BIBLIOTHECA SACRA:

OR

TRACTS AND ESSAYS

ON TOPICS CONNECTED WITH

BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY.

EDITOR:

EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D.
Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York;
Author of Biblical Researches in Palestine, etc.

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I.

THE JEWISH WAR UNDER TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

By F. MÜENTER, late Bishop of Copenhagen. Translated from the German, by W. WADDEN TURNER, Instructor in the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.

[The following treatise of the late Bishop Münter, is intended to throw light upon a subject, on which, so far as I know, there exists no work in the English language. It collects and embodies all the fragmentary notices relating to a dark yet interesting portion of Jewish history;—a portion, too, having, as it seems to me, a very important bearing upon the right interpretation of those prophecies of our Lord, which are often supposed to refer solely to the destruction of Jerusalem. Had we the same minute and vivid picture of the extent and horrors of this last tragedy of the Jewish state and people, which is presented to us by Josephus in regard to the siege and downfall of the Holy City, it may be doubted, whether the interest and historical importance of that final overthrow would not be found to equal, or even to surpass, that of the antecedent catastrophe. The bearing of these events upon the prophetic declarations above alluded to, will be seen in another part of the present Number. The article has been translated, at my request and with great accuracy, by my friend and colleague, Mr. W. W. Turner; and will at least help to fill out a chasm in the literature of our Historical Theology.—EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION.

The protracted and bloody war carried on by the Jews and Romans under the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, is a subject which has not yet been sufficiently explained. Yet it is not only of great importance to Jewish and to the earliest church history, but must also very much contribute to lower the opinion almost universally entertained of the prosperity enjoyed by the Roman empire in the period from Nerva to Commodus. For a revolt repeatedly suppressed and ever breaking out anew,—in which in all probability the whole Jewish nation took part; which continued either
openly or secretly through a course of more than twenty years; in which several blooming provinces were laid waste, many hundred thousands perished by the sword and every other disaster of war, while countless numbers forfeited their possessions and their freedom; and whose after-throes must have extended through the next following ages,—such a revolt can surely not be reckoned among the minor calamities. Indeed, the second Jewish war would certainly not yield in historical importance to the first, did we possess as correct an account of its occurrences as Josephus has left us in respect to the former. As it is, however, we can only determine from scattered historical fragments as to its extent, duration, and importance.

To collect and to arrange these fragments, is the object I have proposed to myself. A toilsome undertaking, truly. For all the notices are so brief, so incoherent, and not unfrequently so contradictory, that one can often only guess at the connexion; and success even here, often depends upon the fact, whether the writer who treats of this subject has acquired a true historical feeling; although this again is capable of easily leading into error. The most connected account is afforded us by Xiphilin's extract from the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth books of Dion Cassius, and by Eusebius in the fourth book of his Ecclesiastical History. But how brief is even this! All else must be gleaned from solitary intimations in the remaining meagre historical productions of those times, the chronicles, and the writings of the Fathers. Ancient coins yield a few spoils; of inscriptions we have only a single one; and the notices scattered through the Jewish writers—partly of a very modern date—are of such a quality, that at first one must be inclined to pass them over altogether; although one afterwards feels induced to consult them also, though with great precaution and circumspection, and to make use of them where they appear in a measure to supply chasms, and where the mutual agreement of authorities speaks for the truth of the substance of what they state. If therefore there be found in this treatise a tolerably complete collection of what pagan and Christian writers have handed down to posterity concerning this war, it will be regarded as praiseworthy that I have made use of only such passages from the Talmud and the Rabbins as seemed to me worthy of some attention. The
modern writers that I have consulted are cited in the notes; among them I am most indebted to Basnage's History of the Jews. The result of the whole investigation still remains doubtful; for we shall hardly ever be able to do more than to propose a somewhat probable conjecture, as to what may have been the connected course of the events of this war. Many of its occurrences are indeed known to us with certainty; but what was their succession in the order of time, and what their internal connexion, remains to be determined by a more or less successful treatment of the subject.

THE JEWISH WAR, etc.

I. The Jewish war under Vespasian was brought to a close by the taking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the city and temple. The subjugated nation had now lost the central point of their religion, and thus were long deprived of the hope of seeing their old expectations of a Messianic kingdom in the Holy City fulfilled. The dislike and contempt entertained for them by the Romans had been greatly increased; and many thousands of Israelites who had survived the fortune of war, were deprived of their liberty, placed in the most wretched condition, and removed far away from their native land. But this last misfortune happened to those only who fell into the power of the conquerors with arms in their hands; for the many Jewish colonies which had settled before in the provinces of the Roman empire, and which, at least apparently, had kept themselves quiet during the war, were not involved in the misfortunes of the Jews of Palestine, and retained the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and liberties; although it may readily be supposed, that the government watched them with greater strictness, and no longer favoured them in the same degree as formerly. One burthen only they were all obliged to bear. The yearly tax of two drachmæ, which every Israelite over twenty years of age paid to the temple as long as it stood in Jerusalem, they were now com-

1 Petri Zornii Historia Fisci Judaici sub imperio veterum Romanorum, Alton. 1734. Already in the later times of the Roman republic, it was sought to prohibit the Jews from paying the tax to the temple. That the proconsul Flaccus laid such a prohibition on the Asiatic Jews, (i.e. those of Asia Minor,) is attested by Cicero, Orat. pro Flacco c. 67. The tax is mentioned also in the N. T. Matt. xvii. 24. It was half a shekel, Jewish currency.
pelled, if they wished to preserve their religious freedom, to pay to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus;\(^1\) and to what immense sums this tribute, although not very oppressive to individuals, must have amounted, may easily be imagined from the very remarkable populousness of the Jews, who certainly amounted to several millions.\(^2\)

Every one that knows the character of the Jewish people, their attachment to the religion of their fathers, and their bitter hatred against paganism, can imagine with what feelings they paid over this tax, held hitherto so sacred, to an impure idol-temple. No wonder, then, that whoever could, sought to escape from it. Many a one may even have denied being a Jew, in case he was able to obliterate the corporeal marks of his religion by a means to which St. Paul himself alludes;\(^3\) especially after the authorities began to institute judicial investigations, one of which Suetonius reports as an eye-witness.\(^4\) The universal contempt entertained for this unhappy people, together with the greediness of the officials connected with the revenue, may have given rise, under the tyrannical rule of Domitian, to many oppressive acts, false accusations, and harsh exactions of the tribute. And this moved the noble Nerva to the edict which, although it did not take off the tax, yet put an end to the misconduct that had been practised in its collection;\(^5\) and was regarded as so benevolent, that the Senate sought to perpetuate the remembrance of it by a separate coin, bearing the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMINIA SVBATA.\(^6\) But that the government should hold the Israelites remaining in Palestine under a strict supervision, was very natural; and it cannot be made a matter of

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\(^1\) Dion Cass. LXVI. c. 7, Καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δίδαχομεν ἐτάχθη, τοὺς τὰ πάσα τις ἁπταμάτων ἡ περιστεράστας τῷ Καπιτολίῳ. Αὐτὰ καὶ ἔτος ἀποφέρεν. So too Josephus de Bello Jud. VII. 6.

\(^2\) Michaelis estimates the yearly poll-tax at half a million of Rixdollars, and the whole population at from five to six millions of souls.

\(^3\) 1 Cor. vii. 18. The instrument used for this purpose was called ὁπαθηπηρ. Celsus de Medic. VII. 25; compare also Joseph. Antiq. XII. 5. 1.

\(^4\) In Domit. c. 12.

\(^5\) That the tax was taken off at a later period, appears from Origen, Epist. ad African. Tom. I. Opp. ed. Rusei p. 28, Καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖον τὸ δίδαχον αὐτοῖς (Ῥωμαίοις) τελοῦντον. See also Zorn, p. 305.

\(^6\) Eckhel Doctrina Numor. Veter. VI. p. 405.
reproach to Domitian, that, on receiving information of the survivors of the family of David that were still living there, he had two relatives of Jesus, grand-children of his brother Jacob, brought to Rome. He convinced himself, however, of their innocence, and let them return to their homes in peace.

II. Still, all the hopes of the Israelites for better times had not yet expired. They continued evermore to console themselves with the expectation of the Messiah. Even supposing that Theudas left no adherents behind him, there certainly remained many of the party of Judas of Galilee, who during the siege of Jerusalem had played so conspicuous and, for the people, so fatal a part. And that even the Alexandrine Jews still flattered themselves with hopes for the future, is probable from the drama of the poet Ezekiel, entitled the “Departure out of Egypt,” of which no inconsiderable fragments are found in Clemens of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and who perhaps lived towards the end of the first century of the Christian era; while the example of that wondrous deliverance of the Jewish people from Egyptian bondage, was well calculated to nourish and keep alive the expectation of a similar release from the Roman sway. Perhaps, too, the apocryphal Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which appears to belong to the same period, had a similar tendency.

But on the one hand, the courage of the unhappy people was too much depressed by the destruction of their capital, for them to venture so soon again on attempts for their liberation, the result of which could by no means be doubtful. On the other hand, they

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2 Acts v. 36. Or, perhaps more correctly, the one spoken of in Joseph. Antiq. XX. 5. 11, and Euseb. H. E. II. 11.
3 Six hundred that committed devastations in Egypt were given up by the chief Jews in Alexandria. How many may have escaped?
6 Fabricii Codex Pseudepigraph. Vet. Testamenti p. 519. Grabe's Preface p. 496. This apocryphal work is cited already by Origen, Homil. XV. in Josuam. It may however have been afterwards interpolated by a Christian.
were perhaps somewhat tranquillized by the moderation which Nerva exhibited towards them, and by the mildness of the government of his successors. The fire, however, continued to smoulder beneath the ashes; and there needed only some external stimulus to accelerate the outbreak. Nerva, by his edict, had only sought to alleviate the abuses that existed in the requisition of the tax to Jupiter Capitolinus. But wise and philanthropic as Trajan was, and careful as he, and the Senate after his example, were in selecting the governors of the provinces, it surpassed human powers to hold in check all the subordinate functionaries; and many complaints never reached the Emperor, who, involved in arduous wars, was forced to be absent from Rome during a great part of his reign. Add to this the constantly increasing hatred and scorn entertained by the Romans for the Jews; and it will be easily comprehended how, by degrees, now that an age had already passed by since the destruction of Jerusalem, a new insurrection was prepared and ready to break out; and that, too, not at first in Palestine, where the people dwelt in smaller numbers, and perhaps also under heavier subjection, but in regions that had not suffered by the war, and where the Jewish colonies existed in wealth and comfort. And, although this revolt showed itself only in single provinces, yet, after weighing all the circumstances, it is more than probable that a great, perhaps the greatest part of the nation had a share in it, and favoured and supported it, at least in secret.

III. Egypt and Cyrene were, without doubt, the countries in which the Jews had spread themselves the most. Everyone knows how rich, how powerful, and how highly favoured by the government that people were in Alexandria, from the time of the first Ptolemies. Not less fortunate was their condition in the province of Cyrenaica, so intimately connected with Egypt. The first Ptolemy had permitted them to settle there. The religious persecutions of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes, had induced many to betake themselves to this country, which was not subjected to his rule. In every city of Cyrenaica dwelt Jews in the full enjoyment of equal rights with the Greeks; and their prosperity is evinced, not alone by their having together with the Alexandrians

a synagogue in Jerusalem, but also from the circumstance record-
ed in the inscription of Berenice, that in this city, as well as in Alex-
dandria and other cities, and hence most probably throughout Cy-
renaica, they were under their own magistrates. But here also 
they had restless spirits amongst them. Shortly after the de-
struction of Jerusalem, a weaver, one Jonathan, had succeeded in 
 misleading about two thousand persons by promises of signs and 
wonders. It is true, that the wealthier and more respectable took 
no part in his project, and even gave warning to the Roman gov-
ernor, Catullus. The latter fell upon the unarmed multitude 
assembled in a desert place about their seducer, slaughtered many of 
them, and caused three thousand more rich Jews to be put to death 
in Egypt; after which, he boasted of having obtained a victory 
over the nation. But when he communicated the matter to the 
Emperor, with many embellishments to his own advantage, and 
thereupon made his appearance in Rome with the prisoners, among 
whom Jonathan also was, Vespasian and Titus were informed, 
doubtless by the historian Josephus who was under accusation in 
company with other Roman and Alexandrine Jews, of the true 
state of the case. Jonathan paid the penalty of his crime with his 
life. Catullus, on the contrary, escaped the punishment he deserved, 
through the clemency of the Emperor, but died shortly after.

IV. Since that time, so far as we know, all had been quiet in 
the province of Cyrenaica; at least in appearance. Under Trajan's 
mild and at the same time powerful and victorious sway, the pro-
vinces of the Roman empire that lay at a distance from the fron-
tiers, enjoyed an undisturbed repose; and it was not till he became 
involved in the arduous Parthian war, that the Jews could venture 
to take up arms. Their revolt, however, must have been concerted 
and prepared long before; otherwise it could not have spread so 
far, and with such violence.

Did we still possess the Ecclesiastical History of Aristo of Pella, 
which Eusebius has made use of; or the History of the Jewish War 
under Hadrian, by the rhetorician Antonius Julianus, who in all

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1 Acts vi. 9; comp. also xi. 20. 2 Wesseling, ib. p. 109.
3 Josephus de Bello Jud. VII. xiii. 1. cap. ult.
probability was a contemporary, and of whom Minucius Felix\(^1\) and Gellius\(^2\) make mention; or were we better acquainted with the contents of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, so called;\(^3\) we should doubtless be more particularly informed as to the circumstances. As it is, we must content ourselves with what little we obtain from Dion Cassius, Eusebius, and some other, partly very corrupt, sources; and cannot even adduce, with certainty, the immediate cause of the insurrection in the province of Cyrenaica. Perhaps, however, it was no other than the fact, that there were then but few troops in those regions; inasmuch as Trajan had probably taken with him all the forces that could be spared from the provinces for the Parthian war.

It was in the year of Rome 868, A. D. 115, in the 18–19th year of Trajan’s reign,\(^4\) under the consuls M. Vipstanus Messala and M. Vergilianus Pedo,\(^5\)—when the Emperor had in the spring attacked and completely subdued Armenia, after expelling Parthamasiris, the king set up by the Parthians,—that the insurrection broke out in Cyrenaica. With incredible quickness, says Orosius, the Jews at the same time broke loose in different countries, as though they had gone mad.\(^6\) The flame of war soon spread to Egypt, and thus took a direction of the last importance to the Roman state. For Alexandria was one of the principal granaries of Rome, which for one third of the year was furnished with the necessary supply by the grain-flotillas that regularly sailed from that city.\(^7\) Consequently, the emperors had given their particular

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\(^1\) In Octavius, edit. Ouzelii et Meursii, p. 319.
\(^2\) Noct. Atticae I. 4. IX. 15. XV. 1. XVIII. 5. XIX. 9; always with respect.
\(^3\) Fabricii Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 887; in the extract from cap. 45, “Obsidio urbis Hierosolimitaneae per Adrianum fuse pertexitur.” Joseph Scaliger was in possession of this manuscript, which he presented to the library of the University of Leyden. Hottinger took a copy of it, and made known its contents in his Exercitationes Antimoriniae, and in other writings. Eichhorn’s Introd. to the O. T. II. p. 457, edit. 1803. Extracts are also to be found in Reland’s Dissert. selecte, Pars II, de Samaritanis; but unfortunately none on the Jewish war.
\(^4\) In the year 144–145 of the Alexandrine era. Zoéga Numi Ægyptii Imperatorii, p. 368.
\(^5\) Almeloveen, Fasti Romani Consulares, 133, names the consuls: M. Valerius Messala and C. Popilius Carus Pedo Vergilianus. I have followed Eckhel in the text.
\(^6\) Histor. VII. 126, “Incredibili deinde motu sub uno tempore Judæi, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt,” etc.
\(^7\) Alexandria supplied Rome, af
attention to Egypt; and it had been a maxim ever since the time of Augustus, to intrust the government of that country to none but a Roman knight, and to allow no senator or distinguished knight to make the journey thither without special permission.

The centre of the revolt was Cyrenaica. Thence it spread over the inhabitants of the country, who were slaughtered in droves. Dion Cassius, or rather his epitomist Xiphilin, draws a frightful picture of the barbarities committed by the Jews on the Greeks. They slew them, he says; they stripped off their skins, and then covered themselves with them; they sawed many in two lengthwise; they devoured their flesh, and wound the entrails round their own bodies; they cast them before wild beasts; they forced them to combat as gladiators with each other; and in such wise they put 220,000 persons to death.¹

That the slaughter was immense, can by no means be doubted; even R. David Ganz, of the sixteenth century, says in Zemach David, one of the best Jewish authorities for the history of this war, that the Romans and Greeks slain in Africa by the Jews were like the sand on the sea-shore, that cannot be numbered.² But the cannibal fury that the Jews are accused of is altogether incredible; as they would thereby have rendered themselves in the highest degree unclean. What we are to assume as true, is this: that in a sudden and widely extended rising they destroyed many Romans and Greeks; and that in the amphitheatres they threw many to wild beasts, or forced them to fight with each other. Indeed, it is known that they attended exhibitions of the kind;³ and they may have desired to repay the Romans in this manner after the victory of Augustus over M. Antony and Cleopatra, with grain for four months. Afterwards, but not till the time of Commodus, a regulation was instituted, that a grain-flotilla should be despatched yearly from Carthage, in order that the capital and Italy might never run in danger of suffering from want.

¹ Dion Cassius LXVIII. 32. p. 1145 Reim.
² Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Ju'denthum II. p. 654.
³ Even in Jerusalem, Herod the Great had built an amphitheatre for the celebration of the quinquennial festivals, in commemoration of the victory near Actium; Jos. Ant. XV. 8. 1. He there exhibited combats of wild beasts, and threw condemned criminals to them. Fights of gladiators were also produced by Herod Agrippa in the amphitheatre at Berytus; 1400 malefactors fought there together in mortal combat; Joseph. Ant. XIX. 7. 5. Eichhorn de re scenica Judæorum, p. 6.
for the combats with wild beasts, and as gladiators, in which the latter had employed the Jewish captives after the taking of Jerusalem. 1 The sawing in pieces, seems to have been a well known mode of execution among them. 2 But can that, which may have taken place in single instances, be supposed to have occurred throughout a general insurrection, in which men were slaughtered by thousands? At most, then, only some individuals can have suffered such a death. How the rising was suppressed, we know not. The quieting of Cyrenaica was probably a consequence of the restoration of tranquillity in Egypt; but it required a length of time, and cost rivers of blood, before this end was obtained.

Egypt appears to have been stripped of troops, which were probably needed by the Emperor for the Parthian war; for the revolt kept continually spreading. Its leader is named Lucuas by Eusebius; and by Dion Cassius, Andreas. Perhaps, like many Jews of that period, he bore a double name—one Jewish, the other Roman; for Lucuas appears to be a corruption from Lucius. 3 The Jews flocked to him on all sides, and greeted him as the king of Israel. One nomos (district) after another was laid waste, as far up as the Thebaid; indeed, the Jewish bands appear to have pushed on beyond the boundaries of the Roman empire, even into Ethiopia, and probably to the state of Meroë, where many Jews resided. 4 Even in Alexandria, where the nation found itself in the most prosperous condition, a revolt appears to have taken place, in which much havoc was committed; although the Jews can hardly have

1 Joseph. de Bello Judaico VII. c. 2. 1. c. 3. 1. c. 5. 1.
2 In this manner, according to Jewish tradition, the prophet Isaiah was put to death. The Epistle to the Hebrews also makes mention of this mode of execution, Heb. xi. 37; comp. Suiceri Thes. Eccles. in ἀποικία. Reimarus accordingly considers this statement of Dion as not improbable.
3 Reimarus on Dion. The Arabic text of Abulpharagius calls him Luminum; the Syriac, Lumpium; both of them corruptions.
4 It is probable that Jews had come from Egypt into Ethiopia.

Comp. Basnage, Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 181, 8vo. Ancient traditions connect the Ethiopians with the Israelites. The kings of Abyssinia profess to derive their origin from Solomon and the queen of Sheba. That there were Jews in those regions at the institution of Christianity, is proved by the conversion (recorded Acts viii. 27) of the treasurer of queen Candace, or Hendaque; a name still extant in the traditions of the country, and which, according to Pliny, H. Nat. VI. 35, was the common appellation of the queens that ruled over it.
mastered that great and opulent city, of which they possessed only a single quarter.  

It was not till the following year, A. U. C. 869, A. D. 116, that the troops were assembled; and then apparently they were not sufficiently numerous, for they were driven back in the first battle. They retired however in good order to Alexandria, which city they also defended, and where they effected a dreadful slaughter among the Jews.  

Rabbi David Ganz, in the Meôr Enâim, gives, according to the testimony of R. Asaria de Rossi, (in what age he lived is not accurately known,) the number of the slain at 200,000.  

Lucuas and his comrades, however, seem to have given themselves no further trouble about Alexandria, but to have directed their efforts exclusively to the land of their forefathers; and if there be any truth in the tradition in Abulpharagius, that he led his hosts into Palestine, the expedition must have taken place at this time, and before the great general Marcius Turbo could come to the assistance of the sorely afflicted province. This officer, who, little as we know concerning him, was accounted one of the best of Trajan's captains, was now despatched by the Emperor against Lucuas with a body of infantry and cavalry. Besides the land forces, he had a fleet under his command, which, without doubt, was equipped in Syria or Phenicia, and was destined to keep the sea open; for this was now of the last importance, as the revolt had also broken out in Cyprus, and everything depended on preventing Rome from lacking a supply of corn. We are thus obliged to conclude, that the Jews also possessed ships; which, as they were then masters of Cyrenaica and Cyprus, is easily explained. Turbo had at least two legions of regular troops, together with the auxiliaries belonging to them, but was obliged to purchase the victory dearly; for several bloody battles took place, in which many thousand Egyptian and Cyrenian Jews perished, and certainly many thousand Romans also. According

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1 It lay by the sea-side; Joseph. c. Apion. II. 4.  
3 In Zemach David, Eisenmenger II. p. 655.  
4 Ed. Pocockianæ p. 76, according to the Arabic text. The Syriac, edited by Bruns and Kirsch, contains the same statement; see Bar-hebrei Chronicon Syriacum II. p. 54.  
5 Spartanus in Hadriano, c. 4, 5, 6, 8, 15. Dion Cass. LIXIX. 18. p. 1166. Fronto mentions him in the third letter to the emperor Antonine; Mailänder's edit. I. p. 7; in Niebuhr p. 6. His full name was Marcius Livianus Turbo.  
6 Euseb. IV. 2.
to the Arabic text of Abulpharagius, Turbo sought out Lucuas in Palestine, and there destroyed his army.\(^1\) He speaks of many small skirmishes. This system of petty warfare was quite suited to the locality of Palestine; as will also be seen in the sequel of this history. The same Arabic text of Abulpharagius states, moreover, that Lucuas was killed in Palestine.

V. In Egypt tranquillity seems now to have been restored. The slaughter of the Jews, whether in Palestine or in Egypt itself, terrified them all. But was it the Jews alone, and not perhaps the native Egyptians also, that rose against the Romans? That these latter were likewise turbulent, and bore the Roman yoke with an ill will, can scarce be doubted. The insurrection of the Bucoli under Marcus Aurelius,\(^2\) furnishes a clear proof of the fact. Were the dialogue of Philopatris found in Lucian's writings genuine, the passage at its close, where Egypt is spoken of as subdued, might certainly be explained as referring to Trajan's victory over the rebellious Jews and Egyptians. But this production belongs probably to a later Lucian, who lived in the time of the emperor Julian; as Wieland has lately maintained from internal grounds.\(^3\)

But great and extensive as the insurrection of Egypt may have been, still Alexandria was not comprised in it. It is true that, according to the Armenian version of Eusebius's Chronicon, Alexandria, after having been destroyed by the Jews, was restored by the emperor Hadrian in the first year of his reign.\(^4\) But,

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\(^1\) Turbo, however, is not named by Abulpharagius.

\(^2\) What remains to us relative to the history of this insurrection, which was suppressed by Avidius Cassius, who afterwards laid claim to the purple itself, has been collected by Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs II. p. 402; and by Zoëga, Numi Imperatorii AEgypti p. 222. We have only one Alexandrine imperial coin of the 11th year of Marcus Aurelius, in which the insurrection broke out, given in Mionnet's Description de Médailles antiques Grecques et Romaines, Tome VI. p. 305. Of the 13th year we have likewise only one (Zoëga 223), and of the 14th none at all. Here belongs the insurrection of Cassius, in which Egypt was doubtless involved.

\(^3\) Wieland's translation of Lucian, VI. p. 382 sq. He understands Tryphon's words, "I also leave to those who belong to me the happiness of seeing the times when Babylon shall be destroyed, Egypt conquered, the Persians subjugated," so far as they relate to the Egyptians, of the evil-minded and rebellious bands of monks and other Christians of this country opposed to the emperor Julian; and those comprised by far the greatest number. p. 419.

\(^4\) Chronicon Eusebii edit. Mediolan. 1818, "Hadrianus Alexan-
although the capital of Egypt may indeed have suffered much in these disturbances, and in those which perhaps broke out there shortly after Trajan’s death, destroyed it certainly was not. Jerome even attributes the insurrection to the Romans. He must have thought that Alexandria had been taken by force from the Jews; which, however, cannot be proved. At any rate the imperial coins of this city continue numerous and without interruption from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of Trajan’s reign; and this clearly shows that it did not take part in any rebellion. The later coins also, although containing some allusions to conquests, give not the slightest hint of a destruction and important restoration of this city; which, however, in consequence of the zeal with which the Alexandrians flattered the emperors, and especially Hadrian, would certainly have been the case, had they been able to laud him as the new founder (Krioτης) of their city. It is not till the fifteenth year of his reign, that we find a coin on which the female genius of the city is represented kissing the Emperor’s hand. But this can have no reference to a restoration of it in his first year. On the contrary, there is a coin of the kind

driam a Judaeis labefactatam repa-

ravit.”
1 See Sec. IX, below.
2 Chron. Hieronymi ad ann. Hadr. primum “Hadrianus Alex-

andriam a Romanis subversam re-

stauravit.” Zoéga proposes instead of Alexandria to read Hierosoly-

mam; Numi Imperat. Ægyptii p. 101. But we have no need of this emendation, if we only understand the passage aright. Besides, the restoration of Jerusalem belongs to a later epoch.
8 Mionnet reckons not less than 126 of them. The coins struck by the Egyptian Nomoi in honour of Trajan are not taken into the account, because the latest of them belong to his 15th year.
4 In Mionnet No. 759, 760, 762, all of the 18th year of his reign. No. 759 represents the Emperor on the triumphal car; in No. 760 he is sitting with the goddess of victory at his side, and in front of him kneels a prisoner at the foot of a trophy; No. 762 bears a triumphal arch, on which stands a quadriga. Of his 20th year the following coins are worthy of notice: No. 777, Serapis seated, one hand resting on an eagle,—at the back of the throne a goddess of victory; No. 794, the Emperor on a quadriga in the act of being crowned by the goddess of fortune; No. 795, the Emperor on a triumphal car drawn by four elephants.
5 This title occurs not unfrequently on imperial coins and in inscriptions; e.g. ΛΑΗΟΤΟΣ ΚΟΤΙΣΘΗΣ on a coin of Nicopolis Epiri; Eckhel D. N. Vet. II. p. 166. Also ΛΑΗΟΤΧΡΑΙ ΛΑΙΑ-

ΝΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝ ΣΩΘΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΤΙΣΘΗ, at Athens, Muratori Thesaur. Inscr. I. p. 234, 239; and at Smyrna, Smith Opusc. ex itinere Turcico p. 53.
6 Zoéga l. c. p. 132.
extant which was struck on the restoration of Libya, with the inscription RESTITVTORI AVG. LIBYAE. S. C.¹ It is true that Eckhel adduces as an objection to its genuineness the word AVGusto, which is found on no other coins of this kind applied to Hadrian; but he does not venture to decide in opposition to such a connoisseur as Pellerin.² Mediobarba, in his catalogue of imperial coins, has merely RESTITVTORI LIBYAE.³ The year in which this coin was struck is uncertain; but it was probably in the early part of Hadrian’s reign, perhaps in his sixth year, supposing that he was then sojourning at Alexandria⁴ and made a journey from thence to Cyrene⁵ or that he conferred benefits on the province. The coin moreover was struck at Rome by command of the Senate.

VI. While Egypt was now in a state of repose, the insurrection raged in Cyprus. The number of Jews in that island was very great. The trade with Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had drawn many thither; and their condition must have been a very prosperous one. The leader of the revolt, of whom we know nothing further, was named Artemion. According to Dion Cassius, the Jews in Cyprus put to death 240,000 persons.⁶ Eusebius states in his Chronicon, that they took Salamis, put the Greeks to death, and razed the city to the ground.⁷ Jewish accounts also assert that they destroyed all the Greeks in the island and in the neighbouring countries, and that Trajan was obliged to send Hadrian his sister’s son to Cyprus, in order to subdue them.⁸ All this is certainly exagge-

¹ Pellerin Mélanges de Médailles I. p. 205. Tab. X. 10. ² Doctr. Num. Vet VI. p. 497. ³ Imperat. Romanor. numismata p. 177. ⁴ Zoëga p. 94. Eckhel doubts as to this first journey, and at any rate will not admit the validity of Zoëga’s reasons, l. c. p. 491. It is quite certain, however, that Hadrian was in Egypt in the 15th year of his reign. Comp. the recent investigations of Champollion-Figeac in the Annales des Lagides, I. p. 419, 430, 441, 443. He also assumes only one journey to Egypt. ⁵ At least he was in Libya on a hunting expedition, during which he killed a lion; Athenaeus XV. 21. Tom. V. p. 468. Schweigh. ⁶ Lib. LXVIII. 32. p. 1046. ⁷ Tois ἐν Σαλαμίν της Κύπρου Ἑλλήνας Ἰουδαίως ανελώτες τὴν πόλιν κατάσπαραν. At Trajan’s 19th year. Beda has the same statement, taken probably from Eusebius; De nominibus locorum in Actis Apostolorum: “Salamis civitas, in Cypro Insula, nunc Constantia dicta, quam Trajani Principis tempore Judei interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt.” ⁸ In Zemach David, in Eisenmenger II. 655.
rated: 240,000 persons, together with 220,000 in Cyrenaica, making altogether nearly half a million, would not so easily, or rather without the most strenuous resistance, allow themselves to be put to death; and so fruitful a country as Cyprus had at that time certainly not less than a million of inhabitants, of which however the Jews could not by far have constituted the largest part. Salamis also remained thereafter, as it had been before, the capital of Cyprus, and received in the time of Constantine the name of Constantia. Its bishop, Epiphanius, is also known to church history. It was at length destroyed by the Saracens; under Heraclius. It is therefore probable, that Salamis was plundered and set on fire by the Jews; an event which later historiographers have turned into a total destruction. Numismatics afford us no light, because we possess no indisputable imperial coins of this city. If, however, those which have the legend ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΚΤΙΠΡΙΩΝ were struck in the capital of the island, as indeed is scarcely to be doubted, we have specimens of them from Claudius to Macrinus. The tumults in Cyprus were soon suppressed, we know not for certain whether by Marcius Turbo or Lucius Quietus. It appears that the Jews were completely exterminated; or at least they were driven out of the island; for Dion Cassius relates that none of this people could dwell there, and that any who were driven on shore by stress of weather, were immediately put to death. This also is not to be taken literally; and must, at any rate, be understood only of the period immediately succeeding the revolt.

VII. The circumstances of the period, without doubt, rendered the rising of the Jews in Mesopotamia still more dangerous. They were very wealthy and powerful in this province. Of the ten tribes who had been carried away in former times into the kingdom of Assyria, by far the greater part remained behind, when Cyrus and his successors gave the Jews permission to return to the land of their forefathers. The cities on both banks of the Euphrates in particular were filled with them. According to Philo, they were spread

1 Pococke’s Description of the East, II. p. 216. Meursii Cyprus, in the third volume of his works, where the notices respecting Salamis among the ancients are collected, c. 20–23. But I find nothing concerning the destruction of the city by the Saracens.

2 Loc. cit. cap. 32.

over a great part of Babylon and other Satrapies. They had their own patriarch, of the family of David, who was possessed of great privileges under the Parthian government. They came in multitudes to Jerusalem at the time of the festivals; and under Caligula, the prefect Petronius was so struck with their numbers, that he feared a powerful aid might come from that quarter, were the Jews to oppose by force of arms the Emperor's decree to set up his image in the temple; and it cannot be doubted, that from the ruins of the Jewish state not a few escaped to their co-religionists in the Parthian dominions.

The hatred of the Jews against the Romans may easily be conceived; and in each Parthian war they no doubt devoted themselves with all their hearts to their protectors the Parthian emperors, to whom their assistance must have been exceedingly welcome. This too must have rendered a revolt in the rear of their army so much the more hazardous for the Romans. Trajan probably still remained with a part of his legions in Armenia; whence, as this country became tranquillized, he gradually withdrew into Mesopotamia. Here no doubt it was, in the regions which the Romans had not yet been able to occupy, that the Jews broke out into insurrection. The Emperor committed their suppression or entire expulsion to Lucius Quietus, a Mauritanian, who was considered one of his most distinguished generals, who had done him signal service in the Parthian war, and had taken Nisibis and Edessa; a proof how important the Emperor held the matter to be. Lucius subdued the Jews with much bloodshed, but incontestably with great loss on his own side also; for the bravery which the Jews were wont to exhibit when combating for their freedom and religion, is well known. Trajan was so well satisfied with the service done him, that he conferred on Lucius the governorship of Palestine; of course, with the charge of preserving tranquillity, and, provided there be anything in the story of Lucius's irruption, to put down him or his still remaining adherents. And thus Lucius appears to have restored order for a while.

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1 Legatio ad Caium p. 1032, ed. Hoeschel.
2 Walch Historia Patriarcharum Judæorum, p. 96, 103, 246.
4 Dion Cassius LXVIII. 30. p. 1044.
VIII. With the disturbances in Mesopotamia we are perhaps to connect the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch; who it seems was tried in this metropolis of Asia, and then sent to Rome to be executed. The story of his martyrdom has often indeed been called in question; and especially by Martini. But how can the credibility of the most ancient church history be maintained, if we attack even those statements which are confirmed by the most respectable testimonies? Nevertheless, as the precise period of his death is uncertain, we must assume that Trajan sentenced him during his second stay in Antioch, in the year 115; his first visit to that city having been in A. D. 105. The Christians were not then so accurately distinguished from the Jews, but that the Emperor, although he might have obtained more correct information and better ideas respecting them from the trials held in Bithynia by the younger Pliny a few years before, was continually confounding them one with another; and this especially in the East, and in provinces that were filled with Jews, where the greater part of the Christians had previously professed Judaism, or were of Jewish origin. If now Trajan learnt that Ignatius was one of the heads of the Christians, he might easily regard him as a party to the Jewish attacks on the empire; and this it was—not the earthquake that had just devastated Antioch, and from which it is said the priests took occasion to accuse the bishop—that may have excited Trajan against the venerable old man. Indeed, the whole trial, as it stands (perhaps not wholly authentic) in the Acta Martyrum, exhibits an acrimony which in this noble and philanthropic prince is truly surprising; but which may be accounted for by supposing that he confounded the Syrian Christians with the Jews, or at least regarded them as belonging to the same party. That Hadrian also, at a later period, was not able to distinguish between them with readiness, will be seen in the sequel. If such be really the case, the reason is evident why Trajan, after having

1 Persequitiones Christianorum sub Imperatoribus Romanis; Commentat. II. p. 12.
2 About the year 111. Semler's Christliche Jahrbücher I. p. 29.
3 Seidenstücker de Christianis ad Trajanum usque a Cæsariibus et Senatu Romano pro Cultoribus Religionis Mosaicæ semper habitis. Helmstadi. 1790.
4 Schröckh's Kirchengesch. II. p. 338.
5 In Ruinart Act. Martyr. sincera et selecta p. 11.
passed sentence of death on Ignatius, did not cause him to be executed in Antioch; but sent him to Rome, there to be torn in pieces by wild beasts as a rebel. That is, it was an object with him to strike terror into the great body of Jews in the Roman empire by the cruel execution of one whom he regarded as a chief of their party in the East, and thus deter them from insurrections. All this, however, I offer as nothing but a conjecture, which perhaps has more plausibility than truth.

IX. Trajan died in the twentieth year of his reign, A.D. 117. Hadrian succeeded him without opposition; made peace with the Parthians, to whom he restored the provinces conquered by Trajan on the other side of the Euphrates; and hastened to Rome. But as soon as he found himself firmly seated on the throne, he commenced, apparently in the year 120, his celebrated tours through all the provinces of the empire. It is true, that of these journeys, historians have left us little on record; but there are so many monuments everywhere extant, relating to them, and they are testified to by so many inscriptions and coins, that they well deserve to be accurately investigated in a separate dissertation; which would doubtless furnish very interesting results. In the regions with which we are at present concerned we first find him between the years 129 and 131.

Through all this period the Jews seem to have kept themselves tolerably quiet, if we except a brief revolt in Palestine, immediately after Trajan's death; of which Spartan and Eusebius make mention. The former speaks in general terms of insurrectionary movements in this country, with which perhaps the disturbances in Egypt, to which he also alludes, were connected.

Eusebius, however, records that Hadrian in his first year subdued the Jews, who had for the third time revolted against the Romans, perhaps in Alexandria. It was therefore probably a remnant of

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1 In Julii Pauli sententiarum receptarum L. V. tit. 22, de Seditiosis, (in Schulting's Jurisprud. vet. Antejustiana, ed. Ayreri, p. 504) it is said: "Auctores seditionis et tumultus, vel concitatores populi, pro qualitate dignitatis, aut in crucem toluntur, aut bestis objiciuntur, aut in insulam deportentur." So a Gallic rebel was thrown to wild beasts, Tacit. Hist. II. 61. The law was accordingly older than Trajan's time.

2 Eckhel D. N. V. Vol. VI. p. 481.

3 Spartanus in Hadriano c. 5, "Ægyptus seditionibus urgebatur. Lycia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant."

4 Chron. p. 381, ed. Mediolan. "Hadrianus Judæos, qui ter contra
the war against Trajan, which had been brought to a close a short time before, and was now completely extinguished. The breaking out of these disturbances may have been connected with the disgrace into which Lucius Quietus fell. For Hadrian, whose adoption by Trajan was very equivocal, conceived against this great general a suspicion of a design upon the throne, in consequence of an impeachment by his praetorian prefect Tatian; whereupon he deprived him of the command of the Mauritanian troops, who were very much devoted to him, as being their own countryman. This may have given the Jews courage to make a new attempt; which, however, can hardly have been of great importance. Since that time, all had been quiet in Palestine likewise. Hadrian was there in the year 130, A. U. C. 883; for we have coins of Gaza commencing with a new era, that of his visit to this city. To this period belong also the Roman coins that make mention of his journey to this country, and of the benefits conferred on it. On one of these the Emperor and the Province are represented as sacrificing together, with the legend: ADVENTVI AVG. JVDAEAE. On Romanos rebellaverunt, ad obedientiam revocavit; and in the Greek text: 'Αδριανος Ιουνίαν κατα Αλεξάνδριον σταναζοντας έκκλασεν, from Syncellus.

Lucium Quietum, sublatis genitibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Martio Turbo, Judeis compressis, ad deprimendum tumultum Mauritaniae destinato,” says Spartan, Hadr. c. 5; comp. Dion Cassius LXVIII. c. 32. p. 1146, and Reimar. Not. 203; also Tillemont II. p. 249. A few years after, Lucius Quietus embarked in a conspiracy against the Emperor with three other ex-consuls, and atoned for it with his life.

Creveir is of opinion that Hadrian transferred the command against the Jews to Turbo, in whom as an older friend, he placed greater confidence than he did in Quietus; and that it was not till after the disturbances were suppressed, that he sent him into Mauritania; Hist. des Empér. VIII. p. 22. The words of Spartanus cited in the preceding note are somewhat obscure; but as we know that Trajan despatched Turbo against the Jews, they seem to apply rather to this earlier event. Casaubon and Salmasius do not decide in their notes on Spartanus.

A couple of Alexandrine coins of Hadrian's second year, (in Monnet VI. p. 147, No. 845 and 846,) where the Emperor is represented in a triumphal procession, (in 845 his chariot is drawn by four elephants,) may be referred to a victory. Probably, however, they relate to the triumph offered the Emperor by the Senate; but which, as it belonged to Trajan, he would not accept. Alexandrine adulation may, notwithstanding, have represented him as the hero of a triumph.

Creveir III. p. 453.

Basnage Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 357. I do not find this coin adduced by Eckhel.
the other the Emperor is raising the Province, which is kneeling on one knee, and around which stand three boys with palm-branches: the circumscription is, IVDAEA. This is the impress usually accompanied by the inscription RESTITVTORI of this or that province.\(^1\) Eckhel, however, thinks that Judea at that time was unworthy of any such benefit. But the numerous Greek and Syrian inhabitants had surely no share in the rebellion. I consider, therefore, that the word RESTITVTORI was omitted without any secondary design. Indeed, the impress itself shows the purport of the coin; and the first one, on which the Emperor and the Province are represented as sacrificing together, proves moreover that there existed no grudge on the part of Hadrian against the Greek and Syrian inhabitants of the country.

During the Emperor's stay in Palestine, a conversation may have taken place between him and Rabbi Joshua Ben Hannina on the resurrection of the dead, which is mentioned in the Talmudical book *Bereshith Rabba*. Hadrian was very inquisitive, and concerned himself about everything. It is therefore not improbable that he also engaged in conversation with learned Jews. That, however, the Rabbi failed of satisfying him with his explanation, that the new body is formed from the bone Luz, may well be supposed.\(^2\)

In Egypt Hadrian seems now to have considered himself perfectly safe as far as regarded the Jews. He noticed them, indeed, as he did everything else that came in his way; but it was with a rapid and superficial glance. Thus in his celebrated letter to his brother-in-law, the consul Servianus, which Vopiscus has preserved,\(^3\) he says of them: "There is no Jewish, no Samaritan Rabbi, no Christian priest, that does not cast nativities, or inspect the entrails of beasts in order to predict from them, or busy himself as a quacksalver. Even the patriarch [of the Jews], when he

\(^1\) Eckhel VI. p. 495.  
\(^2\) Eisenmenger II. p. 931. The Emperor is said to have demanded the proof for this doctrine. They brought him such a bone, which could not be ground in a mill, burnt in fire, or dissolved in water; and when it was laid on an anvil, the hammer split in pieces. In this narrative, at the name of Hadrian the wish is added, that his bones might be crushed! See more about the bone Luz in Eisenmenger l. c. and in Bayle's Dict. v. Bar-cochba.  
\(^3\) In the Life of Saturninus, just at the beginning.
comes to Alexandria, is compelled to humour the former [the adorers of Serapis] by worshipping Serapis, and the latter [the Christians] by worshipping Christ." That there is a strong admixture of error in this statement, is clear as the day. But that the Jews did lend themselves to such loose acts, to which they joined the trade of begging, is shown by the following passage, among others, in Juvenal's Satires, whose author was banished about the year 134, to Egypt; and which, though it applies only to the poorer sort, is yet remarkable enough, especially if we assume that the poet had before his eyes, not only the Roman, but likewise the Alexandrian Jews.

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Cophino ãenoque relictó,
Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
Arboris ac summí fída internuncia cæli.
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto,
Qualiaunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.

Juv. Sat. VI. 543 sq.

X. It was very natural that Hadrian, during the first years of his reign, while the Jews remained tranquil, should often occupy himself with them, and with pondering the means of securing the empire against their attempts for the future. One of these means was perhaps that of dividing the numerous population among the different provinces. But it may well have been difficult to find places for them. Asia, Greece, Italy, and Spain, hardly wished for any more of them than they had already. The coast of Africa offered, perhaps, the only tract of land whither he could have transplanted more than a small number; and even this may not have appeared to him advisable, when he reflected on the revolt in Cyrenaica. Accordingly, the statement in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius, that he sent a colony of Jews into Libya, which was entirely depopulated, is scarcely worthy of credit; and at most is to be understood only of a colony in general that was sent there, as the Greek text of the same Chronicle has it, and as is confirmed

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\(^1\) That is, supposing Juvenal was actually banished to Egypt; which Frank, in his Examen Criticum D. Junii Juvenalis vitae, p. 3, considers a poetic fiction.

\(^2\) "Hadrianus in Libyam Judæorumn Coloniam misit." In Hadrian's fourth year.

\(^3\) Chronicon. p. 382, Αποκελλα ἐἷς Αβίην τονιοντιον Ἀδριανος ἐπεμ-

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... the poet had before his eyes, not only the Roman, but likewise the Alexandrian Jews.
by Orosius.1 The place is not specified more particularly. Libya was the name given by the Greeks to the whole coast of Africa from Egypt as far as Carthage, and perhaps still further.2 In the midst of such difficulties, it might very possibly be the case, that there were some grounds for a Jewish statement, that the Emperor entertained the design of driving the people entirely out of the empire.3 But its execution was impracticable. For whither should he send them? Their number might still have amounted to several millions. To cast these into the arms of the Parthians, the hereditary enemies of the Romans, would have been hazardous in the extreme; and to drive them into the wilderness among completely savage tribes dwelling on the north or south, would have been inhuman, contrary to the principles and practices of the Romans, and moreover exceedingly dangerous for the borders. The plan, therefore, supposing it was actually formed, remained unexecuted.

Another means Hadrian seems actually to have tried; and this was, gradually to extirpate the Jews as such, by prohibiting circumcision, the characteristic sign of their nationality, and to amalgamate them with the other people of the empire. This prohibition is mentioned in a few words by Spartan as the cause of the insurrection.4 He does not indeed fix the time; but it seems evident from his narration that the outbreak followed soon after. It may indeed be objected to Spartan, that the Romans were wont never to assail the national customs of the people subjected to them; and hence Casaubon understands this prohibition of emasculation, and regards it as an application of the older edicts of Domitian and Nerva against this practice.5 It would also have been a very impolitic act of Hadrian, who certainly was acquainted from his own experience with the Jewish mode of thinking, to imbitter the nation

1 Histor. Heb. VII. c. 12, "Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrociissima bella gesserunt (Judæi): qua adaeque interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut nisi postea Hadrianus Imperator collectas alii unde colonias illuc deduxisset, abraso habitatore mansisset."

2 Hence too the name Libyphoenices; compare Münster's Religion der Carthager, 2d edit. pp. 107, 108.

3 Talmud in Abodha Zara c. 1, cited in Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 331. But the account of the Emperor's deliberations is so fabulous, as not to be worth the trouble of repeating.

4 In Hadr. c. 14, "Moverunt ea tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia."

5 In the note to the above cited passage from Spartanus. See Schrevelius's edit. p. 63.
against himself in the highest degree by such a prohibition. It would not be consistent either with his customary prudence or with his general character; which, although not a noble one, was far from being bad or tyrannical.

But on the other hand, it is to be considered that the restless spirit of the Jews, and their striving after independence, had occasioned two such dreadful insurrections within little more than half a century; and that a ruler may well have thought himself called upon by these two examples—whether correctly or not—to put an end to such continual danger, by endeavouring to destroy the nationality of that people, even at the cost of their ancient customs and religious usages. But that not castration, but circumcision, was forbidden by this edict, is evident from the fact, that the former was not at all in use among the Jews. Besides, we have an account of an edict of Antoninus Pius, who revoked Hadrian's prohibition as far as it related to Jewish children, and only forbade the Jews to adopt proselytes into their community by means of circumcision.¹

XI. Another means contrived by Hadrian for keeping the Jews in subjection, remains to be mentioned. This was the restoration of Jerusalem. This city had always been considered one of the strongest fortified places; and the difficulty which all hostile armies, and finally the Romans under Titus, had experienced in capturing this stronghold, sufficiently proves the importance of its position.² Surrounded by mountains, itself built on a rocky promontory almost completely isolated, forming the hill called Mount Zion, and that on which the lower city stood,—the reduction of Jerusalem, in the then state of the art of besieging, was necessarily a very tedious operation, and to be effected chiefly by famine; so that Hadrian, who in the journey from Syria to Egypt was at least in its neighbourhood, if he did not visit the place itself, must have been perfectly well convinced of the importance of this post. No wonder, therefore, that he determined to fortify it anew, and to

¹ See below, § XXVI. ¹¹.¹². Michaelis has collected the history of its fortification, as well as could be done, in a note on this place. See his treatise on the vaults under Mount Zion and "the temple, in his Zerstr. Schriften III. p. 128.
send thither a colony, consisting indeed mostly of veterans, and sufficient for the defence of the city.

Dion Cassius cites this determination of the Emperor, and the carrying of it into execution, as a cause of the renewal of the insurrection.1 Eusebius states, on the contrary, that Hadrian did not send the colony till after the Jews were put down.2 It is not difficult to reconcile both these apparently contradictory testimonies, as Basnage has done already.3 The restoration of Jerusalem was not the work of a few months; but the labour, when begun, was interrupted by the revolt; and after this was suppressed, it was continued and completed.

But ere we proceed further, we must collect the few notices that have been preserved respecting the history of Jerusalem after the capture of the city by Titus. Witsius and Deyling will be our guides.4

It is true that Titus, after the burning of the temple, which he would so willingly have spared, destroyed the city. But we cannot conceive this destruction to have been complete, although Josephus speaks of it in that sense.5 The same historian, however, informs us that Titus left standing the three large towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, probably with the wall connecting them, and the western wall, as a shelter for the cohorts whom he left in that neighbourhood;6 and these must also have had dwellings for themselves, their families, and their followers. It is very probable, moreover, that Jews who had taken no part in the war, had permission from the authorities, either expressed or understood, to settle among the ruins. A few survivors of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained there immediately after the destruction of the city.7 But it is certainly going too far, when Eusebius affirms that

only half the city was destroyed by Titus;\(^1\) for this is at variance with all history, and we can only assume with the greatest probability, that Jerusalem under Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, was indeed no longer a city, but that it still possessed inhabitants besides the Roman garrison, and was much visited by pious Jews who came to mourn over the ruins of their city and temple. Jerome also speaks of some remains of the city in the fifty years that elapsed between its destruction by Titus and the war with Hadrian.\(^2\)

With this too agrees what we read in ancient authors respecting the war with Hadrian and the second capture of Jerusalem. Were Occo the numismatist a trustworthy man, we might cite an ancient coin pretended to have been struck under Hadrian with the legend ∆ΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΤΣΑΛΗΜ,\(^3\) and conclude therefrom that the name Jerusalem still continued under Hadrian, before he brought his colony thither, and that a temple of Jupiter was built in the city. But the coin spoken of has remained unknown to later numismatists; and it is not at all probable that such a one has ever existed. The garrison of Jerusalem in its former condition, as they were neither a colony nor a municipium, could not have struck any coins; the erecting too of a temple to Jupiter upon the ruins, would certainly have been noticed by some Jewish or Christian author.

We confine ourselves, therefore, to the assumption that Hadrian, before the breaking out again of the war, had already begun to put his design of rebuilding and fortifying Jerusalem into execution. We remark only in addition, that he could do this without offending against the principles of the Roman state-religion; since this only forbade the rebuilding of a city once laid in ruins, in case the plough had passed over it, and the exauguration, or exfundation,

\(^1\) Demonstr. Evangel. VI. 18, Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰς ὧν τὸ ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως ἀπολογήθη τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὡς φησὶν ή ἰεροθεσία, see Zachar. xiv. 2. The prophecy itself, in which it is said, Καὶ ἀλώσται ή πόλις . . . . καὶ ἥξελυσται τὸ ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως ἐν οἰκίμαλοις, seems to have led Eusebius to this assertion.

\(^2\) "Civitatis usque ad Hadrianum Principem per quinquaginta annos manseret reliquia;" Epist. ad Dardanum. Opp. edit. Martian. II. p. 610.

\(^3\) Imperatorum Romanor. numismat. Aug. Vindel. 1601. p. 240, "Templum sex columnarum, in cuius medio Jupiter dextra fulmen, sinistra sceprum cum aquila; ad dextram Pallas et Mercurius, ad sinistram Mars et Venus, et duæ aliae figure sedentes in gradibus."
had been thereby rendered complete. We have no proof however that this ceremony did take place after the capture by Titus. Josephus is entirely silent respecting it; and Jerome only relates, according to Jewish traditions which we also possess, that Titus Annius Rufus caused the plough to be drawn over the site of the temple. But that is said to have been done in Hadrian's time. And even this is very doubtful, since we do not know that the Romans observed the practice with respect to single buildings. There was therefore nothing in the Emperor's way, in case he wished to rebuild Jerusalem. Moreover, the Gracchi undertook to rebuild Carthage, which had been desecrated and laid waste with such solemnities,—although at a short distance from the old city; and from the ruins of Punic Carthage that of the Romans sprang, the fourth capital of the world!

XII. But the restoration of their metropolis in the shape of a pagan city was more than the Jews could bear. It is possible that they had for several years been silently preparing anew for the project of freeing themselves from the Roman dominion, and had long entered into secret compacts with the people of other oriental regions, to whom the yoke of their masters was equally hateful, perhaps even with Parthian satraps or with the Great King himself. It is only the enduring contempt of the Romans for the oppressed people, which renders it conceivable that they entertained no suspicions, and made no preparations, easily as they might have done so, to frustrate the plans of their enemies. They felt secure, probably because they had disarmed the Jews after suppressing their


2 Although Scaliger, in the Animadverses. ad Eusebii Chronicon, and Valesius, in his notes to Eusebius's Eccl. Hist. IV. 6, maintain this to have been the case.

3 In the Gemara Taanich, c. 4, where it says: "Quando aravit Turranus Rufus impius porticum, decreatum factum est, ut interficeretur Rabban Gamaliel." Hence Turranus Rufus is called in the Gemara Sanhedrin the impious; Zorn l.c. 321. The name Turranus Rufus (sic) occurs on a gravestone which was in possession of Pope Julius III. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. IV. 417.

* Commentar. in Zachar. viii. 13, "Capta urbs Bethel [read Bether] ad quam multa millia confugerant Judaeorum: aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppresserat, a Tito Antonio Ruffo."
PREPARATIONS FOR FURTHER REVOLT.

revolt. If Dion were to be believed, the latter devised a curious expedient for relieving themselves from this dilemma. It is said that they, meaning doubtless the numerous prisoners condemned by Trajan to the public works, were ordered to forge weapons for the Roman troops; but that they intentionally made them bad, so that when rejected as unfit for service they could keep them themselves, and thus become possessed of a large quantity of arms. But this statement carries with it an aspect so fabulous, that it is inconceivable how Dion could have given it the least attention. For how could Roman commanders, who necessarily knew well enough the spirit that animated the whole Jewish people, have suffered the workmen, and they too prisoners, to retain possession of arms, with which, bad as they might be, they could have wrought much mischief? and how could the superintendents of the manufacture have answered for such a proceeding? After the arms and accoutrements had been repeatedly found unserviceable, resort would certainly have been had to compulsory measures, to force the workshops to deliver better articles. The truth of the matter can only be this, that the Jews found ways and means of procuring and secreting arms; which with their extensive trade, and that too with people not under the Roman sway, could not have been so very difficult of accomplishment, especially if the whole nation were of one accord.

They kept themselves quiet notwithstanding, as long as the Emperor remained in the East. He had spent the year A.D. 130 in Egypt. The following year he had travelled to Syria, and thence had proceeded to the western provinces; to which of them is not known. We first meet with him, in A.D. 135, in Athens. The rebellion, however, broke out shortly after his departure from the East, as soon as he was considered far enough off, in the year of Rome 885, and 132 of the Christian era.

For the direction of a conspiracy so widely spread and accurately organized, and at the same time so profoundly secret and so exceedingly active, a leader was indispensably requisite. And now it was that such a one made his appearance. How long he may have already been busy in secret, rests upon conjecture. The war

1 Dion Cassius LXIX. 12. p. 1161.
however is so remarkable, as to make it incumbent on us to collect all the remaining accounts concerning him, which are at all worthy of credit.

XIII. This leader of the Jews is known to us by the name of Bar-cochba. He has remained unknown to the Roman historians. But the Christian authors Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius, make mention of him; and in the Jewish writers many scattered notices respecting him are preserved, which however are to be used with caution, as they are partly at variance with history and chronology, and in part are evidently fabulous. We shall therefore pay attention only to those writers from whom something may with probability be obtained for the elucidation of history; while of the others we shall here and there give a few specimens, sufficient to show their inadmissibility. Titus had already permitted the Jews, after the destruction of their capital, to transfer their great Sanhedrin to Jamnia. It was placed under the patriarch, who was at the head of the academy at Tiberias; and who, as well as the Babylonian patriarch, is said to have been of the tribe of Judah. His power extended over religious matters, and perhaps to deciding as arbitrator in civil disputes, when these were brought before him. But he can hardly have had the power of life and death, although he may occasionally have arrogated it to himself. He was always, notwithstanding the title of סָנהֶדִּין (Prince) which he bore, subject to the Roman authorities; and it will easily be perceived that this could not have been otherwise. Still his prerogatives may have augmented by degrees, and may not have been as great at first as they afterwards became, when an important rank was likewise conferred upon him in the Roman empire. This was all done publicly. But the book 'Zemach David' represents the matter as if the Jews soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in spite of their victor, had made for themselves a sort of civil constitution. It assumes, that as early as under

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1 Son of a Star.
3 Ibid. p. 160.
4 Ibid. p. 139.
5 Ibid. p. 170 sq.
6 Ibid. p. 161. Maimon. de Synedr. c. 1, 3, as given by Walch p. 120.
7 They bore the appellation Viri clarissimi et illustres, viri spectabile, which Theodosius and his sons conferred on them. Walch p. 188.
Domitian, Bar-cochba commenced his reign, and also died under him; and that this Bar-cochba was succeeded by his son, and this latter again by his own son. The possibility of the thing, in itself considered, cannot be denied, if we take into account the spirit that animated the Jews; and with this might be connected the inquiries set on foot by Domitian after the family of David. But in case we could, with difficulty, make out the twenty-one years which this statement attributes to the dynasty of Bar-cochba, they would have already elapsed at the commencement of Hadrian's reign; and this cannot by any means be reconciled with history. Accordingly, we cannot place the period at which Bar-cochba appeared earlier than towards the end of the reign of Trajan; and will endeavour to make use of the account of his dynasty in the course of this narration.

The number of adherents that he found, and the power that he exercised, render it very probable that he elevated himself by degrees. As king of Israel he had certainly nothing more to do than to imitate Eunus the prince of the Sicilian slaves, and to spirit fire out of his mouth from two secretly lighted, in order to obtain for himself the admiration and reverence of the common people. This trick can only have prepared the way for him; his own talents must have helped him further on. He showed off no miracles before the learned. This he had no need to do; for, animated by national enthusiasm, they only sought a man who was able to lead them against the Romans.

Who he was, and what was his origin, is entirely unknown. If he gave himself out for the Messiah, he must have traced his pedigree back to David. But this is not fully proved. The name

1 Zemach David ad ann. 880, Millenarii 4. According to other statements, the reign in Bether (for of Jerusalem the Rabbins say nothing) commenced in the 52d year after the destruction of the temple, A. D. 120, in Hadrian's first year; and Bether is said to have been taken under Romulus, in the 73d year after the destruction of the temple. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. III. p. 698.

2 Florus III. 19.


4 "Sapientes nullum ab eo signum vel miraculum petierunt;" Maimonides Jad Hazakah, Tract. de regibus c. 2, as cited in Martini's Pugio Fidei p. 320.

5 That he really was of the race of David, is maintained by Lipmann of the 14th and 15th centuries, in the book Nizzachon No. 352; see Wolf Bibl. Hebr. IV. 417. The
Bar-cochba, son of the star, under which he is known to history, was given him because either he or his adherents maintained that through him was fulfilled Balaam’s prophecy, Num. xxiv. 17, concerning the star that should rise out of Jacob. It was not until his death and the depressed condition of the Jews had proved how little he answered the great expectations formed of him, that he was called Bar-coziba, son of a lie. But whether he was the same whom Dion Cassius calls Andreae, and Eusebius Lucuas, as Samuel Petit and Reimarus conjecture, we must leave undecided. These assume two Bar-cochbas, the first under Trajan, the second under Hadrian; an hypothesis that stands in connexion with the rabbinical story of the dynasty of three successive princes. But if the account in the Arabic text of Abulpharagius be well founded, Lucuas had perished already in the war with Martius Turbo.

The Rabbins also, who ascribe to him the devastations in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, fix his epoch under Trajan. This we must leave undetermined.

The Jews flocked to him in multitudes, and anointed and crowned him king in the stronghold Bether; for that he had his seat in Jerusalem is not known to the Jewish writers. That he gave himself out for the Messiah, is not completely proved, as has been already remarked. There are indeed stories to the effect that he could not support the proof to which he was put, as to whether he, as was required of the Messiah according to an interpretation of the saying in Isaiah xi. 3, could distinguish the just from the unjust by the smell; and that Rabbi Akiba said of him, This is the king tradition may indeed have been current as early as the time of Bar-cochba. Else Akiba and the learned Rabbins would hardly have owned him for the Messiah.

1 Echa Rabbatha, on the words of Lam. ii. 2, and Zemach David cited by Eisenmenger ii. p. 654; also R. Gedaliah in Shalsheleth Hakabbala, cited by Bartolocci Bibl. Rabinica III. p. 698. Synccellus in his Chronography (Script. Byzant. IX. p. 348) has the following singular respectimg him: της Τουδαλωάποστάσεως Χοξεβαστής (Χοξεβας τις) ὁ μονογενής ἡγεῖτο, ος ἰμμηνείτο ἄστηκ. Can he, as the pretended Messiah, ever have received the title μονογενής? 

2 *Echa Rabbatha, on the words of Lam. ii. 2, and Zemach David, ibid. 

3 Observatt. Lib. III. 4, p. 318. 


5 Zemach David, Eisenm. II. 655. 

His rebellion is placed, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, in the year of the world 3880. 

6 Zemach David l. c. 

7 Talmud in tract. Sanhedrin cap. Kelech, cited in Martini Pugio Fidei p. 322. Dixit ad Magistros Ego sum Messias. Dixerunt ei:
Messiah.\(^1\) Maimonides however calls him merely the great king.\(^2\) Meanwhile, whether he gave himself out for the Messiah or not, he was regarded as such by the populace; for the Messiah alone could be their deliverer from the Roman yoke. He however was not expected to come from the nobility, but out of their own midst. Indeed, according to his contemporary Trypho, whose dialogue with Justin Martyr we still possess, the Messiah was to be unknown when born, and should not even know himself or possess any power, until Elias should come to anoint him.\(^3\) But this Elias was most probably found in the person of Rabbi Akiba; although we do not know that it was he who anointed him in Bether.

XIV. Akiba, who had not sprung from an Israelitish stock, but had gone over to Judaism of his own free choice, had become the most zealous and learned of the Rabbins, and glowed with the same hatred against the Romans that fired all Israel.\(^4\) He deduced his pedigree from Sisera, the general of the Tyrian king Jabin, whom Deborah slew; but his mother was a Jewess. His whole history is mythic, and copied after that of Moses. Forty years he was an untaught shepherd; he then sued for the hand of his master's daughter, who however would marry none but a learned man. For four and twenty or (according to others) forty years he pursued his studies, and is said to have travelled much. He then began to teach, and served the people forty years long as superintendent of the schools, first at Lydda, and then at Jamnia; the number of his pupils was reckoned at 24,000. What God did not intrust to Moses, he is said to have revealed to him; and hence he is regarded as the teacher of the unwritten law. The Mishna began with his collections; and the book Jezirah\(^5\) attributed to Abraham, but

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2 "Capta est Bether . . . et in ea regnabat rex magnus, quem putavere verunt Israelitae et sapientum maiores, cum esse regem Messiam;" so in Jad Hazakah given by Bartolocci II. p. 723.
3 Justini M. Dialogus cum Tryphone c. 8 and 49.
which is now lost, was one of the works in which he deposited his wisdom. No wonder therefore that they even sought for him in the Old Testament. The words of Moses, Ex. iv. 13, "Lord, send whom thou wilt send," were applied to him; the passage in Job xxi. 10, "his eye seeth every precious thing," was understood of him; and when at last he was executed by the Romans, some even referred to his death the celebrated passage in the 52d and 53d chapters of Isaiah. He had seen the temple while yet in its splendour, and was so much the more eager for its restoration. The exalted dignity with which he was invested as associate of the patriarch, must have considerably augmented the great influence he already possessed; and at the same time it furnishes us with a plain indication that the patriarch in Palestine, Gamaliel, and the entire Sanhedrin, had an understanding with Bar-cochba; which also appears evident from the Jewish traditions of Bar-cochba's transactions with the wise men.

Akiba not only declared Bar-cochba to be the king Messiah, with which the latter, even if he did not give himself out as such, was very well pleased; but he was also his most trusty counsellor, accompanied him everywhere, and on festival occasions assumed the office of his armour-bearer, by carrying before him his sword, the symbol of his dignity. That the old man of nearly six score years could not have attended him in battle, may easily be conjectured.

Bar-cochba seems also to have had a counsellor and assistant in Rabbi Tarphon, the successor of Akiba in the superintendence of the school at Lydda. His name at least occurs in the history of this prince. Several other celebrated Rabbins who took an active part in the war, and perished in it, will be mentioned in the sequel.

XV. Bar-cochba had at first the most complete success. In Palestine all the Jews united with him, and probably also the Samari-
tans, who at least are never mentioned as his enemies, this army must have been very considerable, although the statements of the Rabbins, who give it at 200,000 men,\(^1\) may be exaggerated; and he pushed forward his arms beyond the borders of the country into Syria. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, many Jews had fled to the Galilean cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias; the descendants of these now fell upon the pagan and Christian inhabitants, and committed great slaughter among them. After the war was concluded, and these cities once more set free, they testified their gratitude to the Emperor in a remarkable manner: the former took a new name, Diocæsarea Adriana; and the latter erected a temple, which they called Adrianum.\(^2\)

Bar-cochba at first endeavoured to draw the Christians of Palestine over to his side. But unable to prevail upon them to renounce their faith, and to participate in the insurrection against the Romans, whom he treated with great barbarity, he speedily turned his rage against the Christians also in the most dreadful manner; as is testified by Justin Martyr,\(^3\) Eusebius,\(^4\) and Orosius.\(^5\)

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* One of the many Jewish fables is, that he made trial of the bravery of the troops by chopping off a finger of each man. But the wise men then gave him a better piece of advice, which was, that he should let it serve as proof of a man's prowess, if he could root up one of the cedars of Lebanon while on horseback.

**Histor. VII. 12,** "Judæos sane perturbatione scelerum suorum exagitatos, et Palestinam provinciam quondam suam depopulantes, ultima nece perdomuit (Hadrianus), uliusque est Christianos, quasi illi, Coch-
No long time had elapsed, when he became master of Jerusalem. It is true that all writers are silent as to this circumstance; but the many testimonies to its recapture under Hadrian, place beyond all doubt the fact that the Jews had possession of the Holy City. It was probably the colony sent thither by the Emperor, that was driven out. A few incidents have been preserved, which appear to belong to this period.

The surrounding region was dreadfully desolated. Wolves and hyenas made inroads on the city itself. R. Akiba therefore, according to the interpretation given by Samuel Petit to a passage in Aben Ezra, caused the celebration of the passover to be transferred from Mount Nisan to Mount Ijar. This seems to have reference to the journeys usually undertaken at the time of the festival; for it is certain that every one might keep the feast of Easter in his own house, even though there should be no hindrances—such as continual rain-storms, swollen streams, roads and bridges destroyed—to render the journey to Jerusalem difficult. But festival-journeys presuppose that Jews were living in Jerusalem, and that divine worship was at least in some measure restored. Again, Dion relates that, about this time, Solomon's sepulchre tumbled down of itself,—a prodigy that, considering the great antiquity of David's family burial-place, was very natural, but which he regarded as a bad omen. He mentions, indeed, that this happened before the break-

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ing out of the war. But could the falling down of the old royal tomb presage any disaster to the Romans? It is probable, therefore, that this explanation did not occur till after the close of the war, and that Dion erred with regard to the time, and placed the event in a somewhat earlier period than that in which it actually took place. The Jews in Jerusalem might certainly, according to their way of thinking, have had reason to be terrified, when they saw the tomb of David and Solomon, whose kingdom they were then about to restore, fall down without any visible cause.

XVI. To these proofs are to be added those furnished by numismatics. We know from both the Talmuds, that coins were struck by Bar-cochba. That of Jerusalem says expressly, "Samaritan money, as for instance that of Bencoziba, does not defile;" and that of Babylon mentions the coins themselves. Of these some have descended to our times. There are, namely, four silver coins, three of which belong undeniably to the Emperor Trajan, while the fourth is somewhat doubtful; on these the Roman impress can still be partially discerned, although they are stamped over again with a Samaritan inscription. It is known that such recoinning was practised in ancient as well as in modern times. On these restamped Samaritan coins we read, more or less completely, the name שמעון Simon; and on the other side החרב ירושלמי the freedom of Jerusalem. The traces of the legends remaining on three of these coins, (viz. .... R .... OPTI .... INC. or TRAI .... P. M. TR. P. COS. also the Greek .... IAN CEB. ΓΕΡ. ΛΑΚ.) besides the remains of the face, leave no doubt of their being restamped coins of Trajan. The first of them was struck in the year of Rome 852, A. D. 99; in which year the Senate conferred upon him the title of Optimus Princeps, though this does not appear

1 Tract Maaser Shen, "Moneta Samaritica, ut Bencoziba, non profanat."
2 The tract Baba Kama speaks of "Numi Cozibeani Hierosolymitani." The coins therefore, according to the Babylonian Talmud, were struck in Jerusalem. Both these citations from the Talmud are taken from O. G. Tychsen's Assertio Epistolæ de peregrina Numorum Has-
on coins before A. U. C. 858, A. D. 105. The second belongs in or after the year 856, A. D. 103, when he received the title of Dacicus; and the Grecian coin on which stands the date TiIA. (ἴμαρος τὸ τέταρτον) was struck during his fourth consulate in a Syrian city, probably Antioch. A fourth coin is undistinguishable, and has only the Roman letters TR (Tribuniciae Potestatis). But this also doubtless belongs to Trajan or to Hadrian. Hence we now know that Roman coins in Trajan's time, or soon after, were stamped over again by Jews or Samaritans. Which of the two effected this, is to us at present a matter of indifference, since the Jerusalem Talmud acknowledges the Samaritan money of Bar-cochba as also clean; so that there only remains the palæographic question, whether the Assyrian character alone was at that time employed by the Jews. This restamping of money, however, points infallibly to a war in which the Jews wished to have a coinage of their own. The name Simon, which we find on two of them, is the name of the prince; and who can this have been but Bar-cochba? It is true, we nowhere read that he was called Simon; but from this silence there is nothing to be inferred. We have likewise coins of the Asmonean king Antigonus, bearing his Hebrew name Mattathias, which is not otherwise known to us. This name Simon, however, extends still further. Among the Samaritan coins, which in former times were attributed without exception to the Asmonean princes, are found many whole and half shekels and copper pieces with the same name. The French scholar Henrion, so far as I know, was the first to whom the idea occurred that this was not Simon Maccabæus, but Bar-cochba; and he accordingly ascribed this coin to him. He is partially followed by Barthelemy

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1 See Barthelemy's Letter to the author of the Journal des Savans, in Perez Bayer Numorum Hebrew-Samaritanorum Vindiciæ, Valence 1790, in Append. p. IX. Two of these coins are there copied.

2 The affirmative is maintained by Tychsen in his Diatribe de nummis Hebraicis, Madrid edit. 1792, p. 38; also in the above cited Assertio Epistolar. p. 13. Barthelemy, on the contrary, is of opinion that the Jews retained the Samaritan character until forty years before Christ, and on monuments much longer. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres XXIV. p. 59.

3 Barthelemy in Perez Bayer Numorum Hebrew-Samaritanorum Vindiciæ, p. IX, where the coin is engraved on copper; also Tychsen's Diatribe p. 22.

4 Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres III. p. 189.

5 In Perez Bayer p. XIII.
and O. G. Tychsen; and there are several reasons which favour this opinion. That the character found on the coins is not Assyrian, but Samaritan, is not so very decisive against their high antiquity; since the former, even if the Jews did bring it with them after the captivity, may have been regarded as a sacred character, while the common writing of the country was employed on the country's coinage. And this indeed is evidently the case; since the coins of Jonathan or John Hyrcanus, (for it is not quite certain to which of the two the coins so read belong,) and also of Antigonus, are likewise stamped with the Samaritan character. Neither would I build much on the circumstance, that Simon Maccabæus governed the Jewish nation eight years, while the coins bear the dates of the four first only; partly because, from the small number of Samaritan coins that have been preserved to us, those of his four last years may have been lost; and partly, because there was no law that money should be struck every year. It is just as little decisive, that the reading of the passage 1 Macc. xv. 6, where mention is made of the right of coinage which the Syrian king Antiochus Sidetes is said to have conferred on Simon, still remains doubtful. But more seems to be proved by the species of letter on the money attributed to Simon, inasmuch as the character here exhibited differs from that on the remaining Asmonean coins; and this without taking into account the circumstance, that all these are of copper, (perhaps because the Syrian kings reserved to themselves the right of coining the precious metals,) while on the other hand we have silver coins bearing the name of Simon.

The difference of title is still more decisive. Simon is called on single coins נציב ישראל Prince of Israel; the same title as that borne by the patriarch, whom the Greeks named ἐθνάχχος, or in Mesopotamia αἰγμαλονάχχης. On the contrary, Jonathan or John Hyrcanus and Antigonus are called on the coins ἡγούμεν Ἱερουσαλήμ High-priest, after which follows the title נציב יהודיה, or נציב, Prince of

1 In the two treatises above cited.
2 The Greek version of this book has only the words: Καὶ ἐπέτρεψα σοι ποιήσαι κόμα ἵδιον νόμισμα τῇ χρυσᾷ σου. But the Syriac has: "Et tibi decreta pro lubitu faciendi protestatem concedo." Now what stood in the Hebrew text? It is also remarkable, that Josephus should know nothing of this right of coinage granted to Simon.
3 Tychsen Diatribe p. 25.
Judah, not of Israel; and on one coin bearing the name of the Syrian king Alexander Bata, we read 'יוסף rey yisra'el King Jonathan. These two last reasons, together with the restamped coins of Trajan, seem to pronounce decisively, that all those which have the name Simon must be taken out of the class of Asmonean coins and be assigned to Bar-cochba.

We have then the following results:

1. That in the first disorder of the insurrection, before the new Jewish government was organized, it was the practice to recoin money of the Roman currency. How long this may have lasted, cannot be determined.

2. That Bar-cochba, however, as soon as he was able, coined his own money. The rich contributions of the Jews, that flowed to him from all quarters, (for the Jews of Palestine were too poor to afford him much aid in this respect,) procured him the requisite metal. This enabled him to strike coins of many kinds. Tychsen enumerates thirteen different stamps, one of which is of gold.

3. That the mint was at first, in the two first years, at Jerusalem, is at least very probable from the inscriptions לירעיה ירושלים to the freedom of Jerusalem, and ירושלם הקדשה Jerusalem the holy; which alternate with the legends נפשת זבח or חמות החיות and ירושלם הקדשה, ירושלם ישי, to the freedom or redemption of Zion or Israel; though these latter do not appear on the coins of the third and fourth years, but only on those of the first and second, and on some without a date.

4. That Bar-cochba either was called Simon, or that he assumed this name in memory of Simon Maccabaeus the deliverer of the Israelites from the Syrian bondage, in token that he would deliver his people in like manner from that of the Romans; but that this name fell into oblivion, because the people preferred to call him at first the “Son of the Star,” which according to the prophecy had risen over Israel; although they afterwards gave him the nickname of Bar-coziba.

It was probably one of his first concerns, when he saw himself

1 Tychsen Diatr. p. 23. Engraved on copper in the Table accompanying Barthelemy’s Letter in Perez Bayer.  
2 Diatribe p. 19. sqq.  
3 The testimony of the Jerusalem Talmud, cited above, with respect to the Jerusalem money of Bar-cochba, hereby acquires a much greater weight.
in possession of Jerusalem, to restore the temple, of which at least the foundation-walls and subterranean vaults were still in existence; in addition to which an immense mass of building-materials must have been found under the ruins. This is so much the more certain, since Chrysostom, the Chronicon Alexandrinum, Nicephorus Callistus, and Georgius Cedrenus, give accounts of it. Here, too, appears to belong a coin on which is seen a portico with four pillars; in the middle hangs a lyre, a serpentine line runs beneath. Who does not here call to mind the brook Kidron? On the other side stands a manna-pot and a leaf or a small fruit. The inscription is שד Howell ירשית שט and and וסנ. The year however is wanting.

We may regard it then as fully proved, that Bar-cochba had possession of Jerusalem; although the Jewish writers, the Samaritan Book of Joshua alone excepted, are entirely silent on the subject, and speak only of Bether. Was it perhaps too painful to their feelings to speak of a third destruction of their capital? for

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1 See my essay, cited above, on David's family burial-place, at the beginning. These vaults are also mentioned in the history of the capture of Jerusalem. Simon, the leader of the Zealots, had hid himself in them with many of his party, after Titus had taken the upper city, with the design of forcing an outlet into the open country, and thus making his escape; but when this project failed in consequence of the impenetrable nature of the rock, he again came above ground beneath the ruins of the temple, and surrendered himself to the Romans; Joseph. de B. Jud. VII. c. 2. [See Robinson's Palest. I. pp. 446-452.] The Jews probably made use of the foundation-walls for the new structure: had they dug deeper, they would doubtless have met with the same disaster that befell their successors under the Emperor Julian.

2 Oratio III. in Judeos, ed. Franc. 1698. Tom. i. p. 431, Catheol. 6 οτε υπάκουσαν τά ειςκενεμένα, γέρας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προφυτών αὐτῶν παραφυγέων μαρτυρίαν ἐν μετρίῳ ἡ ἐπιχειρήσεως οἰκοδομήσα τόν ναὸν, εἰς ἔν περίπος, ὦτο εἰς εὐσφαίρημα ἐπιχειρησαί, καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀφαίρετον, πάντως ἐν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐυγέρειαν. Νυνὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς δελαναίμι, ὅτι συγκεκλητὶ διε δίκε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν επιχειρησαίας καὶ φάγετας. Χ. τ. λ. The second time, namely, under Hadrian, and the third under Julian.

3 Chron. Alexandr. p. 598, Kai χαθελον (ὁ Αδμανος) τὸν ναὸ τῶν Ιουδαίων ἐν Ιεροσολύμιοις ἐκτεινετα ἕνα δήμοια, καὶ τῆς Χρυσοστομος N. C. E. Hist. Eccl. III. c. 24. Ἐπί τοῦ τοῦτον (Ἀδμανοῦ) καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων αὕτης φασέ, πρὸς βούλης ἐκ ἐκείνους, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμιοις νεών ἀνιστάναι. Georgius Cedrenus, in Script. Byzant. XII. p. 249, Ἐφ' οὖν εἰς τοπιασίατας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμιοις καίν τιν οἰκοδομήσαι βοηθητέον ὄγηζεται καὶ αὐτῶν σφόδρα. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the design spoke of by the two last writers does not exclude the idea of the building's having been begun.

4 Engraved on copper in Perez Bayer de numis Hebreo-Samaritulis, Valenth. 1781, p. 141.
an occurrence so remarkable, and affecting them so nearly, they can certainly never have forgotten. Or did they purposely exchange the name Jerusalem for Bether? But then it is just as true that Bether likewise was captured.

How long Bar-cochba was master of Jerusalem, cannot be determined. From the fact that the coins of the two first years alone bear the inscriptions נְוֶתָה יְרוֹמֵל and יְרוֹמֵל כְּרֵשָׁה, we can only draw the conjecture that his possession of the city may have lasted no longer than these two first years. It is true, that the coins of the third and fourth years also mention Zion and Israel; but then by Zion may be meant the nation itself, which always, even after it had lost Jerusalem, continued to hope for the recovery of its freedom.

XVII. At first, the Romans despised the insurrection. Yet they must soon have found that they had to do, not with single mobs, but with the entire Jewish people. Not only was all Palestine in motion, but the spirit of disturbance spread in every direction where Jews were to be found in the Roman empire, and broke out in covert or open attacks on the Romans; and the support that Bar-cochba received proves of itself how deeply the nation was involved in his undertaking. Almost the whole world, says Dion, was set in motion by the revolt of the Jews.\(^1\) Lucius Quietus was at a distance; and as Hadrian supposed that all was in perfect tranquillity, there were probably but few cohorts in the country. The insurrection accordingly proceeded so much the more quietly. The governor of Palestine, Tinnius Rufus, could effect nothing. The Romans were everywhere exposed to the attacks of the Jews; who, while they avoided coming to the decision of a battle, were exceedingly formidable in slight skirmishes, and could easily retire to the mountains. Great numbers of loose rabble joined them out of hatred to the Romans and love of theft; and thus the revolt assumed a very serious character. At length the eyes of Hadrian were opened. He found that none of his generals in the East were capable of managing the affair. Fifty places fortified either previously or by themselves, and nine hundred and eighty-five open towns and villages, were in the possession of the Jews.

\(^1\) Lib. LXIX. c. 14, p. 1162.
They must therefore have spread themselves far beyond the boundaries of Palestine proper, into Syria, and perhaps into Phœnicia; and must also have obtained possession of the sea-coast, which rendered it much easier for them to procure supplies. And now came the capture of Jerusalem, or of Ælia, if the renovated city was already so called. Hadrian at length summoned from the extreme west the governor of Britain, Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time. Auxiliaries came from the remotest regions. This is shown by an inscription, which will be given further on. The struggle was protracted and dangerous. As late as under Hadrian's grandsons, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Fronto speaks of it, and places this struggle on a parallel with the Parthian and British wars. The Jews were very numerous, and fought with the courage of despair. Necessity developed talent; perhaps, too, they obtained leaders from the kingdom of Parthia. Julius Severus attacked single bodies of troops, and cut off their supplies, doubtless by taking possession of the roads and passes; for Palestine, thinly populated as it was, could by no means furnish support to two hostile armies, and yet the Jews were able to keep up the war for four years. Consequently, in order to carry it on so long, they must have been able to obtain assistance and supplies by ways which the Romans could not for a long time block up. We are made acquainted, in the history of the first Jewish war, with the glens and mountain-caves that rendered the subjugation of Palestine so difficult to the Romans. These, and the subterranean passages intersecting each other, which possessed many outlets, and obtained air as well as light through openings from above, they now made use of, partly as hiding-places from which they made attacks upon the Romans, and partly as strongholds to protect themselves; and when it was necessary, they threw up walls in addition for their better defence. Caves and subterranean passages of this kind are

1 He was just as much esteemed for his integrity and prudence. After the close of the Jewish war, Hadrian sent him as governor to Bithynia, where his memory was long held in honour. Dion Cass. LXIX. 14. p. 1163.

2 In Fragm. ad M. Antoninum de bello Parthico ed. Mediol. II. p. 321, "Nonne a Parthis consularis æque vir in Mesopotamia trucidatus? Quid avo Vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum a Judæis, quantum ab Britannis cæsum?"

3 Dion Cass. LXIX. 13. p. 1161.
still to be seen in the desolated portions of Palestine; and the writers of travels speak of them with wonder.

XVIII. It is probable that the Romans had first to clear in some measure the region about Jerusalem, before they could think of besieging the city. Two years appear to have elapsed in this manner. It is true, Jerusalem had no longer the fortifications that made it so formidable in the time of the first Jewish war; but the city by its very situation was a fortress, and always difficult to subdue. Its capture does not admit of a doubt. It is testified to by Appian and the Samaritan Book of Joshua, which seems to have been about contemporary, as its proper text closes with Hadrian's times; and also by Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome, the Alexandrine Chronicle, Abulfaragius, Paulus Diaconus, Syn-

1 De bellis Syriac. ed. Toll. p. 191, 'Gerovalhiv . . . . . . . . . . . περὶ καὶ Πελεμαίοις τὸ πρῶτος Αλϕίτου βασιλέως καὶ Θείη, καὶ ο Οἰνεπαναφανος αὐτής ἀεί θείην κατέλαβε, καὶ Ἀδριανος αὐτής ἐπ᾽ ἐμι. 2 In the extract from cap. 45, in Fabric. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 887, 'Obsidio urbis Hierosolymitanae per Adrianum fuse pertexitur.' 3 In the passage above cited from the Demonstr. Evang. VI. 18, Eusebius adds: μετ᾽ οὖν πολίν διὰ χρόνον κατὰ Αδριανον Αυτοκρατορομίνοις αὐτής ιουδαϊκής γενομένης τὸ λοίπον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἦλθον πολιορκηθήν αὐτής εὑλαίνεται ως ἐν ἑκείνῳ καὶ ἐς δύσμον πάμμαν ἐβαστὸν γενέσαι τὸν τόπον. 4 Chrysost. Orat. III. in Judæos, l. c. 'Επὶ Αδριανοῦ διστάντες αὐτός οἱ Ιουδαῖοι ἐπούθαζον ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν πολιτείαν ἐπανεδεῖτε . . . συνήθεις τοῖς τῶν βασιλείτων, πολιν εἰς ἀνάγχην αὐτῶν καὶ ἔθεσαν πανηλογίας ἐν ἡμιώνωσις. Καθελών γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκείνος, καὶ γειωσόμενος, καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἀφάγλας πάντα, ἵνα μὴ ἀνασχινέτει ἰχνον λοίπον, τὸν ἀνδραίαν ήτοι τοῦ ἱερατοῦ. 5 Comment. in Habac. c. ii, "usque ad extreminas ruinas Hadriani eos perduxit obisidio." Comment. in Ezech. cap. v. 1, "Sub Tito et Vespasiano urbs capta est, tem-

plumque subversum; et post quinquaginta annos sub Άειο Ἀδριανον usque ad solum incensa civitatis atque deleta est, ita ut pristinum quaque nomen amiserit." Comment. in Zachar. c. viii, "Capta urbs Bethel (Bether), ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum: ara Templum, in ignominiam gentis oppressa, a Tito Annio Rufo." Yet Jerome misplaces these events, putting them under Vespasian and Titus. 6 'Επὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπότων Ιουδαίων οπαμαπάντων ἤθεν Αδριανος εἰς Ιεροσολύμα καὶ ἑλαβε τούς Ιουδαίους αὐχαλαλτών. 7 "Hoc anno (quarto Hadriani) prodiit Hierosolymis quidam nomine ben Cocab . . . . . cujus rei nuncio ad Hadrianum delato, misit ille copias quæ ipsum interrecerunt et expugnatis Hierosolymis Judeos perdiderunt, urbemque Hierosolymitanam penitus diruerunt." So the Arabic text. The Syriac is not quite so precise; "Imperator," it says, "misit exercitum, qui Judeos perdidit, et Hierosolymis funditus everris," . . . etc. 8 Histor. Miscell. in Murator. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. I. Lib. X. p. 61, "Hadrianus . . . . . . Judeos ultima cæde perdormuit . . . . . excidio Hierosolymis novissime
cellus,\textsuperscript{1} Cedrenus,\textsuperscript{2} Nicephorus Callistus,\textsuperscript{3} and Suidas.\textsuperscript{4} So that the silence of the Rabbins in opposition to all these testimonies, is of no consequence.

These furnish only the statement, of which I have already made mention, that the plough was drawn over the place where the temple had stood.\textsuperscript{5} They call the general by whom this was performed, Turanus Rufus. Jerome, who mentions it, names him more correctly Titus Annius Rufus.\textsuperscript{6} If there be any truth in the account, which, as was before remarked, does not completely accord with the Roman custom,—which was to draw the plough over whole cities, whereas here only a single building is spoken of,—it was done in order, by such a solemn desecration, to deprive the Jews of all hope that the Romans would ever suffer the temple to be restored. But then how could Julian, who was so zealous for the religion of the state, and for its customs so venerable in his eyes on account of their antiquity,—how could he allow, nay, even invite the Jews, to rebuild their temple on the same site where it formerly stood?

Of Bar-cochba’s further fate we have no positive information. The sole incident related of him is, that he caused one Rabbi Tryphon, who counselled a surrender, to be executed.\textsuperscript{7} If the same Tryphon be meant, with whom Justin held his well known dialogue, the statement is false; for although that Rabbi may have been engaged in the war, yet he survived it, for he is mentioned in the

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\textsuperscript{1} Script. Byz. IX. p. 349, Καὶ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν πόλεμος πέρας ἔχειν, ἀλὸντον Ἰερουσαλήμ τὸ ἱοχατον, ὡς μήτι λιθὸν ἐπὶ λιθὸν ἀφηγήσαι.

\textsuperscript{2} Maimonides in Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin. III. p. 697, “Impius Turanus Rufus ex regibus Idumeis (h. e. Romanis) aravit templi solum et per circuitum ejus, ut adimpleteret quod dictum est Jerem. xxvi. 18.”

\textsuperscript{3} Histor. III. 24. This contains the same accounts respecting the design of the Jews to rebuild the temple, and of Hadrian’s destruction of the remains of the old city, almost in the same words.

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\textsuperscript{1} S. v. Βδελυγμα τρημωσεως: Ὅδε Αδριανός καὶ θειλε τὴν πόλιν ἀρδήν.

\textsuperscript{4} Maimonides in Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin. III. p. 697, “Impius Turanus Rufus ex regibus Idumeis (h. e. Romanis) aravit templi solum et per circuitum ejus, ut adimpleteret quod dictum est Jerem. xxvi. 18.”

\textsuperscript{5} In Zachar. c. 8.

\textsuperscript{6} Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 364. He appeals to Lent de Judæorum Pseudomessiis, p. 17.
dialogue relating to the close of the war. Of the death of the above-named R. Tryphon nothing is related by the Rabbins, although they often make mention of him.

The time during which Bar-cochba reigned is not given with exactness. The Talmud assigns him three years and a half, but places his death under Vespasian. The book Seder Olam gives him two and a half years. Eusebius places his death in the time of the siege of Bether, and says indefinitely that he suffered the punishment he deserved. Several rabbinical accounts make out that he died by the hands of the Jews on account of his crimes, or because he could not prove himself to be the Messiah. According to Abulpharagius, he perished in Jerusalem. The coins attributed to him have his name with the numbers of the two first years only, or else without any date. This seems to indicate that he died earlier. Moreover, the Jewish writers have many fables on the subject. For instance, they relate that his head was brought to the Emperor, who in fact was not then in Palestine; that the latter caused the body to be sought for, and a snake was found wound about its neck. They also quote Hadrian's words at the sight of the corpse: "Had this man not been killed by his God, no one would have been able to do him harm!"

The year of the taking of Jerusalem is given by the Chron. Alexandria, as follows: IN A. A. G. TII. ALAIOT AAPLANOT TO E. KAI POTXIKTOK. Hadrian's second consulate falls in the year A. U. C. 871, A. D. 118. His colleague in the same was Titus Claudius Fuscus Salinator. He held his third consulate with Q. Julius Rusticus; this was in the year of Rome 872, A. D. 119.

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1 "Barcochba regnavit tribus annis et dimidio."
3 H. E. IV. 6, Καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἁπόνοιας αὐτοῖς ἀκτῖνος τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκπλανο- 

tος δίκην.

4 Maimonides in Jad Hazakah, Tract. de regibus c. II, "Videbatur (Barcochba) ipsi (Akiba) et reliquis omnibus sapientibus generationis ejus esse Messias; donec ob scelera sua interfectus est. Tunc enim pa- 

5 "Cujus rei nuncio ad Hadri- 

anum delato, misit ille copias quæ ipsum interfecerunt et expugnatis Hierosolymitis Judæos perdie- 

runt," etc. according to the Arabic text. The Syriac does not mention him.

6 Echa Rabbathi; also Basn. XI. p. 364.
Both consulates, therefore, were too early for us to assume that the capture of Jerusalem took place in either of them. The true state of the case may perhaps have been this; that in the year 119, Hadrian had begun to put his plan of restoring Jerusalem into execution. But then a long time must have elapsed before the breaking out of the war. It is, therefore, better to abstain from any precise designation of time, and content ourselves with the conjecture, that Jerusalem was recaptured by the Romans about the second year after the outbreak of the war, in A.D. 132. Probably it was in consequence of this event, that the Senate caused a coin to be struck with an allocution (so called) of the Emperor's to the soldiers, and the circumscription EXERCITVS IVDAICVS. But it does not by any means follow from this, that the Emperor himself was with the army; for he carried on his wars by means of his lieutenants. Besides, we know very little of the history of those years in which the Jewish war took place; and cannot even determine where the Emperor remained during the whole time. We know only of his abode in Athens in the year 888, A. D. 135; where he had himself initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and was occupied in erecting the great temple of Jupiter. About the same time he began to suffer from ill health, and in this year Eckhel places the adoption of Ælius Caesar.

XIX. According to the book Zemach David, Bar-cochba was succeeded in the government by his son Rufus, and this latter by his son Romulus, who was also like his grandfather called Coziba. The whole dynasty is said to have lasted twenty-one years. As a voucher, there is given us R. Abraham ben David, who perished in the year 1391. Of this tradition the other writers know nothing. But when we reflect, that there must have been a dynasty which had the Jews under its rule, and probably kept itself as secret as possible, this silence of foreign, pagan, and Christian authors can determine nothing against the truth of the matter. Rufus was a cognomen known among the Romans. We find it also among the Jews. The Cyrenean Simon, who was com-

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1 Eckhel D. N. Vet. VI. p. 496. Mediobarba p. 178. It is a medalion, and consequently a medal properly speaking.
pelled to bear our Lord's cross after him, is called "the father of Alexander and Rufus." A greater difficulty is caused by the name Romulus, which among the Romans at least was very rare. I find it in the earlier times only twice in the inscriptions collected by Muratori,—among the names of the freedmen of Livia, and (as Muratori thinks) of the marines of the fleet at Misenum. Once the name is given to an oriental of Emesa: to what time he belonged is uncertain, but he was no Roman; for the name of his father, Bigezonus, is quite foreign. It is also found a couple of times in Gaul and Britain. From written documents we know of a pretended martyr of this name under Trajan; also the son of the emperor Maxentius, of whom we possess coins; and a senator in Aquileia, in the time of the emperor Constantius. How much the name was formerly held in honour, is evident from the circumstance, that Octavianus, when desirous of laying aside his own appellation, which had been made odious by the cruelty of the triumvirate, would willingly have assumed this name, although he afterwards decided for that of Augustus. All this, however, is not completely decisive against the opinion that Bar-cochba's grandson, who, as above stated, is said to have been likewise called Coziba, bore also the name Romulus. And if we suppose the name Coziba, perhaps with a somewhat altered pronunciation, to have been a family name, we can so much the more easily conceive how the majority came to be acquainted with one only, and to have attributed everything to him. But in any case we are not to ascribe either to son or grandson the idea of Messianic dignity, which seems, especially after the conquest of Jerusalem, to have disappeared; this family being doubtless regarded as a new Asmonean race, who were to procure for the nation its former independence.

XX. Jerusalem was now taken; but there was still one stronghold in the hands of the Jews, into which a considerable force must

1 Mark xv. 21.  
2 Thesaurus Inscript. p. 974. 6.  
3 Ibid. p. 874. 3.  
5 Ibid. p. 1094. 4, and p. 1736. 10.  
6 In Tillemont Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Eglise II. p. 237.  
7 Eckhel Doctr. N. V. VIII. p. 59.  
8 Le Beau, Hist. du Bas Empire XI. p. 92.  
9 Sueton. August. c. 7. Dion Cass. LIII. 166, Reim. I. p. 710.
have previously thrown themselves; since we cannot suppose that, on the surrender of Jerusalem, the Roman army granted a free retreat thither to a great body of fugitives. But doubtless all that could make their escape, or fight their way through, endeavoured to get to Bether. Such, according to the testimony of Eusebius, was the name of this fortress situated near Jerusalem. Its site is not yet determined; and indeed it will hardly be possible to ascertain it, until at some future day a more exact investigation of ruins, and perhaps of inscriptions bearing its name, shall bring it to light. A place called Betarum mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, and which perhaps is the Betthar of the Jerusalem Itinerary, divides opinions with the ancient Beth-horon. But this last is opposed by the circumstance that the name Beth-horon occurs unaltered in the Mishna; which also speaks of a Bether, probably that situated in Idumea, of which Josephus makes mention. The Jerusalem Gemara and the book Echa Rabbathi designate the distance of this fortress from the sea at four Roman miles. We confine ourselves to following Eusebius, who places it in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and describes it as very strong. It must have been of considerable extent, as a large multitude of people found protection within it; and it probably had a naturally strong position on a hill, so that it could even hold out against a long siege. But it seems also to follow from this, that the military strength of the Romans must have been much weakened, and that they did not attack Bether with great vigour. The accounts of the Rabbins moreover as to the extent of the city, are in the highest degree exaggerated. It had, say they, from four hundred to five hundred synagogues, in each

1 Hist. Eccles. IV. 6.
2 Relandi Palæstina p. 639 sq. See also Bachiene's Descript. of Palestine, Part II. Vol. III. p. 227.
3 Betarum between Cæsarea and Lydda, and in the Jerus. Itinerary a Betthar between Cæsarea and Antipatris, which are perhaps the same city. Beth-horon was distant 100 stadia from Jerusalem, Reland p. 634. By the Jews Bether is called דומא בתרומית; because, after the destruction of Jerusalem, watchmen it appears were posted there, in order to spy out those who went on a pilgrimage to the ruins, and to accuse them of doing it, either with a view to obtain the favour of the Romans, or else to make sale of their lands. Basnage XI. p. 349.
4 Josephus calls it בתרות, in case the reading is correct, and it should not be בתרות. Reland p. 627 sq.
5 Reland p. 639.
6 [See Note by the Editor, at the end of this article.]
four hundred teachers, and in the smallest three hundred scholars; or, according to others, each teacher had to instruct four hundred children.\(^1\)

At last the besieged were subdued by hunger and thirst, as well as by the attacks of the Romans. The city was captured with great bloodshed,\(^2\) towards the end of the eighteenth year of Hadrian's reign, in the year of Rome 888, A. D. 135, on the 9th of the month Abh,\(^3\) in the same month of August in which Nebuchadnezzar formerly took Jerusalem. In this designation of time we are obliged to acquiesce; for the other specifications cannot be reconciled with history, and are besides self-contradictory.

The book Shalsheleth Hakkabbala gives the seventy-third year after the destruction of the temple; and Zemach David, on the contrary, the fifty-third year after the same.\(^4\) Accordingly, in the first case, as Titus destroyed the temple in the year of Rome 823, A. D. 70, we should have to assume the year of Rome 896, A. D. 143, in which Antoninus Pius had already reigned five years. The second case would give the year of Rome 873, A. D. 123, when all was in profound peace, and in which Hadrian set out on his journey. Eusebius adds in his Chronicon one year more to the year 135; since he remarks at Hadrian's nineteenth year, that the war was then brought to a close.\(^5\) And it is very conceivable, that it may not have ceased immediately upon the taking of Bether; for else we should be obliged to assume, that all had been before restored to tranquillity. But a long interval must certainly have elapsed

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\(^1\) Tract Gitthin, in Eisenmenger II. 644, and Echa Rabbathi ibid. Hadrian, it is said, burnt 480 synagogues. A hymn of lamentation which is sung on the 9th of Abh, contains this statement. If all the synagogues destroyed during the war be here intended, the number is by no means exaggerated.

\(^2\) Jewish authors relate that the horses had to wade up to their mouths in blood; that the blood of those who fell rolled along in its current stones of four pounds weight; that the corpses of the slain did not undergo putrefaction; and that Hadrian caused his vineyard, (perhaps the villa near Tibur, of which they may have heard,) which was 18 Roman miles square, to be fenced in with them; Tr. Gitthin and Echa Rabbathi. See Wolf's Bibl. Hebr. IV. p. 318; also Bayle's Dictionary. These are some specimens of Rabbinical histories!


\(^5\) Ionosaios, ἀπεηλαξαν, καὶ ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος πέφας ἤσει, ἐνθεν εἰργοντα πάνερ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαίνει, ν. τ. λ. ad ann. Hadr. 19.
before fifty strongholds, and nine hundred and eighty-five towns and villages were all in the hands of the Romans. The closing scene of the war appears to have lasted three and a half years. In this Jerome and the Talmud coincide. The coins attributed to this period bear also four years; and on those of the third and fourth, as has already been remarked, there is no more said of Jerusalem, but they have the legends 

XXI. At the taking of Bether, Bar-cochba's grandson Romulus is also said to have perished. We must therefore place the death of his father Rufus somewhat earlier, in case there is any truth in the tradition of this dynasty of three successive Jewish princes. Rabbi Akiba was taken prisoner, together with his son Pappas, and executed; and with him vanished, as it is said in the Mishna, the glory of the Law. He was, when he perished, an aged man of a hundred and twenty years. That he then lost his life is probable, although R. David Ganz in Zemach David asserts that he died in the year of Rome 880, A. D. 120. But the manner of his death, namely, that his flesh was torn off with an iron comb, and that he was roasted by a slow fire, is a story of later date. Such tortures were unknown to the Romans. His grave was afterwards shown, together with the graves of many of his pupils, in a mountain cave near Tiberias.

Many Rabbins had taken part in the war; and several of them perished at or after the taking of Bether. Basnage has collected from the Jewish writings the names of the most remarkable. They

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1 In Daniel-em cap. 9, "Tres anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur, quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est, et Judæorum gens catervatim caesa, ita ut Judæae quoque finibus pelleretur."

2 Sanhedrin, Tract Kelek, in Martini Pug. Fid. p. 326, "Tribus annis et dimidio obsedit Hadrianus Bitter." According to this author, Bar-cochba reigned during the whole time in Bether.

3 See Appendix to Sect. XX, at the end of this article, p. 455.


5 In Sota 515, p. 303; in Basnage XI. p. 365.

6 It is also said of another Rabbi, Johanan ben Zechai, that he attained the age of 120. Walch Hist. Patriarch. p. 256.


8 In the Talmud, Tract Erubbin, and in Berakoth, cited by Bayle in his Dictionary.


10 Basnage Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 566.
are regarded as martyrs. Ishbab the scripturist (scribe) was slain in the hour of prayer, and his corpse remained long unburied, a prey to the dogs and wild beasts. Ananias, or Chanina, the son of Thardion, was condemned to the flames, and was burnt along with the book of the Law, which he is said to have read and expounded, contrary to the Emperor’s commands. Judah, the son of Bava, the restorer of the Sanhedrin, was thrust through with lances,—according to the tradition, with three hundred of them. Whether the son of Suma perished then or later is uncertain; because some regard him as the teacher of Rabbi Judah the Holy—that sun which rose as the other set. He is said to have been born on the day of Akiba’s death. R. Jose Setham, a name celebrated in the Mishna, had taken no part in the insurrection; but, it is said, because he was silent when the Romans were extolled, he was sent into exile to Sepphoris.

XXII. The number of the Jews that perished in the battles, is given by Dion Cassius at five hundred and eighty thousand; while those who were carried off by hunger, pestilence, and all the miseries of war, were innumerable. Jewish accounts give the number of those whom Hadrian destroyed at four millions; and in Alexandria he is said to have killed twice as many as came out of Egypt under Moses, viz. six millions. These exaggerations are evident. But the loss that the Roman empire suffered through this war, may easily have amounted to over two millions. Not only was it for the Jews, the Cyrenians, Egyptians, and Cyprians, an exceedingly bloody war; but the Romans also lost men in great numbers. Dion even thinks that it was in consequence of the loss sustained, that Hadrian did not employ, in a letter to the Senate, the customary formula: Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego quidem et exercitus valemus. But this conjecture is groundless. The Emperor must in that case have been with the army; and that he was so, is also the opinion of the Jewish writers. He was however in Italy: a sufficient reason for not mentioning the army in his letter.

A single inscription commemorative of this war has been pre-

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1 LXIX. 14. p. 1162. In Bithrer vero interfecit Hadrianus

2 In the book Gitthin it is said: quadringentis vicibus decem mil-

"Tradidit R. Eliezer Magnus . . . .

"lia;” in Martini Pugio Fidei p. 327.
served. It is said to exist in the stone pavement of St. Peter's at Rome: 1

SEX. ATTIVS. SENECIO.
PRAEF. ALAE. P. FL. GAETVLRVM.
TRIB. LEG. X. GEMINA. EMIS
SVS. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN. EXPE
DITIONE. IVDAICA. AD. VEXILLA.

Thus, then, auxiliaries were sent even from distant Mauritania to the Jewish war! This S. Attius Senecio was a tribune of the tenth legion, and probably headed a squadron of light Getulian cavalry which marched to Judea as a corps of reserve, cohortes vexillares.

Hadrian's coins in all the metals with the inscription TELLVS STABILITA accompanied by different types, undeniably have reference to the tranquilizing of the provinces and the suppression of the insurrections; 2 and hence also to the conclusion of the Jewish war, the most dangerous of all. But as nothing occurs on them that has special reference to Judea, we cannot consider them as monuments properly belonging to the history of this war. They have also no precise dates. On some, the Emperor's third consulate is given. This indeed was in the year 872, A. D. 119; but as he did not take another consulate, we find the COS. III. on several of his later coins. The Alexandrine coins from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of his reign seem indeed sometimes to allude to victories; but in too indefinite a manner for us to draw any conclusion from them. 3

XXIII. At length all was reduced to subjection. But Palestine had also become a desert. 4 The prisoners were sold for slaves in countless multitudes; at first at the annual market by the Terebinth, or as Jerome says, in Abraham's tent near Hebron, 5 where the

1 Syntagma Inscript. p. 513.
3 In Mionnet VI. E. g. of the 18th year, No. 1187, 1188 with the ΑΘΗ- νη Νικηφόρος; of the 19th year, No. 1245, a goddess of victory; of the 20th, No. 1282, the figure of Providence; No. 1292, the Emperor in a triumphal car and crowned by Victory.
4 Justin says to Tryphon, Dial. c. 52, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἱμαῖς ἐπὶ ἔθνος βασιλεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ προσῆλυ η γῆ ἱμαῖν ἡμερῶν καὶ ὁ ὀπαρφυλαίον καταλείποντα.
5 In Zachariam c. ii. "Legamus veteres historias et traditiones plangentium Judeorum, quod in tabernaculo Abraha, ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exerceretur, post ultimam evasionem, quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sint; et
patriarch had dwelt, and where a great market was yearly held. As much was paid for a slave as for a horse. Those not sold there were taken to Gaza to another market, which thence received the name of Hadrian's mart. The remainder were shipped off to Egypt. Many perished miserably on the way, by hunger and shipwreck; others were murdered by the heathen.

Thus was this unhappy people severely punished for their renewed bold but indiscreet attempt to recover their freedom. No wonder that even in the following centuries they continued to mourn over the capture of Bether, as they did over that of Jerusalem under Titus; and that in their lamentations Hadrian and Nebuchadnezzar are mentioned with equal abhorrence. Titus, on the contrary, was far from being detested by the Jews in a like degree.

That Hadrian caused the ears of the Jews to be cropped off, as Abulpharagius relates, is at any rate to be understood only of those prisoners who were condemned to slavery. Yet the whole affair seems improbable; at furthest they can only have been marked with the iron, as servants exposed for sale. The prohibition against reading the Bible in Hebrew except on paying tribute for the same, which has been ascribed to the Emperor, has been shown by Basnage to be a fable; although the above mentioned Rabbi Ananias is said to have suffered martyrdom for transgressing it. But that the Emperor, as Appian relates, imposed on the Jews a heavier tax than that which they formerly had to pay to the state, a poll-tax which must be distinguished from that to Jupiter Capitolinus,—is not by any means unlikely. This, however, may have served as a partial indemnification for the expenses of the war.

XXIV. We have thus reached the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign, A. U. C. 889, in the course of the year A. D. 136; in which

1 See Biblioth. Sacr. I. p. 53.
2 Chron. Alexandr.
3 Abulph. in both texts.
4 Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 375.
the Emperor celebrated his Vicennalia. It was the custom on such festivals, which only Augustus and Trajan had lived to see, to build or consecrate new cities, or else to give new names to old ones. And it was then accordingly that Jerusalem, which was no longer a Jewish but a Roman city, received the name of Colonia Ælia Capitolina,—Ælia after the praenomen of its founder Ælius Hadrianus, and Capitolina in honour of the god to whom it was now dedicated, and whose temple was built on the site where that of the Jews had formerly stood. Thus too a temple to Jupiter in Neapolis, the ancient Sichem, occupied the place of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim; although perhaps at a somewhat later period. The Holy City no doubt had already been fortified by Romans and Jews. Hadrian added whatever was still wanting, and adorned his colony with magnificent buildings. The Chronicon Alexandrinum speaks of a theatre—for the old one built by Herod had long since been destroyed; and of two market-places, a Trizonium, and a building called Τετράνυμος, the purpose of which is unknown, as is also that of another named Κόδων. A building that was formerly called the Ἀναβασμοὶ received in its new shape the name Αναδεκάπτων, which reminds one of the Περτάπτων and Εξάπτων in Syracuse, and may have formed part of the fortifications. Was this perhaps placed on the site of the fortress of Antonia? The materials for these structures were furnished in abundance by the ruins of the temple and of other great works. The city itself was divided into seven quarters, ἄμφοδοι, each of which had its own warden, called the ἀμφοδαχτός. With all this, Ælia Capitolina did not attain to the size of the former Jerusalem. Mount Zion, which now lay in ruins, and was used for gardens and tillage, was not included within the walls; and that the city was enlarged on the west, and that Calvary among other places was

1 Pagi Critica Antibaroniana ad ann. Chr. 132. § 35.
2 Damasc. apud Photium Cod. 242, τὸ ψωτος (ἀβιτ) Διὸς ὕψιστον ἄγιοτας τον ἱερον. Eckhel D. N. III. p. 434.
3 Διὸ ἡμῶν I prefer the meaning market-places (Fora) to that of prisons; although the word bears the latter signification also.
4 The Ἀναβασμοὶ are mentioned Acts xxi. 40.
5 Goller de situ et origine Syracusarum ; Procem. p. xix.
6 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. VIII.
8 Plessing’s Golgotha und Christi Grab p. 120. So the Mount was
brought within its circuit, is a fable of later date. Hadrian’s Ælia is the Jerusalem of the crusaders and of the Turks; and its limits have been assigned by nature herself.

Over the gate that led to Bethlehem, Hadrian caused a swine to be sculptured in relief on the wall; perhaps with the view of rendering the new city still more odious to the Jews; since their refraining from the flesh of that animal was a subject of derision among the Romans. The swine however belonged also to the signa militaria of the Roman army, and was the fifth in rank, in honour of the sow that Æneas found at the place where Lavinium was to be built. We see it on one of Hadrian’s coins.

It was an object of importance with the Emperor, to attract a large number of inhabitants to his new city. Accordingly, he provided also for their religious worship. That great honour was shown to Jupiter Capitolinus, is a matter of course. He was indeed regarded as the guardian deity of the city. His temple, on the site where that of Solomon formerly stood, is mentioned by Dion Cassius. Jerome also speaks of a statue of Jupiter at the place of the resurrection. But the sepulchre of Christ must certainly have been destroyed in the siege under Titus. Golgotha also, according to Sozomen, was surrounded by the pagans with a
wall, filled up with stones, and on it placed a temple to Venus, whose image in marble is mentioned by Jerome. This was probably an Astarte, for the Phenicians; and if there stood also in this temple, as Paulinus de Nola reports, an image of Jupiter, it was doubtless a Phenician Baal, who indeed was not unfrequently adored as the solar deity in the same temple with the queen of heaven. A temple to Serapis appears to have been erected by Hadrian for the Egyptians. But excepting the adoration of Jupiter, the Phenician worship must have been the predominating one in the city and in the country round about; and hence it was that the cave in Bethlehem, in which, according to tradition, Christ was born, was dedicated to Adonis. Yet Hadrian can hardly have conceived the idea of a dying God, and have represented to himself Adonis as a mystical being having any reference to Christ. He was moreover no enemy or persecutor of the Christians; and it may well be supposed that the Apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to the Emperor, perhaps during his stay in Athens in the year 135, were immediately occasioned by the Jewish war, and were at the same time designed to convince him that Jews and Christians differed essentially from each other. Had

1 Ep. 13, "In crucis rupe statua Veneris a gentibus posita celebatur."
2 Ibid. "Ab Hadrianit temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, simulacrum Jovis."
3 Plessing's Golgotha, p. 116. This conjecture rests on a coin with the head of this god, Vaillant Numism. Coloniar. I. p. 166. Also in Eckhel III. p. 443.
5 Paulini Epist. II. ad Severum: "Hadrianus . . . in loco passionis simulacrum Jovis consecravit, et Bethlehem Adonis fano profanatus est." We learn from the sequel of this letter that the festival of Adonis was there celebrated: "Ubi natum Salvatorem . . . . salutaverunt pastores, ibi Veneris Amasium mixtum semiviris planxere meretrices," etc.
7 See Euseb. H. E. IV. 3. The Alexandrine Chronicle speaks also of an Apology, which it appears Apelles and Aristobulus presented to the Emperor in the eighteenth year of his reign; and thereupon refers to Eusebius, who however says not a word about it. The Apology of Aristides is mentioned by Ado Vienensis in his Martyrologium, as a production still extant in his time in Athens, and highly thought of; ad d. 3 Octobr. According to De la Guilletière (Athènes anciennes et nouvelles, Paris, 1676, p. 146.) it was still in existence in the seventeenth century, in the library of the Medelli convent near Athens.
he not possessed this conviction, he would have prohibited the Christians as strictly as the Jews from approaching Jerusalem. This however was not done; and he seems even to have observed with satisfaction, that they took up their abode in his new city, together with the Romans and Phenicians. This result could not fail to ensue; for, drawn to Jerusalem by the recollections attached to it, the Nazarene community, who had retired to Pella as long ago as the first war with Vespasian, now came back to Ælia Capitolina and re-established themselves there. But as no Jews were any longer tolerated in Ælia, the succession of bishops of the race of David and of the kindred of Jesus, now ceased with Judas, the fifteenth bishop, who appears to have died in Pella; and the series of bishops from the Gentiles begins with Marcus.¹ Epiphanius asserts that he became a Christian in consequence of his intercourse with Christians in Jerusalem; but that, as he was compelled to leave off the pursuit of astrology, he relapsed into Judaism.² Very improbable, truly! The Alexandrian Chronicle has copied Epiphanius, and adds the fable that he was father-in-law to Hadrian.³ In what Rabbi this may be found, I know not.

The period of the building of Ælia is given in this Chronicle, as follows: INΔ. IA. 15. ΤΙΠ. ΑΤΓΟΤΡΙΝΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΡΓΙΑΝΟΤ. We find in the year 885, A. D. 132, Sentius Augurinus and Arius Severianus, and in the year 887, A. D. 134, C. Jul. Servianus III. and C. Vibius Varus. Neither of these consulates perfectly agrees with the statement. The Chronicle probably meant the first, as the number 15 indicates the year of Hadrian's reign; and in that year he has TR. P. XV. and XVI. on coins and inscriptions. Both statements are incorrect, notwithstanding; for he did not celebrate his Vicennalia till the year 889, A. D. 136. Or, he must already have made use of Aquila at an earlier period, and before the breaking out of the war with Bar-cochba, when he began the building of the city, which was afterwards interrupted.

The coins of Ælia Capitolina begin with Hadrian, and end with Hostilian. We still possess that which was struck at the establishment of the colony, with the symbol of founding, i.e. a husbandman ploughing, with the ensign of a legion near him, and the inscription, COL. AEL. CAPIT. CONDitor.¹ The coins of this city, however, must not be confounded with the Grecian coins of the city Capitolias in Cœlesyria,² although some of them also have Greek inscriptions. A catalogue of all the coins of Ælia is found in Rasche’s Lexicon,³ and some additions in Sestini.⁴

Those are particularly remarkable whose types have reference to religion. On coins of Hadrian and Diadumenus we see the Capitoline Jupiter in his temple between Pallas and the genius of the City. The queen of heaven, Astarte, is represented on the coins of Antonine and Marcus Aurelius; she stands sometimes alone, sometimes in a temple, holding in her right hand a human head, the head of Adonis, with her feet on a river-god, doubtless the conquered Jordan.⁵ A coin of the emperor Severus has a large conical stone in a temple between two ensigns of legions, and alludes to the local worship of the Baethylia, or meteor-stones.⁶

The later fortunes of Ælia are foreign to our purpose. We refer to the before mentioned treatises of Deyling and Witsius;⁷ and add only, that the ancient and venerable name Jerusalem gradually sank so entirely into oblivion, that under Diocletian, a governor of Palestine, Firmilianus, on a trial of Christian prisoners, asked what city it was.⁸ The name Ælia was retained long after in the Christian ages, together with the ancient one; which last was applied again to the city from Constantine’s time onwards, and gradually supplanted the other.

XXV. Pagans and Christians were thus permitted to reside in Ælia. The Jews alone were excluded by the most stringent laws

¹ Mélanges de Pellerin I. p. 239. Eckhel III. p. 442.
² As has been done by Harduin; Eckhel III. p. 328.
³ Rasche’s Lexicon Tom. I; and in the first supplementary volume.
⁴ Sestini Descriptio numorum veterum p. 544.
⁵ Harduin Numi antiqui illustrati p. 8. Eckhel III. 442. A similar coin of Cæsarea in the province of Samaritis is found in Eckhel p. 431.
⁶ Pellerin Recueil III. Tab. 135. no. 9. Münter’s Antiq. Abhandl. p. 278.
⁷ [See also in Robinson’s Bibl. Researches, II. p. 9 sq.
⁸ Euseb. de Martyr. Palestineœ c. 11.
from the city of their fathers. Hadrian forbade them access to it under pain of death. This is testified to by Justin Martyr, Aristophiles of Pella in Eusebius, Tertullian, Eusebius himself, and Jerome. The prohibition was still in force in Tertullian’s time, in the beginning of the third century. Nay, the unhappy people dared not even to venture into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; not even to look upon and lament over the ruins of their sanctuary from a distance! Guards too were stationed to prevent their entering. Such strong measures were of course intended to last only for a while. But they were certainly renewed, and perhaps increased in severity, as often as the Jews gave new cause for suspicion or raised new disturbances. In the age of Constantine, however, the Jews received permission to approach the city within a certain distance, so that they could see it from the surrounding mountains. But none ventured to enter it, or take up his abode there. At length they were allowed to come to Jerusalem once a year, on the anniversary of the day when Titus took the city, and to weep over the

1 Apol. I. 47, ὅσι δέ φυλάσσεται (Ἰεροοναλήμ) ὑπ' ὑμῶν ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γίνηται, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ καταλαμβανομένου Ἰουδαίου εἰς ὑμῶν ἡμῖν ὑποπόθει, ἀκριβῶς ἔπιστασθε. Dial. c. Tryph. c. 16, Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἔθνων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφορισμένοι καὶ ἦσαν γένοιτο αὐτῷ ὑμῶν ἔρημοι, καὶ τοὺς πόλεις πυρκαγιάν ἔκατε. καὶ μηδεὶς ἐν ὑμῶν ἐπισκέψει εἰς τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ.


3 Contr. Judæos c. 15, "Et exinde, quod interdictum est, ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Judæorum . . . . . quod vobis pro meritis vestris post expugnationem Hierusalem, prohibitis ingredi terram vestram, de longinquo tandem eam oculos vestrum videre permissum est." Apologet. c. 21, "Quibus (Judæis) nec advenarum juris terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur."

4 Demonstr. Evang. VIII. 18, after the passage cited above relating to the destruction by Titus: μετ’ αὐτὸν πόλιν τὸν χώρων κατὰ Ἀδυανόν τὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα κινήσωσιν αὐτὸς Ἰουδαιό-

5 In Esaiam c. 6, "Rursum ipsæ reliquiae erunt in depredationem, quando post annos ferme 50 Hadri anus venerit, et terram Judaen fuerit depraeditus, in tantum ut terebintho et quercu quæ glandes amiserit, comparetur." So too in Dan. c. 9.

6 Sulpicii Severi Hist. Sacra II. 45, "Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret." Euseb. Chron. Ιωνέν εἰσο-

ruins of the temple. Men and women, often feeble and aged persons, flocked there together in rent garments of mourning, and were forced to purchase permission from the Roman guards to weep undisturbed. At a later period, when the Jews were more equitably treated, they obtained leave either expressed or understood to reside in Jerusalem. Twice however they were driven forth, by Constantine and by Heraclius; and it was not till under the dominion of the Saracens, to whom the city was no less holy, that its gates were again opened to the posterity of its former inhabitants.

XXVI. But with the taking of Bether, all disturbances among the Jews do not yet appear to have been suppressed. A few words of Capitolinus allude to a new attempt in the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. By means of his governors and lieutenants, says this biographer, he quelled the rebellious Jews. This is all we know. According to Capitolinus, disturbances had broken out in several provinces, for instance also in Achaia and Egypt. The tranquillizing of Egypt is probably referred to on a couple of Alexandrian coins of Antonine's second year. Perhaps a passage in Fronto's letters also belongs to this period. This rhetorician had been appointed to the command of a province as proconsul; but he excuses himself on account of his feeble health, and speaks of his friend Julius Senex, whom he had summoned to him from Mauritania; having desired the support of his activity and fidelity, as well as of his military abilities in hunting out the highway robbers (latrones) and keeping them in check. That the province allotted to Fronto lay in Greece or in Asia, has been rendered very proba-

1 Hieron. in Zephan. i. 15, "Qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas suas, et ne fle tus quidem eis gratuitus sit. Videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem, confuere decrepitas mulierculas, et senes pannis annisque obsitos, et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes, plangere ruinas templi sui. Miles mercedem postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat." Also in Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. XII. 

2 Basnage XI. p. 149. XII. p. 387. 

3 Cap. 5, "Atque Judæos rebellantes contudit per præsides ac legatos." It is singular that the Jews try to make out the emperor Antonine to have been a Jew, and to have even circumcised himself in order that he might eat the Paschal lamb. He is said to have been a disciple of R. Judah the Holy. Zemach David, in Basnage XII. p. 3. 

4 In Mionnet VI. No. 1406, 1427. On the first is a Victory in a quadriga; on the second, the eagle on a globe with the wreath of victory in his beak. 

ble by Maius; and the expression *latrones* may with good reason be applied to the Jews, inasmuch as they had made themselves especially formidable in skirmishes and onslaughts. In Egypt also they may have participated in the disturbances that there broke out. But nothing can be said with certainty on the subject; as the seventieth book of Dion Cassius, which must have contained the history of these years, was already lost in the time of Xiphilin. After this, the Jews kept themselves quiet. At their solicitation, Antonine softened the rigour of Hadrian's laws, and permitted the circumcision of their own children; but he forbade them to incorporate strangers in this way among their own people. Their Sanhedrin they had established anew; and history names several of their patriarchs who lived under Antonine and his successors.

Marcus Aurelius and Verus also at first gave them proofs of favour, and according to Ulpian again granted them access to posts of honour. But when a new Parthian war broke out, the Jews living in the East, and hence probably those in Mesopotamia under the Parthian rule, united themselves to the hereditary enemies of the Roman empire; and when Mesopotamia and Osrhoene became in time of peace (A. U. C. 918, A. D. 165) subject to the Romans, they were compelled to bow again beneath the hated yoke. The Emperor, who, though otherwise so mild, on his journey through Syria to Egypt likened them to the Marcomanni and Sarmatians, renewed Hadrian's laws against them; although in the remote oriental provinces they were never enforced. Probably the dis-

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1 Commentar. praevious, ibid. I. p. 19.
tiosis. That the Jews alone had the right of circumcision, is affirmed by Origen, c. Celsum II. 13. p. 399. ed. Rusei.
3 Basnage XI. p. 366.
6 Statii Sylvlar. III. v. 170:

*Quae modo Marcomannos post horrida bella, vagoque Sauromatae, Latio non est dignata Triumpho.*
pleasure with which Marcus Aurelius visited them, arose from their participation in the rebellion of Avidius Cassius; which however was very pardonable, as almost the whole of the East had declared itself for him, and the Jews as well as the rest may have been deceived by the reports which Avidius spread of the Emperor's death.

In the early part of the reign of Severus nothing was heard of them. Although Pescennius Niger seems not to have been their friend, as he gave them, or at least the inhabitants of Palestine, a harsh reply in answer to their request that he would exempt them from taxation; and was at the same time master of the country, as we have coins of Ælia bearing his name; still the Jews appear not to have been involved in the war with Severus. And when Spartian relates that Severus deprived the inhabitants of Neapolis of their rights of citizenship for siding with Niger, but afterwards remitted to the inhabitants of Palestine the punishment they had deserved on Niger's account, he seems to refer to the Syrians and Greeks dwelling in the country, and not to the Jews and Samaritans. Perhaps these latter were then sufficiently occupied with one another. For Abulpharagius informs us that a civil war broke out among them; and that during it a bloody battle took place, which cost many menon both sides. This may well have been the case and may be explained by the bitter national and sectarian hatred which animated each of these people against the other.

Perhaps this account is connected with the story of the highwayman Claudius, who had a large body of the people under his command, and who carried his audacity to such a pitch, that he once even appeared in the Emperor's presence, in the guise of one of his tribunes. If his bands consisted partly of Jews, they may have made use of this opportunity to attack the Samaritans; and thus the battle may have ensued. That the Jews were really involved in the affair of Claudius,—or that he himself belonged to this people, and conducted his operations on a pretty extensive scale,

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1 Basnage XII. p. 20.
2 Spartanus in Pescennio c. 7.
3 Eckhel VII. p. 157.
4 In Severo c. 9. et 14.
5 Pag. 79, "Anno imperii ejus primo oborta est contentio magna inter Judaeos et Samaritanos, et commissum praetium, quo ex utroque exercitu occiderunt multi."
6 Dion Cass. LXXV. 2. p. 1257.
is probable from the fact that Jerome’s Chronicle, at the fifth year of Severus, (A. D. 198, A. U. C. 951,) speaks of a Jewish and Samaritan war; and that Spartianus gives an account of a triumph over the Jews decreed by the Senate to Caracalla, but which Severus changed into a triumph over the Parthians. An Alexandrian coin of the same year also gives intimation of victorious rejoicings. But to triumph over Jewish highwaymen was beneath the imperial dignity. In connexion with these disturbances stands also the account, that Severus in his journey through Palestine prohibited accession to Judaism under severe penalties. Consequently the Jews must have gone on making proselytes, in spite of all former laws. The same prohibition was issued by command of the Emperor respecting the Christians; and thus he gave rise to a persecution, which was particularly vehement in Alexandria and in Africa; and in which, besides Leonidas the father of Origen, and the celebrated Potamiæa, there perished also the Scyllitianian martyrs, and somewhat later Felicitas and Perpetua, together with their companions in misfortune.

In the sequel, Severus became again more favourable to the Jews. Their money opened his heart to them; but at the same time he did not spare their purses, and they were obliged afterwards as before to pay the taxes imposed on them. They were, however, regarded as Roman citizens; were capable of holding office, and of being employed in public business; and possessed even the right of declining such offices as were attended with too great expense, e. g. municipal magistracies. They consequently felt deep gratitude to the Emperor; and applied to him, as they had previously done to Marcus Aurelius, the words of Scripture: "Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help."

1 Hieronymi Chron. ad h. ann. "Judaicum et Samariticum bellum motum." Eusebius’s Chronicle has nothing relative to it.
3 A coin of Caracalla of the fifth year, No. 2482, bearing a caduceus sprouting out into a palm; in Zoëga p. 252. No. 28.
4 Spartianus in Severo c. 17, "Judeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit."
6 Basnage, XII. p. 48.
7 Dan. xi. 34.
Accordingly there now ensued quieter and more prosperous times for the Jewish people; and these constitute the boundary which our recital of their calamities must not transcend.

APPENDIX to Sect. XX, Page 438, where the capture of Bether is treated of.


"Artasis (regis Armeniaci) mortem praecclare tradit Aristo Pellæus. Siquidem per ea tempora Judei ab Adriano rege Romano defecerunt et cum Rufo Hipparcho conflixerunt, ductu viri cujusdam latronis, cui nomen erat Barcochebas, id est stellæ filius, qui quidem re erat facinorosus et homicida, sed nomine suo glorians, afflicitis illis et captivis servatorem se de cælo delapsum esse predicabat. Is bellum adeo acceddit, ut Syriæ ac Mesopotamiae incolæ, Persæque omnes, id respicientes, tributas solvere desisterent. Namque audiverat etiam lepræ morbum in Adrianum invasisse. Noster autem Artasis super ea re nil movetur. Accidit autem, ut per id tempus Adrianus in Palæstinam veniret, rebellesque in parvo oppido Hierosolyma obsessos deleret, qui ideo omnem Judæorum gentem a patrios solo jussit pellī; quæ nec procul quidem Hierosolyma esset spectatoria; atque ipse Hierosolymam a Vespasiano, Tito, et ab se devastatam instauravit, et ab nomine suo Æliam appellavit, cum ipse Adrianus Sol esset appellatus, (he confoundsthe Greek word "Hλιος with Hadrian's prænomen Ælius,) atque ibi ethnicos locavit, et Christianos, quorum Episcopus erat Marcus."

Even if this narration be taken in the main from Aristo, or, which seems more probable, from Eusebius, it still confirms what I have said of the great importance of the war, and clearly indicates the extent of the insurrection, which spread far beyond Palestine. That Hadrian himself took part in the war in person, Eusebius nowhere says. This statement seems to rest wholly on Jewish traditions, with which perhaps Moses of Chorene was also acquainted.
The notices of Jewish writers respecting the city Bether (ברח), or Beth-Tar (ברת), are collected by Lightfoot, and less fully by Reland. Eusebius writes the name Βευθηρα, Lat. Bitter. This mysterious city seems destined to baffle the efforts of historians and archaeologists to determine its position; for all the data extant are too few and too indefinite to afford ground for more than some degree of probability.

The name accords sufficiently well with the Betarum of the Itinerary of Antonine; which notes this place as eighteen Roman miles from Cæsarea towards Lydda. The Jerusalem Itinerary has the name Betthar at sixteen of the like miles from Cæsarea towards Antipatris, from which it was distant ten miles. These names doubtless both refer to the same place; which thus far might well be the Bether in question. This too would nearly agree with the testimony of the Rabbins, that Bether was situated four Roman miles from the sea. But on the other hand, this last specification is contradicted by Eusebius, who says that Bether was not far from Jerusalem. Further, Betarum would seem to have been merely a village or station between Cæsarea and the towns further south; and no traces of its existence are found, except in those two Itineraries of a later age. There are also other circumstances to which we shall again recur, which render it probable that Bether lay not in the plain, but upon the mountains.

Cellarius and others find Bether in the upper Beth-horon, which lies twelve Roman miles north-west of Jerusalem, on the brow of the steep pass leading down to the plain below. This would accord sufficiently well with the testimony of Eusebius; and it would certainly be a position of great strength. But the two names are

2 H. E. IV. 6.
3 Itin. Anton. ed. Wesseling, p. 150. The same name occurs again on p. 199, where it is mentioned as thirty-one miles from Cæsarea in the same direction.
5 Reland Palæst. p. 639.
6 H. E. IV. 6, Βευθηρα ὁχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόλις διετῶσα.
7 Cellarii Notitia Orb. Tom. II. p. 450.
very far from being identical or even similar; and besides, the Mishnah exhibits the name Beth-horon without change, while it also speaks of a city Bether; thus implying that the two were distinct. Further, the position of Beth-horon, upon a narrow, rocky ridge on the lofty brow of a mountain-pass, in the midst of a rocky and desolate region, shows decisively to one who has ever visited the spot, that nothing larger than a very moderate village could ever have existed there.

The Betaris of Josephus, in the midst of Idumea, has also been held to be Bether. But most probably, as Reland has shown, this form of the name is merely a corruption from Begabris, as read by Rufinus. At any rate the position of this place in Idumea, (which then included the south of Judea,) accords neither with the testimony of the Rabbins nor with that of Eusebius.

Baronius boldly attempted to cut the knot, by assuming Bethlehem as the Bether of Jewish writers. But for this hypothesis there is no foundation, either in the name or in the circumstances.

In all the preceding conjectures there is then nothing which amounts even to a slight degree of probability. In searching, therefore, for some other data on which to found a further suggestion and inquiry, two or three preliminary circumstances suggest themselves as worthy to be taken into the account.

First, the name Bether or Beth-Tar appears not to have been ancient; but to have become known only after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is rendered domus inquisitoris, or domus explorationis; and, as Münter has related, is said to have been given because of a watch stationed there after the destruction of the Holy City, in order to spy out those going up to visit the ruins.

Secondly, the testimony of the Rabbins as to the position of Bether at four miles from the sea, is utterly irreconcilable with that of Eusebius, who places it near Jerusalem. If the one be adopted, the other must be rejected. And that the evidence of the Christian Father is here to be preferred, is manifest from the following considerations.

1 Reland Palest. pp. 639, 640.
5 See Münter's note above, p. 439.
1. Eusebius resided at Caesarea, and must often have passed by way of the Betarum above mentioned, in journeys to Jerusalem and elsewhere. Had this been the Bether so renowned in history and mentioned by himself, he could not but have known it; yet he places Bether near Jerusalem.

2. The origin of the name Bether or Beth-Tar, as above described, implies that it was near Jerusalem, and probably on the north of that city; since the greater number of Jewish visitors would naturally come from that quarter, where a very large population of Jews continued to reside undisturbed in Galilee and the adjacent region. 1

3. The many captives taken at Bether are said to have been first exposed for sale at the Terebinth, or Abraham's Tent, near Hebron; afterwards at Gaza; and then those remaining were transported in ships as slaves to Egypt. 2 Now if Bether was situated near Jerusalem, it would be a natural and obvious course thus to remove the captives for sale first to the mart near Hebron, then to Gaza, and so to Egypt. But if Bether were in the plain and near the coast, then to have marched them first away from the coast into the mountains, and afterwards back again to Gaza, in order to send them to Egypt, would have been unnatural and improbable; especially as the large marts and sea-ports of Caesarea, Joppa, and Askelon were much nearer at hand.

It seems therefore in the highest degree probable, as asserted by Eusebius, that Bether lay upon the mountains, and not far from Jerusalem.

The question as to its particular site, and as to its possible identity with some known place, has been for years before the mind of the writer; and the idea has repeatedly suggested itself, whether after all Bether may not have been the same with Bethel. The change from l to r, is a very common one in all languages; although I would not insist upon it here. But the position of the latter place accords well with all the circumstances known respecting Bether. It lay twelve Roman miles north of Jerusalem, on the east side of the great road leading northwards to Neapolis.

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1 See a passage from the Talm. Hieros. implying the same thing, in Lightfoot Opp. T. II. p. 143.
2 See above, p. 443. For an account of the place here mentioned near Hebron, and the extensive remains now found there, see p. 44 sq. of the present volume.
NOTE ON BETHER.

and Galilee; by which indeed all visitors from that quarter would necessarily approach the Holy City; and it would therefore be an appropriate station for such a watch as has been above alluded to. Bethel was re-inhabited after the exile; was fortified in the time of the Maccabees by the Syrian general Bacchides; and, although not mentioned in the New Testament, yet we know from Josephus that it existed and was captured by Vespasian. Eusebius and Jerome mention it as a small village in their day; and this is the last notice of it as an inhabited place. Later writers speak of it only as of a place known in Scripture history, and not then in existence. Yet the present ruins cover a large extent of ground, and are larger and more important than those of any village. The remains of churches and of other edifices upon the site and in the vicinity, betoken a town of importance probably before, and certainly after, the time of Jerome; and it is matter of surprise that no further allusion to the place occurs on the pages of history. The ground on which it lay, viz. the long point of a low hill between the heads of two shallow Wadys which unite and form a valley below running S. S. E., is capable of being strongly fortified—far more so indeed than the site of Eleutheropolis, though less so than the rocky precipices of Jerusalem.

It may be said, that there is no good nor probable reason, why the Jews should thus adopt the change of form from Bethel to Bether; and we therefore have no right to assume the identity of the two names on mere hypothesis. To a certain extent this is true; and I therefore would here lay no weight upon the circumstance, that such a change is often nothing more than a mere popular corruption. But we know that the Jews were fond of by-names, formed by a slight change of letters, so as to bring out a name of like sound, but of different and sometimes opposite signification. A striking instance occurs in connexion with this very place; where the leader of the war, in the days of his success, bore the honoured appellation of Bar-cochba, *Son of a Star*; but was afterwards (and is still) stigmatized as Bar-cozba, *Son of a lie.* Now if we may

1 Ezra ii. 28. Neh. vii. 32. xi. 31.
—1 Macc. ix. 50. Jos. Ant. XIII. 1. 3.

2 *Onomast.* arts. Betel and Agai.

3 See the account of the ruins of Bethel, now called Beitin, in the Bibl. Researches in Palest. II. p. 125–130.

4 See too the names Sichem and Sychar in the New Testament; also
suppose in the case of Bethel, that the like-sounding by-name Bether (softened from Beth-Tar) had arisen from some such cause as has been above described, it is easy to conceive how Jewish writers, when speaking of the catastrophe and utter subversion of their own nation, should prefer to connect it with this form, rather than with the ancient and venerated name imposed upon the spot by the immediate ancestor of their race.

It may be further asked, why then do Eusebius and Jerome, when treating expressly of Bethel, make no allusion to the important circumstance of its identity with Bether? To this it may be replied, that these writers in the Onomasticon were treating simply of places, as mentioned in Scripture; their object being mainly to mark their topographical position, for the most part without any allusion to historical facts. In like manner, in respect to Sichem and Sychar, Jerome in the Onomasticon contents himself with making them distinct places, merely translating Eusebius; though he elsewhere declares the latter name to be nothing more than a false reading.¹

So in the present instance, if the preceding considerations go to establish any degree of probability in favour of the identity in question, this is greatly strengthened by a remark of Jerome in another of his works. In a passage referring directly to the capture of Bether under Hadrian, and founded on Jewish accounts, he writes the name Bethel;² thus showing that he himself regarded the two names as designating the same place; unless, indeed, we suppose the form Bethel to have crept in here by a corruption of the text; of which however there is no evidence.

On the contrary, there exists another witness to show, that in the days of Eusebius, in the fourth century, the ancient site of Bethel was actually known among the people as Bether. The Bourdeaux

ⁱ See Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. p. 120.
² Comment. in Zach. viii. 13, "Capta urbs Bethel, ad quam multa millia confugerunt Judæorum; aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Ru-
fo." Jerome here evidently confounds the destruction of the Temple with that of Bether; but the mention of Titus Annius (Turanus) Rufus shows clearly that he is speaking of events which took place under Hadrian; see the notes on p. 418 above. Deyling de Ælieæ Capit. Hist. et. orig. in S. Deyling Observatt. Sac. Pars. p. 450.