals, and its innocuous contact with softer bodies. And we can easily conceive how that high ferment, by which lightening is formed, may produce a natural phosphorus, in the same manner as a long process by fire makes the artificial.

This
This will account too for the difficulty in washing out the marks. Those on the bodies would sooner disappear; those on the habits more slowly. And it is observable, that, though Gregory tells us, they yet produced (when he wrote) the marks on the garments; he says nothing of those on the bodies.

And now, I presume, the candid Reader may be disposed to abate his wonder, and inclined to give the Fathers credit for the facts, how much soever they might be mistaken in the immediate cause of them: and the Unbeliever, from the fate of so promising an Objection, may be taught the use of modesty and diffidence, when he opposes his own Reason to the truths that establish Revelation.

But to put the matter out of doubt, I shall produce a passage from the Adversaria of the famous Isaac Casaubon, written while in England, and, as his son Meric conjectures (to whom we are indebted for it) about the year 1610-11. It follows in these words: "This day the lord bishop of Ely, a prelate of great piety and holiness, related to me a wonderful thing.

1 Doctor Lane, Andrews, afterwards bishop of Winchester.
120 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"He said he had received the account from
"many hands, but chiefly from the lord
"bishop of Wells, lately dead, who was
"succeeded by the lord Montacutæ; that in
"the city of Wells, about fifteen years ago,
"one summer's day, while the people
"were at divine service in the cathedral
"church, they heard, as it thundered, two
"or three claps above measure dreadful, so
"that the whole congregation, affected
"alike, threw themselves on their knees
"at this terrifying sound. It appeared,
"the lightening fell at the same time, but
"without harm to any one. So far, then,
"there was nothing but what is common
"in the like cases. The wonderful part was
"this, which afterwards was taken notice
"of by many, that the marks of a Cross
"were found to have been imprinted on the
"bodies of those who were then at divine
"service in the cathedral. The bishop of
"Wells told my lord of Ely, that his wife
"(a woman of uncommon probity) came
"to him, and informed him, as of a great
"miracle, that she had then the mark of a
"cross impressed upon her body. Which
"tale when the bishop treated as absurd,

'Dr. John Still.'
his wife exposed the part, and gave him ocular proof. He afterwards observed, that he had upon himself, on his arm (as I take it) the plainest mark of a +. Others had it on the shoulder, the breast, the back, or other parts. This account that great man, my lord of Ely, gave me in such a manner, as forbade me even to doubt of its truth k.

Here, then, we have the very same event, happening from the same cause, the burst of lightening. The only difference is,

Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
that here the cross appeared upon the bodies
only; there both on the cloaths and bodies.
A difference which the more or less subtilty
of the meteoric matter would occasion.

The fact, we find, is as well attested as
a fact can possibly be. A bishop, of the
greatest name in his time for virtue and
knowledge, receives it from an eye-witness,
and a party concerned, a bishop likewise of
an irreproachable character, and tells it to a
Man whose candid honesty and superior
learning had rendered him one of the great-
est ornaments of his age. This account his
son, a man of learning likewise, and of ap-
proved integrity, finds under his father's
own hand, in his Adversaria, and gives it
to the world, with this additional informa-
tion, that he, the son, who had been bene-
ficed in Somersetshire, had never heard the
fact questioned, but had frequently met
with several who pretended to a perfect
knowledge of it.

inde ipse observavit fibi quoque ejusdem + manifestissi-
mam imaginem impressam esse, in brachio, opinor;
alis in humero, in pectore, in dorso, aut alia corporis
parte. Hoc vir maximus, Dom. Elisius, ita mihi nar-
rabat, ut vetaret de veritate historiae ambigere. Ex
Of credulity and incredulity. p. 118.

To
To this let me add, that Religion was here out of the question. Here was no Church or Churchman, no Sect or Doctrine, to be confuted or establisht, by the attestation of a prodigy. The great Critic speaks of it as a phisical, though a wonderful event. The very Bishops deliver it to one another, and to him, as only an escape of nature. The Bishop's Wife indeed, at first, seemed planet-struck with superstition; and while she thought herself only distinguish'd with this badge of sanctity, was very willing it should pass for a Miracle. But the honest bishop laughed her out of this conceit; and when she found how small a part of the honour was likely to fall to her share, she seemed content to submit it to her husband's better judgment.

Now, as Religion and religious purposes had nothing to do in this wonder, that extraordinary Philosopher 1, once before quoted, will permit us to give it credit.

It is indeed so well proved, as to bear much weightier observations than any I have to lay upon it: what I have to say being only this, 1. That the two or three dreadful explosions perfectly agree with what hath been

1 The author of Philosophical Essays, &c.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
been observed of the componency of that
lightening which produces such an effect;
namely, that it abounded with nitrous and
fixed salts. 2. The relation says, it was some
time after that the Crosses were found upon
the bodies of the patients; and that the
bishop observed one upon himself on talk-
ing with his wife about it. This may give
light to a passage in Gregory, which has
the air of mystery, and yet amounts to no
more than what the simpler and less sublime
pen of this modern critic, explains. The
words of Gregory are these; As they were
showing these marks, or attending to others
who showed them, each presently observed the
wonder, either on himself or his neighbour;
a radiant mark on his body or his garment.

But suppose it should be said, "That
the circumstance of Lightening, on which
we pretend to explain this Phenomenon, is
not sufficiently established; as it is mention-
ed but by one Historian; and only in two
words; and by the name of a Fire from
Heaven." Whoever says it, will gain lit-
tle, if his design be to invalidate the cir-
cumstance; and yet less, if he thinks that
the discredit of that circumstance will de-
prive us of the means of accounting for the

Crosses
Crossoes. For it appears, from the nature of things already explained, that a Fire from beneath might produce this effect as naturally as a Fire from above. And from a relation, as well attested and notorious as the fact preserved by Casiubon, we have a famous instance of its having actually produced it. The excellent Mr. Boyle, in his Discourse of some unheed causes of the insalubrity and salubrity of the Air, gives us the following history from Kircher and others.—“And that the subterraneal effluvia may produce effects, and therefore probably be of natures very uncommon, irregular, and, if I may so speak, extravagant, may appear in those prodigious Crosses that were seen in our time, viz. in the year 1660, in the kingdom of Naples, after the eruption of the firey mountain Vesuvius; of which prodigies the learned Kircherus has given an account in a particular Diatribe: for these crossoes were seen on linen-garments, as shirts sleeves, women’s aprons, that had lain open to the air, and upon the exposed parts of sheets; which is the less to be admired, because as Kircher fairly guesses, the mineral vapours were, by the texture that belongs to linen (which consists of threads cros-
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

singing one another, for the most part, at or near right Angles) easily determined to run along in almost straight lines, crossing each other, and consequently to frame spots resembling, some one, and some another kind of crosses. These were extremely numerous in the several parts of the kingdom of Naples; insomuch that the Jesuit, that sent the relation to Kircber, says, that he himself found thirty in one Altar-cloth, that fifteen were found upon the smock-sleeve of a woman, and that he reckoned eight in a boy's band: also their colour and magnitude were very unequal, and their figures dis- crepant, as may appear by many pictures of them drawn by the Relator; they would not wash out with simple water, but required soap; their duration was also unequal, some lasting ten or fifteen days, and others longer, before they disappeared.

1. The first observation I shall make on this curious narrative, is, that these Vesuvian crosses appear to have been impressed only on the garments, and not on the bodies: just contrary to those, occasioned by the lightening at Wells; which were on the bodies.

and not on the garments: while the Julian crosses appeared on both. The Reader, therefore, if he likes it, may suppose, without any absurdity, that in the case at Jerusalem, the crosses on the bodies were caused by the Lightening; and the crosses on the garments, by the eruption from the foundations.

2. The Vesuvian crosses were extremely numerous; which agrees well with the relations of Sozomene and Theodoret; the last of whom says, their garments were filled with them.

3. These Vesuvian crosses were hardly to be washed out: which exactly agrees with what Socrates and Rufinus tell of the same remarkable quality in the crosses at Jerusalem.

4. Lastly, we understand, that the marks of some of these were of considerable duration; as were those mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen; which, he says, continued to the time he wrote.

So much then for the contemporary Evidence. In the next class are Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomene, and Theodoret. And all they add of miraculous to Gregory's relation, are these two particulars, 1. The Lightening,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild, or a fire from heaven, mentioned by Socrates. And, 2. This other circumstance, told us by Theodoret, that when they began to dig the foundations, and carry out the earth, an incredible number of people was employed all day long upon the work. But in the night, the earth, thus taken out, returned, of its own accord, from the valley into which it had been thrown.

The case of the Lightening hath been considered already, where it was brought in to explain the nature of the Crosses. And, on that occasion, its close connexion with the rest of the Phænomena was examined and explained.

What rests to be accounted for is only the filling again of the foundations with the earth that had been thrown out. And this appears to be one of those natural events, which, when mens minds are possessed with the idea of miracles (whether real or imaginary) they are wont to explain into


prodigies.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

prodigies: of the same nature and origine, doubtless, with that imagination in Gregory, that when the crowd, which were tumultuously breaking into the church, had stopped up the passage, they were kept back by an invisible hand. For, take the fact as Theodoret relates it, that the foundations were filled again; and the valley, into which the earth had been thrown, was emptied; Was any thing more natural than for an Earthquake to do both, if it did any thing at all? The usual effect it is observed to produce, being an entire alteration in the face of things, such as the filling what is empty, and the emptying what is full. Cassiodorus, called the Senator (who abridged the Tripartite History which Epiphanius Scholasticus composed out of those of Socrates, Sozomene, and Theodoret) smooths what looked too rugged in this miracle, by the lightness and currency of his expression, nocte vero spontanea terra de valle crescebat; suffering his reader to go easily enough into the solution here given: In support of which it will be proper to observe, that the shocks of the Earthquake were repeated at different times. Gregory, we see, tells us

*L. vi. c. 43.*
130 Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild
of one which happened by day, when the
labourers were driven for refuge to a neigh-
bouring church. On the other hand, So-
crates as expressly mentions one by night:  
the very same which Sozomene speaks of  
as appears from the similarity of the effects) 
in these words, on the coming day, when they  
were to begin with the foundation, a great  
Earthquake happened: Sozomene’s cast out  
stones from the foundation; so did that of So-
crates. It overturned a Portico, and crush-
ed to death several who were then abiding  
in it: And this Theodoret expressly says  
happened by night, and to men asleep.

The order, or rather casual disposition  
of Theodoret’s relation, is this, The mira-

Dio τῆς νυκτὸς αναμοίρα τέγας εἰκονομώνας. L. iii.  
cap. 20.

Ἀέρια τῆς ἐπιστάσεως, καθ’ ἐν πρῶτον Σμήλιον  
ημέλλον ὑποτίθεμαι, συσμοῦ γενέσθαι μέγαν. L. v.  
c. 22.

Ἀνέβρασε τῆς λίθως τῶν πάλαι θερμέλιον τῷ νυκτὶ.  
Socrat.

Τοι δὲ κλόνι τῆς γῆς ἐν βάθοις αναδειχθείς τὸν  
λίθους. Sozom.

Καὶ Σμήλιοι Στοιχοί ἐν αἷς κατέλυσαν αἰθέριον κατερ-

φύσαν καὶ οἱ πλεῖος ἐγκαλαμπθεῖν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα  
ἀπόλλοι, &c. Sozom.

Καὶ Νύκλως δὲ παμπόλλως ἐν την πελακοῦση καθ-  

ευδυ-
culous filling again of the foundations—the dispersion of the lime and sand by tempests—the earthquake—after that the eruption, and then, for a close, the fall of the portico.

From hence I would observe, 1. That, though Theodoret, by the turn of his expression, would seem to insinuate, that the eruption followed the earthquake very speedily; yet we see by Sozomene, there was a considerable space between; sufficient to clear again the foundations from the ruin they had suffered. But left it should be said (as it hath been observed there were shocks of an earthquake at different times) this might be what immediately preceded that eruption, it will be proper to take notice, that the reflection Theodoret makes upon it is the very same.

ευδόλων Στοα. καθηνέχθη μὲν αἰθρῶς σὺν Τῷ ὀξὺ, τὸ οἰκόδομμα τούτος δὲ καθευδοῦσι συνέχωσεν ἀπάντας.

Theodor.

Πρῶτον μὲν σεισμὸς έγένετο μέγιστος—ἐπειδὰ, δὲ εἰκ. ἔδειξαν, τῷ ἐκ τῶν ὀρυκτομενῶν Θεμελίων αἰναδέμαζον, κ.τ.λ. Theodor.

Ὡς δὲ σείσων ἔληξεν ο Θεός, αὕτω εἰπερώθη τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ περιλειφθείσες—πάλιν αὐτήν αἰνάδεμα ἐκαστάδης. λόγος ἐν ἀμά το τῷ δεύτερον ἐνεχαίρην τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ πῦρ, κ.τ.λ. Sozom.

K 2 with
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
with, and, indeed, appears to be borrowed
from, what Socrates makes on the earth-
quake, which he expressly says happened by
night*. Now, between this, and the erup-
tion, he tells us, there was time sufficient
for many to come out of the country to
Jerusalem, whither the fame of the earth-
quake had brought them*. But Theodoret's
own expression helps us to ascertain the
thing. He says, the fire broke out, ἐκ
τῶν ὀρυσσομένων θεμέλιων, from the foun-
dations which were ready dug, in order to be
built upon; which supposes what Sozomene
says to be true, that there was time to re-
pair the disorders which that shock of the
earthquake had occasioned.

And thus Cassiodorus understood him.
For, speaking, as we observed above, of this
miraculous return of the earth, he says,
every thing was prepared anew*.

* Δεῖος δὲ ἐκ τῆς γενομένας ἱερατείας κατέλαβε. Socrat.

Καὶ τῶν παντελῶν ἀμύντων τῶν θεῶν ἰκανῶς κα-
ἐπληξέν. Theodor.

* Καὶ φήμη ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἦγε καὶ τῆς πόρρω διά-
γονας, παρόνιαν ἐν σφόδρα πολλῶν, ἐτερὸν τερασιῶν
ἐπιγίνεται. τὸ γὰρ, ἦδον. Socrat.

* Nocte vero spontanea terra de valle crescebat.
Solutis itaque prioris etiam fundamenti reliquis, nova
omnia praeparabant. L. vi. c. 43.
By this time the Reader begins to see
day, through the thick confusion of Theodoret's cloud of circumstances: in which,
his addition of the wonderful, in filling
again the works, amounts only to this, that
an Earthquake, in the night, tumbled
some earth into the foundations; and forced
some out from a valley into which it had
been thrown.

The disjointed parts in Gregory, Socrates,
and Sozomene, and which are still fur-
ther distorted by Theodoret, the Latin Hi-
torian Rufinus fairly reduces to their place.
"Behold, (says he) in the night, the last that
preceded the day for laying the founda-
tion, a prodigious earthquake arises, by
which, not only the stones of the foun-
dations are cast abroad and dispersed, but
almost all the edifices, that were about the
place, are thrown down and levelled.
"Public Porticos also, in which a great
multitude of Jews, who were observed
'to push on the work with most vigour,
'had their abode, being thrown down,
'bury all that are found under them in
K 3 " their
134 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"their ruins." Thus Rufinus, by fairly putting together the several parts of one event, has shewn, that levelling the ground, and overthrowing the porticos, were the simple consequences of the earthquake: while Theodoret, by disjointing them, and delivering the effects separately, and without their common cause, has made two miracles out of one natural event.

The Reader now sees what the Fathers have to say on the occasion. He has had their testimony laid at large before him. Let us stop a moment then, and cast a general eye upon the whole. I persuade myself we shall see such a concurrence and consistency in the accounts of the two parties; so perfect an agreement between the Pagan testimony, and the first class of Christian writers; so close a dependency between these and the second class; and such

* Ecce, Nocte, quæ ad incipienda opus jam sola restabat, Terræ motus ingens oboritur, et non solum fundamentorum saxa longeque lateque jaciantur, verum etiam totius pene loci ædificia complanatur. Porticus quoque publicæ, in quibus Judæorum multitudo, quæ operi videbatur insistere, commanebat, ad solum deductæ, omnes Judæos, qui reperti sunt, oppressere. L. x. c. 37, &c.

con-
a connection and enchainment of one fact to another, throughout the whole, as will force the most backward to confess, that the hand of God was of a truth in this wonderful defeat.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian, and Ambrose, speak simply of the fiery eruption; Chrysostome goes one step further, and tells us of its fatal effects. Gregory enters more minutely into the affair: he ushers it in with what is always found to be the precursors of this dreadful judgment; Storms and Earthquakes: and closes the scene with two meteoric Phænomena, likely enough to succeed it, though not so much indeed in the way of common observation.

The following writers, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomene, and Theodoret, add little to these relations. But the manner in which they tell their story, at the same time that it confirms, and explains the accounts of those who went before, proves they are not merely transcribers from their predecessors; at least not from such of them as now remain; which amounts to the same as if they themselves were original.

Thus,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Thus, for instance, Gregory, indeed, mentions the Cross upon the Garments; but it is to Socrates only, who speaks of the lightenings, that we owe the knowledge of the cause.

So again, Gregory calls them lucid cross-fes; but we are indebted to Rufinus, Socrates, and Theodoret, for the discovery of their specific nature; who tell us, that they shone by night, were dark-coloured by day, and could not easily be washed out.

This will lead us to observe another mark of truth in these relations; That the most wonderful circumstances, such as the qualities of these Crosses, and the lucid circle round the aerial cross (circumstances which might seem to be made at pleasure for the sake of the Marvellous) prove to be the very qualities which belong physically to their several natures.

Nay, where their possessions had led them to find Prodigies in accidents the most common; as where Gregory ascribes the impediment to enter the Church doors to an invisible hand; and Theodoret, the filling up the foundations, to be the return
the Temple of Jerusalem. 137

turn of the same earth back to its post; they have themselves honestly recorded those very facts which enable us to rectify their mistakes: Thus the confusion of the crowd, which Gregory mentions, when they were endeavouring tumultuously to force their way, very naturally accounts for the impediment: and the Earthquake, Theodoret speaks of, could not but produce that new face in the foundations, which he took to be miraculous.

Once more. The Fathers indeed record many dreadful circumstances; but then none of them prove false terrors. If there were storms and tempests, they do their work; the sand and lime are dispersed. When the Lightening falls, the tools and instruments of building are consumed and melted. The Earthquake overthrows porticos. The fiery eruption tears in pieces the foundations: and not one of these attacks upon Impiety, but what disperses, maims, or destroys the assembled workmen, and their Abettors. After this too we are told, the various effects it had upon the minds of all, how differently foever interested. This is of more importance than appears at first sight.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
fright. Invention and fable is not wont to
go thus far. It may tell us of appearances;
but it will never venture to speak of effects,
which the hearer could immediately dis-
prove. That which has a fairy entrance,
has a fairy exit. Here the effects are men-
tioned that the truth may be examined.
Chrysostome actually appeals, for the reality of
the eruption, to the sight of the burnt and
shattered foundations, and to the maimed
and scorched survivors amongst the work-
men. And they all of them might have
appealed, for the reality of the storms and
lightening (which dispersed the lighter ma-
terials, and consumed the heavier, together
with the tools and instruments of work)
to the conduct of Julian and Alypius. For
what other possible reason can be assigned,
not for deferring, but for giving up the
whole enterprize b?

Having now discoursed so largely on the
several circumstances of this event, and yet

b Πειρόµενων δὲ καὶ Ιουδαιῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ἡμιπέ-
λις τὸ ἔφυον καθαληκτικὰ. Soz. L. v. c. 22. Καὶ αὐτῶν
[Ἰουλιανὸν] καὶ τῶν Ιουδαιῶν οἰς ἱσχαίνειν ἀνα-
L. vii. c. 9.
(by reason of the occasional mention of them) not having been able to preserve the order in which they happened; it may tend to support, or at least to illustrate, what hath been already said, if we give a general view of them in one continued and connected relation.

And here our principal Guide will be the nature of the Phenomena: for though the Christian Writers will not be useless, yet their perpetual violation of the order of time, makes it necessary to regulate their accounts on the reason of things.

In excuse of their conduct, something is to be ascribed to the literary genius of those times, which was inaccurate and immethodical; something to the nature of their evidence, collected from discourses, where the mention of this illustrious event is only brought in to support some particular point of doctrine or morality then in question; but the principal source of their neglect of order, was a false persuasion that every circumstance was miraculous, and out of nature. This hindered them from inquiring into the order of time, and would have prevented them from finding it, had they been disposed to inquire.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
inquire. Besides, the confusion of time supported their system of the Miraculous, by separating the causes from the effects: and the regulation of it would have looked like an impiety, as seeking for that in nature whose source was only in God. This too will account why the fault was not reformed by the Historians who followed the original evidence; and whose business it was to reduce, to order, the confusion in the occasional works of their predecessors. However, whether the miracles became casually multiplied by a neglect of chronology, or that they purposely neglected it, in order to multiply them; Yet multiplied they were; as we have shewn, in our inquiry into the nature of the circumstances. And nothing can better support the truth of the reduction arising from this Inquiry, than the placing each circumstance in the order in which it happened. This we shall now endeavour to do.

1. The first signs the Almighty gave of his approaching judgment, were the storms, tempests, and whirlwinds. For the incumbent air could not but be affected with the ferment, at that time working in the earth, and exuding through its pores. These instruments
the Temple of Jerusalem. 141

Instruments of vengeance performed their office, in the dispersion of the loose materials.

2. After these followed the Lightening, the usual consequence of the clash and collision of clouds, driven forcibly together by storms and tempests. The effects this produced were, first, destroying the more solid materials, and melting down the iron instruments: and secondly, impressing that prodigious mark on the bodies and garments of the attendants. For what Socrates says is remarkable, that the night after (for this lightening, by his account, was in the day) the shining cresses appeared upon their garments: which was as soon as they could


"Πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ὌΤΡΑΝΟΤ καλαπασσάν, πάλαι τὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἰεραλεία σιέθησαν. ἦν γὰρ ἰδέαν ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπολλυμένας τὰς σφέρας, τὰς γλασίδας, τὰς πελώνας, τὰς πελέκες, τὰ σκέπαρα, πάλαι ἀπλάς ὅτα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθέναι εἴχον οἱ ἱεραζόμενοι. Socrat. L. iii. c. 20.

"Καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἰερομένῃ νυκτὶ, φρεαγίδες σανεῖ ἀκτίνοις, τῷ ματίος αὐτῶν ἐλευθομέναι ἰφάντισαν. L. iii. c. 20.

appear,
142 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
appear, with that eclat. But it may not be im-
proper to observe, that Rufinus seems to have
mixed together the fire from heaven and the
fire from the earth; for he gives all the
effects of both fires, mentioned by others,
to the single one he himself speaks of.

3. The Earthquake came next: which,
Socrates says, happened in the night; that
night, in which the marks upon the gar-
ments were first observed. Its effects were
these, It cast out the stones of the old found-
atious (which gave occasion to a remark,
that the prophecy of Jesus was now literally
fulfilled) it shook the earth into the new-
dug foundation (of which Theodoret, we see;
made a miracle) and it overthrew the ad-
joining buildings and porticos.

Ædes erat quædam—in qua ferramenta alia-
que operi necessaria servabantur; e qua subito globus
quidam ignis emicuit, et per medium plateæ percur-
rens, adustis et exterminatis qui aderant Judæis, ultra
citraque ferebatur. Hoc iterum sæpiulque et frequen-
tissime per totum illum diem repetens, pertinacis popu-
li tementatam flammis ultricibus coercetab--inseque-
ti nocte in vestinentis omnium signaculum crucis, &c.
L. x. c. 37.

Καὶ δὴ τῆς Νυκτὸς σωμὸς μέγας ἐπηγενόμηνος,
ἐνεγερὲ ὑπὲς ὅλης τῶν πόλεως Θεολογίων, &c. L. iii.
c. 20.
4. Then followed the firey eruption, which destroyed and maimed so many of the workmen and assistants; and at length forced the undertakers to give over the attempt as desperate. But it is to be observed, that this eruption was attended both with storms and tempests above, and with an earthquake below. This Gregory, an original evidence, directly affirms; and it is altogether consonant to the nature of things. An earthquake could not but immediately precede so violent an eruption; and it is highly probable, that this tumult communicated itself to the neighbouring air.

I mention this, because it contributed to the embarras we find in the accounts of

4 Λόγος εἰς ἄμα τε το ἰεωτέρον ἐν κἀρχείν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ πῦρ ἐξαγωγὴ κιν ὑμών θεμελίων τῇ ἑβδομη, ἡ πολλὰς ἀνήλειτο, καὶ τῆς προς τῶν αἰθών ἀδελφόν λέγεται τῆς ἡ περίενει, ἡ παρ' ἐδένος αἀραβαλλείαν. Sozom. L. v. c. 22.

1 Ταῦτα οἱ αὐτοῦ Ἐπαμείνου, ἡ τὰς θελήμας μάσιγας ὄρθιον ἱσασάς, ἀπεθανόν τε ἡ τὰ σκέψεων καθισαθείν. Theodor. L. iii. c. 20.

144 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
the evidence; some of whom have con-
founded this latter storm and earthquake
with the former. Another observation I
would make, is, that, according to Ammia-
nus Marcellinus, the fits of the fiery eruption
continued longer than the Christian writers
represent the matter. Those of them who
say the most, seeming to confine the erup-
tions to one day ¹, if we except the abridged
account of Philostorgius, which intimates,
they continued as long as any one attempt-
ed to go on with the enterprize ²: and
they would hardly desist for the impedi-
ment of a single day. It is absurd to suppose
they did: and Ammianus's words clearly im-
ply they did not ³: consequently the erup-
tion lasted much longer; and continued to
be repeated as often as the projector began

¹ Ἐπινεύματο μὲν ἐν ταῦτα τὸ ὁμόκρονος, δι’ ὅλης τῆς ὡμέ-
geς. Socrat. L. iii. c. xx. Hoc iterum sæpiusque et
frequentissime per totam illam diem repetens, pertinacis-
populi temeritatem flammis ultricibus coecerat.

² Τύτο μὲν γὰρ, ὡδ’ ἐπινεύματο τῆς ἱργύρειας τολ-
L. vii. c. 9.

³ Metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta cre-
bris assaltibus erumpentes, fecere locus exufts aliqua-
ties operatoribus inaccessīum: hocquè modo elemento
destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. L. xxiii. c. 1.
to renew the attempt, till it had fairly tired them out. This, the reader will find, is of importance to establish the divine interposition. Yet the Fathers are so impatient to be at their favorite miracles, the Crosses in the Sky, and on the Garments, that they flit negligently over what ought principally to have been insisted on, the Firey Eruption; and leave what was truly miraculous, to run after an imaginary prodigy. The great St. Chrysostome, indeed, must be excepted out of this censure. He would not suffer the change to be put upon him; but judiciously lays the stress upon that which would bear it.

5. The last appearance was a lucid Cross in the heavens, circumscribed within a luminous circle. Nature, put so suddenly into commotion by its Creator, was, on the despair and dispersion of his enemies, as suddenly calmed and composed. And then appeared, in the yet clouded firmament, this noble phenomenon in a lunar halo. And what could be conceived more proper to clothe so tremendous a Scene, or to celebrate so decisive a Victory, than the Cross triumphantly,
146 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
incircled with the Heroic Symbol of conquest.

The Order here given to the several parts of this event, is further supported by Marcellinus's narrative of that parallel disaster, at Nicomedia; which, we have already employed, and more than once, tho' for different purposes, to illustrate the fact in question. And it is remarkable, the Roman Historian not only records the same circumstances, but assigns, to each of them, the same order of time. 1. It began with storms and tempests. "Concreti nubium globi ni-grantium" &c. 2. Then followed the lightening. "Dein velut numine summo fa-tales torquente manubias" &c. 3. Then the Earthquake. "Horrifico tremore terra-rum, civitatem & suburbana funditus ever-terunt." 4. And lastly the fiery eruption. "Palantes abrupte flammarum ardores" &c.

The order, so carefully preserved by Marcellinus, at Nicomedia, is, we see, totally neglected by the Christian Historians, at Jerusalem. And what but this could suggest so different a conduct? He related what he rightly understood to be in the whole,
whole, a natural event; They, what they falsely conceived to be, in every part, miraculous.

To conclude this head, let me observe, That, in an aggregate concurrent evidence, a minute uniformity on the one hand, or a real inconsistency on the other, equally tend to the discredit of the fact in question. In the first case, we justly suspect the Evidence to be concerted; in the latter, the Fact to be ill founded. Because, where men relate what they receive from one common Object, their accounts must be as various as the variety of the several recipients; which is just so much as to give a different colouring to the same Things, not to alter the Things themselves. When we see, therefore, the minutest uniformity in the colouring, we conclude them not be Originals, who fairly represent from nature, but Copyists, in concert, from one another. And where, again, that common Object, from which men receive their intelligence, is real; there, their accounts can admit of no inconsistency, because the nature of things is invariable. But if this object be the creature of the imagination, begot by the disordered passions, which
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
are always changing, the testimony of the
deluded observers will never be secure from
contradiction.

Now the Christian Testimony which we
have examined, on this occasion, appears to
be entirely free from both these suspicious
circumstances. They tell it, indeed, in the
whole, variously; but with a perfect con-
sistency of all its parts. They shew, by
this, they wrote neither in concert, nor at
random; but drew from one common ob-
ject, and an object that was real.

Having explained the general cause of
that variety, in concurrent evidence, which
most establishes its credit; it may be pro-
per to consider, the peculiar cause, in the
Evidence in question.

Where a notorious Fact consists of
many circumstances, the observers, accord-
ing to their different tempers and disposi-
tions, will be differently affected. Some
will be struck with this circumstance, some
with that. Hence one man will speak of
a cause without its effect: Another, of the
effect without the cause. This relator will
run two circumstances into one; That will
split
split one into two. And if, of these circumstances, there are some not rightly understood, the order of time will be neglected: and, from that neglect, another embarrass, in the evidence, will arise, a different order assigned by different Writers to the same circumstance.

Lastly, let me observe, it is not every appearance, neither, of a concerted agreement, or irreconciled contradiction, that should make us lightly reject a Testimony of (otherwise) established credit. A single circumstance, in the event before us, will shew how easily, in either case, we may be betrayed into a wrong judgment. Nazianzen, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomene, Theodoret, are so exact, and in so perfect agreement, about the Cross upon the garments (while each, in his turn, overlooks more material circumstances) that if we take it in the light they place it, of a great and amazing prodigy, we should be apt to suspect it only a studied ornament to their relation. Yet the finding, on examination, that the properties, they assign to these crosses, lead to the discovery of their real nature, this entirely acquits them of invention. Again, what
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

on the other hand, has a stronger appearance of contradiction than one of them affirming, that these crosses were shining and radiated; and another, that they were sombre and dark coloured? Yet this apparent contradiction assists us in the discovery of one of their physical properties; and that discovery helps us to reconcile the contradiction; as we find they were black by day, and lucid by night.

I chose to let this single circumstance supply me with the two instances of the contrary qualities, which equally render a concurrent evidence suspicious; because, in fact, these contrary qualities frequently exist together, in the testimony of false Witnesses.

We come now, in the last place, to that refuse of evidence, which we threw together as of no account; Philostorgius, Theophanes, Orosius, Nicephorus, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and their fellows. These men have only the language of others, without any sense of their own; save, that like impertinent Players, they, sometimes, presume to add their own inventions to their Author's conceits;
conceits; but no body is misled, for they always bear about them the marks of reprobation. Thus Philostorgius and Theophanes clap on a couple of senseless lies, to the well composed relation of their predecessors; which stick out unsightly, like wens in a fair proportioned body, that can never be mistaken for its natural members.

The first of them tells a story (which Nicephorus has repeated) of a certain cave laid open by the workmen in digging, in which was found the Gospel of St. John, miraculously preserved. As this was apparently invented in favour of the religion of relics, I shall deliver it up to the Inquisition of Dr. Middleton.

THEOPHANES's tale is something more substantial. He affirms, that the marks of the Cross were not only found at Jerusalem, but at Antioch, and other cities:


where
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
where they appeared upon the coverings of
the altars, on the Church books, and sacred
vestments. Well fare Theophanes, for a
punctual relator. I fancy Philostorgius would
have been puzzled to produce his miracu-
lous Gospel: Yet, I make no question, Theo-
phanes knew where to find enough of his
manufacture of the Cross, to save him from
blushing, had he been of so weak a com-
plexion.

The Reader has now the whole of the
Church-evidence laid before him. It has
been largely and minutely examined; and,
I presume, so fully explained and vindicat-
ed, as to make it needless to take notice of
any particular Writer, who hath objected
to it.

Yet the Observations of M. James Bas-
nage, on this collective evidence, are so
very extraordinary, that it would be wrong
to pass over in silence the censure of one

--- αὐτομάτως τι τοῖς ἀπλώμασι τῶν Ἐνσιαξη-
ΕΙΩΝ καὶ βίσεοι καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσφύμασι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν,
καὶ ἐν ἰμάλιοις καὶ μόνων Ἰησοῦν, ἄλλα καὶ Ἰνδαῖων
ἐπετολάζει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σαμχ, ὑ μών ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωσις
άλλα καὶ ἐν Ἀνιοχείᾳ καὶ ἄλλαις χώλεσι. Chronog.
p. 44.

whose
whose Character is so very high in the learned world, though a great part of his objections hath been already obviated.

This very learned man, whose exactness, candor, and strength of reasoning have advanced him to the first rank in letters, hath, amongst his other excellent labours, enriched the public with a History of the Jews, from the beginning of the Christian Æra, down to the present times; composed in a judicious method, interspersed with curious disquisitions, and abounding in good learning of every kind.

In the sixth Book of this work, he gives us, what he calls, an Examination of those miracles which defeated Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple: where, to speak freely, I find not one of those qualities, which have rendered him so deservedly famous amongst the Protestant churches.

After having told us what share Julian had in the Attempt, and how easily he brought the Jews into his measures, he goes on in this manner.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

It is said, that God hindered the building of the Temple, by three succeeding miracles. Three ancient Historians, Socrates, Sozomene, and Theodoret, unanimously relate these facts. And as to Sozomene, in particular, who is appre-

On dit que Dieu l'empêcha par trois miracles consécutifs. Trois Historiens anciens, Socrate, Sozomene, & Theodoret, rapportent unanimement ces faits. Sozomene même, qui a peur que quelques incrédules ne les regardent comme fabuleux, renvoie ces incrédules à la déposition des témoins oculaires, qui vivaient encore lors qu'il écrivit. Le premier de ces miracles fut un Tremblement de terre, qui arriva lors qu'on nettoyait les fondements de l'ancien Temple pour en jeter des nouveaux; et ce tremblement de terre renversa les matériaux. Il y a deux variations sur ce premier miracle; car Theodoret le fait précéder de je ne sais quelle vertu divine, qui rapportait la nuit les anciens matériaux & les ordures qu'on avait ôtées, et en suite d'un vent miraculeux, qui diffusa les pierres, quoi qu'on eût jeté dessus une prodigieuse quantité de chaux et de ciment pour les affirmer. Secondement, Sozomene fait mourir par ce tremblement de terre un grand nombre de personnes, qui étoient venues là en qualité d'ouvriers, ou de spectateurs, et qui furent écrasées sous les ruines des maisons voisines et des porches, sous lesquels ils s'étoient retiré. Le second miracle fut un Feu, qui fortant des fondemens qu'on venoit de poser, consuma une partie des Ouvriers, et mit le reste en fuite; l'un fait descendre ce feu du ciel, et les deux autres le font sors-

hensive
the Temple of Jerusalem.

"hensive, there might be certain unbelievers, who would give no credit to them, "he sends such to the depositions of those "who had been eye-witnesses, and were "yet living when he wrote his history.

tir de terre. Socrate le fait durer un jour entier pour consumer les hoiaux, les peles, et tous les instrumens destinez à l'ouvrage. Sozomene raporte avec quelque incertitude la mort des ouvriers. Il marque même qu'on varioit un peu; les uns assirent que le feu les avoit consumez; lors qu'ils avoient voulu entrer dans le Temple; ce qui étoit impertinent, puis que les fondemens étoient à peine achevez; & les autres soutenoient que cela étoit arrivé, lors qu'on commença à remuer la terre, et à la transporter. Il y a une quatrième variation sur ce miracle; car on ajoute que les Juifs reconurent malgré eux que J. Christ étoit Dieu, et qu'ils ne laisserent pas de perseverer dans leur entreprise; ce qui est contradictoire. Mais il n'importe: leur fermeté donna lieu à un troisième prodige. Car ils s'aperçurent le matin qu'il y avoit un grand nombre d'étoiles raïonnantes semées sur leurs habits, qu'ils vouluèrent effacer sans pouvoir y reûssir. Sozomene y ajoute des étoiles qui étoient faites avec autant d'art, que si elles y avoient été mises par la main de l'ouvrier. Theodoret s'écarte un peu; car au lieu d'étoiles, raïonnantes il en met de noires, ce qui représenteroit mieux le crime & le supplice des Juifs, et à même temps il en fait écraser plusieurs qui estoient endormis sous un Porche. Mais la grande variation roule sur l'effet de ce troisième miracle; car

" The
156 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"The first of these miracles was an earthquake, which happened at the time they were clearing the old founda-

les uns affurent que les Juifs se retirèrent chez eux aussi endurcis que s'ils n'avoient rien vu. Mais les deux autres pretendent que la plupart se firent Chré-
tiens, et que le bruit de leur conversion alla jusque
aux oreilles de l'Empereur Julien. Nous avons cru devoir remarquer ces différentes circonstances, à fin qu'on pût mieux peser la vérité de ce récit. Les uns trouveront quelque plaisir à multiplier le nombre de ces miracles, comme Théodoret, et y ajouter même ce que les Ecrivains modernes en ont dit. Mais il est juste que les autres y trouvent aussi les raisons qu'on peut avoir de suspendre sa foi. J'ajouterai seulement deux choses. L'une, que la preuve que Sozomène al-
legue pour montrer la vérité de ce qu'il avance, est très foible. Il en appelle à l'évenement, & soutient qu'on ne peut plus douter de cette longue suite de miracles, parce que le Temple ne fut point achevé. Mais cet Historien ait-il oublié que la permission ne fut donnée aux Juifs, que lors que Julien partoit pour son expedi-
tion contre les Perses, dans laquelle il fut tué, & qu'ainsi on n'avait pas besoin de tant de miracles pour empêcher la structure d'un edifice? L'opposition des Chrétiens, qui profitèrent de l'éloignement du Prince, sa mort, et l'élévation de Jovien, ennemi des Juifs, suf-
sifoient pour arrêter tout court ce déflein. D'ailleurs il renvoie ses lectures en termes vagues à des témoins oculaires, sans nommer, ni indiquer personne. Enfin Cyrille de Jerufalem, qui étoit alors Evêque de cette ville, devoit être sur les lieux, puis que ce fut lui qui
"tions, in order to lay new: and this earth-
quake overthrew their magazines of ma-
terials.

raffura le peuple par le moyen d’un Oracle de Daniel,
qui avoit prédit, à ce qu’il croyoit, que l’ouvrage ne reüf-
siroit pas. Cependant Cyrille n’a jamais parlé de tous ces
miracles. Ce n’est pas qu’il ne les aimât. Il écrivit, dit-
on, à Constantin le Jeune, pour lui apprendre qu’il étoit
plus heureux que son Pere, sous l’empire duquel on avoit
trouvé en terre la Croix du Fils de Dieu, puis que le
Ciel lui faisoit voir un prodige plus éclatant: c’étoit
une Croix plus lumineuse que le soleil, que toute la ville
de Jerusalem avoit vuë au firmament un long espece
de tems. Pourquoi parler de cette croix, et se taire
sur ces Miracles? Il aprend aux Juifs qu’ils verront
le signe de la Croix, lequel precedera la venue du
Fils de Dieu, &c ne dit pas un seul mot de celles qui
avoient été attachées miraculeusement à leurs habits.
Ce silence d’un Evêque qui étoit sur les lieux, qui ai-
moit les miracles et la conversion des Juifs, est suspect,
lors qu’il n’y a que des temoins eloignez qui parlent.
Cependant il ne faut pas dissimuler, que si un des
Chronologistes Juifs soutient, que le Temple ne fut
point bâti à cause de la mort imprévüe de Julien, un
autre affirme que ce Temple, rebati à grands frais,
tomba, et que le lendemain un grand feu, qui vint du
ciel, fondit les ferremens qui ressoient, & fit périr une
multitude innombrable de Juifs. Cet aveu des Rabbins
est d’autant plus considerable qu’il est injurieux à la
Nation, et que ces Meffieurs ne font pas accoutumeez
t’à copier les Ouvrages des Chrétiens. Basnage, Hif.
des Juifs. Lib. vi. c. 18, 19.

"Thera"
There are two variations on the subject of this first miracle. For Theodoret makes it preceded, 1. by I can't tell what divine power; which, in the night, brought back the old materials and rubbish into the place from whence they had been taken: and 2dly, By a miraculous wind, which dispersed the stones, tho' they had been covered by a prodigious quantity of lime and mortar, to bind them into one solid mass. The second variation is in Sozomene's making this earthquake destroy a great number of people, who were there in quality of workmen or lookers on, and were buried under the ruins of the neighbouring houses and portico's, whither they had retired for shelter.

The second miracle was a fire, which burst from the foundations, they were then preparing; and destroyed one part of the workmen, and put the rest to flight. 1. One of these historians makes this fire to descend from Heaven; the other two bring it from beneath. 2. So-crates says, it continued the whole day, and consumed the pick-axes, shovels, and all
"all the tools and instruments destined to this service. 3. Sozomene relates the death of the workmen with some uncertainty. Nay, he observes, that here the evidence varied a little; some affirming, that the fire destroyed them as they were striving to enter the Temple (which was certainly an idle story, since even the foundations were hardly finished) while others say, it happened when they first began to break ground, and carry off the rubbish. 4. There is a fourth variation on the subject of this miracle; for it is added, The Jews confessed, though in spite of themselves, that Jesus Christ was God; and yet they did not cease to persevere in their attempt: a thing absolutely contradictory to itself.

"But no matter for that: their obstinacy gave occasion to a third miracle. For, in the morning, they perceived a great number of shining stars scattered over their habits; which they tried to efface, but, in vain. Sozomene adds, there were of these stars so artfully formed, that the hand of a workman could not have done them better: Theodoret deviates a little here;
Of Julian's Attempt to Rebuild

"here; For, instead of the shining stars, he speaks of black ones. Such as indeed more properly marked the crime and punishment of the Jews. And at the same time, he crushes to death a great number, who were fast asleep under a Portico.

"But the great variation of all turns upon the effect of the third miracle. For one affirms us, that the Jews returned home as hardened as if they had seen nothing: whereas the other two pretend, that the greater part embraced the Christian faith; and that the news of their conversion reached even to the ears of Julian himself.

"We have conceived it to be the duty of a faithful Historian to take notice of these differences, in order to assist the Reader, in forming a right judgment of the truth of the whole relation. Some, doubtless, will find their pleasure in multiplying the number of these miracles, like Theodoret; and even in adding every thing which modern writers have said to set them off. But it is no more than fit-
the Temple of Jerusalem.

"It is true that men of a different turn should be made acquainted with the reasons there are to suspend their belief.

"I will only add, to what has been said, these two observations. The one is, that the Argument, Sozomene brings to prove the truth of what he advances, is a very weak one. He appeals to the issue; and maintains, we can no longer doubt of this long train of miracles, since the Temple was never finished. But could this Hiftorian forget that the Jews did not obtain their permission to rebuild it till the time of Julian's setting out for his Persian expedition, in which he perished? As this was the case, there was little need of all these miracles to hinder the erection of a single building; surely, a sufficient cause for cutting short an enterprize of this nature may be found in the opposition of the Christians, who might take advantage of the Prince's absence in a remote region, of his death there, and the advancement of Jovian, who was an Enemy to the Jews. Besides, the historian refers his readers, in a vague, infinite manner, to the eye-witnesses of the fact,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

fact, without pointing out one single person, by name.

But lastly, Cyrill of Jerusalem, who
was, at that time, Bishop of the place,
and must have been upon the spot, since
it was he who confiding in a prophecy of
Daniel (which had foretold, as he thought,
that the attempt would prove unsuccessful) encouraged and animated the people to repose their confidence in God.
Notwithstanding, this same Cyrill has
never taken the least notice of these many miracles: and yet it certainly was not because he was no friend to miracles: We are told he wrote to Constantine the younger, to inform him, that he was more happy than his father, under whose empire the Cross of Christ had been found here on earth, since Heaven, to grace his reign, had displayed a more illustrious
prodigy: which was, a Cross more brighter than the sun, seen in the firmament for a long time together, by the whole City of Jerusalem. Why, now, was that Cross remembered, and all these miracles forgotten? He assures the Jews, they shall see the sign of the Cross; and that it will precede
"precede the coming of the Son of God; and yet he says not one single word of those which had been miraculously fixed to their Habits. The silence of a Bishop, who was upon the place, who loved miracles, and laboured for the conversion of the Jews, looks very suspicious; while, at the same time, they, who do speak to it, lived at a distance.

"However, it ought not to be dissembled. That, if one of the Jewish Chronologists maintains, that the sudden and unexpected death of Julian prevented the rebuilding the Temple; Another of them assures us it was rebuilt, and that, when this was done at a vast expence, it tumbled down again, and the next day, a dreadful Fire, which fell from heaven, melted all the iron instruments that remained, and destroyed an innumerable multitude of Jews. This confession of the Rabbins is the more considerable, as it reflects dishonour on the Nation; and these Gentry are not wont to copy from the writings of the Christians."

Before I proceed to a particular examination,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
nation of this long passage, I shall make
these two general remarks upon it.

First, That the learned critic goes all the
way upon a false supposition; namely, that
it was the purpose of these three Historians,
in their accounts of this event, to place the
several circumstances, attending it, in the
order of time in which each of them was
supposed to happen. I have shewn they
had no such purpose, and have explained the
cause of their neglecting the order of time.
This was fit to be taken notice of, because
the main force in his objections arise from
the contrary supposition.

My second remark is, That the learned
Critic embarrasses both himself and his Rea-
der, by using, without explaining, the ambi-
guous term of Variation: which may
either signify a contradiction; or, only a sim-
ple diversity. His reasoning requires you
should apply it in the former sense; but
his facts commonly go no higher than the
latter. This was proper to observe, because
a contradiction discredits a concurrent evi-
dence: while a simple diversity never hurts,
and often supports it.

See p. 139.        See p. 147, & seq.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

His objection to the first miracle, the Earthquake, is, that there are two variations concerning it.

The one is, that Theodoret makes it preceded by I can't tell what divine Power, which, in the night, brought back the old materials and rubbish into the place from whence they had been taken: and 2dly, by a miraculous Wind, which dispersed the stones, tho' they had been covered by a prodigious quantity of lime and mortar, to bind them into one solid mass.

1. As M. Basnage himself here states the case, we see this is one of those variations, mentioned just before, that imply no contradiction, but a diversity only. A case almost essential to the truth of an accumulative evidence, not given in concert. The witness A delivers a circumstance omitted by B; and omits one delivered by him. Thus Theodoret is here said to relate two circumstances preceding the Earthquake, of which Socrates and Sozomene are silent: and Sozomene to relate an effect of this Earthquake, of which Socrates and Theodoret are silent. Now, not to repeat what hath been just observed of the credit which these diversities
166 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild diversities carry with them: What can more strongly support the reality of this Earthquake, attested by three Historians, than that, when one had only recorded the principal fact, the other two preserved the memory of those circumstances, which, we have shewn, an Earthquake was most likely to produce?

2. But he might have improved this variation into a more plausible objection, by shewing that (on the allowance of his false supposition of an order of time observed in these accounts) it was a contradiction. And, considering he had this apparent advantage, it is strange he did not use it. For, in the order of Theodoret’s relation, the filling up the foundations goes before the Earthquake; whereas, from the accounts of Rufinus and Cassiodorus, explained on the reason of things, it appears to have been after, and the effect of the Earthquake. But, as it hath been shewn, that the Historians had it not in their purpose to observe the order of time, the objection, even when thus stated, is seen to have no weight. However, let us, for form's sake, admit that they did indeed:

See p. 128-9, and 109. See p. 139.
differ about the order of time in which each circumstance happened. What follows? Not that the facts themselves were false: but that the witnesses did not write in concert. Is not the whole body of civil History full of facts believed by all mankind; about the order of which, as they stand connected in time to one another, Historians do, and will eternally differ? Whether such an Enterprize was commenced before, or after such a Declaration made; whether such a March was performed, before or after such a Measure taken, is still in dispute. In the mean while no body doubts of the Facts themselves. And here the just distinction between a natural and supernatural fact hath no place. For M. Baspague's objection stands on a civil, not a physical, reason.

3. Lastly, let me observe, the candid Critic should not have made Theo-
doret's miracles still more wonderful, by a false exposition of them. He tells us, this historian says, a miraculous wind dispersed the stones, tho' they had been covered by a prodigious quantity of lime and mortar to bind them into one solid mass. The whole affair, indeed, we think was one continued
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

declaration of God's displeasure: but where
he uses natural instruments to execute his
judgments, they usually work according to
their capacities: but this was a Wind with
a vengeance. However, the best is, Theodo-
doret says no such thing. His words are—
"And further, when they had laid
in on heaps many thousand measures of
lime and plaster, violent storms, whirl-
winds and tempests unexpectedly arose
and dispersed them all about." Here
we find nothing told, but what this ele-
mentary agency might well perform. So
that one cannot conceive what could induce
this learned man, first to lay so strong an
embargo on his heavy weight of stones, and
then to disperse them again so lightly; un-
less it was that, because, as he says, the Fa-
thers loved to talk of miracles, so he loved
to laugh at them. But he should have chosen
a fitter season for his mirth.

His second variation about the Earth-
quake is, in Sozomena's making it destroy a
great number of people who were buried under

* Επειδὴ δὲ ἦν γῆς καὶ τών πολλῶν μεθ'υπόθεσιν
συνήθεσιν μυστήρια ἐξαιτίας ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνευ-
ματαὶ καὶ σφηκάκτια καὶ καταγγέλεσι καὶ λαίματες, πάσας
ἀφετὶς ἐσκέδαισι. Hist. Eccl. i. iii. c. 20.

the
the Temple of Jerusalem.

the ruins of the neighbouring houses and porticos. Here the variation is still more shadowy than in the foregoing instances. Sozomene is not even singular in the fact. Theodoret likewise delivers it; tho`, by placing the fiery eruption between the Earthquake and the fall of the Porticos, he has separated the cause from the effect. We shall beg leave then to place this instance amongst the supports, not the objections, to this illustrious Event.

The second Miracle, according to M. Basnage's representation of things, is the fire from the foundations: and concerning this, he assures us, there are no less than four variations.

The first is, that one of the Historians makes this fire to descend from Heaven; the other two bring it from beneath.

The assertion is grounded on a mere mistake of the text. Socrates speaks of one fact, when he says, "A fire came from " Heaven and consumed all the workmen's " tools";" Sozomene and Theodoret, of another, when they say, "A fire broke out of

See p. 131.

πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ θεοῦ κατασχῆσαι, πάντα τὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἑγκαταλεῖθαι διέφθασεν. L. iii. c. 20.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"the foundations and destroyed many of the
workmen themselves." And nothing but
much prejudice, or little attention, could
have blended two consistent, into one incon-
sistent fact. The fire from heaven, and that
from the foundations, were different events:
and distant from each other in time as well
as place. All the mystery is, that Socrates
mentions the first; and omits the latter;
and Sozomenæ and Theodoret mention the
latter, and omit the former. The nature
of things, as well as the rules of interpre-
tation, supports our distinction: and, ac-
cording to that, it had been more to be
wondered at if the storms and tempests,
spoken of above, had not produced Light-
ening, than if a firey eruption had not fol-
lowed the Earthquake.

The second variation is, Socrates's saying
that the fire continued the whole day; and con-
sumed the pick-axes, shovels, and all the tools
and instruments destined to the service.


* See p. 114.

This
This variation is as imaginary, as the fact, on which it rises, is false; namely, that Socrates here speaks of the same fire mentioned by Sozomene and Theodoret. For if he meant a different (as he certainly did) then its continuance for a whole day, is no variation, even in the lowest sense our critic uses it, of one writer's recording a circumstance of the same fact, which another hath omitted.

A third variation (says M. Balsnage) is, that Sozomene relates the death of the workmen with some uncertainty. Nay the historian observes, that here the Evidence varied a little. Some affirming that the fire destroyed them as they were striving to enter the Temple (which was certainly an idle story, since the foundations were hardly finished) while others say, it happened when they first began to break ground and carry off the rubbish.

That Sozomene relates the death of the workmen with some uncertainty is a strange misrepresentation of his words, which are these, It is said, that a fire burst suddenly from the ruins, and destroyed many. And this thing is confidently reported and believed by all,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild all, no one man ever calling it in question. Could a writer possibly express more confidence in a fact related?

Indeed, he does observe, that in one instance, tho' not in this the Evidence varied a little. A passage of Gregory Nazianzene ill understood apparently led him into this groundless remark. But if Sozomene mistook Gregory, M. Bagnage has mistaken Sozomene; and a great deal more grossly.

Thus stands the case. Gregory delivered his account of the eruption in these words—They fled together for refuge to an adjoining Church—As they strove violently to force their way in, the fire, which burst from the foundations of the Temple, met and stop'd them; and one part of them it burnt and destroyed, &c. Sozomene, alluding to this passage (after he had told us, that the circumstance of the fire's breaking from the foundations, was believed by all, and contra-

¹See p. 103.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 173

died by none) says, Indeed there is this small difference; some say the flame met them as they were forcing their way into the Church, and produced the effect spoken of above; while others say, it happened when first they began to clear the foundations*. Now the Reader plainly sees, that Sozomene understood Gregory's meaning to be, that the flame which met those who were striving to enter the Church, happened at some time different from that which destroyed the men working at the foundations. But he certainly mistook Gregory; who plainly supposes this destruction happened at the very time they were digging the foundations. Gregory not only assures us that the fact, as he tells it, stood unquestioned by all (which he could not have said, had it related to another time) but he expressly says, they fled to this Church as to a refuge from the Whirlwind and Earthquake. Now the Evidence is unanimous, that these things happened as they were preparing the foundations. In a word, what Sozomene mistook for a variation, proper-

*— Πλην ὅτι μέν Φασιν ὅτι Βιαζομένους αὐτούς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προϊόναι, θλὸς αὐτικῆσας, τὸ εἰρήμενον εἰργάσασθαι ὅ τι δὲ, ἀμα ἐκεῖνο τὸν Χοῦν ἐκφοβεῖν. L. v. c. 22.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Ly so called, was two relations of the different parts of the same event. Great numbers fled from the Whirlwind and Earthquake; and these the fire, which burst from the foundations, destroyed as they were striving to enter the Church: Others stood their ground; and these were destroyed on the spot. Unluckily, Sozomene mistook Gregory's narrative of the State, in which the same eruption seized some of the sufferers, for the narrative of a different eruption. But tho' the ancient relators of this fact had indeed spoken of different eruptions, and ascribed the same general effect to all, viz. the destruction of the workmen; What then? Would this have taken off from the credit of their relation? By no means. On the contrary, it would have added to it. For we have seen in part, and shall see more fully hereafter, that the fits of this firey eruption were so obstinate as not to give over till they had brought the Directors to despair of the Undertaking. But to return to Sozomene: an attentive writer might have fallen into his mistake: What drew M. Balsnage into his, is not so easily accounted for. To interpret Sozomene as saying, that it was the new-built Temple, into which these unhappy sufferers...
the Temple of Jerusalem.

The Temple of Jerusalem. 175

ferers strove to enter, when his whole narration shews, the foundations were never finished, implies, at least, that the Critic thought the Historian an Idiot, upon whom anything might be Fathered. But Sozomene is able to speak for himself. He says, the fire met them as they strove to enter ἦς ἅτοι ἐγώ, into the Church, or Temple. And to know what place he meant by these words, we must have recourse to his Author, Greg. Nazianzen, from whom he took his account.

Now Gregory, in the relation already given at large, says, that when the Jews had procured the countenance and assistance of Julian to rebuild the Temple, they addressed themselves to the Undertaking with great alacrity and vigour; but, being driven from their work by a Whirlwind and Earthquake, they fled for refuge to a certain neighbouring Church, ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν θυσίων ἔργῳ apparently a Christian Oratory, built amongst, or adjoining to the ruins of those sacred places, formerly included within the walls of the Temple. This, then, Sozomene takes from Gregory: And what the latter expresses

Page 102.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
by ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ καθίσαν ἀγῶν, the other calls
σις ἐν ἱερῷ into the Church. Yet M. Back-
nage will have it, Sozomene meant the Jew-
ish Temple rebuilt. But perhaps, he might be
mis-led into this strange interpretation, from
what followed in Gregory; (which we now
come to) who says, that while they were striv-
ing to force their way into this Church, a fire,
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, met and stopped them. The ques-
tion is what he here meant by ἱερῷ; doubt-
less the same with ἱερῷ, going before, the
Jewish Temple, near which the Christian
Church or Oratory stood. But what Temple?
Not a new one rebuilt, but the old one in ru-
ins: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ signifying the same as ἐν τῷ
Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ ναῷ, and with elegance; for ἱερῷ
is the generic word, and signifies as well the
site of a holy building as the building itself.
It appears, at least, that Sozomene understood
the word, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, in this sense from his
making all the variation in Gregory's account,
from the rest to consist in his assigning a dif-
ferent time for the destruction of the work-
men; and from his express word, that the
Witnesses all agreed in testifying, that the fire
came from the foundations of the ruin'd Temple.
And it appears, he understood Gregory right-
ly; who affirms, that the evidence were unac-
imous.
mous in attesting the fire came ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, by which he could mean nothing but the foundations of the ruined Temple; because it was in that only they were unanimous. Nor, for the same reason, could Gregory mean, nor could Sozomene so understand him, that the fire came from the Church, into which they were forcing an entrance. And Gregory seems to have well weighed what he says; for, in this very place, he carefully distinguishes between uncertain rumour and undoubted fact.

But, indeed, in every view, the learned Critic's interpretation is insupportable. The whole tenor of Gregory's relation (which is in perfect conformity with the rest) shews that the obstruction began before they had laid the foundations.

On the whole, then, we see, this variation, concerning the eruption, is as imaginary as the rest.

Mr. Bаснаге proceeds; he tells us, there is a fourth variation, concerning this miracle of the Fire; which is, that the Jews confessed, though in spite of themselves, that

Jesus
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild Jesus Christ was God; and yet they did not cease to persevere in their attempt. A thing absolutely contradictory to itself.

Though I would not call this a contradiction, yet I readily confess it to be highly improbable. However, be it what it will, the Critic is to answer for it alone. In a word, the charge is entirely groundless, not one of them affirming, or intimating, the least word of any such matter; but, on the contrary, plainly declaring that this confession of the Jews was not till they had given up the enterprize, as desperate.

The words of Socrates are these: "The Jews, seized with extreme affright, were forced, in spite of themselves, to confess that Jesus Christ was God; yet, for all that, they would not obey his will; but, as men fast bound in religious prejudices, still continued in their old Superstition. Nor did a third miracle, which happened afterwards (the shining crosses) bring them to the true faith." This historian speaks only of the Jews.
Sozomene speaks both of Jews and Gentiles; and in the order here named. — "Some (says he) on the instant, judged that Christ was God, and that the restoration of the Temple was displeasing to him: while Others, not long after, went over to the Church, and were baptised."

Theodoret, again, speaks only of the Jews; for, after having related the whole series of miracles, the last of which (in the rank he places them) was the Crosses on their garments, he goes on, in this manner: "The enemies of God seeing these things, and fearing his hand now advanced, might fall upon themselves, fled away, and returned every man to his place; confessing him to be God, whom their forefathers had affixed to the tree."

οὐ Έξημα, αἷμα ἔμμον τῇ τῇ Ἰουδαίων προλήψει κερυγματίζοντος, ὥστε ἕως τῷ τετέλεσται ἢ ἰδέα ἤλλον Θεοῦ, ἓς πίσιν ἢ αὐληθείᾳ ἤδη αὐτὸς — Κεφαλήδες τοις αὐληθείᾳ — L. iii. c. 20.

καὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνεμέρωσεν Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ μὴ ἴσχυσαν τῇ αὐτοτείχῳ τῇ καθι, οἷς ἦν, καὶ εἰς μεγαλοπρεπὲιτο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐμφάνισαν. L. v. c. 22.

καὶ ταῦτα οἱ αὐτίκοι ἑθανάμβους, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας μάζις ὑποκατάστασις, ἀπεθάνασιν τῷ τῷ ἐκκλησίαν καὶ

Now
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

Now let the impartial Reader but reflect, that this circumstance is related, by each of the historians, as happening after all the destructive interpositions, which hindered the work; and he must needs conclude, that M. Basnage has given a wrong representation of their accounts.

Socrates lets us know, in what their obstinacy lay: not in persisting in their project; but persevering in their superstition.

Sozomene only mentions their sudden Confession; and had he not opposed it to the lasting Conversion of the Gentiles, it must be owned, that, from him, we could conclude nothing of their obstinacy: but, as he hath so opposed it, we find his account to be perfectly conformable to the relation of Socrates; and discover even a hint in the words, ἠμιχριστοῦ ἡ ἄνανεωσίς τῆς ναυτίας, that they did defect on their confession.

Theodoret is fuller than Either of them, and explains what might be, otherwise,

ἔλαβον, Θεον ὁμολογήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀργογόνων τῆς ξυλικῆς ἀργοσταθείσης. L. iii. c. 20.

thought
thought doubtful in both. He marks the obstinacy of those, who (Sozomene says) on the instant, concluded that Christ was God: and the despair of those, who (Socrates says) continued in their obstinacy.

Nothing can be clearer, or more consistent than this whole account of their behaviour. Yet M. Bajnace is positive, They are represented as confessing Christ, and yet persisting in their attempt. It would be hard to think it a designed misrepresentation: and still harder to conceive how he could fall into an involuntary error, in a case so plain, unless we suppose he mistook the sense of Socrates' expression, ἵνα ἐποίησεν τῇ αὐτῇ τῷ Σέλεμα,—they did not obey his will; as if it meant, they were not obsequious to this declaration of his will in the prodigies; whereas Selena is here to be understood in the usual theologic sense, of the whole will of Christ: as appears from what follows, which, by necessary construction, is explanatory of what went before — ἀλλ' ἐμεθυν τῇ ἸΩΝΑΣΜΟΥ προσελήνης κεφαλαμοίοι, ὥσα ἔσ το τοῖς ταύταις τοῦ ὕστερον ἔτη προὔαν εἰς ΠΝΕΤΙΝ—

But here, perhaps, it may be objected, That even what we allow these ancient writers
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

ters did say, creates a difficulty, which will deserve some solution. "The Jews are re
"presented as confessing the divinity of "Jesus Christ, and yet persisting in their "old superstition: a state of mind made "up of very discordant principles." It is true, the objection will deserve to be con-
dered; and the rather, as it is not impossible but this might be all M. Bapnage aimed at; tho' he missed the mark by a careless ex-
pression. However, the objection is so ob-
vious; and the account has, at first sight, so much seeming incongruity, that, I con-
clude, these Historians were well assured of their fact, before they would venture to trust it to the public judgment. And, when it comes to be examined, I persuade myself; the reason of things will give us the same sa-
tisfaction in its truth, which concurrent Evi-
dence gave them.

If we admit these prodigies happened, in the manner they are related, we cannot but conclude, that those, against whom they were directed, how hardened and de-
termined forever, must be seized with astonish ment and affright. Now, in this state, the mind, hurried from its basis, catches at any
any thing which promises protection. Nothing therefore was so natural as applying to the object offended; which, at that moment, could be thought no other than Jesus of Nazareth. His power, then, would, in spite of all old impressions, be instantaneously acknowledged. This is what Socrates means, and well expresses by saying, that, in their extreme affright, they were forced, in spite of themselves, to confess that Jesus Christ was God.

So far every thing was just as the working of human nature would be, when not hindered by any foreign impression.

But they must know nothing of its workings, who can imagine, that new and sudden directions, produced by such accidents, in minds warped by the strong attraction of inveterate prejudices, and hardened by a national obstinacy, could be permanent or constant. When the fright was over, the mind would return mechanically to its old station; and there it would rest; especially if it could find, or invent for its support, any solution of the phenomena consistent with their former sentiments concerning Jesus; and these, we shall see hereafter, they
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
might, and did invent. So that now we
are ready for the concluding part of the
account, which Socrates hath given us of
this matter.—Yet for all that, they would not
obey his will, but, as men fast bound in religious
prejudices, still continued in their old super-
stitution. He talks, we see, like one who
understood what he said;—That their
hasty confession was owing to their sudden
fright; and their fixed impiety, to their in-
veterate habits. All here is so much in
order, that the contrary had been the unnatu-
ral thing. Had they told us, either that
the Jews were not frightened into a confes-
sion, or that they were frightened into a
conversion, the fact had been equally incre-
dible; because, the first case implied the
absence of passions; and the latter, a free-
dom from prejudices; neither of which
agreed with them, as men or as Jews. But
they relate what was perfectly consistent
with both, that their stubborn metal was
softened in the flames, and grew hard again
as these abated. And have we not many
examples of the like behaviour in more mo-
dern Reprobates, who are in the other ex-
treme of sticking to nothing. What sen-
timents of Religion have not been heard,
to break from these, when in extreme danger! and what remains have been found of it, after their escape! The offended Deity, which they then saw dressed in terrors, is afterwards laughed at, as the phantom of a frightened imagination. And if Free-thinking can thus keep its hold, when it hath nothing to rely on but the mere vanity of its profession; what must we think of Superstition, which hath a thousand fanciful resources to support men in an old habit?

We come now to what M. Basnage calls the third miracle. And, concerning this, he reckons up as many variations as in that which went before. But it will be proper first to see how he represents the miracle itself. His words are these,—their obstinacy gave occasion to a third miracle. For, in the morning, they perceived a great number of shining stars scattered over their habits. His authority for calling these marks, stars, is someone: who, indeed, gives them that name; but, as I conceive, very erroneously; from mistaking the sense of Gregory Nazianzene, whom he here follows. Gregory's words

'It appears he followed Nazianzene from what he fur-
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

are, καλασεργείων ἱώ; which Billius translates, stellatus nimium ipse notisque distinctus; following the interpretation of Sozomene, who calls them downright stars, κοτόποι τυχæ ΑΣΤΡΑΣΙ τεταυιλημβα τα ἑστακτα εἰχαν. But I apprehend, that Gregory meant no more by καλασεργείων, than that the mark had a star-like radiance; not a star-like figure. And my reasons are, 1. Because he had just before affirmed, that these marks were crosses; and, proceeding in his relation, he acquaints us with their quality, that they were καλασεργων, or shining. A circumstance that would first catch the observation; though, as we have shewn 2, it may be naturally accounted for. He uses the same term to express the shining feathers in a peacock's train — το οἰλοφον κυκλοφως αἰχισγάς το ξέροις ἐκ KATAΣΤΕΡΟΝ 1 — 2.

Socrates, if he borrowed from Gregory,


1 See p. 117, & seq.
1 Orat. xxxiv.
gives this sense to his words; or if he did not borrow from him, at least he teaches us how to understand him. His expression is 

\[ \text{ἀκτινοειδεῖς σταυροῖς} \]

shining impressions of the cross. They were like stars in radiance, but in figure they were crosses. Nor do Rufinus, Theodoret, or Cassiodorus, who all remember the crosses, speak one word of stars; no not even Theophanes, who studied them well; and seems to have had the manufacturing of a spurious sort, in imitation of them.

With our Critic's leave, therefore, not to make the wonder greater than there is occasion for, we will call them crosses. And now let us see what he hath to object to them.

He begins with an oblique remark for a prelude,—these shining stars they tried to efface, but in vain. This is said to insinuate discredit on the fact, by an accession of the wonderful. But we have shewn, that the difficulty of washing them out was a natural effect of their shining quality \( \text{m} \), at least a property they had in common with other the like appearances in later times \( \text{n} \).

\( \text{p. 119.} \) \( \text{p. 127.} \) So
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
So that this will stand no longer in our way.

He comes to his variations, by which, as we observed before, he sometimes means additions; sometimes differences; and sometimes, again, contradictions.

The first is the lowest species of a variation, that is to say, an addition.—Sozomeno adds, there were of these stars so artfully formed, that the hand of a workman could not have done them better. Sozomeno, as we observed, borrowed this particular from Gregory. And if Socrates and Theodoret omit it, it was not because they were ignorant of it; much less because they disbelieved it. However, such as know that Nature frequently throws the mixed substances produced by fermentation, into regular figures, and often with such elegance of design, as Art can but lamely imitate, will have no reason to doubt of the truth of this circumstance, after it hath been shown, that the marks were entirely meteoric.

The second variation is, that Theodoret deviates a little here; for, instead of the shining stars, he speaks of black ones. Such
the Temple of Jerusalem. 189
as indeed more properly marked the crime and punishment of the Jews. These last words are added to shew the reader the ingenious turn of Theodoret's addition: and that he knew how to invent with judgment. But to leave his justification to the nature of the fact, which we are just coming to, when we have observed, that M. Bajnag should here have changed his language, and used croffes instead of starrs: for Theodoret does not intimate one syllable about starrs. It is true, then, he does indeed say, that the croffes on the garments of the Jews were of a dark colour — ἐκ μυλαίμης ἰερινίας — We have seen, that the matter of these croffes was of the nature of the Phosphorus, whose property it is to shine by night, and to be dark-coloured by day.

Now if one Writer were to describe their appearance by night, and Another their appearance by day, must not This say they were radiant and shining; and That, that they were dark coloured? And so much for his second variation.

The third is, that Theodoret, at the same time, croffes to death a great number.

\[\text{See p. 117, & seq.}\]
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

who were fast asleep under a Portico. The force of this objection, such as it hath, lies in the time. For as to the fall of the portico, Rufinus and Sozomene concur with Theodoret. But it is by no means true, that Theodoret says it was at the same time. If we suppose that he observes order in this incident, we must conclude the fall happened before. For the series of his relation stands thus—a portico fell by night—on the same night, and on the following, a cross in the sky—then the crosses on the garments. The truth is, the fall of this portico had a very sufficient cause. Sozomene plainly intimates, and Rufinus expressly says, it was thrown down by the first earthquake which preceded the firey eruption.

We come now to what the learned Critic calls the great variation of all.

Which, he says, turns upon the effect of the third miracle. For one assures us, that the Jews returned home as hardened as if they had seen nothing; whereas the other two pretend,


---

P ἐν τῷ Στοὰ — καὶ ἐν τῇ κατην ἢ
ἀν χάλω τῇ ὑπεράν. ἀφθιν ἐν τῷ ἐρεγῷ — ἢ αὐτὰ
ἡ Ἱουδαίων ἱερομαία — L. iii. c. 20.

* See p. 133—4.

that
that the greater part embraced the Christian faith. And that the news of their conversion reached even to the ears of the Emperor Julian himself.

This, I confess, is to the purpose; and, were it true, would be a considerable objection to the credit of their evidence. But the contradiction charged upon them is groundless and visionary. He who (our Critic says) assures us, that the Jews returned home as hardened as if they had seen nothing, is Socrates, whose words are these: "The Jews, feized with a horrible consternation, were forced, in spite of themselves, to confess that Jesus Christ was God. Yet for all that, they would not obey his will. But, as men fast bound in religious prejudices, still continued in their old superstition: nor did a third miracle, which happened afterwards, bring them to the true faith — They were hardened, therefore, according to the saying of the apostle, and cast away the good which was then laid before them:"

Ἰσαὼν ἦν μεγίστῳ φόβῳ ὑπομνούσα, ὡς ἀκολούθων ἔμνησάς ἐμοὶ τὸν Θεὸν λέγοντας: οὖν ἵπτεις ὡς αὐτήν.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

This, indeed, is plainly declaring that the gross body of the Jews concerned in this attempt returned home religionless as they came; without either their Temple, or any holier worship. So far, then, is allowed; and he has it to make his best of; which he is willing enough to do, we see, for he takes notice, that the other two historians, Sozomene and Theodoret, contradict Socrates, and pretend, that the greater part embraced the Christian faith.

This now comes to be examined. But let me previously observe, 1. That both Jews and Gentiles joined in this attempt to rebuild the Temple; and had both of them the stigma of the Cross upon their garments, as Gregory Nazianzenus and Rufinus inform us. Nay, from the Former we learn, it

ο Ἔλλημα, ὅ τι ἔμβος ἐκ τῆς Ἱθαιατηρίας ἡ ἄρα τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων τῆς θεοτρόπου, οὐδὲ τὸ τείτον Σαβίνου τὸ ὅρεον Ἰσραηλίτου, εἰς πύριν τῆς αἰνηθείας ἥλθεν αὐτός. — πεπάθοντος εἰς καλὸς τοῦ Ἑλέον, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν χρισίν ἔχον τῆς ἰησου. Soc. L. iii. c. 20.


I was
was impressed on the habits of such of the
believers, likewise, as were present. And,
indeed, but for this circumstance, the false
miracle of Theophanes had never been invent-
ed, or at least had been differently construc-
ted: for he covers the very church-books
and sacred vestments with Crosses. But
what is chiefly worth observing is, that this
falling of the crosses indifferently on all par-
ties present, confirms the physical account
we have given of their nature. 2. My sec-
ond observation is, That as Socrates records
the effect this miracle had on the Jews, so
Greg. Nazianzen records what it had upon
the Gentiles: For this Father having insulted
and triumphed over their Mathematicians
and Astronomers on the subject of the aerial
Cross; goes on to speak of that upon the ha-
bits of the persons present; and concludes his
account in this manner, So great was the asso-
nishment of the spectators, that almost all of
them, as at a common sign, with one voice in-
voked for mercy the God of the Christians, and
strove to render him propitious with hymns and
supplications. And many of them, without pro-
crafilating, but at the very time these things
happened, addressing themselves to our Priests
with earnest prayers, were admitted into the
bosoms
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
boscum of the church", &c. Where we may
observe the different language of Naxian-
zene on this occasion speaking of the Gen-
tiles, from that of Socrates, who spoke of
the Jews. The First says, τὴν Ἰερσιανῶν
ἀνακαλάνθη Θεὸν, the Other, — ἄκους ὁμο-
λόγων τὴν Ἰερσίν Θεὸν λέγοντες. The Gentiles
implored the protection of the great God of
Heaven, whom they had before neglected;
the Jews were forced to own that Christ to
be God, whom they had before rejected.

This being premised, we come now to So-
zomene; who, our learned Critic affirms,
hath contradicted Socrates, in pretending that
the greater part embraced the Christian faith.

I will give the passage of Sozomene en-
tire. After these things, says he [namely
the earthquake and firey eruption] another
miracle happened more illustrious and wonder-
ful than the foregoing: for, on a sudden, and

Τοσαύτη τε ἐφομένων καλάπληξις, ὦσ μικρὸς μῆκος
ἄπαντας οὔτε οἷς ἱωσμήματι καὶ μᾶς φωνῇ, τὸν
خوفιαν Ἰερσιανῶν ἀνακαλάνθη Θεὸν, εἰς τοὺς πολλὰς
πεινῶν αὐτῶν ἐξιλασίας πολλὰς ἥδε ὁ θυγατὲρ
καὶ παῖς αὐτῶ τῶν συμβαίνων προσδοκήσας
τίς ἐφεξῆ ἡμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ καλανθέντας τῇ τοῦ θεω-
νίας ἀνέλθῃ μέγεθος, &c. Orat. ix.

without
without human agency, every man's habit was impressed with the sign of the Cross. — The consequence of this was, that some, on the instant, concluded Christ to be God, and that the restoration of the Temple was displeasing to him. While others, not long after, went over to the Church and were baptised; and by hymns and supplications, in behalf of the guilty, endeavoured to appease the wrath of the Son of God.

As evident as it appears to be that Socrates spoke only of the Jews, and Greg. Nazianzene only of the Gentiles; so certain is it, that Sozomene, who took from both of them, speaks both of Jews and Gentiles.

He says every man's habit was marked with the Cross. That is, as Greg. Naz. had said before, every man indifferently, whether Jew or Gentile. He then mentions the consequence of this prodigy, not
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild on the Jews only, but on the Gentiles. 

And as it was reasonable to expect it would have a different effect on the different parties; he first speaks of what it had upon the Jews, that, on the infant, they confessed Christ to be God. This is no more than Socrates had said. They only differ in the manner of telling: For while Socrates goes on to inform us, in express words, that the confession was not lasting, and that they presently fell back into their old superstition: Sozomene contents himself to lead his reader to the same conclusion, by opposing this sudden flash of conviction, to the real and lasting conversion of the Pagans, recorded by Gregory. Others (says he) not long after went over to the Church, &c. From hence it appears, that Sozomene is so far from contradicting Socrates, on this article, that he lends him all the support a concurrent testimony can afford.

Theodoret comes next. And him too the learned Critic hath involved in the same charge of contradiction; but with much less pretence. For he, like Socrates, speaks only of the Jews; and, in such a manner too, as if he had Socrates all the way in his
his eye. The whole of what he says is to this effect: —The very garments also of the Jews were filled with Crosses — which these enemies of God seeing, and fearing that his hand now exerted might fall upon themselves, fled away, and returned every man to his place, confessing him to be God, whom their forefathers affixed to the tree.

And now, what is there that can counterbalance M. Basing in saying, that Theodoret pretends the greater part embraced the Christian faith? Is not the confession he records the very same with that which Socrates tells us, so soon passed away in their returning infidelity? We conclude, therefore, against the learned Critic's objection, that, in this article, there is a perfect harmony amongst the three Historians.

But it will be said, perhaps, that in removing this objection, I make room for another that may prove more stubborn.

* Kai aita \( \varepsilon \) twn Iudaiwn i\( \theta \)\( \mu \)\( \alpha \)\( \lambda \)a a\( \sigma \)\( \nu \)\( \omega \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \rho \)\( \sigma \)\( \nu \)\( \tau \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \mu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \mu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \theta \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \varsigma \)\( \iota \)\( \alpha \)\( \nu \)\( \nu \)\( \alpha \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \iota \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \iota \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \iota \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \iota \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \pi \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \iota \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \). Eccl. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

O 3 "For
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"For it seems incredible that so illustrious a miracle should have made no impression on the Jews, and yet have had so considerable an effect upon the Gentiles. An objection, which seems to be redoubled upon one who hath affirmed, that a Jew's conviction of the truth of Christianity must, on his own notions, be necessarily attended with a Conversion: while that Gentile principle of intercommunity, did not imply the necessity of a Pagan's conversion under the same conviction."

"If, say the Deists, Christianity were accompanied by such illustrious and extraordinary marks of truth as is pretended; how happened it that its truth was not seen by more of the best and wisest of those times? And if it were seen (as it certainly was by Ammianus Marcellinus, Macrobius, and many others) how could they continue Pagans? The Answer is plain and strong. The truth was generally seen. But we have shewn, that the conviction of it, in a new Religion, was, with men over-run with so universal a prejudice [the principle of intercommunity] no reason for their quitting an old one. The case indeed was different in a Jew, who held none of this intercommunity. If such a one owned the truth of Christianity, he must needs embrace it." Div. Leg. B. ii. § 6. See also B. v. § 6.

To
To this I answer, It is very true, that a Miracle performed before a Pagan, and not directly addressed to him, made, for the most part, but a small impression on his religious notions; because that general principle of Paganism hindered him from seeing, that the evident truth of another religion was an argument of the falsity of his own. It was different with the Jew; who, being a worshipper of the true God, must necessarily regard his attestation, by miracle, not only as an evidence of the truth proposed, but as an obligation upon all men to embrace it. Hence the Apostle Paul, who best knew the different genius of the two opposed Religions, says, The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: Ἑσοφίαν, the religious principles of their philosophy; amongst the chief of which was the doctrine of intercommunion.

Had the Jews therefore considered this Miracle at Jerusalem, as an attestation to the truth of Christianity, they must have embraced it. And to affirm they did so consider it, and yet not embrace it, would be saying something strangely incredible. But this was not the case. In their fright they might call
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild

call out upon Christ as God; but when that
was over, their prejudice regained its hold,
and drew them back to their national super-

light: however it could not have kept
them there, but that it enabled them to find
a purpose, in this Miracle, consistent with
Judaism: Which was God’s anger at their
prophane a work so holy by consenting to
put it under the direction of a Pagan Em-
peror. This would be easily credited by
those who had learnt from their sacred Books
that an Israelite was struck dead but for
stretching out his hand to uphold the falling
Ark. When, therefore, they saw and felt
these severe marks of the divine displeasure,
to what would they ascribe it, but to their
accepting the impure assistance of an impi-
ous Gentile to rebuild the House of the Di-
vine presence: For could it be expected,
when God had denied this honour to the
Man after his own heart, because his hands
were defiled with blood, that he would con-
fer it upon a Pagan, a Warrior, and a de-
clared Enemy to that Dispensation, a zeal
for which was David’s great merit with the
God of Israel? We see, by the passage quo-
ted above * from R. Gedaliah ben Joseph Je-

* p. 69—70.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

ebaia, that some such solution as this enabled them to own the Miracle without blushing. But had they even wanted so plausible an evasion, yet their prejudices would not have suffered them to be delicate in a case where their all was in danger; as appears by the bungling solutions they invented to evade the consequences arising from the Miracles of Jesus. Sometimes they ascribed his power (as the Gospel tells us) to the assistance of the evil Demon; and sometimes, again (as the books of their Traditions inform us) to certain spells or charms stolen from the Temple of Solomon.

However, tho' the Miracle at Jerusalem was too notorious to be questioned in that Age, and so was to be accounted for in the manner we have seen; yet, in After-times, it was thought safer to deny it; tho' still by the modest way of an implication. Thus (as we have seen above*) R. David Gans, pretends, that the miscarriage in the Persian war prevented the rebuilding their Temple — Nam Caesar in bello Persico periit. Another of them invents a very different tale (for falsity is rarely constant) and pretends

* p. 49.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
that a fly trick of the Samaritans made both
the Jews and the Emperor, in their turns,
disgusted with the project. But so silly a
story will hardly bear the telling. However
the Reader may find it below. — And in
this manner too they treated the Miracles
of Jesus: for tho', at first, they only ven-
tured to evade their force, they at length
came to deny their reality.

On the whole, then, we see, That the in-
veterate prejudices of the Jews; their obli-
nacy in the wrong; and their aversion to the
Christian name, would hinder a miracle from
having its proper effect upon them, could

b In diebus R. Jehosuah Hananiae filii, mandavit
Imperator ut Templum redificaretur. Papus autem, &
Julianus opiparas menfas praeponunt Judaeis a captivi-
vitate advenientibus (ad opus adjuvandum) ab Hako ad
Antiochiam. Cuitei vero seu Samaritani Imperatori af-
serunt, quod si Hierusalem refauretur, Judaeos a contrib-
Huendis vectigalibus cessaturas, indeque ab illo defeca-
Zos; quibus Imperator; Quomodo inquit, licet mihi ab
incepto recedere post mandati promulgationem? Ad
quod Samaritani, Domine, inquit, præcipe ergo, ut
locom prioris Templi mutent, vel ut augeatur aut di-
minuat ur in longitudine vel latitudine circa quinque
cubit os, itaque, nullo cogente, opus desituent. Huic
sententiae aquievit Imperator; atque juxta eam novum
milit Judaeis mandatum in valle Bet-Riman aggregatis,
quo audito, in magnum prorumpunt aetum, indeque
they.
they but contrive either to put it to the support of their own superstitions, or, at least, to turn it from the condemnation of them. We see the miracle in question might be thus evaded. Who then can doubt but they would evade it? The consequence was, their continuance in error. The Christian writers tell us they did continue. And we now find, They say nothing but what is very probable.

The contrary effect this Miracle had on Paganism is as easily understood. For tho' the principle of intercommuniy supported a Gentile against the power of miracles at large, yet when he found one of them levelled at himself, as its direct ob-

furore perciti de defectione loquuntur: sed Magnates defectionis consequentius valde perterriti, implorant a prædicto R. Jehosuah, ut populum alloquatur, eumque ad pacem adducere conetur, quod fecit sequenti fabulâ. Leo a frustulo offis in ejus gutture inixo admodum afficitus, magnam spondet mercedem cuicumque mole-


4
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
ject, the case would be altered. He would
then feel the point in question brought home
to him; and the circumstances of affright
and desolation (if, as here, the miracle was
attended with any such) would keep off pre-
judice till Reason had passed a fair judgment.
The Jews and Gentiles joined cordially in this
project. The motive of the First was a fond
desire to be restored to their Country and
Religion; but the motive of the Latter, a
malicious purpose to give the lye to Reveala-
tion. And, assuredly, the impression on the
defeat would be strictly relative to the motive
of the attempt. They thought to dishonour
the holy Faith; and they added new credit
to it. So that a consciousness of their inten-
tions would add proportionable facility to
their conversion. The Jewish evasion would
not serve their purpose. At most, it could
only make them waver between the Church
and the Synagogue; a state of no long con-
tinuance. Sozomene assures us it was not;
For he says that soon after cix an Ægev, they
went over to the Church and were baptised.

But, before we leave this subject, it
may be proper to observe, That general ex-
pRESSIONS, relative to Parties, and bodies of
men, are not to be understood universally.
Thus
Thus when the Historians tell us, all were marked with the Cross, They do not mean every individual present; but all indifferently, of every denomination. So again, when they say, the Pagans were converted, and the Jews remained hardened, They do not mean every particular man; but the far greater number in either party. And thus St. Chrysostome directs us to understand it, where he says, That the Jews, for the most part, remained hardened.  

It is scarce worth while to take notice, that what M. Basnage affirms (of Sozomene and Theodoret's saying. That the news of the Jews' conversion reached even the ears of the Emperor Julian himself) is as mistaken as the rest. For Sozomene says nothing of the matter: and as to Theodoret, his words are as follows, These things came to the ears of Julian, for they were cried up, and in the mouths of all men; but his heart was hardened like Pharaoh's: where we see, by τὰ τὰ, he means the Miracles. For it was not the conversion, which was in the mouths

Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
of all men, but the miracles. And Julian's
restoring these, was what made his case like
Pharaoh's.

Our Critic, having now well canvassed
the matter, tells us for what purpose he hath
been at all these pains; It was to supply
those sober persons, who do not believe it, with
arguments to fortify their doubts. But as if
something was still wanting to so good an
end, he resumes his task, and says, he will
add two observations more.

The first is, That the argument Sozomene
brings, to prove the truth of what he ad-
vances, is a very weak one. He appeals to
the issue; and maintains, we can no longer
doubt of this long train of miracles since the
Temple was never finished. But (says the
Critic) has the Historian forgot that the Jews
did not obtain their permission till the time of
Julian's setting out for his Persian expedition,
in which he perished? There was then little
need of all these Miracles to hinder the erec-	ion of a building. Surely a sufficient cause
of cutting short an enterprise of this nature,
might be found in the opposition of the Chris-
rians, who might take advantage of the
Prince's absence in a remote region, his death
there,
there, and the advancement of Jovian to the
Empire, who had an aversion for the Jews.
Besides, the Historian refers his readers in a
vague indefinite manner to the eye-witnesses of
the fact, without pointing out one single per-
son by name.

Here are many things asserted, that will
deserve an answer.

1. He misrepresents the matter, in say-
ing that Sozomene gives the unbuilt Temple
as a proof of its being obstructed by a mira-
cle. To such reasoning, indeed, M. Baf-
nage's observation of Julian's absence and
death &c. had been a good reply. But So-
zomene's argument stands thus: The yield-
ing up the place, and leaving the work im-
perfect, ἠμὴν λέε ὑπὸ ἐγνω καλαπώνεις, is a
proof of the miraculous interposition. Now,
it is one thing to see a work unfinished; and
another, to know who left it in that condition.
From the first (which is as Mr. Bagnage
represents it) Sozomene's conclusion would
not hold; from the latter (which is as So-
zomene himself puts it) it certainly would.
But to this it may be objected, "That, at
the time Sozomene made this observation,
the two different representations amounted
but
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
but to one and the same thing; because all
that the Reader could see, was a work unfi-
nished; and, for the rest, he had only the
Historian's word." This, our Adversaries
will allow to be fairly put. But they are not
aware, that when Sozomene wrote, the face
of things upon the place was such as was
sufficient to convince his Readers that the
Jews and Gentiles were forcibly driven from
their work; namely the marks of a deso-
lating earthquake, and a consuming fire.
Chrysostome tells us, these existed when he
wrote; and it would be absurd to think
that such kind of marks could be obli-
rated so soon after.

Thus far in defence of the Historian's
argument. I proceed to consider the false
Fact, which M. Basnage has advanced, in
support of his false representation of that
Argument. He says, that the Jews did not
obtain their permission to rebuild the Temple,
till the time Julian set out for his Persian
expedition. This he grounds on the words
of Socrates, Κελώμενα τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀγα-
τίων τῶν Σολο-
μώνος ναὸν. ή αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Περσας ἦλαμε; which
the Latin Translator renders, Solomonis Tem-
plum protinus instaurari jubet. Ipsa interim
ad bellum contra Persas proficiscitur. But
the Temple of Jerusalem.

ἵπτε Πέρσας ἡλαυμ does not signify he forthwith began his march, as if it had been ἤτοι Πέρσας πορευόμενος; but that he began the war against them, by putting everything in a hostile motion; which he might do before he left Antioch. And Amm. Marcellinus, who was, at that time, with Julian, and of his Court, tells us, that the Eruption, which put an end to the Project, happened while his Master was at Antioch.

But the Critic’s inference from this will deserve a more particular consideration—so that there was little need of all these miracles to hinder the erection of a single building. Surely a sufficient cause for cutting short an enterprise of this nature may be found in the opposition of the Christians, who might take advantage of the Prince’s absence in a remote region, of his death there, and the advancement of Jovian, who was an enemy to the Jews.

Here are two things reprehensible in this inference, 1. A false state of the case; 2. and a groundless insinuation.

1. He states it as if these miracles were work’d only to hinder the simple erection of a building for superstitious worship;
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
the very error of Ambrose, taken notice of
above. Whereas there was much more in the
affair. It's erection would have given the
lye to the Prophecies, and have contradicted
the declared nature of the Gospel dispensa-
tion. In the first case, there seemed no suf-
cient reason to interpose; in the latter, an
interposition was necessary.

2. The insinuation is that the real obstruc-
tion came from the Christians in Julian's ab-
sence; — from his unexpected death; — and
from the succession of a Christian to the
Empire. This, we see, is only his opinion:
I think differently; and had I only my con-
jectures to oppose to his, here we might
leave it. But it would be betraying a good
cause, not to remind the Reader, that M.
Baeus's insinuation is utterly refuted by
the concurrent testimony of two unexcep-
tionable witnesses, Ammianus Marcellinus,
and the Emperor Julian himself: From
both of whom we learn, That the affair
of the Temple-project was all over before
Julian removed from Antioch.

* See p. 44—45. and p. 56 & seq.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 211

But there is still something behind the curtain: which either prudence or modesty made M. Bossange backward to subject to the abuse of every licentious Reader. But I am always for letting Truth be trusted with itself: therefore, to disguise nothing, I would observe, that one of the strongest objections to the Miracle seems here to be obscurely delineated. Whether he saw it in its full force may be doubted. However, here it is, and the Reader shall have no reason to complain that it does not come with its best foot forward. I will suppose then M. Bossange to make the following objection.

"That admitting the re-edification of the Temple was both contrary to the words of the old Prophecies, and to the nature of the new Dispensation; yet, as the Projector of this affront upon Religion was suddenly cut off, and succeeded by a Christian Emperor, before any considerable progress could be made, there was no need of a Miracle to defeat the attempt; and God is not wont to make a needless waste of Them."

The Objection, we see, is specious, and, at first view, will be apt to impose upon us. But let us weigh it's real value.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

The case is agreed to be this. The two inveterate Enemies of the Christian name conspire together, tho' with different views, to blast its credit, and dishonour its pretensions: And this, in a point so essential, that the Religion itself must stand or fall with the issue of the event.

They put their design in execution. The materials are collected, the workmen assembled, the foundations laid, and the superstructure now advances without stop or impediment. In a word, every thing succeds to their wishes. When, on a sudden, one of the most common accidents in the world blasts the whole project; a giddy headstrong Prince perishes in a rash adventure against a fierce and subtile enemy.

In this case, what would the World have thought; the World, which never thinks favourably of Religious novelties, and which this bold defiance of the power of Christ had set at gaze, and made impatient for the event? Would it not have said, that Christianity was beholden to a mere accident; while the Power, that should have support-

See p. 72—73.
ed it, was not at hand to vindicate its credit and reputation?

The Jews had twice before attempted the restoration of their temple-worship: Once under Hadrian; and once again, under Constantine. At those junctures the attempt had none of this malice and formed impiety against the divinity of our holy Faith. It was simply a natural desire the Jews had of returning to their own land, and of re-establishing their country Rites. But still, it being contrary to God's religious oeconomy, the design was defeated by the policy of Hadrian, and the zeal of Constantine; and these natural impediments were sufficient to cover the honour of Religion. For, in those two cases, God's transaction was only with his Church. He promised to support it to the end of time, and he equally performs his promise whether that protection be conveyed by the Mortal instruments with which he works in the course of his general Providence, and whose blindness is guided by his all-seeing eye; or whether it be immediately afforded by the sudden arrest and new direction of Nature, irresistibly impelled by his all-powerful hand.
But the case is different in the affair in question. Here God had a controversy with his Enemies. His Power was despised, his Godhead challenged, and his Protection dared to interpose between Them and his Servants. At this important juncture, to let a natural event decide the quarrel, and to urge that as a proof of his victory, would be taking for granted the matter in question. For the affair was not with his Friends, who believed his superintendency; but with his Enemies, who laughed at and defied it. Not to shew himself, on this occasion, in all the terror of his Majesty, must have exposed his Religion to the same contempt as if the very pinnacles of the Temple had been completed.

But this is not all. A Prophecy, such as this, concerning the utter destruction of the Temple, is of the nature of a Prohibitory Law. For God's foretelling a thing should never be, contains in it a prohibition to do it; because that information is founded in his own Will, or Command; not in the Will or Command of another; therefore that Will binds all, to whose knowledge it arrives. This Law came to the knowledge of the Temple-projectors, as appears
pears from their very impiety in defying it. But it is of the nature and essence of Law to have penal sanctions. Without them, all Laws are vain; especially prohibitory Laws. Now these Transgressors were as culpable in beginning the foundations, as they could have been had they lived to finish their work. Therefore to see them escape punishment, and safely and quietly go off when the change of times forbade them to proceed (a change, which had nothing in it more wonderful than the death of a rash Adventurer in battle) must have argued, that God was no more concerned in the issue of this than of all other natural events; and consequently, that these boasted Prophecies, and this pretended Gospel, were the inventions of men. I believe modern Infidels would scarce have spared us, had they caught Church-history at this advantage.
216 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild.

But now, by a timely interposition, the honour of Religion was secured: And an exemplary punishment being inflicted; the reverence of his Laws, the credit of his Messengers, and the Regal Dignity of his Son, were all amply vindicated.

And now I am upon this subject, let me observe, what perhaps I might have found a better place for, That the forbearance of Jovian and Valentinian to revenge on those forward creatures in power, the insults and injuries offered on this occasion to many peaceable and honest men, is no slight proof of the reality of a miraculous interposition. For it shewed the Church fully satisfied that God had avenged his own cause.

Thus have we set this Objection in the best light we were able, both for the honour of Religion, and the credit of M. Basnage's criticism. The Reader sees to what it amounts.

He concludes it in these words, — Besides, the Historian [Sozomene] refers his Readers in a vague indefinite manner to the eye-witnesses of the Fact, without pointing out one single person by name.
OBJECTIONS are often too careless where their random reflections will light. This will fall upon the Apostle’s narrative as well as the Historian’s. St. Paul, arguing against some who denied the Resurrection from the dead, confutes them by the resurrection of Jesus; who was seen, after he was risen, of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom (says he, without specifying any one by name) the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.

Sozomeno writes a general history of the Church, for the use of the whole Christian world; and speaking, in its place, of the event at Jerusalem, he concludes his account in this manner, If these things seem incredible to any one, Those who have had their information from eye-witnesses, and yet remain alive, will confirm it to him. Of which number either he himself was one, or at least he had his account from one. In either case, this was proper satisfaction to a Doubter. And it had been impertinent to add, that amongst these were John,

5 1 Cor. xv. 6.  

θαῦτα ὲγόρα πεζεύνεις, χηρεύσθων οἱ Χαῖρείν ἑαυτῶν ἀνήργοις ἐγὼ οὖν ἀξιόλογος. I. v. c. 22.

Thomas,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
Thomas or Andrew of Jerusalem; "obscure names, which would have given his Reader no more satisfaction, than what his general information had conveyed before. But it may be said, that St. Paul, besides his vague account of five hundred, adds the names of Cephas, James, and himself. And, so, doubtless would Sozomene, had he either seen it himself, or known any that had, with whose names his Reader was as well acquainted, as the Corinthians were, with Cephas, James, and the rest of the Twelve. What he has done was what common sense dictated he should do. But M. Basnage seems to expect in a general History, all the circumstance and precision of a verbal process.

However, thus much we learn from these vague words of Sozomene, that he was not a mere copier; but, to verify his story, went as nigh the fountain head as he could get. And this being the practice of these three honest and judicious historians, we need not wonder that One should mention this incident, and Another, that, just as they received their information from the most credible of the first ear-witnesses they
they could find then alive: which too, by the way, is sufficient to take off all M. Bajnaje urges on the head of variations. But had: we taken his variations from him, what were he then? A workman, without the proper tool of his trade; for a profesi'd Objector never borrowed more than one from the magazine of Quintilian—Arte-
Ficis est invenire in actione adversarii qua inter se metipsa pugnent, aut Pugnare vi-
Deantur.

We are now come to the end of this long Criticism, which concludes in these words: But lastly, Cyril of Jerusalem, who was, at that time, Bishop of the place, and must have been upon the spot, since it was he, who, confid-
ing in a prophecy of Daniel (which had fore-
told, as he thought, that the attempt would prove unsuccessful) encouraged and animated the people to repose their confidence in God. Notwithstanding, this same Cyril bath never: taken the least notice of these many miracles: and yet it certainly was not, because he was no friend to miracles: We are told be wrote to Constantine the younger, to inform him, that he was more happy than his father, under whose empire the Cross of Christ had been found
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

found here on earth; since Heaven, to grace his reign, had displayed a more illustrious pro-
digy: which was a Cross much brighter than the Sun, seen in the firmament, for a long time together, by the whole city of Jerusalem. Why now was that Cross remembered, and all these miracles forgotten? He assures the Jews they shall see the sign of the Cross; and that it will precede the coming of the Son of God; and yet he says not one word of those which had been miraculously affixed on their habits. The silence of a Bishop, who was upon the place, who loved miracles, and laboured for the conversion of the Jews, looks very suspicious; while, at the same time, those who do speak to it, lived at a distance.

This supposed fact, concerning Cyril's testimony, (as here stated) is indeed a strong objection to the Miracle. What shall we say then? Would not any one conclude that this learned man, a real friend to Revelation, and a faithful Historian, had weighed it well before he ventured to pronounce upon its consequences, in so public a manner? Who would suspect that He has taken one thing for granted, which every body knows to be false; and an-
other,
other, which no body can know, to be true.

He takes it for granted, that the works which now remain of Cyril, were written after the event; whereas they were all written before. These are the Catecheses ad competentes, the Catecheses mystagogicae, and the Epistle to Constantius: the two first bear date about 347, and the latter in 351; Those, sixteen; This, twelve years before the miracle in question. And the worst is, the learned Critic could not be ignorant of it.

If he had no intention to deceive by this captious insinuation, we must lay the blame on his careless expression; and that his argument from Cyril's silence, when set in the best light, stands thus:

"The pretended miracle at Jerusalem happened in the year 363. Cyril lived to the year 386: so that we cannot but conclude; he wrote and preached much within that period. He appears to be fond of recording miracles: but he had peculiar reasons to celebrate, and expatiate upon, this. It favoured his charitable zeal for the conversion of the Jews; but, above all, the glory
222 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

The glory of it reflected much luster upon himself, as he had predicted the defeat. Had he therefore known it to be true, he must have recorded it. But the silence of Antiquity concerning his testimony shews he did not record it. For to whom but to Cyril, the Bishop of the place, and then upon the spot, should the ancient relators of the fact have appealed? Yet he was not forgotten in the crowd; for they tell us of his faith in the prophecy of Daniel. We must, therefore, conclude, that the event, whatever it was, had struck the good Bishop dumb; and that his silence proceeded from that sort of confusion, which we now-a-days see in the modest part of our Revelation-Prophets, when some unexpected event between the Turk and the Emperor has disconcerted the scheme they had chalked out for the direction of Divine Providence."

It will hardly be said, I have not done the argument justice. Let us see then what can be replied to it.

1. Whether Cyril left any thing behind him (except what he wrote before the event) is not anywhere said. Some perhaps may conclude from Jerom, that he wrote
wrote nothing after this time: For, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, the works mentioned above are given as a complete list of what Cyril wrote: and it is scarce to be supposed that any of his writings should have perished between his time and that of Jerom.

2. Cyril might write many things, and yet none relative to this affair; or in which he could properly introduce it.

3. He might have given the history of it in all its circumstances, and yet these three Historians (to whom M. Bascage's observation is confined) not be guilty of any neglect in not mentioning his testimony by name. Or if it were a neglect, it was the same they committed in passing over two other contemporary writers, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostome; one of whom has spoken fully, and the other frequently, to the miracle in question. But to this, perhaps, it may be replied, "That tho' they have not quoted them, yet they have referred to them, and borrowed from them." How does the Objector know that? — From the Homilies of the One, and the Invectives of the Other, now remaining. — Very well: and for
224. Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
for aught he knows to the contrary, had any
of Cyril's supposed works been remaining,
we should have seen Them quoting from,
and referring to Him; especially, as They
relate several circumstances, mentioned nei-
ther by Gregory nor Cbrysostom. Had Gre-
gory's works been lost, we had been as un-
able to know that they borrowed from Him,
as we now are that they borrowed from
Cyril.

4. As to Their recording the good Bi-
shop's prophetic confidence in the divine in-
terposition, and at the same time overlook-
ing his Testimony to the miracle that fol-
lowed, a very good reason may be given;
and such a one as does honour to their
judgment. Cyril was singular in the first
case; and but one of many in the other. They
took, therefore, from him what no other
could supply: and what was to be found
every where (the testimony to the miracle)
they left in common to the church.

5. As to the objection, from the circum-
stance of Cyril's loving miracles, let me ob-
serve, That if it could be proved, from a
work of his written after 363, that he had
neglected any fair occasion to record the de-
feat
feat of Julian. The objection would have some weight. But in the total uncertainty whether he did record the story or no, it turns against the Objector, as the circumstance of Cyril's loving miracles adds probability to the affirmative. That, if he did write at all, he would find room for a subject he loved to write upon.

6. But since the learned Critic hath been pleased to speak slightly of this excellent Prelate, as if he were both fanatical in interpreting Prophecies, and bigotted in believing Miracles; so much will be due to the virtues of a worthy man, (how far soever removed from us in time and place,) as to vindicate him from unfair aspersions: especially when this justice to his character will be seen to reflect credit on the share he took in opposing Julian's attempt. There is a story recorded of him, for which every good man will reverence his memory. He had an Ecclesiastical squabble with Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea, about Metropolitical Jurisdiction. Cyril despised so frivolous a contest; and refused to appear before the Palestine Synod, to which his factious Adversary had delated him.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

the Synod agreed to depose him, for
contempt. But to give their Sentences a
shew of credit against so distinguished a
personage, they added this crime to the
other. That once, in a desolating famine,
he disposed of the treasures of his Church
to feed the Poor. This action, so becom-
ing a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, fully
shews, that, whether he had a right to me-
tropolitical Jurisdiction or no, he well de-
served it. But the crying part of this sacri-
lege is yet behind: It seems, that in the
sale of his sacred Wardrobe, a reverend
Stole, interwoven with gold, and made yet
more illustrious by the sanctity of its Giver,
Constantine the Great, came at length, in
the ceaseless round of property, into the
possession of a notorious Prostitute, who
flourished with it on the public stage.

M. Balsnage concludes his remark on
Cyril in this manner: The silence of a Bishop,
who was upon the place, looks very suspi-
cious; while, at the same time, those who do speak
to it lived at a distance. Admitting the Bi-
shop was indeed silent, how could this
learned man, who forms his charge on the
information of the three Historians, say, that
those,
those, who speak to the miracle, lived at a distance; when Sozomene plainly tells us, that, at the time he wrote, there were several still living, who had it from the eye-witnesses of the Fact? Here then, for the silence of one man, we have the testimony of many. — But Sozomene speaks of none by name. — Who knows, then, but the Bishop might be amongst the nameless? It hath been many a Bishop's fate. However, the testimony of the people on the Place is directly asserted by the Historian; and the silence of Cyril only inferred by the Critic, from his not finding him amongst the Witnesses.

AND, with these reflections on the poor Prelate, so unworthy the learning, the sense, and the ingenuity of M. Basnage, he concludes his objections against the Miracle.

What follows is to shew his impartiality. "However (says he) it ought not to be dissembled, that if one of the Jewish Chronologists maintains, that the sudden and unexpected death of Julian prevented the rebuilding the Temple; another of them assures us, it was rebuilt; and that when this was done at Q 2 a vast
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

"a vast expence, it tumbled down again; and, the next day, a dreadful fire from Heaven melted all the iron instruments which remained, and destroyed an innumerable multitude of the Jews. This confession of the Rabbins is the more considerable, as it reflects dishonour on the Nation; and these Gentry are not wont to copy from the writings of the Christians."

Here, it must be owned, he hath approved himself indifferent: and if his Arguments against the miracle be more in number, than those for it; the weight, at least, on both sides is equal.

Not that I would insinuate, as if this Rabbinical testimony was altogether impertinent. I have myself produced it in support of the Evidence: and, principally for the sake of that circumstance, which M. Basnage so ingenuously acknowledges, — That the Rabbins are not wont to copy from Christian Writers.

Nor will I deny, that this Testimony hath its proper place in a religious History of

\[1\] P. 69, 70.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

the Jews. What I cannot reconcile to this great man's general character, nor even to that air of impartiality which he here professes to preserve, is, that when he hath brought out all he could invent to the discredit of the Miracle, he should content himself with producing only one single circumstance, and that, the least considerable, in its favour. Insomuch that if ever the conclusive testimonies of Ammianus Marcellinus, Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostome should be lost, and this piece of Criticism remain, the silence of so candid and knowing a writer as M. Baphage will be infinitely a better proof that no such Evidence had ever been, than what he himself urges, from the silence of Antiquity, against the testimony of Cyril.

But, to end with this learned Critic. There is, I must confess, something so very odd in his conduct on this occasion, as cannot but give offence to every sober Reader. Yet I would by no means be thought to approve of Mr. Lawth's uncharitable reflections; which stand (as they often do amongst worse writers) in the place of a confutation. One may allow M. Baphage to have thought perversely;
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild perversely; because this is an infirmity common to Believers and Unbelievers: But one would never suspect a Minister of the Gospel of a formed design to undermine a Religion into whose service he had solemnly entered; nor, a man, truly learned, of a bias to Infidelity: such dispositions imply gross knavery and ignorance; and Mr. Basnage approved himself, on all other occasions, a man of uncommon talents and integrity.

A strong prejudice against the Character of the Fathers was what, apparently, betrayed him into this unwarrantable conclusion: for, injuriously suspecting them of imposture whenever they speak of Miracles, he began with them where he should have ended; and read their accounts, not to examine facts yet in question, but to condemn frauds as if already detected. Hence every variation, nay, every variety in their relations, appeared to him a contradiction. And that which indeed supports their joint testimony was by this learned man imagined to be the very thing that overthrew it. But their best Vindication is a strict scrutiny into their Evidence.
Evidence. This we have attempted; not as an Advocate for the Fathers, but as an Inquirer after Truth. What hath been the result must be left to the judgment of the Public.

We go on with the remaining Objections to this miracle, in which we shall be more brief.

V. In the next place it is pretended, "That this fiery eruption was an artificial contrivance of the Christians to keep their Enemies at a distance." It is said, the Egyptians, from the earliest times, had the secret of mixing combustible materials in such a manner as to produce the effects of exploded Gunpowder: That Sir William Temple, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and, an abler man than either of them, Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, have dropt hints as if some of the greatest wonders, recorded both in sacred and prophane Antiquity, were the effects of this destructive Composition; such as the thunders and lightening at the giving the Law from Mount Sinai; the deaths of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in their contest with Aaron; and the defeat of Brennus and his army of Gauls.
232 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild Gauls when they assaulted the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. This too, they say, will account for a strong mark of resemblance between the latter and the defeat of Julian, in both which the impending destruction was predicted; In the one by Cyril, in the other by the Priests of Apollo k.

The Objection, we see, supposes as well free power and opportunity, as profound address in these Christian Engineers: for let them be as knowing as you will in all the hidden arts of Egypt, yet, if they had not elbow-room for their work, all their skill would signify nothing.

We will examine how they were beset ed in each of these particulars. At this important juncture the Christians were unarmed, and defenceless. They were rendered, by law, incapable of bearing Office; and were actually deprived all exercise of it. And they submitted every where, without resistance, to the imperial Decrees. But this, to rebuild the Temple, was supported with all the power and authority of

k — In hoc partium certamine repente Antistites advenisse Deum clamant, &c. Just. I. xxiv. c. 8.
the Temple of Jerusalem. 233

the Empire. And the project was no sooner on foot, than the Place was possessed and crouded with vast numbers of their enemies, both Jews and Gentiles. Nor was this all. The Christians were driven from the neighbourhood of the holy place, by their just fears and apprehensions. They had every thing to expect from this impious combination. Their Enemies came in crowds to share and enjoy the approaching Triumph; while each strove which should exceed the other in violence and outrage. Insomuch that some (as Chrysostome assures us) absconded, and shut themselves up in their houses; others fled into deserts and solitudes, and avoided all places of public resort. So that whatever the Priests of Apollo at Delphi might find themselves capable of performing, who had their Town and Temple in possession, and a good garrison to keep off the enemy, till they were ready for their reception; it is plain the poor Christian Pastors (their Flocks dispersed, and themselves absconding) were utterly

234. Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild

 deprived of all other arms but those of Faith and Prayer. This, I think, may
 stand for an answer to that resemblance be-
tween the predictions of Cyril, and the
Priests of Apollo, from which the objection
deduced such consequences of suspicion.

But, let us allow them, both will and
opportunity to do the Feat: yet still, I ap-
prehend, every likely means would be
wanting. Chemical writers, indeed, in
their ridiculous claims to Antiquity, have
boasted much of the profound knowledge
of the old Egyptians in the Spagyric Art;
but this without the least proof, or war-
rant from Antiquity. The first authentic
Account we have of artificial fire was an in-
vention or discovery of the seventh Century.
One Callinicus, an Egyptian of Helio-
lis, fled from the Sarazens (who then
possessed that Country) to Constantinople;

— See Nicetas, Theophares, Codrenus, Constan-
tinus Porphyrogenitus. The latter tells us, in one
place, that the Greeks had this composition from
Callinicus; and in another, that Constantine the Great
received it, by way of revelation, from an Angel.
The monk who forged this fable appears not to have
had so clean an invention as our Milton, who makes
the Devil the Author of these destructive fires.

and
and taught the Greeks a military Fire called by them ὑγρὸν μῦρον [a liquid fire] but by the Franks, Feu gregiois. It was composed, they tell us, of naphtha and bitumen, and was blown out of iron and brass Tubes, or shot from a kind of Crossbow. Wherever it fell, it stuck and burnt obstinately, and was with great difficulty extinguished. Some, indeed, say it was accompanied with a sound like Thunder. But this is certain, the execution was by a fierce and continued burning. After this we hear of no other artificial fires till the thirteenth Century; when our famous countryman, Roger Bacon, invented that composition we call Gunpowder. He specifies the very ingredients; and speaks of it as a discovery of his own. It was not long before it was put in practice: For, in the next Century, Froissart the Historian mentions the use of Cannon, but as of a perfectly new invention.

It is true, that when the Missionaries had opened themselves a way into China, and were enabled to give us a more perfect account of that great Empire than we had received from the straggling Adventurers,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

who at several times had penetrated thither before them, we are told, amongst the other wonders of these remote Regions, of Firearms, both great and small; which had been in use for sixteen hundred years: nay, these Missionaries go so far as to say that they themselves had seen Cannon which had been cast six or eight Centuries before. But there are other, and more early accounts which shew these to be entirely fabulous. M. Renaudot hath given the public a translation of two Mahometan Voyagers, who visited the south part of China, in the ninth Century. These Arabians are curious in describing every thing rare and uncommon, or in the least differing from their own customs and manners. And yet they give us no hint of meeting with this prodigious Machine; and such must Cannon needs be deemed by men unacquainted with the use of gunpowder. Four Centuries afterwards, Marco Polo the Venetian, a curious and intelligent Traveller, penetrated into China by the north: and he too is silent on this head. In the next Century our famous countryman Mandevil rambled thither. His genius was towards natural knowledge, having studied and pro-

fessed
the Temple of Jerusalem. 237

fested Medicine; he was skilful likewise in most of the Languages of the East and West. This man sojourned a considerable time in China. He served in their Armies, and commanded in their strong Places: yet he takes not the least notice of Cannon, which he must have used, had there been any, and the use of a perfect novelty he would hardly have omitted to describe. For he set out on his travels in the year 1332; and Larrey says that the first piece of Cannon that had been seen in France, was in 1346. Though Du Cange observes, that the Registers of the Chamber of accounts at Paris make mention of Gunpowder so early as the year 1338.

All this, when laid together, seems to furnish out a very strong proof that the Chinese had never seen Cannon till after this visit of Sir John Mandevil: which agrees well with a known fact. That, about two Centuries ago, the Chinese, in their wars with the Tartars, were forced to take in the assistance of the Europeans to manage their Artillery.

But this fable of the antient use of Cannon in China is not to be charged on the Missionaries,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild Missionaries, but on the Chinese themselves, the proudest and vainest People upon earth; arrogating to themselves the invention and improvement of every kind of Art and Science. They boasted, in the same manner, of the antiquity and perfection of their Astronomy and Mathematics. But here their performances soon betrayed the folly and impudence of their pretences. It was not so easy to detect them in the subject in question. The Missionaries, on their arrival, saw Cannon, which doubtless had lain there for two or three ages. And of these, the Chinese were at liberty to fable what they pleased. But, it appears plain enough, they were indebted for them to their commerce with the Mahometans, some time between the voyage of Mandevil and the arrival of the Missionaries: very likely soon after their invention in Europe; for Peter Moxeia speaks of the Moors as having the use of Cannon about the year 1343. A probability very much supported by the candid confession of the Chinese themselves (in a modester humour) that though they had Cannon from the most early times of their Empire, yet, till the Tartar war, spoken of above, they were totally unacquainted
the Temple of Jerusalem. 239
acquainted with the management of Artillery.

Let this suffice, in answer to an Objection, or Suspicion rather, and that the wildest that ever Infidelity advanced to elude the force of sober evidence. An Objection not only unsupported by Antiquity, but discredited by itself. Inventions which promote the health and happiness of our species, have been often indeed kept concealed; and when at last communicated, soon lost again, and forgotten. But the natural malignity of our nature would never suffer so destructive and pernicious an invention to remain long a secret; or, when it was once known, ever to be divulged or remitted. So that if this kind of artificial fire was an early discovery of the Egyptian Sages, it had a fortune which can never be accounted for on the common principles of human conduct.

VI. The last Objection, which is a little more plausible, is to be received with a great deal more ceremony and distinction; as coming from the great Intimados of Nature, the Secretaries and Confidents of her intrigues.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild intrigues. These Men tell us, "That the fire, which burst from the foundations of the Temple, was a mere natural eruption. The regions in and about the Lesser Asia were (they say) in all ages subject to Earthquakes, caused by subterraneous fires: and the Land of Judæa in particular had its entrails full of these destructive principles, as appears from the present face of the Country about Sodom and Gomorrha. That this Eruption from the mountain of the Temple, had all the marks of a natural event, as appears from its being attended with the same circumstances which have accompanied all such; and particularly the Earthquake and Eruption at Nicomedia. Nor is the time, in which it happened, sufficient to oppose to this conclusion. For these commotions of nature being frequent in every age, it is no wonder they should sometimes fall in with those moral disorders, occasioned by religious squabbles, which are as frequent; nor that, at such a juncture, frightened Superstition should catch at these accidents of terror to support a labouring cause. Hence it was (say they
they) that Jupiter Ammon was made to de-
stroy the Army of Cambyses, when sent to
burn his Temple, and lay waste the Coun-
try of his Worshippers; and Apollo, to fall
upon the Army of Brennus, when he led it
to plunder the Temple at Delphi."

This is the Objection: and I have
not scrupled to help the Objectors to set it
off. For besides the distinction due to
their character, I had other reasons why I
would willingly have it seen in its best
light.

Several of the circumstances attend-
ing the Event in question, and some, which
have been generally held the most mira-
culous, I have myself delivered as the
effects of natural causes; induced thereto
by the love of Truth, and a fond desire of
reconciling the Fact itself, and the Christian
Fathers, who relate it, to the Free-thinker's
more favourable opinion. It will be fit,
therefore, I should explain and justify my
own conduct before I object to that of my
Adversaries.

The Agency of a superior Being, on any
portion of the visible Creation lying within
the
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
the reach of our senses (whereby it acquires
properties and directions different from
what we hold it capable of receiving from
the established Laws of matter and motion)
we call a Miracle.

To ask, whether God's immediate Agency makes a necessary part of the definition;
or whether, to give a Miracle its name, it be sufficient that another Being, superior
to Man, performed the operation, appears to me a very impertinent enquiry. Because
there are but two sorts of Men who concern themselves about the matter; Those
who hold God's moral government; and Those who allow only his natural.

The first sort, the Religionists, must, on their proper principles, allow, that a
work performed by superior agency, in confirmation of a Doctrine worthy of God,
and remaining uncontrouled by a greater, can be no other than the attestation of
Heaven, to which God hath set his hand and seal. Because the permitting an evil
Being to perform these wonders, would be deceiving his Creatures, who know little
or nothing of the World of Spirits. It would be drawing them unavoidably into error,
where
where they would be fixed; which is contrary to what the Religionist conceives of God's moral attributes, and, consequently, of his Government. As to the Sectators of Naturalism, the specific qualities of a Miracle never come within the range of their enquiries; for, holding only the natural government of God, they deny, of course, the very existence of every thing that implies his moral Regimen.

Miracles, then, are of two sorts. Those where the Laws of Nature are suspended or reversed (such as the budding of Aaron's rod, and the raising of Lazarus from the dead.) And Those which only give a new direction to its Laws (such as bringing water from the rock, and stopping the issue of blood.) For Miracles being an useful, not an ostentatious display of God's power, we cannot but conclude, He would employ the one or other sort indifferently, as each best served the purpose of his interposition.

Now, as it would be impious to bring in natural causes to explain the first sort; so, totally to exclude those causes in the latter, would be superstitious; and both, infinitely
244 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

finitely absurd. Who, for instance, would venture to affirm that the prolific virtue in the stock of Aaron's rod contributed to the blossoming of its branch? Or, on the other hand, that the water which came from the Rock at the command of Moses, was just then created to do honour to his Ministry? In this case, what more would a rational Believer conclude, than that God, by making, at that instant, a fissure in the Rock, gave room for the water to burst out, which had before been lodged there by nature, as in its proper Reservoir? And the sober Critic, who proceeds in this manner, only follows that method in interpreting, which God himself useth in working the Miracle; which is, to give to Nature all that Nature could easily perform. We are further encouraged in thus explaining the exercise of Divine power, by the account the Holy Spirit giveth us of one of the most awful exertions of it, recorded in holy Writ. But before I proceed to the relation itself, the Reader should be reminded of what hath been observed of the order of the appearances in the natural eruption at Nicomedia, and in that we call miraculous, at Jerusalem; where, in both cases,
cases, the desolation began with winds and tempest; was continued by an earthquake; and concluded in a fiery eruption. The story is this, The Prophet Elijah, oppressed with the corruptions of the House of Israel, is commanded to wait God's Presence, and attend his Word. "And he said, Go forth, "and stand upon the Mount before the "Lord. And behold the Lord passed by; "and a great and strong wind rent the "Mountains, and brake in pieces the "Rocks before the Lord; but the Lord "was not in the wind: and after the wind "an earthquake; but the Lord was "not in the earthquake: And after the "earthquake a fire; but the Lord was "not in the fire: And after the fire a "small still voice." His coming to shake terribly the earth is here described, we see, in all the pomp of incensed Majesty. Yet it is remarkable, that the Pre- cursors of his Presence follow each other in the order of physical progression, in which Nature ranged the several Phænomena at Nicomedia and Jerusalem; the Tempests, the Earthquake, and the Fire: an Order, the sacred Historian plainly points out to us;

* 1 Kings xix. 11, 12.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
where he says, that God was not in any of
these, intimating that they were pure phy-
sical appearances, the parade of Nature,
thus far suffered to do its office without in-
terruption; but that He was in the small
still voice, which closed this dreadful Pro-
cession, intimating that these natural ap-
pearances were ministerial to the interposi-
tion of the Author and Lord of Nature.

Let us apply all this to our Argument;
and consider, how a sober Believer, con-
vinced by the force of evidence, would in-
terpret the Miracle in question. He would,
without doubt, conclude, that the mineral
and metallic substances, which, by their ac-
cidental fermentation, are wont to take fire
and burst out in flames, were the native
Contents of the place from which they
issued; But that, in all likelihood, they
would have there slept, and still continued
in the quiet innoxious state in which they
had so long remained, had not the breath
of the Lord awoke and kindled them.

But when the Divine Power had thus
miraculously interposed to stir up the rage
of these fiery Elements, and yet to restrain
their fury to the objects of his Vengeance,
The Temple of Jerusalem.

He then again suffered them to do their ordinary office: because Nature thus directed would, by the exertion of its own Laws, answer all the ends of the moral designation.

The consequence of which will be, that its effects, whether destructive or only terrific, would be the same with those attending mere natural eruptions.

So far, indeed, one cannot but suspect, that the specific qualities in the fermented elements, which occasioned the frightful appearances, though they were natural to enflamed matter under certain circumstances, were yet, by the peculiar pleasure of Providence, given on this occasion; and not merely left to the conjunction of mechanic causes, or the fortuitous concourse of matter and motion, to produce. And my reason is, because these frightful appearances, namely the Cross in the Heavens, and on the Garments, were admirably fitted, as moral emblems, to proclaim the triumph of Christ over Julian. For the Apostate having, in a public and contemptuous manner, taken the Monogramme and Cross out of the military Ensigns, which

Sozom. l. v. c. 17.

R 4 tine
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

time had put there, in memory of the aerial vision that presaged his victories; the same kind of triumphant Cross was again erected in the Heavens, to confound the vanity of that impotent bravade: and having forbidden the followers of Jesus, by public edict, to use the very name of Christians; a stigmatic Cross was now imposed upon the Garments of those who were seconding his impieties, or were witnesses to the defeat of his attempt,

And, in these shining marks of vengeance there was nothing low, fantastical, or superstitious. The impress was great and solemn, and reached up to the dignity of the occasion.

Another Use of these terrific appearances (kept hid indeed for ages in the womb of time, but now beginning to manifest the profound views of the divine Disposer of all things) will farther confirm our opinion of their final cause. The use, I mean, is this, That the finding so extraordinary a Fact as the Cross upon the Garments, so confidently and unanimously related by the contemporary writers, be-

comes
comes one of the strongest confirmations of its reality. For the Fathers not having the least conception of its being a natural phenomenon, but esteeming it in all respects miraculous, they must have been well assured of the notoriety of the Fact before they would have ventured to attach so incredulous a circumstance to the rest; and to dwell and insist upon it more than on all the rest.

Thus much concerning these two sorts of Miracles, and the different manner of handling them. But it is to be remarked, there is yet a third, compounded of the other two, where the Laws of Nature are in part arrested and suspended; and in part only differently directed. Of this kind was the punishment of the old world by a Deluge of Waters. Now, if, to such as these, we should apply the way of interpretation proper to the second sort, where only a new direction is given to the Laws of Nature; the absurdities, arising from this abusive application, would soon disgrace the method itself: as That Divine may have sufficiently experienced, who ingeniously contrived to bring on the Deluge of waters by
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
by the help of an approaching Comet, but
was never after, by any physical address,
able to draw it off again. And such dis-
graces are hardly to be avoided: for, in
the second and simpler kind, the physical
interpretation hath Experience to support
it: whereas in the third and more compli-
cated, the Artist must be content with an
Hypothesis.

Thus much was proper to be said be-
fore we came to try the force of the Obje-
tion.

1. It begins with observing, "That the
regions in and about the Lesser Asia were, in
all ages, subject to Earthquakes, caused by
subterraneous fires; and that Judea in par-
ticular had its entrails full of these de-
structive principles; as appears even from
the present face of the country about Sodom
and Gomorrah."

If this account be true, as I believe it is,
then Judea was a proper scene, (as occasion
required) for this specific display of the di-
vine vengeance. And we see why fire was
the scourge employed: As we may be sure
water would have been, were the region of
Judea
Judea naturally subject to Inundations. For Miracles not being an ostentatious but a necessary Instrument of God's moral Government, we cannot conceive it probable that he would create the elements for this purpose, but use those which already lay stored up against the day of visitation. By this means, his wisdom would appear as conspicuous as his power, when it should be seen, that the Provisions lain in at the formation of the World for the use and solace of his helpless Creatures while continuing in obedience, could, at his word, be turned into scourges when they became faithless and rebellious. The force of this reasoning is so obvious, that, had divine Providence been pleased to use the contrary method, Unbelievers, I am persuaded, would have made that very method an objection to the credibility of the Fact. However, though it seemeth most agreeable to what we conceive of divine Wisdom, that it should often use the instrumentality of Nature in its miraculous interpositions, yet let it be observed that the same Wisdom always provides against the Author of Nature his being lost or obscured under the glare and noise of his Instruments.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

It is said the Region of Judæa was, from the quality of its Contents, much subject to Earthquakes and fiery eruptions. If so, How happened it, that, from the most early times to the period in question, there never was any unusual disorder in its entrails (if you except an earthquake which Josephus mentions as happening in the time of Herod) but at the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah; at the destruction of Korah and his company; at the Crucifixion; and on this attempt of Julian? How happened it, that this destructive Element lay quiet in the midst of so much fuel, and for so many Ages, and only then, and at those critical junctures shewed itself, when God would manifest his wrath and displeasure at incorrigible Sinners? Can any reasonable account be given of such a Disposition but this, That when God decrees to punish, it is his purpose, the divine Agency should be made fully manifest. To pretend, they were all natural events, and the several coincidences merely casual, is supposing something vastly more incredible than what Unbelievers would persuade us is implied in miracles.

2. But
2. But it is said, "This eruption from the foundations of the Temple had all the marks of a natural event, being attended with the same circumstances which Am. Marcellinus relates to have accompanied the Earthquake at Nicomedia."

It is very certain, the eruption from the foundations of the Temple had all these marks; and if our account of the Miracle (as it seems the most rational) be indeed the true, it could not but have them. When God had kindled the fiery matter in this storehouse of his wrath, all the effects which succeeded the disruption must needs be the same with those which attend the explosion of any other subterranean fire. What would follow had they not been the same? Certain discred it on the whole story; which in Times so squeamish and so difficult of admittance as the present, would have passed for a Fairy-tale. This consideration induced me to shew at large the exact conformity, throughout the process of the event, between the visitation at Jerusalem and the disaster at Nicomedia. — It is the least of an Unbeliever's care to reconcile his objections to one another. I knew His first cavil to the
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

the credit of the Fact would be the wonderful attending the eruption. I therefore provided against it by shewing this fact to be similar in its main circumstances to the best attested relations of natural events. But I knew too, in case of a defeat, He would not be ashamed to point his cavil the other way, and turn this very resemblance against a supernatural interposition.—What pity is it that Ammianus, who best knew the full extent of this resemblance, was not more quick-sighted. He too was an enemy of the Christian name (indeed, to do him justice, more fair and candid than any I know of the same denomination amongst ourselves) but so little sensible of its force, and so much confounded with the event, That, instead of telling the affair at large, which fell in so exactly with his detailed account of the disaster at Nicomedia, He hurries it over with the rapidity of one of the blasted Workmen, who had just escaped the common desolation.

After all, a general resemblance in the effects is granted. What we insist on is the difference in their cause or original. And this difference is supported even by the very
very nature of things from whence arose that
general resemblance.

Nicomedia, a City of Bithynia, was
placed on an eminence, at the bottom of a
Gulph of that name, in the Propontis. Now
Mountains thus situated, into whose cavern-
ous entrails the Sea may find its way, must,
if other natural causes favour, be, more than
ordinary, subject to fiery eruptions; of which
we need no other example than the Mountain
Vesuvius. But the Temple-hill at
Jerusalem was neither large nor cavernous;
nor was it in the neighbourhood of the Sea;
circumstances which, all the world over,
concur to produce this effect. Neither
were any new openings made, at this time,
into the bowels of the mountain; which,
by letting in air or water, might be sup-
posed to ferment and inflame their com-
busible contents. The Historians who re-
late this attempt inform us, that even some
parts of the old foundations were left stand-
ing to erect the new edifice upon; and in
others, where the old works were judged too
infirm, or little better than a heap of rub-
bish, that incumbrance only was removed.
This appears from the relations of Socrates
and
Of Julian’s Attempt to rebuild

and Sozomene compared with one another. Socrates assures us, that the earthquake threw out stones from the old foundations: which he mentions to shew the literal accomplishment of the prophecy of Jesus, foretelling, that there should not be left one stone upon another. Sozomene indeed affirms, that the foundations were cleared; but then he goes on and says, the earthquake threw out stones. Now as no new foundations were ever laid, he must mean, with Socrates, the stones of the old. And thus the seeming difference in their accounts will be reconciled. Let me add, that more than once before, and at distant times, they had dug deep into this Hill, to lay the foundations of Solomon’s and Herod’s Temples: and then every thing continued quiet. Yet, now, when no new openings were made, the effort to build a third was followed by a fiery eruption.

Again, In natural ferment of this kind, the commotion is generally very extensive, and runs through large tracts of Country. Thus the Earthquake mentioned by Josephus shook the whole land of Judæa; and

\[ \text{L. iii. c. 20.} \quad \text{L. v. c. 22.} \]

the
the Temple of Jerusalem. 257

the disaster at Nicomedia, as Marcellinus informs us, was occasioned by a tremor which went over Macedonia, Asia, and Pontus; and did infinite mischief throughout its course. On the contrary, the Eruption at Jerusalem was confined to the very spot on which the Temple had stood; and continued only to deny access to such who, not taking warning by those whom it had destroyed, would still persevere in their impiety. A circumstance very different from common Earthquakes and fiery Eruptions; and of which we have no examples, save in the Eruption that destroyed Korab and his company; and in the Earthquake at the Crucifixion of our Lord; Both of them miraculous events.

Thirdly, in natural eruptions the fire continues burning till the fuel which supplies it be consumed. But the Witnesses to this assign a very different period to its

* Iisdem diebus terræmotus horrendi per Macedoni-am, Asiamque & Pontum adsiduis pulsibus oppida multa concusserunt & montes. Inter monumenta tamen-multiformium ærumnarum eminueræ Nicomediacae clades, &c. Marcel. l. xvii. c. 7.

* — fecere locum exuæis aliquoties operantibus inac-cellum. L. xxiii. c. 1.

§ fury.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

fury. It continued just as long as the
Builders persisted in their attempt, and no
longer. At every new effort to proceed,
the rising fire drove them back; but at the
instant they gave out, it totally subsided.
This so terrified Julian, that Chrysostome
tells us, he relinquished the enterprise for
fear the fire should turn upon his own head.
And this made Marcellinus say, — "ele-
"mento destinatius repellente," an
expression of great elegance to imply the
direction of superior agency.

3. In the last place we are told "That
even so critical a juncture is not to be ac-
counted of: for that religious squabbles
and natural prodigies are equally common;
and Church Artists never wanting to fit
them to one another. Hence, they say,
are derived those two notable Judgments of
Jupiter Ammon and Apollo, upon the Ar-
mies of Cambyses and Brennus."

ταῦτα ἀκεράς ὁ Χρυσόστομος Ἰουλιανὸς εἰς τις πολύ-
νων μανίαν ἔχει καὶ θυσίας, δείκνυε μη δικαιο-
τες προσέλθοντι Τίταν τι καὶ παραλύον καλίτον τὸ ἱε-
ρὸν ἔδωκεν μὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἰκίσσων. Adver. Judæos;
Orat. vi.
The Observation is plausible. It pleases the Imagination: and wants nothing but Truth to reconcile it to the Judgment.

In Miracles performed by the ministry of God's Messengers where the Laws of Nature are suspended or reversed, it is sufficient that the Instrument which wrought them declares their purpose and Intention. But, in a Miracle performed by the immediate power of God, without the intervention of his servants, in which only a new direction is given to the Laws of Nature, one of these two conditions is required to secure its credit; either that an inspired Servant of God predicted it, and declared its purpose beforehand, as Samuel did the form of thunder and rain, the declaration of God's displeasure, for the people's demand of a King: or that it was seen to interpose so seasonably and critically as to cover the honour of God's moral Government from insult. Without one or other of these conditions, Superstition would break loose at once, and over-run the World: for Bigotry (always in close conjunction with our natural malignity) would convert every unusual appearance of natural evil into a Punishment.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
nishment and Prodigy. It hath in fact
done so: and every Age and Religion hath
abounded with these spurious Judgments,
to the violation of charity, and the dishon-
our of God's moral Government. And yet
an ordinary attention to the obvious and ra-
tional conditions here pointed out, would
have prevented this mischief: for I know
but of one instance in all Antiquity which
could embarrass the decision: and that is,
not the expedition of Cambyses; for it
would have been a greater wonder that an
Army had got safe through the sands of
those Deserts, than that it perished in them.
The case I mean is the destruction of Bren-
nus's Army before Delphi. Here, neither
of the conditions seemed wanting. The
Priests of Apollo, we are told, predicted
the ensuing desolation: and the cause
(which was the punishment of impiety and
irreligion) appeared not altogether unwor-
thy the Divine interposition. These, to-
gether with the faith due to the best human
testimony, which strangely concurred to
support the Fact, were, I presume, the
reasons that inclined the excellent Dean
Prideaux to esteem the accident mir-
aculous: not so weakly as hath been re-
presented.
the Temple of Jerusalem.

presented by some; nor yet with that maturity of judgment, which one would expect from so great a master of ancient History. His words are these—"Brennus marched on with the gross of his army towards Delphos to plunder the temple—But he there met a wonderful defeat. For on his approaching the place, there happened a terrible storm of thunder, lightening, and hail, which destroyed great numbers of his men, and, at the same time, there was as terrible an earthquake, which rending the mountains in pieces, threw down whole rocks upon them, which overwhelmed them by hundreds at a time. —Thus was God pleased, in a very extraordinary manner, to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous forever that religion was, for which that Temple at Delphos was erected." The learned Historian, we see, supposes, and he is not mistaken, that Brennus and his Gauls acknowledged the Divinity of Apollo. Julius Caesar informs us, that the Gauls had

very near the same sentiments of the greater Deities with the Greeks and Romans. And, distinct from his authority, we know, that the pagan principle of intercommunitity made their national Gods free of all countries. Brennus's, therefore, was a Sacrilege in all its forms. But notwithstanding there are many strong objections to the Dean's notion concerning the quality of the disaster.

This sacred Place, the Repository of immense riches, had, at other times, been attempted with impunity; nay with success, for it had been so often plundered, that, when Strabo wrote, the Temple was become exceeding poor. And if amongst these several insults, there were any more worthy the divine interposition, for the sake of Religion in general, than the rest, it was when the Phocenses, the natural and civil Protectors of the Temple, plundered it of all its wealth, to raise an army of mercenary soldiers. And yet, at that time, the offended Deity gave no marks of his displeasure. Now to suppose, when several attempts of this kind had suc-

υμι ζή τι ζενεξαλον ἦσα το ἐν Δελφοῖς ἤεγον. Lib. ix.
ceeded. That the failure of one, though attended with some uncommon circumstances, was a divine interposition, is going very far in favour of an Hypothesis. If it should be said, that the God of Israel suffered his own Temple to be several times insulted (which Julian himself takes care to remember) and yet at last vindicated the honour of his name; I reply, There was this material difference in the case, that whenever the Temple of the Jews was violated, the evil was foretold as due to their crimes, and the people made acquainted with the impending punishment: and that now when it's honours were attempted to be restored, it was in defiance of a Prophecy which had doomed it to a final desolation.

There is yet a stronger objection to the learned Dean's solution, which is, that had the defeat been miraculous, it could never have been deemed as effected for the sake of religion in general, but in vindication of their false Gods: For, the History of it informs us, that the Priests of the Temple denounced the approaching Vengeance; and

See p. 57.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
ascribed it to the wrath and Power of Apollo and his two Sisters. So that this intervention would have been the means of fixing Idolatry, and rivetting it down upon the Pagan world.

But what is still more, the circumstances of the times did not at all favour a miracle for the purpose assigned, namely for the sake of religion in general, against impiety. The Popular folly, in the Pagan world, ran all the other way. It was not irreligion, but superstition that then infected Mankind. They had no need of a Miracle to remind them of the superintendency of Providence; they were but too apt without it, to ascribe every unusual appearance of nature to moral agency. So that had Heaven now thought fit to interfere; we

In hoc partium certamine repente universorum templorum Antistites, simul et ipsae vates, sparsi orinisibus, cum insignibus atque infulis, pavidi vocesque in primum pugnantium aciem proculum: Advenisse Dnium clamant; eumque se vidisse deficientem in Templum — Juvenem supra humanum medium insignis pulchritudinis, comitesque ei duas armatas virgines ex propinquis duabus Diana Minervaque sedibus occurrisse, nec oculis tantum hoc se perspexisse; audisse etiam stridorem Arcus ac strepitum Armorum. — Juf. lib. xxiv. c. 8.

cannot
cannot but conclude, it had been rather in
discredit of idolatry in particular, than in
behalf of religion in general.—There is
hardly any occasion to observe, that the
reasons, which make against God's own in-
tervention, hold equally against his permit-
ing evil Spirits to co-operate with the delu-
sions of their Priests.

HAVING, therefore, excluded all supe-
rior agency from this affair; it will be in-
cumbent on us to shew, by what human
contrivance it might have been effected.
For, it must be owned, its arrival at so cri-
tical a juncture will not easily suffer us to
suppose it a mere natural event.

The inclination of a Pagan Priest to as-
sist his God in extremity will hardly be
called in question. We see, by the round
story of those at Delphi, that they were not
embarrassed by vulgar scruples. They as-
sured the people, they saw the God, at his
first alighting, in the person of a young
man of exquisite beauty; and his two Vir-
gin associates, Diana and Minerva, with
each her proper arms of Bow and Spear:
But they did not trust to their eye-fight on-
ly; for they heard, besides, the clangor of
their Arms.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

So much for a good disposition. Their Address was not at all inferior. On the first rumour of Brennus's directing his march against them, they issued out Orders as from the Oracle, to all the region round, forbidding the country People to secrete or bear away their wine and provisions. The effects of this order succeeded to their expectation. The half-starved Barbarians, finding, on their arrival in Phocis, so great a plenty of all things, made short marches, dispersed themselves over the country, and revelled in the abundance that was provided for them. This respite gave time to the Friends and Allies of the God to come to the assistance of his Priests: so that by such time as Brennus was sat down at the foot of the Rocks, there was a numerous Garrison within to dispute his ascent.

* Gallorum vulgus, ex longâ inopia, ubi primùm vino cæterisque commensibus referendis rura invenit, non minus abundantia quam victoria læsum, per agrós so sphericat; desertisque sigillis, ad occupanda omnia pro victoribus vagabantur. Quæ res dilationem Delphis dedidit. Prima namque opinione adventūs Gallorum prohibiti Agrestes oraculis feruntur, mesīss; vinaque villis esserre.—Salutare praecptum — velut morâ Gallis objecta auxilia finitimorum conveyere. Justin, lib. xxiv. c. 7.

Their
The advantages of situation, likewise seconded their good disposition and address. The Town and Temple of Debir was seated on a bare and cavernous rock; defend-ed, on all sides, with precipices, instead of walls. The Recess within assumed the form of a Theatre; so that the shouts of Soldiers, and the notes of military Instru-ments re-echoing from rock to rock, and from cavern to cavern, increased the sounds to an immense degree. Which, as the Historian observes, could not but have great effects on ignorant and barbarous minds.

The playing off these Panic terrors was not indeed sufficient of itself to repulse and dissipate a Host of fierce and hungry Invaders; but it enabled the Defenders of the place to keep them at bay, till a more fo-

lid entertainment was provided for them. I mean the Explosion, and fall of that portion of the Rock, at the foot of which the greater part of the Army was encamped.

For the Town and Temple, as we observed, were seated on a bare and hollow Rock; which would afford vent-holes for such fumes as generated within, to transpire. One of these, from an intoxicating quality, discovered in the steam which issued from it, was rendered very famous, by being fitted to the Recipient of the Priestess of Apollo. Now if we only suppose this, or any other of the vapours, issuing from the fissures in so large and cavernous a rock, to be endowed with that


unctuous
unctuous or otherwise inflammatory quality which modern experience shews us to be common in mines and subterraneous hollows, we can easily conceive how the Priests of the Temple might, without a Miracle, be able to work the wonders which History speaks of as effected in this transaction. For the throwing down a lighted torch or two into a chasm from whence such a vapour issued, would set the whole into a flame; which, by rarifying and dilating the inclosed air, would, like fired Gunpowder, blow up all before it. These effects are so known and dreaded in some of the Coal-mines in the north of this Kingdom, subject to such inflammatory vapours, that, instead of lamps or candles, which would be fatal, the workmen are obliged to have recourse to a very extraordinary contrivance to give them light, which is the application of a flint to a steel Cylinder in motion. And we cannot suppose the Priests, the Guardians of the place, could be long ignorant of such a quality; which, either chance or designed experiments might bring them acquainted with; Or that they would divulge it when they had discovered it. I am even inclined to think,
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

think, they had the art of managing this quality at pleasure; so as to produce a greater or less effect, as their occasions required. It is certain, Strabo relates, that one Onomarchus with his Companions, as they were attempting by night to dig their way through to rob the holy Treasury, were frightened from their work by the violent shaking of the Rock: and he adds, that the same Phenomenon had defeated many other attempts of the like nature. Now whether the tapers which Onomarchus and his companions were obliged to use while they were at work, inflamed the Vapour, or whether the Priests of Apollo heard them at it, and set fire to a countermine, it is certain, a quality of this kind would always stand them in stead.

Such, then, I presume, was the expedient they employed to dislodge this Nest of Hornets, which had settled at the foot of their sacred Rock.

It is further remarkable that this explosion was followed (as it was likely it should) with a mere physical event of as much terror and affright, a storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which these violent concussions of the air naturally generate. For Justin assures us, the Tempest did not happen till after the fall of the Rock, though the Dean, we see, makes them operate together.

But what, after all, if these Barbarians were something less unfortunate than the Priests of Apollo would have us think them, and had got a considerable booty before they fell into this disgrace? Strabo tells an odd story of the Roman General Capio's finding a vast treasure at Tolosa, supposed to be part of the riches which its Inhabitants, the Tectosages, had brought home from this very expedition against the Delphian God.

*Insecuta deinde tempestas est, quae grandine & frigore saucios ex vulneribus absumpsit.* L. xxiv. c. 8.

* — η ου τὸ Τελόσαγας ἢ Φαελ μέλαγεων Ἡ Ἄλλης σελήνας, ἢ τὶς τε Ἐθεανας ὑπὶ διήρησιν τὰς ἔκαστας ἡ Ἡ ναὶ τοῦ Καπιον κατὰ Ἑκάλαης τοῦ Ρωμαίου ἐν πόλις Τόλομος, ἦ ἑπείθεν Ἡηρατὸν μετὰ ἠτῶν Φα- ει προοίμιον ἢ σύν διηθήματι, ἢ ἐν ὥδε ἔδωκεν ἐκεῖνοι τινες ἄγαν εἰς ἕφασμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. L. iv.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

It would almost make one suspect, that the Priests, before they came to extremities with the sacred Rock, had entered into treaty with these Barbarians, and paid them a large tribute to decamp and quit the Country; which possibly they might receive with the same good faith their Countrymen, in a like expedition, weighed out the Roman gold, before the Capitol; and so necessitate the Delphians to send down the Rock upon them to clear accounts; just as, in the other instance, Camillus revenged their extortion in Italy. What seems to strengthen our conjecture is, that the Teuthoses, in order to appease the offended Deity, had consecrated this treasure to holy uses, with an addition of their own. Nor does it take from the credit of the story, that all which the penetrating Strabo hath to oppose, is the ill success of Brennus and his followers, as we find it related in the common histories of the expedition. If this were the case, the pretended Miracle shrinks into a Prodigy of the most slender form.

However, the account given above seems, on the whole, to be the true solu-

...
tion of this extraordinary event. It is easy and natural; and the cause equal to the effect. But my chief reason for being so explicit, was to add still further support to our general conclusion; as the detail would shew, that all the main circumstances in the destruction at Delphi, and in that at Jerusalem, were essentially different.

The Rock on which Delphi stood, was exactly fitted for such a contrivance; The Mountain at Jerusalem, by its compactness and contiguity, altogether improper.

The easy object of Apollo's resentment was a rabble of half-starved and half-intoxicated Barbarians: The object of the resentment of the God of Israel was a select number of the politest, joined to the shrewdest People, who were detached to support the Emperor's project, which the ablest artists of all kinds there assembled were ready to put in execution.

The Priests of Apollo were masters of the Town and Temple, and supported by a powerful Garrison: Both the Priests and People of the God of Israel were dispersed, and had left the place free and open to their enemies.
274. Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

But the principal difference lay in the grounds and reasons of the thing. By which I do not mean, that one event was supposed to be the agency of a God of the Greeks, and the other of the God of the Jews: For, who was the true, and who the false God, the Gentlemen, with whom we are concerned, seem willing should remain undetermined. The difference lay in this, That the interposition of the Delphian God was to save the treasures of his Priests; which he had, at other times, and on more flagitious terms, suffered to be plundered. But the interposition of the Lord of Hosts was to save the honour of his word, which he hath never since suffered to be impeached by malice or impiety, throughout a course of fourteen hundred years. Or, in other words, to defend the general system of Revelation from being forcibly borne down by the whole power of the Roman Empire. For the attempt to re-establish the Jewish Worship was professedly and publicly to give the lye to the Prophecies on which Christianity was founded, that is, to the God of Heaven himself: the most important occasion we can conceive...
conceive of exerting his power, as including in it a necessity to exert it. But more of this, when I come, hereafter, to speak of the nature of that evidence which demands the assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact.

In the mean time we will turn to our mathematician; and request him to prepare his Tables of Calculation; if for no other purpose than to gratify our curiosity in the doctrine of chances. When he is ready, let us know, how many millions to one are the odds against a natural eruption's securing the honour of the Christian Religion, at that very important juncture when God's Omnipotence was thus openly denied; and not by this or that crack-brained Atheist, but by all the powers of the world combined against it. Let him add these other circumstances, that the Mountain of the Temple, was, both from its frame and situation, most unlikely to be the scene of a natural eruption: and that this eruption was confined, contrary to its usual course, to that very spot of ground: and then see how these will increase the odds: But his task is but begun; he must reckon
276 Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

another circumstance, the Fire's obstinately
breaking out by fits, as often as they at-
ttempted to proceed; and its total extin-
tion on their giving up the enterprize: let him,
I say, add this to the account, and see how
it will then stand. To these, too, he must
join the Phenomena of the Cross in the Air,
and on the Garments; which will open a
new carrier to his calculations. And fur-
ther, to inflame the reckoning, he may
take notice, that History speaks but of one
other commotion in the intrails of this Hill,
which likewise happened at a very critical
juncture, the Crucifixion of our Lord, when
the vail of the Temple was rent in twain
from the top to the bottom. Lastly, he may
reflect, if he pleases, that all these odds
lie on the side of a divine Interposition to
hinder an attempt, which a space of four-
teen hundred years hath never seen revived;
though the project itself (the restoration of
one of the most celebrated Temples in the
world) is in its nature most alluring to su-
perstition; and though the imbecillity of
Religion and Government, and the various
Revolutions there undergone, have afforded
ample opportunity to a rich and crafty
People to effect what was the only means
of wiping out their opprobrium, and re-
deeming them from universal Contempt. He must, I say, take in all this before he
sums up the account. And then, if he be
ingenuous, without doubt, he will confess,
that to compute the immensity of these
odds will exceed all the powers of Num-
bers.

To speak freely, The pretence of ac-
counting for it by a natural cause is a
vretched evasion. Let us consider how
differently Unbelievers are wont to treat
those parallel Miracles, The bursting of water
from the Rock at the command of Moses; and,
of fire from the earth to punish the rebellion
of Korah. No man was ever so wild to
charge these Facts to the account of natural
causes. And yet, the sudden gushing out
of water from a Rock is certainly a more
usual event than a burning Mountain.
But the reason of their reserve, in these in-
stances, is plain; they had other causes at
hand, besides natural events, to exclude
a miracle; such as human artifice and con-
trivance; the uncertainty of very early Hi-
story, &c. But, in the Eruption from
the foundations of the Temple, the Fact
was
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild was so perfectly well circumstanced, that an Objector found nothing else left to trade with but this last miserable shift: which, when all other means fail, is still at hand to keep back that Bugbear to Impiety, God's moral Government.

In support of all that hath been said, give me leave to observe, That the contemporary Evidence, who, from their more intimate knowledge of the fact, must needs be allowed the best judges of its nature in general, give no intimation that they themselves thought, or that others suspected it to be a natural event. Julian, indeed, to cover his confusion, insinuates something like it, but under cover of the destruction of the Temple at Daphne; and, otherwise, in so oblique and obscure a manner as shews him to be ashamed of so foolish an evasion. But then his honest and well-instructed Advocate, Amm. Marcellinus, is far from giving into this suspicion; the different manner in which he relates the two events at Nicomedia and Jerusalem.

See p. 58, and 62.

Which, it is not unlikely, was burnt by common lightening, though Julian, in his Misopogan, directly charges it on the Christians.
evidently imply the contrary. In his account of the former, out of the pure parade of Science, he digresses, on the physical causes of Earthquakes. In the latter, (would the fact have born him out) he had better reasons than an affectation to shew his learning, to tell us what the Philosophers had said most plausible, in favour of a natural event; for if so, the true cause was universally mistaken; and Paganism was essentially concerned to have that mistake rectified: on the contrary, Ammianus hath contributed to support the general opinion, by expressions which evidently imply superior agency. Yet was this candid Historian nothing shy in speaking his mind, when he conceived either fraud or superstition had too large a share in common reports. For, mentioning the conflagration of Apollo's temple at Daphne, which the Christians boasted to be miraculously consumed by Lightening, he frankly declares it was suspected to have been set on fire by themselves. But why need I insist on the conduct of so fair an Adversary as Marcellinus,

Sulpicabatur id Christianos egisse stimulos invidia, quod idem Templum inviti videbant ambitiose circumdarj peristylio. L. xxii. c. 13.

T 4 when
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild when Libanius, and the rest of Julian's Sophists, those bigots to Paganism, and inflamers of their master's Follies, dared not so much as mutter the least suspicion of this nature. Nor was their silence the effect of fear, or want of good-will. In more dangerous and offensive matters they spoke freely; and with insolence enough: For when the Christians every where gave out that the death of Julian was miraculous; These Friends of his, publicly maintained, that he was basely assassinated by a Christian Soldier; and undertook to make good the charge, at their own peril, if the Emperor would appoint Commisaries to examine into the Fact 1. Lastly, the Fathers, and Church

1 By what I can gather from Antiquity, this seems to have been a very groundless charge. Eutropius, who was in the action, and Marcellinus, who served there in the Body-guards, seem neither of them to have entertained a suspicion of this kind. Julian was wounded at the very instant when the darts of the Parthians were known to do the most execution, that is, in one of their feigned retreats. — "Clamabant hinc inde Candidi, "dati (says Ammianus) ut fugientium molem, tanquam "ruinam malè compositi culminis declinaret." lib. xxv. c. 3. And as to that circumstance, so much insisted on by the friends of Julian, "That Sapor being willing to recompense the man whose hand had worked his deliverance, published a reward, which no body came in

Historians
to receive;” it is so far from being extraordinary, that to distinguish a particular stroke amidst a general flight of arrows seems unreasonable to expect. Yet as foolish as this circumstance is, the Christians themselves extolled it, in order to support the miracle of his Death. For few were so strangely indiscreet as Sozomen, to defend the morality of the pretended Assassinate: A rashness which does more dishonour to the Faith, than all that the contrivances of Julian could bring upon it. However, this folly, to speak no worse of it, is not to be charged on Christian Principles, but on the Pagan, which this Historian would not suffer his Christianity to correct. The cutting off a Tyrant was one of the most illustrious of the Pagan virtues: which made an eminent French writer say, “Il y avait un certain Droit des “Gens, un opinion etablue dans toutes les Republiques “de Grece & d’Italie, qui faisoit regarder comme un “homme vertueux l’assassin de celui qui avoit usurpe “la souveraine Puissance.” — Conf. sur les causes de la “grandeur des Romains, &c. c. xi. — But this I leave with Julian’s other adventures, to my Learned Friend, Mr. Fortin who, I hope, will soon oblige the Public with his curious Dissertations on Ecclesiastical Antiquity; composed, like his life, not in the spirit of Controversy, nor, what is still worse, of Party, but of Truth and Candor.

**The Temple of Jerusalem.**
We shall conclude with a short recapitulation of the whole argument.

First, it hath been shewn, that the occasion was most important; and that the credit and honour of Revelation required God's interposition at this juncture.

That Julian aggravated the impiety of his attempt, by all the insulting circumstances most likely to bring upon him the vengeance of Heaven.

That the fact was, in its nature, such as least admitted of unfaithful accounts concerning it.

That the event is established by all the power of human testimony: That the Church hath borne witness to it by a full, consistent, and contemporary evidence: that the adversaries of our holy Faith, who were in the neighbourhood of the scene, and the followers of Julian, who were most partial to his views, have confirmed it; and lastly, that the Emperor himself hath confessed it, though with that disingenuity which characterises the sophist and
the Temple of Jerusalem. 283

and the Bigot, in what party soever they are found.

The objections to the reality of the Miracle were then considered.

It hath been shewn, that, from the word of Prophecy, and the course of God's Dispensations, his interposition was even necessary to support the honour of Religion.

That the Evidence of the Historian, *Am. Marcellinus*, is so full and perfect in all its parts, that there is no circumstance existing in his Character or Testimony, which an Unbeliever could abuse to keep back his assent; nor any circumstance wanting, which a Believer would desire, to prevent a cavil.

That the several accounts of the Fathers of the Church and the Ecclesiastical Historians are not only consistent with, but highly corroborative of, one another: and, that such parts of their relations as appear at first sight most prodigious, are indeed, when maturely examined, the parts which most deserve credit.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild

That it is very unlikely, nay almost impossible, that the Eruption should be the effect of human art and contrivance:

And lastly, that it is no less absurd to suppose it a natural event.

Thus new light continually springing up from each circumstance as it passed in review; by such time as the whole was considered, this illustrious Miracle, we see, hath come out in one full blaze of evidence.

When, therefore, the Reader reflects, how little this invincible Demonstration for our holy Faith had been hitherto attended to; how slightly it was touched upon; and how hastily and slovenly hurried over, He will possibly see cause to wonder as much at this strange inattention as at the unreasonable credulity of the blind adorers of Antiquity. For though it hath ever struck the learned and impartial observer with the superiority of it's evidence, yet no one before, that I know of, hath thought fit to set that superiority in a just light, though provoked to it by what is most provoking, the indiscretion of our Friends: Some of whom have hinted their suspicions in private;
the Temple of Jerusalem. 285

private; and others, given more open intimations of its falshood.

This, in part, may be owing to those ticklish circumstances in the evidence of the Fathers; which, on examination, we have shewn to be its principal support. But what hath chiefly occasioned this neglect, I am persuaded, is the state and condition of the Ecclesiastical History of that time; when the light of Miracles was surrounded with such a swarm of Monkish Fables, as darkened the brightest of its rays; so that nothing, but the force of its divine extraction, could ever have broke through them. Nay, as if these unhappy Artificers designed what they effected, they were not content to counterfeit the hand of God on other occasions, but would try their skill on this, where it had been so eminently displayed; and would mimic even its most essential and triumphant circumstances. Thus Church History informs us, that when Julian and his brother Gallus projected to build a Temple over the Sepulchre of one St. Mamæs, that part which Julian undertook fell down again as soon as it was built; the Saint, it seems, disdaining the Service of the future Apostate. The cloudy Monk, who invented this fable, had, we see, two conceits.
Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild
conceits in his head: he would compare
Julian to Cain, and yet not give him the
privilege of that Out-law, but make him an
unlucky Builder through life. The same Hi-
story again informs us k. That once, when
Julian sacrificed, there was found impressed
upon the entrails of the victim, a Cross
within a crown or circle: for when the
Monks had once got the Apostate into
their Hands, they considered him as a De-
moniac they were to exorcise; and so,
charmed and tormented him with Crosses.

Thus they dressed up their Impostures,
as like as they could, in garb and fashion,
to Miracles of heavenly extraction; with the
Spirit, or (must we say?) in imitation of
those Pagan Priests who forged their Ancilia,
to secure the sacred shield which fell from
Heaven. As if they had taken it into their
heads, that true Miracles, unattended with
Delusions, were in the same danger from
the Enemies of the Faith, that the Palla-
dium of Rome was from Robbers without a
numerous Guard of brazen Counterfeits.


FINIS.